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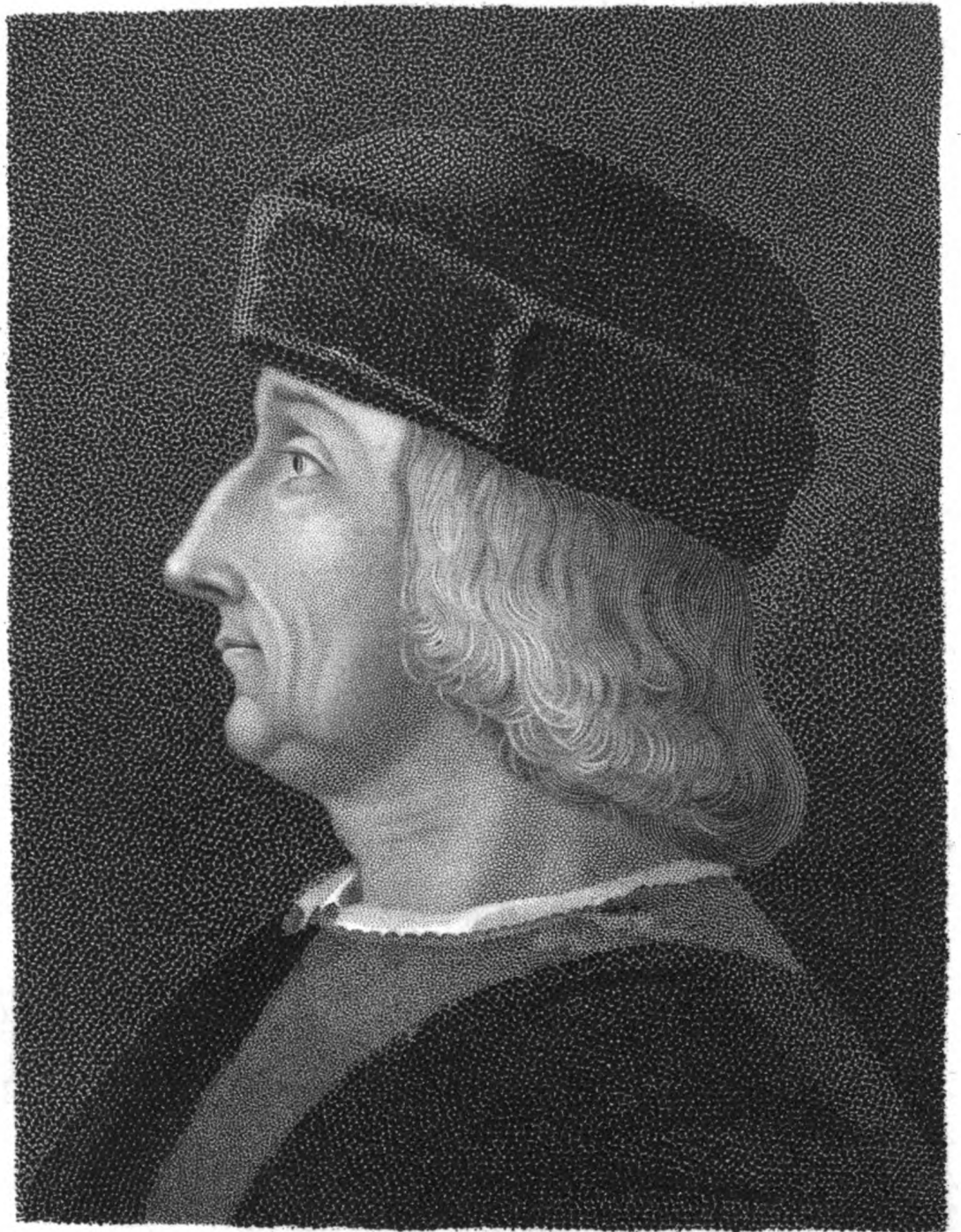




LEO THE TENTH.







ALDO MANUZIO.

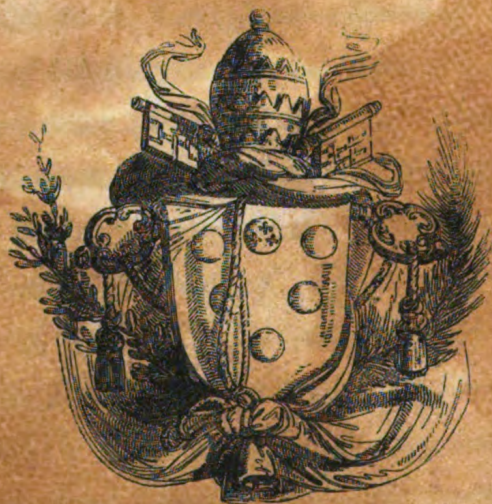
*Engraved by Moses Haughton, after an original Picture by Giovan Bellino
in the possession of W. Edwards Pall Mall*

THE
LIFE
AND
PONTIFICATE
OF
LEO THE TENTH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

VOL. II.



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1805.

Quanti alpestri sentier, quanti palustri
Narrerò io, di morte e sangue pieni,
Pe'l variar de' regni e stati illustri!

Machiavelli, Decennale. i.



CHAP. VII.

1503—1507.

CAUSES of dissension between the French and Spanish monarchs in the kingdom of Naples—Successes of the French army—Battle between thirteen French and thirteen Italian combatants—Gonsalvo defeats the French, and effects the conquest of Naples—Commutations in Rome—Cæsar Borgia quits the city—Election and short pontificate of Pius III.—The states of Romagna retain their fidelity to Cæsar Borgia—Election of Julius II.—He endeavours to deprive Borgia of his territories—Borgia betrayed by Gonsalvo and sent to Spain—His death and character—Federigo the exiled king of Naples mediates a peace between the French and Spanish monarchs—Defeat of the French on the Gariglione—Death of Piero de' Medici—Marriage of his daughter Clarice to Filippo Strozzi—Moderation and prudence of the cardinal de' Medici—Untimely death of Galeotto della Rovere—Difficulties and embarrassments of the cardinal de' Medici—Death of Ercole duke of Ferrara and accession of Alfonso I.—Tragical event in the family of Este—Final expulsion of the French from Naples—Julius II. seizes on the cities of Perugia and Bologna—Ferdinand of Spain visits his Neapolitan dominions—Gonsalvo honoured and neglected—He repents of his errors—Is vindicated by Paolo Giovio.





CHAP. VII.

IN the course of human events, it is not uncommon, that rapacity and injustice find, in the very success of their measures, their own punishment. This was strikingly exemplified in the conquest and dismemberment of the kingdom of Naples, which instead of affording to the victors the advantages they expected, opened the way to new contests, more bloody and destructive than any that Italy had of late experienced. In the partition of that country, it had been agreed, that the king of France should possess the districts called Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzi,

CHAP. VII.

A. D. 1503.

A. Æt. 28.

Causes of dis-
sension be-
tween the
French and
Spanish mo-
narchs in the
kingdom of
Naples.

and the king of Spain those of Appulia and Calabria, as being most contiguous to his Sicilian dominions; but when the commanders of the allied armies began to adjust their respective boundaries, it appeared that their sovereigns had not been sufficiently acquainted with the territories which they claimed, to define the limits, in an explicit, or even an intelligible manner. The ancient divisions of the kingdom were indeed now no longer recognized; Alfonso I. having, for the more convenient receipt of his revenues, divided it into six provinces, to which he gave the appellations of Terra di Lavoro, Principato, Basilicata, Calabria, Appulia, and Abruzzi. Of these, the province of Appulia formed three subdivisions, called Terra di Otranto, Terra di Bari, and Capitanato. The first difficulty that occurred, was respecting the district called Basilicata, the ancient Lucania, which had not been allotted in express terms to either of the parties; the Spanish general, Gonsalvo, asserting that both this, and the Principato, were a part of the district of Calabria, which was divided into two provinces, denominated *Citra* and *Ultra*, and, that as it actually separated the provinces which were expressly allotted to his master, it must be considered as a part of his dominion.^(a) The pretensions of the French general, Louis d'Armignac, duke of Nemours, rested on the well known fact, that the Basilicata had not at any time been considered as a part, either of Appulia or Calabria, and on the general rights of his sovereign, as king of Naples, to all such parts as had not been particularly conceded by treaty. A similar dispute arose respecting the subdivision of Appulia, called the Capitanato, lying on the confines of Abruzzi, and divided from

(a) Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 275.

from the rest of Appulia, by the river Ofanto; the French general, like the Spanish, insisting on the indispensable utility of this district, to the other dominions of his sovereign, and on its being more properly a part of Abruzzi, than of Appulia. The division of the revenues arising from the pasturage of Appulia, one of the chief sources of the royal income, formed another cause of dissension; and although the commanders had, during the first year, accommodated this dispute by an equal division of the income, yet in the next, each of them endeavoured to obtain as much of it as possible; thereby giving rise, not only to great vexation and dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of Appulia and the principal barons of the kingdom, but to acts of open hostility between the two armies.^(a)

For the purpose of effecting a pacific adjustment of these differences, a negotiation was opened, by the intervention of the chief nobility of Naples, between the French and Spanish commanders, which was protracted for several months; in the course of which time, the duke of Nemours, having repaired to Melfi, and Gonsalvo to Atella, those generals had a personal interview. It was, however, found impracticable to terminate the dispute, and they were therefore under the necessity of referring for its decision to their respective sovereigns; having in the mean time agreed, that neither of them should attempt any innovation on the territories possessed by the other. This truce was not of long duration. The duke of Nemours, confident in the superiority of his forces, and unwilling by delay, to allow

Successes of the
French army.

^(a) Guicciard. lib. v. 1. 275. Giannone, Storia de' Napoli. lib. xxix. cap. 4. v. iii. p. 400.

allow the Spanish general to recruit his army, of which he had a much greater facility than the French, notified to Gonsalvo, that unless the district of the Capitanato was surrendered to him, he would commence hostilities. This threat he instantly carried into execution, by sending a detachment to occupy the city of Tripalda, and attempting to possess himself of all the strong places within the Capitanato. The arrival of a reinforcement to the French army of two thousand Swiss, and a greater number of Gascons, was a sufficient indication, that Louis XII. chose rather to decide the dispute by arms, than by pacific measures. For the purpose of expediting further supplies, that monarch first repaired to Lyons, whence he soon afterwards hastened to Milan, in order to be nearer the theatre of action.^(a) These efforts were attended with signal success. The fortress of Canoza, although bravely defended by Pietro Navarro, with six hundred men, was compelled to surrender; and in a short time, Gonsalvo was obliged to relinquish, not only the Capitanato, but the chief part of the districts of Appulia and Calabria, and to retire for safety to the town of Barletta, near the mouth of the Ofanto, where he was closely besieged by the duke of Nemours. In the mean time d'Aubigny, having sacked the city of Cosenza and defeated a large body of Spanish and Sicilian troops, overran the rest of the kingdom; and Louis XII. disregarding all former treaties, again asserted his pretensions to the entire dominion of Naples.^(b)

In

^(a) *Giannone, lib. xxix. cap. 4. vol. iii. p. 400.*

^(b) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 275. Muratori Annali. x. p. 11.*

In this situation of affairs, a circumstance occurred, which, by attracting the attention, suspended in some degree the operations of the hostile armies, and was probably not without its influence on the subsequent events of the war. Some negotiations having taken place between the French and Spanish commanders, for the exchange of their prisoners, Charles de Torgues, a French officer, visited the town of Barletta, where being invited to supper, in the house of Don Enrico di Mendoza, in company with Indico Lopez, and Don Pietro d'Origno, prior of Messina, a dispute arose respecting the comparative courage of the French and Italian soldiery, in the course of which de Torgues asserted, that the Italians were an effeminate and dastardly people. Lopez replied, that he had himself under his command, a troop of Italians, who were not only equal to the French, but on whose courage and fidelity he could as fully rely, as if they were his own countrymen. In order to decide this controversy, it was agreed, that a combat on horseback should take place between thirteen Frenchmen and thirteen Italians, on condition, that the victors should be entitled to the arms and horses of the vanquished, and one hundred gold crowns each. This proposal met with the approbation of the respective commanders, who were probably not displeased with the opportunity afforded them, of a short relaxation from the fatigues of war. Four judges were appointed on each side, to determine on the victory, and hostages were mutually given to abide by their decision.^(a)

CHAP. VII.

A. D. 1503.

A. Æt. 28.

Battle between
thirteen
French and
thirteen Ita-
lian comba-
tants.

On

(a) Muratori has omitted the names of the combatants, observing, that Jovius had suppressed

On the day appointed, which was the thirteenth of February, 1503, the armies met, as spectators of the combat, in a plain between the towns of Andre and Corrato, and the chief commanders pledged themselves to each other, for the due observance of the stipulated terms. After the Italian combatants had attended the celebration of the mass, Gonsalvo encouraged them by an oration, the tenor of which has been preserved by one of his countrymen, in Spanish verse.^(a) They then partook of a moderate

suppressed those on the part of the French, from respect to their nation; but Summonte names not only the combatants, but the judges and hostages as under:

COMBATANTS.

FRENCH.

Charles de Torgues.
 Marc de Frigne.
 Giraut de Forses.
 Claude Graiam d' Asti.
 Martellin de Lambris.
 Pier de Liaie.
 Jacques de la Fontaine.
 Eliot de Baraut.
 Jean de Landes.
 Sacet de Sacet.
 Francois de Pise.
 Jacques de Guignes.
 Naute de la Fraises.

ITALIANS.

Hettore Fieramosca.
 Francesco Salamone.
 Marco Corollario.
 Riccio di Palma.
 Gulielmo d' Albamonte.
 Marino di Abignente.
 Giovanni Capozzo.
 Giovanni Brancaleone.
 Lodovico d' Abenavolo.
 Hettore Giovenale.
 Bartolommeo Tanfulla.
 Romanello da Forli.
 Meale Tesi.

JUDGES.

Monsig. di Broglio.	Francisco Zurlo.
Monsig. di Murtibrach.	Diego Vela.
Monsig. de Bruet.	Francesco Spinola.
Etum Sutte.	Alonzo Lopez.

HOSTAGES.

Monsig. de Musnai.	Angelo Galeotta.
Monsig. de Dumoble.	Albernuccio Valga.

(a) *Summonte Storia di Napoli, lib. vi. v. iii. p. 542. (corr. 607.)*

derate collation, after which they proceeded to the field of battle, their horses, ready caparisoned, being led by thirteen captains of infantry. The combatants followed on horseback in complete armour, except their helmets, which, together with their lances, were carried by thirteen gentlemen. Being arrived within a mile of the field, they were met by the four Italian judges, who informed them, that they had been with the four judges appointed by the French, and had marked out the space for the combat. The Italians were the first in the field, when their leader, Hettore Fieramosca, availed himself of the opportunity of addressing his associates in a speech, which the Neapolitan historian, Summonte, has also thought proper to preserve. In a short time the French combatants also made their appearance in great pomp, and with numerous attendants. The adverse parties then quitting their horses, and mounting the steeds prepared for them, arrayed themselves in order, and giving their coursers the reins, rushed against each other at full speed. A few lances were broken in the shock, without much injury to either party; but it was observed that the Italians remained firmly united, whilst the French seemed to be dispersed, and in some disorder. The combatants then dismounting, attacked each other with swords and battle-axes, and a contest ensued, in which both parties displayed great courage, strength, and dexterity, but the result of which was a complete victory to the Italians; the French being all either wounded or made prisoners.^(a) The ransom of one hundred crowns not,

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being

^(a) Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (*de Poet. suor. tempor. dialog.* 1.) informs us, that the celebrated Girolamo Vida, wrote a Latin poem on this event; entitled xiii. *Italorum pugilum cum*

being found upon the persons of the vanquished, the conquerors, by the directions of the judges, retained their adversaries in custody, and carried them into the town of Barletta, where Gonsalvo, out of his own purse, generously paid their ransom, and restored them to liberty. (a) Amidst the defeats and humiliations which the Italians had experienced, it is not surprising that their historians have dwelt upon this incident with peculiar complacency, as tending to shew, that under equal circumstances, their countrymen were not inferior either in conduct or courage to their invaders. And although a French writer has endeavoured to invalidate some of the facts before related, it cannot be doubted that the Italians were justly entitled to the honour of the victory. (b)

Unimportant as this event was in itself, it seems to have changed the fortune of the war, and to have led the way to

cum totidem Gallis certamen, which he inscribed to Baldassare Castiglione; but this earnest of the future talents of its author, has not been preserved to the present times, v. *Vida op. Testimon.* 161. Piero Summonte of Naples, the friend of Sanazzaro, also wrote a copy of Latin verses, addressed to Hettore Fieramosca, which merit perusal. v. *Appendix, No. LII.*

(a) Guicciardini and Muratori assert, that one of the French combatants, and several of the horses, were killed on the field; but I have preferred the narrative of Summonte, who seems to have been more fully informed of the particulars of this transaction than any other writer.

(b) " Monsignor di Belcaire Vescovo di Metz si credette di poter sminuire la riputazion de gli Italiani, adducendo alcune particolarità toccate dal Sabellico intorno a quel duello, quasichè la frode, e non la virtù, avesse guadagnata la pugna. Ma quel prelato non s'intendeva del mestiere dell' armi; e per la gloria degli Italiani altro non occorre rispondergli, se non che i Giudici deputati a quel conflitto, dichiararono legitima la vittoria; nè mai i vinti o i lor compagni pretesero di darle taccia alcuna." *Murat. Ang. d'Ital. vol. x. p. 22.*

to the numerous defeats and disasters which the French soon afterwards experienced. Gonsalvo, quitting his intrenchments at Barletta, assaulted and captured the town of Rufo; taking prisoner the French commander, de Pelisse. About the same time, d'Aubigny was attacked and defeated in Calabria by the Spanish general, Ugo Da Cardona, and was himself severely wounded. A more decisive victory was soon afterwards obtained by the Spaniards in Appulia; nor did the duke of Nemours long survive his defeat. In consequence of these rapid successes, Gonsalvo found himself in possession of the chief part of the kingdom. Distressed by continual tumults, and exhausted by famine, the cities of Capua, Aversa, and even Naples, sent deputies to him to testify their obedience, and request his presence. On the fourteenth day of May, 1503, Gonsalvo, with his victorious army, entered the city of Naples, to the great joy of the inhabitants; against whom he vigilantly restrained his soldiery from committing the slightest outrage; and from this period, the crown of Naples has been invariably united with that of Spain, under the government of the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon.

CHAP. VII.

A. D. 1503.

A. Æt. 28.

Gonsalvo defeats the French, and effects the conquest of Naples.

At the time of the death of Alexander VI. his son, Cæsar Borgia, was labouring under a severe disorder, occasioned, as has generally been believed, by that poison which he had prepared for others, but which had been inadvertently administered to himself. He was not, however, inactive at this critical period, against which he had endeavoured to provide, by all the precautions in his power; nor was there any circumstance, other than his unexpected malady,

Commotions in Rome. Cæsar Borgia quits the city.

to which his foresight had not provided a remedy.(a) No sooner was he informed of the death of the pontiff, than he dispatched his confidential adherent, Don Michele, with several attendants, to close the gates of the palace. One of these partizans, meeting with the cardinal Casanuova, threatened to strangle him, and throw him through the windows, if he did not instantly deliver up to him the keys of the pope's treasure. The cardinal did not long hesitate, and the friends of Borgia, hastening into the interior chambers, seized upon and carried away all the money contained in two chests, amounting to about ten thousand ducats.(b) It is observable, that during the whole time of the indisposition of the pope, he was never once visited by Cæsar Borgia, nor is it less remarkable, that in his last sickness, he displayed no particular marks of attachment either to his son, or to his daughter, Lucretia.(c) Although Borgia had at this time a considerable body of soldiers in Rome, he conducted himself with great humility towards the sacred college, and expressed his willingness to give assurance of his fidelity by his oath, whenever required. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which Borgia undertook to defend the college, collectively and individually, and to protect the nobility

(a) *Machiao. lib. del Principe. cap. vii. p. 18.*

(b) *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. Romani, vol. i. p. 137.*

(c) "Dans ses derniers momens," says M. Brequigny, (*Notices et Extraits des MSS. du Roi. tom. i. p. 119*) "il parut avoir oublié sa fille Lucrece qu' il avoit beaucoup trop aimée, & son fils César Borgia, dont il s'étoit tant occupé pendant sa vie. *Nec umquam memor fuit in aliquo minimo verbo.*" It certainly affords no additional proof of the supposed guilty intercourse between Alexander and his daughter, that he expressed on his death-bed, neither regret for her loss, nor compunction for his crime.

nobility and citizens of Rome, for which purpose he was confirmed in his office as captain of the church.^(a) No sooner, however, was the death of the pope, and the infirmity of Borgia publicly announced, than many of the great barons of the Roman states, whom they had deprived of their territories, took up arms to revenge their injuries, and repossess themselves of their rights. It was to no purpose, that Cæsar employed all his arts to mitigate their resentment, and gain over to his interest, the nobles of the Colonna family, whom he had not outraged with the same cruel policy, that he had exercised towards the Orsini. An aversion to their common enemy united the adverse chiefs of these two houses, and Borgia, with his followers, was attacked by their combined forces in the streets of Rome.^(b) In these commotions, upwards of two hundred houses were sacked by the troops of the Orsini, among which was that of the cardinal Cusa.^(c) Although courageously defended by his soldiery, and assisted by a few French troops, Borgia was compelled to give way to the violence of the attack, and to take shelter, with his brother, the prince of Squillace, and several of the cardinals, who adhered to his interests, in the Vatican. A new negotiation now took place, by which it was at length agreed, that the sacred college should assure to Borgia, a free and uninterrupted passage through the ecclesiastical states, for himself and his followers, with their necessary provisions, ammunition, and artillery; and should also
write

(a) Burchard. *Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontif.* vol. i. p. 141.

(b) Guicciard. *Storia d' Italia.* lib. vi. p. 320.

(c) Burchard. *Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef.* v. i. p. 142.

write to the Venetian senate, to request, that he might without interruption, retain the possession of his territories in Romagna. On these conditions, he promised to depart peaceably from Rome within three days. The leaders of the Colonna and Orsini, also engaged to quit the city, and not to approach within ten miles, during the vacancy of the holy see. A proclamation was then made, that no person, of whatever rank or condition, should molest Borgia or his followers on their departure; in consequence of which he quitted the city on the second day of August, and directed his course towards Naples.^(a)

Election and
short ponti-
ficate of Pius
III.

On receiving information of the vacancy of the holy see, George of Amboise, cardinal of Rohan, had hastened to Rome; not without hopes of obtaining the pontifical authority. He brought with him, as supporters of his pretensions, the cardinals of Aragon, and Ascanio Sforza; the latter of whom had been imprisoned by Louis XII. at the same time with his brother Lodovico, but had shortly before this period been restored to liberty. The recent disasters of the French in Naples, were not, however, favourable to the views of the cardinal of Rohan; and on the twenty-second day of September, 1503, the conclave concurred in electing to the supreme dignity, Francesco Piccolomini, cardinal of Siena, the nephew of Pius II. who assumed the name of Pius III. The acknowledged probity, talents, and pacific disposition of this pontiff, gave great reason to hope, that his influence and exertions might have a powerful effect in correcting the scandalous disorders of the church, and repressing the dissensions to which Italy had so long been subjected.

(a) Burchard. *Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef.* v. i. p. 145.

subjected. The first measure of this pontificate, which was to call a general council, for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, tended to confirm these hopes; but they were suddenly extinguished by the death of the pontiff, after he had enjoyed the supreme dignity only twenty-six days. This event was, according to the fashion of the times, attributed to poison; but it was more probably occasioned by the effects of an abscess in the thigh, with which the pontiff was known to have long laboured, and which was perhaps not the least efficient argument for inducing the conclave to raise him to the pontificate.(a)

A few days after the election of Pius III. Cæsar Borgia returned to Rome, when the contests between him and the Roman barons were renewed with greater violence than before. Many of his adherents lost their lives, and the *Porta del Torrione* was burnt by the troops of the Orsini. Finding himself in imminent danger, he retreated, with the consent of the pope, to the castle of St. Angelo, accompanied by a few menial attendants, and by six of the cardinals who still adhered to his cause.(b) In the mean time many of the lords,

The states of Romagna retain their fidelity to Cæsar Borgia.

(a) On this event Angelo Colocci produced, in an epitaph on the pontiff, the following severe sarcasm on his predecessor Alexander VI.

“ Tertius hic Pius est, qui summum ad culmen ab ipsa

“ Virtue evectus, protinus interiit.

“ Nec mirum, quia peste atra, qui sederat ante,

“ *Sextus Alexander, polluerat Solium.*

Op. lat. Colotii. p. 112.

(b) Sanazzaro, invariably hostile to the family of Borgia, has commemorated this event in the following exulting lines :

“ Qui modo prostratos jactarat cornibus *Ursos*,

“ In latebras *Taurus* concitus ecce fugit.

“ Nec

lords, whom Borgia had dispossessed, returned to their dominions. The Baglioni again occupied Perugia, the Vitelli entered the city of Castello, the duke of Urbino returned to his capital, *(a)* and the lords of Pesaro, Camerino, Piombino, and Sinigaglia, were restored to their authority as suddenly as they had been deprived of it. Several of the cities of Romagna, retained, however, their fidelity to their new sovereign, having found by experience the superior advantages derived from their union under his government, compared to that of their former princes; whose power, though sufficient to oppress, was inadequate to defend them. To this decisive partiality in favour of Cæsar Borgia, they were also incited by the attention which he had paid to the strict administration of justice, which had freed them from the hordes of banditti by whom they had been infested, and suppressed the feuds and assassinations to which they had before been subject. *(b)* Hence, neither the
defection

“ Nec latebras putat esse satis sibi; Tibride toto

“ Cingitur, et notis vix bene fudit aquis.

“ Terruerat montes mugitibus; obvia nunc est,

“ Et facilis cuivis præda sine arte capi.

“ Sed tamen id magnum; nuper potuisse vel Ursos

“ Sternere, nunc omnes posse timere feras.

“ Ne tibi, Roma, novæ desint spectacula Pompæ;

“ Amphitheatrales reddit arena jocos.”

Epig. lib. i. Ep. 14.

(a) Notwithstanding the representation given by Bembo, of the affection of the subjects of Urbino for their sovereign, he did not recover his dominions without great difficulty. On this occasion Castiglione, who had the command of a company of cavalry in the service of the duke, dislocated his ankle by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which he went to Urbino, where he was most kindly received by the duchess Elisabetta, to whom he was related, and by Madama Emilia Pia, who resided at that court. His acquaintance with these accomplished women, completed what may be called his education, and he became the *Chesterfield* of the age. *v. vita di Bald. Castiglione. p. 11.*

(b) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital, lib vi. v. i. p. 316.*

defection of other places, nor even their apprehensions of the Venetians, who were already preparing to avail themselves of their unprotected situation, could induce those cities to waver in their fidelity, or to listen to proposals from any other quarter.

CHAP. VII.
A. D. 1503.
A. Æt. 28.

On the death of Pius III. the cardinal de' Medici, and two of his brethren, were appointed by the college to receive the oath of fidelity from Monsignor Marco, bishop of Sinigaglia, keeper of the castle of St. Angelo.^(a) The loss of the pontiff was an additional misfortune to Borgia, as it opened the way for the assumption to the pontificate of Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincula, the ancient and most determined enemy of his family. Of the dissensions of this prelate with Alexander VI. various instances are related; but amidst the many opprobrious epithets which they were accustomed to bestow on each other, Alexander had the magnanimity to acknowledge, that his opponent was a man of veracity. Such a concession from such a quarter, raised the credit of the cardinal more than all the animosity of the pope could depress it, and Giuliano, well aware that no one can deceive so effectually as he who has once acquired a reputation for sincerity, is said to have availed himself of this circumstance to secure his election, which, if we may believe Guicciardini, was not effected without some sacrifice of his former good estimation.^(b) On this occasion the cardinal affected to lay aside his enmity to Cæsar Borgia, and a treaty

Election of
Julius II.

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was

(a) *Burch. diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. v. i. p. 153.*

(b) *Guicciard. Stor. d' Ital. lib. vi. v. i. p. 321.*

CHAP. VII.
A. D. 1503.
A. Æt. 28.

was concluded between them, by which the cardinal engaged, that if he should, by the assistance of Borgia, be raised to the pontificate, he would confer upon him the dignity of *Gonfaloniere*, or general of the church, and confirm his authority in the states of Romagna. (a) This project was successful; Giuliano attained his wishes; but no sooner had he ascended the papal throne, than he gave sufficient indications of his former animosity; and Borgia was too late aware of an error, which was the occasion of his ruin, and which is enumerated by Machiavelli, as one of the few mistakes of his political life. (b)

The pope attempts to divest Borgia of his territories.

On assuming his high office, the new pontiff adopted the name of Julius II. and soon proved himself to be one of the most active, warlike, and politic sovereigns that had ever sat in the chair of St. Peter. (c) The Venetians, proceeding from Ravenna, which they before possessed, had already made an irruption into Romagna, and not only subjugated

(a) Burchard. diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. Guicciard. Stor. d' Ital. lib. vi. v. i. 322.

(b) "Chi crede che ne' personaggi grandi i beneficii nuovi faeno dimenticare l' ingiurie vecchie, inganna. Errò adunque il duca (Borgia) in questa elettione, & fu cagione dell' ultima rovina sua." *Macch. lib. del Principe. cap. vii.*

(c) The elevation of Julius II. which took place on the twenty-ninth day of October, has been celebrated in many of the Latin poems of Augurelli, who may be considered as the poet-laureate of that pontiff. One of these pieces, which in general display great elegance, is given in the Appendix, No. LIII.

From the martial spirit of this pontiff, it was supposed that he had assumed the name of *Julius* in reference to Julius Cæsar.

"Purpureum plebs uncta caput creat auspice tandem

"*Julium*, et, ut memorant, a magno *Cæsare* dictum."

Mantuani Vincentii, Alba. ap. Carm. illustr. Ital. v. xi. p. 338.

subjugated the city and fortress of Faenza, but gave evident demonstrations of their designs upon the other cities of that district. These measures occasioned no small anxiety to the pope, who had proposed to himself the preservation and extension of the territories of the church, as the great object of his pontificate. An embassy from him to the Venetian senate, intreating them to desist from their pretensions, was of no avail ; but as several of the cities of Romagna still retained their allegiance to Borgia, the pontiff thought it expedient to make use of him as the most effectual instrument, for preventing the total separation of these states from the Roman see. He therefore seized upon the person of Borgia, who had proceeded to the port of Ostia, intending to embark for France, and required, that before his liberation, he should consign to him the possession of the different fortresses in the district of Romagna. This, Borgia at first refused ; but being detained for some days as a prisoner, he at length complied, and gave the necessary countersigns for surrendering up the fortresses. The archbishop of Ragusa was immediately dispatched to obtain possession ; but the commanders, still attached to their leader, refused to deliver them up, under any orders obtained from him whilst under restraint. On this spirited measure, Borgia was again restored to liberty, highly caressed by the pope, and provided with apartments in the Vatican. His orders to deliver up the fortresses of Romagna were again repeated, and as a proof of his sincerity, he dispatched one of his confidential adherents, Pietro d'Oviedo, with directions to the different commanders to the same purpose. This second attempt was equally ineffectual with the former. No sooner did Oviedo, accompanied by Moschiavellar, the pope's chamberlain, arrive at the castle of Cesena, then commanded by Don

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A. D. 1503.

A. Æt. 28.

Diego Ramiro, than that officer caused him to be seized upon, and instantly hanged as a traitor to his sovereign. When the information of this event arrived at Rome, Cæsar was again deprived of his liberty, and sent to occupy a remote apartment in the Torre Borgia.^(a)

Borgia betrayed
by Gonsalvo
and sent to
Spain.

In this situation a new negotiation commenced between Borgia and the pontiff, in the result of which it was agreed, that Borgia should be committed to the charge of Bernardino Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, and conveyed to Ostia, where he should be liberated as soon as information was received, that his governors in Romagna had delivered up their trust. Several of the commanders now obeyed the directions of their prince, and the cardinal thereupon gave him permission to proceed to France, which he had pretended was his intention. He had, however, already obtained a passport from the Spanish general, Gonsalvo, who had dispatched two gallies to Ostia, to convey him with his attendants to Naples.^(b) He accordingly embarked for that place, and was received by Gonsalvo with every demonstration of kindness and respect. The hopes of Borgia now began once more to revive. The commander of the fortress of Forli, still held the place in his name. Gonsalvo promised him a supply of gallies, and gave him liberty to engage soldiers within the kingdom of Naples, for an attempt on the city of Pisa, or the Tuscan territories. Bartolommeo d'Alveano, then at Naples, earnestly desirous of restoring the Medici to Florence, offered himself as an associate

(a) *Burcard. Diar. ap. Concl. de Pontif. v. i. p. 163.*

(b) *Guicciard. Stor. d'Ital. lib vi. p. 339.*

associate in his undertaking. But whilst Gonsalvo was thus flattering his ambitious projects, he had secretly dispatched a messenger into Spain, to request directions from Ferdinand, in what manner he should dispose of the dangerous person, who had thus confided in his protection. The activity and credit of Borgia had raised a considerable armament; the gallies were prepared for sea, and on the evening previous to the day fixed upon for their departure, he had an interview with Gonsalvo, in the course of which he received from the Spaniard, the warmest expressions of attachment, and was dismissed with an affectionate embrace. No sooner, however, had he quitted the chamber, than he was seized upon by the orders of Gonsalvo, who alledged, that he had received directions from his sovereign, which superseded the effect of his own passport.(a) Being committed to the charge of his ancient adversary, Prospero Colonna, he was soon afterwards put on board a galley and conveyed to Spain. The conduct of Colonna, on this occasion, is highly honourable to his feelings; for in the execution of his commission, he was so far from insulting his captive, that he avoided even fixing his eyes upon him during the whole voyage, lest he should appear to exult over a fallen enemy.(b)

On

(a) Some readers may perhaps be inclined to exclaim

“ Nec lex est justior ulla
 “ Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.”

But it should be remembered, that although it be a proper cause of exultation, when a villain falls by the consequences of his own crime, it will not follow, that he ought to perish by the crime of another.

(b) *Jovius in vita Gonsalvi. p. 257.* Sanazzaro did not, however, omit this opportunity of expressing his joy in his well known *hendecasyllabi* :

“ O Taure, præsens qui fugis periculum.” *Epig. lib. i. Ep. 15.*

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A. Æt. 28.

On the arrival of Borgia in Spain, he was confined a close prisoner in the castle of Medina del Campo, where he remained for the space of two years. Having at length effected his escape, he fled to his brother-in-law, John d'Albret, king of Navarre, in whose service he remained for several years in a high military command, and at length fell by a shot in an action under the walls of Viana. From that place his body was conveyed to Pampeluna, and deposited in the cathedral, of which he had once been prelate.(a)

Of this extraordinary character it may with truth be observed, that his activity, courage, and perseverance, were equal to the greatest attempts. In the pursuit of his object he overlooked or overleaped all other considerations; when force was ineffectual, he resorted to fraud; and whether he thundered in open hostility at the gates of a city, or endeavoured to effect his purpose by negotiation and treachery, he was equally irresistible. If we may confide in the narrative of Guicciardini, cruelty, rapine, injustice, and lust, are only particular features in the composition of this monster; yet it is difficult to conceive, that a man so totally unredeemed by a single virtue, should have been enabled to maintain himself at the head of a powerful army; to engage in so eminent a degree the favour of the people conquered; to form alliances with the first sovereigns of Europe; to destroy or overturn the most powerful families

(a) " --- haud dubiè," says Jovius, " rapiente fato ad eam urbem cujus Antistes antea fuerat." To which he adds with great gravity, " Neque enim quisquam fere repertus est, qui quum sese susceptis semel sacris abdicarit, tranquillam vitæ exitum talisse censeatur." *Jov. in vita Consalv. lib. iii. p. 275.*

families of Italy; and to lay the foundations of a dominion, of which it is acknowledged that the short duration is to be attributed rather to his ill-fortune, and the treachery of others, than either to his errors or his crimes. If, however, he has been too indiscriminately condemned by one historian, he has in another met with as zealous and powerful an encomiast, and the maxims of the politician are only the faithful record of the transactions of his hero. On the principles of Machiavelli, Borgia was the greatest man of the age.^(a) Nor was he, in fact, without qualities, which in some degree compensated for his demerits. Courageous, munificent, eloquent, and accomplished in all the exercises of arts and arms, he raised an admiration of his endowments which kept pace with, and counterbalanced the abhorrence excited by his crimes. That even these crimes have been exaggerated, is highly probable.^(b) His enemies were numerous, and the certainty of his guilt in some instances, gave credibility to every imputation that could be devised to throw his character into deeper shade. That he retained, even after he had survived his prosperity, no inconsiderable share of public estimation, is evident from the fidelity and attachment shewn him on many occasions. After his death, his memory and achievements were

(a) “ Se adunque si considererà tutti i progressi del Duca, si vedrà quanto lui avesse fatto gran fondamenti alla futura potenza, li quali non giudico superfluo discorrere; perchè io non saprei quali precetti mi dare migliori ad uno Principe nuovo, che lo esempio delle attioni sue. E se gli ordini suoi non gli giovarono, non fù sua colpa, perchè nacque da una straordinaria & estrema malignità di fortuna.”

Machiav. lib. del Princ. cap. viii. p. 15.

(b) The character of Cæsar Borgia is ably and impartially considered in the *General Biography*, now publishing by Dr. Aikin, and others. *vol. ii. p. 234. London. 1800. 4to.* A work, which does not implicitly adopt prescriptive errors, but evinces a sound judgment, a manly freedom of sentiment, and a correct taste.

were celebrated by one of the most elegant Latin poets that Italy has produced. The language of poetry is not indeed always that of truth; but we may at least give credit to the account of the personal accomplishments and warlike talents of Borgia; (a) although we may indignantly reject the spurious praise, which represents all Olympus as interested in his fate, and places him among the heroes of antiquity, and at the summit of fame. (b)

Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, mediates a peace between the French and Spanish monarchs.

On receiving intelligence of the defeat of his generals, and the loss of his lately acquired dominions in the kingdom of Naples, Louis XII. was greatly mortified, and immediately began to take measures for repairing those disasters which his earlier vigilance might have prevented. Not satisfied with dispatching a powerful reinforcement through the papal states into the kingdom of Naples, under the command of the duke de la Tremouille, he determined to attack his adversary in his Spanish dominions. For this purpose large bodies of French troops entered the provinces of Roussillon and Fontarabia, whilst a powerful fleet was directed to infest the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia.

These

-
- (a) " Non quisquam ingenio melior, non promptior ore,
 " Non gravior vultu, non vi præstantior, altos
 " Si celerem supersedere equos, jaculamque, sudemque,
 " Amento, atque agili procul exturbare lacerto." &c.

- (b) " Ille diu vixit, qui dum celestibus auris
 " Vescitur, implet onus laudis, cœlumque meretur," &c.

Cæsaris Borgia Ducis Epicedium, per Herculem Strozam, ad Divam Lucretiam Borgiam Ferrariæ Ducem. int. Strozæ Pat. et Fil. Poemata. Ald. 1513.

That Cæsar Borgia, like most of the eminent men of his time, aspired to the character of a poet, is considered as highly probable by Crescimbeni, *della volgar poesia*, vol. v. p. 63. Quadrio has also, on this authority, enumerated him among his Italian writers; to which, however,

These great preparations were not, however, followed by the expected consequences. An attempt upon the fortress of Palo, near the city of Narbonne, was frustrated by the courage of the Spanish garrison; and whilst the ardour of the French was checked by this unexpected opposition, Ferdinand himself took the field, and at the head of his army compelled his adversaries to retire within the limits of the French territory, where he had the moderation not to pursue his advantages. Nor were the achievements of the French fleet of greater importance; the commanders having, after many fruitless attempts upon the Spanish coast, been obliged to take refuge in Marseilles. At this period an event occurred, which exhibits the conduct of the contending monarchs in a singular point of view. A negotiation was entered into between them for the restoration of peace, and the mediator to whom they agreed to appeal for the reconciliation of their differences, was Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, the partition of whose dominions had given rise to the war. In the course of these discussions, Federigo was alternately flattered by both parties with the hopes of being restored to his crown; and so far had he obtained the favour of Anne of Bretagne, the queen of Louis XII. that she earnestly intreated the king to concur in this measure. It is not however to be supposed that it was the intention of either of the contending monarchs to perform such an act of disinterested justice; on the contrary, the pretext of appealing to the decision of Federigo, was probably only employed by them for the purpose of obtaining from each other more advantageous terms.

however, he adds, " Come che siamo persuasi che la poesia, che non s' apprende che ad anime signorili e ben fatte, non fosse pane per li suoi denti." *Storia d' ogni poesia*, vol. ii. p. 320.

The duke de la Tremouille having united his troops with those of his countrymen at Gaeta, and being reinforced by the marquis of Mantua, who had now entered into the service of the French, possessed himself of the duchy of Trajetto, and the district of Fondi, as far as the river Garigliano. He was, however, soon opposed by Gonsalvo, who had been joined by Bartolommeo d'Alveano, at the head of a considerable body of troops. The French, disadvantageously posted on the marshy banks of the river, had thrown a bridge over it, intending to proceed by the speediest route to Naples; but Gonsalvo, having arrived at S. Germano, was induced by the remonstrances of d'Alveano, to attack them before they could effect their passage. On the night of the twenty-eighth day of December, 1503,^(a) the Spaniards formed another bridge at Suio, about four miles above the French camp, over which Gonsalvo, with a considerable part of his army, secretly passed the river. On the following morning the French were suddenly attacked by d'Alveano, who carried the bridge which they had erected, and when the engagement became general, Gonsalvo, taking the French in the rear, routed them with an immense slaughter, and pursued them as far as Gaeta, which place he soon afterwards reduced.^(b)

This day terminated the unfortunate life of Piëro de' Medici, who had engaged in the service of the French, and taken a principal part in the action; but finding all hopes of assistance frustrated, and being desirous of rendering his friends

(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Ital. v. x. p. 25.*

(b) The victory of Gonsalvo is celebrated in a Latin ode, addressed to him by Grinitus. *v. Appendix, No. LIV.*

friends all the services in his power, he embarked on board a galley, with several other persons of rank, intending to convey to Gaeta four heavy pieces of artillery, which he had prevented from falling into the hands of the conquerors. The weight of these pieces, and probably the number of passengers, who endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity to effect their escape, occasioned the vessel to founder; and it was not until several days afterwards, that the body of Piero was recovered from the stream.*(a)* He left by his wife Alfonsina Orsino, a son, Lorenzo, who was born on the thirteenth day of September, 1492, and will frequently occur to our future notice; and a daughter, named Clarice. In his days of gaiety, and amidst the delights of Florence, Piero had assumed a device, intended to characterize his temper and pursuits, to which Politiano had supplied him with an appropriate motto.*(b)* His misfortunes, or his misconduct, soon provided him with more serious occupations; and ten years of exile and disappointment, consumed the vigour of a life which had opened with the most favourable prospects. In the year 1552, Cosmo I. grand-duke of Tuscany, erected to the memory of his kins-

D 2

man,

(a) Valerianus informs us, that Piero perished in the port of Gaeta, and in the presence of his wife; at the same time he bears testimony to his learning and accomplishments, "vir et Græcis et Latinis literis, optimè, quod omnes fateamini, peritus. Nam hoc et scripta ejus indicant, & quædam ex Plutarcho de Amore conjugali, quæ vidimus, traducta ab eo, locupletissimè testantur." *Valer. de literator. infelicitate. lib. ii. p. 113.* At the same time perished Fabio, the son of Paolo Orsino, a young man of very uncommon endowments, the relation and constant companion of Piero de' Medici. Of his early proficiency and extraordinary talents, Politiano has left an interesting account. *Lib. xii. Ep. 2.*

(b) This device represented green branches, interwoven together, and placed in the midst of flames, with the motto, *In viridi teneras exurit flamma medullas.*

v. Annir. Ritratti d' huomini illustri di Casa Medici. in Opuscoli. v. iii. p. 62.

CHAP. VII. man, a splendid monument, at Monte Cassino, with an inscription, commemorating, not indeed his virtues, nor his talents, but his high family-connexions, and his untimely death.^(a)

A. D. 1503.
A. Æt. 28.

1504.

Marriage of
Clarice de'
Medici to
Filippo
Strozzi.

The death of Piero de' Medici seems to have been the period from which the fortunes of his house once more began to revive; nor is it difficult to discover the reasons of so favourable a change. The aversion and indignation of the Florentines were directed against the individual, rather than against the family; and soon after the death of Piero, his widow, Alfonsina, was allowed to return to Florence, and claim her rights of dower from the property of her husband. Of this opportunity she diligently availed herself to dispose the minds of the citizens to favour the cause of the Medici; and in order more effectually to promote the interests of her family, she negotiated a marriage between her daughter Clarice, and Filippo Strozzi, a young nobleman of great wealth and extraordinary accomplishments. This marriage was celebrated shortly after the return of Alfonsina to Rome; but no sooner was it known to the magistrates of Florence, than they cited Filippo to appear before them, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of his friends, condemned him to pay five hundred gold crowns, and banished him for three years into the kingdom of Naples. At the same time Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, was declared a rebel to the state.

(a) " PETRO MEDICI MAGNI LAURENTII F. LEONIS X. PONTIF. MAX. FRATRI. CLEMENTIS VII. PATRUCLI. QUI QUUM GALLORUM CASTRA SEQUERETUR, EX ADVERSO PRÆLIO AD LYRIS OSTIUM NAUFRAGIO PERIIT. ANNO AET. XXXIII. COSMAS MEDICES FLORENT. DUX, PONI CURAVIT. M.D.LIII."

state. These proceedings did not, however, prevent Clarice from paying frequent visits to Florence, where she maintained a strict intercourse with the Salviati, the Rucellai, and other families, connected by the ties of relationship or friendship with the house of Medici; and although Filippo Strozzi returned before the expiration of the term prescribed, and took up his residence with his wife in Florence, no measures were adopted either to punish him, or to remand him into banishment; a circumstance which the friends of the Medici did not fail to notice, as a striking indication of the strength of their cause.^(a)

The inconsiderate conduct, the ambitious views, and the impetuous and arrogant disposition of Piero de' Medici, had been always strongly contrasted by the mild and placable temper of the cardinal; who, although he had on all occasions adhered to his brother, as the chief of his family, had always endeavoured to sooth the violence of those passions, and to moderate those aspiring pretensions, which after having occasioned his expulsion from Florence, still continued to operate, and effectually precluded his return. During the latter part of the pontificate of Alexander VI. the cardinal de' Medici had fixed his residence at Rome; where, devoted to a private life, he had the address and good-fortune, if not to obtain the favour of that profligate pontiff, at least to escape his resentment. The election of Julius II. to the pontificate, opened to him the prospect of brigher days. It is true, Julius was the nephew of Sixtus IV. the inveterate enemy of the Medicean name; but these ancient antipathies had long been converted into attachment

Moderation and
prudence of
the cardinal
de' Medici.

(a) v. *Commentarii di Nerli. lib. v. p. 100, &c.*

attachment and esteem. Under the favour of this pontiff, the cardinal had an opportunity of indulging his natural disposition to the cultivation of polite letters, and the promotion of works of art.^(a) His books, though not numerous, were well chosen, and his domestic hours were generally spent in the society of such dignified and learned ecclesiastics, as could at times condescend to lay aside the severity of their order, to discuss the characteristics of generous actions, the obligations of benevolence and affection, the comparative excellencies of the fine arts, or the nature and essence of human happiness. On these subjects the cardinal never failed to distinguish himself by his urbanity, his acuteness, and his eloquence.^(b) In deciding upon the productions of architecture, of painting, and of sculpture, his taste was hereditary, and he was resorted to by artists in every department, as to an infallible judge. With the science of music he was theoretically and practically conversant, and his house more frequently re-echoed with the sprightly harmony of concerts, than with the solemn sounds of devotion. Debarred by his profession from the exercises of the camp, he addicted himself with uncommon ardour to the chase, as the best means of preserving his health, and preventing that corpulency to which he was naturally inclined. This amusement he partook of in common with a numerous band of noble associates, of whom he was considered as the leader; nor did he desist from this exercise even after his attainment to the supreme ecclesiastical dignity.

The

^(a) Pietro Bembo writing to Bernardo da Bibbiena, the domestic secretary of the cardinal, says, "Al vostro e mio S. cardinale de' Medici renderete quelle grazie del suo dolce e cortese animo nelle cose mie, che sono a tanto debito convenienti."

In Bembo op. iii. 191.

^(b) *Jovius in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 29, &c.*

The good understanding which subsisted between Julius II. and the cardinal de' Medici, was further strengthened by Galeotto della Rovere, the nephew of the pope, with whom the cardinal had contracted a strict friendship. This young man was not less the object of the admiration of the court and people of Rome, than he was the favourite of his uncle. Engaging in his manners, elegant in his person, liberal and magnificent in all his conduct, he well merited the high honours bestowed upon him by the pope, who immediately on his elevation, transferred to his nephew the cardinal's hat which he had himself worn, and on the death of Ascanio Sforza nominated him vice-chancellor of the holy see.^(a) Such was the effect produced by the conciliatory manners of the cardinal de' Medici on his young friend, who, from the advanced age of his uncle, did not conceive that he would long enjoy the pontificate, that Galeotto is said to have promised the cardinal, who had not yet attained his thirtieth year, that he should succeed to that high dignity; alledging that it was an office more proper for a man in the prime and vigour of life, than for one already exhausted by labour, and declining into years. This observation was not, however, applicable to the circumstances by which it was occasioned; for whilst Julius maintained his own dignity, and enforced the claims of the church, during an interval of ten years, with an unexampled degree of activity and perseverance, Galeotto himself fell, in the prime of youth, a sacrifice to the effects of a violent fever, which in a few days consigned him to the grave. The sumptuous parade of his funeral

Untimely death
of Galeotto
della Rovere.

^(a) *Jovius in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 29.* Several letters to Galeotto from Pietro Bembo, are given in *Bemb. op. vol. iii. p. 6, &c.* highly favourable to the character of the young cardinal.

funeral afforded no consolation for his loss to the cardinal de' Medici, who had assiduously attended him in his last moments, and performed towards him all the duties of religion and affection. Deprived of his friend in the ardour of youth, whilst the happiness of the present was increased by the prospect of the future, he long remained inconsolable, and when time had softened his sorrow, the name of Galeotto was never adverted to, even in his most cheerful moments, without exciting the visible symptoms of affectionate remembrance.(a)

Difficulties and
embarrass-
ments of the
cardinal de'
Medici.

