

Popes souldiers, if the matter had bene more spoken of. But bicause euery thing passed according to the Legats desire, all anger was pacified. While this assault of *Borgo* continued, aduertisements were giuen, that *Nicholo Piccinino* was gone towards *Rome*, and (as others said) towards *La Marca*. Whereupon the Legat, and the rest thought good to marche towards *Perugia*, to succour *La Marca* or *Rome*, if *Nicholo* directed his course to any of them. *Barnardo de Medici* followed, and *Neri* with the *Florentines* marched to surprize *Casentino*. This resolution made, *Neri* incamped before *Rusina*, and surprized it with the like furie, that he had taken *Bibienna*, *Frato*, *Vecchio*, and *Remena*. From thence, he went to *Poppi*, and there lodged the Army, deuiding it into two parts, the one vpon the plaine of *Certomondo*, the other vpon the hill that reacheth to *Fronzoli*. The Earle seeing himselfe both of God and men abandoned, shut himselfe vp in *Poppi*, not hoping of any aide, but the rather to procure a composition least to his disauantage. *Neri* there besieging him, was desired to accept composition. The conditions whereof were such, as thereby he might hope to saue himselfe, his children and goods portable, yeelding the Towne and his state to the *Florentines*. When these capitulations were in making, the Earle came downe to the bridge of *Arno*, which passeth by the towne, and there with great sorrow spake thus. If I had well measured my fortune with your power, I should now haue come as a friend to reioyce at your victorie, and not as an enemy, intreate you, that my miserie might be pittied. This present chance, as it is to you honorable, and pleasant, so is the same to me lamentable and grieuous. I was owner of weapon, horses, subiects and riches, who can therefore meruaile though with griefe of mind I leaue them? If you will, and can command all *Toscana*, of necessitie we must all obey you: and if I had not committed this errour, neither should my fortune haue bene knowne, nor your liberalitie appeared. For if at this time you fauour me, you shall thereby giue to the world a testimonie of your mercie. Let therefore the vertue of your compassion, exceed the greatnes of mine offence: and be pleased that at the least this onely house may descend to those, of whome your auncestors haue receiued benefits. To whome *Neri* answered, that as he had hoped ouermuch in those that could do little, so had he thereby in such sort offended the state of *Florence*, as his fault ioyned with the conditions of the present time, must of necessitie take from him all his wealth, and be inforced to abandon that countrey, as enemy to the *Florentines*, which as their friend he would not possesse. For he had made so euill a triall of himselfe, as he might not in any wise be suffered to remaine there, where at euery change of fortune he might be readie to offend the *Florentine* common wealth, for it was not him, but his countrey whome they feared. But if he were pleased to repaire into *Germany*, he might there remaine a Prince, sith those Cities did desire him, and the *Florentines* for the loue of those his auncestors whom he alledged, would be also therewith contented. Hereto the Earle in great collor replied, saying, that he would see the *Florentines* a great way further from him. So leauing all friendly communication, the poore Earle despairing of other remedie, yeelded his Towne to the *Florentines*. That done, taking his goods, his wife, and children, departed, weeping and lamenting for the losse of that Countrey, which his auncestors by the space of 900. yeares had possessed. These victories being known in *Florence*, were by the Governours of that State and the people with meruailous ioy receiued, and bicause that *Barnardo de Medici* knewe that *Nicholo* was to no purpose marched towards *La Marca* or *Rome*, he and his souldiers returned to *Neri*, and from thence they went together to *Florence*, where they were welcomed with all the greatest honors that by order of that Cittie might be giuen to victorious Citizens. And were in triumphant wise saluted by the *Senators*, the Captaines, and the whole Cittie.

The end of the fift Booke.

THE



THE SIXT BOOKE.

IT hath bene, and by good reason ought to be the intent of all those that make warre, to enrich themselues, and impouerish their enemy. Neither is victorie for other occasion sought, nor the possessions of the enemy to other end desired, then thereby to make thy selfe mightie, and thy aduersarie weake. It followeth therefore, that so oft as thy victorie doth impouerish thee, or thy gaines do weaken thee; either thou passe or come short of the marke, whereunto the warre is directed. That Prince, and that State, is by the victories of warre enriched, which extirpeth the enemies, and becommeth Lord of the spoiles, and ransomes. And that Prince or Common-weale is impouerished, who cannot (though he be victorious) extirpate the enemy, or hath not to his owne vse, the spoiles and ransomes, but leaueth them to his souldiers. Such a Prince in his losses is vnhappy, and in his victories most infortunate, bicause in losing he suffereth all iniuries which the enemy can do him, and in winning, must abide the offences of friends: which as they are lesse reasonable, so are they also lesse tollerable, seeing that by impositions, and new exactions, he is againe to burden his owne subiects. That Prince then, in whome is any generositie of minde, cannot reioyce at such a victorie whereat all his subiects be constrained to lament. The auncient and well ordered Common weales were wont by conquests to fill their Treasuries with gold and siluer, to giue rewards to the people, to forgiue tributes, and to make triumphs and publique feasting. But the States of whome we write, first emptied their treasure houses, and after impouerished the people, without assuring themselves of their enemies. All which grew by their disorderly proceeding in the warres. For when they tooke any prisoners, not holding them nor slaying them, the reuenge was no longer deferred, then the leaders of the enemy were furnished anew with horse and weapon. Besides that, the spoiles and ransoms being giuen to the souldiers, the Princes victorious could not imploy the same in the next warre, but were forced to draw their prouision from the bowels of their owne people. Neither did that victorie bring forth other benefite, then make the Prince greedy, and with lesse respect to burthen them. For the souldiers had brought the warre to such a passe (as both the victorious and the victored, if they would commaund their owne men) had like need of money, bicause the one was to arme them anew, the other to reward them. And as they vnmounted could not fight, so these without new rewards, would not. Whereby it followed, that the one inioyed not much of the victorie, the other felt little of the losse, seeing the victored was speedily repaired, and the victorious could not in time pursue the victorie. This disorder, and this peruerse proceeding in warre, caused that *Nicholo Piccinino* was againe

Poppi besieged.

The speech of the Earle of Poppi to the Florentines commissaries.

The Earle answered by N. Capponi.

againe set on horseback, before his ouerthrow was knowne through all *Italy*, and made after greater warre then before he had done. This was the cause, that after the discomfit at *Tenna*, he could surprize *Verona*. This was the cause, that after the slaughter of his souldiers at *Verona*, he could recouer a greater Army, and come into *Toscana*. This was the cause, that being ouerthrowne at *Anghiari*, before he arriued in *Romagna*, he was more mightie in the field, then before he had bene: and might thereby put the Duke of *Milan* in hope to defend *Lombardy*, which by his absence was supposed to be welneare lost. For when *Nicholo* had filled *Lombardy* with troubles, the Duke was brought to such passe, as he began to doubt of his owne estate. And fearing his ruine might follow before the comming of *Nicholo*, (for whome he had sent) to bridle the Earles furie, and with industrie to temper fortune, (which with force he could not) he resorted to those remedies which in like cases had before time helped him. He therefore sent *Nicholo da Este* Prince of *Ferrara* vnto *Pischiara* (where the Earle was) to practice a peace, and perswade that warre not to be for his aduantage. Bicause, if the Duke were brought to that weaknesse, that he could not mainteine his owne reputation, he should be the rather esteemed. And for more assurance that indeed he desired peace, he offered him conclusion of the marriage, and would send his daughter to *Ferrara*, she promising (the peace made) to yeeld her selfe into his hands. The Earle answered, that if the Duke did faithfullie desire peace, with ease he might finde it; as a thing both by the *Florentines* and *Venetians* wished for. Yet did he mistrust the same much, knowing that before time, he had neuer made peace, but for necessitie, which being passed, he would alwaies returne to his old minde, and make warre. Neither could he beleue, that the Duke intended the marriage, hauing bene before at his hand so many times mocked: Notwithstanding, if the peace were concluded, he would after deale in the marriage as by friends he should be aduised. The *Venetians* who without reason were suspitious of their owne souldiers, of those entertainements reasonable conceiued mistrust. Which the Earle being carefull to remoue, followed the warre with greater furie. Notwithstanding, his mind was stil so tempered with ambition, and the *Venetians* were so infected with suspicion, as the rest of that sommer was passed without any enterprize of importance. In so much as *Nicholo Piccinino* being returned into *Lombardy*, and the winter begun, all the souldiers repaired to their lodgings: the Earle to *Verona*, the Duke to *Cremona*, the *Florentines* to *Toscana*, and the Popes forces to *Romagna*. After the victorie at *Anghiari*, they assaulted *Furli*, and *Bologna*, with intent to take them from *Francesco Piccinino*, who in the name of his father kept them. But that enterprize tooke none effect, yet their coming thither did so much terrifie the people of *Rauenna*, that with the consent of *Ostacio di Polenta*, they abandoned the Pope, and yeelded their obedience to the *Venetians*, who in recompence of the towne (and to the end that *Ostacio* should neuer recouer that from them by force, which for want of wit he had giuen them) sent him and his sonne to die in *Candia*. In which enterprizes, notwithstanding the victorie of *Anghiari*, the Pope wanting money, sold the Castell of *Borgo Saint Sepulcro* for twentie fiew thousand Florins. In this estate all things being, in respect of the winter, euery man supposed himselfe in safetie, and therefore of peace thought not at all: chiefly the Duke, held himselfe by *Nicholo*, and the winter season assured. For that consideration, the parle of peace with the Earle was broken, and *Nicholo* with all diligence was set on horseback, with euery other furniture for a future warre necessarie. Hereof the Earle being aduertised, went vnto *Venice*, to consult with the *Senators* what was to be done the yeare following. *Nicholo* on the other side was readie, and seeing the enemy vnprepared, tarried not for the Spring, but in

The Duke desireth peace.

The Venetians mistrust the Earle Francesco their Generall.

Ingratitude of the Venetians.

the depth of winter passed *Adda*, and entred *Brescia*, possessing himselfe of all that Countrey (*Adula* and *Acqui* excepted) and there spoyling and taking prisoners two thousand of the Dukes horses, who vnwares were there assaulted. But that which more displeased the Earle and *Venetians*, was, the reuolt of *Giarpellone*, one of his chiefe Captaines. The Earle receiuing these newes, went sodeinly from *Venice*, and being arriued at *Brescia*, found that *Nicholo* had done those displeasures, and was returned to his lodging, so as he thought not good to kindle the warre againe, being in that sort quenched. And sith the enemy and time did giue opportunitie, thought good to prepare himselfe, hoping the rather with the new yeare to be reuenged of old iniuries. He therefore procured that the *Venetians* should call back their forces, which serued the *Florentines* in *Toscana*: and commaunded, that the place of *Gattamelata* being dead, should by *Micheletto* be supplied. The Spring being come, *Nicholo Piccinino* was the first that marched to the field, and besieged *Cignano*, a Castle distant from *Brescia* twelue miles. To the rescue whereof came the Earle, and betwixt these two Captaines, according to their custome the warre was made. The Earle standing in doubt of *Bergamo*, besieged *Martinengo*, which Castle being easily wonne, the succour of *Bergamo* could not be hard. That Cittie being by *Nicholo* greatly distressed, and hauing provided so, as it could not receiue harme, but by the way of *Martinengo*, they manned it so fully, as behoued the Earle to goe vnto the siege thereof with all forces. Whereupon *Nicholo* with his whole Army placed himselfe where he might impeach the Earle of his victuall, and was with trenches and bulwarks so fortified, as the Earle without his apparant danger could not assault him, and brought the matter to that passe, that the besieger was in more perill then the people of *Martinengo* who were besieged; in so much as the Earle for want of victuall, could neither continue the siege, nor for the peril he was in, depart thence. Thus the Dukes victorie was thought assured, and the *Venetians* and Earles ouerthrow seemed apparant. But fortune, (who neuer faileth of meane, to fauour her friends, and disfauour her foes) made *Nicholo Piccinino* with hope of this victorie to become so ambitious and insolent, as without respect to the Duke (and himselfe also) by a messenger signified vnto him, that he had long time serued vnder his ensigne, and yet had not gained so much land as he could therein burie himselfe: and was therefore desirous to know wherewith his seruice should be rewarded, sith now it was in his power to make him Lord of *Lombardy*, and oppresse all his enemies. And to the end that of certaine victorie he might aspect a certaine recompence, desired to haue of his gift the Cittie of *Piacenza*, where being wearie of long trauell, he might sometimes repose himselfe: and in conclusion somewhat threatened to abandon the enterprize, if the Duke refused to satisfie his demaund. This presumptuous and insolent sute, so highly offended the Duke, as he made choise rather to lose the victorie, then consent thereunto. And that which so many dangers and threatnings of enemies could not compasse, the insolent behauiour of friends brought to passe, and the Duke resolved to make a peace with the Earle. To whome he sent *Antonio Guidobuono* of *Tortona*, and by him offered his daughter with the conditions of peace: which offer, was by the Earle, and all his Collegats greedily accepted, and the particularities betwixt them secretly concluded. The Duke then sent vnto *Nicholo*, willing him to take a truce with the Earle for one yeare, alleaging he had bene so sore burthened with charges, as he could not refuse a certaine peace for a doubtfull victorie. *Nicholo* meruailed much at this resolution, as one that knew not what might moue the Duke to shunne a victorie so certaine: and could not beleue that for want of good will to reward friends, he would saue his enemies. Wherefore in the best manner he could, opposed himselfe to this determination.

Micheletto Generall for the League.

A proude request of Nicholo.

