

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

Pope Eugenio  
laboureth a  
Pacification  
in Florence.

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

The words of  
Rinaldo at his  
banishment.

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

The ende of the fourth Booke.



## THE FIFTH BOOKE.



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

they be not vtrly ruined. These occasions, by vertue of the auncient *Toscans* and *Romanes* did make *Italy*, sometimes happie, and sometimes miserable. And albeit since that time, nothing hath bene builded vpon the *Romane* ruines comparable to the olde, (as might with great glorie haue bene vnder the gouernment of a vertuous Prince). Yet in some newe Citties so much vertue is growne vp (among the *Romane* spoyle) that although no one hath attained such power as to commaund the rest, yet became they so well ordered and lincked together, as they deliuered and defended themselves from the barbarous people. Of this number was the *Florentines* gouernment, (although of lesse Empire) yet in authoritie and power not inferiour to anie, but rather by inhabiting the middest of *Italy*, being rich and readie to offend, either happily they answered the warres made against them, or else gaue the victorie to those in whose fauoure they employed their forces. By the vertue of these principallities, although no times of quiet, and long peace were, yet were they not by terrour of warre much perillous. For we cannot account that peace, where one state oftentimes with Armes assaileth the other. Neither can that be called warre, where men be not slaine, Citties not sacked, nor principallities destroyed. For the warres of that time became so cold, as they were begonne without feare, continued without perill, and ended without losse. In so much, as that vertue which in other Countries was wont by long peace to be extinguished, was in *Italy* by their owne cowardice quenched, as will plainly appeare, by that we will hereafter declare from the 1434. till the 94. Whereby we may see, how at length a way was againe opened for the entrie of straungers, and *Italy* became to them subiect. And albeit the actions of our Princes both abroad and at home, are not (as those of auncient time were) to be read and maruelled at for their vertue and greatnesse: yet for some other quallities, to be with no lesse admiration considered, seeing so many Noble people, were by so fewe and euill trained souldiers kept in awe. And if in declaration of things happened in this badde world, we shall not set downe the courage of anie souldier, the vertue of anie Captaine, or the loue of anie Cittizen towards his Countrey: yet shall you finde, what cunning and Art, the Princes, the Souldiers, and chiefe Gouernours in Common weales (to maintaine the reputation they did not deserue) haue vsed: which percase will prouue not lesse worthie, and profitable to be knowne, then those of most auncient time. For as those do stirre vp Noble mindes to follow them: So these, to eschue their lewdnesse and lacke of vertue, wil prouoke vs. In those dayes *Italy* was brought to such condition, by them that there commaunded: that whensoever through reconciliation of the Princes a peace was made; shortly after, (by such as had weapons in hand) it was againe disturbed. So that neither by the wartes ended, was gotten glorie, nor by the peace, quiet. The peace being concluded betweene the Duke of *Milan*, and those of the League, in the yeare 1433. the souldiers desiring still to exercise the warre, made an enterprise against the Church. There were at that time in *Italy*, two sorts of souldiers, the one trained vnder *Braccio*, the other vnder *Sforza*. Of these, the chiefe Captain was the Earle *Francesco* sonne of *Sforza*. Of the other, *Nicholo Piccinino*, and *Nicholo Fortibraccio* were the Leaders. To these two Sects, all the other Italian souldiers ioyned themselves. Yet were the followers of *Sforza* of most reputation, as well for the vertue of the Earle, as the promise to him made by the Duke, of *Bianca* his naturall daughter: which alliance, gained him exceeding estimation. Both these Sects of souldiers, after the peace of *Lombardy* (for diuerse occasions) assaulted the Pope *Eugenio*. *Nicholo Fortibraccio* was thereto moued by the old displeasure borne to the Church, by *Braccio*. And the Earle, by his own ambitio. In so much as *Nicholo* assaulted *Rome*: & the Earle possessed himselfe,

Two sorts of  
souldiers in  
*Italy*. 1433.

The Duke of  
*Milans* daughter  
offered to  
*Fran. Sforza*.

himselfe, of *La Marca*. The Romanes to eschue the warres, banished *Eugenio* from *Rome*, who (with perill and difficultie escaped) came vnto *Florence*. Where considering of the danger wherein he was, and seeing himselfe by those Princes abandoned, and that they refused to take armes in hand for him, by whose meane at their owne desire, they had bene lately disarmed, compounded with the Earle, and granted him the principalltie of *La Marca*: notwithstanding that hee had not onely before taken that countrey from him, but also vsed contempt in the letters which hee wrote to his Agents for the diuision of the land, writing thus; *Girifalco nostro Firmiano, Inuito Petro & Paulo*. Neither was he contented with the graunt of these townes, but hee would be also *Gonfaloniere* of the Church. All which was graunted: So much did Pope *Eugenio*, feare more a daungerous warre, then a dishonourable peace. Thus the Earle become friend to the Pope, did persecute *Nicholo Fortibraccio*, and between them in the territorie of the Church, in diuers moneths, many accidents happened, more to the preiudice of the Pope, and his subiects, then of them that made the war. In so much as by the Duke of *Milan*, his mediation, it was concluded, that the one, and the other of them, should remaine Princes in the Townes belonging to the Church. This warre quenched at *Rome*, was kindled in *Romagna* by *Babista Caneto*, who in *Bologna* had slaine certaine of the house of *Grifoni*, & driuen from thence the Popes Gouernour, with some other enemies. Then to hold that state by force, hee desired aide of *Philippo*. And the Pope to be reuenged of this iniurie, required helpe of the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. The one and the other of them were ayded. So that within short space, two great Armies were come into *Romagna*. The Generall for *Philippo*, was *Nicholo Piccinino*. The *Venetian* Forces, and the *Florentines*, were ledde by *Gatamelata*, and *Nicholo de Tolentino*. Neare vnto *Imola*, they ioyned battaile, wherein the *Venetians* and *Florentines* were ouerthrowne: and *Nicholo de Tolentino* sent prisoner vnto the Duke, where either by poyson, or his owne sorrow for the losse receiued, within fewe dayes hee died. The Duke after this victorie, either because hee was weake, or beleued that the league after this ouerthrow would stande quiet, followed no further his fortune; but gaue the Pope and his confederates time to vnite themselves anew: who elected for their Captaine the Earle *Francesco*; with determination to remoue *Nicholo Fortibraccio* from the Townes belonging to the Church; and by that meanes, and the wartes which in fauoure of the Pope they had begonne. The *Romanes* seeing the Pope strong in the field, sought his friendship, and receiued a Gouernour from him. *Nicholo Fortibraccio* among other townes, possessed *Tibali*, *Montifiasconi* the Cittie of *Castello* and *Ascesi*. Into this towne *Nicholo* (not being able to keepe the field) fled. There the Earle besieged him, and the siege continuing long (for *Nicholo* manfully defended himselfe) the Duke thought necessarie either to impeach the League of that victorie, or else after the same, to take order for the defence of his owne. He therefore, to remoue the Earle from the siege, commaunded *Nicholo Piccinino* to goe into *Toscana*, by the way of *Romagna*. Whereupon the League iudging it more necessarie to defend *Toscana*, then surprize *Ascesi*, gaue order to the Earle, not to suffer the passage of *Nicholo*, who was already readie with his Armie arrived at *Ferli*. The Earle on the other side marched with his souldiers, and came to *Sevena*, recommending vnto *Lione* his brother, the warre of *La Marca*, and his other lands, during the time that *Piccinino* should passe. And while *Piccinino* laboured to passe, and the Earle impeached him, *Nicholo Fortibraccio* assaulted *Lione*, with great honour tooke him, and spoyle his souldiers. Also following this victorie, he surprized many townes in *La Marca*. This proceeding greatly greeued the Earle, and supposing all his Countreies to be lost, hee left

The Pope assaulted by  
*Fran. Sforza*.

Warre betweene the  
Pope and the  
Duke of *Milan*.

*Fran. Sforza*,  
Generall of  
the League.

Peace be-  
tweene the  
League and  
the Duke.

New ordinan-  
ces in Floréce.

part of his armie to make warre vpon *Piccinino*: with the rest he marched towardes *Fortibraccio*, whom he assaulted and vanquished. In that ouerthrow, *Fortibraccio* remained a prisoner, and was so sore hurt, that thereof he died. This victorie restored vnto the Pope all those townes, which by *Fortibraccio* had bene taken from him, and brought the Duke of *Milan* to demaund peace, which by the mediation of *Nicholo de Este* Marquesse of *Ferrara*, was concluded. Whereby the townes surprized by the Duke in *Romagna*, were restored to the church: and the souldiers belonging to the Duke, returned to *Lombardy*. Also *Baptista de Carneto* (as it happeneth to all others, who by force or vertue of other men possesse any state) so soone as the Dukes souldiers were departed from *Romagna*, (his own power and vertue not being able to defend him in *Bologna*) fled away. Whither *Antonio Bentiuogli*, chiefe of the contrarie faction, presently returned. All these things chanced during the exile of *Cosimo*: after whose returne, these who had sought his reuocation, with diuerse other Citizens before iniured, thought without respect, to assure themselves of the gouernment. And the *Senate* which succeeded, in the moneths of Nouember and Decéber, not contented with that which their predecessours had done in fauour of their faction, prolonged & changed the time and places of those that were banished, and confined many others anew. Also diuerse Citizens were in that time hindered, not only by the humour of faction, but also in respect of their riches, their parentage, and priuate friendship. And if this proscription of bloud had bene continued, it would haue bin like vnto that of *Octauiano*, or *Silla*, being partly also imbrued in bloud. For *Antonio* sonne of *Barnardo Guadagni* was beheaded, and foure other Citizens (among whome was *Zanoby Belfrategli*, and *Cosimo Barbadori*. These two Citizens for hauing passed their confines, and remaining at *Venecia*, were by the *Venetians* (who esteemed more the loue of *Cosimo* then their own honor) sent home prisoners, & were most cruelly put to death. Which thing gate great reputation to the faction of *Cosimo*, and much terror to the enemy, that so mightie a Common weale refused not to sell their libertie to the *Florentines*. Which was thought to be done, not so much to gratifie *Cosimo*, as to exasperate the factions in *Florence*, & make, by meanes of bloud, the diuision of our citie the more dangerous: Because the *Venetians* found that there was nothing that so much hindred their greatnes, as the vnitie thereof. Thus the citie being acquite both of the enemies & persons suspected to the state, the gouernours studying to pleasure other people, & make their own part the stronger, restored the house of *Alberti* with all other Rebels. All the great Citizens (a few except) were brought into the order of the people, & the possessions of the rebels at small prices, among them sold. Moreouer with new lawes, and orders, they strengthened themselves, making new *Squittini*, taking out the names of their enemies, & putting in the names of their friends. Also being warned by the ruine of their enemies, and iudging that it sufficed not for the holding of the state, to haue the *Squittini* full of their friends: they also thought good, that the Magistrates of life and death, should be chosen of the chiefe of their faction. It was therefore required, that the makers of the new *Squittini*, together with the old *Senate*, should haue authoritie to create the new. They gaue vnto the Eight authoritie ouer life and death, and provided that those that were banished, should not (though their time were expired) return, vntesse of the *Senat* and the *Colleges* being in number 37. were thereunto consenting, or at the least, thirtie foure of them. To write vnto those that were confined, or receiue any letters from them, was forbidden. Also euery word, euery signe, & euery action that offended the Gouernours, was greetiously punished. And if in *Florence* remained any suspition, it was the Impositions lately imposed: & so hauing driue out their aduersaries, or brought the to great pouerry, assured themselves of the state. Also not to want forrein aid, but