In the measures adopted by the cardinal, for effecting his restoration to his native place, he was now no longer in danger of being counteracted by the ill-timed efforts and impetuosity of his brother. Although this was the constant object of his solicitude, and he was now considered as the chief of his family, he shewed no disposition to interfere in the concerns, or to disturb the repose of the Florentines, who, under the dictatorship of Pietro Soderini, continued to labour with the difficulties of their government, and the obstinacy of their rebellious subjects, and to maintain at least the name of a republic. It was not, however, without frequent opposition and mortification that Soderini exercised his authority. Many of the citizens of the first rank, still attached to the cause of the Medici, continued to harrass him in all his designs, and to oppose all his measures ; but the industry, patience, and perseverance of the *gonfaloniere*, gradually blunted their resentment and weakened their efforts, whilst the various and unsuccessful attempts of Piero de' Medici to regain the city of Florence by force, had increased the

(a) *Jovius in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 29.*

the aversion of his countrymen, and placed an insuperable bar to his return. In these expeditions the resources of the family were exhausted, insomuch, that the cardinal found no small difficulty in supporting the dignity of his rank, to which his ecclesiastical revenues were inadequate. He struggled, however, with these humiliating circumstances to the utmost of his power; but the liberality of his disposition too often exceeded the extent of his finances; and a splendid entertainment was at times deranged by the want of some essential, but unattainable article. Even the silver utensils of his table were occasionally pledged for the purpose of procuring that feast, of which they ought to have been the chief ornaments. That these circumstances occasioned him considerable anxiety cannot be doubted; for whilst on the one hand he was unwilling to detract from that character of liberality and munificence which was suitable to his rank, and to the high expectations which he still continued to entertain; on the other hand he dreaded the disgrace of being wanting in the strict discharge of his pecuniary engagements. He carefully, however, avoided giving, even in the lowest ebb of his fortunes, the slightest indications of despondency. His temper was cheerful, his conversation animated, and his appearance and manners betrayed not the least symptom of his domestic embarrassments, for the relief of which, he seemed to depend upon a timely and miraculous supply.^(a) Nor was he in general disappointed in his hopes; for the same good fortune which prepared the way to his highest honours, attended

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him

(a) From a letter of Gregorio Cortese, addressed to the cardinal de' Medici, it appears, that even at this period he had begun to emulate the example of his ancestors, in the promotion of public institutions for religious purposes. *v. Appendix. No. LV.*

CHAP. VII.

A. D. 1504.

A. Æt. 29.

him in his greatest difficulties, and enabled him to extricate himself from them with admirable dexterity and irreproachable honour. To the remonstrances of his more prudent friends, who were fearful that his liberality would at length involve him in actual distress, he was accustomed to reply, as if with a presage of his future destiny, that great men were the work of providence, and that nothing could be wanting to them, if they were not wanting to themselves.(a)

Death of Ercole
duke of Fer-
rara, and ac-
cession of
Alfonso I.

1505.

In the early part of the year 1505, died Ercole of Este, duke of Ferrara,(b) after having governed his states with great credit, both in war and in peace, during thirty-four years, of which the latter part had been devoted to the embellishing and enlarging his capital, the promotion of the happiness of his subjects, and to the protection and encouragement of the sciences and arts.(c) His great qualities and heroic actions are celebrated by the pen of Ariosto; who asserts, however, that the advantages which his people derived

(a) “ — insignes viros cælesti sorte fieri magnos, præterea nihil eis unquam posse deficere, nisi ipsi animis omnino deficerent.” *Jovius, in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 31.*

(b) He died on the twenty-sixth of January, the very day which he had fixed on for the representation of a comedy for the amusement of the people. v. *Giraldi, Commentarii delle Cose di Ferrara. p. 137.*

(c) v. *Supra, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 78.* “ Alexander VI. in his bull of investiture, applauds the useful labours of Hercules I. which had increased the numbers and happiness of his people, which had adorned the city of Ferrara with strong fortifications and stately edifices, and which had reclaimed a large extent of unprofitable waste. The vague and spreading banks of the Po, were confined in their proper channels by moles and dykes, the intermediate lands were converted to pasture and tillage; the fertile district became the granary of Venice, and the corn-exports of a single year, were exchanged for the value of two hundred thousand ducats. v. *Gibbon's Antiq. of Brunswick. in op. Posth. vol. ii. p. 691.*

derived from them, were inferior to the blessings which he conferred on them, in leaving two such sons as Alfonso and Ippolito.^(a) In the preceding year, his eldest son Alfonso had visited the courts of France and Spain, but at the time when he received intelligence of the dangerous malady of his father, he was in England, whence he hastened to Ferrara, and his father dying before his arrival, he peaceably assumed the government.^(b) As the state of Ferrara at this time enjoyed perfect tranquillity, the duke turned his attention to the mechanic arts, in which he became not only a skilful judge, but a practical proficient. His mind was, however, too comprehensive to suffer him to waste his talents on objects of mere amusement. After having excelled the best artificers of his time, he began to devote himself to the improvement of artillery. Under his direc-

E 2

tions,

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- (a) “ E quanto più aver obbligo si possa
 “ A principe, sua terra havrà a costui;
 “ Non perchè fia de le paludi mossa
 “ Tra campi fertilissimi da lui;
 “ Non perchè la farà con muro e fossa
 “ Meglio capace a' cittadini sui;
 “ E l' ornerà di templi e di palagi,
 “ Di piazze, di teatri, e di mille agi;
 “ Non perchè da gli artigli de' l' audace
 “ Aligero Leon, terrà difesa;
 “ Non perchè quando la Gallica face
 “ Per tutto avra' la bella Italia accesa,
 “ Si starà solo co'l suo stato in pace,
 “ E dal timor e da tributi illesa,;
 “ Non sì per questi & altri benefici,
 “ Saran sue genti ad Ercol' debitrici;
 “ Quanto che darà lor l' inclita prole
 “ Il giusto Alfonso, e Ippolito benigno,” &c.

Orl. Fur. cant. iii. st. 48. &c.

(b) *Jovius, in vita Alfonsi Ducis Ferrariæ. p. 153. Murat. Annal. d' Ital. x. 29.*

tions, cannon were cast of a larger size, and better construction than had before been seen in Italy.(a) Of the use which he made of these formidable implements, repeated instances will occur; nor is it improbable that to these fortunate preparations, he owed the preservation of his dominions, amidst the dangerous contests in which he was soon afterwards compelled to take an important part.

Tragical event
in the family
of Este.

The commencement of the reign of Alfonso I. was marked by a most tragical event, which endangered his safety, and destroyed or interrupted his domestic tranquillity. Besides his two sons before mentioned, of whom Ippolito, the younger, had been raised to the dignity of a cardinal, the late duke had left by his wife, Leonora, daughter of Ferdinand I. of Naples, a son named Ferdinand, and by a favourite mistress, an illegitimate son, called Don Giulio. Attracted by the beauty of a lady of Ferrara, to whom they were distantly related, the cardinal and Don Giulio became rivals in her affections; but the latter had obtained the preference, and the lady herself, in confessing to Ippolito her partiality to his brother, dwelt with apparent pleasure on the extraordinary beauty of his eyes. The exasperated ecclesiastic silently vowed revenge, and availing himself of an opportunity whilst he was engaged with Don Giulio in the chase, he surrounded him with a band of assassins, and compelling him to dismount, with a diabolical pleasure saw them deprive him of the organs of sight.(b) The moderation or negligence of
Alfonso,

(a) *Jovius in vita Alfonsi*, 154. *Sardi. Hist. Ferrarese*, lib. xi. p. 204.

(b) Muratori says, that the cardinal only attempted to put out the eyes of Don Giulio; but he justly adds, "con barbarie detestata da ognuno." *Annal. d' Ital.* x. 34.

Alfonso, in suffering this atrocious deed to remain unpunished, excited the resentment not only of Don Giulio, but of his brother Ferdinand, who, uniting together, endeavoured by secret treachery to deprive Alfonso at once of his honours and his life. Their purposes were discovered, and after having confessed their crime, they were both condemned to die. The fraternal kindness of Alfonso was not, however, wholly extinguished, and at the moment when the axe was suspended over them, he transmuted their punishment to that of perpetual imprisonment. In this state, Ferdinand remained until the time of his death in 1540, whilst Giulio, at the expiration of fifty-four years of captivity was once more restored to liberty. These events, which throw a gloom over the family-lustre of the House of Este, and mark the character of the cardinal with an indelible stain, are distinctly, though delicately adverted to in the celebrated poem of Ariosto.(a)

After

And Guicciardini admits, that he did not lose his sight; or rather he seems to assert, that after his eyes were extruded, they were replaced again by a careful hand! “ Al quale dal
“ Cardinale erano stati tratti gli occhi, ma *riposti*, senza perdita del lume *nel luogo loro*,
“ per presta et diligente cura de’ Medici.” *Hist. d’ Ital. lib. vii. v. i. p. 369. v. et. Jov. in vita Alfonsi. p. 154. Gibbon’s Antiq. of Brunswick in op. post. ii. 701.*

- (a) “ Qui Bradamante, poi che la favella
“ Le fu concessa usar, la bocca schiuse
“ E domandò, Chi son li due sì tristi
“ Che tra Ippolito e Alfonso, abbiamo visti?
“ Veniano sospirando, e gli occhi bassi
“ Parean tener, d’ ogni baldanza privi;
“ E gir lontan da loro io vedea i passi
“ De i frati sì, che ne pareano schivi.
“ — Parve che a tal domanda si cangiassi
“ La Maga in viso, e fe pe’ gli occhi rivi;
“ E gridò, Ah sfortunati, a quanta pena
“ Lungo instigar d’ huomini rei vi mena.
“ O buona prole, o degna d’ Ercol buono,
“ Non vinca il lor fallir vostra bontade.

“ Di

CHAP. VII.

A. D. 1505.

A. Æt. 30.

Final expulsion
of the French
from Naples.

After a series of calamities of more than ten years continuance, during which, there was scarcely any part of Italy that had not severely suffered from the effects of pestilence, of famine, and of war, some indications appeared of happier times. The pretensions of Louis XII. to the kingdom of Naples had received an effectual check by the defeat of his troops on the Garigliano, and although the remains of his army had effected a retreat to Gaeta, yet all that now remained for them, was to obtain a capitulation on such terms as should secure to them their liberty and their arms. These terms were readily conceded by Gonsalvo, who permitted his humiliated adversaries to march out from Gaeta with military honours, and to carry off their effects, on condition that they should return to France, either by land or sea, of which he offered them the choice, and furnished them with the opportunity. Both these courses were adopted, and in both, the French soldiery were equally unfortunate. Those who embarked at Gaeta and Naples, perished for the most part by hurricanes, either in the passage, or on their native coasts; whilst those who attempted to return by land, fell a sacrifice to sickness, cold, hunger, and fatigue, insomuch, that the roads were strewed with their dead bodies. This capitulation was speedily followed by a treaty between the contending monarchs, by which it was agreed, that Ferdinand, who had survived his queen, Isabella, and who on account of his dissensions with his son-in-law,

“ Di vostro sangue i miseri pur sono ;
 “ Qui ceda la giustizia a la pietade.
 “ — Indi soggiunse con più basso suono,
 “ Di ciò dirti più inanzi non accade.
 “ Statti col dolce in bocca, e non ti doglia,
 “ Ch’ amareggiar’ al fin non te la voglia.”

Orl. Fur. Cant. iii. st. 60, &c.

son-in law, the archduke Philip, was earnestly desirous of male offspring, should marry the young and beautiful Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII. who should bring with her, as her dower, all such parts of the kingdom of Naples as had been allotted to the French monarch; and in return for these favours, Ferdinand engaged to pay to Louis XII. one million of gold ducats, by annual payments of one hundred thousand ducats, as an indemnity for his expenses in the Neapolitan war.^(a) With these favourable indications of returning tranquillity, other circumstances concurred. The power of the Borgia family had been suddenly annihilated by the death of Alexander VI. and the consequent imprisonment and exile of Cæsar Borgia; whilst the death of Piero de' Medici, seemed to promise repose to the agitated republic of Florence. Many of the principal Italian leaders, or *Condottieri*, had perished in these contests; others had been stript of their possessions, and so far reduced as to be no longer able to follow the trade of blood; whilst the people, wearied and exhausted by a continual change of masters, by unavailing carnage, by incessant alarms, exorbitant exactions, and all the consequences of prolonged hostilities, sighed for that peace which they ought to have commanded, and which alone could remedy those evils of which they had so long been the victims.

But whilst every thing seemed to conspire in securing the public tranquillity, the happy effects of which had already

(a) This treaty, by which these ambitious rivals agreed to become "tanquam duæ animæ in uno et eodem corpore, amici amicorum, et inimici inimicorum," was concluded at Blois on the twelfth day of October, 1505, and ratified by the king of Spain at Segovia, the sixteenth of the same month. It is preserved in the collection of Du Mont. *vol. iv. par. i. p. 72.*

CHAP. VII.

A. D. 1505.

A. Æt. 30.

Julius II. seizes
on the cities
of Perugia &
Bologna.

1506.

already begun to be experienced, the supreme pontiff was revolving in his mind, how he might possess himself of the smaller independent states in the vicinity of the Roman territories, and compleat the great work which Alexander VI. had so vigorously begun. He had already announced in the consistory, his determination to free the domains of the church from tyrants; alluding, as it was well understood, to the cities of Perugia and Bologna, the former of which was held by the Baglioni, and the latter by the Bentivogli. Nor was he slow in carrying his threats into execution. Having preconcerted his measures with the king of France, who still retained the government of Milan, he placed himself at the head of his army, and accompanied by twenty-four cardinals, left Rome on the twenty-sixth day of August, taking his course towards Perugia.^(a) The well-known character of the pontiff, and the resolution exhibited by him in these measures, gave just alarm to Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who being totally unprepared to resist such an attack, consulted his safety by a timely submission, and proceeding to Orvieto, humiliated himself before the pope, and tendered to him his services. This proceeding in some degree disarmed the resentment of Julius, who received Baglioni into his employ, on condition of his surrendering up the town and citadel of Perugia, and accompanying him, with one hundred and fifty men at arms, on his intended expedition into Romagna.^(b) On the twelfth day of September, 1506, the pope entered the city of Perugia, and assumed the sovereignty, which he soon afterwards delegated to the cardinal de' Medici, who from this time began to act a more conspicuous

(a) *Muratori Annali d' Ital.* v. x. p. 30.

(b) *Murat. Annal. d' Ital.* v. x. p. 31.

conspicuous part in the concerns of Italy than he had hitherto done. From Perugia the pontiff hastened to Imola, whence he summoned Giovanni Bentivolio, to surrender to him the city of Bologna, on pain of bringing down on himself and his adherents, all the power of his temporal and spiritual arms. Bentivolio had, however, prepared for his approach, and relying on the promises of support given him by Louis XII. had determined to resist the attack till the arrival of his allies might relieve him from his dangers. A body of eight thousand infantry, and six hundred horse, had been dispatched from Milan to his assistance ; but in the present situation of affairs in Italy, Louis had no further occasion for the services of Bentivolio, whilst the favour of the pope might still be of important use to him. He therefore directed the troops, intended for the assistance of Bentivolio, to join the army of his assailants. The duke of Ferrara and the republic of Florence, also sent considerable reinforcements to the pontiff, and Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, was declared with great solemnity captain general of the Roman army.^(a) These preparations convinced Bentivolio that all resistance would not only be ineffectual, but ruinous to him. Quitting, therefore, the city by night, he repaired to the French commander, Sciomonte, and having received a safe conduct for himself and his family, he privately hastened into the Milanese, leaving the citizens of Bologna, to effect such terms of reconciliation with the pope, as they might think proper. A deputation from the inhabitants speedily arranged the preliminaries for the admission of the pontiff within the walls, and on the eleventh day of

VOL. II.

F

November,

(a) The pontifical brief on this occasion, which commemorates the great services of the Marquis, is given in the Appendix, No. LVI.

November, 1506, he entered as a conqueror, at the head of his army, amidst the rejoicings and congratulations of the people.(a) After establishing many necessary and salutary regulations for the due administration of justice, he intrusted the government of the city to the cardinal Regino. On his return to Rome, he passed through the city of Urbino, where he remained for several days, partaking of the splendid amusements which the duke and duchess had prepared for him.(b)

Among all the commanders who had signalized themselves in the recent commotions of Italy, no one had acquired greater honour and more general esteem, than the great captain Gonsalvo, who after having by his courage and perseverance accomplished the conquest of Naples, had conciliated the exasperated and discordant minds of the people by his clemency, liberality, and strict administration of justice, and had thereby confirmed to his sovereign that authority which he had previously obtained. These important services had been acknowledged by Ferdinand, who
besides

(a) *Muratori. Annal. d' Ital.* x. 31. These events are also celebrated by Mantuanus Vincentius, in the fourth book of his Latin poem, entitled *Alba. v. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital.* v. xi. p. 338, &c. And yet more particularly by cardinal Adrian, one of the companions of the pontiff on his military expedition, in his *Iter Julii II. Pont. Max.* which will be found in the Appendix, No. LVII.

(b) To this precise period Castiglione has assigned his celebrated dialogue on the character and duties of a courtier, called *Il libro del Cortegiano*—although not written by him till some years afterwards:—“ Avendo adunque Papa Giulio II. con la presenza sua, e con l' ajuto de' Francesi, ridotto Bologna alla obbedienza della Sede Apostolica nell' anno 1506, e ritornando verso Roma, passò per Urbino; dove, quanto era possibile, onoratamente, e con quel più magnifico e splendido apparato che si avesse potuto fare in qualsivoglia altra nobil Città d' Italia, fu ricevuto ;” &c. *Castig. Corteg. lib. i.* p. 23.

besides appointing Gonsalvo his viceroy in the kingdom of Naples, had invested him with domains in that country, which produced him annually, upwards of twenty thousand gold ducats, and had conferred upon him the high hereditary office of grand constable of the realm. Notwithstanding these external demonstrations of confidence and regard, the jealousy of Ferdinand was excited by the extraordinary greatness of his too powerful subject, which he conceived might inspire him with the hope of obtaining for himself the sovereign authority. No sooner was the mind of the king possessed with this idea, than the virtues of Gonsalvo were converted into crimes, and his well judged attempts to allay the jealousies, and engage the affections of the people, were considered only as preparatory measures to the asserting his own independence. Under the influence of these suspicions, Ferdinand requested the presence of Gonsalvo in Spain, pretending that he wished to avail himself of his councils; but Gonsalvo excused himself, alleging, that the newly acquired authority of his sovereign, was not yet sufficiently established. The injunctions of the king were repeated, and again proved ineffectual. Alarmed at these indications, Ferdinand resolved to hasten in person to Naples, and take the reins of government into his own hands. He accordingly arrived there with his young queen, about the end of October, 1506, and was met at Capo Miseno, by Gonsalvo, who received him with every demonstration of loyalty and respect. Neither the death of his son-in-law, Philip, of which he received intelligence on his journey through the Genoese, nor the remonstrances of his ministers, who intreated him to return, to take upon himself the government of the kingdom of Castile, could induce Ferdinand to interrupt his journey, or to

CHAP. VII.

A. D. 1506.

A. Æt. 31.

Ferdinand of
Spain visits
his Neapo-
litan domi-
nions.

1507.

quit his Neapolitan dominions, until he had effectually secured himself against the possibility of an event, the contemplation of which had occasioned him so much anxiety. After a residence of seven months, in the course of which he established many excellent regulations for the government of his new subjects, and cautiously replaced all the military officers appointed by Gonsalvo, by others on whose fidelity he had greater reliance; he retired, on the fourth day of June, 1507, from Naples, on his way to Savona, accompanied by Gonsalvo, in whose place he had substituted, as viceroy of Naples, Don John of Aragon. By a previous arrangement with Louis XII. an interview took place at Savona, between the two monarchs, and four days were past in secret and important conferences. The superstition of mankind has sought for the prognostics of future evils, in the threatening aspects and conjunctions of the planets; but a conjunction of this kind is a much more certain indication of approaching commotions; nor is it, perhaps, without reason, that the origin of the celebrated league of Cambray, which involved Italy in new calamities, has been referred to this interview.^(a)

On this occasion the two sovereigns contended with each other in their respect and attention to the great captain. Louis XII. was unwearied in expressing his admiration of the character and talents of a man who had wrested from him a kingdom, and by his solicitations, Gonsalvo was permitted to sit at the same table with the royal guests. As this day, in the estimation of the vulgar, was the highest, so it was considered as the last, of the glory of Gonsalvo. On his

(a) v. Bembo, *Istor. Veneta. lib. vii.—in op. v. i. p. 188, 189.*

his arrival in Spain he received a notification from Ferdinand to retire to his country residence, and not to appear at court without leave. From that moment his great talents were condemned to oblivion, and he remained useless and unemployed till the time of his death, in the year 1515; when he received the reward of his services, in a pompous funeral furnished at the expense of the king.

A: D. 1507.

A. Æt. 32.

Gonsalvo honoured and neglected.

In reviewing the transactions of his past life, Gonsalvo was accustomed to say, that he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself, except his breach of faith to Ferdinand, the young duke of Calabria, and the transmitting Cæsar Borgia as a prisoner to Spain, contrary to the assurances of protection which he had given him. To these acknowledged errors, he is, however, said to have added, that he had committed another crime, the nature of which he would never explain.^(a)

Gonsalvo repents of his errors.

Of these defects in the great captain, and particularly of his conduct towards Cæsar Borgia, a vindication has been attempted by Jovius, founded on the atrocious character of Borgia, which, as the apologist contends, justified any measures that might be adopted against him; and on the compliance of Gonsalvo with the commands of his sovereign, and with

Vindicated by Paulus Jovius

(a) " Didaco Mendocio, Antonioque Leva me accepisse profiteor, ut in extremo vitæ actu, tanquam semiexul, non planè felix (Consalvus) moreretur; quanquam sæpissimè diceret, se nullius improbè facti poenitentia offensum, lætissime ex hac vita fuisse migraturum, nisi Ferdinando Federici regis filio, et Cæsari Borgiae Valentino, fidem suam improvidè dedisset, ut ea demum a rege cum sui nominis sugillatione violaretur. Subjungebat ad hæc duo Consalvus, se tertii quoque gravioris facti maximè poenitere, quod tamen prodere nollet." *Jov. in vita Consalv. lib. iii. p. 275.*

the wishes of the supreme pontiff.^(a) It is not, however, difficult to perceive, that Gonsalvo, in his treachery to Borgia, gave a sanction to those very crimes which he affected to punish. However desirable the destruction of such a man may be, it is still more desirable that those principles of good faith, by which human society is bound together, should be kept sacred and inviolate. The other plea urged by Jovius is equally unsatisfactory. Gonsalvo had acted under the authority of his sovereign when he granted a safe conduct, and neither he nor his king could rightfully revoke an act which had induced another to confide his safety in their hands. It is indeed extremely singular, that the bishop of Nocera should attempt to justify the Spanish general in a transaction in which he could not justify himself. Thus the historian sinks below the soldier, who redeemed his crime by his contrition, and afforded a presumption, that under similar circumstances, he would not again have repeated it; but the vindication of Jovius is intended to recommend to future imitation that guilt of which Gonsalvo repented, and to set up motives of temporary expediency against the eternal laws of morality and of truth.

With

(a) "Sed quis Gonsalvum ut id faceret, regis imperio coactum, non excuset," &c.—
 "Verum ob id quoque, honestiore de causa, majoreque ratione, a fide data discessisse videri potuit; ne Italiam, dudum sublatis bellis, tranquilla pace fruituram, unius nefarii impotentisque tyranni immanis audacia perturbaret." *Jov. ut sup. p. 275.* How far the peace of Italy was preserved by the conduct of Gonsalvo to Borgia, will sufficiently appear in the sequel; and this apology for Gonsalvo would have been equally applicable, if he had extended his treachery to the two sovereigns, with whom he sat at table, and who were meditating greater calamities to Italy, than Borgia could ever have produced. On this subject, I hesitate not to dissent even from the opinion of the liberal de Thou, who informs us, that Borgia "qui nemini fidem servaverat, temere se fidei Gonsalvi permisit; a quo in Hispaniam missus, et laudabili perfidia in carcerem conjectus est." *Hist. lib. i. p. 15.*

With respect to the third accusation of Gonsalvo against himself, the *tertium gravius factum*, it has been referred to the error which he is supposed to have committed, in suffering himself, when he had the whole military force at his command, to be divested of his authority in Naples, and reduced to a state of humiliation and solitude during the remainder of his life.^(a) But the friends of Gonsalvo, who thus construed his meaning, were probably mistaken. When a person contemplates the awful period to which he was fast approaching, he seldom repents that he has not sacrificed his virtue to his interest, and his conscience to his ambition; and Gonsalvo's third cause of regret would, in this case, have implied a contradiction to his two former. He could probably have unfolded a tale—but he died a penitent, and trusted it with his other sins to the bosom of his God.

(a) “ Id autem Leva & Mendocius, non inani fortè conjectura, interpretantes esse
 “ putabant, quòd regiis pollicitationibus, e Neapoli Italiaque se abduci in Hispaniam
 “ permisisset; in qua multi, rerum novarum cupidi, eum in spem novi principatus,
 “ maximarumque rerum bello gendarum retinere conarentur.” *Jovius, in vitâ Consalvi.*
lib. iii. p. 275.

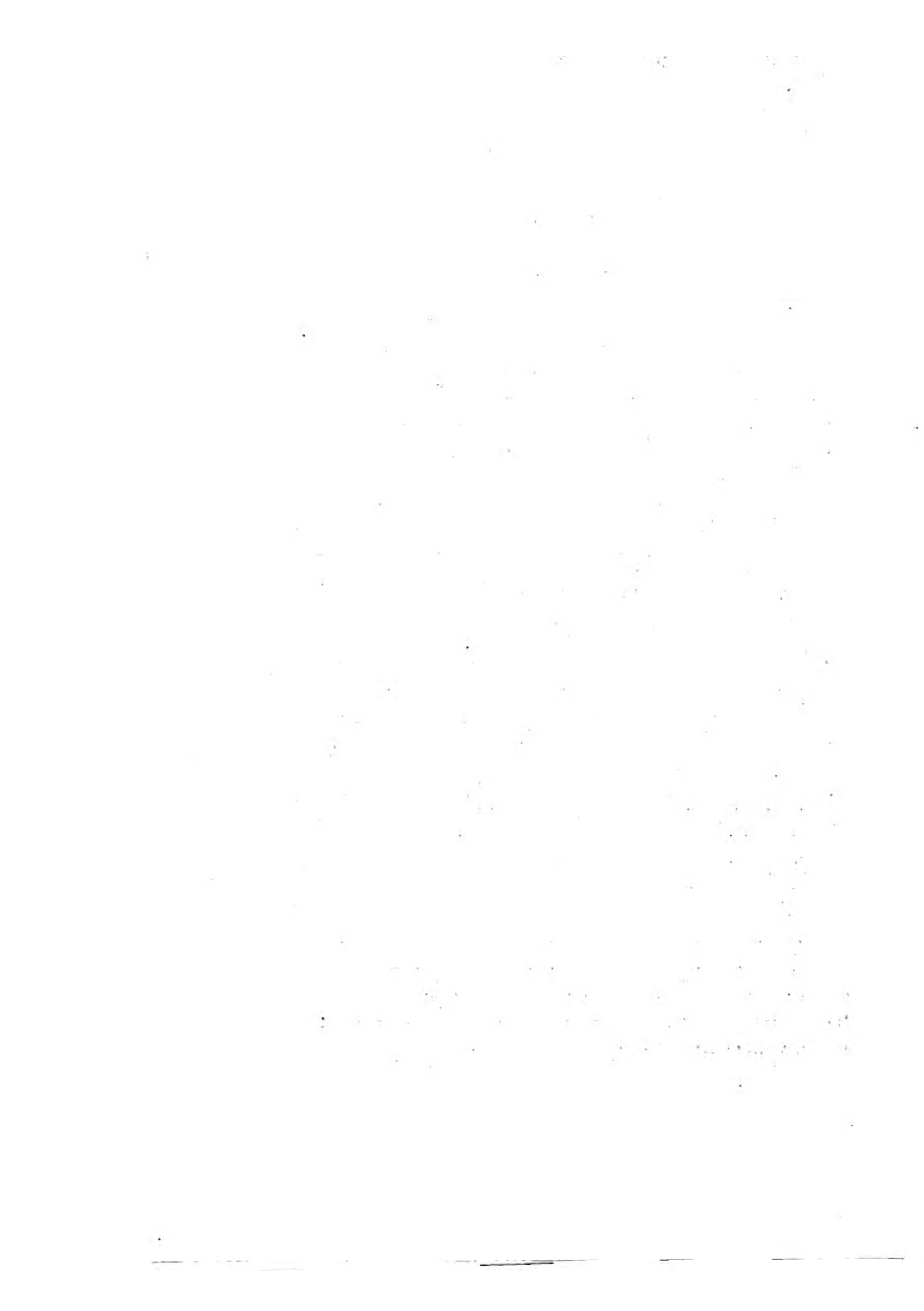




CHAP. VIII.

1507—1512.

CAUSES of the jealousy of the European powers against the republic of Venice—Recent improvements in military discipline—The Venetians repel the attack of the emperor elect Maximilian—Reasons alleged by Louis XII. for his hostility against them—League of Cambray—Pretexts resorted to by the allies—The Venetians prepare for their defence—Opinions of their commanders—Hostilities commenced—Louis XII. defeats the Venetians at Ghiaradadda—Dismemberment of the Venetian territories—Exertions of the Senate—Recovery of Padua and capture of the marquis of Mantua—Ineffectual attack on Padua by the emperor elect Maximilian—The Venetian flotilla defeated on the Po by the duke of Ferrara—Pisa surrenders to the Florentines—Julius II. deserts his allies and unites his arms with the Venetians—Excommunicates the duke of Ferrara—Is besieged by the French in Bologna—Louis XII. opposes the authority of the pope—Mirandula captured by Julius II. in person—Bologna captured by the French—The cardinal of Pavia assassinated by the duke of Urbino—Council of Pisa—The holy league—Julius II. determines to restore the Medici—Bologna besieged by the allies and relieved by de Foix—Discordant opinions of the cardinal Legate de' Medici and the Spanish general Cardona—Brescia taken and sacked by the French—De Foix attacks Ravenna—Battle before the walls—The allies defeated by de Foix and the cardinal Legate de' Medici made prisoner—Death of de Foix.—The cardinal dispatches Giulio de' Medici with intelligence to Rome—Fatal effects of the battle of Ravenna to the French—The cardinal de' Medici conveyed to Bologna—Is brought prisoner to Milan on his way to France.





CHAP. VIII.

THE republic of Venice had hitherto been in a great measure exempt from those evils which had overturned, or endangered, the other states of Italy; but the storm that had so long poured down its wrath on the northern and southern provinces, now began to gather in the east, with a still more threatening aspect. From the advantages of her local situation, and the prudence of her councils, Venice had been enabled, in the course of the wars, in which Italy had been engaged, not only to increase her trade, and improve her naval strength, but also to extend her con-

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 1517.

A. Æt. 32.

Causes of the jealousy of the European powers against the republic of Venice.

continental possessions, and to annex to her dominion most of the maritime cities on the Adriatic coast; nor is there any period of her history in which she rose to an equal degree of strength and importance. In the part which she had taken in the commotions of Italy, she had generally acted on the offensive. She had supported her armies at the expense of others, or had obtained a compensation for their labours in her conquests.^(a) She was now at peace with all the European powers on both sides the Alps, nor was it easy to perceive from what quarter any serious cause of alarm could arise; but in the midst of this prosperity, the mine was preparing, which was intended to involve her in destruction; nor was it long before she experienced its effects, in an explosion which had nearly occasioned her total and irreparable ruin. The motives and effects of her conduct had indeed been too obvious not to excite the jealousy of all the surrounding states. To the emperor elect Maximilian, her increasing power rendered her a dangerous rival; and Louis XII. seemed to be indebted for his Milanese dominions, rather to her forbearance, than to her inability to deprive him of them. The possession of the cities of Trani, Brindisi, Gallipoli, and Otranto, which had been ceded to her by Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, and which she retained after the conquest of the rest of the kingdom, by
Ferdinand

(a) To the overbearing ambition of the Venetians, at this period, Machiavelli alludes, in his *Asino d' Oro*, cap. v.

- “ San Marco, impetuoso ed importuno,
 “ Credendosi haver sempre il vento in poppa,
 “ Non si curò di rovinare ognuno:
 “ Nè vidde come la potenza troppa
 “ Era nociva; e come il me' sarebbe
 “ Tener sott' acqua la coda e la groppa.”

Ferdinand of Spain, caused that monarch to regard her as a future enemy, from whom he must at some time wrest those important places. Nor was the part which she had lately acted in Romagna, likely to conciliate the favour of Julius II. who had been compelled to enter into a treaty, which guaranteed to her the cities of Faenza and Rimini, and who therefore only waited for a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of those places.^(a) But although the republic had excited the envy or resentment of almost all the powers of Europe, yet to reconcile all their discordant interests, and to unite them in one great object, might have been found a difficult, and perhaps an impracticable task, if some peculiar and predisposing circumstances had not prepared the way to such a communication of their mutual dissatisfaction, as speedily terminated in the adoption of open hostilities against her.

Since the time of the arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy, a considerable alteration had taken place in the mode of warfare, and the military preparations of the sovereigns of Europe. Before that important event, a regular standing army of infantry, set apart from the community for the purposes of war, was unknown. Sudden levies were raised as occasion required, and when the contest was over, they again returned to the general mass of the inhabitants. The strength of an army consisted almost entirely in the number of its armed cavalry, who were denominated *gensdarmes*, *lances*, or *men at arms*, and when united together, were emphatically called the *battle*. Into these ranks none were admitted

Recent improvements in military discipline.

(a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. liv. 1. v. i. p. 39.*

mitted, for a long time, but gentlemen by birth. Every man at arms brought with him into the field a certain number of horses and attendants, which varied in different countries and at different times. The full appointment of a man at arms in France, was six horses and four men on foot, two of whom were archers ; but in Italy the number of horses seldom exceeded three.^(a) When in actual engagement, the archers generally composed the second and third ranks, in which station they were also at hand to render any services to the men at arms, who, from the weight and nature of their armour and offensive weapons, stood in frequent need of assistance. In the contests of Charles VIII. in Italy, and particularly at the battle of the Taro, the use of the foot soldiery, or *fanti*, began to be better known and more highly appreciated ; but the first nation which gave respectability and importance to this mode of warfare, was the Swiss, who raised the discipline of infantry to a degree of perfection which has seldom been since equalled, and perhaps never excelled. In the assembling of the numerous bodies of troops, which in the beginning of the sixteenth century were poured forth from the Helvetic states, and who sold their assistance to the highest bidder, the services of the individual seem to have been voluntary, and his motive and his reward were generally his share of the subsidy, or his chance of the spoil. When in action the Swiss were remarkable for their discipline and firmness, but above all for their fidelity and unshaken attachment to each other. Their
armour

(a) " Gli oltramontani ancora intender dei.

" Ch' han varie lanze, a quel che saper posso,

" Noi tre cavalli, e lor ne metton sei."

Cornazzano, *de re Militari. lib. iii. cap. 3.*

armour consisted of a casque and breast-plate, or when these could not be procured, the skin of a buffalo, or other beast; their usual weapons were a halbert, which, when not employed was slung at their back, a sword, and a pike of eighteen feet in length. When united together, they formed a kind of moveable fortification, called the *herisson*, against which the utmost efforts of the cavalry were of no avail. They were in an army what the bones are in the human body,^(a) but when once thrown into disorder, they were not easily prevailed on to renew the conflict. Before the end of the fifteenth century, the French sovereigns had frequently experienced the value of their assistance, and the ill-effects of their resentment; and they may be considered as having set the example of a regular system of infantry to the other nations of Europe. One of the earliest establishments of this nature in France, consisted of a body of six thousand men, subsidized from the duke of Gueldres by Louis XII. who were denominated the *bandes noires*, or black bands, because they fought under a black standard; by which name they acquired great reputation in the wars of Italy.^(b) The Spanish infantry which had been chiefly formed in the wars of Naples by the great captain Gonsalvo, were remarkable beyond all others for their courage, sobriety, and discipline. Besides the pike, the battle-axe and the poniard, they were generally armed with a heavy harquebus. In an attack, when their numbers bore a reasonable proportion to the enemy, they were considered as irresistible; and even when defeated, they seldom took to flight without rallying and returning with fresh ardour to the

(a) *Hist de la Ligue de Cambray. liv. iii. vol. ii. p. 11.*

(b) *Ibid. liv. iii. v. ii. p. 13.*

CHAP. VIII.
 A. D. 1507.
 A. Æt. 32.

the charge. Besides the *gensdarmes*, bodies of light-armed cavalry began about this time to be frequently employed; and large troops of horse were also obtained from the continental territories of the state of Venice, and the adjacent provinces of Greece, who fought in the irregular manner of the Turks, and under the names of *stradiotti*, or hussars, were the usual harbingers of an attack, and the terror of a defeated enemy.

The Venetians
 repel the at-
 tack of the
 emperor
 elect, Maxi-
 milian.

Towards the close of the year 1507, the emperor elect, Maximilian, having some important designs upon Italy, the object of which he did not choose to define, but which he disguised under the pretence that he meant to proceed to Rome, to receive from the hands of the pope the imperial crown, requested permission from the Venetians to pass with his army through their states. The senate were at this time in strict alliance with Louis XII. and being apprehensive, that Maximilian meant to attack the Milanese, and unwilling to afford any pretext for a rupture with the French monarch, they refused to comply with his request; at the same time assuring him of an honourable and respectful reception, and a safe-conduct for himself and his retinue, in case he wished to pass in a pacific manner through their dominions. On this refusal, Maximilian resolved to effect a passage by force, and descending through the Tyrol, he entered the Venetian states in the beginning of the year 1508, and captured several important places in the district of Friuli.^(a) He was, however,

1508.

(a) A very particular account of these transactions is given by Machiavelli, then the Florentine envoy at Venice, in a report addressed to the magistrates of Florence, which contains many interesting particulars of the state of Germany, and the character of Maximilian. v. *Bandini, coll. vet. monument. p. 37. Arrezzo. 1752.*

however, soon opposed by Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who had lately entered into the service of the Venetians, and who having by rapid marches, unexpectedly attacked the imperialists, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, at Codauro, defeated them with such slaughter, that scarcely one of them survived to carry to Maximilian the intelligence of his disaster.^(a) The Venetians, having thus speedily recovered their own possessions, attacked in return the territories of their adversary, and would have possessed themselves of the city of Trent, and the whole district of the Tyrol, had not the inhabitants, although deserted by the imperialists, courageously defended their country. Humiliated by these events, Maximilian listened with eagerness to terms of accommodation; and a treaty of peace, for three years, was, on the sixth day of June 1508 concluded between him and the senate, which seemed once more to have restored the public tranquillity.

This hasty reconciliation gave, however, great dissatisfaction to Louis XII. who, being at enmity with Maximilian, and having dispatched a body of troops under the command of Trivulzio, to the assistance of the Venetians, although with directions, as it was supposed, rather to regard the motions of the adverse armies, than to take an active part on the behalf of either,^(b) affected to be highly

Causes alleged
by Louis XII.
for his animosity
against the
Venetians.

VOL. II.

H

offended

^(a) This victory, the most complete that ever d'Alviano obtained, and which was considered as the salvation of the state of Venice, is particularly noticed by Navagero, in his funeral elogy on that great commander, in which he informs us, that the imperialists "ne nuncio quidem cladis relicto, cæsi sunt." v. *Naugerü op. Ed. Tacuini*, 1530. p. 3. It was also celebrated by Giovanni Cotta, who attended d'Alviano on this expedition, in an elegant Latin ode, which may be found in the Appendix, No. LVIII.

^(b) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, x. 38.

offended that the Venetians should have accommodated their differences with Maximilian, without previously consulting him on the terms proposed. It is true, the senate had in the treaty reserved a power for the king of France to accede to it, if he should think proper, of which power he afterwards availed himself; but he was no party to the preamble, and was introduced only as their auxiliary, like a potentate of a secondary rank.^(a) Affecting great displeasure at this apparent insult, and perhaps alarmed at the increasing power of the Venetians, Louis now determined to accommodate his differences with Maximilian, and to secure or extend his Milanese possessions, by the humiliation of these haughty republicans. For the attainment of the first of these objects, he had recourse to a stratagem, which sufficiently proves, that in political artifice the French were not inferior to the Italians. Whilst he assigned as a cause of his resentment against the Venetians, their want of confidence in him, he dispatched his envoys to Maximilian, to inform him, that the Venetians had disclosed to him the most secret particulars of the negotiation; thereby endeavouring to convince Maximilian that they had betrayed his interests, and to excite his anger against his new allies, who had treated him with so much duplicity and disrespect.^(b) By such representations the fluctuating mind of Maximilian again changed its purpose, and his resentment against the senate was confirmed, on finding that his name and achievements had been made the subject of caricature exhibitions, and of satirical ballads, which were
sung

^(a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. liv. i. vol. i. p. 64.*

^(b) *Bembo, Istor. Venet. lib. vii. in op. vol. i. p. 188.*

sung through the streets of Venice. The animosity that had so long subsisted between these rival monarchs, was by these means suddenly extinguished. The representations made by Louis XII. to Julius II. and to Ferdinand of Aragon, were equally successful; and the attack and dismemberment of the states of Venice was determined on, with a celerity and unanimity, which seemed to insure success to the attempt.

In the month of October, 1508, the plenipotentiaries of the confederate powers met in the city of Cambray. The representative of Maximilian was his daughter, Margaretta, the same princess who had been repudiated by Charles VIII. and who having survived her second husband, Philibert, duke of Savoy, had undertaken, during the minority of the archduke Charles, the government of the Netherlands, which she conducted with great credit and ability. George of Amboise, cardinal of Rohan, appeared in the two-fold capacity of ambassador of Louis XII. and legate of the pope, and Jacopo de Albion, as the envoy of the king of Spain. On the tenth day of December, a treaty was concluded for the attack and dismemberment of the territories of Venice.^(a) By the terms of this treaty, Maximilian was to possess the cities and districts of Rovereta, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Trevigi, and Friuli, and the patriarchate of Aquileja, with all places of which he had been divested by the Venetians in the course of the late war. The king of France stipulated for the cities of Brescia, Crema, Bergamo, and Cremona, and the whole district of Ghiaradadda, as part of the ancient pos-

League of
Cambray.

H 2

sessions

(a) This treaty is given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom. tom. i. p. 134.* and in the collection of Du Mont, *tom. iv. par. i. p. 114.*

sessions of the dukes of Milan. Ferdinand of Spain was to be remunerated for his share in the war, by the restitution of the maritime cities of Naples; and the pope was to recover the territories in Romagna, which on the expulsion of Cæsar Borgia, had been occupied by the Venetians, and which included the cities of Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza and Rimini. To these were also added, in the treaty, the cities of Imola and Cesena, which were not then under the Venetian government, and which it has been supposed were inserted through the ignorance of the cardinal of Rohan;^(a) but it is much more probable, that these places yet retained their allegiance to Borgia, and required the aid of the confederates to reduce them to the obedience of the church. A power was reserved for the duke of Savoy, as king of Cyprus, the duke of Ferrara, and the marquis of Mantua, to become parties in the league; to which they afterwards acceded; and that nothing might be wanting to overwhelm or terrify the devoted republic of Venice, the kings of England and of Hungary, were also invited to take a share in the attack.

Pretexts resorted to by the allies.

As Maximilian had so lately entered into a treaty of amity with the Venetians, which he had solemnly sworn to maintain, and as no offence had since been given by them, which could be construed into a justification of hostilities on his part, it became necessary to resort to some measure which might afford, in the eyes of the world, a sufficient reason for the part which he intended to act. For the accomplishment of this object, and to satisfy the honour and conscience of Maximilian, it was therefore expressly agreed, that

(a) *Muratori Annali d' Italia*. x. p. 39. *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. tom. i. p. 50.

that Julius II. who it seems stood in no need of any pretext for infringing the treaty which he had himself entered into, should call upon the emperor elect, as defender of the rights of the church, to assist in asserting its claims; and that Maximilian should within forty days after the first of April, 1509, the day particularly agreed on for the commencement of hostilities, enter the Venetian territories at the head of his army, without further regard either to his alliances, or his oath. The nature and object of this treaty were, however, cautiously concealed from the Venetians, under the pretext that it related to an accommodation between the archduke Charles, and the duke of Gueldres; and in order to give a greater degree of probability to this assertion, another treaty was actually concluded between those parties, which bears the same date as that which it was intended to conceal.^(a)

The rumours of the measures adopted at Cambray, and the preparations making by the chief powers of Europe for some great undertaking, from which the Venetians were cautiously excluded, at length excited their suspicions, and they directed Condelmaro, their ambassador at the court of France, to obtain such explanations from the cardinal of Rohan, as might allay their apprehensions, or justify their conduct in preparing for their defence. The cardinal attempted for a time to impose on the Venetian envoy, by equivocal assurances and crafty representations; but finding these would not avail, he had recourse to direct falsehood, and assured the envoy on the faith of a cardinal, and a prime minister, that the king would still adhere to the

(a) This treaty is also published in the collection of Du Mont. *vol. iv. par. i. p. 109.*

the treaty of Blois, and that nothing had occurred at Cambray which could be injurious to the Venetian republic. (a) These assurances were, if we may give credit to Bembo, confirmed by the king himself; who pledged his faith to Condelmaro to the same effect; and added, that he considered himself as the friend of the senate, and consequently would not have consented to any measures which might prove prejudicial to its interests. (b)

The Venetians
prepare for
their defence.

No sooner, however, were the Venetians aware of the magnitude of the danger with which they were threatened, than they began to prepare for a vigorous defence. Nor did they neglect such measures as they thought most likely to avert the anger, or to soften the resentment of their enemies. They proposed to Julius II. to surrender up to him the places which they had occupied in Romagna; and they employed their utmost efforts to detach the emperor elect, and the king of Spain, from their alliance with the king of France. Repulsed in these attempts, they resorted for assistance to the other powers of Europe, and endeavoured to prevail on the king of England to attack the dominions of France, whilst Louis XII. and his gensdarmes were beyond the Alps; (c) nor did they hesitate, in this dangerous emergency,

(a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. liv. i. 1. 70.*

(b) *Bembo. Istor. Venet. lib. vii. in op. v. i. p. 189.* The French historians affect to justify this fraud, by considering it as a retribution for the deception practised by the senate, on the French ambassador, Commines, when they formed the league for intercepting Charles VIII. on his return from Italy, and which he has so fully related in his *memoires. v. Ligue de Cambray, liv. i. v. i. p. 71.*

(c) The Venetian envoy on this occasion was Andrea Badoardo, who had resided many years in England, and was well acquainted with the language. *Bembo. Istor. Venet. lib. vii. in op. vol. i. p. 191.*

emergency, to call upon the Turkish emperor, Bajazet, for his assistance against the confederates, who by the very terms of their alliance, had avowed their hostility against him. Towards whatever quarter they turned for aid, they met only with disappointment or neglect; and the republic was left, without a single ally, to oppose itself to a combination more powerful than any that Europe had known since the time of the crusades. Their spirit was however unbroken, and their resources such as might be expected from a rich and powerful people. Their generals were soon enabled to take the field at the head of forty thousand men, under the various descriptions of infantry, men at arms, light horse, and *stradiotti*, or hussars, composed chiefly of Greeks. A powerful naval armament was at the same time directed to co-operate with the army, whenever it might be practicable; but at the very moment when every effort was making to increase the maritime strength of the country, the arsenal, at that time the admiration of Europe, was treacherously set on fire, by which a considerable quantity of ammunition and naval stores, and twelve of their gallies of war, were destroyed. A few days afterwards information was received that the castle of Brescia was blown up; and about the same time the building fell, in which were kept the archives of the republic; incidents, which from the critical period at which they occurred, gave reason to the superstitious to believe, that the destruction of the republic was near at hand.^(a)

The

(a) These events are adverted to in the Latin verses of Valeriano, addressed to his preceptor, Sabellicus, the Venetian historian. v. *Appendix*, No. LIX.

The chief military commanders in the service of the senate at this period, were Niccolo Orsino, count of Pitigliano, and Bartolommeo d'Alviano, both of them men of great courage and experience, but of very different characters; d'Alviano being daring and impetuous, almost to rashness, whilst the count was cool, deliberate, and cautious, to an opposite extreme. The object of the one was to terminate a war by a single effort; that of the other to defeat the enemy by involving him in difficulties, so as to prevent even the necessity of an engagement. One of the first measures of the senate, was to call these commanders to Venice, and to request their deliberate sentiments on the best methods to be adopted for the defence of the state. These opinions were conformable to the different tempers and views of those who delivered them. The count of Pitigliano advised the senate to fortify their continental cities, and to act upon the defensive, until events should occur, which might weaken or destroy a league, that had within itself the principles of dissolution. D'Alviano, on the contrary, contended that it was more expedient to take the field before their enemies were prepared for the attack; and rather to carry the war into the states of Milan, than to wait the approach of the French king within the Venetian territories. Without wholly adopting either of these opinions, the senate steered a middle course; and whilst they prepared for the defence of their strong cities, they directed that their generals should not proceed beyond the river Adda.^(a)

Scarcely had the Venetian army taken the field, when
the

^(a) Guicciard. *Hist. d'Ital. lib. viii. 1. 416.* Muratori *Annali, x. 42.*

the tempest burst upon that devoted state from all quarters. Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew to the pope, and who was now become duke of Urbino, proceeded through the territories of Faenza, and stormed the town of Brisighalla, where he put to death upwards of two thousand persons, and by his unsparing cruelty, led the way to still greater enormities. The marquis of Mantua attacked the district of Verona, but was vigorously opposed by d'Alviano. Amidst the storm of war, Julius II. rolled forth the thunders of the Vatican, and placed the state of Venice under the interdict of the church.^(a) The French army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, of whom six thousand were Swiss mercenaries, and of five thousand horse, with Louis XII. at their head, passed the Adda at Cassano, and captured the towns of Trevigli, Rivolto, and other places, which they sacked; but on the approach of the count of Pitigliano, they retreated across the river, having first garrisoned the fortress of Trevigli. The count, having bombarded the fortress with heavy artillery, compelled the garrison, after an obstinate defence, to surrender; but no sooner were the Venetian soldiery in possession of the town, than they followed the example of their enemies, in slaughtering and despoiling the unfortunate inhabitants. Such was the licentiousness of the troops, that the discipline of the army was greatly relaxed; and before they could be compelled to return to their duty, it was found necessary to complete the ruin of the inhabitants, by setting fire to the town. This disgraceful incident afforded the king an opportunity of again passing the Adda, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

(a) Guicciard. *Hist. Ital. lib.* viii. 1. 418.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 1509.

A. Æt. 34.

Louis XII. de-
feats the Ve-
netians at
Ghiaradadda.

In the beginning of the month of May, 1509, the two armies were opposed to each other, in the district of Ghiaradadda, *(a)* where the king made several efforts to compel the Venetian commanders to a decisive engagement. For some time the advice of the count of Pitigliano, to avoid so hazardous a measure, prevailed; but the impetuosity of d'Alviano seconded the views of the king, and after some partial movements, it became no longer possible to avoid an engagement. The vanguard of the French army was led by the marshal Trivulzio; the centre by the king in person, accompanied by Charles of Amboise, sieur de Sciomonte, and governor of Milan; and the rear by the sieur de la Palisse. Of the Venetian army, d'Alviano led the attack; the count of Pitigliano with the battle, or cavalry, occupied the centre; and the rear guard was commanded by Antonio de' Pii, accompanied by the Venetian commissaries. The action, which took place on the fourteenth day of May, at a place called Agnadello, continued only three hours; but in that time, upwards of ten thousand men lay dead on the field, of whom the greater part were Italians. D'Alviano, after displaying many instances of undoubted courage, was wounded and taken prisoner, and the French remained complete masters of the day, with the artillery, standards, and ammunition of the vanquished. *(b)* The count of Pitigliano with a small body of cavalry,

(a) *Ghiara*, a gravelly beach or bed of a river; hence *Ghiara d'Adda*, or the beach of the river Adda, from which the whole district is denominated.