Peace betwene the League and Duke, and his daughter married to the Earle Francesco.

tion. In so much as the Duke was constrained to threaten him, that if he were not conformable, he would giue him either as a prisoner to the enemy, or as a spoile to his owne souldiers. Then *Nicholo* obeyed, but with no other minde, then he that by force abandoneth his friends and countrey: complaining his hap to be hard, with sometimes fortune, and sometimes the Duke, had taken from him the victorie ouer his enemies. This peace made, the marriage betwixt the Ladie *Bianca* and the Earle, was solemnized, and to her was allotted for dowrie the Cittie of *Cremona*. Which done, the peace was ratified in Nouember, the yeare 1441. where, for the *Venetians*, *Francesco Barbarigo*, and *Pagolo Trono*, and for the *Florentines*, *Agnolo Acciaiuolo*, were Commissioners. In this contract, the *Venetians* gained *Peschiera*, *Asola*, and *Lonato*, a Castle belonging to the Marquesse of *Mantoua*. The warre thus stayed in *Lombardy*, it remained to take order for the troubles in the kingdom, which not being pacified, would be an occasion to renew the warres in *Lombardy*. The King *Rinato* during the warres in *Lombardy*, had bene spoiled by *Alfonso* of *Arragon* of all his Kingdom, saue only the Cittie of *Naples*, so that *Alfonso* thinking to haue victorie in his owne hand, determined during the siege of *Naples*, to take from the Earle *Beneuento*, and other his Countreys thereabouts: for he thought the same without perill might be done by the Earles absence, and his imployment in the warres of *Lombardy*. This enterprize was by *Alfonso* easily performed, and with small trauell he surprized all those Townes. But the newes of the peace in *Lombardy* being come, *Alfonso* feared that the Earle, the rather for that his townes were taken from him, would ioyne with *Rinato*, and *Rinato* hoped for the same occasion that he would so do. *Rinato* then sent vnto the Earle, desiring him to come to the aide of his friend, and the reuenge of his enemy. On the other side, *Alfonso* intreated *Philippo*, that for the good will betwixt them, he would cause the Earle to be so much set aworke, as to attend greater matters, he might be inforced to let this alone. *Philippo* graunted this request, not thinking what disturbed that peace, which he, not long since, had made to his disadvantage. Then he gaue the Pope *Eugenio* to vnderstand, that the time was now come, to recouer those Townes which the Earle had taken from the Church. And for performance of that enterprize, he offered him *Nicholo Piccinino* paid, so long as the warres continued. For (the peace now made) he remained with his souldiers in *Romagna*. *Eugenio* greedily entertained this counsell, as well for the displeasure he bare to the Earle, as the desire he had to recouer his owne. And though before time, he had bene with the same hope by *Nicholo* deceived, yet now the Duke vndertaking the action, he mistrusted no more deceit, but presently ioyned his forces with *Nicholo*, and assaulted *La Marca*. The Earle being so sodeinly set vpon, ordered his souldiers, and marched towards the enemy. In this meane while, the King *Alfonso* wonne *Naples*, whereby all that Kingdom (excepting Castle *Nuouo*) was at his deuotion. Then *Rinato* leauing that Castle well guarded, went from thence to *Florence*, where he was most honourably receiued, and there remaining a few dayes, finding he could not make warre any longer, went vnto *Marsilia*. *Alfonso* in the meane while had taken the Castle *Nuouo*, and the Earle remained in *La Marca*, in strength inferiour to the Pope and *Nicholo*, and therefore prayed the *Venetians* and *Florentines* to aide him with men and money. Letting them to vnderstand, it was necessarie to bridle the Pope and the King, during the time he was able: for otherwise they were to looke for little good, seeing the Pope and King would ioyne themselves with *Philippo*, and diuide all *Italy* betwixt them. The *Florentines* and *Venetians* for a time stood doubtfull what to do, as well bicause they knew not whether it were their best to be enemies to the Pope and King, as for that they were occupied with the matters of *Bologna*. *Anibale Bentiuogli* had driuen out

The warre
betweene
King Rinato
and Alfonso
reuiued.

The Cittie of
Naples wonne
by Alfonso.

of that Cittie *Francesco Piccinino*. And the rather to defend the same from the Duke, (who fauoured *Francesco*) he sent for aide to the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, and they did not denie him: so as being occupied in these matters, they could not resolue to assit the Earle. But *Annibale* hauing ouerthrowne *Francesco Piccinino*, and those matters settled, the *Florentines* determined to aide the Earle: yet first to be assured of the Duke, they renewed the league with him, which the Duke refused not, hauing consented that the warre should be made vpon the Earle, so long as the King *Rinato* was in Armes. But seeing him vanquished, and vterly deprived of his Kingdom, he was not pleased that the Earle should then be bereft of his Countrey. And therefore he not onely consented to aide the Earle, but also wrote vnto *Alfonso*, desiring him to be pleased to returne to the Kingdom, and make no longer warre. Whereunto, albeit *Alfonso* was vnwilling, yet being beholding to the Duke, determined to content him, and retired himselfe with his Army to the other side of *Tronto*. While matters were thus handled in *Romagna*, the *Florentines* within themselves became disquiet. Among the Citizens of most reputation and authoritie in *Florence*, was *Neri*, the sonne of *Gino Capponi*, whose greatnesse, *Cosimo de Medici* aboute all others feared. For besides his great credit in the Cittie, he was also greatly honored of the souldiers, hauing bene many times Generall of the *Florentine* Armies, and with his victorie, vertue, and well deseruing, had gained their loue. Besides that, the memorie of victories wonne by him and *Gino* his father, the one hauing surprized *Pisa*, and the other ouerthrowne *Nicholo Piccinino* at *Anghiari*, made him beloued of many, and feared of those who desired no companie in the gouernment. Among many other of the chiefe Captaines in the *Florentine* Army, was *Baldaccio* of *Anghiari*, a man of warre most excellēt. For in those daies, there was not any in *Italy*, that for vertue, person, & courage, could excell him, and had among the footemen (for of those he was euer a leader) so much reputation, as all that sort of souldiers in euery enterprize, and whensoever he pleased, would willingly follow him. This *Baldaccio* loued *Neri* exceeding much, as a man whose vertue (whereof he was a witness) so deserued, which bred in the other Citizens great suspition. And they iudging to suffer him, was perillous, & to restraine him was most danger of all: determined to dispatch him vterly, which intent fortune greatly fauoured. *Bartholomeo Orlandini* was *Gonfaloniere de Giustitia*. He being (as is before said) Captaine of *Marradi*, at such time as *Ni. Piccinino* passed into *Toscana*, cowardly fled & abandoned that passage, which by nature almost defended it selfe. This cowardice at that time greatly offended *Baldaccio*, who with words of reproofe & letters, made the same euerywhere knowne. Whereat *Bartholomeo* ashamed & offended, did greatly study to be reuenged, hoping by the death of the accusor, to cancell the fame of his infamie. This desire of *Bartholomeo* being known to other citizens, with small labour he perswaded them to the oppresion of *Baldaccio*, whereby in one act he might reuenge his priuat iniurie, and deliuer the state frō that man, whom they must of force entertaine with peril, or discharge with disadvantage. Therefore *Bartholomeo* being fully determined to kil him, conueied into his chamber many yong men armed. Then the *Gonfalone* seeing *Baldaccio* come into the market place (whither he resorted daily to confer with the Magistrates of his charge) sent for him, and he obeyed. Being come, the *Gonfaloniere* met him, entreteining him with speech touching his businesse from chamber to chamber, till he came neare to that place where the armed men were hidden, and when he thought good, called them forth. *Baldaccio* being disarmed, was presently slaine, and throwne out of the windowe. From thence, hee was carried to the market place, had his head cut off, and made a spectacle for the people all that day. Of him there remained one sonne by his wife called *Annalena*,

Neri Capponi.
Cosimo de Medici.

Baldaccio
Generall of
the Florentine
footmen.

Baldaccio
murdred by
Bartholomeo
Orlandini.

who

who within fewe yeares after died. This *Annalena* hauing buried hir sonne and husband, determined no more to marrie, but making hir house a Monasterie, shut hir selfe vp therein, with many other noble women, where they verie holily liued and died. Her house in memorie of her, was after made a Monasterie, by the name of *S. Annalena* (as at this present it is) and euer shall be. This action somewhat decreased the power of *Neri*, and tooke from him reputation and friends. Neither did that onely content the Cittizens in authoritie. For the tenne yeares of their office being passed, and their authoritie in the *Balia* ended, diuerse men both by word and deedes tooke courage to complaine against the continuance of those officers: and therefore the Governours thought for the holding of their authoritie, it was necessarie to haue their offices prolonged, giuing new commision to friends, & oppressing their foes. For which consideration, in the yeare 1444. by their counsels a new *Balia* was created, which reestablished officers, giuing authoritie to a few, to create the *Senate*, reuiuing the Chancelorship of reformation: remouing *Ser. Philippo Peruzzi*, and in his place appointing one other to gouerne, according to the pleasure of the great men: putting in prison *Giouan* the sonne of *Simone Vespucci*. The gouernment thus settled, & the offices of state taken anew, they turned their minds to matters abroad. *Nicholo Piccinino* being (as hath bene before said) abandoned by the King *Alfonso*, and the Earle, with the helpe he had of the *Florētines*, became strong, assailed *Nicholo* neare vnto *Fermo*, and there gaue him so great an ouerthrow, that *Nicholo* lost wel-neare all his souldiers, and with a fewe fled into *Montecchio*. *Nicholo* tarried there all the winter to increase his army, and therein was helped by the Pope, & king *Alfonso*. In so much as the spring time being come, and the other Captaines returned to the field, *Nicholo* was the stronger, and the Earle brought to extreame necessitie, and had bene vterly defeated, if the intent of *Nicholo* had not bene by the Duke altered. *Philippo* sent for *Nicholo*, pretending to haue occasion by mouth to impart vnto him matters of great importance. Which *Nicholo* being desirous to heare, abandoned a certaine victorie, for an incertaine pleasure, and leauing *Francesco* his sonne to gouerne the army, went vnto *Milan*. The Earle vnderstanding of his departure frō the Camp, would not lose the opportunitie to fight in the absence of *Nicholo*: and assaulting the army of *Nicholo* neare vnto the Castle of *Monte Loro*, ouerthrew it, and tooke *Francesco* prisoner. *Nicholo* at his arriual in *Milan*, seeing himself abused by *Philippo*, & vnderstanding his camp to be brokē, & his son prisoner, with sorow died, the yere 1445. being of the age of 64. yeares, hauing bene a Captaine more vertuous then happie. Of him there remained two sonnes, *Francesco*, and *Giacopo*, who as they were of lesse vertue then the father, so had they worse fortune. By which meane, the souldiers bred by *Braccio*, were almost worne out, and the discipline of *Sforza* (alwaies holpen by fortune) became more glorious. The Pope seeing the army of *Nicholo* suppressed, and him dead, nor much hoping in the aide of *Arragon*, sought to make peace with the Earle, which by mediation of the *Florentines* was concluded. The peace made in *La Marca*, all *Italy* had liued in quiet, if the *Bolognesi* had not disturbed the same. There was in *Bologna* two mightie Families, *Channeschi*, and *Bentiuogli*, of the one *Annibale*, and of the other *Battista* was chiefe. These (to be the rather assured one of the others friendship) contracted a marriage. But betweene men which aspire to one greatnesse, though alliance may easily be made, yet friendship cannot. *Bologna* was in league with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, which league had bene concluded by meane of *Annibale Bentiuogli*, after they had driuen out *Francesco Piccinino*. *Battista* knowing that the Duke desired greatly to haue the fauour of that Cittie, practised with him to kill *Annibale*, and bring that Cittie vnder his ensigne. The order of this murther agreed vpon, the 24. of Iune 1445. *Battista* with

Florence reformed.

Ni. Piccinino discomfited.

Death of Ni. Piccinino.