preuent

preuent such as thereby determined to offend them, they did confederate, and make league with the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*. The state of *Florence* resting in these tearmes, *Giouanna* Queene of *Naples* dyed, making by her testament *Rinieri de Angio*, heyre of her Kingdome. At that time *Alfonso* King of *Aragon* happened to be in *Sicilia*, and hauing the friendship of many Barrons there, prepared himselfe to possesse that Kingdome. The *Napolitanes*, and many of the Lords fauoured *Rinieri*. The Pope on the other side, would neither that *Rinieri*, nor *Alfonso* might possesse it: but desired that himselfe should gouerne it, by a Deputy of his owne. Yet *Alfonso* being arriued in the Kingdome, was by the Duke of *Sessa* receiued, and there entertained some other Princes, hoping to surprize *Capoua* (which the Prince of *Tarranto* in the name of *Alfonso* possessed) and by that meane to constraîne the *Napolitanes* to yeeld to his will. For that purpose he sent his Nauie to assault *Gaietta*, which was holden for the *Neapolitanes*. The *Napolitanes* then prayed ayde of *Philippo*, who perswaded the *Genouesi* to take that enterprise in hand. They not onely to satisfie the Duke their Prince, but also to saue the merchandize they had in *Naples* and *Gaietta*, armed a mightie Nauie. *Alfonso* on the contrary side, vnderstanding thereof, encreased his forces, and went in person to encounter the *Genouesi*, with whom he fought neere vnto the Island of *Pontio*, and there his Nauie was vanquished, himselfe with diuerse other Princes taken and sent by the *Genouesi* to *Philippo*. This victorie dismayd all the Princes of *Italy*, because thereby they thought he might become owner of all. But he (so diuerse are the opinions of men) rooke a course, cleane contrary to expectation. This *Alfonso*, being a man verie wise, so soone as he could come to the speech of *Philippo*, tolde how greatly he deceiued himselfe to fauour *Rinieri*, and disfaouour him: because if *Rinieri* were King of *Naples*, he would labour with all his force to bring the Dukedome of *Milan* to the hands of the French King, by reason his ayde was at hand, his furniture of all things necessaric, and the way open for his reliefe. Neither could he looke for better then his owne ruine, if he made that state to become French. But the contrarie would follow, if himselfe might be Prince. For he not fearing any other enemy then the French, should be enforced to loue, honour and obey him, who had the onely power to open the way to his enemies. So that although the Kingdome should rest with *Alfonso*, yet the authoritie and power thereof would remaine in the hands of *Philippo*. Wherefore it would much more import him then himselfe, to consider the perill of the one, and the profit of the other, vnlesse he desired more to satisfie his fantasie, then assure the state. Because in doing the one, he should be Prince, and free, by the other (in the midst of two mightie enemies) either sure to lose the state vterly, liue alwayes in suspition, or, as a subiect, obey them. These words wrought so deepe in the Dukes mind, that (changing his intent) he deliuered *Alfonso*, honorably returned him to *Genoua*, and from thence to the Kingdome. There he imbarked againe, and being arriued at *Gaietta*, his deliuey was knowen, and that Countrey sodainly surprized by certaine Lords his followers. The *Genouesi* seeing, that without respect to them, the Duke had deliuered the King, and that he, whome they with their charge and perill had honoured, did not make them any partakers of the honor in the Kings enlargement, as of the iniurie to him done, and his ouerthrow, grew greatly offended. In the Cittie of *Genoua* (when it liueth in libertie) there is created one head, whome they call *Doge*, not to be a Prince absolute, nor to determine alone, but as chiefe to propound those matters, whereof the Magistrates and Councils should consult. Within that Towne be many noble Families, which are so mightie, that with difficultie, they yeeld to the authoritie of Magistrates. And of them the houses of *Fregosa* and *Adorna* be of greatest force.

From

Warre be-  
tweene Rinieri  
de Angio, and  
King Alfonso  
of Aragon.

King Alfonso  
taken by the  
Genouesi.

King Alfonso  
deliuered.

King Alfonso  
deliuered.  
Fregosi and  
Adorni.

From these, the diuisions of that Cittie, and the causes of ciuill disorders did proceed. For they many times contending for government, not onely ciuilly, but also by armes, it falleth out, that euer the one faction is afflicted, and the other governeth. It also happeneth many times, that those who are deposed from authoritie, do pray ayde of forreine armes, and yeeld that government to others, which they themselues could not enioy. Hereof it proceedeth, that those who gouerned in *Lombardy*, do for the most part commaund in *Genoua*, as it happened at such time as *Alfonso* was taken. Among the chiefe of the *Genouesi* that caused the Cittie to be giuen into the hands of *Philippo*, was *Francesco Spinola*, who not long after he had brought his countrey in bondage (as in like cases it euer happeneth) became suspected to the Duke. Wherewith he being discontent, voluntarily exiled himselfe to *Gaietta*, and there chanced to be, at such time as the fight by sea was performed against *Alfonso*. In which exploit he serued so valiantly, that he perswaded himselfe to haue deserued so well of the Duke, as in respect of his seruice, he might (at the least) liue in *Genoua* with securitie. Yet perceiuing the Duke to continue in his suspition, and fearing least he beleued, that a man who had not loued the liberty of his countrey, could not loue him, determined to try a new fortune, and at one instant both to deliuer his countrey, and win himselfe same with securitie; Being perswaded, that by no meanes he might recouer the good will of the Cittizens better, then to performe such an acte with his owne hand: So as, the same hand which had offended, and hurt his countrey, should also minister the medicine, and heale it. Then knowing the vniuersall hatred borne to the Duke by the deliuerie of the King, thought the time to serue well for the execution of his intent. Wherefore he imparted his mind to some, whome he knew of his owne opinion: Them he perswaded and prepared to followe him. The feast of S. Iohn Baptist being come, *Arismino* (the new Gouvernor sent by the Duke) entred into *Genoua*, accompanied with *Opicino* the old Gouvernor, and many other Cittizens. *Francesco Spinola* thought then good no longer to deferre the matter, but came out of his house with diuerse others, all armed, and priuite to his determination. So soone as hee came to the market place, where himselfe dwelled, he proclaymed the name of libertie. And it was a thing very maruellous to see, with how great speed the people and Cittizens to that name assembled: So as no man that loued the Duke either for his owne profit, or other occasion, had leisure to take armes, or thinke how to saue himselfe. *Arismino* with some other *Genouesi*, fled into the Castle which he kept for the Duke. *Opicino* presuming that (if he fled to the Pallace) hauing there two thousand Souldiers at his commaundement, he should either saue himselfe, or giue courage to his friends to defend him, went thitherwards, but before he came to the market place, was flaine, cut in pieces, and drawne through euery streete of the Cittie. The *Genouesi* hauing thus reduced the Cittie vnder their owne Magistrates and libertie, within few dayes also surprized the Castle, with the other places of strength possessed by the Duke, and so clearly cast off the yoke of *Philippo*. These matters thus handled, as at the beginning, the Princes of *Italy* was dismayd, fearing that the Duke should become ouermightie, so this gaue them hope (seeing what end they had) to be able to bridle him. And notwithstanding the league lately made, the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* made peace with the *Genouesi*: whereupon, *Rinaldo delli Albizi*, and other leaders of the *Florentines* banished, seeing things out of order, and the world changed, did hope to perswade the Duke to make open warre against the *Florentines*. For which purpose they went to *Milan*, and *Rinaldo* being come to the Dukes presence, spake as followeth. If we sometimes your enemies, do now confidently desire ayde of you for the recouerie of our countrey, neither you,

Francesco  
Spinola.

The libertie  
of Genoua  
recouered.

The Oration  
of Ri. de Al-  
bizi to the  
Duke of Mi-  
lan.

nor any other (that consider worldly matters, how they proceed, and how variable fortune is) ought to meruaile, albeit neither of our passed or present actions, nor of that we haue long since done either to you, or to our countrey, or that which now is in doing, we can render a good and reasonable excuse. There is no good man re-  
proueth another for defending his Countrey, in what sort soeuer the same is de-  
fended. Neither was it euer our meaning, to iniure you, but to defend our owne frō  
being iniured; which was sufficiētly proued in the greatest victories of our league.  
For so soone as we knew you inclined to a true peace, we were thereof more desi-  
rous, then you your selfe, so that we need not feare to obtaine any fauour at your  
hands. Neither can our Countrey find fault, although we now perswade you to  
take armes against it, whome with so great resolution we haue withstood. For that  
countrey deserueth to be loued of all men, which indifferētly loueth them; and not  
that countrey, which disdainig the greatest number, aduanceth a few. There is no  
man also that ought to condemne men, although for some causes they take armes a-  
gainst their countrey. For albeit the Cities be bodies mixed, yet haue they of bodies  
simple, some resemblance. And as in these, many infirmitie grow, which without  
fire & force cannot be cured: so in the other, many mischiefes arise, which a godly  
and good Citizen should offend to leaue vncured: notwithstanding that in the cure  
he doth (as it behoueth him) apply both fire & force. What sicknes in the bodie of  
a common-weale can be greater, then seruitude? And what medicine is more need-  
full then this in the cure of that disease? Those warres be only iust, which be neces-  
sarie, and those armes most mercifull, where other hope cannot be had, then by thē.  
I know not what necessitie is greater then ours, or what compasion can be more,  
then to deliuer a Countrey frō seruitude? Most certainly we know our cause is to  
be pittied and iust, which ought to be both by vs and you cōsidered. For your part,  
faile not to affoord this iustice, sith the *Florentines* haue not bene ashamed, after a  
peace with so great solemnitie concluded, to make league with the *Genouesi* your re-  
bels: so that though our cause moue you not to cōpasion, yet this dishonor offered  
vnto your selfe, ought to perswade you, and the rather that you see the enterprise  
easie. Let not exampls passed discourage you, hauing seen the power of that people,  
and their obstinate defence of themselues. Which two things, might yet reasonably  
be feared, were they of the same vertue, which in those daies they haue bene. But  
now you shall finde all contrarie. For what force can you looke for in any Cittie,  
which hath spoiled the greatest part of the riches, and industrie thereof. What reso-  
lution can be hoped of in a people, by so diuers and new quarrels disunited? Which  
disunion, is cause, that those riches there remaining in such sort as they were wont,  
be imploied, because mē do willingly spend their patrimony, whē they see the same  
for their owne glory, their owne honor, and their owne Countrey imploied; euer  
hoping to recouer that in peace, which the warre hath consumed: and not whē they  
see themselues both in war & peace oppressed; hauing in the one to suspect the in-  
iurie of enemies, and in the other, the insolencie of them that command. Also, the  
people are more harmed by couetousnes of our own Cittizens, then the spoile of our  
enemies, for of this some end may be hoped of, but of that none at all. In the warres  
passed, you made warre to the whole Citie, but now you are only to contend  
with a few. Then you came to take the state from many, and those good Cittizens,  
but now you are to assault a fewe, and those but base companions. Then you  
came to take the libertie from the Cittie, but now you come to restore it. It is not  
therefore like, that in so great a contrarietie of occasions, the effect that will fol-  
low shall be like. Yea, you are rather to hope of victorie certaine, which how  
greatlie it fortifieth your State, your selfe may easilie iudge, hauing thereby  
greatly

greatly bound *Toscan* to be your friend. And though at some other time, this victorie would be accounted ambitious & violent, yet vpon this occasion, is esteemed iust and reasonable. Omit not therefore the present opportunitie, and thinke that although your other enterprises against the Cittie, did with their difficultie breed your expences and infamie, yet this with great facilitie shall bring you forth exceeding profit, with most honourable report. There needed not many words to perswade the Duke to moue warre against the *Florentines*, because he was thereunto disposed by hate hereditarie, and blind ambition, which humors did leade and commaund him: and the rather, being spurred forward by new iniuries, and offence for the league made with the *Genouesi*. Notwithstanding, his former charges, with the fresh memory of perils, and losses passed, together with the vaine hope of the banished men, did discourage him. This Duke, so soone as he vnderstood the rebellion of *Genoua*, had sent *Nicholo Piccinino* with all his men of armes, and those footemen he could hire in his iourney, to recouer the Cittie, before the Citizens had settled their minds and planted a new gouernment, greatly trusting vnto the Castle of *Genoua* which was holden for him. And albeit that *Nicholo* had forced the *Genouesi* to flee vnto the mountaines, and taken from them the Vale of *Pozeneri*, where they fortified themselves, and also constrained them to retire within the walles of their Cittie: yet found he so great difficultie in going forward, by reason of the Citizens resolute defending themselves, that he was enforced to remoue from thence. Whereupon the Duke at the perswasion of the banished *Florentines*, commaunded that the Riuer on the East side should be assaulted, approching the confines of *Pisa*, and there make the greatest warre to *Genoua*, that possibly they could, supposing, that resolution would from time to time enforme, what courie were best to be followed. Then *Nicholo* assaulted and surprized *Serezana*, and after many displeasures done, to make the *Florentines* more suspitious, he came to *Lucca*, and caused a report to be made, that he intended a iourney to *Naples* in ayde of the King of *Aragon*. Pope *Eugenio* vpon these new accidents, went from *Florence* to *Bologna*, where he practised new composition betweene the Duke and the League, perswading the Duke, that if he would not consent to the peace, he should be enforced to deliuer the Earle *Francesco* his confederate, at that present remaying in his pay. But notwithstanding the Pope his great indeuour, all his designes prooued vayne, because the Duke, without possession of *Genoua*, would not consent, and the League would refuse, vnlesse *Genoua* continued free. Every man then despairing of peace, prepared for the warre. *Nicholo Piccinino* being come to *Lucca*, the *Florentines* mistrusted no new matter, but caused *Neri* of *Gino* to goe with their Souldiers to the countrey of *Pisa*, obtaining of the Pope, that the Earle *Francesco* should ioyne with him, and so with both their armies together, make head at *S. Gonda*. *Piccinino* arriued at *Lucca*, desired passage to march towards the Kingdome, and being denied, threatened to passe by force. These two armies, were in force and vertue of the Captaines equall, for which respect, neither of them prooued their fortune, being also hindered with the cold weather, for then the moneth of December was begun. In which respects many daies, without one offending the other, they staid. The first of them which marched, was *Nicholo Piccinino*, who was informed, that if he would in the night assault *Vico Pisano*, he might easily surprize it. *Nicholo* tooke the matter in hand, but not preuailing, spoiled and burned the countrey thereabouts, together with the Towne of *S. Giovanni alla Vena*. This enterprise, albeit for the most part thereof to no purpose, yet did the same encourage *Nicholo* to goe forwards, seeing the Earle and *Neri* moued not. Therefore he assaulted and possessed *Santa Maria in Castello*, and *Filetto*. Yet for all this, the *Florentine* forces remoued not: not because