(b) This victory of the French monarch is celebrated by Antonius Sylviolus in a Latin poem entitled, *DE TRIUMPHALI ATQUE INSIGNI CHRISTIANISSIMI INVICTISSIMIQUE FRANCORUM REGIS LODOVICI XII. IN VENETOS VICTORIA*, addressed to George of Amboise, cardinal of Rohan, and printed without note of year or place. This production,

cavalry, escaped to Caravaggio. Some authors have asserted that the defeat of the Venetians is chiefly to be attributed to the misconduct of the count, who disgracefully fled in the midst of the battle; (a) but the senate were too severe judges to allow such an instance of treachery, or of cowardice, to pass without a bitter retribution; instead of which we find the count soon afterwards confidentially employed in their service. The result of the battle, if not to be attributed to the superior courage and impetuosity of the assailants, among whom the celebrated Gaston de Foix, then very young, was greatly distinguished, may be accounted for from the whole of the French army having been brought into action, whilst the Italians engaged only in detached bodies; in consequence of which their vanguard was defeated with an immense loss, before their cavalry, in which consisted the strength of their army, could take a part in the contest.

Before Louis XII. proceeded to reap the fruits of his victory, he determined to give a signal proof of his piety and his gratitude, by erecting a church on the field of battle. An edifice was accordingly raised on the very spot which yet streamed with the blood of those who had died in defence of their country, and was designated by the name of *S. Maria della Vittoria*, although it might with much more propriety have been dedicated to the god of treachery, of

1 2

rapine,

production, affords much particular information respecting the circumstances and consequences of this important contest, and is not devoid of poetical merit.

(a) ap. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*. v. x. p. 44.

rapine, and of slaughter. This structure has been considered by the French as an omen of success in subsequent times; the duke of Vendosme having, in the beginning of the last century, defeated the imperial army within sight of its walls.*(a)*

Dismemberment of the Venetian territories.

The intelligence of this decisive engagement, and the terror of the French arms, facilitated their progress through the Venetian dominions. The districts of Ghiaradadda and Caravaggio, the cities of Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, instantly surrendered to the conqueror. The fortress of Peschiera, defended only by five hundred men, for some time resisted his efforts, but overpowered by the French artillery, the besieged at length desired to capitulate, and made frequent signals that they were ready to surrender. Their submission was ineffectual. The assailants entering the citadel by storm, put all persons within it to the sword, and seizing upon the Venetian commissary Andrea Riva and his son, hung them from the walls of the castle.*(b)* Notwithstanding the partiality of the French historians to the conduct and character of Louis XII. it is acknowledged, that on this occasion he appeared to have forgotten his maxims of clemency;*(c)* and it would have been well for the reputation of that monarch, if the observation could have been confined only to this event. Misfortunes so unexpected, and atrocities so unparalleled, struck

(a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. tom. i. p. 122.

(b) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, x. 45.

(c) " Il ne se piqua pas de faire usage envers cette garnison de ses maximes sur la clemence. Elle fut passée au fil de l'épée." *Ligue de Cambr. lib. i. 1. 25.*

struck the senate with terror; and despairing of any further defence of their continental possessions, they only sought how they might most effectually mitigate the resentment, or gratify the ambition, of their numerous adversaries. They therefore signified to Julius II. their readiness to surrender to him the whole of their possessions in Römagna; they proposed to relinquish unconditionally to Ferdinand of Spain the cities which they held on the Neapolitan coast; and they dispatched an ambassador to the emperor elect Maximilian, informing him that they had already given directions to their governors at Verona and Vicenza to deliver those places up to him, as soon as he should make his appearance.*(a)* Maximilian, however, displayed no great ardor in availing himself of the advantages prepared for him by his allies; but in due time the imperial army arrived, and triumphantly took possession of those cities, as well as of Padua, without being under the necessity of making an hostile effort.*(b)* Whilst the chief parties to the league were thus appropriating to themselves their share of the spoil, the inferior allies were not idle. Alfonso duke of Ferrara, now dignified with the title of *gonfaloniere* of the church, possessed himself of the Polesine, and of the districts of Este, Montagnano, and Monfelice, the ancient heritages of his family.*(c)* Other commanders

(a) The Venetian envoy on this occasion was Antonio Giustiniano, to whom Guicciardini has attributed a most humiliating oration, the authenticity of which has been greatly doubted. The author of the history of the League of Cambray has entered at large into this subject, which seems, however to have given rise to more discussion than it deserves. v. *Ligue de Cambr.* 1. 137. also *Murat.* x. 47. The oration of Giustiniano is given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom.* 2. 1999.

(b) Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, x. 46.

(c) Gibbon, *Antiq. of the House of Brunswick*, in *op. post.* vol. ii. p. 685.

commanders eagerly embraced this opportunity of stripping the Venetians of their possessions. Cristoforo Frangipani seized upon several fortresses in Istria, and the duke of Brunswick rendered himself master of Feltri, and Belluno, with several parts of Friuli. Never before had the Venetian lion been so shorn of his honors, never had St. Mark been so inattentive to the interests of his faithful votaries, as on this occasion.^(a)

Exertions of
the Senate.

In the midst of their calamities, the Venetians had, however, some peculiar advantages. The situation of their capital, surrounded by the waves of the Adriatic, secured them from the apprehensions of total destruction. Whatever the limbs might suffer, the head was sound, and capable of strong exertion. In their numerous and well-appointed fleet, they had a bulwark which defied the utmost malice of their enemies. If, under these circumstances, they appeared to have resigned themselves to despair, it was not of long continuance, and the depression served only to give a more elastic impulse to their efforts. Their attempts to mitigate the anger of Julius II. had hitherto been as ineffectual as their submissive representations to Maximilian. A persecution so relentless, instead of continuing to excite their terror, began at length to awaken their resentment; and the senate resounded with the most unqualified abuse of the father of the faithful, who was represented as much better qualified for the office of a public executioner,

(a) About this time, when the humiliation and distresses of Italy were at their height; when the Milanese was occupied by the French, the kingdom of Naples by the Spaniards, and the territories of Venice were divided among its rapacious assailants, Machiavelli wrote his *Capitolo dell' Ambizione*, in which he indignantly condemns the imbecility, and pathetically laments the miseries of his country.

ecutioner, than for that to which he had been promoted.(a) They therefore began to collect together the remains of their unfortunate army; they directed the soldiers who had garrisoned their fortresses in Romagna and the kingdom of Naples, to repair to Venice; and they obtained from Istria, Albania, and Dalmatia, considerable bodies of brave and experienced troops. The count of Pitigliano exerted his utmost efforts in their service; and by his personal credit and authority, and the liberal rewards which he offered, he induced many of the Italian *condottieri* to join his standard with their followers. In a short time, the Venetians were enabled to oppose the imperialists in the vicinity of Treviso, where they defeated a body of troops under the command of Constantine, despot of the Morea, who, after having been despoiled of his dominions by the Turks, had engaged in the service of Maximilian.

This success led the way to bolder efforts, and the count of Pitigliano was directed to attempt the recovery of the important city of Padua, which under the impressions of terror had been surrendered to the imperialists. The inhabitants, already disgusted by the licentiousness of the German soldiery, had shewn a manifest disposition to return to the obedience of their former lords.(b) By the united efforts of treachery and of force, the count of Pitigliano succeeded in obtaining possession of the city; the Germans betook themselves to flight, and such of the Paduan nobility as had favoured their cause, severely expiated,

Recovery of
Padua, and
capture of the
marquis of
Mantua.

(a) "Non pontefice, ma *carnefice*, d'ogni crudeltà maestro." *Bemb. Istor. Venet. lib. viii. in op. v. i. p. 222.*

(b) *Murat. Annali d'Ital. v. x. p. 48.*

piated, by imprisonment, by exile, or by death, their versatility, or their treachery. This event, which was considered as of infinite importance to the republic, took place on the feast of S. Marina, the seventeenth day of July, 1509,^(a) and was speedily followed by another scarcely of inferior importance. Francesco, marquis of Mantua, having withdrawn himself into the island of Scala, with a small party of troops, was unexpectedly attacked by a body of the Venetians, assisted by the neighbouring inhabitants, who, under favour of the night, dispersed and plundered his soldiers. The marquis amidst the alarm descended from a window, almost naked, and endeavoured to shelter himself in a corn-field; but was betrayed by a peasant, to whom he had promised a great reward, if he would favour his escape. Being made a prisoner, he was first brought to Lignano, and afterwards sent to Venice, where he was committed to the *Torreselle*, in which prison he made a long abode.^(b)

Ineffectual attempt on Padua by the emperor elect Maximilian.

The return of Louis XII. to France soon after the battle of Ghiaradadda was another circumstance highly favourable to the republic; nor was this advantage greatly counteracted

(a) The author of the History of the League of Cambray has placed it on the eighteenth of June, in which he is contradicted by the evidence of the whole body of the Venetian historians, who could not be mistaken in a day which was long afterwards solemnized in Venice, as the commencement of the rise of the republic. v. *Murat. Annali d'Italia*. x. 49.

(b) *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 125. Murat. Annal. x. 51.* It was probably on this occasion that the poet Tebaldeo wrote his Capitolo in the name of the marquis of Mantua, in which that prince is supposed to lament the severity of his fate, and his unmerited misfortunes. v. *Tebald. op. Capit. 13.* This disaster of the marquis is also referred to by Mantuanus Vicentius, in his poem intitled *Alba*, lib. iv. v. *Carm. illust. poet. Ital. v. xi. p. 342.*

counteracted by the efforts of the emperor elect Maximilian, who towards the end of the month of August, arrived in Italy, at the head of a considerable body of troops, of various nations, languages, and manners, bringing with him an immense train of artillery, with which he immediately applied himself to the recovery of Padua.^(a) He was reinforced by Ippolito, cardinal of Este, who following the example of the pontiff, marched in his ecclesiastical habiliments at the head of his troops. After having for some time desolated the defenceless country, and captured a few places of little importance, Maximilian commenced, in the month of September, the siege of Padua, with an army and an apparatus that seemed to command success. The Venetians were, however, indefatigable in preparing for its defence. With a magnanimity which has seldom been equalled, the doge Loredano requested that the senate would permit him to send his children, to be shut up within the besieged city. His proposal was received with joy. The enthusiasm of the young nobility of Venice was excited to the highest degree, and three hundred of them voluntarily accompanied the sons of the doge to Padua.^(b) The contest continued during fifteen days, with the loss on both sides of many thousand

VOL. II. K lives.

^(a) The author of the history of the league of Cambray states them at 1700 men at arms, and 32,000 infantry. *Ligue de Camb. lib. i. tom. i. p. 198.* But Nardi, who has given the numbers of the particular bodies of the different nations composing the army, states the cavalry to have been more, and the infantry less. To these however were added, two hundred pieces of artillery, besides ten pieces of cannon, of extraordinary size, with which Maximilian was furnished by the duke of Ferrara. *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. p. 126.*

^(b) *Bembo Istoria Veneta, lib. ix. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. liv. i. tom. i. p. 196.*

lives. On the twenty-seventh day of September, Maximilian made his last effort, and attempted to carry the place by storm; and that the courage of his troops might be excited by national emulation, the Germans, the French, and the Spaniards, were directed to assail the place in three different bodies. A vigorous resistance, however, frustrated the efforts of Maximilian, and destroyed his hopes. Looking around him he saw his army thinned by desertion. The sum of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats which he had obtained from the pope, was already expended, and there appeared no possibility of a further supply. He therefore abandoned the siege, and withdrew with his army to Vicenza,^(a) whence, after dismissing from his service a great part of his followers, whom he was no longer able to pay, he returned to Vienna, to add one more to his former triumphs; whilst the Venetians not only retained the city of Padua, but soon afterwards recovered from him the principal part of the district of Friuli.^(b)

Among

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. viii. 1. 453. Bembo, *Istoria Veneta*, lib. ix.

(b) The life and achievements of Maximilian have been ostentatiously represented in a series of engravings, designed under his own inspection, by Hans Burgmair, and executed in wood, by the best artists of the time. They are accompanied by descriptions, dictated by Maximilian himself, to his secretary Mark Treitzaurwein. The various employments of Maximilian, his marriages, his battles, and his treaties, are exhibited in a greater number of prints than would have sufficed for the labours of Hercules, or the conquests of Alexander the Great; but his hunters, his hawkers, his tournaments, and his buffoons, occupy the greater part of the work. This collection he denominates his Triumph. CE TRIOMPHE A ETE EXECUTE A LA LOUANGE E LA MEMOIRE ETERNELLE DES PLAISIRS NOBLES ET DES VICTOIRES GLORIEUSES DU SERENISSIME ET TRES ILLUSTRÉ PRINCE ET SEIGNEUR MAXIMILIEN ELU EMPEREUR ROMAIN ET CHEF DE LA CHRETIENTE, ROI ET HERETIER DE SEPT ROYAUMES CHRETIENS ARCHIDUC D' AUTRICHE DUC DE BOURGOGNE

Among the confederate powers, no one had excited the resentment of the Venetians in so great a degree as Alfonso duke of Ferrara, and they no sooner began to recover their strength, than they resolved to punish him for the active part which he had taken against them. For this purpose they prepared an armament of eighteen gallies, with a large supply of ammunition, and a considerable body of troops, which proceeding up the Po, devastated the country on each side, and filled the inhabitants of Ferrara with terror. Alfonso at the head of his troops, and with a powerful reinforcement from the French, hastened to oppose their progress; and a bloody engagement took place at Polesella, in which Lodovico Pico, count of Mirandula, perished by a shot, whilst standing at the side of the cardinal of Este. A few days afterwards, the Venetians entered the city of Comacchio, which, with a barbarity common to all parties, they delivered up to the fury of the soldiery. A severe retribution, however, awaited them; under covert of the night, the cardinal of Este had brought down a large train of heavy artillery to the banks of the river; one part of which he stationed above, and the other below the Venetian flotilla. At break of day he opened these batteries upon them, with such effect as to overwhelm them in inevitable destruction. Two of the gallies perished in the midst of the stream, a third was destroyed by fire, and whilst the Venetians were attempting to escape with the remainder of their fleet, they were attacked by several barks, strongly manned with soldiers from Ferrara, and were totally routed.

BOURGOGNE ET D'AUTRES GRANDS PRINCIPAUTÉS ET PROVINCES DE L'EUROPE, &c.—The original blocks, or engravings in wood, have only been of late years discovered, and the work was published in 1796, in large folio.

Pisa surrenders
to the Flo-
rentines.

routed. The loss of the Venetians on this occasion ex-
ceeded three thousand men, and Ippolito led fifteen galleys
in triumph to Ferrara. (a)

The example of the dreadful enormities committed by
the conquering party upon every place which resisted their
arms, was an awful lesson to the inhabitants of Pisa, who,
notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Florentines, had
hitherto defended their city, and refused all terms of re-
conciliation. A bold, but unsuccessful attempt, made by
the assailants to turn the course of the Arno, served only
to give new courage to the besieged; but the Florentines had
at length reduced the art of famishing to a system, and de-
prived the inhabitants of Pisa of all hopes of supply. Ex-
pedients horrid to relate were resorted to; but human
efforts are bounded by human weakness, and the long suf-
ferings of the people of Pisa now approached their termi-
nation. Propositions were at length made by the inhabi-
tants for the surrender of the place, by which they reserved
to themselves considerable rights, and claimed great in-
dulgences. To these the Florentines willingly and wisely
acceded, and on the eighth day of June, 1509, their com-
missioners

(a) Ariosto has not forgotten to celebrate this important incident in the life of his
patron,

- “ Costui con pochi a piedi, e meno in sella
- “ Veggio uscir mesto e ritornar giocondo;
- “ Che *quindici galee* mena captive,
- “ *Oltra mill' altri legni* a le sue rive.”

Orl. Fur. Cant. iii. st. 57.

The same occasion has also afforded a subject for several of the Latin poets of the
time.

missioners entered the city, and by the generosity of their conduct, their strict observance of the stipulated terms, and their attention to repair the injuries of the war, soon convinced the inhabitants that they had been contending, for the space of nearly fifteen years, with unexampled obstinacy and incredible sufferings, against their own real interests. (a)

Hitherto the Venetians had relied only on their own courage and resources, and in spite of all the efforts of the powerful league which had been so unexpectedly formed against them, their affairs continued daily to improve, when the loss of the count of Pitigliano, who had served them many years with great fidelity, deranged their military operations, and excited their just regret. His death was attributed to the fatigues which he had suffered in the service of the republic, and so sensible were the senate of his merits, that they erected to his memory a statue of brass, with an honourable inscription. (b)

But whilst the Venetians were thus struggling with their misfortunes, a favourable gleam at length appeared, and gave them the promise of fairer times. Julius II. by the recovery of Romagna, had accomplished the object which had induced him to become a party in the league of Cambray. If this could have been done without the intervention of his allies, he would gladly have dispensed with

1510.

(a) Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*. x. 54.

(b) His talents have also been celebrated, and his services recorded, in a few Latin verses of Ant. Franc. Rainerius. v. *Appendix*, No. LX.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 1510.

A. Æt. 35.

Julius II. deserts the allies & unites his arms with the Venetians.

with their services ; but having now reaped the full benefit of their assistance, his next consideration was, how he might best secure the advantages which he had obtained. The rapid successes of the French, compared with the tardy progress and fruitless attempts of Maximilian, seemed likely to give them a preponderating influence in Italy ; and the destruction of the Venetian republic would have rendered Louis XII. the sovereign of all the northern part of that country, from the gulf of Genoa to that of Venice. Induced by these considerations, Julius admitted to his presence the Venetian ambassadors, who had before in vain solicited an audience, and having received their submission, he released the republic from his spiritual censures, with assurances of his future favour and support. (a) As this event could not long be concealed from the knowledge of the French monarch, Julius lost no time in adopting the most effectual measures to secure himself against his resentment. By the offer of a large sum of money he attempted to detach Maximilian from his alliance with France. (b) He endeavoured to excite against Louis XII. an insurrection in the city of Genoa, where he had considerable influence. By the most earnest representations he tried to prevail upon Henry VIII. of England to make a descent on the

(a) In performing this ceremony, the pope, being seated in his pontifical robes on the steps of S. Peters, strikes with a rod the naked shoulders of the ambassadors, in the same manner as a prelate absolves his penitent monks. It was thus that Sixtus IV. released the city of Florence from his interdict ; but on this occasion, Julius II. dispensed with this humiliating ceremony, and in lieu of it, ordered the envoys to visit the seven churches.

v. Nardi, *Hist. di Fior. lib. v. p. 127.*

(b) The brief of Julius II. to the cardinal of Gurck on this subject, is given by Lünig.

Cod. Ital. Diplom. ii. 2002.

the French coast.(a) He was more successful with Ferdinand of Spain, who, having also now obtained his object, was easily persuaded to join in expelling the French from Italy; but what was of still greater importance, he engaged in his service fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, for the purpose of making an irruption into the Milanese dominions of the French king.(b) The unexpected assistance of such an active and determined ally gave fresh courage to the Venetians. They increased the numbers of their army, the general command of which they intrusted to Lucio Malvezzo, and that of their infantry to Lorenzo, or Renzo, da Ceri. They engaged a body of five hundred Turkish horse, under the command of Giovanni Epirota, and they set at liberty the marquis of Mantua upon such liberal terms, as induced him in future to favour their interests.(c)

These events may be considered as the intire dissolution of the league of Cambray, and shortly occasioned a new aspect of public affairs. Julius, having now secured the aid of the Swiss, and having in his service two powerful armies, one of which was commanded by Marc-Antonio Colonna,(d) a young soldier of high worth and splendid talents,

Excommuni-
cates the
duke of Fer-
rara.

(a) At the same time the pope sent Henry the consecrated rose, dipped in chrism, and perfumed with musk. *Rapin, Hist. of England, book xv. vol. i. p. 708.*

(b) The treaty of Julius II. with the Swiss is also preserved by Lünig.

Cod. Ital. Diplom. v. ii. p. 2499.

(c) *Muratori Annali d' Italia, x. 57, 60.*

(d) Marc-Antonio was the son of Pier-Antonio, and nephew of Prospero Colonna. His early accomplishments are thus adverted to by Tebaldeo,

“Hermes dum loqueris, dum rides, Marce, Cupido es,

“Mars es ubi arma capis; tresque refers superos.”

Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. ix. 241.

talents, to whom he had given his niece in marriage, the other by his nephew, the duke of Urbino, dismissed from his presence the French ambassadors and those of the duke of Ferrara. He also admonished the duke to desist from further hostilities against the republic of Venice, and in particular to relinquish the siege of Lignano, which he was then carrying on with great activity.^(a) As the duke did not appear inclined to relax in his efforts, Julius instantly deprived him of his title of *gonfaloniere* of the church, which he conferred with great solemnity on the marquis of Mantua,^(b) and soon afterwards excommunicated the duke and all his family, declaring him deprived of his dominions, and pointing him out to the vengeance of all christendom, as a rebel to the holy see. At the same time the duke of Urbino entered the territory of Ferrara, where, with the assistance of the Venetians, he captured many important places, and among others, the city of Modena; carrying the war almost to the walls of Ferrara itself.^(c) The indefatigable activity of Alfonso, with the aid of the French troops from Milan, preserved him, however, from the destruction with which he was threatened, and in the variable events of the year, he obtained in his turn, considerable advantages against the Venetian and Papal troops.

For

^(a) Julius also complained that the duke had entered into an agreement for supplying Lombardy with salt from his mines at Comacchio, to the exclusion of those of the church at Cervia, and required him to relinquish his contract. He also insisted on the duke liberating his brother, Don Ferdinand of Este, whom he yet detained in prison. *v. ante, chap. vii. p. 36.* These demands were, however, considered at the time, as only pretexts for an attack on the states of Ferrara, which Julius had resolved to unite with those of the church. *v. Lettere di Leonardo da Porto. in Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 7.*

^(b) The grant of this office is given in the collection of Du Mont. *tom. iv. par. i, p. 131.*

^(c) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia, x. 59, 60.*

For the purpose of conducting the war with greater vigour, Julius II. had proceeded from Rome to Bologna, accompanied by most of the cardinals, and attendants of his court.^(a) At the same period Sciomonte, governor of Milan, instigated by the representations of the Bentivoli, directed his arms against that place; where Julius, indisposed by sickness, and wholly unprepared for defence, had nearly fallen into the hands of his enemies. He had, however, the policy to open a treaty with the French general, whose exorbitant demands afforded him a pretext for delay. The ambassador on whose talents he relied in this emergency, was Giovan-Francesco Pico, count of Mirandula, the nephew of the celebrated Giovanni Pico, and himself one of the most learned men of the age. It soon, however, appeared, that the only object of the pontiff was to gain time, till his allies, whom he had informed of the dangers of his situation, could arrive to his relief. A large body of Spanish and Venetian troops made their appearance most opportunely for his holiness, and Sciomonte, regretting the opportunity which he had lost, and suffering from the

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 1510.

A. Æt. 35.

Is besieged in
Bologna.

VOL. II

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want

(a) It was on this occasion that Julius was said to have thrown into the Tyber, the keys of S. Peter, as appears from the following epigram. *Pasquill*, vol. i. p. 82.

“ Cum contra Gallos bellum Papa Julius esset

“ Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet;

“ Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, & urbem

“ Egressus, sævas edidit ore minas.

“ Iratusque sacras claves in flumina jecit

“ Tybridis, hic Urbi pons ubi jungit aquas.

“ Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensem,

“ Exclamansque truci talia voce refert;

“ Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,

“ Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Petri.”

want of supplies, withdrew himself into the Milanese.^(a) During the residence of the pope at Bologna he had entertained suspicions of Giuliano, the brother of the cardinal de' Medici, whom he confined in the palace, under an idea that he had conspired with his ancient friends the Bentivoli, to effect their return; a few days, however, convinced the pope that his distrust was unfounded, and Giuliano was again restored to liberty.^(b)

Louis XII. opposes the authority of the pope.

The vehemence of Julius II. in subjecting all his enemies indiscriminately to the penalties of ecclesiastical censures, at length gave rise to a more alarming opposition than any which he had heretofore experienced. In devoting Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, to the pains of excommunication, he had expressly included in the same censure, all those who supported his cause. The emperor elect Maximilian, and Louis XII. were therefore virtually under the anathema of the church. Considered merely in a spiritual point of view, this was by no means an object of indifference, at a time when the efficacy of the keys of St. Peter had never yet been questioned; but however insensible these monarchs had been to their spiritual welfare, the censures of the pope, in releasing their subjects from their obedience, had laid the foundations of rebellion and tumult in every part of their dominions. Louis XII. endeavoured to remonstrate with Julius on this unjustifiable use of his pontifical power; but the pope, instead of attending to his representations, shut up his minister, the cardinal of Auch,

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(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, x. 62. Guicciard. *Hist. d' Ital. lib. ix. i. 500.*

(b) Guicciard. *Hist. d' Ital. lib. viii. vol. i. p. 464.*

in the castle of S. Angelo.(a) Alarmed and exasperated to a high degree, Louis called together the French prelates, and requested their united opinion whether he was justifiable in defending against the papal arms, a prince of the empire, whom the pope had endeavoured to divest of a state, which had been held under the imperial sanction for more than a century.(b) The reply of the clergy was, as might be expected, favourable to the views of the king, and in removing his scruples, emboldened him to a more decided opposition. As a mark of his determined hostility against the pope, he caused a medal to be struck with his own portrait, bearing the title and arms of king of France and Naples, and the motto, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN.(c) He opened a treaty with Maximilian for the convocation of a general council of the church at Lyons, and five cardinals had already expressed their willingness to attend the assembly. Maximilian not only listened with eagerness to the proposal, but, it has been said, formed also the design of procuring himself to be elected to the papacy, and although this has been considered as an empty and unfounded report,(d) yet it accords too well with the vain and fluctuating disposition of Maximilian, and is too well supported by historical evidence, to admit the supposition of

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its

(a) Guicciard. *Hist. d' Ital. lib. ix. 1. 484.*

(b) The author of the history of the league of Cambray supposes, that this was *Bologna*, which had been long held by the Bentivoli; but Muratori has decisively shewn that the place alluded to was *Comacchio*, which was a feud of the empire, and had been held under the imperial investiture by the dukes of Ferrara, upwards of one hundred and fifty years. *Muratori Annali d' Italia, x. 63.*

(c) *Thuani Histor. lib. i. tom. i. p. 16. Ed. Buckley.*

(d) *Muratori Annali d' Italia, vol. x. p. 64.*

its being wholly destitute of foundation.^(a) Whether this gave rise to difficulties which were not easily obviated, or whether other causes prevented the assembly of the proposed council of Lyons, that measure did not take place; but it was not long before a similar proceeding was resorted to, which for some years divided the authority, and disturbed the repose of the Christian world.

Mirandula captured by Julius II. in person.

The great object to which the pope now turned his exertions, was the destruction of the duke of Ferrara, and the re-union of his territories with the states of the church; but before he could attack the dominions of Alfonso with a full prospect of success, he judged it necessary to possess himself of the principalities of Mirandula and Concordia, then held by Francesca, the widow of Lodovico Pico, and daughter of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio. In the month of December, 1510, Concordia submitted to his arms; but Francesca refused to surrender her capital, and avowed her intention of defending it to the last extremity. For a considerable time, the united force of the Venetian and papal troops was ineffectually employed to reduce the place; when at length the pope, exasperated beyond measure at the delay, and distrusting even his own generals, among whom his nephew the duke of Urbino held the chief command, determined to join the army in person, and forward by his exhortations and example the operations of the assailants.

(a) “ Ce desir de Maximilien pour la papauté, ne paroissoit pas fort certain; mais M. Bayle, (*Reponse aux questions d'un Provincial*, tom. ii.) l' a prouvé de nouveau, par une lettre tres curieuse, écrite du tems même de cet empereur, et à laquelle il paroît que ce sçavant soit le premier que nous ait fait faire attention.” *Fresnoy, Methode pour etudier l' Hist. tom. i. p. 119.*

~~assailants.~~ In the midst of the severest winter that had been known in Italy for many years, the hoary pontiff marched at the head of his troops, amidst frost and storms, to the attack of Mirandula. He directed in person the planting of the artillery; he regulated the order of the attack; he exposed himself fearlessly to the fire of the enemy, till at length he effected a breach in the walls, and reduced the besieged to the necessity of a capitulation. In compliance with the terms agreed on, the inhabitants hastened to open their gates; but such was the impetuosity of the pontiff, that without waiting for a formal surrender, he mounted a scaling ladder, and entered the city, sword in hand, through the breach in the walls.*(a)* Having there received the submission of Francesca, he delivered up the place to his adherent Giovan-Francesco Pico, who justly claimed the supreme authority as his right of inheritance.*(b)* After remaining about ten days at Mirandula to recover from his military fatigues, Julius proceeded to Ravenna, with a determination to attack the city of Ferrara; but the vigilance of the duke was equal to the violence of his enemies, and in

1511

(a) 21 Jan. 1511. *Muratori Annal. d' Italia*, x. 65.

(b) On this occasion M. A. Casanova addressed to the pontiff the following lines:

In Julium II. Pont. Mar.

“ Vix bellum indictum est, cum vincis, nec citius vis
 “ Vincere, quam parcas; hæc tria agis pariter.
 “ Una dedit bellum, bellum lux sustulit una;
 “ Nec tibi, quam bellum, longior ira fuit.
 “ Hoc nomen divinum aliquid fert secum; & utrum sis
 “ Mitior, ane idem fortior, ambiguum est.”

Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. iii. 284.

Many interesting particulars respecting the capture of Mirandula, and the conduct of Francesca, are given in the letter of Leonardo da Porto. *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 9.

CHAP. VIII. in several engagements, this experienced soldier and mag-
 A. D. 1511. nanimous prince, defeated the united arms of the Venetians
 A. Æt. 36. and the pope, with considerable loss.

Bologna cap-
 tured by the
 French.

Some overtures being about this time made for the restoration of peace, the pope left Ravenna and repaired to Bologna, for the purpose of meeting the ambassadors of the different potentates; but Julius was not formed for a mediator, and the interview served only to kindle fresh animosities. No sooner was the unsuccessful event of the negotiation known, than the marshal Trivulzio, at the head of a formidable body of French troops, hastened towards Bologna. The pope, being apprized of his approach, and not choosing to confide in the courage, or the fidelity, of the inhabitants, suddenly quitted the place, and accompanied by his whole court, returned to Ravenna. He did not, however, fail to admonish his faithful subjects to retain their allegiance to him, and to defend themselves to the last extremity; and he intrusted the chief command to Francesco Alidosio, cardinal of Pavia, who, on the departure of the pope, took the speediest measures for the defence of the place. The exhortations of the pontiff, were however, soon forgotten. As the enemy approached, the inhabitants began to dread the lingering torments of a siege, or the sudden horrors of a direct attack. The exiled family of the Bentivoli had yet their partizans within the walls. It was to no purpose that the cardinal entreated the citizens to co-operate in the defence of the place with the duke of Urbino, who closely watched the motions of the French army, or that he requested them to admit a body of one thousand papal troops within the walls. The revolt became apparent, and the cardinal, with some difficulty, effected his escape to Imola; whilst

whilst Annibale, and Hermes Bentivoli, who had followed the French army, were received into the city with joy, and reassumed the government of their native place. One of the first outrages of popular fury, was the destruction of the beautiful statue of Julius II. cast in brass by Michel Agnolo, which after having been indignantly dragged about the city, was broken in pieces, and sent by the French commander to the duke of Ferrara, who formed it into a cannon, to which he gave the name of *Julio*. The head alone was preserved, and continued for some time to ornament the ducal museum at Ferrara.(a)

The loss of the city of Bologna, which was soon followed by the defeat and dispersion of the papal troops in its vicinity, led the way to another incident which occasioned the pope still greater distress. From Imola, the cardinal of Pavia had hastened to Ravenna, to excuse himself to the pope for having left the city of Bologna to be occupied by the arms of the French; in the course of which exculpation, it was supposed that he intended to charge the duke of Urbino with having, through inattention or negligence, contributed to this disaster. The pope, who entertained a favourable opinion of the cardinal, was well disposed to listen to his representations, and appointed a time when he should visit him; but as the cardinal

was

The cardinal of
Pavia assassinated by
the duke of
Urbino.

(a) This statue, which was raised at the expense of five thousand gold ducats, (*Murat. Ann. x. 67.*) gave rise to the following satirical lines of Piero Valeriano:

“ Quo quo tam trepidus fugis Viator ;

“ Ac si te Furizæve, Gorgonesve,

“ Aut acer Basiliscus insequantur ?

“ —Non hic JULIUS—at figura JULII est.”

Valer. Hexam. &c. p. 104. Ed. Giol. 1550.

was proceeding on horseback with his attendants to the proposed interview, he was met in the street by the duke of Urbino, who passed through the midst of the guards, and whilst they ranged themselves on each side to shew him respect, rode up to the cardinal, and stabbed him with a dagger, so that he fell instantly dead from his horse.^(a) Such an atrocious and sacrilegious act of treachery excited at once the grief and the indignation of the pontiff,^(b) who, with severe denunciations against the perpetrator of the crime, instantly quitted Ravenna, and hastened to Rome; where he instituted a formal process against the duke, and deprived him of all his dignities. The resentment of the pope was not, however, of long continuance. At the expiration of five months he allowed himself to be prevailed upon, by the representations of his courtiers, to restore his nephew to his honours; and upon his visiting the city of Rome, and supplicating pardon for his offence, the pope absolved him from his homicide, in the presence of all the cardinals, and restored him again to his favour.

Council of Pisa.

Whilst the grief of the pope for the loss of Bologna was thus increased by the death of the cardinal of Pavia, and he was hastening from Ravenna to Rome, to pursue measures

^(a) The efforts of Julius II. to possess himself, either by force or fraud of the city of Ferrara, and the various incidents of this expedition, with the death of the cardinal of Pavia, are fully related by Leonardo da Porto, in the letter before cited, written from Venice, to Antonio Savorgnano; in which will be found many circumstances either differently related, or wholly omitted by the historians of the time. v. *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 9.

^(b) Paullus Jovius has, however, attacked the memory of the unfortunate cardinal, with a ferocity equal to that with which the duke of Urbino attacked his person; and not only justifies, but exults in his murder. v. *Appendix*, No. LXI.

measures against the murderer, he found, on passing through the city of Rimini, that notices were published of a general council of the church, which was to be held in the city of Pisa, on the first day of September, 1511, and at which he was cited to appear in person. This measure was the result of long deliberation between Louis XII. and the emperor elect Maximilian, who having prevailed on several of the cardinals to unite in their views, at length succeeded in exciting against the pope this formidable opposition. At the head of this council was Bernardo Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, who was equally distinguished by his literary acquirements and political talents, and who held a high rank in the college. He was powerfully supported by the cardinal Sanseverino, who being of a Milanese family, and devoted to the cause of the French, was supposed to have prevailed upon the cardinal of Santa Croce to engage in this hazardous undertaking, by representing to him the high probability of his obtaining the pontifical dignity, on the abdication or expulsion of Julius II. Among the other cardinals who concurred in this measure were those of S. Malo, Bajosa, and Cosenza. The influence which Louis XII. had acquired over the republic of Florence had induced the magistrates, after great hesitation, to concede to him the city of Pisa as the place of assembly; but their assent was rather tacit than avowed, and with such secrecy were the preliminaries adjusted, that Julius was not informed of them until he found himself called upon to appear as a public delinquent, and his authority openly opposed throughout the whole Christian world. Such a decided instance of disobedience to the supreme head of the church, would at any other time have moved the indignation of the pontiff, but as it occurred at a moment when his mind

CHAP. VIII.
 A. D. 1511.
 A. Æt. 36.

was already agitated with his misfortunes, it almost overwhelmed him, and a severe indisposition had nearly completed the wishes of his enemies. This council did not, however, open under the happiest auspices. The appearance of seven cardinals, and a few bishops, formed a very inadequate representation of the Christian church; and the clergy of the city of Pisa not only refused to take any part in the deliberations of the assembly, but even to allow them the implements for celebrating mass, and closed the doors of the cathedral against them.^(a) Nor were the inhabitants of Pisa less dissatisfied, that the Florentines had subjected their city to the disgrace and danger which were likely to be the result of this measure; and in a contest which took place between them and the French troops, on the bridge of the Arno, the French commander, Lautrec, who had been appointed to protect the council, would in all probability have lost his life, had he not been preserved by the courage and promptitude of his son.^(b) A sudden terror struck the assembled ecclesiastics, who began to suspect that they might be betrayed by the inhabitants, and delivered up to the pontiff. They therefore quitted the city of Pisa within the space of fifteen days from the time of their meeting,^(c) and repaired to Milan; where under the immediate protection of the French monarch, they constituted themselves a legal assembly, and began to issue their decrees.

No

^(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. x. vol. i. p. 559.*

^(b) *Jovii, vita Leonis x. lib. ii. p. 36.*

^(c) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. x. vol. i. p. 559.*

No sooner was the health of the pope in some degree restored, than he took the most effectual steps to obviate the ill effects of this alarming opposition. He appointed a general council of the church to be held at Rome, in the course of the ensuing year, and he admonished the refractory cardinals to return to their duty within sixty-five days, under pain of the deprivation of their dignities, and forfeiture of their ecclesiastical revenues. By the most earnest representations to Ferdinand of Aragon, and the grant to him of the tenths of the clergy throughout his dominions, he prevailed upon that monarch to unite with him and the Venetians in a treaty for the defence of the church.^(a) For the purpose of giving greater credit to this alliance, it was denominated *the holy league*,^(b) and was celebrated at Rome with great rejoicings. The king of Aragon agreed to furnish twelve hundred men at arms, and ten thousand foot, under the command of Don Raymond de Cardona, viceroy of Naples, with a train of artillery, and eleven gallies of war; the pope, six hundred men at arms, under the command of the duke of Termini; and the Venetians their whole forces by land and sea. The influence which Ferdinand possessed with his son-in-law, Henry VIII. of England, and the promise of the assistance of the allies in acquiring for that young and ambitious prince the province of Guienne, induced him to become a

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party

^(a) On this occasion, Massimo Corvino, bishop of Isernia made an oration before Julius II. and the people of Rome, in the church of S. Maria, which he afterwards addressed to the cardinal de' Medici, as Legate of Bologna. The same event has also been celebrated in a copy of Latin verses. These pieces, will be found in the Appendix, No. LXII.

^(b) *Lünig Cod. Ital. Diplom. vol. ii. 798.* The brief or proclamation of Julius II. on this occasion, which states the particulars of the forces by land and sea to be provided by each of the parties, is given in the Appendix, No. LXIII.

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A. D. 1511.

A. Æt. 36.

party in this alliance, and another treaty for this purpose was signed at London, by Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, on behalf of Henry VIII. on the seventeenth day of November; which was confirmed by Ferdinand at Burgos, on the twentieth day of December, 1511.(a) In addition to these formidable preparations, Julius again took into his service a large body of Swiss, for the purpose of making a descent into the Milanese, whilst the pope and his allies were to engage the attention of the French in other parts of Italy, and Henry VIII. was to send an army into Guienne. On this occasion, the Swiss mercenaries carried the celebrated standard which had often been the terror of their enemies, and on which was inscribed, in letters of gold, DOMATORES PRINCIPUM. AMATORES JUSTICIÆ. DEFENSORES SANCTÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIAE. An inscription, the tenor of which they were not, however, at all times, sufficiently careful to observe.

Julius II. determines to restore the Medici to Florence.

The conduct of the Florentine republic, in permitting the pretended council of the church to assemble in Pisa, had subjected the magistrates, and particularly the *gonfaloniere*, Pietro Soderini, to the resentment of the pontiff, who resolved to avail himself of the first opportunity of punishing, with due severity, so heinous an offence. The most

(a) This treaty is published in Rymer's *Federa*, vol. vi. p. 25. and in the collection of Du Mont, vol. iv. part i. p. 137.—This alliance was warmly opposed by some of the English council, who more seriously weighed the business, one of whom made a remark which, as lord Herbert justly observes, ENGLAND SHOULD NEVER FORGET. "Let us," said he, "leave off our attempts against the Terra firma. The natural situation of islands seems not to sort with conquests in that kind. England alone is a just empire; or when we would enlarge ourselves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the eternal providence hath destined us, and that is by SEA." *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.* p. 18. Ed. Lond. 1740.

most effectual method which occurred to him for this purpose, as well as to secure the city in future to his own interests, was to restore the family of Medici to their former authority in that place. During all the vexation and dangers which the pontiff had experienced, the cardinal de' Medici had adhered to him with constant fidelity, and had obtained his confidence in an eminent degree. In selecting at this important crisis, a fit person to superintend the papal army, and to direct the operations of the war, the choice of the pontiff fell on the cardinal, who was invested with the supreme command, under the title of legate of Bologna. (a) At the same time, in order to stimulate the exertions of the cardinal, and to punish the Florentines for the part which they had taken, it was understood, that on the expulsion of the French from Bologna, and other parts of the dominions of the church, the cardinal should be allowed to make use of the forces under his command for the re-establishment of his authority in Florence. Already the friends and relations of the Medici within the city, had opposed themselves to the party of the *gonfaloniere* with great boldness. A conspiracy was formed against his life, which is attributed, but without any authentic evidence, to the machinations of the pope, and the cardinal de' Medici. Princivalle della Stufa, the principal agent in this transaction, was apprehended within the city, but such was the indifference of the people to the safety of their chief magistrate, or the reluctance of Soderini to exert his declining authority, that Princivalle was

(a) Soon after the appointment of the cardinal to this dignity, he was applied to by the poet Ariosto, to exercise his dispensing power in granting him *triu incompatibilia*, or allowing him to enjoy certain ecclesiastical revenues, without entering for a limited time into sacred orders. This proof of the early intimacy which subsisted between the poet and the cardinal, is given in the Appendix, No. LXIV.

was suffered to escape with only a sentence of banishment pronounced against him.^(a) Alarmed at these indications, Soderini endeavoured to prevail on the Florentines to espouse the cause of Louis XII. and to take a decided part in the approaching contest; but in this his efforts were frustrated by the more prudent councils of his fellow magistrates, who judged it highly inexpedient to risk their political existence on the event. A temporizing line of conduct was therefore resolved upon, as most suitable to the situation and resources of the republic; and the celebrated historian Guicciardini, was, on this occasion, dispatched as ambassador to the king of Spain, although he was then so young, as to be disqualified by the laws of the republic from exercising any office of public trust. These measures, instead of satisfying any of the contending parties, gave offence to all, and the Florentine envoy seems sufficiently to have felt the difficulties of the task imposed upon him.^(b)

Bologna besieged by the allies, and relieved by de Foix.

1512.

Whilst the pope, the Venetians, and the king of Aragon, were thus combining their efforts, for the purpose of expelling the French from Italy, the celebrated Gaston de Foix, nephew to Louis XII. then only twenty-three years of age, had assumed the command of his countrymen, and given early proofs of his courage and military talents. He did not, however, wholly rely upon these qualifications for the success of his enterprizes. Scarcely had the Swiss made their appearance in the states of Milan, than he found means

^(a) *Comment. di Nerli. lib. v. p. 104.*

^(b) *Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 567.*

means to open a treaty with them, and by the timely application of a large sum of money to their commander, and other principal leaders, prevailed upon these adventurers, who carried on war only as a matter of trade, to return once more across the Alps.^(a) After having thus secured the states of Milan, he proceeded to the relief of Bologna, the siege of which had been commenced by the allied army on the twenty-sixth day of January, 1512. The supreme direction of the papal troops was on this occasion intrusted to the cardinal de' Medici, as legate of Bologna, under whom Marc-Antonio Colonna acted as general of the church. The Spaniards were led by Don Raymond de Cardona, assisted by Fabrizio Colonna, and Pietro Navarro. The Bentivoli within the walls were also encompassed by powerful adherents, and a party of French troops under the command of Lautrec and Ivo d'Allegri, were within the city. The allies had now made their approaches in due military form, and a considerable portion of the walls was at length destroyed by the continued fire of their artillery. Whilst this open attack continued, Pietro Navarro had, with great assiduity, formed an excavation under the city for a mine of gunpowder, which he at length completed. At the appointed moment, the match was applied to the combustibles, which were intended to have laid the city in ruins. It happened, however, most fortunately for the inhabitants, that these materials had been deposited under the chapel of the holy virgin, *del Barracane*; so that when the explosion took place, the chapel rose up into the air, but instantly returned, without injury, to its former station. As the chapel adjoined the walls, the besiegers had a temporary

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, x. 72.

porary view of the interior of the city, and of the soldiers engaged in its defence; but from this they derived little satisfaction, as the wall immediately returned to its place, and united together, as if it had not been moved! Such is the grave account given of this incident by contemporary historians,^(a) which has been as gravely assented to by writers of more modern times.^(b) After so decisive a proof of the inefficacy of all further attempts, it can occasion no surprize, that the French general, De Foix, entered the city at the head of sixteen thousand men, without the besieging army having been aware of their approach.^(c) The allies had now no alternative but to raise the siege; after which they retreated in great haste for safety to Imola.

Discordant opinions of the cardinal de' Medici and the Spanish general, Cardona.

But whatever doubts may remain respecting the manner in which the siege of Bologna was raised, there can be no difficulty in ascertaining the causes of it, when we are informed, that an open difference of opinion had subsisted between the Spanish general Cardona, and the cardinal legate de' Medici; the latter of whom, wearied with the slow proceedings of the allied generals, and well acquainted with

(a) Guicciard. lib. x. v. i. p. 573. Jovus in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 38.

(b) "Erasí per dare l'assalto alla breccia, ma si volle aspettar l'esito di una mina; tirata sotto la capella della Beata Vergine del Baracane nella strada Castiglione, da Pietro Navarro. Scoppiò questa, e mirabil cosa fu, che la capella fu balzata in aria, e tornò a ricadere nel medesimo sito di prima, con restar delusa l'espertazion de' Spagnuoli, quivi pronti per l'assalto." Murat. Annali, v. x. p. 75.

(c) Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 573. "Ma il prode Gastone, mosso una notte l'esercito dal Finale, ad onta della neve e de' ghiacci, con esso arrivò a Bologna, nel dì quinto di Febbrajo, e v'entrò per la porta di san Felice, senza che se ne avvedessero i nemici. Il che certo parrà inverisimile a più d'uno, e pure lo veggiamo scritto come cosa fuor di dubbio." Murat. Annali. x. 75.

with the impatient temper of the pope, endeavoured to prevail on Cardona to persevere vigorously in the attack. He lamented that so much time had been suffered to elapse without any impression being made on the city, of which they might then have been in possession; he intreated the Spanish general not to persist in so fatal an error; he represented to him the danger and disgrace of appearing in a hostile manner at the gates of a city, without having the courage to commence an attack; and assured him that he knew not what reply to make to the couriers of the pope, who arrived daily from Rome, and whom he could no longer amuse with vain expectations and empty promises. Displeased with the importunity of the legate, the Spanish general complained, in his turn, that the legate, who from the nature of his education, had no experience in military affairs, should, by his intemperate solicitations, prepare the way for rash and inconsiderate measures. That the interests of all Christendom were concerned in the event of this contest, and that too much caution could not be employed on such an occasion. That it was the custom of the pontifical see, and of republican states, to engage precipitately in war, but that they were soon wearied with the expense and trouble attending it, and sought to terminate it on any terms; that the legate ought in this instance to submit his opinion to that of the military commanders, who had the same objects as himself in view, with much greater experience in such concerns.^(a) The result, however, demonstrated, that on this occasion the churchman was the better general; nor does it seem to

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have

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. x. vol. i. p. 571.*

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have required much penetration to have discovered, that in the situation in which the allies were placed, the capture of Bologna, before the French army could arrive to its relief, was the great object towards which the assailants ought to have directed all their efforts. It was not therefore without reason, that the cardinal suspected that the inactivity of the Spanish general was to be attributed to the orders of his sovereign, who, whilst he professed to be desirous of adopting decisive measures, in concert with his allies, always directed the operations of his generals in such a manner as he thought most conducive to his own private interests.(a)

Brescia stormed
and sacked by
the French.

The disappointment and disgrace which the allies had experienced before Bologna, was however, in some degree counterbalanced by the successes of the Venetians, who, about the same time, recovered the important cities of Brescia and Bergamo, whence they proceeded to the attack of Crema; but the timely arrival of Trivulzio preserved that place to the French. On receiving information of these transactions, Gaston de Foix resolved to lose no time in repairing the losses of the French arms. Leaving therefore a body of four thousand foot, with a reinforcement of cavalry and archers, for the defence of Bologna, he proceeded by rapid marches towards Brescia, and having in his route defeated two bodies of the allied troops, one of them under the command of Gian-Paolo Baglione, and the other of the count Guido Rangone, he arrived in the vicinity of that city, having, as we are assured, on the last day

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital. lib. x. vol. i. p. 571.*

day of his march led his cavalry, fifty Italian miles without once drawing the reins.(a)

On the arrival of the French general before Brescia, he found, that although the Venetians had possessed themselves of the town, they had not been able to reduce the citadel, which was yet held by the French. His first object was therefore to reinforce the garrison, which he effected, under cover of the night, by introducing three thousand foot, and four hundred dismounted cavalry. The defence of the place was intrusted by the Venetians to their commissary Andrea Gritti, upon whom was imposed the double task of attending at the same time to the attack of the citadel, and the safety of the town. He was, however, supported by a formidable body of troops. The inhabitants of the vicinity were favourable to his cause. Great numbers of them had joined his arms, and the citizens, disgusted with the severity and disorder of the French government, had avowed their determination to sacrifice their lives in the struggle, rather than be compelled to return under its dominion. The summons of the French general, who promised the inhabitants the pardon of the king on their again submitting to his arms, and threatened to sack the city in case of their refusal, produced no other answer, than that they were ready to defend themselves to the last extremity. The day preceding the expected attack, the women and children were conducted to the monasteries, and all money and articles of value were concealed with as much

N 2

privacy

(a) — “ Si trovò aver eglino fatto quel giorno, senza mai trarre la briglia a i cavalli, “ miglia cinquanta: Cosa, che so non sarò creduta; ma io, che fui presente sul fatto, ne “ faccio vera testimonianza.” *L' Anonimo Padovano, ap. Murat. Annal. d' Ital. x. 77.*

privacy as possible. In the morning of the nineteenth day of February, 1512, the French garrison made an irruption from the citadel in great force, whilst de Foix led on his army to attack the ramparts. A bloody engagement ensued between the garrison and the Venetian soldiery, in the great square of the city, in which two thousand of the latter perished. Despairing of all further resistance, the count Luigi Avogrado, one of the Venetian commanders, at the head of two hundred horse, rushed through the gate of S. Nazaro, in the hopes of effecting his escape, and of this opportunity de Foix availed himself to complete the rout of the Venetians, and the ruin of the inhabitants. The whole French army entered the city sword in hand, and a most dreadful and indiscriminate carnage ensued, in which upwards of eight thousand persons fell a sacrifice to that vindictive rage, which has in all ages disgracefully characterized mankind on similar occasions, and which marks a ferocity far beyond the puny limits of the brute creation.^(a) The Venetian commissary, Andrea Gritti, with the chief commanders within the city, were made prisoners. Luigi Avogrado being taken in his flight, was put to death as a traitor, by the orders of de Foix, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity.^(b) Enormous sums were exacted from the citizens as their ransom. For seven days the place was delivered up to the violence and rapine of the soldiery.^(c)

Even

^(a) The celebrated Bayard, *le Chevalier sans peur & sans reproche*, who had accompanied the armies of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. into Italy, was present at the capture of Brescia, and gave a proof of that magnanimity which always distinguished his character, in refusing to receive, from the daughters of his hostess, a sum of two thousand pistoles, which their mother had collected to save her house from plunder. *Moreri Art. Bayard.*

^(b) *Jovii, vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 41.*

^(c) *Jovii, vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 41.*

Even the monasteries were forced and plundered; (a) but amidst this scene of horror and of bloodshed, the authority of de Foix is said to have been exerted in preserving the honour of the women who had resorted thither for shelter. Many of the French soldiers were executed by his orders for violating the sanctuary of the convents, and he at length gave peremptory orders that the army should quit the city, and return to their encampments.