Trouble in Bologna.

with his men assaulted *Annibale* & slew him: which done, he proclaimed the Dukes name throughout the towne. At that time, the Commissaries for the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, were in *Bologna*; and at the first rumor retired vnto their houses, but afterwards perceiuing that the murtherers were not fauoured by the people (who were in great numbers armed, and assembled, lamenting the death of *Annibale*) they tooke courage, went towards them, & assailed the *Canneschi*, whom in lesse then one houre they ouerthrew; slaying some, and forcing the rest to flie the Cittie. *Battista* not fleeing in time nor slaine, remained at his house and hid himself in a vessell made for the keeping of corne. His enemies hauing all the day sought him, and assured he was not gone out of the towne, threatned his seruants so much, as one of them at length discovered where he was. From thence he was taken out and slaine, then drawne through the streets, and at last burned: so as the victorie of the Duke, was of force sufficient to perswade *Annibale* to the enterprise, but not of power ynough to saue him from death. Thus by the death of *Battista*, and the fleeing of the *Canneschi*; these tumults were appeased. The *Bolognesi* remained in great confusion, because there was not left of the house of *Bentiuogli* any man fit for gouernment. And for that there remained one sonne onely of *Annibale* but six yeares old (who was called *Giouanni*) the *Bolognesi* feared least among the friends of the *Bentiuogli* some diuision would grow, which might perhaps occasion the returne of the *Canneschi*, with the ruine of their countrey and faction. While the *Bolognesi* continued in this doubtfull imagination, *Francesco* late Earle of *Poppi* being in *Bologna*, informed the chiefe Cittizens, that if they had desire to be gouerned by one descended of the bloud of *Annibale*, he could informe them of such a one. Declaring that about 20. yeares past, *Hercule* the Cosen of *Annibale* happened to be at *Poppi*, and had there carnall knowledge of a yong woman in that Castle, who was after deliuered of a sonne called *Santi*, whom *Hercule* diuerse times affirmed to be his. And it seemed to be a thing likely, for that the child so much resembled *Hercule*, as liker it could not be. His words were believed by those Cittizens, and they deferred no time to send vnto *Florence*, to find out the yong man, and perswade with *Cosimo di Medici*, and *Neri Capponi*, that they might haue him. The supposed father of this *Santi* was dead, and the yong man liued vnder the tuition of an Vncle of his called *Antonio Cascese*. This *Antonio* was rich, without children, and friend to *Neri*. The matter being vnderstood, *Neri* thought fit, neither to reiect the motion, nor imbrace it, but commaunded that *Santi* in the presence of *Cosimo*, and those that were sent frō *Bologna*, should speake with him. Then order being taken for their meeting, *Santi* was by the *Bolognesi* not only honored, but also (as it were) adored. Then *Cosimo* calling *Santi* aside, said vnto him, there is none that in this matter can better counsell thee, then thy selfe, for thou art to take that choise whereto thine own mind is inclined. If thou be the sonne of *Hercule Bentiuogli*, thou wilt dispose thy selfe to such actions as be worthie of thy father and his house, but if thou art the sonne of *Agnolo Cascese*, thou shalt remaine in *Florence*, and imploy thy life basely in the art of clothmaking. These words much encouraged the yong man, for where he had before refused to take the matter vpō him, he said now that he would be directed in all by *Cosimo* and *Neri*. Then they resoluēd with the messengers of *Bologna* to apparrell him, horse him, and man him, and so in honorable wise conuey him to the Cittie, there to take the gouernment: where he after gouerned with so great wisedome, that notwithstanding the greater part of his predecessors had ben by their enemies slaine, yet he peaceably and honorably liued & died. After the death of *Nicholo Piccinino*, & the peace made in *La Marca*, *Philippo* desired to entertaine a Captaine to gouerne his Army, and secretly practised with *Ciarpellone*, one of the Earles chiefe Leaders, and grew with him to composition. *Ciarpellone* prayed

Santi Bentiuogli.

leauē of the Earle to goe to *Milan*, to take possession of certaine Castles, which in the late warre were by *Philippo* giuen him. The Earle mistrusting that which was, (and to the end the Duke should not be serued to his disaduantage) first stayed him, and shortly after put him to death, alleaging he had bene by him abused. Therewith *Philippo* was exceedingly angrie, and the *Florentines* and *Venetians* much pleased, as they that feared least the Earles forces and the Dukes power ioyned in friendship. This anger was occasion to resuscitate new warre in *La Marca*. In *Rimini*, *Gismondo Malatesti* was Lord, who being son in law to the Earle, hoped to haue possession of *Pesaro*: notwithstanding the Earle hauing surprized it, gaue it to *Alessandro* his brother. Wherewith *Gismondo* grew greatly offended, and the more bicause *Federigo di Montefeltro* his enemy, by the Earles fauour, had vsurped *Vrbino*. This was the cause that *Gismondo* ioyned with the Duke, and sollicited the Pope & King to make warre vpon the Earle. Who to the end *Gismondo* should seele the first fruits of that warre which he desired, thought to preuent him, and sodeinly assailed him. Whereupon *Rome* & *La Marca* were on the soden brought into tumult, bicause *Philippo*, the king, and the Pope, sent great aide to *Gismondo*: and the *Venetians* and *Florentines* furnished the Earle, though with no men, yet with plentie of money. Neither was *Philippo* content to make warre in *Romagna*, but he also determined to take from the Earle *Cremona* and *Pontremoli*: yet was *Pontremoli* by the *Florentines*, and *Cremona* by the *Venetians* defended. So that by these meanes the warre in *Lombardy* was renewed, and therein somewhat done in *Cremonese*. *Francesco Piccinino* Generall for the Duke, was by *Micheletto*, and the *Venetian* forces at *Casale* defeated. By which victorie, the *Venetians* hoped to take the Dukes state from him, and sent their Commissarie to *Cremona*, assailing *Ghiraadada*, and possessed all sauing *Cremona*. Afterwards they passed *Adda*, spoiling the countrey hard to the gates of *Milan*. Thereupon the Duke desired aide of *Alfonso*, declaring what perill would ensue to the kingdom, if *Lombardy* were in the *Venetians* hand. *Alfonso* promised to send him souldiers, who without consent of the Earle could with difficultie passe. Then *Philippo* intreated the Earle not to abandon his father in law being aged and blind. The Earle found himself offended with the Duke for hauing moued the warre against him. On the other side he misliked the greatnesse of the *Venetians*, his money grew low, and the same was scarcely supplied by the Lords of the League. For the *Florentines* feared no more the Duke, which was the cause they esteemed the Earle, and the *Venetians* desired his ruine, iudging that the state of *Lombardy* could not be taken from them but by the Earle. Notwithstanding, while *Philippo* sought to draw him into his pay, offering him the commaundement of all his souldiers, so that he would forsake the *Venetians* and restore *La Marca* to the Pope. They also sent Embassadors vnto him, promising him the possession of *Milan*, if they could win it, and the perpetuities in the gouernment of their men of warre, if he would still follow the warre in *La Marca*, and impeach the comming of aide from *Alfonso* into *Lombardy*. Thus were the promises of the *Venetians* great, and their deserts of him greater, hauing begun that warre, to saue *Cremona* for the Earle. On the other part, the iniuries done by the Duke were fresh, his promises not faithfull nor great. Yet did the Earle much doubt what resolution to make. For of the one side, the obligation of the league, their well deseruing of him, and their promises of pleasures to come, did moue him. On the other, the intreatie of his Father in lawe, and chiefly the poison which hee feared to be hidden vnder the great promises of the *Venetians*, did stay him; suspecting least their promise of that state, if hee should hap to win it, might not be performed: hauing none other hold, but their bare promise, whereunto no wise Prince, vnlesse it were for great necessitie, had euer trusted. These difficulties of the

Earles

Earles resolution, were remoued by the ambition of the *Venetians*, who hoping to surprize *Cremona* by meanes of some intelligence they had within the Cittie, vnder another pretence caused their souldiers to marche neere vnto it. But that enterprise was discovered by those that guarded the towne for the Earle, whereby the treason tooke no effect, and they thereby wan not *Cremona*, but vtterly lost the loue of the Earle, who presently thereupon laying all respects apart, ioyned himselfe with the Duke. Now was Pope *Eugenio* dead, and in his place succeeded *Nicholao quinto*. The Earle had his whole Army at *Cotigniola*, readie to passe into *Lombardy*. Thither came newes, aduertising the death of *Philippo*, which was the last of August, in the year 1447. These newes grieved the Earle exceedingly, bicause he thought his army not fully paid, would be vnreadie, & feared least the *Venetians* being in armes, would become his enemies. For hauing abandoned them & ioyned with the Duke, he feared *Alfonso* his continuall enemy, not trusting either the Pope, or the *Florentines*. These, bicause they were in league with the *Venetians*, and the other, for that he did possesse some townes belonging to the Church. Notwithstanding, he determined to shew his face to fortune, and according to the chances therof to proceed. For many times by doing somewhat, secrets are discovered, which by standing still could not be knowne. Great hope he conceiued in thinking, that if the *Milanesi* would be defended frō the ambition of the *Venetians*, that of force they must imploy him and his souldiers. Therof taking courage, he marched into the countrey of *Bologna*, and from thence to *Modena* and *Regio*, staying with his forces at *Lenza*, from whence he sent vnto *Milan* to offer his seruice. Some of the *Milanesi* hauing buried their Duke, desired to liue in libertie, and some others were contented to receiue a Prince. Of those which desired a Prince, some would haue the Earle, and some the King *Alfonso*, whereby those that loued libertie, being more vnited, became the stronger part, and framed after their faction a state and gouernment, which was neuertheless disobeyed by many Citties of the Dukedome, imagining that they might also (as *Milan* did) enioy their libertie. And others also, which aspired not thereunto, did likewise refuse to yeeld vnto the *Milanesi*. The Citties of *Lodi* & *Piacenza* gaue themselues to the *Venetians*. *Pauia* & *Parma* would be free. The Earle vnderstanding these confusions, went vnto *Cremona*, whither his Embassadors and the Embassadors of *Milan* came with this cōclusiō, that he should remain Caprain general of the *Milanesi*, with those conditions last set down by the Duke *Philippo*, adding thereunto that the Earle should haue *Brescia*, till he surprized *Verona*. And being possessed therof, to yeeld vp *Brescia*. Before the death of this Duke, Pope *Nicholo* at his assumptiō sought to make peace amongst all the Italian Princes. For the compassing whereof, by Embassadors he practised, that the *Florentines* should send vnto him at the time of his creation, desiring him to appoint a Parliament at *Farrara*, to procure therein either a long truce, or a perfect peace. Vpon which occasion in that Cittie assembled the Popes Legat, the Embassadors for the *Venetians*, Embassadors for the Duke, & Embassadors for the *Florentines*. But those which were looked for from King *Alfonso*, appeared not. This King was then at *Tiboli*, accompanied with many men of warre, both on foote and horseback. From thence he gaue countenance to the Duke, and it was thought that so soone as they had drawne the Earle to their side, they would openly assault the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. In the meane time, the Earles souldiers should remaine in *Lombardy*, & the peace to be entertained at *Farrara*, whither the King sent not, saying he would ratifie all things the Duke would assent vnto. This peace was many dayes consulted vpon, and after much disputation cōcluded, that either it should be perpetuall peace, or a truce for 5. yeares, at the election of the Duke, whose Embassadors being returned to *Milan* to vnderstand his pleasure, at their cōming thither found him

dead.

New warres
in Lombardy.The Earle his
friendship de-
sired both by
the Duke and
Venetians.Death of
Duke Philip-
po of Milan.The Earle
made Gene-
rall for the
Milanesi.

dead. The *Milanesi* notwithstanding his death, would needs haue the conclusion of peace allowed. But the *Venetians* did not consent, hoping greatly to vsurpe that state. And the rather, because *Lodi* and *Piacenza* sodeinly after the Dukes death were yeilded vnto them: whereby they hoped, either by force or composition within short space to become Lords of all the territorie of *Milan*, and in the end so distresse the Cittie, as it should also be forced to yeeld before any man could rescue it. And the rather they thus perswaded themselves, for that they sawe the *Florentines* busied in warre with King *Alfonso*. That King being at *Tiboli*, and intending to follow the enterprise of *Toscana*, as he had determined with *Philippo*, thinking therewith that the warre already begun in *Lombardy*, would giue him time and commoditie desired, to haue one foote into the state of *Florence*, before such time as he would openly make the warre, and for that purpose practised to win the Castle *Cennina* in the vpper vale of *Arno*, and wan it. The *Florentines* striken with this vnlooked for accident, and seeing the King ready to march to their offence, hired souldiers, created the ten Magistrates, and according to their custome, prepared all things for the warre. By this time the King with his Army was come to the countrey of *Siena*, labouring by all meanes to bring that Cittie to fauour him. Notwithstanding, the Citizens there stood firme in their friendship to the *Florentines*, and refused to receiue the King, either into *Siena*, or any other of their townes: yet did they prouide him victuall, whereof the importunitie of the King, and the force of the enemy might excuse them. The King then thought not good to enter by the way of the vale of *Arno*, as he first determined, aswell for that he had spoiled *Cennina*, as because the *Florentines* were partly furnished with souldiers, and therefore marched towards *Volterra*, surprized many Castles in the countrey thereto belonging. From thence, he marched into the countrey of *Pisa*, where, by the fauour of *Arrigo* and *Fatio*, Earles of *Chirardesca*, he tooke some Castles, and assaulted *Campilia*, which being defended by the *Florentines* and the cold winter, he could not surprize. Then the King leauing certaine of his owne souldiers to guard the townes by him taken, and to defend the countrey, retired with the rest of his Army to his lodgings in the countrey of *Siena*. The *Florentines* fauoured by that season of the yeare, carefully laboured to prouide souldiers. Their chiefe leaders were *Federigo* Lord of *Vrbino*, and *Gismondo Malatesta* of *Rimino*. And albeit there was betwixt them two some disagreement, yet by the wisdom of *Neri*, and *Barnardetto di Medici*, (Commissaries for the *Florentines*) they agreed so well, that notwithstanding the hard winter continuing, they marched, and recovered those townes which were lost in the countrey of *Pisa*, and the *Ripomerancie* in the territorie of *Volterra*. They also bridled the Kings souldiers, who before had spoyled the sea coast, so as with difficultie they might defend the townes committed to their guard. But the Spring time being come, the Commissaries drew forth all their souldiers, to the number of 5000. horse, and 2000. footmen. And the King came with his, to the number of welneare fiteene thousand, besides 3000. at *Campiglia*. And when he intended to returne to the siege of that towne, he went to *Piombino*, hoping easily to win it, because the towne was not well furnished, he thought the hauing thereof profitable for him, and disaduantageous for the *Florentines*; because, from thence he might protract the warres, and consume them, hauing meane to victuall himselfe by sea, and disturbe the whole countrey of *Pisa*. This assault greatly displeased the *Florentines*, and consulting vpon the matter, thought that if they might with their Army remaine in the bounds of *Campiglia*, that the King should thereby be enforced to depart either broken or dishonoured. For which purpose they armed foure small Gallies at *Liorno*, and with them put into the towne of *Piombino* three hundred footmen, placing them at the *Galdani*, a place where