Genoua reuolted from the Duke.

the Earle stood in feare, but because the warre (for the reuerence borne to the Pope, who intreated for peace) was not by the Magistrates in *Florence* determined. And that, which the *Florentines* by their owne wisdom were counsailed to do, was thought of the enemy to be done for feare. Which conceite gaue them courage, to take new enterprises in hand, so that they determined to besiege *Borgo*, and before it presented all their forces. This new assault, caused the *Florentines* to set aside all respects, and not only to rescue *Borgo*, but also to assault the countrey of *Lucca*. Then the Earle marching towards *Nicholo*, and fighting with him neere vnto *Borgo*, vanquished his forces, and leued the siege. The *Venetians* in the meane while, thinking that the Duke had broken the peace, sent *Gionan Francesco da Gonzaga* their Generall, into *Ghiriadada*, who spoiling greatly the Dukes countrey, constrained him to reuoke *Nicholo Piccinino* from the enterprise of *Toscana*. Which reuocation, together with the victorie had against *Nicholo*, gaue the *Florentines* courage to assault *Lucca*, with hope to possesse it; Wherein they had neither feare, nor respect at all, seeing the Duke, whome they onely feared, to be assailed by the *Venetians*: And that the *Lucchesi*, hauing receiued enemies at home, were content to be assaulted, in respect whereof they could not at all complaine. In the moneth of Aprill, the yeare 1437. the Earle marched with his army, but before the *Florentines* would assault others, desired to recouer their owne, and therefore recouered againe *Santa Maria in Castello*, with all other places surprized by *Piccinino*. That done, directed a course to the countrey of *Lucca*, assailing *Ca-Maggiore*. The inhabitants whereof, though faithfull to their Lord, yet because feare of the enemy neere at hand, had greater force in them, then the dutie toward their friend farre off, they yeelded themselves. And with like reputation was *Massa*, and *Serezana* surprized. Which things being done about the end of the moneth of May, the army returned towards *Lucca*, spoiling the Corne, burning the Villages, cutting the Vines and trees, driuing away the Cattle, and not fearing to performe euery outrage that souldiers were wont to do vnto their enemies. The *Lucchesi* on the other side, seeing themselves by the Duke abandoned, and despairing to defend their countrey, intrenched and fortified the Cittie by all meanes they possible could. And hauing men sufficient, hoped they might for a time defend the same, as in former assaults of the *Florentines* they had done. They only feared the mutable minds of the common people, least they being besieged, would grow wearie, esteeming more their owne priuate perill, then the libertie of others, and so enforce some dishonorable and dangerous composition. Wherefore to perswade them to take courage, and be resolute in defence of the Cittie, one of the most auncient and wisest Citizens assembled the people in the market place, and said vnto them as followeth. You ought alwaies to remember, that things done by necessitie, deserue neither commendation nor blame. If therefore you haue found fault with these warres which the *Florentines* do make vpon you, and that we haue gained in receiuing souldiers from the Duke, and suffered them to assault vs, you greatly iniure your selues. Also, the auncient enimitie of the *Florentines* towards you is well knowne: whereof, neither your iniuries, nor their owne feare, but our weakenesse, and their ambition, hath bene the cause; for that, the one giueth them hope to oppresse you, and the other encouragement to performe the oppresion. Do not beleue that any merit of yours can remoue that desire in them, neither any iniurie by you done, can more increase the desire they haue to offend you. Wherefore, as they do studie to take your libertie from you, so must you labour to defend the same. And, for those things which both they and we do to that end, euery man may be sorie, but no man can meruaile. Let vs then be sorie that we are assaulted, that our townes are besieged,

Lucca distressed.

The Oration of the Lucchesi to the other Citizens.

our houses burned, and our countrey spoiled. Notwithstanding, which of vs is so vnwise, as to meruaile thereat? For if we were able, we our selues would do the like, or worse to them. If they haue moued this warre by the coming of *Nicholo*, had he not come, they would haue done the like vpon some other occasion. If this mischiefe had bene deferred, the same perhaps would haue prooued greater, so that, this his coming, ought not so much to be blamed, as our euill fortune, and their ambitious nature. For lith we could not refuse to receiue the Dukes souldiers, they being come, could not refraine to make the warre. You know well, that without the aide of some mightie Prince, we could not be defended: neither was there any of power sufficient, nor more likely to defend vs both with fidelitie and force, then the Duke. Hee hath restored our libertie, and therefore reason would, hee should defend it. He hath bene also enemy to all those that were our auntient enemies. If then by not offending the *Florentines*, we had incurred the Dukes displeasure, we should thereby haue lost our friend, and made the enemy more mightie, and more apt to offend vs. So as it is much better to haue this warre with the Dukes loue, then peace with his displeasure. And we may hope well he will deliuer vs from those dangers, whereunto he hath drawne vs, so that we do not forsake him. You know with how great furie the *Florentines* haue diuerse times assailed vs, and with how great glorie we haue often defended our selues against them, euen when we had none other hope, but of God and time, the one and the other of them preserved vs. And therefore why should we now dispaire to defend our selues? At that time all *Italy* had abandoned vs, but now, the Duke is on our side, and we may also hope that the *Venetians* will not be hastie to offend vs, as men that desire not to increase the *Florentines* greatnes. Heretofore the *Florentines* haue bene more free, they had also more hope to be aided, of themselues, they were more mightie, and we in euery respect weaker then we now are. For at that time we defended a Tyrant, but now we defend our selues. Then the honour of our defence was an other mans, now it is our owne. At that time when they assaulted vs, they were vaited, but now they assaile vs disunited, all *Italy* being full of their Rebels. But if all these hopes were not, yet extreame necessitie ought to make vs resolute in our owne defence. Euery enemy ought to be by vs iustly feared, for euery of them do seeke their owne glorie and our destruction. But of all others, we ought most to abhorre the *Florentines*, because our obedience, our tribute, and the subiection of this Cittie do not suffice to content them, but they would also haue our bodies and wealth, to the end they might feed their crueltie with our bloud, and fill their couetous desire with our riches. Euery man therefore of what sort soeuer, ought to detest them. Be not therefore dismayed to behold the fields spoiled, the Villages burned, and the Townes sacked. Yet if this Cittie be saued, of necessitie they will be recouered; But if this Cittie be lost, without any our profit they should be saued: Because we continuing our libertie, the enemy shall with difficultie possesse them, but losing our libertie, in vaine we shall possesse them. Take your weapons therefore in hand, and when you fight, beleue that the renoune of your victorie shall be not onely the safetie of our common countrey, but also of your priuate houses and children. The last wordes of his speech were with so great comfort of the people receiued, that with one voyce they promised to dye, rather then yeeld or consent to any composition in preiudice of their libertie: and therefore prepared all things necessarie for defence of the Cittie. In the meane space, the *Florentine* army lost no time, but after much hurt done to the Countrey, by treatie tooke *Monte Carlo*, and after removed to *Vzano*, to the end that the *Lucchesi* enuironed on euery side, should looke for no rescue, and so by famine force that Cittie to yeeld. The Castle was verie strong,

strong, and fully manned, whereby the winning thereof, was not so easie as the others. The *Lucchesi* seeing their Cittie on euery side besieged, did (as reason would) resort to the Duke: To whom, by all manner of perswasions, both sweete and sowre, they recommended themselues. And in their speech, sometimes they made mention of their owne merits, and sometimes they laied before him the iniurie done by the *Florentines*, and what encouragement other his friends would take, if they were defended; or not, what feare might be conceiued thereby. But if they should lose their libertie and liues, he should thereby lose his friends and honour, together with the loue of all those, that would at euery daunger aduerture for him. These words were accompanied with teares, to the end, that if his owne obligation moued him not, yet the compasion of their miserie might persuade him. So that the Duke adding to his auntient hate towards the *Florentines* the new desert of the *Lucchesi*, and aboue all, desiring that the *Florentines* should not grow great by this victorie, resolved, to send mightie forces into *Toscana*, or else with much furie assault the *Venetians*, so as, the *Florentines* should be forced to leaue their enterprize and succour them. This resolution made, was speedely aduertised to *Florence*, that the Duke intended to send men into *Toscana*, which moued the *Florentines* to hope the lesse of victorie. And to the end the Duke might be holden occupied in *Lombardy*, they did sollicite the *Venetians* to set vpon him with all their forces. But they were greatly daunted with the departure of the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, who had abandoned them, and was ioyned with the Duke. And therefore being (as it were) disarmed, did answere, they were not only vnable to make themselues stronger, but also vnfit to continue the warre, vnlesse the Earle *Francesco* were sent vnto them, with condition that he should in person passe the Riuer *Po*. For they would not in any wise allow of the old Capitalations, whereby he stood bound not to passe the Riuer *Po*. And moreouer they alleaged, that without a Captaine they could not make warre, and of other then the Earle, they had no hope. Neither could they imploy him, vnlesse he were bound to make warre in all places. It seemed to the *Florentines* necessarie, that the warre should be made in *Lombardy* with great force: yet on the other side, if the Earle were removed from the siege of *Lucca*, that enterprize were to no purpose. And well they knewe this request made of the *Venetians*, was not so much of any neede they had of the Earle, as to hinder them of that victorie. Contrary to that allegation was alleaged, that the Earle was prepared to goe into *Lombardy*, whensoever they of the League should commaund him, yet would he not alter his bond, least thereby he might hinder himselfe in the marriage, promised by the Duke. Thus were the *Florentines* possessed with two contrarie passions, the desire to winne *Lucca*, and the feare of the Dukes warre. But (as for the most part it happeneth) feare preuailed, and they content that the Earle hauing wonne *Vzano*, should goe into *Lombardy*. One other difficultie also there was, which not being in the power of the *Florentines* to dispose, perplexed them more then the former. Which was, that the Earle would not passe the *Po*, and the *Venetians* otherwise would not enterteine him. So no meane being to accord them, but that the one must yeeld to the other, the *Florentines* perswaded the Earle to write a letter, and thereby promise the *Senate of Florence* to passe the Riuer, which he might do without dishonor, because that priuate promise should not be any breach of his publike obligation: and notwithstanding he might after make warre without passing the Riuer, yet thereof this commoditie would followe, that the warre being kindled, the *Venetians* should be forced to followe it, and so the humor which they feared, would be turned another way. But the *Venetians* on the other side affirmed,

The Lucchesi pray aide of the Duke.

Diffidence  
betweene the  
Venetians  
and the Earle  
Francesco.

The Veneti-  
ans and Flo-  
rentines of  
diuers opini-  
ons touching  
the pay of the  
Earle their  
Generall.