The vigour and rapidity of this young conqueror, who had in the space of fifteen days raised the siege of Bologna, defeated several detachments of the allies, and captured the city of Brescia, alarmed his enemies, and astonished all Italy. The city and district of Bergamo, without waiting for the approach of the French, again raised the standard of Louis XII. and there was reason to believe, that the whole continental possessions of the Venetian republic would follow the example. Whatever might be the sensations of the senate, Julius II. displayed, however, no symptoms of dismay. On the contrary, his undaunted spirit seemed to rise with the occasion, and no measures were omitted by him which might encourage his allies, and give effect to the great design which he yet entertained of expelling the French from Italy. By the bribe of fifty thousand florins, he prevailed upon the emperor elect, Maximilian, to conclude with the Venetians a treaty for ten months. (b) He incited Henry VIII. of England to prepare a powerful naval armament, for

De Foix attacks
Ravenna.

(a) On this event, Bartolommeo Teaneo wrote a Latin poem in heroic verse, which was printed at Brescia, in the year 1561. v. *Spec. Literat. Brixianæ. par. ii. p. 219.*

(b) v. *Lünig Cod. Ital. Diplom. vol. ii. p. 2003.*

for the purpose of attacking the coasts of Normandy and Bretagne, and he induced Ferdinand of Aragon to commence hostilities in France, by sending an army across the Pyrenees. Assailed on all sides by powerful adversaries, Louis XII. perceived that he must rely for his security on the prompt and successful efforts of his Italian troops. He therefore directed Gaston de Foix to use all his diligence to bring the allies to a definitive engagement. To such a commander little incitement was necessary; and Gaston immediately hastened to Ferrara, to determine with the duke on the measures necessary to be adopted. He had at this time under his command eighteen hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and sixteen thousand infantry; and being joined by the duke of Ferrara with an additional body of troops, and an extensive train of artillery, he proceeded towards Romagna. The cardinal legate de' Medici, and the viceroy Cardona, who were at the head of fifteen hundred men at arms, three thousand light horse, and eighteen thousand foot, retired towards the mountain of Faenza, choosing rather to harrass the army of the French, and to cut off their supplies, than to risk the fate of Italy on the event of a single battle. The French general was determined, however, not to remain inactive, and directing his course towards Ravenna, he stormed in his progress the fortress of Russi, where he put to the sword about a thousand persons. Arriving under the walls of Ravenna, he instantly commenced the attack. The artillery of the duke of Ferrara, which was on all occasions irresistible, soon effected a breach in the walls, and the French rushed on to the assault. It appeared, however, that on this occasion, the vigilance of the allies had been equal to that of the French commander. Marc-Antonio Colonna, with a powerful

powerful body of troops, had entered the city to assist in its defence. An obstinate engagement took place on the ramparts, which continued for four hours, and in which about fifteen hundred soldiers were killed; but notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the assailants, they were at length obliged to relinquish the attempt.^(a)

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But although the French general had failed for the present in his attack upon Ravenna, in another respect he accomplished the purpose which he had in view, by compelling the commanders of the allied army to abandon their system of procrastination, and to hasten towards that city for its more effectual relief. Whilst Gaston de Foix was rallying his soldiers to a second attack, he received intelligence of the approach of the enemy, and before he was prepared to oppose them in the field, he found that they had raised intrenchments within three miles of Ravenna. In this conjuncture, his situation was critical. To persist in the siege of the city was impossible, whilst an army, equal in number to his own, lay ready to seize the first opportunity of a favourable attack. To assail the allies in their intrenchments, and force them to an engagement, whilst their enemies might harass them from the fortress of Ravenna, seemed almost equally inexpedient. The sufferings of the soldiers and horses, from the want of accommodation and provisions, would not, however, brook delay, and Gaston resolved, at all events, to storm the enemy in their intrenchments, and force them to an open conflict. The order of this dreadful battle, which took place on the eleventh day of April, 1512, and in which

Battle before
the walls of
Ravenna.

(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia.* x. 80.

which the flower of both armies was destined to perish, is described at great length, both by the French and Italian historians.^(a) Among the French commanders, the most conspicuous was the cardinal Sanseverino, legate of the council of Milan, who, clad in complete armour, marched at the head of the troops, and being of a tall and imposing figure, appeared like another St. George. The cardinal de' Medici, as legate of the church, held the chief authority in the allied army; but although in the midst of a camp, his habiliments were those of peace,^(b) and he differed no less from his brother cardinal in his mild and humane disposition, than in the pacific demonstrations of his external appearance. For the more active part of warlike operations, the cardinal de' Medici was indeed, in a great degree disqualified, by the imperfection of his sight, but in maintaining the good order of the camp, he was indefatigable, and he frequently and strenuously exhorted both the commanders and the soldiery, to contend with courage and unanimity for the protection of themselves and their possessions, the preservation of the holy see, and for the common liberties of Italy.^(c) The Spanish troops, on which the principal reliance was placed, were led by the viceroy Cardona; the Italians by Fabrizio Colonna; and the command of the light armed cavalry was intrusted to the young and accomplished Ferdinando Davalos, marquis of

^(a) *Jovius, vita Ferdinandi Davalos, March. Pescaræ, lib. i. Guicciard. lib. x. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv. iii. &c.*

^(b) *Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 588.*

^(c) "Tribunos, Centuriones, ac milites ipsos, ut pro servando Sedis Apostolicæ patrimonio, pro aris ac focus, pro communi Italix libertate, pro salute, pro dignitate, strenuissimè decertarent, graviter, copioseque est adhortatus." *Brandolini, Leo. p. 85.*

of Pescara, who had lately married Vittoria, the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna, one of the fairest patterns of female excellence, and conjugal affection, that the world has hitherto seen.

The reputation which Pietro Navarro had acquired by his superior skill as an engineer, had not only raised him to a high command in the allied army, but had given great authority to his opinion. On this occasion, he earnestly recommended that the army should remain in its intrenchments, and should trust for success, in the first instance, to its artillery, which he had advantageously arranged in the front of their works. In this opinion he was opposed by Fabrizio Colonna, who contended, that as the French army were under the necessity of crossing the river Ronco, to proceed to the attack, it would be more advisable to oppose them as they approached in detached bodies, than to wait till the whole army had formed itself in order to assault the intrenchments. The advice of the Spaniard prevailed, and the French army arrived unmolested within a short distance of the allied camp. Perceiving, however, that the allies did not choose to quit their intrenchments, they formed their line, with the artillery in front, and for the space of two hours the adverse armies employed themselves in cannonading each other; in the course of which a great slaughter was made, without any decisive effect being produced. In this contest the allies had, from their situation, a manifest advantage; but the duke of Ferrara, perceiving the fortune of the day inclining against the French, hastened with his artillery to their relief, and having obtained an advantageous position, which commanded the intrenchments, attacked the allies in flank

The allies defeated by de Foix, and the cardinal legate de' Medici made prisoner.

with such impetuosity, that they could no longer resist his fury. (a) The mingled slaughter of men and of horses who fell, without an opportunity of resistance, roused the resentment of Fabrizio Colonna, who with bitter reproaches against the Spanish generals, at length rushed from his intrenchments, and was followed by the rest of the allies. The hostile shock of these armies, each of them inflamed by national enmity, and exasperated to the highest degree by the preceding events of the war, was bloody and destructive beyond all that had been known in Italy for many years. The whole body was in immediate action. The courage of the Spanish infantry changed more than once the fortune of the day. In the declining state of the allied army, the marquis of Pescara made an impetuous attack on the wing of the enemy, with the whole of the light cavalry, but was repulsed with great loss, and after a severe conflict, the allies were compelled to give way, and to seek their safety by flight. All their artillery, standards, and equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy, and upwards of nine thousand of the allies lay dead on the field. The cardinal legate de' Medici, Fabrizio Colonna, Pietro Navarro, and many other eminent commanders, and men of high rank, were made prisoners.

The

(a) Ariosto attributes the success of the French on this occasion to the courage and conduct of the duke of Ferrara :

- “ Costui sarà col senno, e con la lancia,
 “ Ch' avrà l' onor ne i campi di Romagna,
 “ D' aver data a l' essercito di Francia
 “ La gran vittoria contro Giulio, e Spagna.
 “ Nuoteranno i destrier fin' a la pancia
 “ Nel sangue uman per tutta la campagna;
 “ Ch' a sepolire il popol verrà manco
 “ Tedesco, Ispano, Greco, Italo, e Franco.”

The viceroy Cardona effected his escape to Cesena, where he endeavoured to collect together the scattered remains of his troops. But if the Italians and Spaniards had just reason for lamentation, the French had no cause of rejoicing. The number of their slain is authentically stated to have exceeded even that of the allies, and to have amounted to no less than ten thousand five hundred men. (a) Among this number were the celebrated Ivo d'Allegri, who had for several years fought the battles of his sovereign in Italy, and two of his sons. The sieur de Lautrec, uncle to de Foix, and second in command, was found on the field of battle covered with wounds; from which he, however, recovered. But the greatest disaster of the French army, was the death of the general in chief, the celebrated Gaston de Foix, who, burning with an insatiable thirst of slaughter, engaged at the head of one thousand horse, in the pursuit of three thousand Spanish infantry, and in the midst of his career received a shot from a harquebus, which instantly terminated his days. The untimely fate of this young hero damped the ardour of his countrymen in the moment of victory, and his memory has seldom been adverted to, even by the Italians themselves, without the highest admiration and applause. (b)

Death of de
Foix.

o 2

The

(a) *Muratori Annali d' Ital.* x. p. 82.

(b) His body was brought to Milan, and deposited with pompous ceremonies in the cathedral; but on the subsequent expulsion of the French from Milan, the cardinal of Sion ordered it to be disinterred, as the remains of a person excommunicated, and sent it to be privately buried in the church of the monastery of S. Martha. On the recovery of Milan by the French, in the year 1515, a magnificent tomb was erected to the memory of this young warrior, by Agostino Busti, a Milanese sculptor, consisting of a figure of de Foix as large as life, and ten pieces of sculpture in marble, most exquisitely finished, representing

The benignant philosopher, in the recesses of his closet, may perhaps lament, that such extraordinary talents were exerted, not for the benefit, but the destruction of mankind; and the generous soldier may regret, that on some occasions, this great man sullied the glory of his arms, by unnecessary acts of vindictive barbarity; but it would be invidious in a modern historian, to attempt to tear the laurels, which have now bloomed for nearly three centuries round his tomb.

Surrender and
plunder of
Ravenna.

The victorious army now returned to the attack of Ravenna. Marc-Antonio Colonna, despairing of the defence of the place, withdrew his troops into the citadel, where he defended himself for four days, at the expiration of which time, he quitted the city, under a capitulation, by which it was agreed, that he and his followers should not, for the space of three months, carry arms against the king of France or the council of Pisa.^(a) A deputation from

sending the various battles in which he had been engaged. This monument remained till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was suffered to be demolished, and the ornaments were carried away. *v. Vasari. Giunte. vol. i. p. 51. ii. 180. iii. 31. Ligue de Camb. ii. 149.* The death of de Foix is commemorated in the following lines of Antonio Franc. Raineri:

DE GASTONE FOXIO.

- “ Funera quis memoranda canat, clademque Ravennæ,
 “ Et tua, summe Ducum, facta, obitumque simul?
 “ Ingentes cum tu incedens per corporum acervos,
 “ Jam victor strage, heu, concidis in mediâ.
 “ Gallica sensère Hesperii quam vivida virtus,
 “ Sensere, ultrici cum cecidere manu.
 “ Sic obitu, juvenis, Decios imitaris; et armis
 “ Sic geminos, belli fulmina, Scipiados.”

Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. vol. viii. p. 60.

(a) *Ligue de Camb. liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 154.*

from the inhabitants had also endeavoured to arrange with the French commander the terms of surrender; but a party of Gascons having led the way, through the breach of the walls, into the city, a general and indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants took place, without regard either to age, or sex. Even the monasteries on this occasion afforded no shelter to the unhappy victims of brutal ferocity; until the Sieur de la Palisse, on whom the chief command of the French army had devolved, being informed of these disgraceful enormities, hastened into the city, with the laudable resolution of repressing them to the utmost of his power. He first directed his steps towards a convent, into which thirty-four of his soldiers had intruded themselves by violence, and ordering his attendants to seize upon them, he had them instantly hung through the windows.^(a) This decisive measure was followed by a proclamation, threatening the same fate to all who should not instantly relinquish their depredations, and return to their duty; and having thus restrained his soldiery, he led them again to their encampments. The cities of Imola, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, and several other places, alarmed at these disastrous events, sent deputies to testify their obedience to the king of France, and almost the whole extent of Romagna was once more occupied by his arms.

In this bloody contest, in which so many of his friends and adherents had fallen, the cardinal de' Medici gave eminent proofs of constancy and firmness of mind. Although unarmed and defenceless in the midst of the battle, he

The cardinal
dispatches
Giulio de'
Medici to
Rome with
intelligence
of the defeat.

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, x. 83.

he still continued to encourage his troops, and displayed an example of that patient fortitude, which is perhaps more difficult than the fiercer spirit of active hostility. Even when the fate of the day was decided, he did not immediately attempt to quit the field, but devoted himself to the care of the dying, and to the administration of that spiritual comfort, which consoled the last moments of life, by the animating hopes of immortality.^(a) Whilst engaged in the performance of these duties, he was seized upon by two horsemen, who regardless of his high dignity, were proceeding to treat him with insult; but from their hands he was rescued by the courage and promptitude of the cavalier Piatese, of Bologna, who having killed one of the assailants, wounded the other and dragged him from his horse. A body of Greek cavalry in the French service soon afterwards made their appearance, and rendered all further resistance, on the part of the cardinal, fruitless. By them he was delivered over to Federigo Gonzaga, of Bozzolo, to whom, as to an officer of high rank and honour, he willingly surrendered himself.^(b) Being transferred by Gonzaga to the custody of the cardinal Sanseverino, he was received by that warlike prelate with all the kindness and attention, which the equality of their rank, and their former intimacy, gave him a right to expect. By his indulgence the cardinal de' Medici obtained permission for his cousin, Giulio, knight of Rhodes, who had fled with the viceroy Cardona, to pay him a visit, under the sanction of a safe-conduct,

^(a) "Legatus Apostolicus in clade Ravennate non arripuit fugam, sed morientes sacro juvit officio; maluitque ab hostibus capi, quam Apostolici viri munus non obesse."

Luc. Eremita in Hist. Romualdina. ap. Raph. Brand. Leo. p. 85.

^(b) *Jovii in vita Leon. lib. ii. p. 46. Ammirato Ritratto di Leone, x. p. 69.*

conduct. On his arrival at the French camp, the cardinal de' Medici lost no time in dispatching him to the pope, under the pretext of recommending himself and his interests, during his imprisonment, to his holiness and the consistory; but in fact to give them the fullest representation of the state of both armies, and of the situation of the different parties, in consequence of the important events which had of late taken place.

The intelligence of the battle of Ravenna had been conveyed to Rome within two days after it had occurred, by the vigilance of Ottaviano Fregoso,^(a) and the consternation which it occasioned had nearly induced the pope to quit the city; for which purpose he had already ordered the commander of his galleys to make preparations.^(b) Amidst the clamours of the cardinals, who earnestly entreated him to listen to terms of peace, and the instigations of the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors, who with equal warmth exhorted him to persevere in hostilities, Giulio de' Medici arrived, and by the full information which he brought, relieved in a great degree the apprehensions of the pontiff. He was immediately introduced into a full consistory, where he represented to the assembled ecclesiastics the debilitated state of the French army; the number of able commanders of whom it had been deprived, and of soldiers who

Fatal effects of
the battle of
Ravenna to
the French.

^(a) Fregoso is introduced as one of the interlocutors in the celebrated *Libro del Cortigiano*, of Castiglione, where he is denominated "Uomo a i nostri tempi rarissimo, magnanimo, religioso, pien di bontà, d'ingegno, prudenza e cortesia, e veramente amico d'onore e di virtù, e tanto degno di laude, che li medesimi inimici suoi furono sempre costretti a laudarlo." *In Pref. p. 9.*

^(b) Guicciard. *lib. x. i. 594.*

who were disabled by their wounds from immediate service. He informed them that the sacking of Ravenna had contributed to relax the discipline of the French army; the commanders of which appeared to be undetermined what course they should take, and waited for directions from the king; that jealousies had arisen between la Palisse and the cardinal Sanseverino, who wished to unite in himself the offices of both legate and general; that rumours were frequent in the French camp of the approach of the Swiss, and that under all these circumstances, no immediate danger was to be apprehended from the further progress of the French. These representations were well founded. The battle of Ravenna was, in every point of view, more fatal to the French than to the allies. The resistance which they had met with, had diminished that confidence in their superior courage, which had on many occasions contributed to their victories. Their favorite leaders had fallen, and the prime of their soldiery, the vigour and nerve of their army, was destroyed. From this fatal day, the affairs of the French king began rapidly to decline, and the victory of Ravenna prepared the way for the total expulsion of his arms from Italy.

From the vicinity of Ravenna the cardinal de' Medici was conveyed to Bologna, where he was received by the Bentivoli, the ancient friends of his family, with such kindness, as left him nothing to regret but the loss of his liberty. He was soon afterwards transferred, in company with many other noble prisoners, from Bologna to Milan; whence they were to be sent, by the orders of Louis XII. into France. On passing through the city of Modena, he experienced the friendship and liberality of Bianca Rangone,
one

one of the daughters of Giovanni Bentivolio, who deprived herself of her ornaments and jewels to enable him to provide for his wants during his imprisonment. (a) That generosity for which she exacted no return, was, however, repaid some time afterwards with ample interest, and the grateful munificence which she herself experienced, and the elevation of her sons to the chief offices of the Roman state, were the result of her disinterested bounty.

On his arrival at Milan he was allowed to reside with the cardinal Sanseverino, and was frequently visited by the chief nobility of the place, the Visconti, Trivulzi, and Pallavicini, by whom he was treated with no less respect than if, instead of a prisoner, he had arrived there as a conqueror and a friend. (b) At this place he found that the self-constituted council of the church continued its meetings with great formality. The late victories of the French had given additional importance to its proceedings, and frequent publications were made at the doors of the great church for Julius II. to appear and defend his cause. Whatever anxiety these measures might produce at Rome, they only excited the derision of the populace at Milan, who were accustomed to salute the cardinal Carvajal, as he passed through the streets, by the appellation of *papa*, in allusion to the expectation which he was supposed to entertain of filling the pontifical chair on the deprivation of Julius II. (c) Nor could all the efforts of the soldiery preserve

Is brought prisoner to Milan on his way to France.

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P

the

(a) *Jovius, in vita Leon. x. & v. Bandello Nov. vol. ii. nov. 34. & Tiraboschi Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. par. i. p. 83.*

(b) *Jovius, in vita Leo. x. lib. ii. p. 48.*

(c) *Ibid.*

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 1512.

A. Æt. 37.

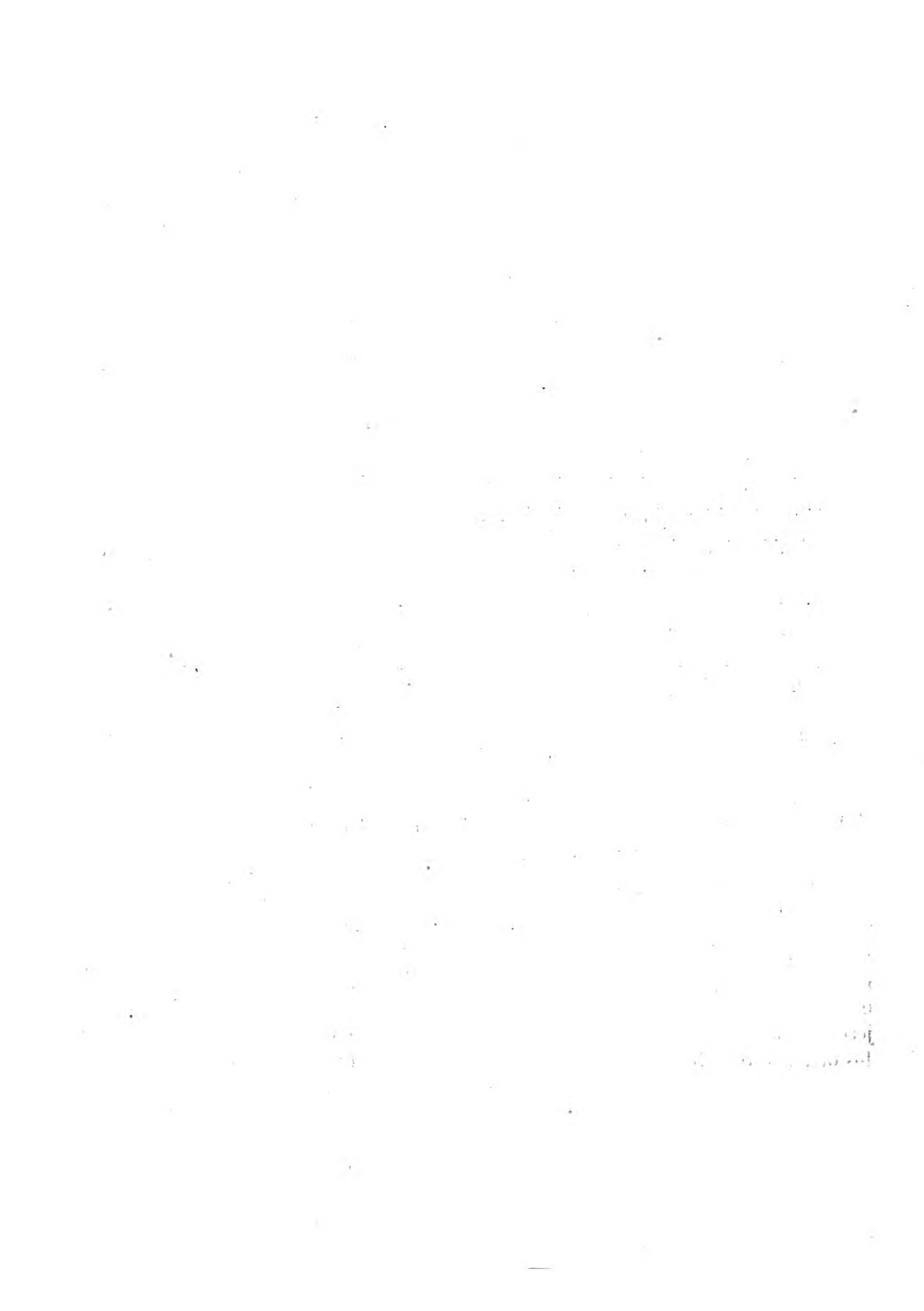
the associated prelates and ecclesiastics from similar proofs of disapprobation. The prudent conduct of the cardinal de' Medici, who notwithstanding his misfortunes, supported the dignity of his rank, and the authority of the apostolic see, contributed still further to diminish their influence, and discredit their proceedings. By the conveyance of his cousin Giulio de' Medici, he received from the pontiff a plenary power of absolving from their offences all those, who in obedience to the commands of their king, had taken arms against the church. No sooner was his commission made public, than he was surrounded by crowds of suppliants, eager to obtain from its legitimate fountain, a portion of that healing water which could obliterate all their stains. Such was the thirst of the soldiery for this spiritual refreshment, that even the threats of the council were ineffectual to prevent their resorting to the cardinal; and the city of Milan on this occasion exhibited the singular spectacle of a prisoner absolving his enemies from the very crime that had been the cause of his imprisonment, and distributing his pardon to those, who instead of manifesting any substantial symptoms of repentance, demonstrated, even by their detention of him, that they yet persevered in their sins.



CHAP. IX.

1512—1513.

JULIUS II. opens the council of the Lateran—Louis XII. is desirous of a reconciliation with the pope—Is deluded by him—Expulsion of the French from Italy—The cardinal de' Medici obtains his liberty—Bologna restored to the Roman see—The Colonna release the duke of Ferrara from his dangerous situation at Rome—Ariosto ambassador from the duke to the pope—Diet of Mantua—The Medici attempt to effect their restoration—The Florentines resolve to defend themselves—Indecision of Pietro Soderini—He escapes into the Turkish dominions—Restoration of the Medici to Florence—Extinction of the popular government—Restoration of Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan—Measures adopted by the Medici to secure their power—Conspiracy against them discovered—Death of Julius II.—His character and conduct considered—His encouragement of learning—Elegant library formed by him—Letter from Bembo to the pope on the revival of abbreviated, or short-hand, writing.





CHAP. IX.

THE information brought to Rome by Giulio de' Medici, of the disabled state of the French army, was daily confirmed by further accounts, which effectually relieved the mind of the pope from the apprehensions which he had at first entertained. Julius II. was too experienced a politician not to perceive, that if the French were unable to reap the promised fruits of their victory, they would soon be obliged to act on the defensive, and his deliberations on this subject inspired him with fresh hopes, that he should soon see his desires accomplished in their total expulsion from Italy.

In

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A. D. 1512.

A. Æt. 37.

Julius II. opens
the council of
the Lateran.

CHAP. IX. In the mean time he resolved to counteract the dangerous effects of the assembly at Milan, which was now usually denominated the *conciliabulum*, by opening a general council in the church of St. John Lateran; which he accordingly did with great solemnity, on the third day of May, in the year 1512. On this occasion he presided in person, accompanied by the college of cardinals, and such other dignified ecclesiastics as were then in Rome. Several of the Italian princes and nobles of high rank also attended the assembly; and the emperor elect Maximilian, the kings of England and of Aragon, the republic of Venice, and most of the Italian states, declared by their ambassadors their abhorrence of the council of Milan, and their faithful adherence to that of the Lateran, as the only true and legitimate representation of the Christian church.(a)

Louis XII. is desirous of a reconciliation.

The directions given by Louis XII. to his general, la Palisse, were to follow up the advantages obtained by the victory of Ravenna, and to proceed immediately to Rome; but a more accurate estimate of the situation of his army, induced him to countermand these orders; and the French troops in fact, soon found sufficient employment in opposing the increasing power of the allies. At the same time Louis began to entertain serious apprehensions for the safety of his

(a) The proceedings of the council of Lateran were collected by the cardinal de Monte, and published at Rome, in the year 1521, under the title,

“ SA. LATERANENS.
 “ CONCILIUM NOVISSIMUM
 “ SUB JULIO II. ET LEONE CELEBRATUM.

The first act on opening the session, which adverts in a particular manner to the battle of Ravenna, and the captivity of the cardinal de' Medici, is given from this publication in the Appendix, No. LXV.

his own dominions. Henry VIII. had already notified to him, that the treaties of amity which subsisted between them, were accompanied by a condition, that he should not make war against either the pope or the king of Aragon; and that the infraction of this article would be considered as the commencement of hostilities. The first information which Ferdinand of Aragon is said to have received of the defeat of his troops at Ravenna, was by a letter to his young queen, from her uncle Louis XII. in which he endeavoured to console her for the loss of her brother, the gallant Gaston de Foix, by informing her, that he had died with great glory in the moment of victory.^(a) With whatever emotions she received this intelligence, it was a sufficient admonition to Ferdinand to send new reinforcements to his kingdom of Naples, which he feared might be endangered by the rapid successes of the French; and it is said, that on this occasion he had intended to have once more availed himself of the services of the great Gonsalvo. Although he was no party in the *holy league*, which had in the preceding year been concluded between Julius II. and the kings of Aragon and England, the emperor elect Maximilian had now accommodated his differences with the Venetians, and decidedly espoused the cause of the pope; for which he expected his reward in the possession of the states of Milan, and the duchy of Burgundy. Alarmed by these numerous and powerful adversaries, Louis XII. began to conceive, that the best use which he could make of the recent successes of his arms, would be to effect a reconciliation with the pontiff, with as little delay as possible.

In

(a) Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 597.

In the fluctuating politics of these times, negotiations were always carried on, even in the midst of hostilities, and might in truth be considered as another mode of warfare, in which superior talents and sagacity were often employed to make amends for want of success, or inferiority of military strength. Whilst the conflict took place before the walls of Ravenna, a treaty was depending between Louis XII. and the pope, in which it had, among other articles, been proposed, that Bologna should be restored to the holy see; that the duke of Ferrara on being absolved from spiritual censures, should relinquish the places of which he had possessed himself in Romagna; and that the council of Milan should be dissolved; the cardinals and prelates who had adhered to it not being prejudiced in their dignities or their revenues.^(a) This treaty, the conditions of which were so favourable to Julius II. had been transmitted to Rome for his final approbation and signature; and having, as he conceived, thus in his power the choice of peace, or of war, he had for some time postponed his decision, in the hopes that events might occur which might enable him to obtain still better terms. The defeat of his arms at Ravenna, called for an immediate determination; and although he had already begun to recover from his panic, yet he thought it advisable to confirm the treaty, nine days after he had received intelligence of that event.^(a) So far was he, however, from intending to adhere with fidelity to his engagement, or so fearful was he of giving offence to his allies, that he immediately afterwards called into his presence the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors, and assured them that his intentions

(a) Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 595.

intentions with respect to the prosecution of the war were in no degree altered; and that he had only taken this measure to gain time, and impose upon the king; (a) an assurance, which, in the result, was amply confirmed. The late successes of the French arms in Italy now operated as a powerful motive with Louis XII. who was not less ready than the pope to take advantage of any change of circumstances in his favour, to disavow his former propositions; and he particularly objected to the restoration of Bologna, which he affected to consider as the bulwark of his Milanese possessions, against the southern provinces of Italy. The intelligence which he daily received of the rapid decline of his cause in Italy, and the formidable attacks with which he was threatened by the other powers of Europe, contributed however, to remove his objections, and he thought proper to avail himself of an offer made by the Florentines, to interpose their good offices for effecting a reconciliation. A meeting accordingly took place in Florence between the envoys of the king and those of the pontiff, where the conditions of the treaty were assented to, with some modifications, on the part of Louis XII. which did not affect the substantial articles of the agreement. Julius II. was now, however, well aware of the debilitated state of his adversary. Whilst the negotiations were depending, he had engaged in his service a considerable body of Swiss mercenaries, and the hesitation shewn on the part of Louis XII. had afforded him a sufficient pretext for refusing to confirm the treaty. In order however to justify himself to the world, he directed that the terms proposed should be read in open consistory, in order that the car-

(a) *Bembo Ist. Ven. lib. xii. in op. i. 332.*

dinals might offer their opinions on the measures which it might be expedient for him to pursue. On this occasion Christopher Bambridge, cardinal of York, in the name of the king of England, and the cardinal Arborensis, in that of the king of Spain, exhorted the pope, as it is supposed had previously been agreed on between them, not to abandon the cause of the church, but to persevere with firmness in opposing the arms of the French. Instead therefore of testifying his assent to the treaty, Julius avowed his determination to prosecute the war, and pronounced in the consistory a monitory to the king of France, to release his prisoner the cardinal de' Medici, under the penalties contained in the sacred canons. A measure so decidedly hostile, was however warmly opposed by the other members of the college, who entreated the pope that he would not, by such severity, wholly alienate the mind of the king, but would postpone the publication of the monitory, and allow them to address to him a letter, signed by themselves individually, requesting him, as a sovereign bearing the title of the *most christian* prince, to restore to liberty their captive brother.(a) To this proposal Julius with some difficulty assented; but fortunately for the cardinal de' Medici, he had no occasion to rely on the clemency of the king, who, notwithstanding he is represented by the French historians as *the best of monarchs*, had given frequent proofs, that his resentment was as implacable in peace, as his cruelty was unsparing in war.(b)

At

(a) Guicciard. lib. x. i. 598.

(b) Of this, the massacre committed by his directions, and under his own eye, at Peschiera, in the year 1509, and his conduct to Bartolommeo d'Alviano, whom he retained prisoner in France for many years, may serve, if any were wanting, as sufficient proofs.

At this critical juncture, information was received of the approach, through the Tyrol, of a large body of Swiss in the service of the pontiff. The number for which he had agreed was six thousand; but on this occasion they were stimulated, not only by the certainty of pay and the hopes of plunder, but by their resentment against Louis XII. who, as they were led to believe, had undervalued their courage and despised their services; and on their arrival in Italy their number was found to be no less than eighteen thousand. Descending into the territory of Verona, they were joined by the Venetian and papal troops; the former under the command of Gian-Paolo Baglioni, the latter under that of the duke of Urbino; and forming in the whole an army of upwards of thirty thousand men.(a) La Palisse had attempted to fortify himself in Valeggio; but finding the place too weak for defence, and being unable to contend with such superior numbers, he distributed a great part of his troops in the strong garrisons of Crema, Brescia, and Bergamo; and with the remainder, consisting only of seven hundred lances, two thousand French infantry, and four thousand Germans, retired to Pontevico, a place of considerable strength, and well situated for maintaining a communication between the last mentioned cities and the territory of Milan.(b) On the morning after his arrival at this place, an order was received from the emperor elect Maximilian, that the imperial soldiers in the pay of the king of France should instantly withdraw from his service. These troops, which were chiefly composed of Tyrolese, willing to shew

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a ready

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Ital.* x. 84.

(b) Guicciard. *lib.* x. v. i. p. 601.

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a ready obedience to their sovereign, and perhaps glad to abandon the declining cause of the French, departed on the same day from the camp; and thereby occasioned the total ruin of their late allies. From Pontevico, la Palisse retreated to Pavia; but being closely pursued by his adversaries, who had prepared their artillery for an attack, he suddenly quitted that place, and took the road to Asti. This was the final relinquishment of all attempts on the part of the French to maintain their conquests in Italy. The inhabitants of Milan, exasperated at the restless tyranny of their rulers, had already expelled them from the city, and terminated the proceedings of the *conciliabulum*, at the very moment when it had passed a decree for suspending the pope from the exercise of his functions. No sooner were the inhabitants of Lombardy freed from the apprehensions of the French army, than their hatred burst forth in acts of violence and revenge. All the French soldiers and merchants found in Milan, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred persons, were indiscriminately slaughtered. In other towns of the Milanese, similar massacres occurred. Even whilst the French soldiery were retreating towards the Alps, they were pursued and harassed by the peasantry, who destroyed, without mercy, such as from incaution, or infirmity, were found at a distance from the main body.(a)

On quitting the city of Milan, the French cardinals had brought along with them, by the express orders of Louis XII. the cardinal legate de' Medici; but the important
 change

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*. x. 86.

change which had taken place in the affairs of Italy, and the hurry and confusion which prevailed among the retreating party, soon suggested to him the practicability of an escape. They had already arrived at the banks of the Po, and were preparing to cross the stream, when the cardinal, pretending to be sick, was allowed to repose during the night at the *pieve*, or rectory of Cario. Having thus obtained a favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose, he communicated his intentions to the abate Bongallo, who had attended on him with great fidelity, requesting him to use his endeavours to influence some person of rank or authority in the vicinity, to afford him a temporary refuge. The request of Bongallo was fortunately made to Rinaldo Zatti, a man of family, who had exercised in his youth the profession of arms, and was considered as the chief person in the district. His entreaties, which he is said to have urged with tears, might, however, have failed of their effect, had they not been accompanied by a favourable concurrence of circumstances. The memory of Lorenzo de' Medici, who had so long been the pacificator of Italy, and whose loss had been so fatally experienced, was yet fresh in the public esteem, and induced a favourable disposition towards his family. Nor was the cardinal himself known by any other qualities than such as conciliated esteem and respect. Such are the motives to which Jovius has attributed the compliance of Rinaldo; but to these he might have added the declining state of the French cause, which, whilst it rendered the fugitives more earnest to effect their own escape than to prevent that of the cardinal, at the same time encouraged the efforts of their opponents. The consent of Rinaldo was, however, obtained only upon condition, that Visimbardo, another person of some importance

The cardinal de'
Medici effects
his escape.

in the neighbourhood, and of an opposite party to Rinaldo, would also assent to the measure. Visimbardo, though with great reluctance, was at length prevailed upon to afford his assistance; and by the concurrence of these new and unexpected friends, a small party of the inhabitants was secretly armed, for the purpose of rescuing the cardinal from his conductors. No sooner were the necessary preparations made, than information of them was dispatched by Rinaldo to the abate; but even then, the attempt had nearly miscarried by a mistake of the messenger, who meeting with another ecclesiastic of the same rank as Bongallo, was on the point of communicating to him the purport of his errand, before he was aware of his error. The French detachment, among whom was the cardinal, were now preparing to embark, but some pretext was still found by him for delay, and he was among the last who arrived at the banks of the river. Mounted on his mule, he had now reached the side of the vessel, when a sudden tumult, raised by Rinaldo and his followers, afforded him a pretext for turning about, as if to see from what cause it arose. In a moment he found himself encircled by his friends, who without much difficulty, or any bloodshed, repelled the efforts of those who attempted to prevent his escape. Thus happily liberated, the cardinal now assumed the habit of a common soldier, and passing the Po by night, arrived at the castle of Bernardo Malespina, a relation of Visimbardo. He had here to encounter new dangers. Bernardo was of the French faction, and the recommendations of Visimbardo lost their effect. The cardinal was thrust into a dove-house, and closely guarded, whilst a messenger was dispatched by Malespina, to the French general Trivulzio, to inform him of the illustrious fugitive who had fallen

fallen into his hands, and to request directions in what manner he should dispose of him. Trivulzio, though in the service of France, was by birth and disposition an Italian. He saw that the cause of the French was ruined, and was unwilling to aggravate the misfortunes of his countryman; and by his recommendation or connivance, the cardinal was once more restored to liberty. Arriving at Voghiera, he met with a priest who supplied him with horses, with which he hastened to Piacenza, where he first found himself in a place of safety. He soon afterwards repassed the Po, and proceeded to Mantua, at which city he was received with great kindness by the marquis Francesco Gonzaga, whom he accompanied to his villa of Anda, where he speedily recovered from the effects of his fatigues. (a)

The sudden retreat of the French army from Italy, had left little more to be done by the allies, than to divide amongst themselves the territories which had thus been abandoned to their fate. The fortresses of Brescia, Cremona, and a few smaller places, were yet held by the French; but the cities of Romagna once more avowed their allegiance to the pope. The states of Parma and Piacenza, which were claimed by the pontiff, as part of the exarchate of Ravenna, also submitted to his authority; and, if we may judge from the expression of the public voice on this occasion, the satisfaction of the inhabitants was not less than that of the pope,

Bologna re-
stored to the
Roman sec.

(a) *Jovius, in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 49.* This escape of the cardinal de' Medici, is considered by Egidius of Viterbo as *miraculous*. "Ego enim, id tantum dixerim; a "Domino factum est istud, & præter omnia quæ antea multis seculis gesta sunt, est mirabile oculis nostris." *Ep. ad Seraphinum in tom. iii. vet. monument. ap. Brandolini Leo. p. 87.*

pope, who had reunited these important domains to the territories of the church.(a) The duke of Urbino, at the head of a powerful body of troops, summoned Bologna to surrender. The Bentivoli, deprived of all hopes of succour, thought themselves sufficiently fortunate to effect their escape, and on the tenth day of June, 1512, the city capitulated to the papal arms. To such a degree was the pope exasperated against the inhabitants who had opposed his authority, torn down his statue, and treated his name with contempt, that he subjected them to grievous fines, and deprived them of many of their privileges, threatening even to demolish the place, and remove the inhabitants to Cento.(b) The return of the cardinal de' Medici, who soon afterwards assumed the government, as legate of the district, allayed the apprehensions of the populace, and restored the tranquillity of the place.(c) The *fuorusciti*, or refugees, who had been expelled on account of their adherence to the pope, returned at the same time; and as the victorious party expressed their joy, whilst the friends of the Bentivoli were obliged to suppress their vexation, the whole city seemed to resound only with acclamations and applause.

Although the celebrated Italian commander, Fabrizio Colonna, had been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, he

(a) The oration on the part of the citizens of Parma, made by Giacomo Bajardo, one of their ambassadors to the pope, has been preserved in the Vatican library. On the same occasion, Francesco Maria Grapaldo addressed a copy of Latin verses to Julius II. as *the liberator of Italy*, which are also given in the Appendix, No. LXVI.

(b) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. x. i. 604.*

(c) Jovius, *in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 51.*

he was more fortunate than the cardinal de' Medici, having fallen into the hands of Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, who knew his worth, and treated him with the respect due to his high and unimpeachable character. Louis XII. had, at different times requested that Fabrizio might be delivered over to his generals, to be transferred to France; but the duke found reasons to excuse his non-compliance, till the total expulsion of the French from Italy enabled him to gratify the generosity of his own disposition, by freely restoring his captive to liberty.*(a)* The bloody contest, in which the duke had been compelled to take so active a part, being now terminated, he became desirous of obtaining a reconciliation with the pope, and an absolution from the spiritual censures under which he yet laboured; and as Fabrizio, on quitting Ferrara, had returned to Rome, the duke availed himself of his services to discover the disposition of the pope, as to the terms on which he would concede his pardon. Julius expressed no great reluctance in complying with the wishes of the duke, but suggested that some important arrangements were previously requisite, for which reason, his presence would be necessary in Rome. A safe-conduct was accordingly granted by the pope; and the Spanish ambassador, in the name of his sovereign, also pledged himself to the duke, for his secure return.*(b)* In the month of June, 1512, he quitted his capital,*(c)* and on his arrival at Rome, was admitted into the consistory, where he humbly requested pardon for having borne arms against the holy

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, x. 81.

(b) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. xi. ii. 5.*

(c) Muratori, *Annali d' Ital. x. 87.*

see; entreating to be restored to favour, and promising to conduct himself in future as a faithful son and feudatory of the church. Julius received him with apparent kindness, and deputed six cardinals to treat with him, as to the terms of the proposed reconciliation; but the surprize of the duke may well be conceived, when the ecclesiastics proposed to him that he should divest himself of the territory of Ferrara, which he had derived through a long train of illustrious ancestors, and should accept as a compensation, the remote and unimportant city of Asti, to which the pope had of late asserted some pretensions.*(a)* Of all his family, there was no one less likely than Alfonso to have submitted to such a disgrace; but his astonishment was converted into indignation, on hearing, that whilst he was humbly suing for pardon at Rome, the duke of Urbino, at the head of the papal troops, had entered his dominions, and had occupied, not only all such parts of Romagna as had been united with the duchy of Ferrara, but the towns of Cento, Brescello, Carpi, and Finale; and had even prevailed upon the inhabitants of the important city of Reggio, to admit him within their walls.*(b)* The design of the pope in requesting the presence of the duke in Rome, if not already sufficiently apparent, was further manifested by his refusal to allow him to quit the city and return to his own dominions. To no purpose did the Spanish ambassador, and the nobles of the family of Colonna, some of whom were closely connected by affinity with the pope, intercede with him for the strict and honourable performance of his engagement. Julius

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital. lib. xi. ii. 2.*

(b) Muratori, *Annali d' Ital. x. 87.*

lius answered their remonstrances only by reproaches and threats. Convinced of his perfidious intentions, and anxious for the preservation of their own honour, Fabrizio, and Marc Antonio Colonna, resolved to rescue the duke from the danger to which he was exposed. Having, therefore, selected a small band of their confidential adherents, Fabrizio rode at their head towards the gate of S. John Lateran, followed at a short distance by the duke, and Marc Antonio; but to his surprize, he found the gates more strongly guarded than usual, and his further progress opposed. It was now, however, too late to retreat, and directing his followers to effect a passage by force, he conducted the duke in safety to the fortress of the Colonna family, at Marino. The protection of the duke was now intrusted to Prospero Colonna, who secretly conducted him through various parts of Italy; but so diligently were they pursued by the emissaries of the pope, that the duke was frequently obliged to change his disguise, and after having, for upwards of three months, appeared in the successive characters of a soldier, a cook, a hunter, and a monk, he had the good fortune to arrive in safety at Ferrara.^(a) If, amidst the long catalogue of treachery and of crimes, it be pleasant to record a generous action, it is doubly so to find that such action met with a grateful return.

The vexation and resentment which the pope manifested on this occasion were extreme; and the duke was not without apprehensions that he might have sufficient influence with the allies, to induce them to turn their arms

Ariosto ambassador from the duke of Ferrara to the pope.

R 2

against

(a) Jovius, in *vita Alfonsi*, p. 178. Sardi, *Historie Ferraresi*, lib. xii. p. 226. Giraldi, *Comment. delle cose di Ferrara*, p. 156.

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against Ferrara. He determined, therefore, if possible to mitigate his anger by a respectful and submissive embassy; but such was the well-known character of the pontiff, that he found it difficult to prevail on any of his courtiers to undertake the task. At length he fixed upon the poet Ariosto for this purpose, who preferring the will of his prince to his own safety, hastened to Rome. On his arrival he found that the pope had quitted the city, and retired to a villa in the vicinity. To this place Ariosto followed him; but on being admitted into the presence of his holiness, he soon discovered that the only chance which he had for his life, was to save himself by flight; (a) the ferocious pontiff having threatened, that if he did not instantly quit the place, he would have him thrown into the sea. (b) The poet was happy to avail himself of the safer alternative, and returned with all possible expedition to Ferrara, to relate the result of his embassy to the duke. (c)

Diet of Mantua. Shortly after this event, a diet was held at Mantua, for the purpose, real or ostensible, of securing the peace of Italy, at which Matteo Langio, cardinal of Gurck, attended with full powers, on behalf of the emperor elect Maximilian. The envoy of Julius II. on this occasion was Bernardo da Bibbiena, the intimate friend and faithful adherent

(a) *Pigna, i Romanzi. lib. ii. p. 76. Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. vol. ii. p. 1063.*

(b) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Let. Ital. v. vii. par. 3. p. 101.*

(c) To this embassy Ariosto himself alludes in his *Satire*.

“ Andar più a Roma in posta non accade,

“ A placar la grand' ira di *Secondo*.

rent of the cardinal de' Medici ;(a) Giuliano de' Medici, also appeared at this meeting, for the express purpose of obtaining the support of the diet in restoring the Medici to Florence.(b) The conduct of the Florentines, and particularly of the gonfaloniere Soderini, had already excited, in a high degree, the resentment of Julius II. The part which they had acted during the late war, in which under the plea of a treaty with Louis XII. they had supplied him both with money and troops, had been aggravated by the permission granted to the refractory cardinals to hold their council at Pisa. In order effectually to destroy the influence of the French in Italy, a change in the government of Florence was regarded as indispensably necessary. The pope had already sent to Florence his datary, Lorenzo Pucci, a native of that place,(c) who having many friends, and great influence there, endeavoured to promulgate opinions adverse to the ruling party; insinuating that it was now become necessary, not only to detach the city from its connexion with France, but to remove Soderini from his office of Gonfaloniere, and call back the Medici to their former authority. These practices had however failed of success, and the agent of the pope had been compelled to

(a) *Bandini, Il Bibbiena, p. 8.* That Bernardo had obtained the full confidence of this stern pontiff, appears from a letter of Pietro Bembo, to the brother of Bernardo. "Questo vi dico di vero, che di M. Bernardo tanto onoratamente sente e parla N. S. che è cosa da non credere, considerata la natura di Sua Santità, che di nessuno si contenta, di nessuno si suol lodare." *Bemb. Ep. 24. Ottob. 1512. ap. Band. ut sup. p. 9.*

(b) *Guicciard, Storia d'Ital. lib. xi. 2, 8.*

(c) Afterwards raised by Leo. X. to the rank of cardinal, "de cujus egregia animi firmitate, constantiâque, ac de singulari in Medicam familiam fide et observantia, cuncta sibi poterat verissimè polliceri;" &c. *Brandolini, LEO. p. 91.*

to quit the city. (a) The diet of Mantua afforded the pontiff a more favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose. Giovan-Vittorio Soderini, brother of the gonfaloniere, who attended at this meeting as envoy of the Florentines, endeavoured to justify the conduct of the republic, by alleging, that in assisting the French to defend their Milanese possessions, they were acting under a particular convention, which obliged them to that measure, in the same manner as they had also stipulated to defend the Neapolitan dominions of the king of Spain; but arguments of this kind were of little avail. Jovius, who appears not to have been unacquainted with political intrigue, attributes the failure of these representations to the sordid avarice of the Florentine envoy, who ought to have enforced them by the offer of a considerable sum of money to his brother negotiators. (b) Those who, like Jovius, judge of others from themselves, may frequently be in the right; but the overthrow of the gonfaloniere was already resolved upon, and on this occasion it may well be doubted, whether even that powerful lenitive would have softened the severity of his fate.

The Medici attempt to effect their restoration.

No sooner had their envoy quitted the diet, than the Florentines were declared to be enemies of the league, and the Spanish forces under the command of Cardona were directed to assist in restoring the Medici to their native place.

(a) *Nerli, Commentarij, lib. v. p. 106. Gucciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. xi. ii. 6.*

(b) "Sed cum hæc una maximè pecunia facilè possent expiari, Victorijs, scientia " juris et æqui, potius quàm his artibus instructus, quæ ad tractandas res gravissimas necessariæ existimantur, totam spem rei componendæ fœdè corrupit, quum dubitanti " avaroque animo, tenacius quàm oporteret pecuniis parcendum arbitretur." *Jov. in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 52.*

place. The duke of Urbino, then at the head of the papal troops, actuated either by partiality to the cause of the French, of which he had frequently been suspected, or by envy and ill will to the cardinal de' Medici, refused either to take an active part, or to grant the use of his artillery, on this occasion; nor would he even consent, that such of his troops as were commanded by the Vitelli and by the Orsini, the near relations of the Medici, should join in the attempt.^(a) These commanders however quitted his camp, and joined the allied army in person. Having on the ninth of August, 1512, passed the Appenines, Cardona arrived at Barberino, accompanied by the cardinal de' Medici, under the title of legate of Tuscany; and proceeded from thence by the Valdemarina to the plain of Prato.^(b) They were met in their progress by ambassadors from the magistrates of Florence, who requested to be informed of the object of the league; professing themselves willing to comply with it to the utmost of their power, and representing in the strongest terms, their adherence to his Catholic majesty, and the advantages which he might expect from their services. To this the viceroy replied, that his appearance there was not merely in consequence of the directions of his sovereign, but was a measure which had been resolved on at the general diet at Mantua, for the common security of Italy, and that whilst the gonfaloniere Soderini continued to preside in the Florentine state, the rest of Italy could have no assurance that the Republic would not, when an opportunity again occurred, attach itself to the interests of France. He therefore

^(a) *Jovius, in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 52. Guicciard. lib. xi. ii. 9.*

^(b) *Nerli, Commentarii, lib. v. p. 107.*

therefore required, in the name of the league, that the gonfaloniere should be deprived of his office, and that a new form of government should be substituted, which might enjoy the confidence of the allied powers, a measure that could not however be effected without the restoration of the Medici to their former privileges and rights.(a)

The Florentines
resolve to de-
fend them-
selves.