with

with difficultie they might be assaulted. For if they were lodged in the plaine vpon the Confines, the same was thought dangerous. The *Florentines* receiued their victualls from the Townes thereabouts, which being but fewe and not much inhabited, did scarcely furnish them. So as the Armie suffered penurie, and most chiefly of wine: Because none being there made, nor brought thither from other places, it was impossible for euerie man to haue so much as should suffice him. But the King, notwithstanding he were by the *Florentines* straightly holden in, yet had he abundance almost of euerie prouision, by reason hee receiued it from the sea. The *Florentines* therefore thought good, likewise to make prooue, if they might be by sea releued: and for that purpose loaded their Gallies with victuall, and sent them thither. But in their passage they were encountred with seuen of the Kings Gallies, which tooke two of them, and suncke the others. This losse bereft the *Florentine* souldiers, of hope to be reuictualled. Thereupon two hundred or more Pyoners for want of drinke fled vnto the Kings Campe: the rest of the souldiers mutined, complaining that in those hote places they could not remaine without wine, because water was there most vnwholesome. So that the Commissaries determined to abandon that place, and imploy their forces to recouer certaine Castles which remained in the Kings hand. Who on the other side, although he wanted not victuall, being in force the stronger, yet was his Camp afflicted with sicknesse, bred there, by the infection of the aire, nere vnto the sea: by mean wherof, almost euerie man was infected, and many of them also died. These occasions ministred communication of peace, wherein the King demaunded fiftie thousand Florins, and *Piombino* to be left at his discretion. The matter being debated at *Florence*, by many desirous of peace, the demands were thought reasonable. For they were perswaded a war so chargeable as that was, could not without great expence be maintained. Notwithstanding *Neri Capponi* went vnto *Florence*, and there with such reasons as he made, altered their minds. Disswading them vtterly to accept those conditions: and the *Florentines* receiued the Lord of *Piombino* as recommended; promising both in time of warre and peace to defend him, if he would, (as hitherto he had) fight couragiously in defence of his owne Citie. The King vnderstanding this resolution, and seeing his owne Campe afflicted with sicknesse, brake vp, and retired with the rest into the countrey of *Siena*, leauing behinde him two thousand dead bodies. From thence he marched towards the kingdom, and being exceedingly offended with the *Florentines*, threatned the next Spring to make vpon them a new warre. While matters were thus handled in *Toscana*, the Earle *Francesco* became Generall of the *Milanesi*, and before anie thing done, obtained the friendship of *Francesco Piccinino*, who had likewise serued them, which he did, to the end that his enterprises might be the more fauoured, and by *Piccinino* the lesse impeached. Then marched he with his Armie to the field, where by the Citizens of *Parma*, fearing they could not defend themselves, and being on the other side, vnwilling to obey the *Milanesi*, offered him the Towne, with condition that he should not deliuer it to them. The Earle greatly desired the possession of that Citie, thinking that the hauing thereof would be a good beginning to colour his intent, being neither deteined with feare, nor abashed to breake his faith. For great men do call losse, a thing dishonourable, but to compasse their desire by craft, is accounted no shame at all. Notwithstanding he doubted, least his taking of the Towne in this sort, would so offend the *Milanesi*, as for that cause, they would yeeld themselves to the *Venetians*: and if it were not taken by him, then he feared the Duke of *Sauoia*, to whom many of the Citizens were willing to giue it. So as by euerie of those meanes, hee thought himselfe bereft of the dominion of *Lombardy*: yet supposing it lesse perill, to take the Citie for himselfe then leaue it to an other, determined

The Milanese
jealous of the
Earle.

mined to accept it, being perswaded it was notwithstanding possible to content the *Milanese*: whom he enformed of those perils wherunto they should fall, if he accepted not the Citie of *Pavia*. For that Citie (if it were by him refused) would yeelde to the *Venetians* or the Duke of *Sauoia*, in either of which cases, their countrey should be lost, and therefore thought rather be contented to haue him their neighbour and friend, then any other that were more mightie, and their enimie. The *Milanese* were much troubled with this matter, imagining that the Earle had thereby discovered his ambition, and the end whereunto he tended. Yet thought they not good, to take knowledge thereof, because leauing the Earle, they sawe not whither to adresse themselves, vnlesse it were to the *Venetians*, whose pride and hard dealing they mistrusted. Wherefore they resolued, not to shake off the Earle, but for the present, by him to be deliuered of those inconueniences, hoping after to be also deliuered of himselfe. For they were not onely assaulted by the *Venetians*, but also by the *Genouesi* and the Duke of *Sauoia*, who made warre in the name of *Carlo* of *Orliens*, sonne to the sister of *Philippo*. But the Earle easily withstood their mallice. Then were the *Venetians* his only enemies, who with a mightie Armie determined to surprize that state, and had alreadie possessed *Lodi*, and *Piacenza*, wherunto the Earle brought his camp: and after a long siege sacked that Citie. Which done, (because the winter was alreadie come) he retired his men to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Cremona*, where with his wife he rested all that winter. But the spring being come, the Armies of the *Venetians* and *Milanese*, returned to the field. The *Milanese* desired to surprize *Lodi*, and after make peace with the *Venetians*. Because the charges of warre did burthen them, and the fidelitie of their General was suspected. For these reasons they wished a peace, as well to repose themselves, as to be assured of the Earle. Then they resolued, their Army should besiege *Carrauaggio*, hoping that *Lodi* would yeeld, so soone as the Castle could be taken from the enimie. The Earle obeyed the *Milanese*, although his intent was to haue passed *Adda*, and assault the country of *Brescia*. The siege being laid to the Castle of *Carrauaggio*, hee trenched and fortified his Campe, least happily the *Venetians* would assaile him. The *Venetians* on the other side, conducted by *Micheletto* their Generall, marched within two bowes shot off the Earles Campe, where diuerse dayes both the Armies remained, the one many times offending the other. Notwithstanding, the Earle stil besieged the castle, & did so straightly distresse it, as it was readie to yeeld: which greatly displeased the *Venetians*; fearing that the losse thereof would be the ruine of all the enterprize. Great disputation arose among their Captaines, by what meanes it might be succoured. But no other way could be deuised, then to assault the enemies in their trenches, which was exceeding dangerous. Notwithstanding so greatly they esteemed the losse of that Castle, as the *Senate* of *Venice* (beeing naturally fearefull to meddle with any matter either doubtful or dangerous) did chuse rather to hazard all, then with the losse of that, to lose the enterprize. They resolued therefore by all meanes to assault the Earle, & one morning early charged him on that side where they thought he was weakest. At the first charge (as it happeneth in those assaults which be not looked for) all the Armie was dismaid. Notwithstanding, the Earle sodeinly repaired the disorders, & had handled the matter so, that notwithstanding many assaults, the enemies were forced in the end, not onely to retire, but also were so pursued: that of their Camp (which was twelue thousand horse) not one thousand was saued. All their goods were spoyled, and their carriages taken. So as neuer before that time the *Venetians* receiued any ouerthrow greater, or more terrible. Among the spoyles and prisoners taken in this conflict, was the *Venetian* *Proueditor*, who before that skirmish, and after during the wars, had vsed diuerse opprobrious words of the Earle, calling him Bastard and

The Venetians
defeated
by the Earle
Francefco.

Coward.

Coward. But being become prisoner, remembring what hee had deserued, and brought to the Earles presence: according to the nature of proud & cowardly men (which is to be in prosperitie insolent, and in aduersitie abiect & vile) kneeled down before him, weeping, & desiring pardon of his offences. The Earle tooke him vp by the arme, comforted him, and willed him to be of good cheare. And afterwards said, that he maruelled much how a man of his wisdom & grauitie, could commit so great an error, as to speake euill of them that had not so deserued. And touching the matter of flaunder, he knew not in what sort *Sforza* his father, had vsed his mother *Maddonna Lucia*, because he was not there present. So as of that which was done by them he could receiue neither blame nor commendation. But for his owne doings, he knew well, that nothing was by any man to be reprooued: and thereof both he and his *Senate* could fully and truly witness with him. Whereof hee wished him afterwards to be more modest in speech, and in his proceedings more discreet. After this victorie, the Earle with his tryumphant Campe, marched to the territorie of *Brescia*, and possessing all that country, settled his Campe within two myles of the Citie. The *Venetians* on the other side, hauing receiued this ouerthrow, feared, (as it came to passe) that *Brescia* would be first assaulted; speedily as they might, made prouision, and with all diligence, leuiued forces, ioyning them to those that remained of the old Campe. Therewith also by vertue of the League, desired aid of the *Florentines*. Who being free from the warre of King *Alfonso*, sent vnto them one thousand footemen, and two thousand horse. The *Venetians* by hauing these souldiers, gained time to entreate of peace. It hath bene long time a thing fatall to the *Venetian* state, to lose by warre, and recouer the losse by composition. And those things which by the warres are taken from them, by the peace many times be restored double. The *Venetians* knew well, that the *Milanese* mistrusted the Earle, and that he desired not to be their Captaine, but aspired to the principalltie of *Milan*. Also that it was in their choise to make peace with either of them: the one desiring it for ambitio, the other for feare. Then they chose to make peace with the Earle, and deferred their aide for that enterprize: being perswaded, that if the *Milanese* found themselves deceived by the Earle, they might grow so offended, as they would giue themselves rather to anie other, then to him. Being then brought to this passe that they could not defende themselves, nor would trust vnto the Earle, they should be enforced, (not hauing other refuge) to trust vnto the *Venetians*. This resolution made, they sounded the disposition of the Earle, and found him greatly disposed to the peace: as desirous that the victorie of *Carrauaggio* might be his, and not the *Milanese*. Then was there a composition concluded, wherein the *Venetians* bound themselves to paie vnto the Earle, so long as he deferred the taking of *Milan*, thirteene thousand Florines for euerie moneth: and during the rest of the warre, to aide him with foure thousand horse, and two thousand footemen. And the Earle for his part did binde himselfe to restore to the *Venetians*, all Townes, prisoners, and euerie other thing by him taken, and rest contented with those Townes onely, which the Duke *Philippo* at his death possessed. This agreement being knowne in *Milan*, did bring much more sorrow to that Citie, then the victorie of *Carrauaggio* had giuen gladnesse. The chiefe Magistrates lamented, the people were sorrowfull, the women and children wept, and all with one voyce, called the Earle disloyall and traytour. For although they beleeued not, either by intreatie or promises, to diuert him from his vnthankful intent, yet sent they Embassadors to see with what face, and with what words, hee would maintaine his wickednesse. Who being come to the presence of the Earle, one of them spake to this effect. Those that desire to obtaine any thing of others, were wont by entreatie, gifts, or threatnings, to perswade them. So that, either by com-

The Venetians
fortunate.

Peace be-
twene the
Earle and Ve-
netians, with-
out consent of
the Milanese.

The Oration
of the Mila-
nese to the
Earle.

passion,

passion, by profit, or feare, they might compasse the thing which they desired. But of cruell men, & couetous, being in their owne opinion mightie (those three means not preuailing) nothing is obtained: so as who soeuer doth trust by entreatie to make them pittifull, or by gitts to winne them, or by threatnings to feare them, deceiueth himselfe. We therefore now knowing (though all too late) thy crueltie, thy ambition, and thy pride, are come vnto thee, not requiring any thing, nor hoping (though we had such desire) to obtaine it, but to put thee in remembrance what benefites thou hast receiued of the *Milanesi*, and laie before thee, with what ingratitude thou doest requite them. To the end, that among so many iniuries by vs endured, wee may take this only pleasure, to reprove thee. Thou oughtst to remember wel, what thy state and condition was, after the death of Duke *Philippo*. Thou wert enemy to the Pope and the King. Thou wert abandoned by the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, who either iustly offended with thee, or hauing no more neede of thee, wert become as their enemy. Thou wert weary of the war which thou hadst made with the church; Thou hadst fewe men, fewe friends, litle money, and bereft of all hope to be able to hold thine owne cuntry, and thy auncient reputation: which should easily haue bene taken from thee, had not our simplicitie helped. For we onely receiued thee, perswaded with the reuerence we bare to the happie memorie of our Duke, vnto whom thou (being allied) didst make vs belieue, that his loue would haue continued in his heires. And sith to his benefites, we ioyned ours, that fauour and friendship ought to haue bene, not onely firme, but also inseparable. In respect whereof, to the auncient composition, we ioyned *Verona* & *Brescia*. What could we more giue thee or promise thee? And what couldst thou either of vs or any others, in those dayes either haue or desire more? Thou hast receiued of vs a pleasure vnlooked for, and we for recompence, haue receiued of thee, a displeasure not deserued. Neither hast thou deferred thus long to shew thy pride. For thou wert no sooner General of our Armie, but contrary to iustice thou didst receiue *Pavia*: which ought to haue warned vs, to what end thy friendship tended. Which iniurie we bare, supposing that victorie with the greatnesse thereof, would haue satisfied thy ambition. But (alasse) those who desire all, cannot with inough be contented. Thou didst promise that we should enioy all things after that time by thee wonne. For thou knewest well, that which thou gauest at many times, thou mightest resume at once: as it came to passe after the victorie of *Carranaggio*; which being begun with bloud & mony, was after followed with our destruction. O how vnhappy are those Cities which be constrained to defend their liberties: against the ambition of all those that wold oppresse them: but much more vnhappy be they that are inforced to imploy in their defence, mercinarie and disloyall souldiers, such as thou art. God graunt that this our example may be a warning to others hereafter: sith that of *Thebe* and *Philip of Macidon*, hath not warned vs. Who hauing wonne victorie of their enemies, became of their owne Captaine, first their enemy, and after their Prince. We may not therefore be blamed of other fault, then to haue trusted too much in thee, whom we ought not to haue trusted at all. For thy former life, & thy insatiablen mind, not contented with any honour or estate, might haue forewarned vs. Neither ought we to haue reposed any trust in thee, who had betraied the Lord of *Lucca*, fleeced the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, litle esteemed the Duke, nor regarded the King, and aboue all, with many iniuries offended God and his Church. Neither ought we euer to haue beleued, that so many Princes had lesse power of *Francesco Sforza*, then the *Milanesi*; or that he would keep his faith to vs, which to so many others he had broken. But this our small wisdom which we do blame in our selues, doth not excuse thy breach of faith, nor purge thee of those infamies, which our iust complaints shall disperse through-