to binde him, and they were therewith satisfied. And if the Earle might still vnderstand to his Father in law, they would allow thereof: for it was neither profitable to himselfe, or them, without great necessitie to discouer him. By this meanes, the passage of the Earle into *Lombardy* was determined. Who hauing surprized *Vzano*, and made some Bulwarks about *Lucca*, to keepe the Citizens from issuing out, and recommending the warre to his Deputies, passed the Alps, and went vnto *Reggio*. Then the *Venetians* grew suspitious of his proceedings. And first of all to prooue his disposition, required him to passe the Riuer *Po*, and ioine with their other forces. Which the Earle vtterly denied, and many iniurious words passed betwixt him and *Andrea Mauroceno*, sent thither by the *Venetians*; the one of these accusing the other of much pride, and little fidelitie. The Earle affirming he was not bound to the seruice, and the other protesting that no payment should be made. So in the end, the Earle returned into *Toscana*, and *Mauroceno* to *Venice*. The Earle, was by the *Florentines* lodged in the countrey of *Pisa*, hoping to perswade him to renew the warre against the *Lucchesi*. But thereunto they found him not disposed. The Duke then vnderstanding, that for respect and reuerence borne to him, the Earle would not passe the Riuer, he hoped also that by this meanes he might faue the *Lucchesi*; And therefore prayed him to make peace betwixt the *Lucchesi* and the *Florentines*, and (if he would) to include him also: Giuing him hope, that hee should, whensoever he pleased, be married vnto his daughter. This alliaunce greatly moued the Earle, because thereby hee hoped, (the Duke not hauing any sonnes) to become owner of *Milan*. For which cause, he euer refused to proceed in the warres as the *Florentines* did require him, alleaging hee would not marche vnlesse the *Venetians* did performe their payment and promises. Neither was their paie sufficient: for he, being desirous to liue secure in his owne Countrey, it behoued him to haue other friends then the *Florentines*. Wherefore, if by the *Venetians* hee were abandoned, then should it behoue him to take heed vnto his owne doings, and (so seemed) a little to threaten an agreement with the Duke. These cauillations, and these subtilities, highlie offended the *Florentines*. For thereby they thought the enterprize of *Lucca* to be lost, and doubted also of their owne estate, if the Duke and the Earle should ioine together. Then to perswade the *Venetians* to performe the paie promised vnto the Earle, *Cosimo de Medici* went vnto *Venice*, hoping with his credit to perswade them. Being there arriued, he disputed of this matter at large with the *Senate*, and laide before them the state of *Italy*, and the daunger thereof. Declaring also, of how great forces and reputation in Armes the Duke was, concluding, that if the Duke did ioine with the Earle, the *Venetians* should be forced to retire to the Sea, and the *Florentines* be in perill of their libertie. Whereunto the *Venetians* answered, that they knewe their owne strength, and the *Italian* forces, and beleued they were able ynough to defend themselues. Affirming also, they were not wont to paie Souldiers that serued other men. Wherefore it behoued the *Florentines*, themselues should paie the Earle, sith by him they were serued: and that for the safe enioying their estate, it was more necessarie to keepe downe the Earles insolencie, then to paie him, because men had no boundes wherein to staie their ambition. Also, if hee were nowe paide without any seruice done, hee would shortly after make some other dishonest and more perillous request. They therefore thought necessarie to bridle his pride, and not suffer the same to increase till it were incorrigible. If then they, either for feare, or for any other intent would continue him a friend, it stood then vpon to paie him themselues. Thus *Cosimo* returned without other

other conclusion. The *Florentines* notwithstanding laboured, that the Earle should not fall from the League, and indeed very vnwilling he was to depart. Yet the desire he had to conclude his marriage, did hold him doubtfull, so that the least occasion (as after it came to passe) might lose him. The Earle had appointed his Townes in *La Marca* to be guarded by a Captaine called *Furlano*, one of his principall Leaders. Hee hauing bene long sollicited by the Duke, discharged himselfe of the Earles entertainement, and went vnto him: which was the cause, that the Earle, (setting aside all respects) for feare of himselfe, made peace with the Duke. And among other conditions it was agreed, that in the matters of *Romagna*, and *Toscana*, the Earle shoulde not intermeddle further. After this peace made, the Earle instantlie perswaded the *Florentines* to agree with the *Lucchesi*, and in a sort constraigned them. They therefore seeing none other remedie, yeelded to composition in the moneth of Aprill, 1438. In which agreement, the *Lucchesi* remayned in their libertie, and *Monte Carlo*, with some other Castles, continued in possession of the *Florentines*. Afterwards they lamented throughout all *Italy*, that the *Lucchesi* could not be brought vnder their government. And seldome it happeneth that any man hath bene so greatly greued with losing his owne, as the *Florentines* were, for not hauing gotten that which belonged to others. Although then the *Florentines* were occupied in so great an enterprize, yet were they not forgetfull of their neighbours, nor fayled to furnish their owne Cittie. At that time (as is before sayd) *Nicholo Fortibraccio* (who had married the daughter of the Earle of *Poppi*) was dead. The Earle at the death of *Nicholo*, had in his possession *Borgo A San Sepulcro*, with the fortresse of that Towne, which in the name of his sonne in lawe, during his life hee gouerned. After his death, as the dowrie of his daughter hee held the same, and refused to yeeld that Castle vnto the Pope, who claymed it, as lande belonging to the Church. In so much, as the Pope sente the Patriarke thither with Souldiers to recouer it. The Earle finding himselfe vnable to resist that force, offered the Towne to the *Florentines*, and they refused it. Yet so soone as the Pope returned to *Florence*, they travelled betwixt him, and the Earle, to make an agreement. Wherein, finding some difficultie, the Patriarke assaulted *Casentino*, and surprized *Prato Vecchio*, and *Ramena*, offering the same likewise to the *Florentines*. But they would not accept it, vnlesse the Pope did firste consent, that they might restore it to the Earle: Wherewith the Pope after much disputation, was contented. Yet so, that the *Florentines* should promise to perswade, that the Earle of *Poppi*, should restore vnto him *Borgo*. The Popes minde by this meanes satisfied, the *Florentines* thought good the Cathedrall Church of their Cittie called *Santa Reparata*, (being long before begun, and now come to such perfection, as diuine Ceremonies might therein be celebrate) to desire his holinesse, that personally he would consecrate the same. Whereunto the Pope willingly consented, and for more magnificence of the Cittie, the Temple, and the Pope, a Tarrace was made, from *Santa Maria Nouella*, where the Pope lay, vnto the Church which he should consecrate, the same being in bredth foure yards, and in height three, and of both sides it was couered with exceeding rich cloth. Vpon this Tarrace, only the Pope with his Court, and the Citizens especially appointed to attend him did go. All the rest of the Citizens and people stood in the streets, in their houses, and in the Temple, to behold the same. When all ceremonies belonging to so great a consecration, were finished, the Pope, in token of more loue, honored *Guiliamo de Auanzati* with Knight-hood, being at that present *Gonfaloniere de Iustitia*, and in al times accounted a noble & notable

The Earle  
Francesco a-  
bandoneih  
the Venetians  
and Floren-  
tines.

The Earle  
of Poppi.

notable Citizen, whereunto the *Senate*, to seeme no lesse desirous then the Pope of his aduancement, gaue vnto him the Captaineſhip of *Piſa* for one yeare. About this time, ſome difference grew betwixt the Churches of *Rome* and *Greece*, touching the diuine Seruice. And forasmuch as in the laſt Councell holden at *Baſile*, much had bene ſayd in that matter by the Prelates of the Weſt Church, it was determined by the Emperours, that great diligence ſhould be vſed to vnite them, and was concluded in the Councell of *Baſile*, that prooſe ſhould be made whether the *Gretian* Church might be brought to concurre with that of *Rome*. Albeit this reſolution was contrarie to the maieſtie of the *Gretian* Emperour, and the pride of hiſ Prelates to yeeld vnto the Biſhop of *Rome*, yet the Emperour being oppreſſed by the Turkes, and fearing that the *Gretians* could not be defended by themſelues, the rather alſo to liue in ſecuritie, and be ayded of others, determined to giue place. Then the Emperour accompanied with the Patriarke, the Prelates and Barons of *Greece*, according to the order taken by the Councell of *Baſile*, came vnto *Venice*. Which Cittie being infected with the plague, it was determined, that the matter ſhould be tried in the Cittie of *Florence*. After many dayes of diſputation, betwixt the Prelates of the *Romane* and *Gretian* Churches, the *Gretians* ſubmitted themſelues to the Biſhop of *Rome*. Then was the peace concluded betwixt the *Luccheſi* and the *Florentines*. And was alſo hoped, that the warres betwixt the Duke and the Earle (chiefely in *Lombardy* and *Toſcana*) might eaſily be pacified, becauſe that warre which was begunne in the Kingdome of *Naples*, betwixt *Rinato de Angio*, and *Alfonſo of Arragon*, ſhould of force take end by the ruine of thoſe two. And although the Pope was euill contented for the loſſe of many his Townes, and that therewithall, the great ambition of the Duke and the *Venetians* was apparant, yet euery man ſuppoſed, that the Pope for neceſſitie, and the others for wearineſſe, would lay downe their armes. But the matter came otherwiſe to paſſe, for neither the Duke, nor the *Venetians*, would be quiet. By reaſon whereof, it fell out that they tooke Armes anew, and made warre in the moſt places of *Lombardy* and *Toſcana*. The great minde of the Duke, could not endure that the *Venetians* ſhould poſſeſſe *Bergamo* and *Breſcia*: And the rather, ſeeing them prepared for the warres, and euery day moleſting and diſquieting his Countrey. He therefore thought, that if they might be abandoned by the *Florentines*, and the Earle, he ſhould not onely bridle them, but alſo recouer his owne. To compaſſe that conceipt, he intended to take *Romagna* from the Church, iudging that afterwards the Pope could not offend him. And the *Florentines*, ſeeing the fire at hand, either they would not ſtirre for feare, or if they did, they could not conueniently aſſault him. The Duke alſo knewe the diſpleaſure betwixt the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, for the matters of *Lucca*, and for that cauſe, ſuppoſed the *Florentines* were the leſſe willing to take Armes for them. As for the Earle *Franceſco*, he thought that the newe friendſhip, and hope of the marriage, ſhould ſuffice to hold him aſſured. Alſo, to flie all offence, and giue the leſſe occaſion to all others to take Armes, and chiefely, for that he was bound by the Capitulations with the Earle, not to aſſault *Romagna*, he cauſed *Nicholo Piccinino* (as thereto moued by his owne ambition) to take that enterpriſe in hand. At ſuch time as the recõciliation was cõcluded betwixt the Duke and the Earle, *Nicholo* remained in *Romagna*, and ſeemed much diſcontent with that new friendſhip made between the ſayd Duke and the Earle his perpetuall enemy. He therefore with his ſouldiers retired to *Camurata* (a place betwixt *Furli* and *Rauenna*) where he fortified himſelfe to remaine, till ſuch time as ſome other reſolution were taken. The fame of his anger being blowne about euery where,

*Nicholo*

The Gretian Church ſubmitteth to the Church of Rome.

New troubles in Lombardy and Toſcana.

*Nicholo* gaue the Pope to vnderſtand of his well deſeruing of the Duke, and with what ingratitude he was requited. He alſo alleaged, that the Duke through the helpe of principall Captaines, had wonne all the ſouldiers of *Italy* to be at his commaundement. Notwithſtanding, if his holineſſe were ſo pleaſed, he could procure, that of theſe two Captaines, the one ſhould prooue enemy to the Duke, and the other improfitable. For accompliſhment whereof, if money were prepared, and the warres continued, he would ſo aſſault the Earle, who had ſurprized the townes belonging to the Church, as he ſhould haue ynough to defend his owne, and not be able to follow the ambition of *Philippo*. The Pope gaue credit to theſe words, ſeeming to him reaſonable, and ſent vnto *Nicholo* five thouſand Duckets, with many faire promiſes, offering to giue lands to him, and his ſonnes. And although the Pope were diuerſe wayes aduertised of this deceit, yet he beleued well, and was not content to heare any thing to the contrarie. The Cittie of *Rauenna* was then gouerned for the Pope by *Oſtacio de Polenta*. *Nicholo* thinking good, not to deferre his enterpriſe (becauſe his ſonne had alreadie with the ignomie of the Pope ſacked *Spoletto*) determined to aſſault *Rauenna*: (either becauſe he iudged the enterpriſe eaſie, or that he had ſome ſecret intelligence with *Oſtacio*) within few dayes he tooke the Towne by composition, and ſhortly after *Bologna*, *Imola*, and *Furli*, were by him ſurprized. Alſo (as a thing more meruailous) of twentie Caſtles which were in thoſe countries holden for the Pope, there was not one that reſuſed to yeeld vnto *Nicholo*. Neither did it ſuffice him with this iniurie to offend the Pope, but he would alſo to theſe deeds mock and deride him in words: Writing vnto the Pope, that vpon iuſt cauſe his Townes were ſurprized, becauſe he had broken the friendſhip betwixt the Duke and him: and written letters to many places of *Italy*, ſignifying, that he (the Earle) had abandoned the Duke, and ioyned with the *Venetians*. *Nicholo* thus poſſeſſing *Romagna*, left the ſame in charge to his ſonne *Franceſco*, and himſelfe with the greater part of his army went into *Lombardy*. Where ioyning with the remaine of the Dukes forces, he aſſayed the Countrey of *Breſcia*, which in ſhort ſpace he tooke, and beſieged the Cittie. The Duke, who deſired that the *Venetians* ſhould be left for him as a pray, excuſed himſelfe to the Pope, to the *Florentines*, and to the Earle: declaring, that thoſe things which had bene done in *Romagna* by *Nicholo*, if they were contrarie to the Capitulations, they were likewiſe contrarie to his will. Moreouer, by ſecret meſſengers he gaue them to vnderſtand, that for his diſobediẽce (as occaſion and time ſhould ſuffer) he would finde meanes to haue him puniſhed. The *Florentines* and the Earle gaue no credit thereunto, but beleued (as in deede the truth was) that theſe warres were made to hold them occupied, till ſuch time as he might oppreſſe the *Venetians*: who, being full of pride, and beleuing they could by themſelues reſiſt the Dukes forces, did not vouchſafe to demaund aid of any man, but with *Gatamelata* their Captaine, made warre alone. The Earle *Franceſco* with the fauour of the *Florentines*, intended to haue gone to the aide of King *Rinato*, if the accidents of *Romagna* and *Lombardy* had not withholden him. And the *Florentines* would alſo willingly haue fauoured that enterpriſe, for the auncient friendſhip betweene them, and the houſe of *France*. But the one and the other of thoſe, being occupied in the warres neere at hand, refrained to attempt any enterpriſe further off. The *Florentines* then ſeeing *Romagna* ſurprized by the Dukes forces, and the *Venetians* aſſaulted (as thoſe that by the ruine of others did feare their owne) deſired the Earle to come into *Toſcana*, there to conſider what was to be done to encounter the forces of the Duke, which were greater then euer they had bene. Affirming, that if his inſolencie were not by ſome meanes bridled, euery man that gouerned any part of *Italy*,

The Popes countrey ſpoyled by Ni. Piccinino.