These propositions gave rise in Florence to violent dissensions and debates; but before a definitive answer was returned, the gonfaloniere called together the *Consiglio maggiore*, or general assembly of the citizens, whom he addressed in an energetic and pathetic harangue. He represented to the assembly the principal transactions which had occurred for the space of ten years, during which he had enjoyed his office, and freely offered his services, his possessions, and his life, for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, and the preservation of their liberties. He professed himself willing, at any moment, to relinquish his authority to those who had so long intrusted him with it, should it, in their opinion be likely to conduce to the general good; but he entreated them to be cautious, lest the measures which were avowedly directed against himself, should in the event subject the republic to an absolute and tyrannical authority, in comparison with which the subordination in which they were held by Lorenzo the magnificent, might be considered as an age of gold.(b) The oration of Soderini had a most powerful effect. The assembly re-
solved

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital. lib. xi. 2, 9.*

(b) The oration of Soderini, is given by Guicciardini, *lib. xi. 2, 11. ct. v. Neri's Commentarii, lib. v. p. 108.*

solved, that the proper form of their government should still be maintained; that the Medici should be allowed to return as private citizens, but that the Gonfaloniere should not be removed from his office; and that if the commanders of the allied army should persist in this demand, they would defend their liberties and their country to the last extremity.(a)

The first apprehensions of the Florentines were for the town of Prato, about ten miles from Florence, the garrison of which they reinforced with two thousand soldiers hastily collected, and one hundred lances, under the command of Luca Savello, who had grown old in arms without having acquired either experience or reputation.(b) To these was also added a body of Florentine troops, which after having been attacked and dispersed by the papal army in Lombardy, had again assembled under their leaders. The army of the viceroy consisted of five thousand experienced and well-disciplined foot soldiers, and two hundred men at arms, but they were ill supplied with ammunition and artillery, and even with the necessary articles of subsistence; insomuch, that their commander began to entertain serious apprehensions that he should not long be able to maintain his position. He therefore proposed to the Florentine magistrates to withdraw his troops, without insisting on the deposition of the Gonfaloniere, if they would admit the Medici into the city as private inhabitants, and pay to him such a sum of money as should be agreed on, but which should not exceed thirty thousand ducats.

Indecision of
Pietro Soderini.

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. ii. 12.

(b) Ibid.

For the further negotiation of this treaty, he granted a safe-conduct to the Florentine envoys, and proposed to refrain from his projected attack on the town of Prato, if the Florentines would send to his camp a temporary supply of provisions.^(a) This was one of those critical moments on which the fate of a people sometimes depends. Notwithstanding the resolutions of the general assembly, many of the principal citizens earnestly entreated the Gonfaloniere to conclude the negotiation, and in particular to furnish the approaching army with the proposed supply. Soderini hesitated; and this hesitation accomplished his ruin.^(b) In consequence of his indecision, the envoys were prevented from returning to the enemies camp, on the day which had been prescribed for that purpose. The claims of hunger admit not of long procrastination. The town of Prato, which offered a plentiful supply, was attacked with the only two pieces of artillery that accompanied the army, and which had been brought by the cardinal de' Medici from Bologna; the garrison, which consisted in the whole of upwards of four thousand men, shamefully abandoned its defence; and the Spaniards, having effected a breach, rushed into the town, and made an indiscriminate slaughter, as well of the inhabitants as of the soldiery. The number of those who perished, is variously estimated from two to five thousand persons. The unsparing violence, licentiousness, and rapacity of the Spaniards, are displayed by all the Florentine historians, in terms of sor-

Prato captured
and sacked.

ROW

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital. lib. xi. ii. 13.*

(b) On this occasion, Guicciardini justly remarks, "Niuna cosa vola più che l'occasione; niuna più pericolosa che'l giudicare dell' altrui professioni; niuna più dannosa che il sospetto immoderato." *Storia d'Ital. lib. xi. ii. 13.*

row and execration,(a) and it is said that if the cardinal de' Medici, and his brother Giuliano, had not, at the risk of their lives, opposed themselves to the fury of the conquerors, these enormities would have been carried to a still greater excess.(b) By the exertions of the cardinal, a guard was placed at the door of the great church, whither the chief part of the females had retreated for safety;(c) but that these precautions were not always sufficient to answer the intended purpose is evident, from the instances which have been given of the magnanimous conduct of some of the women on this occasion.(d)

The intelligence of this alarming transaction was received by the Florentine envoys, as they were proceeding
 s 2 to

Deposition of
 Soderini.

(a) *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. 149. 153. Nerli, Comment. lib. v. p. 109. Guicciard. lib. xi.*

(b) "Legatus tamen flendo, & notos quosque milites deprecando, Julianusque item frater, & Julius patruelis, multos conservarunt, quum neque pecuniæ neque periculis ullis parcerent, et sese vulneribus objectare minimè dubitarent, modò ante omnia Matronarum et Virginum pudorem adversus militum libidinem tuerentur." *Jovius, in vita Leon. x. lib. ii. p. 53.*

(c) "Non sarebbe stata salva cosa alcuna dall' avaritia, libidine, e crudeltà de' vincitori, se il cardinale de' Medici, messe guardie alla chiesa maggiore, non avesse conservata l' onestà delle Donne, le quali quasi tutte vi erano rifuggite." *Guicciard. lib. xi. ii. 14.* Other authors, however, affirm that no respect or mercy was shewn either to the sanctuaries of religion, or even to children in the arms. *v. Nardi, lib. v. p. 143. Muratori, Annali d' Ital. x. 88. Ammirato. iii. 307.*

(d) One of these is that of a young lady, who to preserve her chastity, precipitated herself from the balcony of the house into the street, and perished by the fall. Another is that of the wife of an artificer, who having been compelled by a soldier to accompany him for several years, at length found an opportunity of revenging herself on her ravisher, by cutting his throat as he lay asleep; after which she returned to her husband at Prato, bringing with her five hundred gold ducats, which she presented to him as a recompense for her violated chastity. *Nardi, Hist Fior. lib. v. p. 149.*

to the camp of the allies to conclude the negotiation; but the opportunity for reconciliation was now past, and they therefore speedily returned to Florence to apprise their fellow-citizens of the event. Though distinguished by many good qualities, the Gonfaloniere was not possessed of the courage and promptitude requisite on such an occasion. No effectual measures were yet taken for the defence of the city; and his impolitic adherence to the French had, in this emergency, left him without an ally. His helpless condition was too evident not to be perceived by the friends of the Medici within the city, who resolved not to wait the approach of the viceroy for effecting a revolution. About thirty young men of the principal families, uniting themselves in a body, entered the palace of magistracy, and seizing on the Gonfaloniere, threatened to put him to death, if he did not instantly accompany them; at the same time offering him an asylum in the house of Piero Vettori, two of whose sons had engaged in the undertaking, and pledging their faith for his personal safety. Unprovided with the means of resistance, and deserted by his adherents, Soderini peaceably submitted to his fate; and the insurgents having called together the other magistrates, and obtained a solemn deposition of the Gonfaloniere, entered into an immediate treaty with the viceroy.^(a) By this act of violence, which is always adverted to by the Florentine historians with great disapprobation and regret, the free constitution of the city received its fatal wound; but it may justly be doubted, whether if such an event had not taken place, the consequences would not have been still more

^(a) Guicciard, *Storia. d' Ital. lib. xi. ii. 15.* Nardi, *Istor. Fior. lib. v. p. 153.*

more to be lamented. Had the allied army entered the city in an hostile manner, an absolute and severe dominion would probably have been substituted for the more moderated authority which the Medici continued to exercise for several years after their return; whilst the carnage and devastation which would have ensued, might have added new horrors to the page of history, already too deeply stained with the relation of similar events.

The friends of the Medici within the city, having thus accomplished their purpose, conducted Soderini on the same evening from the house of Vettori, and sent him under a guard to Siena; to which place he was also accompanied by several of his relations and friends. Here he obtained from the pope a passport to proceed to Rome; but having been apprized, by his brother, the cardinal Soderini, that Julius had a design to despoil him of his riches, which he was supposed to have amassed to a considerable amount, he hastened to Ancona, where he took shipping and proceeded to Ragusa. Being informed, soon after his arrival, that the pope had expressed great resentment against him, he quitted Ragusa, and took up his residence within the Turkish dominions.^(a) In effecting his escape he had been assisted by Antonio di Segna, who had been sent to him by his brother to apprise him of the danger which would attend his visit to Rome. Antonio had no sooner returned to the city, than he was seized upon by the order of the pope, and committed to prison, where he was subjected to the torture, to compel him to discover the place of retreat of the Gonfaloniere, and the circumstances attending

He escapes into the Turkish territories.

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. v. ii. p. 15. Nardi, *Hist. di Fior. lib. v. p. 152.*

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attending his escape. Being liberated in the course of a few days, he returned to his house, where he soon afterwards died, in consequence of the sufferings which he had undergone, (a) leaving on the memory of Julius II. a stain which will present itself in fresh colours, as often as his name occurs to the notice of posterity.

Restoration of
 the Medici
 to Florence.

On the last day of August, 1512, Giuliano de' Medici entered the city of Florence, from which he had been expelled with his brother eighteen years before. He was accompanied by Francesco Albizi, at whose house he alighted, and where he was visited by most of the principal families in the place. On this occasion, it was remarked that many of those who had been the most forward in offering their lives and fortunes in the support of Soderini, were the most assiduous in their endeavours to secure the favourable opinion of Giuliano de' Medici. (b) It was not, however, until the viceroy Cardona entered the city that the depending negotiations were finally terminated. Seating himself in the vacant chair of the Gonfaloniere, he prescribed to the magistrates the terms of the treaty, on which alone he would consent to withdraw his army. His propositions, although confusedly expressed, or ill understood by his reluctant hearers, who were still eager to preserve, at least, the external forms and shadow of liberty, were

(a) "Ma il papa, parendogli essere stato ingannato, nè potendo con altri isfogare la sua collora, tornato che fu Antonio di Segna a Roma, lo fece mettere in prigione, ove hebbe ancora *alcuni tratti di corda*, ed essendo poi ritornato a casa sua ammalato, in pochi di finì sua vita; e tale fu il ristoro, ch' egli ebbe dell' amorevole servizio fatto al cardinale ed a Piero Soderini." *Nardi, lib. v. p. 152.*

(b) *Nerli, Comment. lib. v. p. 11.*

were assented to without opposition.(a) In these discussions the Medici displayed great moderation. They only demanded that they should be allowed to return as private citizens, and should have the right of purchasing their forfeited property and effects, at the prices for which they had been sold by government; paying also the amount of such sums as had been laid out in their improvement. With respect to the political connexions of the state, it was agreed that the Florentines should enter into the league with the other allies, for the common defence of Italy; that they should pay to the emperor elect Maximilian forty thousand ducats, to the viceroy Cardona, on behalf of his sovereign, eighty thousand, and for his own use, twenty thousand; and they also engaged in a particular alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon, for the mutual defence of their respective possessions.(b)

The return of the Medici to their native place had already overthrown the popular form of the Florentine government, and the expulsion of the Gonfaloniere rendered it necessary to form new regulations for the conduct of the state. As the cardinal yet remained at Prato, the magistrates and principal executive officers met together, and admitting Giuliano and his adherents to their councils, they attempted to form such a system, as, whilst
it

Extinction of
the popular
government.

(a) " Le quali cose però erano da lui dette tanto confusamente, che poco si poteva intendere, quali dovessero essere questi provvedimenti, e questi modi dello assicurare; oltre che, & l'udire & l'intendere de gli uomini erano per dolore & dispiacimento dell'animo in modo impedito & preoccupato da gravi pensieri, che poco le sue parole s'attendevano." *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. p. 151.*

(b) *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 151. Nerli, Comment. lib. v. p. 110. vi. p. 113.*

it admitted the return of the Medici, might counterbalance the preponderating influence which that family had before enjoyed. To this end, they proposed that the Gonfaloniere should be elected for one year only, and that he should not be allowed to carry on any negotiation, or hold correspondence with foreign powers, without a thorough participation with the other members of the state. A council of eighty citizens was to be chosen every six months, and the principal magistrates were to be created by the *Consiglio grande*, as had formerly been the custom.^(a) In these regulations Giuliano, who is said to have inherited the mildness and urbanity of his ancestor, Veri de' Medici, rather than the political sagacity and vigilance of the great Cosmo, readily concurred; and Giovan-Battista Ridolfi was appointed the first Gonfaloniere under the reformed government. It soon however appeared, that by this institution, the Medici were left without authority, at the mercy of their opponents; and as the new Gonfaloniere was not only a man of great influence, but strongly attached to the popular party, apprehensions were justly entertained, that as soon as the Spanish troops should be withdrawn from the vicinity, the Medici and their adherents would again be expelled. In this emergency, many of the chief citizens resorted to the cardinal at Prato, and concerted with him and with Giulio de' Medici, and Lorenzo the son of the unfortunate Piero, the means of repairing the error of Giuliano, and of establishing the government in the same manner as it had been conducted before the expulsion of the Medici in 1494.^(b) Whilst the members of the senate were

^(a) Nerli, *Comment. lib. vi. p. 112, 114.*

^(b) *Ibid. p. 115.*

were debating on the best mode of carrying into effect the proposed system of their government, the palace was surrounded by armed men, who put a speedy period to their deliberations. In their stead, a new council of sixty-six citizens was appointed; the members of which were known to be wholly devoted to the Medici. Ridolfi was compelled to renounce the office of Gonfaloniere, which he had so lately accepted. The brother and nephews of Piero Soderini were ordered to be confined at different places within the Florentine territory, and Giuliano was expressly acknowledged as chief of the state.^(a) This event may be considered as the overthrow of the popular government of Florence, and it may perhaps be doubted whether, if the rights of the citizens had been less rigidly insisted on, in the deliberations held with Giuliano de' Medici, a greater share of authority might not have been preserved to the people at large, than it was afterwards possible to secure. The freedom of a state is no less liable to be endangered or lost, by intemperance and violence, than by indifference and neglect; and when once the spirit of opposition is roused to such a pitch, that either party sees its own destruction in the success of the other, they at length resort, by common consent, to the indiscriminating authority of a despot, as the only shelter from that political resentment, which, whilst it professes to aim only at the public good, seems to be of all passions the most unextinguishable and the most ferocious.

About the same time that the Medici returned to Florence, Maximilian Sforza, the son of Lodovico, who had

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for

(a) Nerli, *Comment. lib. vi. p. 115.*

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Restoration of
Maximilian
Sforza, duke
of Milan.

for several years found a refuge at the Imperial court, was restored by the arms of the league, to the supreme authority of the state of Milan, as had been agreed on at the diet of Mantua. (a) He entered his capital on the fifteenth day of December, 1512, amidst the rejoicings of the populace, accompanied by the chief commanders of the allied troops, and an immense concourse of Italian, German, Spanish, and Swiss nobility, and captains. (b) These important services were not, however, rendered to him, without such claims for compensation as greatly diminished their value. The Swiss laid him under heavy contributions for their pay, and the pope had already divested his dominions of the important territories of Parma and Piacenza. Unfortunately for the repose of Italy, the young duke was not endowed with vigour and talents to contend with those who had long been exercised in political intrigues, and habituated to violence and plunder; and the state of Milan, which ought to have been considered as the barrier of Italy, against the dangerous inroads of the French, was debilitated and abridged, at the very time when it ought, in sound policy, to have been invigorated and supported by every possible means.

Measures adopted by the Medici to secure their power.

With the suppression of the fanatical party formed under the influence of Savonarola, and the restoration of the Medici to Florence, the vivacity and gaiety of the inhabitants returned, and the spectacles and amusements for which that city had formerly been remarkable, were revived.

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. v. ii. p. 7.

(b) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, x. 90.

vived. Among other methods adopted by the Medici to strengthen their own authority, and conciliate the favour of the populace, was the institution of two companies, or orders of merit. One of these was denominated the order of the diamond, alluding to the *impresa*, or emblem of a diamond ring with three feathers, and the motto, *semper*, adopted by Lorenzo the Magnificent, and now revived by his youngest son Giuliano, with a view of securing his own influence by recalling the memory of his father. The other order, of which Lorenzo de' Medici, the son of the unfortunate Piero, was considered as the chief, was called the company of the *broncone*, in allusion to the *impresa* of Piero, representing trunks of wood consuming in the midst of flames.^(a) This society was chiefly composed of the younger part of the citizens, who from their rank and time of life, were judged to be the most suitable companions for Lorenzo, upon whom, as the representative of the elder branch of his family, the authority which it had enjoyed in the state was expected to devolve.^(b) To the members of these societies, precedence was given on public occasions, and it was their particular province to preside over the festivals, triumphs, and exhibitions, which now once more enlivened the city of Florence, and which were doubtless intended to turn the attention of the people from the consideration of their new state of political degradation. In compliance with the fashion of the times, the cardinal also adopted an emblem, which sufficiently manifested his intention to retain the authority which he had thus, by the labour of so many years, regained in his na-

(a) v. ante, chap. vii. p. 27.

(b) Neri, *Commentarii. lib. vi. p. 121.* Nardi, *Histor. Fior. lib. vi. 158.*

tive place; but in choosing on this occasion the decisive representation of the *giogo* or yoke, he endeavoured to render it less offensive by the scriptural motto, *Jugum meum suave est, & onus meum leve*. "My yoke is easy, and my burthen light."^(a) It is however highly probable, that such an unlimited assumption of absolute power as that emblem implies, was not compensated by the language which accompanied it, in the estimation of those inflexible friends to the liberties of their country, many of whom still remained within the city; and who were well aware, that if they were once effectually placed under the yoke, the weight of it must in future depend upon the will of their master.

Conspiracy against the Medici.

1513.

The return of the Medici to Florence, had not been signalized by any act of severity against the adverse party; yet neither the moderation of the cardinal in this respect, nor the means adopted by him and his family, to gratify the people by public spectacles and amusements, could prevent the dangerous effects of individual dissatisfaction and resentment. Scarcely had the public ferment subsided, than a project was formed for the destruction of the Medici, and the restoration of the ancient government, the chief promoter of which was Pietro Paolo Boscoli, a young man of family, whose proficiency in literature had led him to the contemplation of the examples of ancient courage, and inspired him with that enthusiasm for liberty, which is of all

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratto di Leone x. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 73.* On the return of the cardinal, he received a letter of congratulation from M. Angelo de Castrocaro, who seems to have been a zealous adherent of the family. This letter, not before printed, is given in the Appendix, No. LXVII.

all passions the most noble and the most dangerous. In the Medici, he saw the oppressors of his country; and whilst he dwelt with admiration on the splendid treachery of Brutus, he avowed his determination to imitate him, if another Cassius could be found to second his efforts. Such an associate was soon discovered in Agostino Capponi. Many persons of great reputation and extensive influence, secretly favoured the enterprise, and a plan was concerted for the assassination of the obnoxious parties. An accident, occasioned by the negligence of Capponi, prevented however the execution of their project, and not only involved in destruction both himself and his companion, but led to the accusation of many citizens of the first respectability. As Capponi was entering the house of the Pucci, a paper fell from his bosom, which contained the names of such persons as had either engaged in the conspiracy, or were thought, by those with whom it originated, likely to favour their cause. This dangerous scroll was immediately communicated to the magistrates. Boscoli and Capponi were apprehended, and on their examination confirmed the suspicions to which the paper had given rise. Among those who appeared to have been implicated in the conspiracy, were Cosmo de' Pazzi, Archbishop of Florence, Nicolo Valori, the biographer of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the celebrated historian Nicolo Machiavelli, then secretary of the republic, Giovanni Folchi, Piero Orlandini, and many other persons of eminence, all of whom were ordered to be closely confined, until their guilt or their innocence might be ascertained by a further inquiry.^(a)

In

(a) Nerli, *Commentarii*, lib. vi. p. 123.

In the midst of the agitation to which this alarming discovery gave rise, the attention of the cardinal de Medici was suddenly called to a yet more important object, which induced him to quit the city of Florence in the midst of the investigation, and to proceed, with as much expedition as the state of his health would permit, to Rome. This was the death of the supreme pontiff, Julius II. which happened on the twenty-first day of February, in the year 1513.

Notwithstanding the ample successes, which, in the latter part of his life, had attended the arms and crowned the designs of Julius II. they were by no means commensurate with the reach of his ambition, and the extent of his views. Not satisfied with having acted the principal part in the expulsion of the French from Italy, he had determined to free that country from all foreign powers, and to model its governments at his own pleasure. Hence he certainly meditated hostilities against his ally, the king of Spain, whose sovereignty of Naples was incompatible with his designs. *If heaven be willing*, said he, shaking the staff which supported his aged steps, and trembling with rage, *the Neapolitans shall in a short time have another master.*(a) The late proceedings of the Medici in Florence had, however, given him no slight offence; inasmuch as they had not required his participation or concurrence in the political arrangements of the place, but had secured to themselves a supreme and independent authority.(b) Against the duke of Ferrara his resentment was unextinguishable, and he had already

(a) *Muratori Annali d' Italia*, x. 92.

(b) *Ibid.*

already arrayed a powerful army to attack his dominions; nor is it improbable that he meant to have conferred on his nephew, the duke of Urbino, such an independent sovereignty in Italy, as would have ranked him among the first powers in Europe. But whilst Julius was immersed in these meditations, he forgot the uncertain tenure by which he held his own existence, and a few days sickness terminated his extensive projects, and laid him to rest. It has been asserted, that he died phrenetic, exclaiming, *Out of Italy, French! Out, Alfonso of Este!* but Muratori conjectures that he retained his reason to the last; (a) and it is indeed highly probable that those expressions, which were considered as the proofs of delirium, were nothing more than the effects of *The ruling passion, strong in death.*

The foregoing pages have afforded us sufficient opportunities of appreciating the character and talents of Julius II. Bold, enterprising, ambitious, and indefatigable, he neither sought repose himself, nor allowed it to be enjoyed by others. In searching for a vicar of Christ upon earth, it would indeed have been difficult to have found a person, whose conduct and temper were more directly opposed to the mild spirit of Christianity, and the example of its founder; but this was not the test by which the conclave judged of the qualifications of a pontiff, who was now no longer expected to seclude himself from the cares of the world, in order to attend to the spiritual concerns of his flock. Julius II. is therefore not to be judged by a rule of conduct, which he neither proposed to himself, nor was expected

His character
and conduct
considered.

(a) Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, x. 92.

expected to conform to by others. His vigorous and active mind corresponded with the restless spirit of the times, and his good fortune raised him to an eminence from which he looked down on the proudest sovereigns of the earth. His ambition was not, however, the passion of a groveling mind, nor were the advantages which he sought to attain of a temporary or personal nature. To establish the authority of the holy see throughout Europe, to recover the dominions of the church, to expel all foreign powers, or as they were then called, barbarians, from Italy, and to restore that country to the dominion of its native princes, were the vast objects of his comprehensive mind. These objects he lived in a great degree to accomplish; and it may well be doubted whether, if he had entered on his career at an earlier period of life, he would not have carried his designs into full effect. In suppressing the vicars of the church, and uniting their territories to the holy see, he completed what Alexander VI. had begun; but without incurring the odium which has, on that account, been attached to the memory of his predecessor. The Italian historians have not, however, shewn themselves favourable to his fame; and Guicciardini asserts,^(a) "That if he be considered as a great man, it is only by those, who having forgotten the right meaning of words, and confused the distinctions of a sound judgment, conceive that it is rather the office of a supreme pontiff to add to the dominion of the apostolic see by Christian arms and Christian blood, than to afford the example of a well regulated life."

That

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. ii. 31.

That the martial character of this pontiff, who frequently led his troops in person, tended to diminish the reverence due to the holy see, and like the enormities of Alexander VI. prepared the way for the reformation which speedily followed, has been conjectured by many writers; and seems indeed highly probable. (a) In his private life he is said to have been addicted to the inordinate use of wine, which may account for some of the eccentricities recorded of him; (b) but it is admitted by all writers, that he did not, like too many pontiffs, disgrace his pontificate by dissipating the revenues and domains of the church among his relations and favourites. With the exception only of the city of Pesaro, the investiture of which, with the consent of the college of cardinals, was granted to his nephew, the duke of Urbino, the conquests of Julius were annexed to the dominions of the church, and he withstood the entreaties of his daughter Felice, the wife of M. Antonio Colonna, who solicited the hat of a cardinal for Guido da Montefeltro, the half brother of her husband; having openly declared to her that he did not think him deserving of that rank. Julius was the first pontiff who revived the custom which

VOL. II. U had

(a) The life and actions of Julius II. are sarcastically reprehended in the dialogue entitled *Julius exclusus*, in the second volume of the collection of the Pasquillades, p. 125. Julius applies to be admitted into paradise; but St. Peter not recognizing him, he is obliged to give an account of his transactions in this life. This not satisfying the apostle, he still refuses to admit him, and Julius threatens to besiege and make war upon heaven. Erasmus was suspected of being the author of this attack on the memory of the pontiff; but in a letter to cardinal Campeggio, he vindicates himself with great warmth from the accusation, "Ineptit quisquis scripsit," says he, "at majore supplicio dignus, quisquis evulgavit." *Erasm. Ep. lib. xii. Ep. 1.*

(b) "Louis XII. en parlant de Jules II. le designoit souvent par le nom d'ivrogne. "L'outrage etoit autant plus sensible, que Jules II. passoit pour le meriter." *Ligue de Camb. i. 221.*

had long been discontinued by his predecessors, of suffering his beard to extend to its natural length, which he is supposed to have done in order to give additional respect and dignity to his appearance; but which may, with more probability, be attributed to his impatient temper and incessant occupations, which left him no time for the usual attentions to his person.

That Julius was no scholar, is asserted on his own authority; but although he did not devote himself to sedentary occupations, he was not, like Paul II. a persecutor of men of learning. On the contrary, those few ecclesiastics whom he raised to the purple by the suggestions of his own judgment, and without the solicitation of foreign powers, were all men of considerable talents and acquirements. At no time have the professors of literature been sparing of their acknowledgments for the favour of the great; and Julius II. is the frequent theme of applause, in the works of his contemporaries, who devoted themselves to the cultivation of Latin poetry.^(a) Of these some have celebrated his magnanimity, his courage, his promptitude in war, and others his strict administration of justice, and his attention to the arts of peace. In a copy of verses addressed by Valerianus to the pope, on the proficiency made by his nephew, Giovanni Francesco della Rovere, in the study of the law, that author asserts, that not only polite literature, but the severer studies, had begun to assume
a new

(a) In particular Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, has devoted to the praises of Julius II. several of his Iambics and other poems, at the close of his works, published by Aldus, 1505. And Lorenzo Parmenio, *Custode* of the Vatican library, has celebrated the actions of this pontiff in a poem, which has lately been published. *Anecd. Rom. tom. iii. Tirab. vi. par. iii. p. 201.*

a new form, and were cultivated under his influence with great success. (a) Nor can it be denied, that during his pontificate, amidst the tumults of war, the depopulation of cities, the ravages of pestilence and of famine, and all those calamities and commotions which agitate and distract the human mind, the great and distinguished characters, who were destined to illustrate by their works, the more pacific reign of his successor, were principally formed. Already had Bembo distinguished himself by numerous productions, both in the Italian and Latin tongue, which had spread his reputation through the whole extent of Italy. Castiglione had composed his elegant work to which we have before adverted, and Ariosto had not only formed the design, but made a considerable progress in the execution of his immortal poem.

Of the favourable disposition of Julius towards men of talents, a decisive instance appears in his conduct towards Giovanni Antonio Flaminio, the learned father of a still more learned son; and who having pronounced an oration before him at Imola, in the year 1506, was honoured by him with the most friendly demonstrations of esteem and respect, and invited to take up his residence at Rome. Flaminio excused himself; and the pope, instead of manifesting

Giovan-Antonio
Flaminio.

U 2

festing

- (a) " Juli, maxime Pontifex, benigno,
 " Cui felicia siderum favore,
 " Cedunt omnia, et hoc tibi addiderunt
 " Fata, uni tibi debita, ut videmus,
 " Quod servare modum, elegantiamque,
 " Non tantum studia hæc politiora,
 " Verum illa asperiora, et exoleta,
 " Jamdudum incipiunt, novumque leges
 " Nostro ostendere seculo nitorem."

Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. x. 133.

festing his displeasure, presented him with fifty gold crowns. Some time afterwards, the bishop of Narni, having occasion to pay a visit to Imola, was ordered by the pope to call upon Flaminio, and to assure him of the continuance of his regard, and his wish to know in what manner he could give him the most effectual proofs of it. *(a)* The favour of the pontiff induced Flaminio to address to him a copy of Latin verses, in which the poet encourages him to persevere in his great design of delivering Italy from a foreign yoke, and to crown his glory by becoming the assertor of the liberties of his country. An exhortation so consonant to the disposition and views of the pope, was doubtless received with favour, and the stern mind of Julius might perhaps trace with satisfaction in the elegant lines of Flaminio, the durable records of his future fame. *(b)*

Library formed
by Julius II.

The Vatican library, which had been begun by Nicholas V. and enlarged by the attention of succeeding pontiffs, derived no great advantage from the patronage of Julius II. But this is not to be attributed so much to his disregard of literature, as to the design which he had formed of collecting a separate library for the use of the Roman pontiffs, which was not to derive its importance from the number, but from the value of the books and manuscripts of which it was to be composed. It was also intended that the splendor of this collection should be enhanced by works in painting and sculpture, of the most distinguished artists of the time; but the death of the pope prevented, in all probability, the completion

(a) Tirab. Storia della Letteratura Ital. vol. vii. par. i. p. 15.

(b) Appendix, No. LXVIII.

completion of the plan; and as no such distinct collection has been adverted to in later times, it may be justly conjectured, that it has been united with that of the Vatican. In a letter of Bembo to the pope, written only a few days before his death, this library is particularly mentioned; and from the same letter we learn some curious particulars, not only respecting the attention of that pontiff to the promotion of literature, but to the restoration of the long lost art of abbreviated, or short-hand writing, of which Bembo may be considered as the revivor in modern times.(a)

PIETRO BEMBO TO JULIUS II.

“ In the acquisition of the volume lately sent to you
 “ from Dacia, written in beautiful characters, but such as
 “ are in our days unintelligible, I perceive an additional
 “ instance of the perpetual good fortune which has always
 “ attended you, and which, whilst in the administration of
 “ public affairs, and the direction of the concerns of the
 “ universe, it has enabled you to surpass the expectations of
 “ all men, has never failed to add to your reputation, even
 “ in matters of less importance. For after you had intrusted
 “ this book to me, that I might endeavour to decypher the
 “ characters, and inform you of the result, and I had
 “ begun to turn over and carefully to inspect its pages, I
 “ could not help entertaining more confident hopes of suc-
 “ cess in my undertaking, from the circumstance of its being
 “ enjoined by you, than from the facility of the task, which
 “ appeared indeed impracticable, or from my own industry.
 “ In

(a) *Bembi, Ep. Fam. lib. v. Ep. 8. in op. tom. iv. p. 203.*

“ In the course of a minute examination of the whole
 “ manuscript, I observed, at the foot of one of the pages,
 “ a line written in common letters, but almost erased and
 “ obliterated, from which I collected that the volume was
 “ written in ancient notes, or characters; such as were used
 “ by those persons, who were denominated notaries; and
 “ that the work itself was a portion of the commentary of
 “ Hyginus, *de Syderibus*. On discovering this line, it im-
 “ mediately occurred to me, that this was the Ciceronian
 “ method of writing; for I recollected that Plutarch has
 “ informed us, that the profession of those who were called
 “ notaries, took its origin from Cicero, who had invented a
 “ series of marks, each of which represented a combination
 “ of letters, and that he had instructed his copyists in this
 “ art, who were thus enabled to note down during
 “ the time of delivery, in a small compass, and in a legi-
 “ ble form, for his use, the speeches of any of the senators,
 “ which he wished to preserve. It was by this means, Plu-
 “ tarch adds, that the oration which Cato pronounced
 “ against the Catiline conspirators, in opposition to the
 “ opinion of Cæsar, had been handed down to his time.
 “ I also recollect, that not only Plutarch, but Valerius
 “ Martial has remarked, that the ancients were accustomed
 “ to make use of notaries, for the sake of expedition in writ-
 “ ing, and his celebrated verses on this subject yet remain.
 “ Ausonius likewise commemorates, in his verses, a boy, who
 “ with the aid of a few characters, took down a long discourse
 “ during the time of recitation. Prudentius, in a poem on
 “ the martyrdom of Cassianus, has recorded, that the
 “ latter had established an academy, in which children
 “ were taught the use of these characters. Having there-
 “ fore compared another copy of Hyginus, written in our
 “ usual

“ usual manner, with this Dacian manuscript, I have been
 “ enabled to explain the sense and signification of many of
 “ these marks, the meaning of which is changed, not only
 “ by the variation of the marks themselves, but in some
 “ degree even by the punctuation; although in such a de-
 “ finite and regular form, that if any one would take the
 “ trouble, it does not appear to me very difficult to reduce it
 “ to a system, and once more restore it to general use. This
 “ discovery afforded me great pleasure; as I conceived I
 “ should give you complete satisfaction on this head; and
 “ this pleasure was in some degree increased by the con-
 “ sideration, that although several distinguished and learn-
 “ ed men of the present times, had, at your desire, endea-
 “ voured to explain this work, their attempts had been
 “ wholly fruitless. As a favourable opportunity thus offers
 “ itself of extending your fame in the literary world, and
 “ securing the applause of future times, I entreat you not
 “ to neglect it; but to devote some portion of your ex-
 “ tensive talents, which are sufficiently capacious to em-
 “ brace and comprehend all subjects, in recovering this
 “ mode of writing, by intrusting it to skilful printers, if
 “ such are to be found, as they certainly are, to be by
 “ them made public. For what indeed can be more ho-
 “ nourable to your reputation, or more advantageous to the
 “ studies of the learned, than to restore by your pious at-
 “ tention, an art invented by Cicero, and long held in great
 “ esteem for its acknowledged utility; but which, through
 “ the injuries of time, has for a long course of years been
 “ wholly lost. Ptolomy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and
 “ Attalus, king of Pergamus, are commended for their dili-
 “ gence in collecting books for the celebrated libraries which
 “ they formed; and it has always been considered as
 “ praise-

CHAP. IX.
 A. D. 1513.
 A. Æt. 38.

“ praise-worthy, even in the greatest characters, and in those
 “ possessed of supreme authority, to promote literary stu-
 “ dies, and to supply materials for those talents, which
 “ are devoted to the cultivation of the liberal arts. This dili-
 “ gence you have yourself emulated, in having added ano-
 “ ther library to the celebrated collection formed by your
 “ predecessors in the Vatican; not indeed distinguished
 “ by the number of its volumes, but by their high value,
 “ and perfect preservation; and rendered much more plea-
 “ sant for the use of the pontiffs, by the commodiousness
 “ and beauty of the place, and the elegant ornaments of
 “ statues, pictures, and mirrors, with which it is embel-
 “ lished. For my own part, I confess I do not see in what
 “ manner you can confer greater ornament, greater elegance,
 “ or even greater authority, on this your library, than by
 “ recalling to light the invention of this almost divine
 “ man, and restoring his art of writing. For although it
 “ has always been your character not to devote your atten-
 “ tion to any objects but those which you have endea-
 “ voured with such constant perseverance, incredible ex-
 “ pense, and immense labours and danger, to accomplish,
 “ and by which the Roman republic intrusted to your care
 “ might maintain its supreme authority; yet it is due from
 “ your prudence, and your piety, not to neglect that which
 “ relates to the study of literature; for in those studies are
 “ involved many things of no inconsiderable importance
 “ to the ornament and convenience of human life.”



CHAP. X.

ASSEMBLY of the Conclave—Mode of electing a pope—Election of the cardinal de' Medici—Motives of the choice of the conclave—Reason of his taking the name of Leo X.—His coronation—Procession to the Lateran—Embassy from Florence—Leo pardons the Florentine conspirators—Recalls Pietro Soderini—Appoints Bembo and Sadoleti his secretaries—Resolves to establish the peace of Europe—Louis XII. threatens the state of Milan—Treaty of Blois—Leo endeavours to dissuade Louis XII.—Opposes him and forms with Henry VIII. the treaty of Mechlin—Subsidizes the Swiss—Louis XII. attacks the Milanese—Battle of Novara and defeat of the French—Leo recommends lenient measures—Expulsion of the French from Italy—Henry VIII. invades France—Battle of the Spurs—The king of Scotland attacks England—Battle of Flodden—Congratulatory letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII.—Treaty of Dijon—Battle of Vicenza—The emperor elect and the Venetians submit their differences to Leo X.—Leo renews the meetings of the Lateran council—Nominates four cardinals—Lorenzo de' Medici assumes the government of Florence—Giuliano de' Medici admitted a Roman citizen—Leo pardons the refractory cardinals—Humiliation and absolution of Louis XII.





CHAP. X.

ON the fourth day of March, 1513, the cardinals who happened to be then in Rome, entered the church of S. Andrea, where the mass of the *Spirito santo*, was celebrated by the cardinal of Strigonia; after which the bishop of Castello, having made the usual oration, *de pontifice elegendo*, they went in procession to the conclave to proceed to the choice of a pope. It was not until the sixth day of the same month, that the cardinal de' Medici arrived in Rome,

x 2

and

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1513.

A. Pont. I.

Assembly of the
conclave.

and joined his brethren. The whole number of cardinals who were assembled on this occasion was twenty-five.(a)

There are four different modes of electing the supreme pontiff; by *inspiration*, by *compromise*, by *scrutiny*, and by *access*.(b)

An election by *inspiration*, is effected by several of the cardinals calling aloud, as by a sudden impulse, the name of the person whom they wish to raise to the pontifical dignity. This method of resorting to the pretext of supernatural aid, is seldom relied on, except when all human means have failed of success. If however a powerful party can be raised, and their efforts happen to be strongly seconded, the rest of the cardinals, unwilling to distinguish themselves by a decided opposition, or to be the last in expressing their consent, hasten to concur in the choice.

The election by *compromise*, is found expedient, when the cardinals, not being able to determine on a proper person, agree to submit the choice of a pontiff to one, or more, of their own body, nominated for that purpose. It was thus that John XXII. after having obtained the solemn assent of the whole college to abide by his decision, assumed to himself the pontificate; an event which induced the cardinals not to intrust this power in future to any of their number, without such restrictions as

(a) *Conclave di Leone x. ap. Conclavi de' Pontefici Rom. vol. i. p. 171, 182.*

(b) *Ceremonial de Rome, in Supplem. au corps diplomatique, tom. v. p. 46, &c.*

as might effectually prevent the recurrence of a similar event.

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

In choosing a pope by *scrutiny*, the cardinals each write their own name, with that of the person whom they wish to recommend, on a *billet*, or ticket; which they afterwards place, with many ceremonies and genuflexions, in a large and highly ornamented chalice, on the altar of the chapel in which they assemble. The tickets are then taken out by officers appointed from their own body, for that purpose, and the number is carefully compared with that of the persons present; after which, if it appear, that any one of the cardinals has two-thirds of the votes in his favour, he is declared to be canonically elected pope. When however, after repeated trials, this does not occur, a new proceeding takes place, which is called election by *access*; in which any cardinal may accede to the vote of another, by an alteration of his ticket in a prescribed form. When by these means the choice of a pontiff is effected, the tickets are prudently committed to the flames, to prevent all pretext for further inquiry.(a)

By scrutiny.

By access.

After a deliberation which lasted for the space of seven days, the choice of the conclave fell upon the cardinal de' Medici, who was elected by scrutiny.(b) As he was at this time the chief cardinal deacon, it was his office to examine the votes, in which he conducted himself with great modesty; and when he had the happiness to find that he was himself the fortunate candidate, not the least alteration

The cardinal de'
Medici elect-
ed pope.

(a) *Ceremonial de Rome, in Supplem. au corps diplomatique, tom. v. p. 48, 49.*

(b) *Conclave di Leone x. p. 178.*

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

He assumes the
name of LEO
X.

alteration was perceived in his countenance. (a) He immediately received the adoration of the cardinals, whom he embraced and kissed in return. They then requested to know what name he would assume; to which he replied, that he should submit it to the sacred college; but on being again entreated to make his choice, he answered, that among his other vain cogitations, he had at some times thought, that if he should ever be called to the pontifical chair, he would take the name of LEO THE TENTH; which, if agreeable to them, he would now adopt; but if not, he would alter his intention. On this many of the cardinals expressed their approbation, alleging, that if they had been elected, they would have made the same choice. (b) One of the windows of the conclave which had been closed up as usual on such occasions, was then broken down, and the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, announced to the people in the usual form, the election of a pope, and the name which he had assumed. (c) He was then placed in the pontifical chair,

(a) *Par. de Grassis ap. Not. et Extraits des MSS. du Roi.* ii. 579.

(b) “ Interim petimus quo nomine vellet in Apostolatu vocari, & dixit non curare, sed remittere ad dispositionem collegii. Ipsi autem cardinales hortabantur, ut ipse indicaret, quo nomine vellet vocari; & dixit quod alias, inter vanas suas cogitationes, cogitaverat, quod si unquam Pontifex esset, vellet vocari Leo X. & nunc, si iis placeret, sic vocaretur, sin autem aliter ut iis placeret: Et multi comprobaverunt dicentes quod si ipsi electi fuissent, eo nomine vocari voluissent, & sic conclusum fuit, cum tanto plausu populi, ut credibile vix sit.” *Paris Grassius, ap. Fabr. vita Leon. x. adnot. p. 269.*

(c) GAUDIUM MAGNUM NUNTIO VOBIS; PAPAM HABEMUS, REVERENDISSIMUM DOMINUM JOANNEM DE MEDICIS DIACONUM CARDINALEM SANCTE MARIE IN DOMENICA; QUI VOCATUR LEO DECIMUS.

On this occasion, Giovan-Francesco Superchio, better known by the name of Philomusus, addressed to the pontiff a poem, intitled, SYLVA ET EXULTATIO IN CREATIONE PONT. MAX. LEONIS DECIMI. which will be found in the Appendix, No. LXIX.

chair, and carried to the church of S. Pietro, accompanied by the whole conclave, and the ecclesiastics of the city, amidst the rejoicings of the people, and the discharge of cannon; the clergy singing as they passed *Te Deum laudamus*; and being brought before the great altar, he was there enthroned.(a)

The causes which determined the college in their choice of a pontiff on this occasion, yet rest chiefly on conjecture. It is however sufficiently understood, that whilst the elder members inclined towards the party of the cardinal Alborese, who had on one examination thirteen votes in his favour,(b) the younger, and particularly those of royal and noble families, adhered to that of the cardinal de' Medici.(c) Of the elder members, no one possessed greater influence than Raffaele Riario, nephew of Sixtus IV. whom the cardinal de' Medici found means, after several days deliberations, to attach to his interests, and whose favour probably secured his election.(c) From the narration of Jovius it appears, that the cardinal de' Medici was at this time seriously indisposed from an abscess, the breaking of which diffused through

Motives of the
choice of the
college.

(a) *Conclave di Leone x. p. 177.*

(b) *Jovius, in vita Leon. x. lib. iii. p. 55.*

(c) “ Alle 22 hore in circa, si abboccarono insieme San Giorgio (Riario) e Medici, nella Sala grande, dove pubblicamente ragionarono più d'un hora; però da nessuno fù inteso di che cosa trattassero. Il che visto da altri cardinali, subito giudicarono, che l Pontificato si trattasse per uno di loro, & cominciarono molti d' andare attorno, per mettere discordie, acciò in nessuno di loro si concludesse; ed essendosi stafi in questo bisbiglio un gran pezzo, finalmente ritrovandosi il negotio ben preparato, fu per tutto il Conclave publicato Papa il cardinale de' Medici.” *Concl. di Leone x. p. 177.*

through the whole conclave, such an intolerable stench, that the cardinals, thinking it impossible that he could long survive, determined to elect him pope; (a) but this story is justly rejected by a more judicious writer, (b) as having arisen from the misrepresentations of those, who have insinuated, that the irregularities of his past life had subjected him to this disorder. It is however certain, that at the time when the cardinal quitted Florence, he was so much indisposed, as to be obliged to be carried by slow stages, in a litter, to Rome, and that on the day after his arrival, a surgeon was admitted into the conclave, who performed an operation on his person, after which the cardinals would not permit the surgeon, notwithstanding his entreaties, to quit the place; (c) but the certainty of this fact, by no means authorizes those inferences which some have attempted to draw from it. (d) The real motives of the choice

(a) " Fuere qui existimarent vel ob id Seniores ad ferenda suffragia facilius accessisse, quod pridie disrupto eo abscessu, qui sedem occuparet, tanto foetore ex profluente sania totum comitium implevisset, ut tanquam a mortifera tabe infectus, non diu supervicturus esse vel medicorum testimonio crederetur." *Jov. in vita Leon x. lib. iii. p. 56.*

(b) *Fabron. in vita Leonis x. p. 60.*

(c) " In questo tempo entrò in conclave un Chirurgo, chiamato *Giacomo di Brescia*, ad istanza del cardinal di Medici, acciò gli tagliasse una postema; e dopo entrato non vollero che n'uscisse, con tutto che n'havesse fatta grand' istanza." *Conclave di Leone x. p. 172.*

(d) " On pretend qu'il n'y eut rien qui contribuât davantage à l'élever à la papauté, que les blessures qu'il avoit reçues dans les combats vénériens." *Bayle Dict. Hist. in art. Leon x.* This insinuation is founded by Bayle on the equivocal authority of Varillas, *Anecdotes de Florence, lib. vi. p. 235*, an author, whose falsehoods and absurdities Bayle has himself on other occasions sufficiently exposed; and on the opinion of Seckendorff, *Comm. de Luth. lib. i. sec. xlvii. p. 190.* But even the narrative of these authors will not justify the licentious terms in which Bayle has expressed himself on this occasion. This he indeed in some degree confesses, " J' observe que ce n'est que par des conséquences " qui

choice of the college may with more candour, and perhaps with more truth, be sought for in the high estimation in which the name of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of the cardinal, was yet held throughout Italy; in the decorum and respectability of his own life and manners, and the remembrance of the services which he had rendered to the church, and the dangers which he had sustained in the defence of her rights. At this important juncture, the cardinal de' Medici is also said to have owed great obligations to Bernardo da Bibbiena, whom he fortunately selected as his conclavist, and who by his dexterous management, and artful representations, removed the opposition of the cardinal Soderini, brother of the late Gonfaloniere of Florence, and others, who were at first adverse to the elevation of his patron.^(a) But whatever were the motives which led to that event, it is however on all hands agreed, that his elevation was not disgraced by that shameless traffic, and open prostitution of the favours and emoluments of the church, which had been so usual on similar occasions,^(b) and Leo ascended the pontifical throne

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throne

“ *qui ne sont pas absolument nécessaires, que l'on peut trouver, dans les paroles de M. Varillas, les sens que j'ai rapporté, & que M. de Seckendorff leur donne.*” To which acknowledgment I must further add, that even M. de Seckendorff, although a protestant writer, and particularly hostile to the character of Leo X. has *not given* to the passage of Varillas, the sense for which Bayle contends, but merely informs us, that Leo X. “ *laborabat fœdissimo ulcere in inguine,*” without attempting to account further for the cause of it. It appears from Jovius to have been an abscess; a disease with which the pontiff was frequently afflicted during the remainder of his life.

(a) “ *Il cardinal Soderini era il più destro, e il più capace di frastornare questa elezione. Ma il Bibbiena, conoscendo il suo debole, l'attacò in quello, e gli diede speranza di ristabilire il fratello; gli propose la riunione co' Medici per mezzo del matrimonio della nipote del Soderini col nipote del cardinale. Così dunque date per tutte le parti le sicurtà, fu molto più incalorito il partito de' giovani.*” *Bandin. Il Bibbiena, p. 14.*

(b) “ *Senti di questa elettione quasi tutta la Cristianità grandissimo piacere, persuadendosi*”

throne without any imputation on his character for integrity, even by that propensity to scandal, by which the city of Rome has always been distinguished. The populace would not indeed relinquish their privilege of mingling their satire with their joy on this occasion; (a) but when satire attaches only to slight imperfections, it becomes the surest proof that there are no glaring defects to provoke the severity of animadversion.

Reason of his
taking the
name of Leo
X.

In assuming the name of Leo X. (b) it has been supposed by some, that the cardinal de' Medici, meant to allude to the insignia of his native place, and by others, that he intended to verify the dreams of his mother; (c) but as he was not remarkable for a superstitious adherence

“dendosi universalmente gli huomiai, che havesse a essere rarissimo Pontifice, per la
“chiara memoria del valore paterno, & per la fama che risonava per tutto della sua
“liberalità & benignità; *stimato casto*, e di perfetti costumi; e sperandosi che a l'esempio
“del padre, havesse a essere amatore de' letterati & di tutti gl' ingegni illustri. La quale
“aspettatione accresceva l'essere stata fatta l'elettione *senza simonia o sospetto* di macula
“alcuna.” *Guicciard. lib. xi. v. ii. p. 32.*

(a) An instance of this may be found in the interpretation said to have been given to a mutilated inscription in the church of the Vatican, in which the name of Nicholas V. had been obliterated, and the characters of the year only remained, M.CCCC.XL. which it seems were interpreted, in allusion to the defect in the pontiff's sight. MULTI CAECI CARDINALES CREAVERE CAECUM DECIMUM LEONEM. v. *Fabr. Adnot. 270.*

(b) The custom of changing the name of the Roman pontiff is said to have arisen from Sergius II. in the year 844. “Sunt qui Sergium primo quidem *Os porci* appellatum
“fuisse dicant, et ob turpitudinem cognomenti *Sergii* nomen sumpsisse; eamque consuetudinem ad nostros manasse; ut qui pontifices crearentur, suorum omisso majorum nomine,
“sibi indicent, licet ab omnibus non sit observatum.” *Platina, in vita Sergii.*

(c) “Non defuere qui dicerent, Claricem matrem, pleno jam utero Leonem ingentis
“magnitudinis, & miræ lenitatis, in Reparatae templo Florentiæ omnium maximo se parere,
“sine gemitu somniasse. Quod postea somnium ex fabulis nutricum quum puerorum
“ingeniis inhæsisset, accipiendo nomini causam haud dubie præbuerit.”