out the world. Neither can it be, but that the pricke of thine owne conscience will persecute thee. For those Armes which were prepared by vs, to assault others, must now by thy meanes offend our selues: so as thou wilt iudge thy selfe worthe of that punishment which murderers haue deserued. If ambition hath blinded thee, all the world being witness of thy wickednesse, will force thee to open thine eyes. God also will cause thee to behold thy periuries, thy faith broken, & thy treasons. Which things so greatly displease him, that although hitherto, for some hidden good, hee hath not punished, yet will he neuer fauour men so impiously disposed. Do not therefore promise thy selfe a victorie certaine, sith the iust ire of God will impeach it, and we are determined with losse of libertie to lose our liues. Which if we be not able to defend, then haue we rather to submit our selues to anie other Prince then to thy selfe. For if our sinnes be such, as against our willes we must fall into thy hands, be assured, a dominion begunne with craft and infamie, shall either in thee or thy children, ende with dishonour and shame. The Earle notwithstanding he felt himselfe by the *Milanesi* many waies touched, yet shewed he no extraordinarie change, either by word or lecture: but answered hee was content to beare their chollor, and the great iniurie of their vnwise words. Whereunto he would answer particularly, if they were before a Iudge indifferent to determine the cōtrouersie. For it should appeare that he had not offended the *Milanesi*, but prouided that they should not iniurie him. And well he knew, after the victorie of *Carranaggio* what they had done: when instead of rewarding him with *Verona* or *Brescia*, they sought to make peace with the *Venetians*. To the end, that vpon him onely the displeasure should be laide: and they to enioy the profit of the victorie, with the honor of the peace, and all the commoditie reaped by the warre. So as they had no cause to complaine, though he had made that composition which they practised to bring to passe. Which resolution being deferred, they were as much to blame their owne ingratitude, as find fault with him: and whether this were true or not, that God (whom they had called to reuenge their iniuries) would by the end of the war shew whom he most fauoured, or which partie did fight with most iustice. The Embassadors being departed, the Earle prepared to assaile the *Milanesi*, and they made readie for defence. Then with the vertue of *Francesco* and *Giacopo Piccinino* (who for the auncient hatred the *Braccheschi* bare to the *Sforzeschi*, had bene to the *Milanesi* faithfull) they hoped to defend their libertie: at the least, till such time as they might disunite the *Venetians* and the Earle, who they thought would not be long his friends nor faithfull. On the other side, the Earle knowing thereof, supposed it was wisdom, to binde the *Venetians* by reward, which would holde sure, though the bond of friendship were too weake. And therefore in giuing order for the war, he was content that they should assault *Crema*, and hee with other forces would set vpon the rest of that cuntry. This composition laide before the *Venetians*, was the occasion that they continued so long in the Earles friendship, till he had surprized all the dominion of the *Milanesi*, and distressed the Towne so neare, as the dwellers therein could not make prouision of things necessarie. In so much, as despairing of all other aide, they sent Embassadors to *Venice*, desiring the *Senate* to haue compassion of their estate, and be pleased, (according to the custome of Common-weales) to fauour libertie, and disfauour a Tyrant. Who preuailing and become Lord of *Milan*, could not be by the *Venetians* easily brideled. For they beleued not, that he was content with the auncient conditions of the state, but aspired further. The *Venetians* not hauing yet the possession of *Crema* (which before they chaunged countenance, they determined to haue) answered publikely, that in respect of the contract made with the Earle, they might not helpe the *Milanesi*, yet priuately they entertained the Embassadors with hope,

The Earles
answere.Expostulation
of the Floren-
tines, to the
Senate of Ve-
nice.

The Venetians desirous to abandon the Earle.

that a composition was likely to be made, and then, they should assure their *Senato* to trust vnto them. The Earle with his men was already so near *Milan*, as they assaulted the suburbs, and the *Venetians* hauing taken *Crema*, thought good no longer to deferre the aiding of the *Milanesi* with whom they compounded. Among the first Articles, they promised by all meanes to defend their libertie. This new contract made, they commaunded that all their souldiers seruing vnder the Earle, should depart from him, and retire themselues to the *Venetians* Campe. They also signified vnto the Earle, the peace concluded with the *Milanesi*, to whom they had giuentwentie daies space to accept it. The Earle marvelled not at this resolution taken by the *Venetians*, because that long before he had foreseene it, and looked the same should euerie day come to passe. Yet could he not but be sorie, and feele the same offence, which the *Milanesi* did, when he abandoned them. For answering of the Embassadors sent from *Venice* to declare the League, he took the leisure of two daies. During which time, he determined to enterteine the *Venetians*, and not abandon the enterprise. And therefore publicly said, he would allow the peace, and sent Embassadors to *Venice*, with a large Commission to ratifie the same: yet secretly he commaunded them, not to conclude, but with delaies and cauillations, to deferre the conclusion. And to make the *Venetians* the rather beleeeue, that which hee spake, hee made truce with the *Milanesi* for one moneth: retyring his Campe farre from the Citie, and diuiding his forces into other places neare hand, which he had lately wonne. This practise was occasion of his victorie, for the *Venetians* trusting to the peace, were more slow in preparation to the warre, and the *Milanesi* seeing the truce made, the enemye farre off, and the *Venetians* their friends, beleeeued assuredly that the Earle would abandon the enterprise. Which determination, by two means hindred them. The first was, because they neglected to prepare for their own defence. The other, for that they laid the countrey open to the enemye. For the time then being fit to till the earth, they sowed great store of corne: by meane whereof, the Earle might the more easily famish them. To the Earle on the other side, all those thinges helped, which hindered the enemye: and besides the delaie gaue him commoditie to take breath, and prouide for aide. In all this warre of *Lombardy*, the *Florentines* were not discovered to be of any side, nor to haue fauoured the Earle, either when he defended the *Milanesi*, nor after. For the Earle hauing had no need, did not verie earnestly seeke it. Onely after the ouerthrow of *Carrarauggio*, by vertue of their Obligation in the League, they sent aide to the *Venetians*. But the Earle *Francesco* being alone, and wanting other refuge, was enforced instantly to praie aide of the *Florentines*, both of the state publicly, & of his friends priuately: chiefly of *Cosimo de Medici*, with whom he had euer bene in great familiaritie, and was by him in all his actions faithfully counselled, and liberally supplied. Neither did *Cosimo* in this so great a necessitie forsake him: for as a priuate man he bountifully releued him, and to follow the enterprise encouraged him. Hee also entreated the Citie publicly to assist him where need required. At that time liued in *Florence*, *Neri* the sonne of *Gino Capponi*, a Citizen of great power, who thought it not good for the Citie, that the Earle should possesse *Milan*, supposing it more profitable for *Italy*, that hee should ratifie the peace, then prosecute the warre. First he doubted least the *Milanesi* for the displeasure they bare to the Earle, would yeeld wholly to the *Venetians*, which would be the ruine of euerie man. Then he iudged if the Earle should happen to surprize *Milan*, that so great forces and countries ioyned together, were to be feared. And if he were insupportable, being an Earle, aspired to the title of Duke, no man should endure his pride. Wherefore, he thought better both for the Common-weale of *Florence*, and all *Italy*, that the Earle should continue with his reputation in Armes,

Cosimo de Medici, friend to the Earle *Francesco*.

Neri Capponi against the Earle.

and

and *Lombardy* to be diuided into two common-weales, which would neuer ioyne in the offence of an other, and one of them alone, could not offend: and for bringing this to passe, he saw no better meane, then not to aide the Earle, and maintain the old league with the *Venetians*. These reasons were not of the friends of *Cosimo* accepted: because they thought that *Neri* did make them, not because he thought them good for the common-weale, but for that he would not, that the Earle being friend to *Cosimo*, should aspire to be Duke. Fearing least by that means, *Cosimo* should become ouer mighty: & *Cosimo* contrariwise proued, that aiding of the Earle, was both for *Italy* & that common-weale most profitable. And that it was no wise conceit, to thinke that the *Milanesi* could continue free, because the qualitie of their citie, their maner of life, & the factions inueterated there, were contrary to the forme of all ciuil government: so as, it behoued that the Earle should become Duke, or els the *Venetians* would possesse it. And in that choyse, there was no man so witleffe, that knew not whether it were better to haue at hand a mightie neighbour, or a more mightie enemye. Neither could he thinke it to be doubted, that the *Milanesi* (for hauing warre with the Earle) would yeeld their obedience to the *Venetians*. For the Earle hauing a factiō in *Milan*, & not they, whēsoeuer they could not defend themselues as free, they would rather yeeld to the Earle, then to the *Venetians*. These diuersities of opinions held the citie doubtful what to determine. Neuerthelesse in the end was concluded: that Embassadors should be sent to the Earle to enterteine a peace, & if they found him strong or likely to haue the victory, then to conclude: or not, to vse cauillations & delaies. These Embassadors were at *Reggio*, before they vnderstood that the Earle was become Lord of *Milā*. For the Earle so soone as the time of truce was ended, enuironed the citie with souldiers, hoping within short space, in despite of the *Venetians*, to surprize it: because they were not able to succour it, sauing on that side towards *Adda*: which passage, might easily be impeached, and it was not feared, (the winter being come) that the *Venetians* would encamp there. Also the Earle hoped, before the winter should passe, to haue the victory, and the rather by the death of *Francesco Piccino*, who had only left *Giacopo* his brother to gouerne the *Milanesi*. The *Venetians* had sent an Embassador to *Milan*, to encourage those Citizens to stand to their own defence, promising them great and speedie supplie. During that winter, some light skirmishes happened betwixt the *Venetians* and the Earle. But so soone as the season suffered, the *Venetians* vnder the conduct of *Pandolfo Malatesta*, brought their Army to *Adda*: where they consulted, whether it was best to assault the Earle, and thereby trieth their fortune. *Pandolfo* their Capteine, thought not good to make that triall, in respect of the Earles vertue, and the sufficiency of his armie: but hoped it was possible without fighting more safely to oppresse him: because the Earle at that present, was with the lacke of corne greatly distressed. His aduise therefore was, that the campe should not dislodge, wherby the *Milanesi* might stil hope of ayd, and not by despair yeeld them to the Earle. This opiniō was by the *Venetians* allowed, as well in respect of securitie, as that they thought the *Milanesi*, being in so great necessitie, should be enforced to yeeld to their dominion, perswaded that they would neuer giue theselues to the Earle, by whō they had bin many waies iniured. In this meane space the *Milanesi* were broght almost into extreme misery, & in that citie (naturally abounding with poore people) many died of famin, wherat the inhabitants murmured and cōplained. The magistrats therby grew afraid, & carefully prouided that the people should not gather togither. For although the multitude doth not hastily dispose it self to mischief, yet whē it happē to be fully bēt, euery litle accidēt doth moue it. It happened that 2. men of mean cōditiō, were near to the new gate, talking of the calamities of the city, & their misery, deuising what means might be wrought for redres therof.

The Venetians aide the *Milanesi* against the Earle.

P

Others

Others drew vnto them, till they were a good number. Therby a brute was blowne through *Milan*, that the inhabitants neare to the new gate were already in Armes. Then all the multitude (which expected onely occasion) tooke Armes and created *Gasparo da Vicomercato* their Captain, & went to the place where the magistrates were assembled: whom they so terrified, that so many as could, did flee, the rest were slain. Among whom *Leonardo Veniero*, the *Venetian* Embassador was murthered: who had before that time reioyced at their miserie, and was thought to haue bene the occasion of the mischiefe and famine. Thus the multitude (as Lords of the Citie) among themselues consulted, what was to be done, to deliuer them from so manifold sorrowes, wherinto they were entred. And euery man thought good to yeeld the citie (sith the libertie could not be preserued) to some Prince that were able to defend it. Some said to the king *Alfonso*, some to the Duke of *Saouia*, & some to the French king. Of the Earle no mā made mentiō, so great was yet the offence of the people towards him. Notwithstanding seeing they could not resolue vpon any, *Gasparo Vicomercato* was the first that named the Earle: declaring at large, that if they would be discharged of the warre, there was no other way but to chuse him; because the people of *Milan* had necessitie of certain & present peace, & could not tarry long in hope of future relief. Moreouer he excused the actions of the Earle, accusing the *Venetians*, and all the other Princes of *Italy*, because they would not, some for ambition, & some for couetise, that *Milan* should continue free. And therefore being forced to depart with libertie, it was best to yeeld to such a one, as could & would defend it. So as by that seruitude, they might at the least gain peace without further losse, or war more dangerous. This speech was with great attentio hearkned vnto, & euery man with one voice consented that the Earle should be chosen, and *Gasparo* was made Embassador to call him: who by commandement of the people, went vnto the Earle to present him this pleasant & happie newes. The Earle willingly accepted the same & entered into *Milan* as Prince, the 26. of February, in the yere 1450. And was there with exceeding gladnes receiued, eue by those who not long before had hated & defamed him. The newes of this victory being brought to *Florence*, order was taken with the Embassadors sent frō thence (and were already vpon the way towards the Earle) that in stead of entreaty of peace with him as Earle, they shuld cōgratulate the victory as Duke. These Embassadors were by the Duke honorably receiued, & bountifully entertained. For he knew wel that against the power of the *Venetians*, he could not find in all *Italy*, more faithful nor more mighty friends, then the *Florentines*. Who hauing removed feare of the *Visconti*, thought they should be forced to fight with *Aragon* & *Venice*. Because the house of *Aragon* then Kings of *Naples*, was their enemy in respect of the friendship by them borne to the house of *France*: and the *Venetians* knew that the auncient feare of the *Visconti*, was fresh, and that carefully they had persecuted them; wherefore doubting the like persecution, sought their ruine. These matters were the occasion that the new Duke was easily induced to friend the *Florentines*, and that the *Venetians* and the King *Alfonso*, agreed to ioyne against their common enemy: binding themselues at one selfe time, to take armes; & that the King should assault the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians* set vpon the Duke. Who being new in the state, was not (as they thought) neither able with his owne forces to withstand them, nor with the aide of others could be defended. Yet because the league betwixt the *Florentines* and *Venetians* continued, and that the King after the warres of *Piombino* had made peace with them, they thought not good to breake that peace, till such time as they had some colour to make warre. Wherefore both the one & the other, sent Embassadors to *Florēce*, to signifie in the behalf of their Lords, that the league was made not to offend any man, but to defend their Countries.