Gatamelata General for the Venetians.



should within short space be oppressed. The Earle knew well that the *Florentines* had reason to feare. Notwithstanding, the desire he had to proceed in the marriage with the Dukes daughter, did make him suspected. And the Duke knowing his desire, gaue him great hope thereof, if he would refuse to take armes against him. And because the Dukes daughter was alreadie marriageable, the matter was brought to this ripenesse, that allthings for the purpose were prepared. Notwithstanding, with diuerse cauillations, the marriage day was delayed, yet by words to hold the Earle in hope, some deeds were performed: and to that end thirtiethousand Florins (according to the Articles agreed vpon for the marriage) were sent vnto him, notwithstanding the warre of *Lombardy* increased, and the *Venetians* eueryday lost some Towne or other. Also, all the vessels for the warres, which they sent into the Riuer, were by the Dukes Souldiers taken. The Countries of *Verona*, and *Brescia*, were all spoiled: and both those Citties so straightly besieged, as in the common opinion, it was hard for them to be many dayes defended. The Marquesse of *Mantona*, who had bene many yeares Generall for that State, beyond all expectation had abandoned them, and was ioyned with the Duke, so as that which in the beginning of the warres their pride suffered not, afterwards feare inforced them to do. For knowing none other remedie but the friendship of the *Florentines*, and the Earle, they began to speake them faire, though shamefully; and with suspition, bicause they feared least the *Florentines* would make them the same answer, which they at the enterprise of *Lucca*, and in the Earles cause had receiued at their hands. Neuerthelesse, they found the *Florentines* more easily intreated, then either they hoped, or their deserts did merit. For greater was the *Florentines* hate to a friend become a foe, then the displeasure they bare to an old and auncient enemy. They hauing long before knowne the necessitie whereunto the *Venetians* would fall, declared to the Earle, that their ruine would be also his: and that hee deceiued himselfe, if hee beleued the Duke *Philippo* would esteeme him so much in his good, as his euill fortune. For the occasion why the Duke offered his daughter vnto him, was the feare wherein he stood: and sith things promised by necessitie, are neuer performed without necessitie, it behoued him still to hold the Duke distressed, which without the greatnesse of the *Venetians*, could not be done. Therefore, hee ought to thinke, that if the *Venetians* were forced to abandon their Countrey vpon the firme land, he should not onely want those commodities which he receiued by them, but also all others, which of other men for feare of them he might attaine vnto. And if hee considered well the other states of *Italy*, he should finde some of them poore, and some others his enemies. Neither were the *Florentines* alone (as hee had often sayd) of force sufficient to mainteine him. So as, on euery side it appeared, that for him it was necessarie, to mainteine the *Venetians* mightie vpon the land. These perswasions ioyned with the hate which the Earle had conceiued of the Duke, for being mocked in the marriage, caused him consent to the composition, yet would hee not at that time be bound to passe the Riuer of *Po*. These compositions were made in the moneth of February, the yeare 1438. Wherein, the *Venetians* did couenaunt to defraie two thirds, and the *Florentines* one third of the charge. And both of them together at their common charge, entred obligation to defend the lands which the Earle had woon in *La Marca*. Neither was this League contented with these forces, but vnto them they ioyned the Lord of *Faenza*, the sonnes of *Pandolfo Malatesta* of *Rimini*, and *Pietro Giampagolo Orsino*. And although with great promises they had perswaded the Marquesse of *Mantona*,

Perswasions  
of the Venetians and Florentines to the Earle not to abandon them.

yet

yet could they not remoue him from the friendship and paie of the Duke. Also the Lord of *Faenza*, after that the League was settled, finding a better bargaine, reuolted to the Duke, which deprived the League of hope, to be able to performe the enterprises entended in *Romagna*. In these dayes, *Lombardy* remained thus troubled, *Brescia* was besieged with the Dukes forces, so straightly as euery day was feared that for famine it should be forced to yeeld. And *Verona* became so inuironed with enemies, that it doubted the like end, and if any of thesetwo Citties were lost, euery man iudged all the other preparation for the wars would be to no effect, and the charges till that time made, vtterly lost. Neither was there found any other certaine remedie, then to procure, that the Earle *Francesco* might passe into *Lombardy*: Wherein were three difficulties, the one in perswading the Earle to passe the Riuer of *Po*, and make warre in all places. The second, that the *Florentines* seemed to be at the discretion of the Duke, if the Earle should goe from them. The third was, what way the Earle with his forces should take, to conuey himselfe into the country of *Padoa*, where the rest of the *Venetians* forces remained. Of these three difficulties, the second which appertained to the *Florentines*, was most to be doubted. Notwithstanding they knowing the necessitie, and being weary of the *Venetians*, who with all importunitie, desired the Earle, (saying that without him, they should be abandoned) they preferred the necessitie of others before the suspition of themselves. There remained also one other doubt, which way they should go, and how the same might be made assured by the *Venetians*. Moreouer, because the handling of this contract with the Earle, and the perswading him to passe the Riuer *Po*, was appointed to *Neri*, the sonne of *Gino Capponi*, the Senate thought good to send him expressly to *Venice*, to make that fauoure the more acceptable there, and to take order for the way, and safe passage of the Earle. Then was *Neri* dispatched from *Cesena*, and in a Boate conueyed to *Venice*: where, by the Senate hee was receiued with more honour, then euery Prince before that time had bene. For vpon his comming, and that which by him should be determined, they thought the welfare of their dominion depended. *Neri* then being brought to presence of the Senate, spake as followeth. Most Noble Prince, my Lords who haue sent mee, were hitherto euery of opinion, that the greatnesse of the Duke, would be the ruine both of this state and of their own Common-weale. So that, the well doing of these states, must be your greatnesse, and ours also. If this had bene by your Lordships beleued, we should be now in better condition, and your state assured from those perils, which presently do threaten it. But because that in time convenient, you haue neither giuen vs ayd, nor countenance, we could not readily procure remedie for your harmes, nor you, speedily demaund it: as men which both in aduersitie and prosperitie knew not how to behaue your selues; forgetting that we are of such disposition, as whom we once loue, we will loue euery; and whom we hate, we will hate euery. The good will which we haue euery borne to this most Noble Senate, your selues do know, and haue oftentimes seene, by the aide we haue giuen you both in mony and men. The displeasure which we haue borne to *Philippo*, is such, as we will alwaies beare towards his house, and so the world knoweth. Neither is it possible that auncient hatred, can be either by new desertes or new displeasures cancelled. We were and are assured, that in this war, we might with great honour haue stood indifferent to the Duke, and with no great daunger to our selues. For though he had bene by your ruine become Lord of *Lombardy*, yet had there remained so much force in *Italy*, as we need not to haue dispaired of our well doing, because he encreasing in state and power, the enmitie, & enuie towards him would haue also encreased. Of which two things, warre and displeasure be engendred. We knew also how great charges by eschuing this war, we should haue auoyded, how

The Oration  
of Neri Capponi, to the  
Senate of Venice.

eminent

eminent perils we should haue escaped: and how this warre, by our meanes might be removed from *Lombardy* into *Toscana*. Notwithstanding all these suspitions haue bene, by our auncient affection borne to your state, cancelled: and we haue determined to aide you, with the same readie good will, wherewith we will defend our own, if the same should be assaulted. Wherfore my Lords, iudging it before all other things most necessarie, to succour *Verona* and *Brescia*, and thinking also that without the Earle the same could not be, they haue sent me hither, first to perswade him to come into *Lombardy*, and make war in all places: he being heretofore (as you know) bound not to passe the Riuer of *Po*. Therefore I vied with him those reasons, wherewith we our selues be moued. And he, (as he seemeth) by Armes inuincible, wil not be ouercome with curtesie. And that liberallitie which he sawe vs vse towards you, he hath bene pleased to surpass the same. For knowing well in how great perils, after his departure, *Toscana* remained, and seeing that we haue more regarded your perill, then our owne well doing; is also content to preferre the same, before his owne. I am therefore now come here, to offer you the Earle with seuen thousand horse, and two thousand foote men; readie to assault the enemy in what place soeuer he may finde him. I beseech you then, (and my Lords also do intreate you) that as the number of his souldiers is greater then his obligation, wherby he bound himself to serue, so it may please you, that your liberallitie towards him may be likewise enlarged. To the end, that neither he shall repent his comming to your seruice, nor we be sorie to haue perswaded him thereunto. This speech pronounced by *Neri*, was with no lesse attention heard of the *Senate*, then if from the mouth of some Oracle, the same had proceeded. For by his words all the audience was so moued, that they would not suffer the Prince (as is the custome) to make any answer: But euerie man stood vp, and many of them weeping for ioy, held vp their hands, thanking the *Florentines* for so friendly an offer, and him, for hauing with so great diligence and speede performed the same. Promising moreouer, neuer to forget that fauoure, nor that any time, either in themselves or in their posterie, should cancell the memorie of this merite. And that their Common-weale, should be as much at the *Florentines* commandement, as their owne. These curtesies and congratulations ended, they consulted what way the Earle might march, to the end, that the bridges and passages should be prepared. Foure waies were then thought vpon wherby he might passe. The one from *Rauenna*, by the sea side: which being narrow and full of marshes, was not liked. An other was by the direct way, which being impeached by a Fortresse called *Vcellino*, kept for the Duke, the same ought to be surprized before the Armie should march further; which was heard to do in so short a time, vnlesse the occasion of the enterprise were omitted, the same requiring great diligence and speede. The third was by the wood of *Lago*, where because the Riuer of *Po* was overflowed, to passe that way, seemed not onely hard, but also impossible. The fourth was by the Champion of *Bologna*, from thence to *Ponte Pulidrano*, to *Cento*, through *Finale*, and *Bondeno*, and so to *Farrara*: From whence by water and land, they might be conueyed into *Padouana*, there to ioyne with the *Venetian* forces. In this way, albeit there was manie difficulties, and might by the enemy, in some places be impeached: yet was it thought the best of all others. Whereof the Earle aduertised, with great speed began his iourney, and on the twentieth of Iune, arriued in *Padouana*. The comming of this Captaine into *Lombardy*, made *Venice*, and all the countrie thereto belonging, in great hope. For as they seemed before to dispaire, now they began to hope, not onely to hold their owne, but also to win from others. The Earle first of all went to the rescue of *Verona*, and the rather to meete with *Nicholo*, and his Armie he marched to *Soane*, a Castle builded betwixt *Vicentino* & *Veronesi*, and inuironed by a dicke: which reached

reached from *Soane* to the marsh of *Adice*. The Earle seeing his passage by the plaine stopped, thought to passe by the mountaines, and by that way to come neare to *Verona*; Supposing *Nicholo* did not thinke, that he would take that way being vnpleasant & mountanous: or if he did, he could not in time come thither to impeach him. Wherfore being prouided of victuals for eight daies, hee and his men passed the mountaine and arriued vnder *Soane*, in the plaine. Where, albeit some bulwarks had bene made by *Nicholo*, yet were they not such as staied his passage. *Nicholo* then seeing the enemy aboute his expectation come thither, fearing to fight vpon disadvantage, retired himselfe on the other side of *Adice*: and the Earle without anie obstacle, entred into *Verona*. Thus the Earle hauing performed the first enterprise, which was to remove the siege, the second yet remained, to rescue *Brescia*. This Citie is so seated vpon the riuer of *Garda*, the scite wherof is such, that though it be besieged by land, yet may it be victualled by water: which was the cause, why the Duke put so great forces vpon that Lage, and in the beginning of his victories, had surprized all those townes which by the Lage could relieue *Brescia*. The *Venetians* had also Gallies vpon the Lage, but they were not of power inough to fight with the Dukes forces. The Earle therefore thought fit with some more souldiers to strengthen the Nauie, and win those townes which withheld the vittails from *Brescia*. He therefore brought his Campe before *Bandolino*, a Castle vpon the Lage, hoping if that were wonne, the rest would presently yeeld. In that enterprise fortune disfaoured the Earle, for the greatest number of his men fell sicke: so as, leauing the enterprise, hee went vnto *Zeno*, a castle belonging to *Verona*, where the country is plentiful, & the aire wholesome. *Nicholo* seeing the Earle retired: not to omit occasion to possesse himselfe of the Lage, left his Campe at *Vegatio*, and with some choise men went vnto the Lage. There, with great furie, he assaulted the *Venetian* Armie, & tooke welneare all their Gallies. After this victory, almost all the Castles vpon the Lage, yeelded vnto *Nicholo*. The *Venetians* dismayed at this his losse, and fearing therby, that they of *Brescia* would yeeld also, sollicited the Earle, both by Letters and Messengers, to make speed to succour it. But the Earle seeing that by the Lage there was no hope to relieue it, & by land it was impossible, by reason of ditches, bulwarkes, and trenches, made by *Nicholo*, so as, whosoever should enter, must go to present destruction; determined to proue the way of the mountains: wherby, as he had before saued *Verona*, so he hoped perhaps to rescue *Brescia*. The Earle for the atchiuing thereof, departed from *Zeno*, and by the *Vale* of *Acrine*, marched to the Lage of *S. Andrea*, and came to *Torboli*, and *Penda*, vpon the Lage of *Garda*. From thence he went to *Tenna*, and there pitched his Campe: because, to passe from thence to *Brescia*, it behooued him to surprize that Castle. *Nicholo* vnderstanding the intent of the Earle, brought his Armie to *Pischiera*: and after with the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, and some of his owne choise souldiers, marched towards the Earle, and fighting together, *Nicholo* was ouerthrowne. Some part of his men were taken prisoners, an other part, retired to the Armie, & the third part, fled to the Nauie. *Nicholo* then, retired himselfe into *Tenna*, and the night being come, imagined he could not escape from thence, if he tarried til the next day. Wherfore to eschue that perill certaine, he aduentured a daunger doubtfull. *Nicholo* had amongst many his seruants one *Almaine*, a man of great strength, and to him aboute others, euer most faithfull. *Nicholo* perswaded this man, that if hee would put him into a sacke, he might vpon his shoulders (as though he were some other thing) carry him to some place, from whence he might escape. At this time the Campe yet remained about *Tenna*. Neuertheless, by meanes of the victorie the day before, no great order or watch was taken, so that this *Almaine*, the more easily might comrey his maister. Wherfore taking him vpon his shoulders, (as though he were some other

The Campe of Nicholo Piccinino defeated.