Jov. in vita Leon x. lib. iii. p. 56.

rence to the expiring follies of the age, we may rather assent to those writers, who suppose that he intended to allude to the courage and magnanimity, with which he was resolved to execute the high office to which he had been called. It may also be observed, that it had been the custom of many of his predecessors, to adopt appellations of a warlike nature; and after an Alexander and a Julius, the name of Leo, already sanctioned by a long succession of pontiffs, if not dreaded by his enemies, might at least seem formidable to his subjects; (a) but it is yet more probable that he was induced to this choice, by the consideration, that all his predecessors of the same name had been eminently distinguished by their virtues, their talents, or their good fortune, (b) and he therefore thought it

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not

(a) "*Leonis decimi* nomen sibi desumpsit; utpote qui propter innatam excelso regione animo clementiæ virtutem, non expresso quidem titulo, sed erudita allusione *Magnanimi* cognomentum affectaret; duorum superiorum secutus exemplum, quibus *Alexandri* et *Julii* augustissima nomina placuissent." *Jov. ut sup.*

(b) This is the opinion of Brandolini, in his Dialogue entitled *Leo*, p. 112. "Neque enim inditum sibi nomen, a nostra memoria, nedum seculo remotissimum, urbis Florentiæ insignibus, ut vulgus existimat; sed integritati, mansuetudini, hospitalitati, prudentiæ, liberalitati, quibus quidem animi, atque ingenii dotibus novem reliqui ejusdem nominis Pontifices fuisse præditi memorantur, jure optimotribuendum puto." And this idea is confirmed by Erasmus, who, in one of his letters addressed to Leo X. has briefly enumerated the merits of his predecessors of the same name, "Proinde quidquid virtutum in singulis *Leonibus* excelluit, id totum expectamus a LEONE DECIMO. *Primi Leonis* felicem autoritatem; *secundi*, eruditam pietatem et sacræ musices studium; *tertii*, præter salutarem eloquentiam, animum quoque ad utramque fortunam infractum; *quarti*, simplicem illam, et a Christo laudatam, prudentiam; *quinti*, sanctam tolerantiam; *sexti*, pacis ubique sarciendæ studium; *septimi*, cælo dignum sanctimonium; *octavi*, integritatem; *noni*, effusam in omnes benignitatem. Hæc inquam omnia nobis promittunt, non solum nominum ipsorum haudquaquam contemnenda auguria, verum etiam hæc quæ jam abs te præstita videmus, quæ videmus apparari." *Erasm. Ep. lib. ii. Ep. 1.* This idea is further extended in the Latin poem of Zaccaria Ferreri, of Vicenza, on the elevation of Leo X. *Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital.* iv. 270.

CHAP. X.
 A. D. 1513.
 A. Æt. 38.
 A. Pont. I.

not unadvisable to revive a name, which although so celebrated, had not occurred in the annals of the church for more than four centuries.^(a)

As the pope, before his elevation, was only a cardinal deacon, it was necessary to admit him into priest's orders; which ceremony was performed on the fifteenth day of March, four days after his election. He was consecrated bishop on the seventeenth, and crowned on the nineteenth of the same month. On this occasion a large platform was erected on the steps of the church of S. Pietro, with columns and a cornice in imitation of marble, on which was inscribed, in letters of gold, LEONI X. PONT. MAX. LITERATORUM PRÆSIDIO, AC BONITATIS FAUTORI. On the morning of the day appointed, Leo proceeded to the church of S. Andrea, accompanied by the college of cardinals and dignified ecclesiastics, where he was habited as a priest for the celebration of mass. Thence he went to the great altar of S. Pietro, preceded by the master of the ceremonies with a reed in each hand, to the summit of one of which was attached a lighted candle, and to the other a bunch of tow. This officer kneeling before the pope, set fire to the tow; at the same time repeating the words, *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*. Having celebrated his first mass, the pope was conducted to the steps of the church, where the Tiara, or triple crown, was placed on his head by the cardinal Farnese and the cardinal of Aragon; after which, having conferred his benediction on all present, he returned to the apostolic palace.

On

(a) " Nam quatuor Secula cum dimidio et amplius, a creatione Leonis IX. tunc lapsa erant." *Brandol. Leo. in not. 74. p. 112.*

On the coronation of a new pontiff, it is customary for him to grant to the cardinals whatever they may request. Such an unlimited privilege certainly presumes no small share of discretion, in those who avail themselves of it; but on this occasion the well-known generosity of the pontiff had raised the hopes of the college beyond all reasonable bounds, and Leo could not avoid expressing his astonishment at the number and nature of the demands which were made upon him. "Take my Tiara, rather," said he, to the cardinals, smiling, "and then you may agree among yourselves, as so many popes, to divide things, as you may think proper.(a)

His predecessor, Julius II. had conducted himself in the public offices of devotion with great negligence, and had even refused to expose his feet for adoration, in the form of a cross, on Good Friday; for which his master of the ceremonies has assigned a singular, if not a sufficient cause.(b) It had also been observed, that in performing the ceremonial of washing the feet of the poor on Holy Thursday, Julius had only placed his thumbs across, and kissed them. Leo had at least more policy, if not more devotion. He performed the former rite with his feet exposed, and hesitated not to kiss those of the poor; observing at the same time, that this mysterious act of piety, ought not to be evaded by a pretext.(c)

The

(a) "Potius acciperent suam tiaram, & ipsi Pontifices facti, concederent aut caperent illud quod volebant." *P. de Grassis MS.* 51. *ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi* ii. 579.

(b) "Quia totus erat ex morbo gallico alterosus." *P. de Grass. MS.* 61. *ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi* ii. 579.

(c) "Inde ad Aulam ascensum, et pro lotione pedum pauperum, quæ facta est ad unguem,

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A. Pont. I.

Procession to
the Lateran.

The more splendid ceremony of the procession of the pope, to take possession of the Lateran see, was postponed until the eleventh day of April, being the anniversary of the day, on which he had been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, and already consecrated in the Roman calendar to S. Leo the great. That the contrast between his past misfortunes and his present prosperity might not be unobserved, he also chose to be mounted during his procession on a favourite white steed, which had born him on that occasion, and which from this day he released from all further service.*(a)* This spectacle, at all times sufficiently superb, was now rendered much more magnificent, by the desire of the citizens to gratify that predilection for grandeur and for elegance, which the new pontiff was well known to possess.*(b)* All the nobility then in Rome, with many of the independent sovereigns of Italy, and the ambassadors of most of the European states, contributed to give dignity and importance to the ceremony. Alfonso duke of Ferrara, no longer a rebel to the church, made a journey to Rome to be present on this occasion, and had the honour of assisting the pontiff in mounting his horse.

His

“ unguem, prout in meo ordinario, nisi quod papa non voluit suos digitos pollices in forma
“ crucis super pedibus pauperum positos osculari, ut alii pontifices facere consueverant,
“ præsertim Julius II. sed ipsos pedes totus osculabatur, dicens, quod illud mysterium
“ non fictè fieri debet.” *P. de Grass. MS. inedit.*

(a) *P. de Grass. MS. ap. not. des MSS. du Roi. ii. 580.*

(b) Giovan-Giacomo Penni, a Florentine physician, who was present in Rome on this occasion, has given a very circumstantial account of this splendid ceremonial, which he inscribed to Contessina de' Medici, the wife of Piero Ridolfi, and sister of the pontiff. To this piece, which was printed at Rome in the year 1513, I have been indebted for many of the preceding particulars, and as it is now of extreme rarity, and may serve to give an idea of the abilities and invention of the Roman artists, and of the great preparations and expense which attended this exhibition, I have given it from a copy preserved in the Vatican library, in the Appendix, No. LXX.

His formidable adversary, Francesco-Maria, duke of Urbino, joined in the same procession, and bore the pontifical standard. The Counts of Pitigliano, of Anguillara, of Carpi, and of Camerino, with other subordinate princes, were also present; but the most striking, and perhaps the most pleasing spectacle to the Roman people, was that of the chiefs of the two powerful families, of the Orsini, and the Colonna, whose dissensions had for ages disturbed the repose of the Roman state, accompanying each other in token of perpetual reconciliation. Giulio de' Medici bore the standard of the knights of Rhodes, whose society, however, he from this day abandoned, to devote himself to the more lucrative offices of the church. The streets and squares through which the pontiff had to pass, were spread with tapestry, and strewn with flowers; the arms and emblems of the Medici were emblazoned with every variety of ornament; the most beautiful works in painting and sculpture of which the city could boast, or which the ingenuity and talents of the Roman artists could produce, were exultingly displayed; and triumphal arches, with appropriate inscriptions, gave to the whole the appearance rather of the return of a Roman hero from conquest, than of the pacific procession of an ecclesiastical prince. On the arrival of the pope at the castle of S. Angelo, he was met by the Jews then resident in Rome, who presented to him the volume of their law, and requested the confirmation of their privileges. Receiving from them the book, he opened it and appeared to read; then, letting it suddenly fall, he replied, *we confirm, but we do not assent*; (a) and proceeded on his way. With this state the pontiff arrived, amidst the
VOL. II. acclamations

(a) *Confirmamus sed non consentimus. Penni. in App. ut sup.*

acclamations of the populace,^(a) at the church of S. Giovanni Laterano, at the great door of which was placed, under a portico, a marble chair, to which he was conducted by the prior and canons of the Lateran. Three cardinals then approached, and raised him from his seat, chaunting at the same time, *He raiseth the poor from the dust, &c.*^(b) This ceremony, which has given rise to various conjectures, may be considered as intended to represent the inferiority of the former condition of the pontiff, in comparison with his present elevation, as that of the burning of the tow on his coronation, is figurative of the instability of worldly grandeur. He then entered the church, and having prostrated himself before the high altar, received the insignia of his dignity. Thence he passed to the chapel of S. Silvestro, where the nobility were admitted to the honour of kissing his feet. To each of the bishops he distributed a silver medal, and to each of the cardinals, two of silver and one of gold. The prelates here congratulated him on his assumption, and, more favoured than his secular attendants, were allowed to kiss his hand. Having rested here for the space of an hour, he was accompanied to the palace, or hall of Constantine, where he took a formal possession of his dominions, and passed the remainder of the day. In the evening he returned to the Vatican, with the same state and attendants with which he had quitted it in the morning.^(c)

The

(a) LEONE, LEONE, PALLE, PALLE, the name of the pontiff, and the arms of the Medici. *Penni in app.*

(b) *Suscitat de pulvere egenum et de Stercore erigit pauperem. Not. des MSS. du Roi vol. i. p. 179. v. ante vol. i. chap. iii. p. 122.*

(c) This event afforded an opportunity for Janus Vitalis of Castello, and other writers of Latin poetry, to celebrate the virtues of the new pontiff, and to express the expectations already formed of his pontificate. v. Appendix, No. LXXI.

The opinion which the public had already formed of the character of the new pontiff, was strongly expressed in the numerous inscriptions, which were displayed on the triumphal arches, and the palaces of eminent individuals. Of these, some alluded to his well-known love of peace,^(a) to the vicissitudes of his former life,^(b) to his attention to the encouragement of literature,^(c) to the acknowledged decorum of his private life and morals,^(d) to the discriminating lenity and moderation which he had already displayed,^(e) and to his disposition to promote the public happiness.^(f) Agostino Chisi, a rich merchant, from Siena, and a great promoter of the arts, adopted on this occasion an inscription, which refers with some degree of freedom to the preceding pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II.^(g)

“ Once Venus rul’d ; next Mars usurp’d the throne,
“ Now Pallas calls these favour’d seats her own.”

No sooner had Agostino displayed his device, than Antonio da S. Marano, a goldsmith in his neighbourhood,
VOL. II. Z exhibited

(a) LEONI X. PACIS RESTITUTORI FELICISSIMO.

(b) VIRTUTIS ALUMNO FORTUNÆQUE DOMATORI.

(c) LEONI X. PACIS ATQUE ARTIUM LAUDATORI.

(d) VIVE PIE, UT SOLITUS ; VIVE DIU, UT MERITUS.

(e) LEO X. PONT. MAX. VINCENDO SEIPSUM OMNIA SUPERAVIT.
SUPPLICES GENEROSE EXAUDIO—IN SUPERBOS IRAM EXERCEO.

(f) VOTA DEUM LEO UT ABSOLVAS HOMINUMQUE SECUNDES.

(g) OLIM HABUIT CYPRIS SUA TEMPORA ; TEMPORA MAVORS
OLIM HABUIT ; NUNC SUA TEMPORA PALLAS HABET.

exhibited an elegant statue of Venus, under which he inscribed, in allusion to the former lines ;(a)

“ Once Mars prevail’d; now Pallas reigns;
“ But Venus yet her power retains.”

Embassy from
Florence.

The exultation which took place at Rome on the elevation of Leo X. was most cordially re-echoed from his native city, where the Medici had now gained a complete ascendancy, and where even their enemies had relinquished their hostility, in the hopes of obtaining at length that peace and serenity to which they had so long been strangers.(b) An embassy of the most respectable inhabitants was dispatched, to congratulate the pontiff, and as it became necessary to select some person of rank and learning, to address his holiness, the choice of the citizens fell upon Bernardo Rucellai, who from his elegant historical tracts in the Latin tongue, was justly considered as another Sallust, and from the great authority which he enjoyed among his fellow-citizens, and the near connexion in which he stood to the pope, was regarded as the most proper person for that honourable office. Bernardo, however, declined the task, alleging as a reason, the infirm state of his health; but his refusal gave no small displeasure to the citizens of Florence, who suspected that his indisposition was feigned, for the purpose of excusing himself from an undertaking which did

(a) MARS FUIT; EST PALLAS; CYPRIA SEMPER ERO.

(b) Of the singular ingenuity and extraordinary splendor of the exhibitions at Florence on this occasion, a particular account is preserved by Vasari, in his life of Jacopo da Pontormo, *Vite de' Pittori*, vol. ii. p. 645. The preparation of these spectacles employed the talents of the first artists, and most distinguished scholars of the time.

did not accord with his feelings. Nor is it indeed improbable that this illustrious citizen felt an insuperable reluctance to the expressing his congratulations on an event, which he perhaps foresaw would confirm the subjugation of his country.^(a) The office of orator devolved therefore on Pietro Guicciardini, who acquitted himself with distinguished ability; and the reply of the pontiff was admired, not only for its promptitude and elegance, but for its kind and conciliatory tendency, and the assurances which he gave to his countrymen of his paternal care and regard. A deputation soon afterwards arrived from the city of Siena, and the time had been fixed upon for the introduction of the delegates to the pope. The cardinals were already met, but the delegates not making their appearance, several messengers were dispatched to hasten them. Arriving at length, they apologized for their delay, by alleging that they were Sienese, and followed the customs of Siena.^(b) Their public orator Giovan Antonio Saraceno, then began a tiresome and absurd oration, to which Leo replied, in so appropriate and jocular a stile, as to delight his attendants, without offending even the deputies themselves. In fact the pontiff possessed in an eminent degree, that versatility of talent, which accommodates itself to every occasion, and that discretion which points out the proper season to make use of it. As many other ambassadors were expected from the different states of christendom, Leo inquired from his master of the ceremonies, whether he ought on all occa-

z 2

sions

(a) *v. Life of Lor. de' Med. vol. ii. p. 152, note (c)*

(b) "Se esse Senenses & more Senensi fecisse," which some of the lively attendants on the pontiff interpreted, "Se esse fatuos et more fatuo fecisse."

Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Fabron. in vitá Leon, note 24.

sions to reply in person, or whether he might not with propriety delegate the task to another. From the researches made by that officer on this important subject, it appeared, that Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) was the first pontiff who had set the example of always answering for himself on public occasions. Paul II. was desirous of continuing this custom, but his memory frequently betrayed him. Sixtus IV. always spoke in person, and acquitted himself with credit. Innocent VIII. never attempted to deliver his sentiments in public. Whenever Julius II. was expected to make a reply, he pretended to be suddenly taken ill, and to be deprived of all memory, insomuch, that it became necessary for his master of the ceremonies to rouse him, as it were, from the dead, and to remind him of what was passing before him. The result of these inquiries was, that in a first audience it would be proper for the pope himself to reply, but in few words, and that his secretary should be ready, if it became necessary, to enter more fully into the subject. It was afterwards settled, that the pope in replying to a sovereign prince, should speak for himself, but that in replying to an ambassador, he might employ a substitute.(a)

Leo pardons
the conspira-
tors at Flo-
rence.

A very favourable opportunity of manifesting those virtues, for which he had already been so highly commended, was afforded to the new pontiff by the affairs of Florence, where the magistrates, after his departure for Rome, had proceeded in examining into the conspiracy of Boscoli and Capponi, and after having obtained from those two leaders a confession of their crimes, had sentenced them to decapitation. Of the other conspirators, Nicolo Machiavelli had been

(a) *Par. de Grass. Diar ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi. v. ii. p. 581.*

been remanded into custody at Florence, and Nicolo Valori and Giovanni Folchi, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the tower of Volterra. The crime of Valori, consisted merely in having heard one of the conspirators give some indication of his intentions, without having revealed it to the magistrates; (a) and in such a light was this offence considered, that had not the powerful influence of his nephew, Bartolommeo Valori, a zealous partizan of the Medici, been exerted in his favour, the historian of Lorenzo, the father of the pontiff, would in all probability have forfeited his life. No sooner however, was Leo seated in the pontifical chair, than his interference obtained the liberation of the prisoners; and it was conjectured that his pardon would also have been extended to the principals, had not the severity of the Florentine magistrates prevented it, by ordering them to execution immediately after the sentence was pronounced. (b) The conduct of Leo X. towards the family of Soderini, was calculated still more to increase his reputation for clemency and generosity. He well remembered his paternal maxim, that "to convert an enemy into a friend, is not less consistent with sound policy, than with true humanity." Among the members of the college, the first whom he singled out as the object of his particular kindness, was the cardinal Francesco Soderini, the brother of Pietro Soderini, the exiled Gonfaloniere of Florence. On the invitation

(a) On this occasion, one of the Florentine historians makes a homely, but striking remark, "Tanto è odioso a' governatori il poco fallire d'un delinquente, quanto al naso d'un troppo delicato padrone, il puzzo del fiato del servidore che abbia mangiato uno solo spicchio, come uno intero capo d'aglio." *Nardi. Hist. Fior. p. 160.*

(b) *Nerli, Comment. di Fir. lib. vi. p. 123.*

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A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

Recalls Soderini.

Appoints Bembo and Sadoleti his secretaries.

tation of the pope, Pietro hastened to Rome, where he met not only with protection, but favour, and where he passed the remainder of his days in an honourable independence, still retaining the title of Gonfaloniere. Nor did Leo hesitate to cement the connexion between this powerful family and his own, by the ties of affinity; and a marriage was soon afterwards celebrated between Luigi, the son of Piero Ridolfi, by his wife Contessina, the sister of the pontiff, and a niece of the Gonfaloniere.

Nor was the liberality of Leo confined merely to the forgiveness of injuries. The character which he had for many years sustained, as the promoter of letters and of arts, had occasioned a general expectation, that on his being raised to the supreme dignity, and obtaining the direction of the treasures and emoluments of the Roman see, it would be impossible for genius, worth, and talents, to remain unnoticed or unrewarded. Before he quitted the conclave on his election, he had nominated as his pontifical secretaries, Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleti, who were then in Rome, and were justly esteemed two of the first scholars of the age. The appointment, to such a confidential situation, of two men who had not risen by the indirect means of ecclesiastical intrigue, and were only known by their talents and their acquirements, gave additional hopes of that patronage to science, to literature, and the arts, which was shortly afterwards so effectually realized.^(a) Under these impressions, Rome became at once

(a) " Soleo enim quotiescumque in sermonem incido de Leone X. illud frequenter usurpare; ex omnibus rebus quas ille pontificatu suo gessit amplissimas, nullam majore laude

once the general resort of those who possessed, or had pretensions to superior learning, industry, or ability; all of whom took it for granted, that the supreme pontiff had now no other objects of attention, than to listen to their representations, to admire their productions, and to reward their labours. If their expectations were not immediately fulfilled, it may, in justice to the character of the new pontiff, be observed, that upon his elevation to his high office, his first attention was turned to objects of yet greater importance, and more suited to his dignity. From the elevated station in which he was placed, he took a comprehensive view of the whole extent of Europe; resolved, as far as lay in his power, to terminate the disgraceful contests that subsisted among the Christian princes, and to exercise his authority, as head of the Christian church, in promoting the repose and happiness of those whom he considered as committed to his care. Even before his coronation, he addressed a letter to Sigismond, king of Poland, who was then meditating a formidable attack upon Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, entreating him to suspend hostilities until a legate should arrive from Rome, who might endeavour to reconcile their dissensions, without having recourse to the sword. In this letter he avows his intention of labouring to maintain the repose of Europe, for which purpose, he had resolved to send as his legates, to every nation, men of high rank and authority ;(a) and expresses his strong sense of
of

Leo resolves to establish the peace of Europe.

“ laude ac predicatione dignam extitisse, quam quod Petrum Bembum & Jacobum Sadoletum duo illa eloquentiæ lumina, sibi a secretis asciverit.”

Hier. Niger, Ep. ad Paul. Rhamnus. in Ep. Sadolet. App. p. 138.

(a) “ Decrevi enim meos legatos, magnos viros, ad plurimas quamprimum nationes mittere,” &c. *Bembi, Epist. nom. Leon. x. lib. i. Ep. v. ante coronationem.*

of the folly and wickedness of those destructive quarrels which had so long disgraced and depopulated the Christian world.^(a)

Louis XII. intends to attack the Milanese.

At this time, the expulsion of the French from Italy had given a momentary repose to that unhappy country, and the union, formed by Julius II. between the emperor elect Maximilian, the kings of Aragon, and of England, the Venetians, and the church, by which that event had been accomplished, seemed to secure the general tranquillity. Louis XII. was, however, too ambitious, and too powerful a prince, to suffer himself to be deterred from the prosecution of his claims on the duchy of Milan, by the unfortunate events which had conspired to frustrate the acknowledged successes of his arms; and at the very time when Leo assumed the pontifical chair, that monarch was exerting all his influence to compose the dissensions which subsisted between himself and Henry VIII. of England, and to terminate the disputes in which he was involved with the emperor elect, that he might be enabled to devote his attention and resources towards this, his favorite object. Unsuccessful in these negotiations, he endeavoured to obviate the opposition which he had hitherto experienced from the holy see. The death of Julius II. who had been the soul of the league, had released him from an implacable enemy, and afforded him hopes that his successor might be more favourable to his views; and these hopes were, perhaps, encouraged by a declaration which the pope had taken
occasion

(a) The conciliatory disposition evinced by the pontiff, in the commencement of his pontificate, is pointedly referred to by Guido Postumo, in his elegiac address to the *Manes* of Alexander VI. and Julius II. *v. App. No. LXXII.*

occasion to make, "that he would not attempt any thing
 " against the French monarch." (a) With these expecta-
 tions Louis XII. addressed himself to Giuliano de' Medici,
 then at Florence, professing the most earnest desire of
 promoting his interest, and his joy on the elevation of
 his brother to the pontifical throne. At the same time he
 expressed his hopes, that the pope would not oppose his
 designs upon Milan; in which case he would not pursue
 his conquests further, and would make Leo himself the
 arbiter of the terms of peace. (b) These proposals were
 immediately forwarded to Rome by Giuliano, who, at-
 tentive rather to the personal obligations which during his
 exile he had contracted to Louis XII. and to the promises
 contained in his letters, than to the political consequences
 of the measure, earnestly entreated the pontiff to enter
 into the proposed alliance. The reply of the pope to his
 brother, which was doubtless intended to be communi-
 cated to Louis XII. whilst it further manifests his earnest
 wishes to maintain the repose of Italy, indisputably proves,
 that he was well aware of the ambitious projects of the
 king, and was by no means inclined to promote them. (c)
 Louis was not however to be deterred by the coldness,
 or the enmity of the pope; who, notwithstanding the
 conciliatory tenor of his letter, had made no offer to re-
 lieve him from the sentence of excommunication pro-
 nounced against him by Julius II. He therefore redoubled
 his exertions with the other parties to the league, and at
 length

VOL. II.

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length

(a) " Se nolle aliquid contra regem Franciæ attentare."

Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Not. & Extr. des MSS. du Roi, ii. 580.

(b) *Guicciard. lib. xi. v. ii. p. 36.*

(c) This letter is given in the Appendix, No. LXXIII.

length prevailed upon Ferdinand of Aragon to agree to a cessation of arms for one year. The king of England, and the emperor elect, were also introduced as contracting parties in this treaty; but circumstances occurred which effectually prevented their assenting to it.(a)

Treaty of Blois.

The efforts of Louis XII. to engage the Venetians in his interests, were however more decidedly successful. By a versatility, which in other times would have appeared extraordinary, these republicans deserted their allies, who had saved them from destruction, and entered into a treaty with the king, for assisting him in the recovery of Milan, and for ascertaining the limits of their respective territories. This treaty was concluded at Blois, on the thirteenth day of March, and was subscribed on the part of the senate, by Andrea Gritti, who had been carried a prisoner into France. It purported to be an offensive and defensive league between the contracting powers. The Cremonese, with the district of Ghiaradadda, were to be annexed to the state of Milan; but the cities of Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, were again to submit to the authority of the senate.(b) Among the Italian prisoners in France, who were now restored to liberty, was Bartolommeo d'Alviano,

(a) This treaty, which bears date the 1st. of April, 1513, is given in Rymer. *Fœdera. vi. par. i. p. 40.* The names of the king of England, and of the emperor elect, were inserted wholly without their knowledge, and it must have appeared, as Guicciardini observes, highly ridiculous, that on the very day that it was published in Spain, a herald arrived from Henry VIII. to announce his hostile preparations against France, and to require the assistance of Ferdinand, under his prior engagement for that purpose. *Guicciard. lib. xi. v. ii. p. 34.*

(b) This treaty, called the treaty of Blois, was confirmed at Venice, on the 11th of April, 1513. It is given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom. ii. 2005,* and in the collection of Dumont, *vol. iv. par. i. p. 182.*

ano,^(a) who immediately repaired to Venice, to justify himself from the imputations under which he laboured, on account of the unfortunate battle of Ghiaradadda, the loss of which he attributed to the misconduct of the count of Pitigliano. The dead warrior could not refute the charge, and d'Alviano was again appointed to the chief command of the Venetian troops.

The preparations making by Louis XII. and the Venetian states, were observed by Leo X. with the greatest anxiety. Besides his uniform desire of maintaining the public tranquillity, various motives concurred in rendering these proceedings highly obnoxious to him. By the first visit of the French into Italy, he and his family had been expelled from their native place, and compelled to wander as fugitives for the long space of eighteen years. The adherence of the Florentines to the interests of France, during this period, had given rise to a spirit of party, by which the cause of the French, and that of the Medici, were habitually regarded as hostile to each other. Nor could Leo so soon forget the unfortunate day of Ravenna, when he was made a prisoner by the French arms, and was indebted for his liberty, not to the generosity of his conquerors, but to his own good fortune. To these personal motives of opposition, might be added, the apprehensions entertained by the pope, that by the success of the French in Milan, the Roman see would again be divested of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, which

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after

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

Leo endeavours
to dissuade
Louis XII.
from attack-
ing Milan.

(a) Leo, not being yet apprized of the motive of the king in restoring d'Alviano to liberty, wrote to him in commendation of his generosity towards this celebrated commander, of whom he expresses himself in terms of high approbation and esteem. *v. App. No. LXXIV.*

after having been added by the vigilance of Julius II. to the dominions of the church, were immediately on the death of that pontiff restored by the viceroy Cardona to the duke of Milan, and by him again surrendered to Leo X. (a) For these reasons, Leo determined to exert all the means in his power, either to prevent the expedition of the king, or to frustrate its success. On the first rumour of the treaty of Blois, he dispatched a messenger to his legate, Pietro da Bibbiena, directing him to express to the Venetian senate his confidence, that they would not engage in any measure of importance, without first consulting him as their ally. He also addressed himself by letter to Louis XII. who had communicated to him the terms of the treaty concluded with Ferdinand of Aragon; assuring him that nothing could be more agreeable to his disposition, than to see the princes of christendom united in bonds of amity, but expressing at the same time his regret, that the French monarch had avowed his intention of again attacking the state of Milan. He justly reminds him, that instead of relinquishing hostilities, this is only transferring his arms to another object; and earnestly exhorts him not to interrupt again the repose of Italy; but to spare that unhappy country a repetition of those calamities, which she had experienced for such a series of years. (b) This letter the pontiff dispatched by a confidential servant named Cinthio, the

(a) " Si prevalse il papa di questi rumori, per far paura a Massimiliano, Duca di Milano, tanto che ottenne di ricavare dalle sue mani Parma e Piacenza. Il che fatto, non piacendo ad esso pontifice la venuta de' Francesi cominciò segretamente a muovere con danari gli Svizzeri al soccorso del duca di Milano." *Murat. Annal. v. x. p. 95.* and *v. Bull of Leo x. Lünig, Cod. Ital. Diplom. v. li. p. 802.*

(b) The letter is given in the Appendix, No. LXXV.

the object of whose mission has been grossly misrepresented by some authors; who conceive, that they are displaying their own talents, in accounting for the conduct of others, by attributing it to indirect and culpable motives. (a)

Confiding however but little in these representations, Leo had already begun to adopt such measures, as he thought would be most effectual, for preserving Italy from another conflagration. To this end, he had endeavoured to prevail upon the emperor elect Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Aragon, to unite with him in a general opposition to the French king. The cold and deliberating policy of Ferdinand, and the weak and versatile temper of Maximilian, might have frustrated the hopes of the pontiff; but their reluctance, or inability, was amply compensated by the introduction of another ally, whose youth, disposition, and resources, were well calculated to render him an object of alarm to the French monarch. This was Henry VIII. of England, who had succeeded to the crown in the year 1509, and being now in the vigour of life, burnt with an ambitious

Opposes Louis XII. and forms the treaty of Mechlin.

(a) Guicciardini only informs us, that the pope sent to the king "*Cinthio*, suo familiare, con una lettera con *umane commessioni*, ma tanto generali che arguivano non avere l'animo inclinato a lui." *lib. xi. v. ii. p. 37.* which sufficiently agrees with the tenor of the letter as yet preserved. But the author of the *Ligue de Cambray*, informs us, that the envoy of the pope, "assura le Roi de la part du pape, que sa Sainteté étoit l'héritier des sentiments respectueux de la maison de Médicis pour la couronne de France; que son père Laurent n'avoit eu, ni plus d'inclination, ni plus de vénération, que lui, pour les Rois tres Chrêtiens; mais que Pape depuis un mois, *il ne pouvoit pas rompre en un jour les engagements solennels où son predecesseur avoit jetté le Saint Siège. Que son intention étoit bien de changer de parti, et de se ranger du côté du Roi; mais qu'une pareille révolution étoit un ouvrage de longue haleine pour un Souverain électif, &c.*" *Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. tom. ii. 284.* If Leo had not more honesty, he had certainly more good sense, than to disgrace himself by language of this nature; which can only serve to amuse those who read history as a romance.

ambitious desire of emulating the conquests of his ancestors, by a descent upon France. The immense wealth accumulated by his predecessors, and which he retained to his own use, whilst he sacrificed to the popular fury the unhappy wretches who had been the instruments of extorting it, enabled him not only to raise a powerful army, but to subsidize his continental allies; and the spirit of the people, recovering from its state of inactive torpor, earnestly sought for an opportunity of exertion and of danger. Under these circumstances, the pope, who had already endeavoured to secure the favour and friendship of Henry, (a) found no great difficulty in engaging him to unite with the emperor elect, the king of Aragon, and himself, in a league against France, which was concluded and signed at Mechlin, then the residence of the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, on the fifth day of April, 1513, and by which they agreed to unite together for the defence of the church, and to attack the kingdom of France within two months, in such provinces as are particularly specified in the treaty. As the emperor elect could only be induced to lend his name to this alliance by a considerable bribe, Henry undertook to pay him one hundred thousand crowns; thirty-five thousand of which were to be paid within one month after Maximilian declared war against Louis XII. as much more when he appeared, by himself or his commanders, in actual arms against him, and the remainder within three months from the commencement of the war. (b) The English historians have considered Henry as

(a) v. The letter from Leo X. to Henry VIII. in Appendix No. LXXVI.

(b) v. *Appunctuamenta cum Leone papa, pro defensione Ecclesiæ.* Rymer. *Fœdera*, vol. vi. par. i. p. 41. Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, vol. iv. par. i. p. 173.

as the dupe of his pretended allies in this transaction; and it is certain, that Ferdinand of Aragon carefully concealed from him the truce which he had lately entered into for a year with Louis XII. and which he intended either to adhere to, or to violate, as might best suit his future views. (a)

The efforts thus made by Leo X. for the defence of Milan, were but ill seconded by Maximilian Sforza, who inherited not either the warlike spirit, or the political sagacity by which many of his ancestors had been distinguished. (b) Neither endowed by nature, nor supplied by education, with those qualities which might attach the affection, or command the respect of his subjects, he was unfortunately placed in a situation in which his public measures required a degree of indulgence, seldom conceded without murmurs, even to the most favourite rulers. In order to gratify the Swiss mercenaries, by whose aid he had been raised to the chief authority, he had been obliged to have recourse to oppressive taxations; and the dissatisfaction to which these gave rise, was increased by the measures necessary to be adopted for the defence of his dominions. Disgusted with their new sovereign, whose personal appearance too well corresponded with the imbecility of his mind, the inhabitants of Milan looked with a favourable eye towards the approaching contest. The presence and activity of Prospero Colonna, whom Leo had dispatched to the assistance of the duke, compensated, however, in a great degree for his defects; but the principal reliance of the pontiff was on the courage

Leo subsidizes
the Swiss.

(a) *Rapin*, book xv. v. i. p. 720.

(b) *Campo*, *Cremona fedelissima*, p. 104.

rage of a large body of Swiss mercenaries, whose friendship and support he had effectually secured, by continuing to them the stipends agreed to be paid by Julius II. Of these auxiliaries, five thousand had already made their appearance, in the district of Tortona, where they expected to be joined by the viceroy Cardona, at the head of the Spanish troops. In this they were, however, disappointed; the Spanish general having, under various pretexts, kept aloof from the probable scene of action. The Swiss, not discouraged by the indecision of their supposed ally, and expecting numerous reinforcements of their own countrymen, hesitated not to take upon themselves the defence of the Milanese; and Maximilian Sforza, quitting his capital, raised his standard in the midst of them, and prepared to repel the threatened invasion.(a)

Louis XII. attacks the states of Milan.

The French army designed for this expedition, consisting of fifteen hundred men at arms, eight hundred light horse, and fourteen thousand foot, among whom were the celebrated *bandes noires*,(b) was commanded by the duke de la Tremouille, assisted by the Italian general Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, marshal of France. Descending from Susa into Lombardy, these commanders possessed themselves, without opposition, of Asti and of Alessandria. The adherents of the French in Milan, availing themselves of the absence of the duke, again avowed their partiality to Louis XII. and introduced into the citadel, which was yet held by a French garrison, additional troops and plentiful supplies of provisions. About the same time, the French fleet arrived before

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. v. ii. p. 39.

(b) Ligue de Cambray, ii. 283. Murat. *Annal. d'Italia* x. 95.

fore Genoa, where a popular commotion also took place, and the Milanese governor, Giano Fregoso, with difficulty effected his escape. Whilst the arms of Louis XII. were thus successful, both by sea and land, his allies, the Venetians, were not inactive. (a) Bartolommeo d'Alviano, at the head of a well-appointed army of twelve thousand men, attacked the city of Cremona, from which he expelled the Milanese general, Cesare Fieramosca, and reinforced the citadel, which was still in the hands of the French. Bergamo soon opened her gates, and raised the banner of St. Mark; Brescia followed the example; and the Spaniards, who had occupied that city, were compelled to take shelter in the castle. Every thing, in short, announced the sudden and favourable termination of a war, begun, on the part of the assailants, with equal unanimity, vigour, and success.

In the mean time, Leo, on whose assistance the duke of Milan principally relied for his defence against these powerful adversaries, was not idle. He could not, indeed, send to his aid a military force equal to the urgency of the occasion; but he immediately dispatched Girolamo Morone, the Milanese envoy at the Roman court, with forty-two thousand ducats, as the arrears of the stipend due to the Swiss, for the protection so faithfully and effectually offered by them to the church and her allies. (b) The viceroy, Cardona, who had probably received directions from his master not to infringe the truce, so lately entered into by him

Battle of Novara.

(a) *Murat. Annali d' Ital.* x. 96.

(b) *Guicciard. lib. xi. v. ii. p.* 39.

for one year, with Louis XII. had quitted his encampment on the Trebbia, to return to Naples, and leave the Milanese to its fate; but the intelligence of this timely supply of money, and of the arrival of a large additional body of Swiss troops, induced him to change his purpose, and return to his former station. The whole of the Milanese was now in the possession of the French, except Como and Novara, which still retained their allegiance to the duke, who had retired to the latter of these places, accompanied by his Swiss auxiliaries. His sensations could not, however, be of the most agreeable kind, when he recollected, that at this very place his father had, a few years before, been betrayed, by the same people in whom he now confided, to the marshal Trivulzio, the very man who was now pressing forward to besiege the place; and it is averred, that Trivulzio was, in fact, so confident of a similar event, that he wrote to Louis XII. assuring him that he would deliver up this duke into his hands, as he had before done his predecessor; an assurance which led to a conjecture, that he had also employed the same means for that purpose.^(a) Elated with their success, the French forces commenced the siege of Novara, which they attacked with a formidable train of artillery. On the other hand, the Swiss, although as yet much inferior in number, were so far from betraying any symptoms of apprehension, that they threw open the gates, and afforded their adversaries an opportunity of entering the place, of which they did not choose to avail themselves. At this critical juncture, another

^(a) Even the author of the *Ligue de Cambray*, though always jealous of the honour of his countrymen, admits that the French commander Tremouille, "avoit une pratique," with the Swiss, *liv. iv. v. ii. p. 299.*

another large body of Swiss arrived, and approached the besieged city, the information of which circumstance no sooner reached the French commander, than he retired from before the place, and encamped at the Riotta, about two miles distant. The Swiss reinforcements, under the command of their general Mottino, entered the town of Novara, and on a deliberation, which immediately took place among the leaders, it was resolved to proceed to the attack of the French, without waiting for the arrival of the baron of Halle Saxony, their commander in chief, who was shortly expected with an additional body of troops. Soon after midnight, on the sixth day of June, 1513, the Swiss troops accordingly quitted the city. Without artillery, without cavalry, and greatly inferior in numbers, they furiously assaulted the French in their intrenchments, before break of day. Though not prepared for instantaneous action, the French had not been inattentive to their defence, and an engagement ensued, which was supported on both sides with equal courage, for several hours. The artillery of the French being brought to bear upon the assailants, thinned their numbers, and disordered their line; but nothing could resist the impetuosity and courage of the Swiss, who conceiving themselves to be contending for glory with the German mercenaries in the pay of the French king, repeated their attack with fresh ardour, until at length they possessed themselves of the artillery, and turned it against its former masters. This event effectually decided the fortune of the day. The rout of the French became general. The cavalry led the way in the retreat. All the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the conquerors. It was expected that the French would have rallied their troops in Piedmont, and returned again to the charge; but

notwithstanding the remonstrances of Trivulzio, they again crossed the Alps, leaving their conquests in Milan, and their allies, the Venetians, to the mercy of their enemies. The Swiss returned in triumph to Novara, elated with a victory which may be compared, with regard to the magnanimity of the attempt, the courage of its execution, and its decisive consequences, with any action in the records of either ancient or modern times. (a)

Robert de la
Marck.

Brilliant however as was the success of the Swiss on this occasion, it was not obtained without great sacrifices. Of ten thousand men who left Novara, about one half were left dead on the field, among whom was their gallant commander Mottino; but the loss of the French was still greater, and has been estimated by the joint consent of the French and Italian historians, at eight thousand men. These historians, although discordant in many other points, respecting this remarkable contest, have joined in commemorating a noble instance of heroic courage and paternal affection in Robert de la Marck; who at the head of a body of cavalry, pierced through the Swiss ranks, and liberated his two sons who had been wounded and made prisoners. The apology of the French writers for the loss of this memorable day is, that their cavalry, from the situation of the place, or the misconduct of Trivulzio, could not be brought into action; but if the love of glory had been as powerful in them, as the love of his children in Robert de la

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. *Ligue de Cambr.* ii. 300, &c. The latter author has laboured to throw the ignominy of this defeat on the Italian leader Trivulzio, but the reasons which he adduces are by no means satisfactory.

Leo recom-
mends leni-
ent measures
to the con-
querors.

la Marek, it is evident that the difficulties of their position would have been readily surmounted.

As this signal victory, and the consequent expulsion of the French from Milan, were wholly to be attributed to the Swiss, who had been engaged in the cause by the precaution and liberality of Leo X. these events reflected great honour on that pontiff. His apprehensions from the irruption of the French being now removed, he did not hesitate to express to his brave auxiliaries in a public letter, the satisfaction which he had received from their services.^(a) In this letter he professes to lament, no less from the humanity of his own disposition, than from his duty as the common parent of christendom, the dreadful slaughter which had taken place; but he rejoices, that they who had vexed the spouse of God, and attempted to rend that garment not made by hands, and by which they had subjected themselves to the anathema of the church, had received the just reward of their demerits. He then avows his high regard for his courageous allies, entreating them not to credit the representations of those who insinuate, that as soon as peace shall be restored, he shall disregard their favour and their services, and assuring them, that as long as they may choose to continue their alliance with him, he will strictly adhere to its stipulations. On the same occasion, he addressed a congratulatory letter to Maximilian duke of Milan,^(b) in which he admonishes him not only to return due thanks to God for so signal an interposition

^(a) v. Appendix, No. LXXVII.

^(b) v. Appendix, No. LXXVIII.

sition in his favour, but to shew himself worthy of it by his future conduct, "This," says he, "will be most effectually done, by your not allowing yourself to be too much elated with your success, and by your avoiding to persecute or destroy those who have been induced to oppose you. Let me therefore most earnestly entreat you, by the affection which I bear you, to deal kindly with them; and if any have erred (as has perhaps been the case with many) to consider them rather as objects of pardon than of resentment. By these means you will conciliate the minds of those who have been alienated from you, without incurring any diminution of your authority; and I trust you will therefore make a moderate and lenient use of your victory." To the same effect Leo also wrote to the viceroy Cardona,^(a) requesting him to interpose his kind offices with Maximilian, "to prevent his treating with severity any of his subjects, and to represent to him, that as on the one hand there was nothing more becoming a prince than placability, lenity, and compassion; so on the contrary there was nothing more detestable than cruelty, wrath, and resentment." As the enforcing these truly wise and generous maxims is the chief topic of the letters referred to, we may justly conclude, that the pontiff sincerely felt the humane sentiments which he has there expressed; and this opinion is indeed confirmed by several subsequent letters, in which he exhorts the conquerors not to treat with severity the neighbouring and subordinate sovereigns, who had been obliged to espouse the cause of the French, and especially recommends to

(a) v. Appendix, No. LXXIX.

to their lenity the family of Pallavicini, and William, marquis of Montferrat.(a)

The Venetian general d'Alviano had, prior to the battle of Novara, advanced as far as Lodi, intending to join the French; but Cardona, although he had before shewn no great alacrity, interposed on this occasion to prevent this junction.(b) No sooner was the event of that contest known, than d'Alviano, abandoning his former intention, demolished the bridge on the Adda, and retreated to Padua, where he strongly fortified himself. The inhabitants of Milan, thus decidedly left to the mercy of their sovereign, sent deputies to entreat his forgiveness, and in order to prove the sincerity of their contrition, they put to the sword all the French in Milan, excepting only a few who had the good fortune to obtain shelter in the citadel, which was still held by their countrymen. The other cities of the Milanese adopted a similar measure, and three hundred Gascons, who remained in Pavia, fell a sacrifice to the cowardice and the fears, rather than to the resentment of the populace. The city of Genoa yet acknowledged the authority of Louis XII. but Cardona, desirous of making reparation for his apparent inactivity, dispatched Ferdinando Davalos, marquis of Pescara, at the head of four hundred horse, and three thousand foot, with which he possessed himself of the place; and having expelled Antoniello Adorno, the French Governor, appointed to the office of Doge, Ottaviano Fregoso, who had accompanied him on this expedition, and who
liberally

(a) *Bemb. Epist. nom. Leon x. lib. iii. Ep. 3, 4.*

(b) *Murator. Annali d'Ital. v. x. p. 98. &c*

liberally rewarded his services by a heavy contribution raised from the inhabitants.

Whilst these transactions occurred in Italy, Henry VIII. in strict performance of the treaty of Mechlin, passed, in the month of June 1513, over to Calais, with a powerful body of troops. The earl of Shrewsbury, who had preceded him, had already effected a landing, and laid siege to Terouenne. Henry expected to have been joined, according to the terms of the treaty, by a strong reinforcement from the emperor elect Maximilian; but that mean and crafty sovereign, in order to entitle himself to the payment of the subsidy, which Henry had agreed to advance on his appearing in arms against the French king, came in person to the English camp, and offered his services to Henry as a volunteer in his army. The pride of the English monarch was gratified, in having an emperor in his service. He assigned to him a subordinate command in the British army, and Maximilian thought it no disgrace to receive under the name of his wages, one hundred crowns per day.(a)

The approach of the French army, under the command of the duke de Longueville, to the relief of Terouenne, brought on the memorable engagement of Guingaste, usually called the battle of the spurs, from its having been said, that the French made more use of those implements, than of their swords on that occasion.(b) The consequent

(a) *Rapin's Hist. book xv. i. 722.*

(b) *August 16, 1513. Rapin's Hist. book xv. i. 722. Hume, chap. xxvii.*



consequent fall of Terouenne, was soon followed by that of the important city of Tournay. The former of these places Henry gave to Maximilian, who razed its foundations, and Terouenne has since been blotted from the map of Europe. The latter he retained under his own authority, but as the bishoprick was then vacant, he conferred it, with its episcopal revenues, which amounted to a considerable sum, on his new favourite, Wolsey, who had attended him on this expedition.(a)

Whilst Henry was thus carrying his victorious arms into France, he received information of the most alarming nature, respecting the safety of his own dominions. James IV. of Scotland, who had married Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII.(b) availing himself of the absence of his brother-in-law, and prevailed upon by the representations of the French envoy, to unite his arms with those of Louis XII. assembled an army which has been said to have consisted of one hundred thousand men, but which probably was composed of somewhat more than half that number. He then sent a herald to Henry, to acquaint him with the reasons of his hostile preparations, the chief of which was to compel him to relinquish the war with France. The answer of Henry, written before Terouenne, was a defiance and a threat.(c) He informed him, that he was not surprised

The king of
Scotland at-
tacks Eng-
land.

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C C

surprised

(a) The manner in which the intelligence of this victory was received at the court of Rome, appears, by a letter from the cardinal of York, to Henry VIII. v Appendix, No. LXXX.

(b) It was on the occasion of this marriage, which finally produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms, that Dunbar wrote his celebrated poem of *the Thistle and the Rose*. v. *Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, ii. 257.

(c) *Rapin's Hist. book xv. i. 724.*

surprised to find him breaking the treaty between them upon frivolous pretences, since he thereby imitated the example of his ancestors. He upbraided James, that whilst he knew him to be in England, he had never avowed an intention of espousing the cause of France, but had waited for his absence to carry his treacherous purpose into execution. He assured him, however, that being perfectly aware of his character, he had taken such measures before his departure for the defence of his kingdom, as he did not doubt, would, with the help of God, frustrate the endeavours of all schismatics, excommunicated by the pope and the council of the Lateran. James did not, however, wait for this answer; but entering Northumberland, in the month of August, 1513, possessed himself of several places of strength. The earl of Surrey, then in Yorkshire, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, marched to oppose his progress, and the contest was decided on the ninth day of September, by the memorable battle of Flodden, in which the flower of the Scottish nobility, and many dignified ecclesiastics, with eight or ten thousand soldiers, lost their lives. *(a)* The loss of the English on this occasion, was upwards of five thousand men; but among them were few persons of distinction. James IV. was never seen after the battle. The English supposed they had found his body amidst a heap of slain; *(b)* and although the Scots denied

(a) On the part of the Scots, there fell, besides the king, an archbishop, two bishops, four abbots, twelve earls, and seventeen barons, with eight or ten thousand common soldiers. *Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p. 18.*

(b) His body was inclosed in a coffin of lead, and conveyed to London; but as James died excommunicate, it could not be buried without a dispensation from the pope, which

denied it, yet they were never afterwards able to discover their unfortunate monarch. The intelligence of these important successes no sooner arrived at Rome, than Leo addressed the following letter to Henry VIII. who yet remained in France.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A Pont. I.

LEO X. TO HENRY VIII. KING OF ENGLAND.(a)

“ The perusal of your letters, in which you inform
 “ me of your victory over the French, and your conquests
 “ in that kingdom, have afforded me great pleasure; as
 “ well on account of my paternal kindness for you, as
 “ from the importance of your achievements. I give
 “ thanks to God, that he has favoured the exertions of
 “ those who have taken up arms for the pious and com-
 “ mendable purpose of supporting the cause of his church.
 “ It is true, I had previously considered as certain, the
 “ event which has now occurred; for when I knew, that
 “ in preparing for this attack, you had the advantages of
 “ prudent councils, immense wealth, and numerous and
 “ courageous troops; that you had also the advice of the
 “ emperor elect Maximilian, and above all, that you were
 “ engaged in defending the cause of God, I had sufficient
 “ reason to hope for that success which has attended your
 “ arms. But whilst I was expressing my joy on this
 “ occasion to your ambassadors, and intended to congra-
 “ tulate you upon such an event, I received your further
 “ letters,

Congratulatory
 letter of Leo
 X. to Henry
 VIII.

c c 2

which, at the request of Henry VIII. Leo granted, under the pretext, that James had, in his last moments, shewn some signs of contrition, such as his circumstances would admit of. *Rymer. Fœdera. vol. vi. par. i. p. 53.*

(a) Appendix, No. LXXXI.

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

“ letters, informing me of another, and a much more im-
 “ portant victory, obtained over James, king of Scotland;
 “ who having attempted to invade your dominions, has
 “ been defeated with the loss of his life, and that of many
 “ of his nobility, and the slaughter or captivity of a great
 “ part of his troops. Thus a few days have decided a
 “ most cruel and dangerous war. On receiving this infor-
 “ mation, although it was certainly very painful to me to
 “ hear of such an effusion of christian blood, the destruc-
 “ tion of so many thousands of the people of our com-
 “ mon Lord, and the death of a Christian king of great
 “ fame, and undoubted courage, the husband of your sis-
 “ ter, who has fallen under the sword of a Christian king,
 “ so nearly allied to him; yet I could not but rejoice in
 “ this victory over an enemy, who sought to deter you
 “ from the prosecution of the commendable cause in which
 “ you are now engaged. On this account, I have already,
 “ on my knees, offered up my thanks to God, who has
 “ thus crowned your arms with a double victory, and
 “ laid the foundation of that future glory which you have
 “ so well begun, in undertaking at so early a period of
 “ life the defence of his church. On your part, it will be
 “ proper that you should reflect, that all this is his gift, and
 “ not the result of human aid. Nor will he refuse to recom-
 “ pense your virtues with much greater honours and re-
 “ wards, provided that you acknowledge your dependance
 “ upon him, with that humility which such an occasion
 “ requires. If this be done, it is not only highly probable
 “ that the contest in which you are now engaged, will
 “ have a happy termination, but that he will also in
 “ future prepare the way through which you may pass,
 “ and by great achievements consecrate your name to im-
 “ mortality.