And

And moreover the *Venetians* complained, that the *Florentines* had giuen passage to *Alisandro*, brother to the Duke of *Lunigiana*, whereby he with his forces passed into *Lombardy*: and that they were also the Authors and Councellours, to make the agreement betwixt the Duke and the Marquesse of *Mantoua*. All which things (they said) were preiudiciall to their state, and the friendship betwixt them. Wherefore friendly wished thē to remember, that who so offendeth an other wrongfully, doth giue occasion to him that is offended, iustly to seek reuenge: and he that breaketh the peace, must euer looke to find war. The answer of this Embassage was by the *Senate* committed to *Cosimo*: who in a long and wise Oration, laid before them all the benefits which his citie had bestowed vpon the *Venetian* common-weale. Declaring how great dominion they had wonne by means of the mony, the men, & counsel, of the *Florentines*. And assured them, that sith the *Florentines* did occasion the friendship, no cause of warre should euer proceed from them. For they hauing bene euer louers of peace, commended greatly the agreement betwixt them, so as for peace, and not for war the same were made. But he marvelled much of the *Venetian* complaints, & that of so small & vain matters, so great a common-weale would make account. But if they had bene worthie consideration, yet was it knowne to the world, that the *Florentine* country was free, and open to all men, and the Duke was such a one as to win friendship with *Mantoua*, had no need, either of counsel or fauour. Wherefore he doubted, that these complaints, had vnder them hidden, some secret poison not yet perceined. Which so being, euery man should easily vnderstand, that as the *Florentines* friendship did profit them, so their displeasure could hinder them. Thus for that time the matter was lightly passed ouer, & the Embassadors seemed to depart wel inough contented. Notwithstanding, the league being made, the maner of the *Venetians* and the Kings proceedings, did occasio the *Florentines* & the Duke, rather to looke for some new war, then hope of firme peace. Therefore the *Florentines* ioynd in league with the Duke, & in the mean while, the euil disposition of the *Venetians* was discovered: because they made league with the *Sanesi*, & banished all the *Florentines*, with euery other person subiect to the state of *Florēce*. Shortly after, the king *Alfonso* did the like, without any respect to the peace made the yere before, & without iust cause or coloured occasion. The *Venetians* laboured to gain the possession of *Bologna*, & for that purpose aided the banished men of that Citie, who with many others, found means in the night to enter the towne. They were no sooner within the walles, but themselues made an Alarum. Whereat *Santi Bentiuogli* suddenly start vp, and knowing that the Citie was surprized by Rebels: (although hee were by many friendes counselled, by fleeing to saue his life) yet would he in any wise shew his face to Fortune, take armes, and encourage others to do the like. He therefore with some others, made head & assaulted part of the Rebels, and brakethem, slaying many, and forcing the rest to flee the Citie. Whereuppon euery man iudged, that hee had made good proofe to be of the right race of *Bentiuogli*. These actions, brought vnto *Florence* a firme beliefe of the future warre. Therefore the *Florentines* resorting to their auncient orders, created the ten Magistrates for the war, entertained new Captaines, sent Embassadors to *Rome*, to *Naples*, to *Venice*, & to *Siena*, to procure aid of their friends, discouer suspects, gaine the good will of those that were neutrall, and founde the determination of enemies. Of the Pope they could get nothing but general words, of curtesie, and perswasion to peace. Of the King they vnderstood only his vaine excuses for discharging the *Florentines*, and offered to giue safe conduct to euery man that desired it. And albeit he went about by all meanes, to conceale the intention of the new warre, yet the Embassadors knewe well his euill meaning, and detected manie dealinges of his, to the disaduantage of their Common-weale.

P 2

With

Gasparo Vi-
comercato his
counsell.

The Earle
Francesco be-
come Duke of
Milan. 1450.

League be-
twixt King Al-
fonso and the
Venetians.

Embassadors
from Venice
to Florence.

The Embassa-
dor answered.

League be-
twene the
Florentines
and Duke.

Preparation
for warre in
Florence.

With the Duke they renewed the League, fortifying the same with sundrie Obligations: and by his meanes gained the good will of the *Genouesi*: cancelling all former quarrels. Notwithstanding that the *Venetians* had laboured manie wayes, to impeach that composition, and intreated the Emperour of *Constantinople* to banish from his countries all the *Florentine* Nation. So greatly they grew into hate by this war, and so great force had their desire of government, as without respect, they sought to oppresse those who were the cause of their greatnesse. Neuertheless by that Emperour they were not hearkened vnto. The Embassadours for the *Florentines*, were by the *Venetian* Senate forbidden to enter into their Countrey: alleaging that they being in league with the King, might not (without his priuie) giue them audience. The *Sanesi* entertained the Embassadours with courteous words, fearing to be surprized before the league could defende them: and therefore thought good not to stirre those Armes, which they were not able to resist. The *Venetians* and the King (as was then coniectured) would haue sent Embassadors to *Florence*, to iustifie the warre. But the Embassadour for the *Venetians*, would not enter into the *Florentines* dominion, and the Kings Embassador durst not alone execute that message. Whereby the Embassage was not performed. And the *Venetians* by meanes thereof, knew that they were litle esteemed of the *Florentines*, they (a few months past) esteemed not much. During the feare of these motiōs, whō the Emperour *Federigo* the third, came into *Italy* to be crowned, the thirtie day of Ianuary, in the yeare 1451. And entring into *Florence* with a thousand five hundred horses, was by that Cittie, most honourably receiued and entertained, till the sixt of February. At which time hee tooke his iourney from thence towards his Coronation at *Rome*, where he was solemnly Crowned and married to the Empresse, being comethither by sea. These ceremonies performed, the Emperour returned towards *Germany*, and came againe to *Florence* in the moneth of May: where he was vsed with the same honours he had there before receiued. Also in his returne, hauing bene pleased by the Marquesse of *Farrara*, for recompence the Emperour granted vnto him the Cities of *Modina* & *Reggio*. During all these doings, the *Florentines* omitted not their preparation for the war, giuing themselues reputation, and the enemy terror. They and the Duke ioyned league with the French King, for defence of all their countries in generall. Which league with great magnificence and reioycing, they published throughout all *Italy*. By this time was come the yere 1452. when in May, the *Venetians* thought good no longer to deferre the warre against the Duke. Wherefore with sixteene thousand horse, and sixe thousand footemen, they assaulted him towards *Lodi*: and at the same time the Marquesse of *Monferato*, either prouoked by his owne ambition, or by the *Venetians* request, assaulted him on the other side, towards *Alessandria*. The Duke on the contrary part, had assembled eightheene thousand horse, and three thousand footemen. And hauing furnished *Alessandria* and *Lodi*, he likewise fortified all those places which the enemy might offend. Thē with his souldiers he assaulted the country of *Brescia*, where he greatly endamaged the *Venetians*, spoiling that country, & sacking those townes which were not strong. But the Marquesse of *Monferato* being broken by the Dukes forces at *Alessandria*, the Duke might with the more strength encounter the *Venetians*, & assault their country. Thus the war of *Lombardy* proceeding, & therein sundry accidents (not worthe memorie) hapning: it came to passe, that the like war begun in *Toscana* betwixt the King *Alfonso*, & the *Florentines*: which was performed with no more vertue, nor more peril, thē that of *Lombardy*. *Ferrado* the bastard son of *Alfonso*, came into *Italy*, with 12000. souldiers, conducted by *Federigo* Lord of *Vrbino*. Their first enterprife was to assault *Foiano* in the vale of *Chiana*: for hauing frendship of the *Sanesi*, they might that way

The Emperour Federigo in Florence.

The Duke of Milan assaulted.

Foiano assaulted by Ferrando.

way enter into the territorie of *Florence*. That Castle was weakly walled, and of small receipt, therefore with no great number defended, yet those few in the Castle were accounted at that time valiant and loyall souldiers. The number sent by the *Senate* to guard that Castle, were 200. This Castle in that sort prepared, was by *Ferrando* besieged: and the vertue of those within so great, and so litle the value of them without, that till the end of 36. dayes it was not wonne. The protract of which time, gauethe Cittie commoditie to prouide to defend other places of more moment, to assemble their forces, & put them in readinesse. The enemy hauing takē this Castle, passed into *Chianti*, where they set vpon two small townes belonging to priuate men, & could not win them; but marched from thence, and besieged *Castellina*, a fortresse seated vpon the confines of *Chianti*, within ten myles of *Siena*; which place both by Art and Nature is exceeding weake: notwithstanding (so base was the courage of this Campe) as it could not conquere that Castle of no force at all. For after they had besieged it 44. dayes, they departed thence with shame. So small terror was in those armies, and so litle peril in those wars, as those townes which at this day are abandoned as impossible to be kept, at that time, as places impregnable, were defended. During that *Ferrando* remained with his Camp in *Chianti*, he made many roades into the *Florentines* country, spoiling that Prouince within sixe miles of the Cittie, to the great losse and terror of the *Florentine* subiects. Who hauing by that time prepared forces to the number of eight thousand, vnder the conduct of *Astore di Faenza*, and *Gismondo Malatesti*, held the enemy aloofe towards the Castle of *Colle*, fearing alwaies they should be forced to fight, and thought, that if they lost not that day, they could not lose the warre. Because the small Castles being lost, might be recouered by peace, and the great townes were assured, by reason the enemy was not able to assaile them. The King had also vpon the sea neare to *Pisa*, twentie saile of Gallies and Foyfts. And while *La Castellina* was assaulted, that Nauie battered the fortresse of *Vade*, which through the small diligence of the Captaine was taken. By meane whereof, the enemy afterwards molested the country thereabouts. Which molestation was easilie remoued of certaine souldiers, aduenturers, sent by the *Florentines*: who constrained the enemy not to retire far from the sea side. The Pope during these warres, intermedled not, but where he hoped to make peace betweene the parties. For he refrained the warres abroad, fearing greater troubles at home. In those dayes liued *Steffano Porcari*, a Citizen of *Rome*, both for birth and learning (but much more for courage and magnanimitie of minde) to be honoured. This *Steffano* (according to the custome of men, desirous of glorie) thought to do, or at the least to attempt some thing worthie memorie. Then imagining he could not take in hand any thing more worthe, then to deliuer his country from the subiection of the priests, & reduce it to the ancient libertie, resolved to enterprife that action, hoping thereby (if it were brought to passe) to be called a new founder and father of *Rome*. Those things which gaue him hope of happie successe, were the wicked conuersation of the Prelates, with the discontentment of the Barrons and people. But aboute all other, he was most encouraged with certaine verses written by the Poet *Francesco Petrarca*, in his song, which beginneth thus.

Spirto gentil, che quelle membra reggi: &c.