Nicholo Piccinino, desirous to recover his honor.

other burthen, himselfe being apparelled like a Porter) he passed through the Camp without any let, and so saved his maister. This victorie, if it had bene well vsed, as it was happily wonne, had much better releued *Brescia*: and the *Venetians* thereby should haue proued more happie. But the same being euill vsed, the ioy thereof was the lesse; and *Brescia* remained in the same distresse that it was before. For *Nicholo* hauing recovered souldiers, determined with them some new victorie, to blot out the dishonour of the late losse, and take from the *Venetians* the meane whereby they should rescue *Brescia*. He hauing intelligence from some prisoners taken in that war, that the *Cittadell* of *Verona* was weakly manned and guarded; so as, easily it might be surprized: thought that Fortune thereby had offered an occasion to recover his honour; and that the new ioy of his enemy, for the late victorie, should now for a later losse, be conuerted into sorrow. The Citie of *Verona* is in *Lombardy*, seated at the foote of those mountaines which diuide *Italy* from *Germany*: and is so builded, as it partaketh both of the mountaines and the plaine. The Riuer of *Adice* springeth out of the *Vale* of *Trento*, and in the course thereof to *Italy*, it descendeth not straight into the plaine, but turneth on the left hand, and passeth by the midst of that Cittie. Yet the one part of the Citie towards the plaine, is greater then the other part towards the mountaines. Vpon these be built two Fortresses, the one called *S. Piero*, and the other *S. Felice*; which seeme more strong by nature of the seate, then the thicknesse of the wall. For being set high, they commaund the whole Citie. In the plain on this side the *Adice*, are ioyning to the wall of the towne, two other Fortresses, the one distant from the other a thousand paces, one of them is named the newe *Cittadella*, and the other the old *Cittadella*. From the one of these within, there passeth a wall to the other, and is in respect of the compasse, as it were a string to a bowe. All this space betwixt the one wall and the other is inhabited, and called *Borgo di San Zeno*. These Fortresses, and this *Borgo*, *Nicholo Piccinino* intended to surprize, thinking the same easie, as well for the negligence of the guard therein, as the small care had thereof, by meanes of the late victory. For he knew well, that in the warre there is no enterprise so easly performed, as is that, which the enemy feareth not. Hee therefore making choise of his men, being acquainted with the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, in the night marched to *Verona*, and not being there looked for, scaled the walles, and wanne the new *Cittadell*. From thence he sent his men into the towne, who brake the gate of *S. Antonio*: and thereby all his horsemen entred. Those that for the *Venetians* kept the old *Cittadell*, hearing first a noyse when the guard of the first *Cittadell* was slaine, and after when the gates were broken open: knew well that enemies were come, made Alarum, rung Belles, and stirred vp the people. Whereof the Citizens taking knowledge, came out in a confused sort: those that were of most courage, tooke Armes and went vnto the Pallace of the *Rettore*. In the meane while, *Nicholo* had sacked *Borgo* of *S. Zeno*. Then going forward, the Citizens knowing that the Dukes souldiers were within the towne, and seeing no way to resist them, perswaded the *Venetians* *Rettore* to flee to the Fortresse, thereby to saue their persons, and the towne: saying it was better to preferue their liues, and the riches of the citie, till a time more fortunate; then for the encoutring of the present furie, to die themselves, and vtterly impouerish the citie. Then the *Rettore*, and all other *Venetians* whatsoever, fled into the Fortresse of *S. Felice*. Which done, many of the chiefe Citizens came to *Nicholo* and to the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, beseeching, that it would please them, to take that citie with honour, as it was rich, rather then with their shame, to suffer it to be made poore and spoyled. And the rather, because they had neither deserued well of their chiefe Lords, nor in defence of the town merited any mallice of *Nicholo* or the Marquesse. Then were they, both by *Nicholo* & the Marquesse comforted, and (as much

Verona surprized by Nicholo Piccinino.

as

as in furie of the warre might possibly be) defended from the spoyle. *Nicholo* thinking assuredly, that the Earle would come to recover the Towne, laboured by euerie meane to get into his hands all the strong places; and those which hee could not get, with trenches and ditches were diuided from the Towne: to the end, that the enemy should passe in with more difficultie. The Earle *Fransefco* was with his men at *Tenna*, and hearing those newes, at the first thought the same vntrue, but after being better aduertised of the troth, thought good by speedie proceeding, to amend his former negligence. And albeit his chiefe Captaines of the Campe, did counsell him to leaue the enterprise of *Verona* and *Brescia*, and go to *Vicenza*, for not being besieged of the enemy during his aboad there; yet would hee not be perswaded by them, but in any wise trie his fortune to recover that citie: and in the midst of these doubtfull imaginations, promised the *Proneditore* of *Venice*, and *Barnardo de Medici*, the *Florentine* Generall, certainly to recover the citie, if any of the Fortresses did remaine vntaken till he came thither. Then giuing order for his iourney, he with his souldiers in great haste marched towards *Verona*. Whom, *Nicholo* seeing, thought good, as he had bene counselled by his Captaines, to go to *Vicenza*. Yet finding that the enemies marched towards the Towne, directing their course to *S. Felice*, he determined to defend that Fort: but all too late, because the trenches about the Castle were not finished, and the souldiers (for couetousnesse of the spoyle) were diuided among themselves, so that he could not come thither soone inough. For the Earles souldiers had before approached the Fortresse, and from thence with good successe and dishonour of *Nicholo*, recovered the citie. Who together with the Marquesse of *Mantoua* fled first to the *Cittadell*, and from thence, to *Mantoua*. Where assembling the remaine of their saued souldiers, they ioyned with the others, that besieged *Brescia*. Thus was *Verona* in foure daies by the Dukes Army, both wonne and lost. The Earle after this victorie (being at that time winter, and the cold great) had with much difficultie victualled *Brescia*, and went to remain in *Verona*: giuing order, that certaine Gallies should tarry that winter at *Torbili*, to the end, that at the spring of the next yeare, he might be strong both by sea and land for the rescue of *Brescia*. The Duke seeing the warre for that time staid, and his hope to surprize *Verona* & *Brescia* remooued, wherof the Councill, and the money of the *Florentines* was the occasion, and that they could not be altered from the loue of the *Venetians*, for any iniurie they had receiued of them, nor for any promise he could make them; determined (to the end they should shortly reape fruite of those seedes they had sowne) to assault *Toscana*: being thereto encouraged by the banished men of *Florence*, and by *Nicholo*. *Nicholo* was thereto moued with the desire he had to winne the possessions of *Braccio*, and driue the Earle out of *La Marca*. And the *Florentines* desired to returne to their Country. So either of these, with reasons according to their owne desire, perswaded the Duke. *Nicholo* tolde him, that himselfe might be sent into *Toscana*, and *Brescia* might neuertheless be still besieged; for the Duke was Lorde of the Lage, and had the strong places belonging to the Towne well furnished: the Captaines there remaining, and men inough to encounter the Earle whensoever he should attempt any other enterprise; which without the rescue of *Brescia* hee could not, and to rescue it, was impossible. So that he might make war in *Toscana*, and yet not leaue the enterprise in *Lombardy*. Hee told him moreover, that the *Florentines* were enforced so soone as he came into *Toscana*, to reuoke the Earle, or else lose it: so that if any of these two things came to passe, the victorie would follow. The banished men acknowledged, that if *Nicholo* with his Army did drawe neare to *Florence*, it was impossible but that the people (being wearie of charges, and the insolency of the great men) would take Armes against the Governours. They shewed also how easie it was to approach

Verona recovered by the Earle Fransefco.

The Duke perswaded by Nicholo and the banished Florentines, to assault Toscana.

approach

approach *Florence*, promising to make the way open through *Casentino*, by meanes of the friendship which *Rinaldo* had with that Earle. Thus the Duke, first disposed of himselfe, and after confirmed by perswasions of these men, resolved vpon this enterprise. The *Venetians* on the other part, notwithstanding the bitterness of the winter, failed not to call vpon the Earle with all his forces to succor *Brescia*. Which the Earle answered could not be in that time done, but of force it must tarrye the spring of the yeare: and in the mean time prepare an Army by water, so as both by water and land it might at time conuenient be releued. Hereupon the *Venetians* became sorie and slow in all their prouisions, which was the cause that in their Army many people died. Of all these things the *Florentines* being aduertised, began to mistrust: seeing the warre at hand, and no great good done in *Lombardy*. The suspition also which they had of the Popes souldiers, did greatly perplex them: not because the Pope was their enemy, but for that they sawe those souldiers more obedient to the Patriarke, their mortall foe, more then to the Pope himselfe. *Giouanni Vitelleschi Cornetano*, was first Notarie Apostolicall, after Bishop of *Ricanati*, then Patriark of *Alessandria*, and at length after all these dignities, become Cardinall, & was called the Cardinall of *Florence*. This Cardinall being a man both couragious and craftie, & such a one, as was by the Pope so greatly beloued, as thereby he became Generall of all the forces belonging to the Church: and was Captaine in all enterprises that the Pope tooke in hand, either in *Toscana*, *Romagna*, the Kingdome, or the Citie of *Rome*. Whereby he wonne such reputation among the people, and so great authoritie vnder the Pope, that the Pope himselfe stood in doubt how to commaund him, and the people did onely obey him, and no other. At such time as the newes came, that *Nicholo* would passe into *Toscana*, this Cardinall with his company happened to be at *Rome*: whereby the *Florentines* feare was doubled, because that Cardinall after the banishment of *Rinaldo*, had euer bene enemy to *Florence*: for that the pacification among the factions of *Florence* made by his meanes, were not obserued, but all things done to the preiudice of *Rinaldo*, who had bene the occasion that Armes were laid down, which gaue his enemies good means to banish him. Then the Governours of the state, imagined the time come to restore *Rinaldo* of his losses, if with *Nicholo* (being come into *Toscana*) they ioyned their forces: but therof they doubted the more by the vntimely departure of *Nicholo* from *Lombardy*, who left there an enterprise halfe wonne, to begin an other more doubtfull: which he would not do, without some new intelligence, and secret subtiltie. Of this their mistrust they had enformed the Pope, who knew his owne error in giuing to an other ouermuch authoritie. But when the *Florentines* stood thus doubtfull what to do, Fortune found then a meane, whereby to assure the Patriarke. That state, in those times mainteined diligent espials, to discover what Letters were brought too and fro, and thereby conceiued, if any thing were practised to the preiudice thereof. It happened that at *Monte Puliciano*, some Letters were taken, which the Patriarke without consent of the Pope, wrote vnto *Nicholo Piccinino*. Those Letters by the Generall of the warre, were presently sent vnto the Pope; And although they were written in Carets vnused, so as no certaine sence could be made of them: yet this obscuritie, together with the practise of the enemy, bred so great suspition in the Pope, as he determined to assure himselfe. The charge of this action he committed to *Antonio Rido* of *Padoua*, being then Captaine of the Castle in *Rome*. *Rido* having receiued this Commission, was readie to obey the Popes commandement, aspecting an opportunitie to performe the same. The Patriarke being determined to goe into *Toscana*, and minding the next day to depart from *Rome*, desired the Captaine *Rido* to attend for him in the morning vpon the *Carle Bridge*, at such time as hee should passe that way. *Antonio Rido* thought then a good

The Patriarke of Alessandria Generall for the Pope.