" mortality. This event will take place, if you pro-
 " pose to yourself the termination of your differences
 " with your present enemies, and apply yourself to
 " humble the pride, and subdue the ferocity of the Turks.
 " Even in the situation in which we now stand, there is no
 " great time allowed for deliberation. Already the king-
 " doms of Hungary, and Bohemia, are harrassed and de-
 " populated by their incursions; whilst Italy herself, by
 " the loss of many strong places on her frontiers, sees
 " these barbarians approaching still nearer; an alarming
 " and a melancholy spectacle! These dangers, if I may be
 " allowed openly to express my feelings, keep me in ap-
 " prehension and solicitude, and deprive me in a great
 " degree of the satisfaction which I should otherwise ex-
 " perience. I offer up, however, my prayers to God, that
 " as the dignity of his church, of late so greatly impaired,
 " has now been so happily restored by the efforts of those
 " whose duty it is to assert her cause, he will at length
 " place his shrines and temples in security from that con-
 " flagration, and the people devoted to his service from
 " those chains, with which they are threatened by his ir-
 " reconcilable enemies. On all these subjects, I have, how-
 " ever, spoken more fully to your ambassador, the bishop
 " of Worcester, who will explain to you yet more par-
 " ticularly my wishes. *Dated 5 Id. Oct. 1513.*"

A. D. 1513.

A. Et. 38.

A. Pont. 1.

From the purport of this letter it is not difficult to perceive,
 that however much the pope was gratified by the success
 of the English monarch, it was by no means his wish that
 he should prosecute his victories. In fact, Leo had already,
 by the defeat of the French, and their consequent expulsion
 from Milan, obtained the object which had induced him
 to

Treaty of Dijon.

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

to take a share in the contest; but besides these decisive events, other circumstances had occurred, which induced the pope to relax in his hostility against the French monarch. A body of fifteen thousand Swiss had made an irruption into the territories of France, where they had carried terror and consternation through the country, and having besieged Dijon, had compelled the duke de Tremouille, who had shut himself up in that fortress, to a most disgraceful capitulation; by which he agreed, that his sovereign should, in consideration of the retreat of the Swiss, relinquish all pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and should pay them the enormous sum of six hundred thousand crowns; twenty thousand of which he immediately advanced to them. The apprehensions which the pope had entertained for the safety of Italy, were therefore for the present sufficiently allayed. It is not improbable that Henry allowed himself to be prevailed upon by the letter of the pope, to relax in his hostilities, for he soon afterwards withdrew his armies, and on the seventeenth day of October, left Lisle, and arrived on the twenty-fourth at his palace at Richmond.

Battle of Vi-
cenza.

Nor did Leo relinquish his endeavours to reconcile the differences which had so long subsisted between the Venetians and the emperor elect; but finding that the senate continued to disregard his earnest recommendations, and being called upon by Maximilian to fulfil the treaty formed with Julius II. by a supply of troops, he dispatched a body of two hundred men at arms, and two thousand horse, to the assistance of his allies. Attacked at the same time by the emperor elect, the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Milan, and threatened by the Swiss, who were at once the conquerors

conquerors of the French, and the terror of Italy, the Venetians had now no resource but in the courage of their troops, and the talents of their commanders. The first attack of the allied army, under the command of Cardona, was directed against the city of Padua, but the great extent and strength of the place, and the number and courage of the troops employed, under d'Alviano, in its defence, frustrated the efforts of the allies, and after ten days ineffectually employed in its vicinity, they were obliged to retire to Vicenza. Unable to dislodge the Venetians from Padua, they resolved to plunder the fertile territories in the vicinity of the Brenta, which intention they carried into execution with circumstances of peculiar enormity, continuing their excursions along the Adriatic coast, whence they even discharged their artillery against the city of Venice, to the no small vexation and terror of the inhabitants.^(a) These measures induced d'Alviano to take the field, in the hopes of cutting off their retreat. He was accompanied by the Venetian commissaries, Andrea Gritti and Andrea Lore-dano. By a judicious arrangement on the banks of the Brenta and the Bachiglione, he had already reduced the allied army to great straits. The commissaries were earnest with him to persevere in a system which would subdue their enemies by famine; but the impetuosity of d'Alviano was not to be restrained; and on the seventh day of October, an engagement took place, about three miles from Vicenza, which was not less obstinate and bloody, in proportion to the number of the combatants, than any that Italy had before seen. The attack of the allies was led by Prospero

^(a) Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, v. x. p. 102.

Prospero Colonna and Ferdinando Dávalos. For some time, the victory remained doubtful; but the Venetians were at length obliged to yield, if not to the courage, to the superior numbers of their opponents, with the loss in killed and prisoners, of about five thousand men. Among the latter, were the Venetian admiral, Gian-Paolo Baglioni, and Andrea Loredano, one of the legates of the camp, who afterwards lost his life in a contest among the allies, to determine which of them should hold him in custody. All the baggage and artillery of the Venetians fell into the hands of their enemies, who returned the same evening in triumph to Vicenza.(a)

The emperor elect and Venetians, submit their differences to Leo X.

These hardy republicans, who had thus a second time braved the united attack of the principal powers of Europe, were not, however, yet subdued. The efforts of their commander, Renzo da Ceri, who had possessed himself of the strong city of Crema, where he not only defended himself against the army of the allies, under Prospero Colonna, but frequently made excursions, and plundered his enemies of the contributions which they had raised in the adjacent districts, prevented the Venetians from being wholly deprived of their continental possessions. Their situation was, however, such as would not admit of further hazard; and they therefore at length listened to the admonitions of the pope, and expressed their willingness to submit to him the decision of their differences with the emperor elect.(b)

The

(a) Muratori, *Annali d'Ital.* x. 103.

(b) The instrument of submission is preserved by Lünig. *Cod. Ital. Diplom.* tom ii. p. 2010, &c. et v. Jovius, *in vita Leon* x. lib. iii. p. 64. Guicciard. lib. xi. et Bembi *Epist. nom. Leon.* x.

The cardinal of Gurck, to whom Maximilian had intrusted the direction of his army, now took upon himself the more pacific office of his ambassador, and hastened to Rome to negotiate the proposed treaty; which was however long protracted by the difficulties which Leo and his ministers experienced, in satisfying the avarice and ambition of this martial ecclesiastic.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

On the restoration of Maximilian Sforza to the duchy of Milan, the cardinals in the interests of Louis XII. had removed their assembly, which they dignified by the name of a council, to Asti, from which place they were soon afterwards obliged to retire for safety to Lyons. For the purpose of frustrating their proceedings, which threatened no less than a total schism in the christian church, and of effecting such salutary regulations in point of discipline, as might deprive the pretended council of any necessity of interfering on that head, Leo determined to renew the meetings of the council of the Lateran, which had been opened by Julius II. and suspended only by his death. To this end, he gave directions that apartments should be prepared for him in the Lateran palace, where he determined to reside, that he might at all times be ready to attend the deliberations in person; and on the twenty-seventh day of April, 1513,^(a) he accordingly opened the sixth session with great magnificence. If the number and respectability of the dignified ecclesiastics who were present on this occasion, did honour to the pontiff, the conduct of Leo in the discharge of his office, is acknowledged to have conferred no less dignity on the meeting. He was

Leo renews the
council of the
Lateran.

(a) v. *Lateran. Concil. sub Leone x. celeb. p 73.*

now in the prime of life; his manners grave, but not austere; and in the performance of those public acts of devotion, which were at some times incumbent upon him, he acquitted himself with a grace, and a decorum, which gave additional effect to the splendid ceremonies of that religion of which he was the head. After the hymn, *Veni Creator*, Leo delivered a pastoral oration, in which he exhorted the assembled fathers to use their utmost endeavours for the benefit of the church, and declared it to be his intention to continue the council, until the establishment of a general peace among the princes of christendom.^(a)

Nominates four
cardinals.

Having thus attended to the regulation of the temporal and ecclesiastical concerns of the Roman see, Leo now conceived that he might, without any imputation of indecorum, confer upon such of his relations and friends, as had continued faithful to him during his adverse fortune, and whose characters seemed to merit such a distinction, some of those high and lucrative offices of the church, which he was now enabled to bestow. He was also, in all probability, desirous of increasing his influence in the sacred college, by the introduction of such additional members, as he knew he should find on all occasions firmly attached to his interests, and was perhaps not less actuated by the disposition, so common to the Roman pontiffs, of aggrandizing the individuals of his own family: Having therefore declared his intention of supplying the vacant seats in the college of cardinals, he, on the twenty-third day of September, 1513, nominated to that rank, Lorenzo Pucci, Giulio

(a) *Lateran. Concil. p. 75.*

Giulio de' Medici, Bernardo Dovizi, and Innocenzio Cibò; who soon afterwards took their seats in the general council. The first of these persons was a fellow-citizen of the pontiff; who, born of a good family, and well educated, had early devoted himself to the church, and having had the good fortune to obtain the favour of Julius II. had under that pontiff risen to the rank of apostolic datary,^(a) and been employed by him in the most important affairs of the state. By his talents and address Pucci rendered himself conspicuous in the subsequent meetings of the Lateran council, and acted an important part during the remainder of this pontificate, particularly in the approaching disturbances occasioned by the opposition of Luther to the Roman see. The partiality of which Leo might have been accused, in selecting his cousin Giulio de' Medici for this distinguished honour, was sufficiently palliated by the acknowledged abilities, and unwearied industry of this his faithful associate, the gravity of whose disposition was happily formed to remedy or correct the occasional sallies of vivacity which distinguished the supreme pontiff, and who, in the public concerns of the Roman court, may be considered as the regulating pendulum of the great machine. It is true the illegitimacy of his birth, would, according to the canons of the church, have formed an insuperable bar to this promotion; but there was no great difficulty in adducing evidence to prove, that the mother of Giulio, before her cohabitation with his father Giuliano, the brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent, had received from him a promise of marriage; which was considered as sufficient to enable the pope to dispense with the rigour of the

(a) Negri, *Scrittori Fiorentini*, p. 379.

law. (a) Giulio assumed the title of S. Maria in Domnica, by which the pontiff had formerly been distinguished; but was from henceforth usually called the cardinal de' Medici. (b)

Bernardo Dovizi.

In appointing to the rank of cardinal, Bernardo Dovizi Leo repaid the obligations which he owed to one of his first instructors, of whose services he had availed himself on many important occasions. The cardinal da Bibbiena, as he was afterwards called, was not one of those rigid ecclesiastics, who conceive, that on entering the church, they shut out the pleasures of the world. Though acknowledged to possess considerable dexterity in the affairs of state, he did not scruple at times to lay aside his gravity, and to contribute by his wit and vivacity, to the amusement of his reverend associates; and his comedy of *Galandra*, will perpetuate his name, when his political talents, and high ecclesiastical rank, will probably be disregarded or forgotten. After his preferment, the cardinal da Bibbiena became a distinguished promoter of literature, and of the arts; and such was his attachment to the great painter, Raffaello d'Urbino, that he had consented to give him his niece in marriage; a connexion which was prevented

(a) From these documents, which have been published by Cartharius in *Syllabo advocatorum Sacri Concistorii*, p. 71, it appears, that Leo declared Giulio de' Medici, then Archbishop elect of Florence, "legitimum, et ex legitimo matrimonio inter Julianum Mediceum, & Florettam Antonii, natum fuisse et esse; eumque pro legitimo, et ex legitimo matrimonio procreatum, in omnibus, et per omnia, pleno jure, vere et non ficto, haberi et reputari," &c. *Fabron. in Adnotat. 31. ad vit. Leon. x. p. 275.*

(b) He immediately announced his elevation to Henry VIII. in very respectful terms. v. *App. No. LXXXII.*

vented only by the premature death of that accomplished artist. (a)

The last of the newly appointed cardinals, Innocenzio Cibò, was the grandson of Innocent VIII. being the offspring of Francesco Cibò, son of that pontiff by Maddalena, sister of Leo X. He was yet too young to have risen by any talents or merits of his own, but the advantages of his birth, would probably have compensated for much greater defects than had fallen to the share of this young man. In the letter which Leo thought proper to address on this occasion to Ferdinand of Aragon, he has briefly enumerated the merits, or pretensions, of the newly created cardinals. (b) "Although I know," says he, "that you are well advised of the public transactions of this place, by the diligence of your envoy; yet I have thought it proper, that you should learn from myself what has lately been done for the credit and advantage of the Roman state; not doubting from your well-known affection to the christian church, that it will prove equally agreeable to you as to myself. You will therefore understand, that on the twenty-third day of September, with the assent of my brethren, the cardinals of the church, I, for various and weighty reasons, elected into the sacred college, Lorenzo Pucci my domestic datary, my cousin Giulio de' Medici, archbishop elect of Florence, Bernardo Dovizi, of Bibbiena, and Innocenzio Cibò, the son of my sister, and grandson of pope Innocent VIII.

(a) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori. tom. ii. p. 132. Ed. di Bottari. Rom. 1759.*

(b) For the letter in the original, v. *Appendix, No. LXXXIII.*

CHAP. X.
 A. D. 1513.
 A. Æt. 38.
 A. Pont. I.

“ VIII. With the prudence and integrity of three of
 “ these, as well as with their skill and experience in the
 “ transaction of public affairs, you are well acquainted;
 “ and I trust they will add to the stability, and to the
 “ honour of the church. As to Innocenzio, I hope he will
 “ not disappoint the expectations formed of him. His
 “ capacity is excellent, his morals irreproachable, and his
 “ natural endowments are ornamented by his proficiency
 “ in literary studies; insomuch, that no one can be more
 “ accomplished, virtuous, or engaging.” Another reason
 alleged by Leo, for admitting into the college, a member
 who had as yet scarcely completed his twenty-first year, was
 his sense of the favours which he had himself, at so early
 an age, received from Innocent VIII. which he expressed,
 by saying, *That which I received from Innocent, to Innocent I*
restore.(a)

Lorenzo de' Me-
 dici assumes
 the govern-
 ment of Flo-
 rence.

During the short interval of time which had elapsed
 between the return of the Medici to Florence, and the ele-
 vation of Leo X. the affairs of that turbulent city had been
 directed by Giuliano, the brother of the pontiff; but in the
 deliberations on this subject in the Roman court, it was de-
 termined that Giuliano should relinquish his authority,
 and that the direction of the Florentine government should
 be intrusted to Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero,
 under the immediate direction of Giulio de' Medici, and
 the ultimate superintendance of the pope. This measure
 has been attributed to various causes, and in particular,
 to the dislike of Giuliano to the trouble attending the de-
 tail

(a) “ Quod ab Innocentio accipi, Innocentio restituo.” *Fabr.* 78.

tail of public affairs; to the expectation of his obtaining, by the authority of his brother, a situation of still greater importance; and to the prior claims of Lorenzo to this authority, as representative of the elder branch of his family; in which it had become in a manner hereditary.^(a) It is, however, yet more probable, that the disposition which Giuliano had always shewn, to gratify the wishes of the citizens, of which many instances are on record,^(b) had induced his more politic relations to doubt his resolution, and to distrust his measures; and that they therefore chose to place in his stead a young man, in whose name they might themselves, in fact, govern the republic. At this time Lorenzo was in the twenty-first year of his age, having been born on the thirteenth day of September, 1492, a few months before the death of his grandfather, Lorenzo, the magnificent.^(c) After the expulsion of his family from Florence, he had been brought up by his mother Alfonsina Orsino, and had early felt the effects of popular resentment, having been banished a second time from his native place, when only fifteen years of age, on account of the marriage of

(a) *Ammirato, Ist. Fior. lib. xxix. v. iii. p. 315.*

(b) Among other proofs of his humane and benevolent disposition, it may be noticed, that he paid a visit to the celebrated Florentine commander, Antonio Giacomino Tebalducci, whose services had been employed by the republic in constant opposition to the Medici, but who was now advanced in years, and deprived of sight. The old warrior, whilst he acknowledged the kindness of Giuliano, boldly avowed, that his exertions had not been wanting to preserve the liberties of his country, and requested that he might not be deprived of the arms which he retained in his house, as trophies of his victories, a request to which Giuliano willingly acceded, with high commendations of his courage and fidelity. His conduct to Giovacchino Guasconi, who was Gonfaloniere when Paolo Vitelli was executed at Florence, was not less conciliating and benevolent. *v. Nardi, Histor. Fior. lib. vi. p. 158.*

(c) *Ammirato, Ritratto di Lorenzo duca d' Urbino. in Opusc. v. iii. p. 102.*

of his sister Clarice with Filippo Strozzi; an event in which he could have had no responsible share. Lorenzo therefore returned to Florence, where the government was restored to nearly the same form, in which it had subsisted in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent.^(a) Two councils were formed; one of which consisted of seventy members who were elected for life; the other of one hundred members, who were nominated every six months, and in which all persons who had served the office of Gonfaloniere, might also attend as often as they thought proper. The province of the council of seventy, was to propose and deliberate on all regulations for the benefit of the state; but before these could be passed into laws, they were also to be considered and approved by the greater council, with whom the power of granting pecuniary supplies, and imposing taxes on the people, was still allowed to reside.^(b) Lorenzo himself, instead of being distinguished by any honorary title, was appointed one of the council of seventy, and took his place among his fellow citizens; but under this external form of a free government, the authority of the Medici was as absolute, as if they had openly assumed the direction of the state. The assembly of seventy was in fact a privy council, nominated at their pleasure, and implicitly following their directions; whilst the greater assembly served merely as a screen, to hide from the people the deformity of a despotic government, and as a pretext to induce them to believe, that they were still, in some measure, their own rulers.

The

^(a) Nerli, *Commentar. lib. vi. p. 126.*

^(b) *Ibid.*

The arrival of Giuliano de' Medici, to take up his residence at Rome, was considered by the citizens as a great honour, and his affability, generosity, and elegant accomplishments, soon procured him a very considerable share of public favour. On his being admitted to the privileges of a Roman citizen, which ceremony took place about the middle of the month of September, 1513, a temporary theatre was erected in the square of the Capitol; where a splendid entertainment was prepared, and various poetical compositions were recited, or sung, by persons equally distinguished by their talents, and respectable by their rank. The second day was devoted to the representation of the *Penulus* of Plautus. These exhibitions, which were resorted to by an immense concourse of people, received every decoration which the taste of the times, and the munificence of the pontiff could bestow, and seemed to recall those ages when Rome was the mistress of the world, and expended in magnificent spectacles, the wealth of tributary nations. Under the influence of the pontifical favour, talents and learning again revived, and *the Theatre of the Capitol* is celebrated by Aurelius Serenus, of Monopoli, in a Latin poem of no inconsiderable length, which has been preserved to the present times.^(a) The honours conferred on his brother by the Roman people, Leo affected to consider as a favour to himself; and as a proof of his generosity, and paternal regard, he diminished the oppressive tax upon salt, enlarged the au-

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E E

thority

CHAP. X.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

Giuliano de'
Medici ad-
mitted a Ro-
man citizen.

(a) This poem, in three books, is entitled THEATRUM CAPITOLINUM, MAGNIFICO JULIANO INSTITUTUM PER AURELIUM SERENUM MONOPOLITANUM. (*lib. iii.*) It was printed at Rome, in *œdibus Mazochianis, imperante divo Leone x. Pont. Maximo. pontificatus sui anno secundo, anno dni m.d.xiii.* The dedication to Leo X. is given from this rare work, in the Appendix, No. LXXXIV.

CHAP. X.
 A. D. 1513.
 A. Et. 38.
 A. Pont. I.

thority of the civil magistrates, and by many public immunities, and individual favours; sought to secure to himself the affections of his subjects. On this occasion the Roman citizens were not ungrateful. By the general consent of all ranks, a marble statue of the pontiff, the workmanship of the Sicilian sculptor, Giacomo del Duca, a pupil of Michel Agnolo,^(a) was erected in the Capitol, under which was inscribed

OPTIMI. LIBERALISSIMIQUE. PONTIFICIS.

MEMORIE.

S. P. Q. R.

Leo pardons the refractory cardinals.

The total ruin of the French cause in Italy, had concurred with the well regulated proceedings of the council of the Lateran, in discrediting the measures, and destroying the authority of the assembly held at Lyons; and the character for lenity and generosity which Leo had already acquired, in affording the hope of pardon to the refractory ecclesiastics, became also a powerful motive for their submission. Eager to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity of effecting a reconciliation, the cardinals Sanseverino and Carvajal took shipping from France, and arrived at the port of Leghorn, whence they proceeded without interruption by Pisa to Florence. On their arrival at this place, Leo was informed of their intentions; but although it was his wish to pardon their transgressions, he did not think it advisable to suffer them to proceed to Rome

(a) Vasari. *Giunti di Bottari*, vol. ii. p. 50. vol. iii. p. 312. in note.

Rome, until he had prepared the way for their reception. As well, however, for their safety, as for his own honour, he directed that they should remain at Florence under a guard; and that as they had been deprived by Julius II. which deprivation had been confirmed by the council of the Lateran, they should lay aside the habiliments of their former rank.^(a) These directions were communicated to the humbled ecclesiastics by the bishop of Orvieto, whom Leo had dispatched for that purpose, and who, at the same time, assured them of the lenient intentions of the pope, which their proper submission would assist him in carrying into effect. In truth, the hostility between Leo and these cardinals was rather of a political, than a personal nature; and although one of them had presided over the council of Milan, and the other had marched at the head of the French army at the battle of Ravenna, yet these circumstances had not obliterated the remembrance of former kindness, and Leo was, perhaps, gratified in evincing to the world, that he was superior to the vindictive impulse of long continued resentment. In preparing the way for this reconciliation, he first obtained a decree of the council of Lateran, by which all those prelates and ecclesiastics who had been pronounced schismatical by his predecessor, should be allowed to come in and make their submission, at any time prior to the end of November, 1513. This decree was, however, strongly opposed, not only by Matthew Schinner, cardinal of Sion, who spoke the opinions of the Helvetic state, and by Christopher Bambridge, cardinal of York, the representative of the king of England, but by

^(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 32.

the ambassadors of the emperor elect, and the king of Spain; all of whom expressed their dislike of a measure so derogatory to the majesty of the apostolic see, and strongly represented to the pope the pernicious consequences of granting a pardon to the chief authors of such a dangerous scandal to the church; at the same time highly commending the conduct of Julius II. who to the last hour of his life had refused to listen to any proposals of reconciliation. Leo was not, however, to be moved from his purpose. The repentant cardinals were ready to sign their recantation, and the council had approved the terms in which it was expressed. On the evening preceding the day appointed for their restitution, they accordingly entered the city, deprived of the habit and insignia of their rank, and took up their abode in the Vatican. In the morning, they presented themselves before the pope, who was prepared to receive them in the consistory, accompanied by all the cardinals, except those of Sion, and of York, who refused to be present. In the simple habit of priests, and with black bonnets, they were led through the most public parts of the Vatican, where their humiliation was witnessed by a great concourse of people, who acknowledged, that by this act of penance, they had made a sufficient atonement for the errors of their past conduct. They were then introduced into the consistory, where they entreated, on their knees, the pardon of the pope and cardinals, approving all that had been done by Julius II. particularly the act of their own privation, and disavowing the *conciliabulum* of Pisa and Milan, as schismatical and detestable. Having then subscribed their confession, they were allowed to rise; after which they made their obeisance, and saluted the cardinals, who did not rise from their seats in return. This mortifying

mortifying ceremony being concluded, they were once more invested in their former habits, and took their places among their brethren, in the same order in which they had sat before their privation; (a) but this indulgence extended only to their rank, and not to their benefices and ecclesiastical revenues, which having been conferred on others during their delinquency, could not be restored.

In the deplorable condition to which the events of a few months had reduced the affairs of Louis XII. it was at least fortunate for him, that some of his adversaries wanted the talents, and others the inclination, to avail themselves of their success. But although Henry VIII. had returned to his own dominions, he avowed his intention of renewing his attack in the ensuing spring, with a still more powerful armament, for the equipment of which he had already begun to make preparations. (b) The treaty entered into between the duke de Tremouille and the Swiss, had, in all probability, prevented those formidable adversaries from proceeding directly to Paris, which, after the capture of Dijon, they might have done without difficulty; (c) but Louis could neither discharge the immense sum which the duke had, in his name, stipulated to pay, nor would he relinquish his pretensions to the duchy of Milan. The terms which he proposed

Humiliation and
absolution of
Louis XII.

(a) A full account of this transaction is given by Leo himself, to the emperor elect Maximilian, v. *Appendix, No. LXXXV. Et. v. Fabron. in vita Leon. x. p. 62. Guicciard. lib. xi. v. ii. p. 48. &c.*

(b) Leo X. found no little difficulty in curbing the military ardour of the English monarch, as appears not only from the letter before given, but from a particular exhortation addressed to him on this subject. *Appendix, No. LXXXVI.*

(c) *Guicciard. lib. xii. v. ii. p. 63.*

proposed to the Swiss, instead of those which had been solemnly agreed upon, tended only still further to exasperate them; and they threatened, within a limited time, to decapitate the hostages given at Dijon, if the treaty was not punctually fulfilled. These threats they would, in all probability, have carried into execution, had not the hostages effected their escape; but this event, as it increased the resentment of the Swiss, enhanced the dangers of the French monarch, who could only expect the consequences of their vengeance in a more still formidable attack. His apprehensions were further excited by the interception of a letter from Ferdinand of Aragon, to his envoy at the Imperial court, in which he proposed that the duchy of Milan should be seized upon, and the sovereignty vested in Ferdinand, the younger brother of the archduke Charles, afterwards Charles V. which would give the united houses of Austria and Spain a decided ascendancy in Italy^(a). That Maximilian might then assume the pontifical throne, as it had always been his wish to do, and resign to his grandson Charles the Imperial crown; and, although Ferdinand prudently observed, that time and opportunity would be requisite to carry these designs into effect, yet Louis could not contemplate without serious alarm, a project which was intended to exclude him from all further interference in the affairs of Italy, and reduce him to the rank of a subordinate power. In addition to the vexations which surrounded him as to his temporal concerns, he still laboured under the excommunication pronounced against him by Julius II. and as his queen, Anne of Bretagne, was a zealous daughter of the church, she was incessant in her representations to the harrassed monarch, to
return

(a) Guicciard. lib. xii. v. ii. p. 65.

return to his allegiance to the holy see^(a). Whether, as some historians suppose, it was merely in consequence of these solicitations, and the remorse of his own conscience; or whether, as is more probably the case, he was prompted by the apprehensions which he so justly entertained of his numerous and powerful enemies, he conceived it was now high time to effect a reconciliation with the pope. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and on the sixth day of November, 1513, a treaty was signed at the abbey of Corbey, by which the king agreed to renounce the council of Pisa, and declared his assent to that of the Lateran; promising also to shew no favour in future to the council of Pisa, and to expel those who should adhere to it from his dominions.^(b) The reconciliation of the French monarch to the church, was not, however, without its difficulties, and three cardinals were appointed to consider on the means to be adopted for securing the honour of the king, and the dignity of the holy see. Their deliberations were not of long continuance; and in the eighth session of the Lateran council, which was held on the last day of the year 1513, the envoys of the king of France were admitted, who producing the mandate of their sovereign, renounced, in his name, the proceedings of the council of Pisa, and expressed, in
ample

(a) "L'Esprit du roi se soustenoit contre toutes ces adversitez; mais il avoit une peine domestique plus grande, que celle que luy faisoient tous ses enemis. C' estoit sa propre femme, qui toucheé des scrupules ordinaires à son sexe, ne pouvoit souffrir qu'il fût mal avec le Pape, & qu'il entretint un Concile contre lui. Comme elle luy rompoit perpetuellement la teste sur ces deux poincts, il estoit souvent contraint pour paix avoir, d'arrester ses armes, lorsque ses affaires alloient le mieux," &c. *Mezerai, Hist. de Fr. tom. iv. Fabr. in vita Leon. x. not. 29. p. 274. Ligue de Cambr. liv. iv. tom. ii. p. 330.*

(b) This treaty, which was countersigned by Bembo, on behalf of the pope, is given in the collection of Du Mont. *vol. iv. par. i. p. 175.*

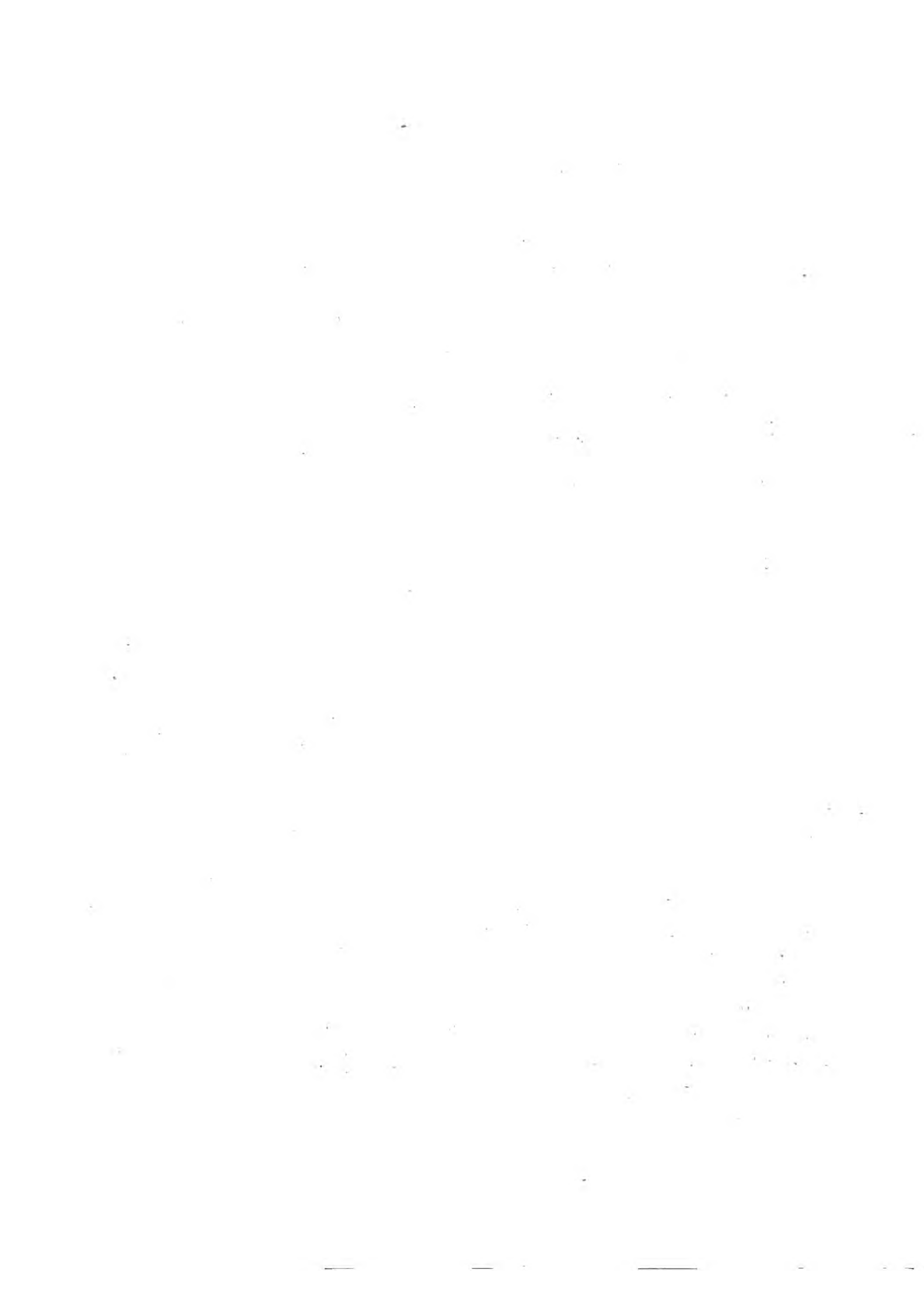
CHAP. X. ample terms, his adherence to that of the Lateran. They
A. D. 1513. also engaged, that six of the French prelates, who had been
A. Æt. 38. present at the council of Pisa, should proceed to Rome, to
A. Pont. I. make the formal submission of the Gallican church. The
humiliation of Louis XII. was now complete; and Leo, with
the consent of the council, gave him full absolution for all
past offences against the holy see.



CHAP. XI.

1513—1514.

*EXTRAORDINARY depression of polite learning in Rome—State of the Roman Academy—High expectations formed of Leo X.—The Gymnasium or Roman university restored—Leo X. encourages the study of the Greek tongue—GIOVANNI LASCAR—Letter of Leo X. to MARCUS MUSURUS—The Greek Institute founded in Rome—Translation of the Greek verses of Musurus prefixed to the first edition of Plato—Musurus appointed archbishop of Malvasia—Dedication by ALDO MANUZIO, of the works of Plato to Leo X.—Leo grants him the pontifical privilege for publishing the Greek and Roman authors—Greek Press established by Leo X. at Rome and works there published—AGOSTINO CHISI a merchant at Rome and a promoter of literature—CORNELIO BENIGNO of Viterbo—Greek Press of ZACCARIA CALLIERGO—Greek literature promoted by learned Italians—VARINO CAMERTI—His *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ*—Is appointed librarian to the Medici family and bishop of Nocera—His *Apothegms*—His *Greek Dictionary* under the name of PHAVORINUS—SCIPIONE FORTEGUERRA called CARTEROMACHUS—URBANO BOLZANIO—Publishes the first grammatical rules in Latin for the Greek language—Leo obtains a more complete copy of the works of Tacitus—Employs Beroaldo to publish it—The work pirated by Minuziano of Milan—Rise of the study of Oriental literature—TESEO AMBROGIO appointed by Leo X. professor of the eastern tongues in Bologna—His elementary work on the Chaldean and other languages—AGOSTINO GIUSTINIANO publishes a Polyglot edition of the Psalter—Great Complutensian Polyglot of cardinal Ximenes dedicated to Leo X.—Leo directs the translation of the scriptures by PAGNINI to be published at his expense—Encourages researches for eastern manuscripts.*





CHAP. XI.

OF the state of literature in Rome, at the time when Leo X. then cardinal de' Medici, first took up his residence in that city, some account has already been given in a former part of this work. Since that period upwards of twenty years had now elapsed, without affording any striking symptoms of improvement. Whoever takes a retrospect of the momentous events which had occurred during that interval, will be at no loss to account for that neglect of liberal studies which was apparent in some degree throughout the whole extent of Italy,

FF 2

but

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

Extraordinary
depression of
polite learn-
ing in Rome.

but was particularly observable at Rome. The descent of Charles VIII; the contests between the French and Spanish monarchs for the crown of Naples; the various irruptions of Louis XII. for the recovery of Milan; the restless ambition of Alexander VI. and the martial ferocity of Julius II. had concurred to distract the attention, to oppress the faculties, and to engage in political intrigues, or in military pursuits, those talents which might otherwise have been devoted to better purposes. Amidst the sacking of cities, the downfall of states, the extinction or the exile of powerful families and distinguished patrons of literature, and all the horrors of domestic war, was it possible for the sciences, the muses, and the arts, to pursue their peaceable and elegant avocations?

Whilst thundering Ætna rolls his floods of flame,
Shall Daphne crop the flowers by Arethusa's stream?(a)

State of the Roman academy.

The indefatigable researches of the Italian scholars, have indeed discovered some slight traces of that literary association, first formed by Pomponius Lætus, and which, after having been dispersed by the barbarity of Paul II. had again been restored by the laudable exertions of Angelo Colocci, Paolo Cortese, Jacopo Sadoleti, the younger Beroaldo, and a few other learned men. It appears that these persons met together at stated times, that they elected a dictator, and amused themselves with literary pursuits; but

(a) " Quand sur les champs de Siracuse
" Un Volcan vient au loin, d'exercer ses fureurs,
" Aux bords désolés d'Aréthuse
" Daphné cherche t'elle des fleurs?"

but they seem to have devoted their leisure hours rather to pleasure than to improvement. Their talents were employed chiefly on ludicrous subjects, (a) and the muses to whom they paid their devotions, were too often selected from the courtesans of Rome. (b) The patronage afforded to these studies by Leo X. whilst he was yet a cardinal, was of a much more respectable and effectual nature. His house, which was situated in the *Forum agonale*, now called the *Piazza Navona*, was the constant resort of all those who to the honours of their rank united any pretensions to literary acquirements. It is not therefore surprizing, that on his elevation to the pontificate, those men of talents and learning, who had been accustomed

Expectations
formed of
Leo X.

(a) Fedro Inghirami, one of the members of this learned body, writes thus, in the year 1506, to his friend Andrea Umiliato. " — advola obsecro et accurre, si vis ridere quantum et Democritus numquam risit. *Savoja* unguenta tractat et Cyprium pulverem; pulverem, inquam, Cyprium et unguenta tractat *Savoja*. Qui antea bubulcitari tantum solebat, bubus equisque stipatus vadebat, nunc delicatus Myropolas adit, deque odoribus disputat. Nam quid ego narrem tibi Hispanicas manicas, Gallicas vestes, Germanas soleas," &c. *Ap. Tirab. Stor. Let. Ital. v. vii p. 1. p. 127.*

(b) Among these, the most distinguished was the beautiful *Imperia*, so frequently celebrated in the Latin odes of Beroaldo the younger, and in the verses of Sadoleti. Of the splendor with which she received her visitors, an ample account is given by Bandello, in his novels. Such was the elegance of her apartments, that when the ambassador of the Spanish monarch paid her a visit, he turned round and spat in the face of one of his servants, excusing himself by observing, that it was the only place he could find fit for the purpose. *v. Bandello, par. iii. nov. 42.* Her toilet was surrounded with books, both in Italian and Latin, and she also amused herself in writing poetry, in the study of which she was a disciple of Niccolò Campano, called *Strascino*, who was probably indebted to her for the subject of one of his poems, " *Sopra il male incognito.*" *v. Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. ii. p. 294.* She died in the year 1511, at the age of twenty-six, and was allowed to be buried in consecrated ground, in the chapel of S. Gregoria, with the following epitaph.

Imperia, Cortisana Romana, quæ digna tanto nomine, raræ inter homines formæ Specimen dedit. Vixit annos xxvi. dies xii. obiit 1511. die 15 Augusti.

She left a daughter, who redeemed her name from disgrace by a life of unimpeachable modesty, and who destroyed herself by poison, to avoid the licentious attempts of the cardinal Petrucci. *v. Colocci, Poesie Ital. p. 29. Note. Ed. Jesi. 1772.*

CHAP. XI.
 A. D. 1513.
 A. Æt. 38.
 A. Pont. I.

tomed to share his favour, and to partake of his bounty, should consider this event as the harbinger of general prosperity, and the opening of a better age. This exultation frequently burst forth in their writings; and Leo found himself commended on every hand for labours which he had yet to perform.

— Now comes the happier age so long foretold,
 When the true Pastor guards his favour'd fold,
 Soon shall the streams with honied sweetness flow;
 And truth and justice fix their seats below;
 Retiring Mars his dreadful anger cease,
 And all the world be hush'd in lasting peace."(a)

The high expectations formed of him in the commencement of his pontificate, are yet more fully expressed by another of his contemporaries, who might on this occasion have rejoiced in the completion of his own auguries.

————— for now when all the earth,
 Boasts none more great, more excellent than thee,
 Be it thy task to watch with ceaseless care,
 O'er all the race of man. By holy laws,
 To sanction virtue; and by just rewards,
 Raise drooping merit and ingenuous worth.

Nor

(a) " Hunc ego crediderim verum fore tempore nostro

" Pastorem; elegit Juppiter arce sua.

" Flumina melle fluent, descendet ab æthere Virgo,

" Cumque sua populis jura sorore dabit.

" Principe quo, longa Mavors formidine terras

" Solvet, et in toto pax erit orbe diu."

L. Parmenius Genesius, de Leone x. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. v. v. p. 282.

Nor these alone, but mightier tasks than these
 Await thee. Soon the cheering smile of peace
 Shall glad the nations. Kings, and mighty lords,
 And warlike leaders, cease their hostile ire,
 And at thy bidding join their willing hands.^(a)

The number and importunity of these writers, who intruded upon him at every step with their officious suggestions, became indeed so remarkable, as to give occasion to compare them to apes, who imagined they could instruct or amuse the lion; a charge which one of their brethren has thus acknowledged:

For oft as we, the muses faithful train,
 Strive with our songs to sooth thy hours of pain:
 What, shall he ne'er, they cry, their teasings scape?
 The lion still tormented by the ape!
 From that blest day, when first his glory rose,
 They haunt his footsteps wheresoe'er he goes;
 At home, abroad, within his halls immur'd,
 Nor in his chamber, nor his bed secured;
 Debarr'd alike with lonely step to rove,
 Where spreads the prospect, or where glooms the grove.
 — Whether, with mighty cares of state oppress,
 The fate of nations labours in his breast,
 Or wearied with the toils which grandeur knows,
 He takes his meal, or sinks in bland repose;
 Yet still they follow, exquisite to vex,
 His patience weary, and his thoughts perplex;

So,

^(a) *Joannis Francisci Philomusi, Exultatio in creatione Leonis x. &c. Appendix, No. LXXXVII.*

So, where the monarch of the wood resorts,
 In awkward attitudes the monkey sports :
 Turns his bare haunch, and twirls his tail on high,
 More pertinacious than a teasing fly."

The poet then adverts to the conduct of Leo towards the sons of the muses.

" But more indulgent thou their labours view,
 And like the lion, bear the trifling crew."

He afterwards proceeds in a higher strain to repel the censure, and justify the attention paid by the poets to the conduct of the pontiff.

Yes, all imports us that thy mind revolves ;
 Thy secret counsels and thy deep resolves,
 To heal the wounds that Europe now deplores,
 And turn the tide of war on Turkey's shores ;
 Nor these alone, but bolder themes inspire
 The daring bard, that glows with heavenly fire.(a)

This apology seems to have been admitted by the pontiff; who, if he was not incited to the laudable acts which distinguish his pontificate by the exhortations of his literary admirers, was neither displeased with the high expectations which had been formed of him, nor inattentive in availing himself of every opportunity to fulfil them.

Among the establishments which had been formed in
 Rome,

(a) *Jo. Pierii Valeriani, ad Leonem. x. Appendix, No. LXXXVIII.*

Rome, for the promotion of more serious studies, the *Gymnasium*, or college, yet subsisted; although in a depressed and languid state, in consequence of the turbulent events of the preceding pontificate. This institution was founded by Eugenius IV.(a) but the more modern and convenient building, which was appropriated to its use, was erected by Alexander VI. who had also called to Rome the most distinguished professors in Italy, had rewarded them with liberal salaries, and regulated the discipline of the place, so as to render it of essential service to the promotion of liberal studies.(b) The revenues destined by Alexander for the support of this institution, are said to have arisen from the impositions charged upon the Jews within the ecclesiastical states; but from whatever source they were derived, they had been perverted during the pontificate of Julius II. to the purposes of contention and warfare. No sooner, however, was Leo seated in the pontifical chair, than this seminary became one of the chief objects of his attention. The revenues of the college were restored, and the chairs of its professors were filled with the most eminent scholars, who were attracted from every part of Europe by the reputation and liberality

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

The Gymnasium or Roman university restored.

VOL. II.

C C

of

(a) " — Gymnasium media spectatur in urbe,
 " Musarum studiis, et pubertate decorum,
 " Eugenii quarti auspiciis et munere primum
 " Fundatum." *Andr. Fulvius, de Antiquitatibus Urbis. Carm. illust. Poet.*
Ital. tom. v. p. 229.

(b) " Hæc loca *Alexander* renovavit *Sextus*, et auxit
 " Atria porticibus designans ampla superbis.
 " Atque academiacas priscorum more diætas,
 " Et subjecta suis subsellia docta Cathedris;
 " Pallas ubi, et Musæ custode sub Hercule florent,
 " Cecropiis quondam veluti florebant Athenis."

Andr. Fulv. ut sup.

of the pontiff. (a) From the original roll of the Roman academy, as it existed in 1514, being the year after its re-establishment by Leo X. (b) it appears, that the number of professors who received a remuneration from the bounty of the pontiff, and many of whom enjoyed considerable salaries, amounted to nearly one hundred; that they read lectures in theology, in the civil and canon law, in medicine, in moral philosophy, in logic, in rhetoric, and in mathematics; and that there was even a professor of botany, and the medical science of plants, which may perhaps be with confidence considered as the earliest instance of a public establishment for that purpose. Among these professors we find the names of

(a) “ — inceptumque opus intermissaque moles,
 “ Et loca Gymnasii perfecto fine jubentur
 “ Protinus absolvi, divo imperitante LEONE.
 “ Unde Dea, accepti doni non immemor ampli,
 “ Excitat ingenia ad Musarum præmia sacra,
 “ Et totas Heliconis aquas ex fonte perenni,
 “ Fluminibus magnis, et laxis Pallas habenis
 “ Præcipit Aonias, concusso monte sorores
 “ Pandere, et hauriri sitientibus ubere potu;
 “ Unde professores quæritos Roma per orbem
 “ Artibus ingenuis monstrandis, protulit aptos
 “ Musarum auspiciis, et Apollinis omine fausto.”

And. Fulv. de antiquit. urbis. Ed. Rom. 1513.

(b) This singular document, which yet remains, is elegantly written on vellum, and highly ornamented with the papal arms, and allegorical figures of the sciences and arts. Its contents were given to the public in the year 1797, by the learned Abate Gaetano Marini, keeper of the archives in the castle of S. Angelo, who has accompanied it with a brief account of the re-establishment of the Roman academy, and with historical and biographical notices of the professors. The reader may consult the roll and lists of the professors in the Appendix, No. LXXXIX; but for a more particular account of many of the persons there mentioned, I am compelled, by the limits of this work, to refer to the before-mentioned publication, entitled, *Lettera dell' Abate Gaetano Marini al chiarissimo Monsignor Giuseppe Muti Papazurri già Casali, nella quale s'illustra il Ruolo de' professori dell' Archiginnasio Romano per l' anno MDXIV. In Roma, presso Michele Puccinelli a Tor Sanguigna. 1797.*

of many persons of great eminence in the annals of literature, and whose merits will necessarily occur to our future notice. Having thus supplied the Roman college with proper instructors, the next care of the pontiff was to render the benefits to be derived from it as general and extensive as possible; lest, as he expressed it, "there should at times be more lecturers than hearers." He therefore restored to the pupils their ancient privileges and immunities; he ordered that the lectures should be read both in the morning and evening, and should not be interrupted on account of the numerous festivals of the Roman church.(a) The assiduity with which he promoted this great establishment, not only at this period, but throughout his whole pontificate, sufficiently appears from the numerous letters addressed by him to the most distinguished scholars of the time, inviting their assistance, and requesting them to take up their residence at Rome.(b) In a bull, dated in the year 1514, he has himself recapitulated, with a laudable exultation, the important services rendered to the cause of literature and science in the renovation of this institution.(c) "Having lately," says he,

G G 2

"been

(a) *Marini, Lettera, ut sup. p. 7.*

(b) *Bembi, Epist. nomine Leon. x. lib. ix. 39. &c. Marini, Lettera ut sup. p. 110.*

(c) "Sane nuper ad summum pontificatum divina providentia cum assumpti fuissetus, et restituti in pristinis juribus dilectis filiis populo Romano, inter alia vectigal Gymnasii Romani multis ante annis ad alios usus distractum, eisdem restituissetus; ut urbs Roma ita in re Literaria, sicut in ceteris rebus, totius orbis caput esset, procuravimus, accersitis ex diversis locis ad profitendum in Gymnasio prædicto viris in omni doctrinarum genere præclarissimis; quo factum est, ut præcedenti anno pontificatus nostri primo, talis studentium numerus, ad eandem urbem confluerit, ut jam Gymnasium Romanum inter omnia alia totius Italiæ principatum facile obtenturum videatur." *P. Caraffa de Gymnas. Rom. i. 201. ap. Tirab. Stor. della Lett. Ital. 7. part i. p. 111. et v. Fabr. in vita Leon. x. p. 71.*

CHAP. XI. " been called by divine Providence to the office of supreme
 A. D. 1513. " pontiff, and having restored to our beloved subjects their
 A. Et. 38. " rights, we have, among other things, regranted to the
 A. Pont. I. " Roman university those revenues which had for many
 " years been perverted to other purposes. And to the end
 " that the city of Rome may assume that superiority over
 " the rest of the world in literary studies which she already
 " enjoys in other respects, we have, from different parts, ob-
 " tained the assistance of men acquainted with every branch
 " of learning, whom we have appointed professors; on
 " which account, even in the first year of our pontificate,
 " such numbers of students have resorted to this place, that
 " the university of Rome is likely soon to be held in higher
 " estimation than any other in Italy."

Leo encourages
 the study of
 the Greek
 tongue.

Giovanni Las-
 ear.

But amidst the efforts of Leo for the improvement of letters and of science, his attention was perhaps yet more particularly turned towards the promotion of the study of the Greek tongue; without which he was convinced, in the language of one of his contemporaries, that the Romans themselves would not have had any learning to boast of.^(a) In order to give new vigour to this study, which had long languished for want of encouragement, he determined to avail himself of the services of Giovanni Lascar, a noble and learned Greek, who had in his youth been driven from his country by the progress of the Turkish arms, and had been indebted to the bounty of the cardinal Bessarion for his education, and consequent eminence. Having made a considerable proficiency at the university of Padua, Lascar had been

(a) " Nisi Literæ Græcæ essent, Latini nihil eruditionis haberent." *Codri Urcei Serm. iii. in oper. p. 92.*

been commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici to travel to Greece, with the view of collecting ancient manuscripts; for which purpose he took two journeys, in the latter of which he appears to have been very successful. (a) After the death of Lorenzo, and the expulsion of his surviving family from Florence, Lascar accompanied Charles VIII. into France, where he still continued to inculcate the principles of Grecian literature, and where the celebrated Budæus was glad to avail himself of his instructions. (b) On the death of that monarch, he obtained, in an eminent degree, the confidence of his successor, Louis XII. who sent him, in the year 1503, as his ambassador to the state of Venice, in which capacity he remained there until the year 1508. The contests which arose between Louis XII. and the Venetians, in consequence of the memorable league of Cambray, terminated his diplomatic functions; but it is conjectured, that Lascar still resided at Venice, although in a private capacity; and it is certain, that at this place he had the credit of instructing the celebrated Erasmus. On the elevation of Leo to the pontificate, Lascar wrote to congratulate him, and immediately afterwards quitted Venice to pay him a visit at Rome. On his way he received a letter from the pope, assuring him of his friendship, and of his constant attention to the promotion of those studies by which Lascar was himself so eminently distinguished. (c) After deliberating with Lascar on the means to be adopted for facilitating and extending the study of the Greek tongue, Leo formed the design

(a) *Hodius de Græc. Illust.* p. 249. *Life of Lorenzo de' Med.* vol. ii. p. 61.