*Sopra il monte Tarpeo, Canzon Vedrai
Vn Cauallier, che Italia tutta honora
Pensoso Piu d'altrui, che di se stesso: &c.*

This *Steffano* was perswaded, that Poettes many times were inspired with the diuine spirite of prophesie: Whereof hee conceiued, that fortune would assu-

Some do suppose this Castle to be written, not vnto S. Porcari, but to Nicholò di Renzo, a gentleman Roman, by Petrarche, who therein seemeth to diuine, that in Rome should arise a Knight famous throughout all Italy.

redly happen vnto him, which *Petrarcha* had in his verses prophecied, and that himselfe was the man, that should be the executor of so glorious an enterprife: imagining that for eloquence, for learning, for fauour, and friends, there was no *Romane* to him comparable. This conceipt possessing him, he resolued to execute the same; yet could he not so secretly practise, but by words, by conuersation, and his manner of life, somewhat was discouered, and by that mean became suspected to the Pope: who (to remooue him from the commoditie of doing harme) confined him to *Bologna*, and commaunded the Gouvernor of that Citie euerie day to see him. Notwithstanding, *Steffano* for this first disgrace, dismaied not; but with the more endeour followed his enterprife: and by all secret & subtill meanes practised with his friends, going to *Rome*, and returning with such speed, as he might at times necessarie present himselfe to the Gouverneur. And so soone as hee had drawne a sufficient number of men to be of his minde, determined without further delaie to attempt the enterprife: giuing order to his friends in *Rome*, that at a time prefixed, they should prepare a solemne supper, where all the conspirators should meete, and euerie man bring with him his assured friends, and hee himselfe before the supper were ended, would be there also. All things were done according to appointment, and *Steffano* arriued at the feast. After supper, apparrelled himselfe in cloath of gold, and other ornaments, which gaue him Maiestie and reparation. In that sort, he came forth to the conspirators, embracing them, & perswading them with long speech to be resolute, and readie to performe so glorious an attempt. Then he deuised the order therof, appointing part of them, the next morning to surprize the Popes Pallace, & the rest to call the people to armes. The same night (as some say) through infidelitie of the conspirators, the matter was reuealed to the Pope. Others affirme, that it came to knowledge by those that sawe *Steffano* come into *Rome*. But howsoeuer it were, the same night after supper, the Pope caused *Steffano*, with the most part of his companions to be apprehended, and according to their merits put to death. Such was the end of this his enterprife. It may be, that some wil commend his intention, yet wil his iudgment of all men bereproued. Because this and such like enterprises, although they carry with them a shadow of glorie, yet in executiō they bring (almost euer) assured misaduenture. The war had now continued in *Toscana* almost one whole yeare, and the armies were returned to the field, in the yeare 1454. At which time, *Alisandro Sforza* was come to the *Florentines*, with supply of two thousand horse. Whereby the *Florentine* army was wel encreased, and the Kings Camp diminished. The *Florentines* thought good to recouer some things by them lost, & so with small labor gained the possession of certaine Townes. Afterwardes they incamped before *Foiano*, which through negligence of the Commissaries, was sacked: and the inhabitants being dispersed, wold not willingly return thither, til such time as by priuiledges & rewards they were allured. The fortresse of *Vada*, was also recouered: For the enemies seeing they could not defend it, did presently abandon & burn it. During the time that these things were done by the *Florentine* army, the Kings souldiers fearing to come neare their enemies, retired themselves towards *Siena*, many times spoiling the *Florentines* country, committing robberies, tumults, and exceeding great displeasures. Neuerthelesse that King omitted not to deuise some other way to assault the enemies, to cut off their forces, or by new troubles & assaults to keep them occupied. *Gherardo Gambacorti* was Lord in the vale of *Bagno*. He and his auncestors either by friendship or by obligation, had alwaies in times past, either as hired, or as recommended, serued the *Florentines*. With him the King *Alfonso* practised to haue that countrey, and offered in recompence therof, an other in the kingdome. This practise was discouered at *Florence*, yet to found the dispositiō of *Gherardo*, they sent an Embassador to remēber him

Steffano put
to death.

of

of the obligation of his ancestors, and his owne also, and therewith to persuaue him to continue his fidelitie towards that Commonweale. *Gherardo* seemed to meruaile much at this message, & with great othes protested, that neuer any disloiall thought had entred his minde; and that he would come vnto *Florence*, and make his owne person a pledge of his fidelitie: neuerthelesse, being at that present sick, he could not goe thither, but with the Embassador would needs send his sonne to remaine in *Florence* as an hostage. These words, & this demōstration brought the *Florentines* to beleue, that *Gherardo* had said troth, and his accuser being accounted a lier, was not regarded, nor the accusation any more thought vpon. Notwithstanding, *Gherardo* being still sollicitated by the King, at length consented to the practise. And hauing concluded the same, the King sent to the Vale of *Bagno* a Knight of *Ierusalem* called *Puccio*, and with him diuerse bands of souldiers, to take possession of the Castles and Townes belonging to *Gherardo*. But those people of *Bagno* being affectionate to the *Florentines*, verie vnwillinglie promised their obedience to the Kings Commissaries. *Puccio* hauing taken possession of all that state, wanted onely to possess himselfe of the fortresse of *Corzano*. When *Gherardo* deliuered this possession, there was present among many others, one called *Antonio Gualandi* of *Pisa*, a yong man verie valiant, and such a one, as was with the treason of *Gherardo* greatly discontented. He considering the scite of the fortresses, and finding by the countenance of those souldiers who guarded it, that they were likewise displeased. While *Gherardo* stood at the gate to let in the Kings souldiers, *Antonio* came betwixt him and the Castle, and with both his hands forcibly thrust him out: commaunding the Guard to shut the gates against so wicked a Traytor, and keepe the same to the vse of the *Florentines*. This rumor being heard in the Vale of *Bagno*, and other places neare vnto it, all the people tooke armes against the King, and followed the *Florentines* ensigne. This matter aduertised to *Florence*, the *Florentines* caused the sonne of *Gherardo* (remaining with them in hostage) to be put in prison: and sent souldiers to *Bagno* to defend the countrey for them, changing that gouernment from a principallitie into a *Vicariato*. But *Gherardo*, hauing thus betraied both his Lords and his owne sonne, with great difficultie fled, leauing his wife, his daughter, and his substance, at the discretion of the enemy. This accident stood the *Florentines* greatly in stead: For if the King had possessed that Countrey, he might with small charge, and easily haue gotten the Vale of *Teueri*, and spoiled *Casentino*, whereby he should haue so much troubled the state, that the *Florentines* could not haue bene able to encounter the forces of *Arragon* which remained at *Siena*. The *Florentines* besides their owne preparation in *Italy*, the rather to oppresse their enemies, had sent *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* Embassador to the French King, to perswade him to licence *Rinato de Angio*, to come in the aide of the Duke and them. By which meanes he should defend his friends, and afterwards being in *Italy*, attend the surprizing of the Kingdome: whereunto they offered him aide both of men and money. During the warres in *Lombardy* and in *Toscana* (as is before said) the Embassador concluded with King *Rinato* of *Angio*, that before the end of Iune, he should come into *Italy* with two thousand and foure hundred horse: and that at his arriuall in *Alessandria*, the League should giue him thirtie thousand Florins readie paiement: and euerie moneth after, during the warres, tenne thousand. The King then by vertue of this league, comming into *Italy*, was by the Duke of *Sauoia*, and the Marquesse of *Monferato* impeached: for they being friends to the *Venetians*, would not permit him to passe. Whereupon the King was perswaded by the Embassador of *Florence*, to returne to *Prouenza* with certaine of his army, and from thence to passe into *Italy* by sea. And on the other side, to perswade with the French King to procure so much fauour of that Duke, that the rest of his souldiers

The Vale of
Bagno reuol-
ted from the
Florentines.

Rinato de
Angio called
into Italy by
the Floren-
tines.

diers might comethrough *Sauoia*. According to this counsell the matter was handled, and the King *Rinato* went by Sea into *Italy*, conueying the rest of his Army through *Sauoia* by the French Kings mediation. The King *Rinato* was by the Duke *Francesco* most honorably receiued, and hauing ioyned the *Italian* forces with the Kings, they assaulted the *Venetians* with so great furie, that within short space they recovered all those Townes in *Cremonesi* which they had before lost: and not so content, they surprized almost all the countrey of *Brescia*. The *Venetian* army fearing to tarry in the field, retired to the walles of *Brescia*. But the winter being come, the Duke thought good to withdraw his souldiers to their lodgings, appointing for the Kings aboad, the Cittie of *Piacenza*, where he remained all that winter, in the yeare 1453. without any other action performed. So soone as the time of yeare serued, and that the Duke was going to the field, in hope to dispossesse the *Venetians*, of the rest of their Countries vpon the firme land, the King *Rinato* signified vnto him, that of necessitie he was to returne into *Fraunce*. This intention of the Kings, seemed to the Duke not onely strange, but also vnlooked for, and therefore greatly offended him: and albeit he went in person presently to dissuade him, yet neither his intreatie nor promises could take effect; but onely promised to leaue behinde him part of his forces, and to send his sonne *Giouanni* to supplie his place in seruice of the League. This resolution grieved not the *Florentines*, for they hauing recovered their Castles, feared not the King any longer. And on the other side, they desired that the Duke should not recouer more, then the townes in *Lombrdy* to him belonging. The King *Rinato* being gone, sent according to promise his sonne into *Italy*, who stayed not in *Lombardy*, but went presently vnto *Florence*, where he was very honorably receiued. The matter thus handled by the King, did occasion the Duke to be content with peace, and the *Venetians*, *Alfonso*, and the *Florentines*, being likewise wearied, desired the same. The Pope also by all meanes laboured to bring it to passe, because the same yeare *Mahumetto* the great Turk had taken *Constantinople*, and made himselfe Lord of all *Greece*: which victorie terrified greatly all Christians, but chiefly the *Venetians* and the Pope, who thought *Italy* was thereby in great danger. The Pope therefore desired the Potentates of *Italy* to send Embassadors vnto him, with authoritie to establish an vniuersall peace; which commission was performed: and notwithstanding that altogether they ioyned, and seemed all to allow of the motion, they found neuertheless therein great difficultie. The King required that the *Florentines* should pay his charges in the warre past, and the *Florentines* would be paid themselues. The *Venetians* demaunded *Cremona* of the Duke, and the Duke asked of them *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, and *Crema*; so that these difficulties seemed impossible to be remoued: notwithstanding, that which at *Rome* seemed hard to be concluded, at *Milan* and *Venice* prooued easie. For when at *Rome* the peace vniuersall was practised, the Duke and the *Venetians* betwixt themselues made an agreement on the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1451. By vertue whereof, euery of them should repossesse those townes which were theirs before the warre. And it was graunted to the Duke, that he might recouer his townes taken from him by the Lords of *Monferato* and *Sauoia*. And to the other Princes of *Italy*, one moneth was allowed to ratifie the same. The Pope, the *Florentines*, the *Sanesi*, and the lesser Potentates, within the time appointed, made their ratification. Moreouer, betwixt the *Florentines*, the Duke, and the *Venetians*, a peace was concluded for fifteene yeares. Onely the King *Alfonso* among all the *Italian* Princes seemed therewith discontented, because he thought it was contrary to his reputation to be named in the contract of peace, not as a principall, but as an adherent. For which consideration, he pawfed long, before he would lay downe his resolution. But being sollicitated by fundrie

Peace betweene the Venetians and the Duke.

solemne

solemne Embassages of other Princes, he was at length content (and chiefly by the Pope) to be perswaded, and with his sonne entred this league for thirtie yeares: confirming the same with alliances and crosse marriages betwixt the Duke and the King, their sonnes marrying on the others daughter. Notwithstanding, to the end that some seeds of the warre might remaine in *Italy*, he consented not to make the peace, before such time as those of the League would giue him leaue without their iniurie, to make warres vpon the *Genouesi*, *Gismondo*, *Malatesti*, and *Astor* Prince of *Faenza*. This conclusion made, *Ferrando* his sonne then being at *Sienna*, returned to the Kingdome, hauing sithence his arriual in *Toscana* not gained any dominion, but lost great numbers of souldiers. This vniuersall peace being concluded, it was onely feared, least King *Alfonso* for the displeasure he bare to the *Genouesi*, would disturbe the common quiet: but the matter came otherwise to passe, for the King did not openly moue any disturbance, but (as it hath alwaies happened by the ambition of mercinarie souldiers) the peace was by them interrupted. The *Venetians* had (as their manner is) the warres being ended, discharged their Generall *Giacopo Piccinino*, who taking vnto him certaine other Captaines (likewise discharged) went into *Romagna*, and from thence to the countrey of *Sienna*: where *Giacopo* staying, begun the warre, and surprized certaine Townes belonging to the *Sanesi*. At the beginning of these troubles in the yeare 1455. died Pope *Nicholo*, and to him succeeded *Calisto tertio*. This Pope, to repress the new warre, assembled all the forces he was able, making *Giouanni Ventimiglia* his Generall; who with certaine *Florentines*, and other souldiers sent from the Duke for that purpose, went against *Giacopo*, and fought with him neare vnto *Bolcena*: where notwithstanding that *Ventimiglia* was taken prisoner, yet *Giacopo* had the worst, and was forced to retire to *Castiglione della Pescaia*, and had he not bene by *Alfonso* relieved with money, he should then vtterly haue bene ouerthrowne; which reliefe, discovered that *Giacopo* had taken that enterprize in hand, with the priuitie and direction of that King. *Alfonso* finding himselfe discovered, to be reconciled to the other Princes consenting to the peace, (whose fauour by meanes of this weake warre he had almost lost) procured that *Giacopo* should restore to the *Sanesi* all the townes he had taken from them, and they to giue him twentie thousand Florins. And this agreement made, the King receiued *Giacopo* with his souldiers into the Kingdome. In those dayes, notwithstanding that the Pope intended to bridle *Giacopo Piccinino*, yet was he mindfull also of the defence of Christendome, likely to be oppressed by the Turks. For which purpose, he sent into all Christian Countries Embassadors and Preachers, to perswade with Princes and people, to arme themselues for the aide of Religion, and to giue money and personall seruice to this enterprize, against the common enemy. He caused also solempne processions to be made, declaring both publicly and priuately, that he himselfe would be among the first of the Christians that should assist that action, with counsell, money, and men. But the heate of this *Crociata* was cooled, with aduertisements that the Turke and his army being at *Belgrado* (a Castle of *Hungary* vpon the riuer of *Danubio*) was by the *Hungarians* hurt in his person, and his Camp broken, so that the Popes and Christians feare, conceiued by the losse of *Constantinople*, was thereby ceased, and the preparation they made for the warre proceeded coldly. In *Hungary* likewise by the death of *Giouanni Vainoda*, Captaine of that victorie, the warre was discontinued. But returning to the matters of *Italy*, I say, that in the yeare 1456. the tumults moued by *Giacopo Piccinino* were ended: so that euery man hauing laid aside armes, it seemed as though God had taken them in hand. For there happened in *Toscana* most tempestuous windes, such as neuer before had bene heard of, nor shall be, which wrought most meruailous and memorable

Troubles moued by *Giacopo Piccinino*, and supported by King *Alfonso*.

Pope *Calisto* perswadeth a generall war against the Turks.