The Pa. friend to Rinaldo de Albizi.

The pope seeth to depose the Patriarke.

good occasion was presented: and gaue order to his men what to do, tarrying for the comming of the Patriarke, vpon the Bridge, which way of necessitie he must passe, hard by the Castle. So soone as hee was arriued vpon that part, which vsed to be drawne vp, *Rido* gaue his men a signe to drawe the Bridge and shut the Patriarke into the Castle, which was performed. So as of a Generall to the Armie, the Patriarke was become a prisoner in the Castle. The people that followed him, at the first murmured, but vnderstanding the Popes pleasure, pacified themselves. The Captaine did comfort him with curteous wordes, and perswaded him to hope well. To whome the Patriarke answered, that great personages were not wont first to be apprehended, and after set at libertie. For those that deserue imprisonment, did not merite to bee enlarged, and so shortly after died in prison. After his death, the Pope appointed Generall of his Armie, *Lodouico Patriarke of Aquilea*. Who albeit before that time would not intermeddle with the warre, betwixt the League and the Duke; yet was then content to take the same in hand: promising to be readie to defende *Toscana* with foure thousande Horse, and two thousande footemen. The *Florentines* deliuered of this feare, stood yet in doubt of *Nicholo*, and mistrusted the confusion of matters in *Lombardy*, by reason of the diuersitie of opinions betwixt the *Venetians* and the Earle. Wherefore, to bee more fullie aduertised, of their mindes, they sent *Neri* the sonne of *Gino Capponi*, and *Culiano de Anzani*, to *Venice*. Whom they gaue in Commission, to determine in what sorte the Warre should be made the next yeare following. Commaunding *Neri*, that so soone as hee vnderstoode the mindes and opinions of the *Venetians*, hee should goe vnto the Earle, to knowe his; and perswade him to those things, which for the welfare of the League should be thought meete and necessarie. These Embassadors being in their iourney not so farre as *Farrara*, had intelligence, that *Nicholo Piccinino* with sixe thousande horse was passed the *Po*. Which newes moued them to make the more speede. Being arriued at *Venice*, they found the Senate fully determined, that *Brescia* without any delaye should be rescued, because that Cittie, could neither tarry vnreleued till the next Spring, nor till the Nauie by water were prepared; but should be inforced for want of aide, to yeelde vnto the enemy: which would make the Duke victorious, and occasion the losse of all their state, vpon the firme land. *Neri* therefore went from thence to *Verona*, to heare what the Earle could alledge to the contrary. Who by many reasons declared, that for the present, it were no furtherance, but rather an impeachment of the enterprise to march towards *Brescia*. For, considering the season of the yeare, and the seate of the Cittie, no good could be done, but great disorder, and to the souldiers great trouble would follow thereof. So that, when the Spring should be come, and the season fit for the action, the Army must be enforced to returne to *Verona*, for prouision of those things, which the winter had consumed. By reason whereof, all the time fit for warre, should be spent in going and returning. There was sent to *Verona* with the Earle for the consultation of these matters, *Orsato Giustiniani*, and *Giouan Pisani*. With these Commissioners after much disputation, it was concluded, that the *Venetians* should giue vnto the Earle for the next yeare to come, fourescore thousand Duckettes, and to euerie one of his souldiers, fortie. And that they should sollicite the Earle to march with his whole Armie, and assault the Duke. To the ende, that hee, for feare of his owne countrey should be forced to reuoke *Nicholo* into *Lombardy*. After which conclusion, the Embassadors returned to *Venice*. *Nicholo Piccinino* in this meane space proceeded in his iourney, & was arriued at *Romagnu*: where he perswaded so far with the sonnes of *Pandolpho Malatesta*, that they abandoned

The Patriarke made prisoner

Resolution of the League, against the Duke.

abandoned the *Venetians*, and ioyned with the Duke. These newes were displeasante to the *Venetians*, and much more displeasante to the *Florentines*, because they hoped by that way to haue resisted *Nicholo*. But seeing the *Malatesti* rebelled, they were thereat amazed, and the more, for the feare they had that *Giampagolo Orsino*, their Captaine, (who at that time was in the countrey of *Malatesti*) should be defeated, and they so disarmed. These occurrents also dismayed the Earle, fearing to lose *La Marca*, if *Nicholo* passed into *Toscana*. And intending to goe vnto the rescue of his owne, came first to *Venice*, where he declared vnto the Prince, that his comming into *Toscana*, was unprofitable for the League. Because the warre was euer to be made, where the Armie and Generall of the enemye is, and not where their Townes are, or their priuate Garrisons. For if the Armie be ouerthrowne the warre is ended: but though the Townes be wonne, and the Armie be left whole, the warres for the most part becometh more liuely. Then hee enformed him, that *La Marca* and *Toscana* were lost, if good resistance were not made against *Nicholo*. Of which losse, *Lombardy* had no remedie. Or if it had, hee meant not to abandon his owne subiects and friendes. For, being come a Lorde into *Lombardy*, hee would not depart thence, as a priuate Captaine. Heereunto the Prince answered, it was a thing most manifest, that if he did goe from *Lombardy*, and with his Armie repasse the *Po*, that all their state vpon the firme land, should be lost, and that they would not spend any more vpon the defence therof. For it were follie, to defend a thing, which by no meane could be holden. And lesse dishonour it were to lose the countries onely, then to lose the country and their money also. But if it should so fall out, that these things were lost, it should thereby appeare how greatly it stood the *Venetians* vpon, to defende *Toscana* and *Romagna*. They were therefore altogether contrarie to his opinion, for they beleued that whosoever were victorious in *Lombardy*, could also haue victorie in all other places. And it was easie to haue the victorie, because the Duke and his country was become weake by the departure of *Nicholo*: so as hee might be oppressed, before that either hee could reuoke *Nicholo*, or be provided of other remedie. Moreouer, who so wisely considereth all things, should see, that the Duke had sent *Nicholo* into *Toscana*, to no other end, then to remooue the Earle from those enterprises, & make that war in other places, which hee now had at home. So that in pursuing him (if before hee found no extreame necessitie) hee should execute that which he had in hand, and be owner of his intent. But if the men of warre were still employed both in *Lombardy* and in *Toscana*, howsoever it came to passe, hee should ouerlate finde his oversight, and in time see that without remedie hee had losse *Lombardy*, and gained nothing in *Toscana*. Thus euerie one hauing said and replied according to his opinion, it was concluded, that a staie for a fewe dayes should be made, to see what effect the agreement betwixt the *Malatesti* and *Nicholo* would bring forth: and whether the *Florentines* could employ *Giampagolo*: and whether the Pope did faithfully deale with the League, as hee had promised. This conclusion made, shortly after they were aduertised, that the *Malatesti* had condescended to the agreement, rather for feare, then any euill intent: and that *Pietro Giampagolo* with his souldiers, were marched towardes *Toscana*, and the Pope was more willing to aide the League, then before time hee had bene. These aduertisements satisfied the Earles minde. So as he became contented that himselfe might remaine in *Lombardy*: and *Nery Capponi* shoulde returne to *Florence*, with a thousande of his Horse, and five hundred others. And if it did so fall out in *Toscana*, that the presence of the Earle were there needfull and necessarie, that then hee shoulde wryte vnto him, and the Earle (without anie

The speech of the Earle Francesco to the Senate of Venice.

The Venetians answer to the Earle.

Resolution of the Venetians with the Earle Francesco.

respect) be dispatched thither. *Nery* with his forces arrived at *Florence*, in the moneth of Aprill. And the same day, *Giampagolo* came thither. In the meane time *Nicholo Piccinino* hauing settled all things in *Romagna*, determined to come into *Toscana*, and desiring to passe by the Alpes of *S. Benedetto*, and the Vale of *Montone*, found those places by the vertue of *Nicholo de Pifa*, so well defended, that hee thought all his power too little. Moreouer, because the *Florentines* were not well furnished either of Captaines or souldiers, for this suddaine assault, they had sent diuerse Citizens to the passages of those Alpes, with footemen leuied in haste, for that purpose. Amongst whome was *Bartholomeo Orlandini*: and to him was appointed the keeping of the Castle of *Marradi*, with the passage of those Alpes. *Nicholo Piccinino* supposing hee could not goe by *S. Benedetto* for the vertue of him that defended that way, yet thought hee it easie to passe by the other which *Bartholomeo* kept: perswaded thereto by the cowardice of that Captaine. *Marradi* is a Castle built at the foote of those Alpes, which diuide *Toscana* from *Romagna*. But on that side which is towardes *Romagna*, in the beginning of the Vale of *Lamona*, although it be without walles, yet the Riuer, the Mountaine, and the inhabitants of the countrey doo make it strong. For the men be warlike and faithfull. The Riuer hath also worne into the lande, and made so deepe caues and places, as it is impossible to approach it by that Vale, so long as one little Bridge be defended. And on that side towardes the Mountaines, the shoare is so steepe as maketh it most assured. Notwithstanding, the cowardice of *Bartholomeo* was such, as made those people become base minded, and the seate to seeme of no force at all. For so soone as the noyse of the enemye was heard, hee abandoned his charge, and with his souldiers fledde away, neuer staying till hee came to *Borgo S. Lorenzo*. *Nicholo* entered into the places abandoned, much maruelling that they were not better defended. And being glad of that hee had gotten, came downe into *Muggello*, where hee surprized some Castles; and at *Puliciano* hee lodged his Campe. From thence hee spoyled all the Countrey, to the Mountaines of *Fiesole*. Hee was also so bolde, as hee doubted not to passe the Riuer of *Arno*, foraging and spoyling euerie place within three myles of the Cittie of *Florence*. The *Florentines* on the other side were not dismayed, but before all other things settled the gouernment. Whereof they could not much doubt, as well for the good will the people bare vnto *Cosimo*; as because the chiefe Offices, were reduced into the handes of a fewe mightie Citizens, who with their seueritie handled the matter so, that they assured themselues of euerie man, that shewed themselues discontented, or desirous of Inuasion. They knewe also by the contract made in *Lombardy*, with what Forces *Nery* returned, and they looked also for other souldiers, to come from the Pope, which till the comming of *Nery*, made them hope well. But *Nery* finding the Cittie in these disorders, and feares, determined to goe into the field, somewhat to bridle the furie of *Nicholo*, that hee should not so much at his pleasure spoyle the countrey. Then making a band of certaine footemen, the people with all the horses they had went out, and recovered *Remole*, which the enemies had taken. There they encamped themselues, empeaching *Nicholo* to proceed in his spoyle, and gaue hope to the Citizens to vanquish the enemye. *Nicholo* seeing that the enemies hauing lost their souldiers, moued not: and vnderstanding also, with what securitie they liued in that citie, determined not to lose time, but enterprise some other things. To the ende that the *Florentines* might haue occasion to sende out their Forces and fight with him. And if the victorie prooued his, then hee hoped that all other matters should prosperously follow. In the Campe of *Nicholo*, *Francesco* Earle of *Poppi* happened

The Earle of  
Poppi rebel-  
led from the  
Florentines.