A meruailous tempest in *Toscana*.

morable effects. Vpon the 24. of August, one houre before day, there arose from the Sea towards *Ancona* a great and darke clowd, crossing *Italy*, and entering the Sea towards *Pisa*, stretching two miles in compasse. This storme was furiously carried, (and whether by natural or supernaturall force) diuided into many parts, as it were fighting amongst themselues. And of those broken clowds, some were hoised vp towards heauen, some violently cast downe, and some with wonderfull speed were turned round; but alwaies before them came a winde, with lightnings and flashing of fire, so terrible, as cannot be expressed. Of these broken and confused clowds, and of those furious winds, and great flames, there grew so strange a noise, as moued the people to greater feare, then any Earthquake or thunder euer had done: in so much as euery man thought the world was ended, and that the earth, the water, and the heauen, should haue returned to the old *Chaos*. This fearefull storme, wherefoeuer it passed, wrought meruailous and wonderfull effects. But the most notable of all, happened about the Castle of *S. Cassiano*. This Castle is builded vpon the hill which parteth the Vales of *Pisa* and *Griene*, eight miles distant from *Florence*. Betwixt that said Castle, and the towne of *S. Andrea*, builded vpon the same hill, this furious tempest passed, not comming to *S. Andrea*, but at *S. Cassiano* threw downe certaine turrets and chimneys: and neare thereunto subuerted whole houses euen to the ground, and carried away whole roofes of the Churches of *S. Martino a Bagnolo*, and *S. Maria della pace*; bearing them from thence vnbroken, the space of more then one mile. One man also a Carrier, was taken vp, and in the valley next vnto the way, both he and his Moyles found dead. Moreover, all the greatest okes and strongest trees which would not bend at the furie of the tempest, were not onely broken, but also with violence borne farre from the place where they grew. Whereat, the next day, when the tempest was ceased, and men returned to those places, they were greatly astonied, for they found the Countrey desolate and spoiled, the houses and the temples ouerthrowne, the people lamenting and beholding their houses cast downe, and vnder them their goods, their cattle, and their parents slaine: Which thing, both in the beholders and hearers thereof, moued a maruellous compassion. By this meane, it pleased God rather to threaten, then punish *Toscana*. For if so great a tempest had fallen vpon any Citie full of houses and inhabitants, as it fell vpon these oakes, trees, and small houses, one farre from the other, without all doubt, the destruction would haue bene greater, then the mind of man could haue conceiued. But it pleased God, by that small example to reuiue in mens mindes, the memory of his power. But now to returne to our matter. The King *Alfonso* (as is before said) discontented with the peace, and seeing that the warre which he caused *Giacopo Piccinino* to make vpon the *Sanesi* without any reasonable occasion, had wrought no effect, he thought to moue an other with the allowance of the league. And in the yeare 1456. he assaulted the *Genouesi* both by sea and land, as desirous to giue that state to the *Adorni*, and deprive the *Fregosi* who then gouerned. Besides that, he caused *Giacopo Piccinino* to passe *Trento*, and assault *Gismondo Malatesti*, who hauing well manned his townes, regarded not much the assault of *Giacopo*, so as the enterprize of the King on this side tooke no effect at all. But that warre of *Genoua* occasioned more warre to him and his Kingdome, then himselfe looked for. At that time *Pietro Fregoso* was Duke of *Genoua*; he fearing himselfe to be of force vnable to withstand the Kings assault, determined to giue that to an other which himselfe could not hold: and yeeld it into the hands of such a one that would (at the least in that respect) defend him; so might he also hope in time to come, to be reacquired. Then sent he Embassadors to *Carlo* the seauenth, King of *France*, and offered him the dominion of *Genoua*. *Carlo* accepted this offer, and to take possession

The Genouesi assaulted by King Alfonso.

of that Citie, sent thither *Giouanni de Angio* sonne to King *Rinato*, who not long before was departed from *Florence*, and returned into *France*. For *Carlo* was perswaded, that *Giouanni* hauing bene before employed in *Italy*, knew how to gouerne that Citie better then any other: hoping also, that being there, he might deuise vpon the enterprize of *Naples*, of which Kingdome, *Alfonso* had dispossessed his father *Rinato*. Then went *Giouanni* to *Genoua*, and being there, was receiued as Prince. All the fortresses belonging to the Citie, with the whole government, were deliuered to his hand. This accident displeased *Alfonso*, thinking he had drawne his enemy ouer mightie: yet not dismayed therewith, couragiously followed his enterprize, and sayled on with his Nauie, till he came vnder *Villa Marina*, at *Ponto Fino*, where taken with a sodeine disease, he died. By death of this King, *Giouanni* and the *Genouesi* were deliuered of the warre, and *Ferrando* (who succeeded his father *Alfonso* in the Kingdome) grew suspitious, least an enemy of so great reputation in *Italy*, might happily win the fauour of many his Barons, whose fidelitie he doubted, and whose mindes he knew desirous of Innouation: for which respects, they might percase be perswaded to ioine with the French. He also instructed the Pope, whose ambitious mind (as he thought) aspired to take from him this new Kingdome. His onely trust was in the Duke of *Milan*, he being indeed no lesse carefull of the Kingdome, then was *Ferrando*: for he mistrusted, that if the French did preuaile, they would also labour to surprize his state, which they had some colour to claime, as to them appertaining. That Duke therefore, presently vpon the death of *Alfonso*, determined to giue that Kingdome vnto *Pietro Lodouico Borgia* his nephew. Also (to make that enterprize seeme more honest and acceptable to the rest of the *Italian* Princes) he published, that his intent was, to reduce that Kingdom vnder the Church of *Rome*: perswading the Duke in that respect, not to fauour *Ferrando*, offering him those townes which of auncient time he possessed in the Kingdome. But in the midst of these imaginations and new troubles, Pope *Calisto* died, and in his place was created *Pio secundo*, borne in *Siena*, and of the family of *Piccolhuomini*. This Pope minded onely to benefite the Christians, and honor the Church, setting aside all priuate passion, at the Duke of *Milans* request, crowned the King *Ferrando*: thinking he should better appease the warres by mainteining of him in possession, then by fauouring the French, to giue them the Kingdome; or if he should (as *Calisto* did) challenge it for himselfe. For this benefite, *Ferrando* gaue vnto *Antonio* the Popes nephew, the principallitie of *Malsi*: and married him vnto his owne base daughter. He restored also *Beneuento* and *Terracina* to the Church. Then all men supposing that the armes of *Italy* were laid downe, the Pope rooke order to moue the Christians to make warre vpon the Turks, as it was before deuised by Pope *Calisto*. At which time, there rose great dissention betwixt the *Fregosi* and *Giouanni de Angio* Lord of *Genoua*: which dissention, reuiued a warre of more importance, then was the other already passed. At that time, *Pietrino Fregoso* happened to be at a Castle of his in *Riuiera*. He not holding himselfe according to his merits rewarded, by *Giouanni de Angio*, (who by help of him and others of his house was made Prince) became open enemy to *Giouanni*. This discord pleased *Ferrando*, as that, which might onely be the meanes of his good speed. Then sent he men and money to *Pietrino*, hoping by his aide to driue *Giouanni* from that state. Which he knowing, sent into *France* to encounter *Pietrino*. There finding much fauour, he receiued a great supply, and went against *Pietrino*, who was become strong also: so as *Giouanni* retired into the Citie, where also in the night *Pietrino* entred, and possessed some places thereof: but the next morning was by the souldiers of *Giouanni* assaulted and slaine, and all his men likewise either slaine or taken. This victorie encouraged

Genoua in the possession of the French King.

The death of King Alfonso.

The death of Pope Calisto

The Genouesi revolted from the french.

Giouanni

The king-
dome of
Naples af-
faulted by
Giouanni
de Angio.

King Ferran-
do defeated.

Giouanni
de Angio
vanquished
in battell.

Giouanni to set vpon the Kingdome: and in October 1459. with a mightie nauie he departed from *Genoua*. And landing at *Baiu*, marched from thence to *Sessa*, where he was by the Duke of that countrey receiued. Then came vnto *Giouanni* the Prince of *Tarranto*, the Citizens of *Aquila*, with many other townes and Princes, in so much as that Kingdome was almost ruined. *Ferrando* seeing that, desired aide of the Pope and the Duke. Also to haue the fewer foes, made peace with *Gismondo Malatesti*, wherewith *Giacopo Piccinino* (being naturall enemy to *Gismondo*) became so much displeased, as he discharged himselfe from the seruice of *Ferrando*, and ioyned with *Giouanni*. *Ferrando* also sent money to enterteine *Federigo* Lord of *Vrbino*, and within short space he assembled (according vnto that time) a great army. Then marched he to the riuer of *Sarni*, where he found the enemy, and fought with him: in which conflict, the forces of King *Ferrando* were ouerthrowne, and many of his principall Captaines taken. But notwithstanding this ouerthrow, the Cittie of *Naples*, with a fewe other townes, and some Princes, continued faithfull to *Ferrando*, though all the rest of the Realme, and Nobilitie, yeelded their obedience to *Giouanni*. *Giacopo Piccinino* perswaded *Giouanni* to follow the victorie, and presently to marche to *Naples*, thereby to possesse himselfe of the chiefe Cittie of the Kingdome; which *Giouanni* refused to do, saying he would first spoile all the countrey, and then it would be more easie to surprize the Cittie, which was the cause, he failed to performe that enterprife: for he knew not, that the parts do more willingly follow the head, then the head doth follow them. After this ouerthrow, the King *Ferrando* being fled into *Naples*, thither resorted vnto him diuerse of his subiects, who were driuen from their countreys: then by all curteous meanes he leuied men and money to make a new Camp, sending againe for aide to the Pope and Duke. From the one and the other of whome he was aided more speedily and abundantly then before time he had bene, bicause they greatly feared, he should otherwise lose his Kingdome. King *Ferrando* in this sort growne strong, marched out of *Naples*, and hauing gotten some reputation, recovered also part of his lost townes. During these warres in the Kingdome, a chance happened, that vtterly depriued *Giouanni de Angio* of reputation and meane to haue victorie in that enterprife. The *Genouesi* being wearie of the French insolent and couetous gouernment, tooke armes against the Kings Gouvernour there, and forced him to flee to the little Castle of *Genoua*. The *Fregosi* and the *Adorni* were content to ioyn in that action, and by the Duke of *Milan* they became furnished of money and men, both for the winning, and keeping the Cittie. So that the King *Rinato* with his nauie came to the succour of his sonne, and hoping to recouer *Genoua*, by meane of the small Castle, in landing his souldiers, was ouerthrowne; and forced with shame to returne vnto *Prouenza*. These newes being carried to the Kingdome of *Naples*, greatly dismaied *Giouanni de Angio*: notwithstanding, he still followed his enterprife, and continued the warre, being serued by those Barons who were rebelled, and could not looke for fauour of *Ferrando*. In the end, after many accidents, those two royall armies ioyned battell, wherein, neare vnto the Cittie of *Troia*, *Giouanni* was vanquished, the yeare 1463. This ouerthrow did not so much hinder the successe of the King *Giouanni*, as did the reuolt of *Giacopo Piccinino*, who left him, and ioyned with King *Ferrando*: whereby being spoiled of his forces, he retired into *Histria*, and from thence to *Fraunce*. This warre continued foure yeares, and was in the end lost by his owne negligence, for it was many times in good way of victorie by the vertue of his souldiers. Therein the *Florentines* intermedled not apparantly, yet were they desired by Embassadors of the King *Giouanni of Arragon* (newly come to that Kingdome by the death of *Alfonso*) to asist the enterprife of *Ferrando* his nephew, as they had bound

bound themselves by the league lately made with *Alfonso* his father. To whome by the *Florentines* it was answered, that they were not by any obligation bound to aide the sonne in that warre, which was begun by the father: for as the same had bene without their counsell or knowledge taken in hand, so without their asistance it should be performed and ended. The Embassadors being thus to the request of their King answered, protested the execution of their band, and the Kings preiudice, so in great displeasure with that Cittie, departed. The *Florentines* during these warres, continued in peace abroad, but within they rested not, as in the next Booke shall be particulerly declared.

The ende of the sixt Booke.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE.



O those that haue read the former Booke, it may seeme in writing of *Florence*, and the proceedings of the *Florentines*, we haue ouer-much spoken of such accidents as hapned in *Lombardy* and the Kingdome. Neuertheless, as heretofore I haue, so am I hereafter to continue with the like discourses. For albeit I did not promise to write of matters concerning *Italy*, yet haue I thought good to speake of those, that were in that countrey most notable. For if I should not make mention of them, our historie would be with more difficultie vnderstood, and to the Readers lesse pleasing. Chiefely, bicause the actions of other people and Princes of *Italy*, did occasion the warres, wherein the *Florentines* were forced to intermeddle, as of the warre of *Giouanni de Angio*, and King *Ferrando* great enimitie grew, which was after betwixt *Ferrando* and the *Florentines*, and particulerly with the house of *Medici* continued. For the King complained, that the *Florentines* did not onely leaue him in that warre vnaided, but also that his enemies were by them fauoured: which anger, was the occasion of exceeding many inconuenients, as shall be hereafter declared. And for as much as I haue written at large those matters which happened without the Cittie, till the yeare 1463. it behoueth me for the declaration of such troubles as happened in those daies within, to looke back many yeares passed. Yet first by way of discourse (as is my custome) I say, that whosoever doth thinke, that any Common-weale can continue vnited, he greatlie deceiueth himselfe. But true it is, that some diuisions be preiudiciall to Common-weales, and some others be profitable. Those be preiudiciall, which are with factions and followers accompanied. And those are profitable, which without factions and followers bee maintained. Seeing then, it is a thing impossible, for that man who frameth a Common-weale, to provide that no enimitie shall therein arise, he ought (at the least) foresee, that no factions