to be. He in that time (that the enemies were in *Mugello*) rebelled from the *Florentines*, with whom he had bene before in League. And albeit the *Florentines* before mistrusted that hee would so doo, yet thought they to haue bounde him with benefites, and to that ende encreased his entertainment, and made him Gouvernour ouer all their Townes neare vnto him. All which notwithstanding (so great strength had the loue which hee bare to the contrarie faction) that no benefite nor no feare, could force him to forget, the affection hee bare to *Rinaldo*, and the others that gouerned in times past. In so much, as when hee vnderstood that *Nicholo* drewe neare, suddenly hee ioyned with him, and perswaded him with all earnestie to goe from the Citie, and passe into *Casentino*: shewing him the strength of that countrey, and with what securitie, he might from thence distresse the enemye. *Nicholo* was well content to be aduised by his counsell, and come into *Casentino*, surprized *Romana* and *Bibiena*, and after lodged his Campe at the Castle *S. Nicholo*. This Castle is seated at the foote of those mountaines which diuide *Casentino* from the Vale of *Arno*, and by reason the seate thereof is high, and the place well manned, the taking thereof prooued hard: notwithstanding that *Nicholo* did with his Artillarie continually make the batterie. This siege had continued more then twentie dayes. In which time, the *Florentines* assembled their Forces at *Figghini*, to the number of foure thousande horse; vnder the conduct of *Pietro Ciampagolo*, the Generall, *Neri Caponi*, and *Barnardo de Medici* Commissaries. To them foure Messengers were sent from the Castle of *Saint Nicholo* to desire their aide. Those Commissaries hauing considered the seate of that place, founde they could not rescue it anie other way, then by the Alpes, which come from the Vale of *Arno*, and the tops of them might be possessed by the enemye, before they could come thither, as well for that they were nearer, as that they could not goe vnknowne. So as, they should attempt a thing to no purpose, and hazard the ruine of their souldiers. Thereupon the Captaines commending their fidelitie, commaunded them, that if they were not able anie longer to defende themselues, that then they should yeelde. Thus *Nicholo* preuailed in that enterprise, and possessed this Castle in the ende of thirtie two dayes, after hee and his Campe had besieged it. And for so great a losse of time, obteyned this small victorie, which was the greatest occasion whereby a greater enterprise was not performed. For if hee had still continued with his Campe before *Florence*, he had forced those that gouerned, to leuie money amongst the Citizens, prepare Forces, and make euerie other prouision, with more difficultie, the enemye being so neare at hand, manie of the Citizens would also hane bene desirous of peace, to assure themselues from *Nicholo*, seeing the warre likely to continue. But the desire which the Earle of *Poppi* had to bee reuenged of some Captaines of Castles, who had bene long his enemies, did leade him to giue that counsaile: And *Nicholo* for his satisfaction, followed the same; which was the destruction both of the one and the other. Whereof may be conceiued, that for the moste part, the particular passions of men, doo hinder the publique commoditie. *Nicholo* following the victorie, surprized *Rasina* and *Chiusi*. In these places, the Earle of *Poppi*, perswaded him to tarrie, declaring that hee might disperse his Forces into *Chiusi*, *Caprese*, & *Picene*: by that meanes to become Lord of the mountaines, and at his pleasure descende from thence, into *Casentino*, into the Vale of *Arno*, to the Vale of *Chiana*, and the Vale of *Teneri*, and bee also readie, to answer to anye motion whatsoever, that the Enemye coulde make. But *Nicholo* considering the barrennesse of those places, answered, that his Horses,

*Nicholo* euill  
counsell'd by  
the Earle of  
*Poppi*.

did

did not eate stones, and so went to the *Borgo* of *S. Sepulchro*, where he was friendly receiued. From thence hee practised to winne the fauoure of the inhabitants, of the Citie called *Castello*: who being friendes to the *Florentines*, refused him. Also desiring to haue the *Perugini* at his deuotion, hee went with fortie horse vnto *Perugia*: and was receiued (being there a Citizen borne) verie louingly, yet within fewe dayes after hee became suspected. For albeit both with the Gouvernour and the Citizens, hee practised manie things, yet nothing was brought to passe. But receiuing of them eight thousand Duckets he returned to the Camp. Then hee deuised how to take *Cortona* from the *Florentines*, which beeing discovered before the time of execution, that deuise came not to effect. Among the chiefe Citizens of that Towne, was *Bartholomeo di Senso*, who one euening going by commaundement of the Captaine to take the Guard of one of the gates, was by a Countrey man his friende, aduised not to goe thither, vnlesse hee were content there to be slaine. *Bartholomeo* desirous to vnderstand the bottome of that matter, founde there were some practise made with *Nicholo*: which *Bartholomeo* by authoritie of the Captaine reuealed, and made sure the chiefe of the conspiacie. Then doubling the Guard of the Gate, tarried there till *Nicholo* did come. Who at his arriual, vnderstanding the matter was discovered, returned to his Camp. During that thinges were in *Toscana* thus handled, and that the Dukes souldiers had gained little: *Lombardy* grewe vnquiet, with losse and disaduantage of the Duke. Because the Earle *Francesco*, so soone as the season of the yeare suffered, came forth with his Armie to the field, and for that the *Venetians* had supplied their Forces vpon the Lake, the Earle thought good first to make himselfe Lorde of the Water, and then driue the Duke from the Lake: (which done) all other thinges would be easily brought to passe. Then with the Nauie of the *Venetians*, he assaulted the Dukes Gallies, and had the victorie. Hee also tooke those Castles which were holden of the Duke. In so much, as the Dukes other souldiers who besieged *Brescia* by lande, vnderstanding this ouerthrowe, retyred. In this sorte was *Brescia* after three yeares siege deliuered. This victorie had, the Earle marched towards his enemies, who were come to *Soncino*, a Castle vpon the Riuer of *Ogglio*, where hee dislodged them, and forced them remooue to *Cremona*. There the Duke made head, and on that side defended his Countries. But the Earle day by day drawing nearer, and the Duke fearing to lose either all or part of his Countrey, founde how vnaduisedly hee had done to sende *Nicholo* into *Toscana*. And to amende that errour hee wrote vnto *Nicholo* in what termes hee stood: praying him, with what speed hee possiblie might, to leaue *Toscana*, and returne into *Lombardy*. The *Florentines* in this meane space, by order of their Generalles, had ioyned their souldiers with the Popes Forces, and made head at *Angiari*, a Castle at the foote of the mountains, which diuided the Vale of *Teneri*, from the Vale of *Chiana*, foure myles from *S. Sepulchro*, where the fieldes be large to receiue Horse men, and fit for all actions of warre. And because they had intelligence of the Earles victorie, and the reuocation of *Nicholo*, they thought that without the sword, or more labour, the warre was ended. Therefore wrote vnto their Generals not to fight, for that *Nicholo* could not manie dayes remaine in *Toscana*. This Commission became knowne to *Nicholo*, who seeing that of necessitie hee must depart: to leaue nothing vnattempted, hee determined to fight, supposing to finde the enemye altogether vnprouided, and not looking for anye Battayle at all. Whereunto hee was also animated and encouraged by *Rinaldo*, the Earle of *Poppi*, and diuerse other banished men of *Florence*, who knewe theyr

Practise to  
surprise *Cortona*.

The siege of  
*Brescia* remo-  
ued.

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owne destruction to be certaine, if *Nicholo* did remoue thence: but by fighting they hoped either to winne the victorie, or lose it with honor. This resolution made, the Army marched from the place where it was, till it came betweene the Cities of *Castello* and *Borgo*, and being come to *Borgo*, before that the enemies knew thereof, leuiued from the Towne two thousand men, who trusting to the vertue of the Captaine and his promises, being desirous of spoyle, followed him. Then *Nicholo* with his Army, marched in Battle-wise towards *Anghiari*, & was within two miles of the enemy or lesse, when by *Micheletto Attendulo* was seene a great dust, who knowing the enemies to be there, warned euery man to prepare himselfe. The noyse in the *Florentine* Campe was great; because that Army encamped for the most part without Discipline, and supposed the enemy to be far off, so all the *Florentines* were more readie to flie then fight. For euery man was far from his own lodging, and disarmed, either to refresh himselfe in that hotte season, or to take some other delight. Yet so great was the diligence of the Governours and the Captaine, that before the enemies approached, they were on horsebacke, and prepared to resist the charge. And as *Micheletto* was the first to discover the enemies, so was he also the first that charged them, and with his souldiers made speede to winne the Bridge which crosseth the way not farre from *Anghiari*. And because before the comming of the enemy, *Pietro Giampagolo* had caused the ditches to be cast downe, which are on either side the waie: *Micheletto* standing against the Bridge, *Simoncino* the Popes Coronell, together with the Legate, staid on the right hand, and on the left hand stood the Commissaries for *Florence*, and the foote men placed along the River. Then had the enemy no other way open whereby hee might charge, but by the Bridge. Neither had the *Florentines* to fight but onely vpon the Bridge, sauing that they commaunded their footemen, that if the footemen of the enemy did goe towards the men of Armes; that then they with their Crossebowes should charge them: to the ende that the *Florentine* horsemen in passing the Bridge, should not bee hurt on the side. So that they that gaue the first charge were by *Micheletto* brauely resisted: but afterwardes *Astore* and *Francesco Piccinino* with their choise bandes, so furiously charged *Micheletto*, as they rooke from him the Bridge, and draue him to the foote of the hill, which lea-deth vp to *Anghiari*. After that they were put backe by him, and forced to retyre beyonde the Bridge, and hee also charged them vpon the side. This fight continued two houres, for sometime *Nicholo*, and sometimes the *Florentines*, were Lordes of the Bridge. And although vpon the Bridge they were of equall force, yet both on that, and this side of the Bridge, *Nicholo* fought with great disaduantage. Because when the souldiers of *Nicholo* had passed the Bridge, they founde the enemies strong vpon that straight, and could not with like aduantage be charged: and those that were wearie, might easily be, by fresh men supplied. But when the *Florentines* happened to passe, *Nicholo* could not so commodiously relecue his wearied men, beeing straightned and holden in, with ditches and trenches: So as, though manie times *Nicholo* had wonne the Bridge, yet by the supplie of fresh enemies, hee was euer driuen backe. But when the Bridge was by the *Florentines* assuredly wonne, and that their forces were entered into the waie, *Nicholo* wanted time, through the furie of the enemy, and the incommoditie of the place, to supplie his souldiers. For they of the Vangarde were forced to mixt themselues, with the Rearewarde: and so the one disordering the other, all the whole Armye was forced to flie, and euery man without anie respect ranne towards the Towne. Then the *Florentine* souldiers beganne to spoyle: which spoyle of prisoners, armour, and horses,

The battle of  
Anghiari.

*Nicholo Pic-*  
*cinino* defea-  
ted.

was

was great. For with *Nicholo* there was not saued aboute one thousand horses. They of the *Borgo*, who in hope of spoyle had followed *Nicholo*, were of spoilers, become a spoyle, because they were all taken and put to ransome. Their enignes and carriages were lost, and the victorie was much more profitable for *Toscana*, then preiudiciall for the Duke. For if the *Florentines* had lost the battell, *Toscana* had bene his, but he losing the battell, lost no other thing but the armour and horses of his Army, which with plentie of money might be recouered. Neither could any warre be made in the countrey of another lesse dangerous, then was the warre of those dayes. For in so great an ouerthrow, and so long a fight (which continued from twentie to foure and twentie of the clock) more were not flaine then one man, and he also not hurt by the vertue of any other, but being falne from his horse, was trodden vpon with horses, and so died: with so great securitie men fought in that age. The reason thereof is, that for the most part the souldiers fought on horseback, and couered with armour, they were defended from death till they yeelded. And therefore finding theselues able to fight, they so did, and being not longer able, they yeelded. This conflict (for matters which happened both in and after the fight) was a signe of the great unhappines of those warres, because the enemies being vanquished, and *Nicholo* returned into *Borgo*, the Governours of the *Florentines* would haue followed, and besieged him there to haue the victorie fullie. But some souldiers, and some Captaines also, refused to obey them, saying they would first carrie away the spoile, and cure the hurt men. Also (a thing more notable) the next day at high noone, without leaue or respect either of the Governours or of the Generall, the souldiers went vnto *Arezzo*, and there bestowed their spoile (which done) they returned to *Anghiari*. A thing so much against all order Militarie and Discipline of warre, that the remaine of any Army well ordered, might and would easily and deseruingly haue recouered that victorie, which the *Florentines* vnder-uedly had gotten. Besides this, the Governours commaunding that all souldiers taken, should be stayed, to the end, that the enemy might not grow and sodeinly recouer strength, yet were they presently deliuered. All which things are greatly to be meruailed at. First, how in such an Army, there should be vertue sufficient to win victorie: And then, how there could be in any enemy so little value, as would be of so disordered a people oppressed. But while the *Florentines* went, and returned from *Arezzo*, *Nicholo* gained time to go with his souldiers from *Borgo*, and marched towards *Romagna*, with whome also fled the *Florentine* Rebels, who seeing all hope failed for their returne to *Florence*, they deuided themselues, and euery man tooke his owne way, some remaining in *Italy*, and some without, as they could find meane to bestow themselues. Of which number was *Rinaldo*, who made his habitation at *Ancona*: from whence (the rather to gaine himselfe a celestially countrey) hauing lost his dwelling vpon earth, he went vnto the Sepulchre of Christ, and being returned home, at the marriage of one of his daughters sitting at the table, sodeinly died: wherein fortune did fauour him, that in the day of his last sorrow she called him away. A man in euery fortune honourable, and would haue bene much more honourable, had he bene borne in a Cittie vndeuided. Because many times those his vertues which in a factious Cittie did hinder him, in a Cittie vnted would haue aduanced him. The Commissaries then seeing the souldiers returned from *Arezzo*, and *Nicholo* departed, presented themselues before *Borgo*. The *Borghesi* offered to yeeld to the *Florentines*, but they refused to receiue them. And in compounding this agreement, the Popes Legat grew suspitious of the Commissaries, fearing they intended to take that Towne from the Church: in so much, as they grew to words of offence, and some disorder would haue followed betwixt the *Florentine* and the Popes

VWant of dis-  
cipline in the  
Florentines  
Campe.

The death of  
*Rinaldo de*  
*Aibizi*.

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 *Russina*, and surprized it with the like furie, that he had taken *Bibiena*, *Frato*, *Vecchio*, and *Romena*. 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 disaduantage. *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 enforced 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 Citties 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 fro 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.



That 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 gaires 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 feastinges. But the States of whom 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 employ 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.