(b) *Hodius de Græc. Illust.* 251.

(c) v. *Appendix, No. XC.*

design of inviting a number of young and noble Greeks to quit their country and take up their residence under his protection at Rome; where, by the directions of Lascar, they were not only to prosecute the study of their native tongue, but to be instructed also in Latin literature. On the recommendation of Lascar,^(a) the pontiff also addressed himself on this occasion to Marcus Musurus, one of the disciples of Lascar, who, after having taught in the university of Padua, had chosen his residence at Venice.^(b) The letter written by Leo on this occasion, whilst it sufficiently explains the object which he had in view, will shew with what ardour he engaged in its prosecution.

LEO X. TO MARCUS MUSURUS.

Letter of Leo
X. to Musu-
rus.

“ Having a most earnest desire to promote the study
“ of the Greek tongue, and of Grecian literature, which
“ are now almost extinct, and to encourage the liberal
“ arts as far as lies in my power, and being well convinced
“ of your great learning and singular judgment, I re-
“ quest that you will take the trouble of inviting from
“ Greece ten young men, or as many more as you may
“ think

(a) Mr. Warton informs us, on the authority of Jovius, that Lascar “ made a voyage
“ into Greece, by command of Leo X. and brought with him some Greek boys, who
“ were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on Mount Quirinal;
“ and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek
“ tongue.” *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, ii. 429. note (y). But Mr. Warton has either mistaken,
or been misled by his authority, as Lascar continued to superintend the Greek establishment
at Rome till the year 1518, when he returned, probably in a public character, to France.

(b) He began to teach publicly at Padua, in the year 1503, as appears by the ducal
decree, published by Agostini in his *Notizie di Batt. Egnazio. Calogera, Opuscoli* v. 33.
p. 25.

“ think proper, of good education and virtuous disposition; who may compose a seminary of liberal studies, and from whom the Italians may derive the proper use and knowledge of the Greek tongue. On this subject you will be more fully instructed by Giovanni Lascar, whose virtues and learning have deservedly rendered him dear to me. I have a confidence also, that from the respect and kindness which you have already shewn me, you will apply with the utmost diligence to effect what may seem to you to be necessary, for accomplishing the purposes which I have in view.” *Dated viii. Id. Aug. 1513.(a)*

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

For the accommodation of these illustrious strangers, Leo purchased from the cardinal of Sion, his residence on the Esquilian hill,^(b) which he converted into an academy for the study of Grecian literature, and of which he entrusted the chief direction to Lascar,^(c) to whom he assigned a liberal pension. This establishment is frequently adverted to in terms of high commendation by the writers of this period.^(d)

The Greek Institute founded in Rome.

At

(a) *Bemb. Epist. in nom. Leon. x. lib. iv. Ep. 8.*

(b) *Fabron. in vita Leon. p. 68.*

(c) *Budæi Ep. ap. Maittaire Annal. Typogr. i. 107. Hodijs, de Græc. illustr. 251.*

(d) Thus Vida, in enumerating the services rendered to literature by the family of the Medici,

“ Illi etiam Graeæ miserati incommoda gentis,

“ Ne Danaüm penitus caderet cum nomine virtus,

“ In

At the very time when Leo requested the assistance of Musurus, for the establishment of his Greek seminary in Rome, that elegant scholar was terminating the first edition, in the original Greek, of the writings of Plato, of which great work, he had, by the desire of Aldo Manuzio, superintended the printing. (a) To this edition he prefixed a copy of Greek verses, which are so extremely applicable to the circumstances of the times, and to the character and conduct of the pontiff, that they cannot fail even in a translation

“ In Latium advectos juvenes, juvenumque magistros,

“ Argolicas artes quibus esset cura tueri,

“ Securos musas jussere atque otia amare.

Poeticor. lib. i. v. 196.

And Musurus in his preface to Pausanias, published by Aldo, in 1516.

“ Ὡς γὰρ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀποσβεισθῆ τὸ σοζόμενον ἐστὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων καίπερ λίαν ἀμυδρὸν ὄν, ἐκ ὀλίγων ἕκ τε κρήτης ἕκ τε κορκύρας καὶ τῶν παραθαλασσίων τῆς πελοποννήσου μετεπίμψω ναυσίκους, τῶν μῆτε φύσιν ἀγεινῶν μὴδ' ὑπὸ χάσματος καὶ νωθότητος ἐκνεαρκωμένων, ἀλλ' ἀγχινοῖα τε περισήμων καὶ τὸ ταλαίπωρον ἰχθύων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· οἱ γὰρ ἐν Ῥώμῃ μῆτε γίγης μὴδ' ἰματισμοῦ μῆτε τροφῆς ἀπορῶντες, μῆτε σοφιστῶν ἐστρατημένοι τῶν διδάσκων καὶ βυλομένων καὶ ἰδόντων, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον περὶ ἅμφω προκόπτουσι τὸ λόγῳ, τῷ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέως ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ χορηγῶντος.”

(a) Intituled, ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

OMNIA PLATONIS OPERA.

At the close of this elegant and laborious work is the following Colophon.

ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Ἐπιτίθειν ἰτυπώθη παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄλδον, παλαιῶς τισὶ καὶ ἀξιολογίῳις κειρημένοι ἀντιγράφοις· χιλιοσῶ πεντάκοσιοσῶ τρισκαδικάτῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεογονίας ἰπιαυτῶ. Καθ' ὃν ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΜΕΔΙΚΕΥΣ Ὁ ΛΑΤΡΕΝΤΙΟΥ, καλοῦ πατρὸς καλὸς υἱὸς, τῆς ἀκρας δὴ καὶ παιτοκρατορικῆς ἀρχιερατείας ἀξιωθεὶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Λέων μετινομάσθη δέκατος· ὃ πᾶς ὁ χριστιανικός λαὸς, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, παῖδες, γέροντες βίον πολυετῆ καὶ πάντα συνέυχονται τ' ἀγαθὰ. πάντες γὰρ ἰλπίζουσι αὐτὸν εἰρηνοποιὸν μὲν, καὶ πολέμων οἷς γὰρ πάντα περπολεῖται κατασβεσθῆρα· τῆς δ' ἀληθινῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων ἀνακαινιστὴν καὶ τῆς μὲν ἰταλίας ἰοσοῦσης καὶ γασιαζέσης ἰατρὸν. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἑλλάδος πάσαι καταδεδωλωμένης ἐλευθερωτῆν, καὶ ὅλων τῶ βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργίτην ἴσισθαι καὶ διορθωτῆν.

translation, of throwing additional light on these subjects.^(a)

CHAP. XL

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

TRANSLATION of the Greek Verses, prefixed by MARCUS MUSURUS, to the first edition of the works of PLATO.

SPIRIT DIVINE, who 'midst thy kindred throng
 Of sainted heroes sit'st; to whom 'tis given
 To track the burning wheels, that bear along
 The great Creator o'er the deeps of heaven,
 IMMORTAL PLATO! from thy lofty sphere,
 Revisiting again this genial earth,
 Accept the volume, we thy votaries bear,
 The sacred work that owes to thee its birth.
 Where full displayed, we trace the mighty hand
 Of him, the ONE great Architect; unchang'd
 Who fills the void of space, and whose command
 Th' empyreal orbs in eight-fold order rang'd.
 Suspended high, of all his works the chief,
 The fix'd sun pours his unextinguish'd light,
 Whilst seven inferior stars, in soft relief,
 Shed their mild lustre o'er the shadowy night.
 Or wondering mark th' unceasing central force,
 Bound by whose chain the mighty whole revolves,
 While unreluctant in its silent course,
 Each in due time its fated round absolves.

VOL. II.

H H

Thence

(a) Of these verses, a correct and handsome edition was published at Cambridge, in 1797, by Samuel Butler, A. B. fellow of St. John's College, with various illustrations, and a Latin translation, by Zanobio Acciajuoli. From this edition, compared with that prefixed by Aldo to the works of Plato, a copy is given in the Appendix to this volume, No. XCI.

Thence too the glorious hope, that fires the soul

With secret longings for its heavenly home,
Spurns the dull bonds of earth, the base control
Of mortal fate, and lives beyond the tomb.

Nor uninstructed by thy sacred page,

We bid the city's towering ramparts rise,
By justice guard them, and by statutes sage
Define the bounds of right; with watchful eyes,
Whilst Shame and Punishment, immortal pair,
Protect the peopled haunts. But ah, what tongue

To number all the sacred truths shall dare

That breathe thy warm, inspiring page along?

Thou then, accept the votive tome, and haste

To ROME's seven-crowned hills; where still resides
Imperial sway, and 'midst AUSONIA's waste

Rich TIBER rolls his fertilizing tides.

Not there a tyrant's scowling brow to meet,

Of Scylla born, who mocks the heavenly muse;

No Dionysius fierce; for there shall greet

Thy welcome presence, HE whom Europe views
With wondering awe, her pastor and her guide,

From great LORENZO sprung; the brightest star
Of MEDICEAN fame; with conscious pride

Whom his own FLORENCE hails; and from afar
The scepter'd rulers of the nations own,

And as their Lord obey; in towering state,
Imperial LEO named; who bears alone

The key that opes Olympus' lofty gate.

There, as the holy portals meet thy sight,

A friendly train around thy steps shall throng,
Accomplished bards, whom virtuous toils delight,

Lords of the lyre, and masters of the song.

But

But two beyond the rest, those precincts grace ;
The first from GRÆGIA, of distinguished fame,
To whom, derived from LASCAR'S noble race,
The triple-fronted God concedes his name,
'Twas he my infant steps, with ceaseless care,
Guarded, and loved me with a parent's love ;
He bade me to the muse's hill repair,
And pointed out the glorious meed above.
Illustrious BEMBO next ; whose honied tongue,
Gives in three languages his thoughts to flow ;
O'er whose blest birth the sister graces hung,
And taught his mind with all their charms to glow.
Be these thy guides ; and to his presence brought,
Thou, with submissive lip, his holy feet
Touch reverent ; then, with sacred fervour fraught,
In strains like these, the mighty pontiff greet.
" PASTOR REVER'D, propitious be thy smile,
" O'er all thy flock, to earth's remotest ends ;
" Nor thou refuse the offspring of his toil,
" The Grecian tome thy duteous ALDUS sends—
" Sends, but in conscious independence bold,
" A great remuneration dares to claim ;
" Not silver high emboss'd, nor heaps of gold,
" Nor splendid robes with purple tints that flame ;
" But that thy hand might dash the fiend of war,
" That now relentless o'er EUGANIA'S plain
" Roams uncontrolled, and drives his iron car
" Thro' scenes of horror and o'er heaps of slain.
" What heart so hard, that would not melt to hear
" The orphan's wail, the widow's piercing cry ?
" Antiphates himself might drop a tear,
" And Polyphemus heave a pitying sigh ;

“ Temples and domes a common ruin share ;
 “ The crackling harvests in the flame expire ;
 “ Whilst fierce barbarians, all unused to spare,
 “ Glean the last relicks of destructive fire :
 “ Calm thou their fierce contentions, MIGHTY CHIEF ;
 “ To peace, to love thy erring sons restore ;
 “ From thee, let suffering nations find relief ;
 “ And bid contending monarchs rage no more.
 “ Deep hid within his cavern’s dark recess,
 “ Too long has Mars the goddess Peace confined ;
 “ Thou lead her forth, to harmonize, to bless,
 “ And with her bounteous gifts, enrich mankind.
 “ Then turn the tide of war on TURKEY’S shores,
 “ And curb the wolf-like, unbelieving band,
 “ Whose tyrant empire fainting GREECE deploras ;
 “ Whilst hovering now o’er IAPYGIA’S strand,
 “ They threaten in degrading chains to bind
 “ Thy sons, and banish the REDEEMER’S name ;
 “ But let them first thy ready vengeance find ;
 “ On ASIA’S shores let warlike myriads gleam.
 “ There let the GAUL, in mailed armour bright,
 “ Spur his proud steed, conspicuous from afar ;
 “ HELVETIA’S sons, on foot who urge the fight,
 “ Sweep o’er the field, a sable cloud of war.
 “ And they who joy to wield the glittering spear,
 “ The bold IBERIANS shall the battle grace ;
 “ GERMANIA’S giant offspring too be there,
 “ And, lov’d of Mars, BRITANNIA’S hardy race.
 “ And all who yet survive the wasteful sword,
 “ Italia’s heroes, long in battle tried ;
 “ All prompt to march thro’ regions unexplor’d ;
 “ Scale the steep hill, or stem the surging tide.

“ With

" With these PÆONIA's tribes, the bow who bend,
 " Their feathery shafts oft tinged in Turkish blood ;
 " And VENICE there her countless fleets shall send ;
 " Imperial VENICE, mistress of the flood.
 " SPAIN's floating battlements, of mountain size,
 " Tow' rds the wideHELLESPONT their course shall steer,
 " And whilst their towering masts salute the skies,
 " Each warlike prow the healing cross shall bear.
 " Then o'er BYZANTIUM's towers, if once again
 " The light of freedom dawn ; if then, repress
 " By thy victorious arms, on GRÆCIA's plain
 " The poisonous dragon low'r his hateful crest,
 " 'Tis all achieved—for then, from bondage freed,
 " ACHAIA's sons their ancient fires shall feel ;
 " Beneath their hands the barbarous foe shall bleed,
 " Or fly before their swift avenging steel.
 " And shouts of triumph, and victorious songs,
 " And grateful anthems, shall to heaven arise ;
 " And whilst around thee crowd the conquering throngs
 " All ASIA's wealth shall glitter in thine eyes.
 " And clad in sounding arms, the warrior bold
 " Shall join the dance and share the social mirth ;
 " Revolving time a better age unfold ;
 " And sacred justice, long estranged from earth,
 " Again return propitious ; nor in vain
 " Raise o'er the guilty head her awful sword ;
 " And all mankind, beneath thy equal reign,
 " Enjoy the lasting peace by thee restored.
 " Haste happier hours ! meanwhile, with pleas'd regard,
 " Let drooping SCIENCE own thy fostering care ;
 " O let the studious, but neglected, bard,
 " Thy favouring smile, thy liberal bounty share.

" From

" From GRECIA'S shores, from fair ITALIA'S clime,
 " Call thou their noble sons impatient forth ;
 " Ingenuous youths, who feel the glow sublime,
 " Of native genius, or paternal worth.
 " And 'midst thy ROME a calm retreat provide,
 " Hid from the crowd ; but near the sheltered home,
 " Let the fair Naiads roll their constant tide ;
 " So may it emulate the far-famed dome
 " Of Grecian ACADEME ; where once 'twas mine,
 " To pour instruction 'midst the youthful band ;
 " Imbue the generous breast with truths divine,
 " Retracing all that early culture plan'd.
 " These now no more remain—yet still survive
 " The latent sparks of learning's holy flame ;
 " O let thy breath its genuine glow revive,
 " Till each young bosom catch the lucid beam.
 " On TIBER'S banks ATHENIAN bands shall rove,
 " Nor mourn to quit ILYSSUS' favour'd strand ;
 " Surrounding thousands shall thy toils approve,
 " And give thy name to every distant land.
 " Through every clime, in every varied tongue,
 " The Rhetor's eloquence, the Poet's fire,
 " To future ages shall thy praise prolong ;
 " And but with time itself thy fame expire.
 " Too oft, forgetful of their trust divine,
 " Have former pontiffs burnt with warlike rage ;
 " But, by paternal maxims taught, 'tis thine
 " To heal the wounds of war, and meliorate the age."
 Thus by thy strain, IMMORTAL PLATO ! fir'd,
 Shall mighty aims engage his ardent mind ;
 Such once his father's glowing breast inspired,
 The friend of peace, the light of human kind.

Then

Then, whilst his wondering eye thy form shall trace,
 In full dilated majesty outspread;
 The sacred features of thy beaming face,
 And ample honours of thy hoary head,
 Awhile in pleas'd attention shall he bend,
 And to thy precepts yield a willing ear:
 But now thy destined hour arrives—ascend
 And join the triumphs of the heavenly sphere.

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

The result of these verses,^(a) and of the assiduity of Musurus in executing the commission intrusted to him by the pope, was manifested in his appointment to the archbishoprick of Malvasia in the Morea,^(b) which had lately become vacant

Musurus appointed archbishop of Malvasia.

(a) "Sed longe excellit Elegia Græca, qua Platonis opera edita ab Aldo MDXIII. præmunivit; partim in Platonis laudes, partim Leoni x. offerens istam editionem, illiusque patrocinium ambiens, et partim illum ad bellum Turcicum excitans. Cujus carminis gratia maxime creditur factus fuisse archiepiscopus." *Hod. de Græc. illustr.* 300.

(b) Jovius informs us, that Musurus was appointed archbishop of Ragusa. *Iscritt.* p. 62. Into which error he was probably led, by not being aware, that there are two places in Europe, called in Latin *Epidaurus*; viz. *Ragusa* in Dalmatia, and *Malvasia* in the Morea; of the latter of which Musurus was archbishop. The see of Ragusa was at this time filled by Giovanni de Volterra. v. *Agostini, Notizie di Batt. Egnazio. op. Calogerà Opusc.* v. 33. p. 23. Tiraboschi places the promotion of Musurus about 1517, adding, that he enjoyed his dignity but a short time, having died in the autumn of the same year. *Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vii. par. i. p. 424.* It is however certain, that the promotion of Musurus took place in or before the year 1516, as appears from the preface to the Aldine edition of Pausanias, published in the last mentioned year, "Hæc autem a nobis præstari tibi potuerunt, suasore adjutoreque M. Musuro; quem nuper heroicarum literarum decus, Venetiis propagantem Græciæ priscis autoribus partim illustri juventuti enarrandis non sine laude, partim emendatione castigationeque in pristinum nitorem, quoad ejus fieri poterat, restituendis, LEO X. PONT. OPT. MAX. sponte sua, nihil tale cogitantem, admirabili consensu S. S. cardinalium in archiepiscopalem dignitatem evexit. Quæ res ut non mediocrem sanctissimo pastori laudem peperit,

vacant by the death of Manilius Rhallus, another learned Greek, on whom Leo had before conferred that dignity as a reward for his talents and his learning.^(a) Nor did Musurus live long to enjoy his honours, having died at Rome, in the autumn of the year 1517. It has been asserted, on the authority of Valerianus and Jovius, that his death was occasioned by his regret and vexation at not having been honoured with the purple, as a reward for his literary labours;^(b) but there seems to be neither truth nor probability in this opinion; and, although the Greek poem of Musurus entitled its author to rank with the most celebrated scholars of the age,^(c) yet the munificence of the pope seems not to have been inferior to the pretensions of the poet. In fact, those writers, always in search of the marvellous, are frequently obliged to resort to the doubtful or the false, in order to complete their literary wonders; which,

“peperit, ita literatis ad bene sperandum certissimum signum erexit.” That he did not long live to enjoy his dignity, may however be conjectured from his epitaph at Rome.

MUSURE, O MANSURE PARUM, PROPERATA TULISTI
PRÆMIA; NAMQUE CITO TRADITA, RAPTA CITO.

(a) He was a native of Sparta, and had been the friend and fellow-student of Marullus at Naples, whom he also emulated in the composition of Latin epigrams. “—uterque epigrammatum Poeta,” says Giraldi, “sed Rhallo Marullus cultior argutiorque, Marullo Rhallus fortunatior, quippe qui a Leone X. his mensibus Cretensium sit pontificatu honestatus.” *Gir. de Poet. suor. temp.* Politiano donominates him “Græcus homo sed latinis literis adprime excultus.” *Miscel. c. lxxiii. Hodius, de Græc. illust. p. 293.*

(b) *Valer. de Literat. infel. lib. i. p. 16. Jovius, in Iscritt. p. 63.*

(c) *Jovius, ubi sup.* Erasmus has noticed the great acquirements of Musurus in very favourable terms. “Musurus autem, ante senectutem periit, posteaquam ex benignitate Leonis cœperat esse archiepiscopus. Vir natione Græcus, nimirum Cretensis; sed latinæ linguæ usque ad miraculum doctus, quod vix ulli Græco contigit, præter Theodorum Gazam, & Joannem Lascarem, qui adhuc in vivis est.” *Erasm. Ep. lib. xxiii. Ep. 5.*

which, if true, would be sufficient to deter posterity from those studies, that, according to their representation, can only terminate in disappointment, poverty, and disgrace.

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

The before-mentioned edition of the works of Plato was published in the month of September, 1513, and is allowed to have conferred great honour, not only on the talents and diligence of Musurus, but on the professional abilities of Aldo; who has prefixed to it a dedication in prose to Leo X. in which that eminent printer refers in so particular a manner to the character of the pontiff, and to the expectations formed of him at this early period, as to render some parts of it peculiarly interesting.

Dedication of
the works of
Plato to Leo
X.

“ It is an ancient proverb, most holy father,” says he,
 “ that when the head aches, all the members suffer. If this
 “ be true, as to the chief part of the human body, it is still
 “ more so with respect to the manners and conduct of those
 “ princes and great men, who are, as it were, the head of the
 “ people. It has been shewn, by long experience, that such
 “ as the governors are, such are the subjects; and that
 “ whatever the former propose for their imitation, the latter
 “ are also eager to copy. On this account your elevation
 “ to the pontificate was regarded with such satisfaction by
 “ all Christians, that they did not hesitate to congratulate
 “ each other on the cessation of those evils by which we have
 “ been so long afflicted, and on the return of the bles-
 “ sings which distinguished the golden age. We have, said
 “ they, obtained a prince, a pontiff, and a father, such as
 “ we have long wished, and of whose assistance, in these
 “ times, we stand in the greatest need. This I have myself
 “ heard

CHAP. XI. " heard repeated from all quarters. Nor is their confidence
 A. D. 1513. " unfounded; for many things concur to shew, that you will
 A. Æt. 38. " fulfil their wishes. First, it may truly be observed, that
 A. Pont. I. " even from your infancy, until your arrival at the pontifi-
 " cate, your life and conduct have been pious and irre-
 " proachable. In the next place, the family of *Medici* is
 " the nursery of eminent men. From this stock, sprung (not
 " to speak of others) your excellent father Lorenzo; a man
 " endowed with such prudence, as whilst he lived, to have
 " preserved the tranquillity not only of his own country, but
 " of all Italy. That his life had still been prolonged is my ear-
 " nest wish; for, in that case, the war which broke out in Italy
 " soon after his death, and which now rages in that country,
 " and in consequence throughout all Europe, would either
 " never have commenced, or if it had commenced, would,
 " as is generally believed, have been speedily extinguished
 " by him, by means of that authority and prudence which
 " he so successfully exerted on many other occasions. O most
 " deplorable event! O loss, ever to be regretted and la-
 " mented! One consolation, however, remains to us; that
 " as these dreadful commotions began soon after the death of
 " your father, so by the elevation of you, his son, to the
 " dignity of supreme pontiff, they will, by your labours and
 " your care, be extinguished. In the third place, when I
 " advert to your time of life, and consider that in your
 " elevation to the pontificate, when you had not attained
 " your thirty-eighth year, you were preferred to so many re-
 " spectable fathers and venerable prelates, it seems to me to
 " manifest the divine interposition. For as there was much
 " to be done in correcting the affairs of the Christian
 " church, and reforming the morals of those who reside in
 " every part of the world, the task required a long life;
 " and

“ and God has therefore chosen you, a young man of unim-
 “ peachable conduct and morals, to fulfil, by long services,
 “ this important task, without being disheartened by labour,
 “ or discouraged by difficulties.

“ Brief are the hours of rest the man must share,

“ On whom a nation casts its weight of care.”(a)

Aldo then adverts to the extension of the Christian territory by the discoveries of Emanuel, king of Portugal, in the east; after which, returning to his immediate subject, he thus proceeds: “ Nor does less honour await you, holy
 “ father, from the restoration of literature, and the supply-
 “ ing learned men of the present and future ages with va-
 “ luable books for the promotion of liberal arts and disci-
 “ pline. This has in former times been attempted by many,
 “ not only among the Greeks and Latins, but in other na-
 “ tions; and the good effects of their labours have secured
 “ immortality to their names. It has also been done in
 “ later days, both by those in private stations, and by su-
 “ preme pontiffs and illustrious sovereigns. Not to refer to
 “ others, how greatly was literature promoted by the la-
 “ bours of Nicholas V. How greatly, too, by your father
 “ Lorenzo! By whose assiduity, had they enjoyed a
 “ longer life, many works would certainly have been pre-
 “ served which are now lost, and those which we possess,
 “ would have been rendered much more correct. It re-
 “ mains, therefore, for you, the great successor of the one,
 “ and the worthy son of the other, to complete that which
 they

(a) Οὐ χεὶρ πανύχιον εὐδαιον βεληφόρον ἄνδρα,
 Ὡς λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτιτράφεται, καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε.

CHAP. XI.
 A. D. 1513.
 A. Æt. 38.
 A. Pont. I.

“ they were, by a premature death, prevented from accom-
 plishing.” This excellent and indefatigable artist then re-
 fers to his own labours. “ This stone,” says he, “ I have
 long endeavoured to roll; in which attempt I seem to
 myself another Sisyphus; not having yet been able to
 reach the top of the hill. Some learned men consider
 me, indeed, rather as a Hercules; because, unmindful of
 difficulties and dangers, I have rendered greater services
 to the cause of letters, than any other person for many
 ages past. This has so far entitled me to their esteem,
 that both in person and by letter, they almost weary me
 with their commendations; *sed ego non credulus illis*; nor
 in truth have I ever yet published a book which has
 pleased myself. Such is the regard which I bear to lite-
 rature, that I wish to render those books which are in-
 tended for the use of the learned, not only as correct, but
 as beautiful as possible. On this account, if there be an
 error, although ever so trivial, occasioned by my own
 oversight, or by that of those who assist me in the task
 of correction, although *opere in magno fas est obrepere som-
 num*, for these works are not the labour of a day, but of
 many years, without rest or intermission, yet so greatly
 do I regret these errors, that I would gladly expunge each
 of them at the expense of a piece of gold.”(a)

Leo was neither unacquainted with the merits of Aldo,
 nor insensible to his commendations; the former of which
 he acknowledged, and the latter of which he repaid, by
 a papal bull, bearing date the twenty-eighth day of
 November,

(a) The reader may consult the dedication, as given entire from the original edition,
 in the Appendix, No. XCII.

November, 1513. He there notices the strenuous exertions and great expenses of Aldo, during many years, in the cause of literature; particularly in the printing Greek and Latin books with metal types, which he observes are so elegantly executed, as to appear to be written with a pen. He then grants to him an exclusive privilege, for fifteen years, of reprinting and publishing all Greek and Latin books which he had already printed or might afterwards print, in types discovered by himself, as well as for the use of the *cursive*, or Italic type, of which he was the inventor. These concessions he secures to him, by denouncing not only heavy pecuniary penalties, but also the sentence of excommunication against all such as should encroach upon his privileges; recommending to him, however, to sell his books at a reasonable price, of which he declares that he has the fullest confidence, from the integrity and obedience of the printer.(a)

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1513.

A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

Leo grants to Aldo a privilege for publishing the Greek and Roman authors.

The restoration of the Roman Academy, and the institution of the Greek Seminary in Rome, speedily led the way to the establishment of a press for printing Greek books in that city; the superintendence of which was also intrusted to Lascar, who himself corrected the works which issued from it. His abilities in this province had already been

Greek press established by Leo X. at Rome, and works there published.

(a) Fabroni, after noticing this privilege granted by Leo to Aldo, adds, "Ut vero gratum animum suum Aldus Pontifici declararet, eidem nuncupavit editionem Platonis, etc." From which it would seem as if the dedication of Plato to Leo X. was addressed to him by Aldus, in consequence of this favour; the reverse of which seems however to have been the fact, as the dedication bears date in September, and the privilege in November, 1513. This privilege was published by Aldo in his edition of the Commentaries of Nicolo Perotti, entitled CORNUCOPIA. Ven. 1513. fo. from which it is given in the Appendix, No. XCIII.

CHAP. XI.
 A. D. 1514.
 A. Æt. 39.
 A. Pont. II.

been sufficiently evinced by his edition of the Greek *Anthologia*, printed in capital letters at Florence, in the year 1494, and inscribed by him to Piero de' Medici; and by that of Callimachus, printed in capitals at the same place, and most probably about the same period. It has also been conjectured, that for several other works, which about the same time issued from the press of Lorenzo Francesco de Alopa, the world is indebted to the industry of the same distinguished scholar.(a) As the Roman press was more particularly intended to promote the objects of the Greek seminary, and as the works of Homer, which had been splendidly published at Florence, in the year 1488, were unaccompanied by any commentary, it was thought expedient to print the ancient Greek Scholia on that first of poets, which was accordingly published in the year 1517;(b) and

(a) Of these, Maittaire has enumerated, besides the *Anthologia* and *Callimachus*, an edition of four of the tragedies of Euripides, the *Gnomæ Monostichoi*, and the *Argonautics* of *Apollonius Rhodius*; which are all the works he had met with printed in capitals. *Annal. Typog.* i. 101. But it must be observed, that some of them were printed after the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, and when it is probable that Lascar had quitted that city to accompany Charles VIII. on his return to France.

(b) This work appeared with the following title, "Lectori. HOMERI INTERPRES
 " PERVETUSTUS, infinitis propemodum malignitate temporum laceratus plagis, Medicum
 " olim Quirinalis, jam Caballini montis Gymnasium adii; ibique haud parvo negotio in
 " integrum restitutus, purus nitidusque ac mille fratribus auctus matris fecundissima
 " chalcographorum artis beneficio in lucem prodeò: parentis generosæ studiorum professi-
 " onis penetralia reserans. Debes id quoque, lector candide, LEONI X. PONTIFICI MAXI-
 " MO, cujus providentia ac benignitate Gymnasium nuper institutum viget, frugisque
 " bonæ testimonium perhibens bona sua studiosis perquam liberaliter impertit."

At the end,

Ἐτυκώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ λόφον. Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῷ ἰουγενῆς καὶ σοφῷ ἀνδρὸς, προξένου
 τῶν λογίων καὶ κηδεμόνος ἀρίστου τῷ Κολλοτίῳ τῶν ἀποκέρητων γραμματικῶς τῷ ἄκρῳ ἀρχιεπίσκω,
 κ. τ. λ. *Hodius de Græc. illustr.* p. 254.

This volume is accompanied by a privilege from Leo X. which is given in the Appendix, No. XCIV.

and was followed in the year 1518, by the Scholia on the tragedies of Sophocles, which then also for the first time issued from the press.^(a) In these works the citations from the text are printed in capitals, in order to distinguish them from the comment, and facilitate the use of the books to the pupils.^(b)

A. D. 1514.

A. Æt. 39.

A. Pont. II.

The efforts of Leo X. for the promotion of liberal studies, were emulated by many persons of rank and opulence; but by no one with greater munificence and success, than by a merchant, who had for some time resided at Rome, and who deserves more particular commemoration in the annals both of literature and of art, than he has hitherto obtained. Agostino Chisi, Chigi, or Ghisi, as he is variously named, was a native of Siena, who having frequent occasion, in his mercantile concerns, to resort to Rome, at length fixed his abode there, and erected for himself a splendid mansion in the *Transtevere*, which he decorated with works in painting and sculpture, by the greatest artists of the time.^(c) He had long been considered as the wealthiest merchant

Agostini Chigi,
a merchant at
Rome, a pa-
tron of lite-
rature and
arts.

(a) COMMENTARII in septem Tragœdias Sophoclis, quæ ex aliis ejus compluribus solæ superfuerunt: opus exactissimum rarissimumque in GYMNASIO MEDICEO Caballini montis a LEONE X. PONTIFICE MAXIMO constituto, recognitum repurgatumque, &c. Besides the before-mentioned works, an edition of Porphyrius was published from the same press, entitled, PORPHYRII OPUSCULA dicuntur LEONIS X. PONTIFICIS MAXIMI beneficio e tenebris eruta, impressaque in GYMNASIO MEDICEO ad Caballinum montem, with other pieces illustrating the writings of Homer. v. *Hod. de Græc. illustr.* p. 256.

(b) *Maittaire, Ann. Typ. vol. i. p. 101.*

(c) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori. passim.* This mansion was afterwards purchased by the family of the Farnese, to whom it yet belongs, and is known by the name of the *Farnesina*.

merchant in Italy, *(a)* and on the expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples, had advanced, for the use of that monarch, a considerable sum of money, which, however, there is reason to believe he had not the good fortune to recover. That he carried on an extensive intercourse with foreign parts, may be conjectured from the applications made on his behalf to the French court, for the liberation of certain ships belonging to him, which had been captured, during the contests between Louis XII. and Julius II. and detained in the ports of France. *(b)* On the rejoicings which had taken place on the procession of Leo. X. to the Lateran, Agostino exceeded, in the magnificence and taste of the devices exhibited in honour of the pontiff, every other individual in Rome. A great part of his wealth was supposed to have arisen from his having rented, under Julius II. the mines of salt and of allum, belonging to the Roman see. On the elevation of Leo X. the profits of the latter had been granted to Lorenzo, the nephew of the pontiff; but after a long negotiation between him and Agostino, in which the latter appears to have conducted himself with great propriety, and even liberality, the contract with him, as sole vender of this article, was renewed. From this period we find him frequently mentioned in the confidential correspondence of the Medici family, as their associate and friend. *(c)* Of the liberal encouragement which he afforded to the professors of painting, sculpture, and every other branch of art, and of the partiality and attachment with

(a) He is denominated, in a letter from Leonardo da Porto, to Antonio Savorgnano, in the year 1511. "Agostino Ghisi, mercante più ricco, che alcuno altro d'Italia." *Lettere di Principi. v. i. p. 6. b.*

(b) *Lettere di Principi. v. i. p. 19.*

(c) *MSS. Florent. v. App. No. XCV.*

with which he was regarded by them, instances will occur to our future notice; but the professors of literature were not without their share of his attention; and whilst Leo X. was employing all his efforts for the restoration of ancient learning, Agostino had devoted himself to the same object, in a manner which confers great honour on his memory. Among those learned men whom he distinguished by his particular favour, was Cornelio Benigno, of Viterbo,^(a) who united to a sound critical judgment, an intimate acquaintance with the Greek tongue, and had before joined with a few other eminent scholars in revising and correcting the geographical work of Ptolomæus, which was published at Rome, in the year 1507. Under the patronage of Chigi, Cornelio undertook to superintend an edition of the writings of Pindar, accompanied by the Greek Scholia. The printer whose assistance they had recourse to on this occasion, was Zaccaria Calliergo, a native of Crete, who had formerly resided at Venice, and obtained considerable applause by his edition of the great Etymological Dictionary of the Greek language, which he published there by the assistance of Musurus, in the year 1499.^(b) A printing-press was established in the house of Agostino; and at his expense, and by the labour of his learned associates, a fine edition in quarto of the works of Pindar, was published

Cornelio Benigno, of Viterbo.

Greek press of Zaccaria Calliergo.

VOL. II.

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in

^(a) "Optimè literatus fuit Cornelius Benignus Viterbiensis, neque ipse prosperâ satis fortunâ usus, postea enim quam *Augustinum Gysium*, Senensem, *Mæcenatem suum*, apud quem in honore fuerat, amisit, vitam inde nullo solatio egit." *Valer. de Literator. infel. lib. ii. p. 150.* If we may believe this author, who has aspersed or ridiculed most of the learned men of his time, Cornelio, at an advanced age, attempted to console himself by paying his addresses to a lady of rank, and being repulsed, died of love! — *Ibid.*

^(b) *Fabricii, Bib. Græc. x. 12, 21.*

in the month of August, 1515, (a) which is allowed to be executed with great accuracy; and, as well on account of the beauty of the workmanship, as of the Scholia by which it was accompanied, and which were now for the first time printed, is even preferred to the first edition of the same author, given by Aldo two years before. By this publication,

(a) Under the following title:

ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ,

ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ.

NEMEA.

ΠΥΘΙΑ

ΙΣΘΜΙΑ.

Μετὰ ἐξηγήσεως παλαιᾶς πάνυ ὠφελίμου,
καὶ σχολίων ὁμοίων.



Impressi Romæ per Zachariam Calergi Cretensem, permissu S. D. N. LEONIS X. PONT. MAX. ea etiam conditione, ut nequis alius per quinquennium hos imprimere, aut venundare libros possit; utque qui secus fecerit, is ab universa dei Ecclesia toto orbe terrarum expers excommunicatusque censeatur.

At the close of the book is the following Colophon:

Ἡ τῷ Πινδάρῳ περίοδος αὐτῆς, τῶν Ὀλυμπιονίκων, Πυθιονίκων, Νεμεονίκων τε καὶ Ἰσθμιονίκων,
ῥώμῃ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, παρὰ τοῖς οἰκίοις τῷ μεγαλοπρεποῦς Αὔγουστῳ τῷ κισίῳ
ἐκτυπωθῆσα

tion, Agostino anticipated the pontiff in the introduction of the Greek typography, and produced the first book which had been printed in that language at Rome. (a) To the same press we are also indebted for a correct edition of the Idyllia, and Epigrams of Theocritus, which appeared in the year 1516, (b) and which has been resorted to by a learned modern editor, as the most accurate and complete

κ κ 2

among

ικτυπωθεῖσα, πέρας εἴληφεν ἤδη σὺν θεῷ· ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτῷ, διὰ παραίτησιν τῆ λογίᾳ ἀνδρὸς Κορηλίου Βενίγῳ τῷ οὐτιερβίῳ· πῶν δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι Ζαχαρίου Καλλιέργου τῷ Κρητῷ· ἔτι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σάρκι οἰκονομίας τῷ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, χιλιοσῶ, φ' εἰ. μηνὸς Αὐγούστου, ιγ'. ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ μεγίστου ἀρχιερέως, ὁσίων οἰκονομῆντος Ῥώμῃ.

(a) This is commemorated in the following lines addressed by Benedetto Lampridio to the editor.

Λαμπρίδιος, Κορηλίῳ Βενίγῳ τῷ Οὐτιερβίῳ.
 Εὐδοξὸς Θύμβρις, πάρος οὐκ ἐχάρασσε ἀγαυοὺς
 Ἑλλήνων μόχθους χαλκογράφοισι τύποις.
 Ἦν τόδ᾽ ἐμὴν τέρας, ἦν καὶ νῆ Δία πελὺ δικάως·
 Ἔργον γὰρ μεγάλη Ῥώμῃ ἵοικε μέγα.
 Νῦν δὲ γε τοῦτο τέρας πίσι, σῶις, Κορηλίε, δάροις,
 Χ' ἡμῖν γραικόλυπου καλλὸς ἐπῆλθε πόρου.
 Ὡς δ' ἄλλοις προφέρει λοιπῶν πόλις αὐτῆ ἄιασσα,
 Οὕτω καὶ βίβλοις φαιδρῶτάρας κρατίει.

(b) Under the following title,

ΤΑΔΕ ΕΝΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΝ Τῆ ΠΑΡΟΥ
 Σῆ ΒΙΒΛΩ.

Θεοκρίτου εἰδύλλια ἑξ καὶ τριάκοντα.
 Τῶ αὐτῷ ἐπιγράμματα ἐννέα καὶ δέκα.
 Τῶν αὐτῷ πελίκου καὶ πτερύγιον.
 Σχόλια τ' ἅ εἰς αὐτὰ εὐρεσκόμενα. ἐκ διὰ
 φερῶν ἀντιγράφων, εἰς ἐν συλλεχθέντα.

After which follows the Imperial Eagle, or Impresa of Calliergo, with the letters Z. K.

At

among the early editions of that charming author; and as that on which he chiefly relied for the correction of those errors, which the inattention or inaccuracy of subsequent printers had introduced. (a)

The

At the close we read,

Λίοντος Μεγίστου ἀρχιερέως δικάτου πάπα Ῥώμης ὁσίως αὐτὴν οἰκονομῶντος καὶ τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐν ταύτῃ οὐκ εὐνομίᾳ χωρὶς τυπώθεν, πέρας εἴληφεν ἡ δὲ σὺν θεῷ. ἀγαλώμασι μὲν τῷ λογίῳ ἀνδρὶ Κορηλίῳ Βινύγῳ τῷ Οὐνταρβίῳ. πόσω δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι Ζαχαρίῳ καλλιέργῳ τῷ κρητῶς. Μηνὸς Ἰανουαρίου, ιβ'. Χιλιοσῶν πεντακοσιοσῶν δικατημῆται.

“ Leonis X. Pont. Max. litteris cautum est, ne quis possit tam Pindarum, qui nuper cum commentariis editus est, quam Theocritum hunc impressum, cum additione et commentariis, per decennium imprimere, aut venundare. Sub pœna Excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, refectionis damnorum et expensarum, et amissionis librorum.”

(a) This edition of Calliervo is denominated by the celebrated Reiske, in his Theocritus, *Vien. & Leips.* 1765. “ Editio præstantissima, et exemplar omnium insecutarum; nisi si quid Henricus Stephanus ab hoc exemplo discessit. Explevit enim Zacharias Aldinæ lacunas, & non pauca carmina bucolicorum græcorum, quæ ad Aldi manus non pervenerant addidit; neque fuit post Zachariam qui Theocritum nova quadam accessione locupletaret,” &c. *In præf. p. 12.*

The same learned editor afterwards adds, “ Quod si essem copiis & usu vetustorum librorum et peritiæ rerum in literis, seculis xv. et xvi. gestarum instructor, otioque præterea si abundarem, erat hic commodus locus de typographia a Zacharia Calliervo Romæ adornata, et de libris ab eo profectis, item de Cornelio Benigno, Viterbiense qui sumptus huic editioni erogasse dicitur, nec non de numero carminum Theocritiorum disputandi,” &c. *Ib. p. 14.*

It is surprising, that the indefatigable Tiraboschi, should not only have omitted to notice the efforts of Leo X. and of his coadjutors and competitors, in their attempts to establish a Greek typography in Rome, but should expressly have attributed its introduction to the liberality of the cardinals Marcello Cervini, and Alessandro Farnese about the year 1539, whilst such decisive monuments remain of its commencement and success under the auspices of Leo X. at a much earlier period. *v. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vii. par. i. p. 183. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. in dedicat.*

The labours of Lascar, of Musurus, and other native Greeks, in diffusing the study of the Greek language throughout Italy, were rivalled, if not surpassed, by several learned Italians, who had devoted themselves chiefly to this department of literature, and shared with them in the esteem and the favour of the supreme pontiff. Among these, one of the most distinguished was Guarino, a native of Favera, in the state of Camerino, whence he assumed the surname of *Favorino*; and having, in compliance with the custom of the Italian scholars, transformed his name of Guarino into the more classical appellation of *Varino*, he sometimes, stiled himself *Varinus Favorinus*, or *Phavorinus*; and at others *Varino Camerti*. The period of his birth is placed by a well-informed writer, some years after the middle of the fifteenth century.^(a) In acquiring a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, he had the good fortune to obtain the instructions of Politiano, who has left, in one of his letters, an honourable testimony of the proficiency of his pupil;^(b) of the opportunities thus afforded him, he availed himself with such diligence, that very few, even of the Greeks themselves, could equal him in the knowledge of that language. During his residence in Florence, he appears to have been particularly devoted to the service of the Medici family, and is said, although

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A. Æt. 39.

A. Pont. II.

Greek literature promoted by learned Italians.

Varino Camerti.

(a) Zeno. *Giornale d'Italia*, xix. 91.

(b) "Varinus, civis tuus, auditor meus, ad summum linguæ utriusque fastigium pleno gradu contendit; sic ut inter doctos jam conspicuus digito monstretur." *Pol. Ep. lib. vii. Ep. 2. ad Mac. Mutium*. Zeno, on the authority of Ughelli, and the erroneous construction of the sepulchral inscription of Varino, had asserted, that he also received instructions from Giovanni Lascar. *Giorn. d'Ital.* xix. 92. But he afterwards corrected this error. *Ibid.* xx. 277.

CHAP. XI.
 A. D. 1514.
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 A. Pont. II.

His Thesaurus
 Cornucopiæ.

although perhaps erroneously, to have given instructions, as preceptor, to Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X. (a) He also formed an intimacy there with Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. which continued uninterrupted until the death of that pontiff. The first publication of Varino, was a collection of grammatical tracts in the Greek language, selected with incredible labour from the remains of thirty-four ancient grammarians, whose names are prefixed to the work. (b) In this compilation he was assisted by Carlo Antinori, another disciple of Politiano, and even by

(a) He is called, in one of the inscriptions on his tomb, Τῆς Μεδικῆς οἰκίας τρέφειμος, which may be admitted as a proof, that he was educated in the family of the Medici; but not that he acted as a preceptor there; nor has Zeno, who mentions it, adduced any authority to this effect. *Giorn. d'Ital.* xix. 92. It is not indeed probable, that whilst Politiano was yet living, the education of the brothers of the Medici would be transferred from him to one of his pupils.

(b) Under the following title—ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ Κίρας Ἀμαλθίας καὶ κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος. THESAURUS CORNUCOPIÆ ET HORTI ADONIDIS, which the learned printer, in his preface, thus explains: "Ecce habetis opus oppido quam utile et necessarium, quem Κίρας Ἀμαλθίας, quem Κῆποις Ἀδώνιδος quem jure THESAURUM appellaverim. In eo enim ferè omnia reposita sunt quæ desiderare quis possit ad perfectam absolutamque cognitionem literarum græcarum, et eorum præcipue quæ leguntur apud poetas; qui verba variis figuris ac linguis, ita sæpe immutant, ut facilius sit Nili caput quam alicujus temporis thema aut principium invenire. Sed hoc libro quam facillima facta sunt omnia," &c. This edition, which Zeno says, is "molto rara, e però notissima a pochi," is preceded by the Latin preface of Aldo, after which follows the letter of Politiano before mentioned, which is not found in the general collection of his works. The ensuing page contains four Greek epigrams, in praise of the author, by Politiano, Aristobolo Apostolo, Scipione Carteromaco, and Aldo; and these are succeeded by two epistles in Greek, the one from Carteromaco to Varino, and the other from Varino to Piero de' Medici, as a dedication of the work; which he inscribes to him as an acknowledgment of the benefits which he had himself received, in having been permitted to attend with the young men of the family of Antinori, on the instructions of Politiano. At the close of the volume we read,

"Venetiis in domo Aldi Romani, summa cura laborèque præmagno, Mense
 " Augusto, M. MCCC. D. Ab. ill. Senatu V. concessum est ne quis, &c. ut in
 " ceteris. Vale qui legeris."

by Politiano himself, who also honoured him with a commendatory letter, and a Greek epigram to be prefixed to the volume.(a) The publication was undertaken by Aldo Manuzio, in which he was assisted by the celebrated Urbano Valeriano, who will occur to our future notice, as another successful promoter of Grecian literature. The first edition of this work made its appearance in the year 1496,(b) and is justly considered as one of the finest productions of the Aldine press. Succeeding grammarians have adverted to this collection in terms of approbation, and the learned Budæus is said to have made considerable use of it in his commentaries on the Greek tongue.(c) It was however reserved for the indefatigable Henry Stephens, to compleat the building of which Varino had laid the foundation; which he did in his *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*, which is considered as the most complete body of grammatical knowledge extant in any language, but for the title and idea of which he appears to have been indebted to Varino.

Having engaged in an ecclesiastical life, and entered into the order of Benedictines, Varino was, in the year
1508,

(a) " Primus labor in eo (libro) says Aldo in his preface, " fuit Guarini Camertis, et Caroli Antenorei Florentini; hominum multi studii, ac in Græcarum literarum lectione frequentium.—Hi simul ex Eustathio, Etymologico, et aliis dignis Grammaticis accipere hæc canonismata, digessereque per ordinem literarum; nec sine adjumento et consilio Angeli Politiani, viri summo ingenio ac impense docti." *Ald. in præf.*

(b) " Secundus vero labor meus fuit; qui ea omnia recognovi, non parvo labore, cum iis conferens unde excerpta voluminibus fuerant. Multa enim addidi; plurima immutavi, adjuvante interdum Urbano divi Francisci fratre optimo," &c. *Ib.*

(c) *Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia* xix. 108.

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1514.

A. *Æt.* 39.

A Pont. II.

Is appointed Librarian to the Medici family and bishop of Nocera.

1508, nominated by Julius II. archdeacon of Nocera,^(a) and in 1512, was intrusted by Leo X. then the cardinal de' Medici, with the superintendence of his private library, an office which he continued to enjoy after the elevation of that pontiff to the supreme dignity.^(b) The collection made by the cardinal in Rome, had, in the year 1508, been enriched by the addition of the library formed by the assiduity of his ancestors in Florence, and which, after the expulsion of his family in 1494, had been sold, as confiscated property, to the convent of S. Marco for three thousand gold ducats. From the monks of this convent who either were, or pretended to be, in want of money to discharge their debts, the cardinal afterwards purchased the same on reasonable terms, and the library was conveyed to Rome,^(c) where however it was always kept distinct from that of the Vatican, and was considered

as

(a) *Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia*, xix. 93.

(b) " *Consulam Varinum Camertem, qui bibliothecæ nostræ præest, hominem literatissimum et humanissimum, aut Scipionem Carteromachum familiarem etiam nostrum.*" In these words Giuliano de' Medici is represented as addressing his brother Giovanni. v. *Piero Alcyonio, de Exsilio*, lib. ii. p. 179. ap. *Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital.* xix. 93.

(c) " Anno 1508, cum propter supradicta ædificia, quæ cuncta impensis Conventus exstructa sunt, Conventus magna æris alieni quantitate gravaretur, et exsolvendi tempus instaret, nec aliunde præberetur facultas, decreverunt tandem Prior et Patres discreti, e nobilissima Mediceorum bibliotheca hujusmodi pecunias extrahere, quam nuper pretio trium millium ducatorum a Syndicis Rebellium, ut supra meminimus, comparaverat Conventus noster, et pro qua plurimos labores Fratres subierant, quam cum R. D. Dominus Joannes Medices, Magni Laurentii filius, et S. R. E. Cardinalis, cujus nuper paterna hæreditas fuerat, recuperare plurimum inhiaret, ipsi de permissione Dominationis Florentinæ venundarent, pretio . . . ducatorum. atque in hunc modum Bibliotheca illa Romam ad ipsum R. Dominum Cardinalem advecta; de quibus in actis hujus conventus plenius et clarius continetur." *Rob. de Galliano, S. Marci Cænob. alumn. ap. Fabr. vita Leon. x. in not.* 19. p. 265.

as the peculiar collection of the Medici family. The high esteem in which Varino was held by this family, sufficiently appears in the secret correspondence which was maintained at this period between Rome and Florence, where he is generally mentioned by the friendly appellation of *Guerino nostro*. In the year 1514, the general of the rich monastery of Vallombrosa, having been accused of misconduct in his office, was committed by order of the pope, to the castle of S. Angelo; where, on being threatened with the question, according to the detestable practice of the times, when the cord was applied to draw him up, he confessed that he had been guilty of some errors, one of which, it seems, was his having caused the handle of a razor to be adored as a piece of the wood of the cross. The real offence of the general appears, however, to have consisted in his having been an adversary to the Medici family, and in having selected his orisons from the Canticles, in such a manner as to pray for their destruction.^(a) His removal from his office was determined upon, and it was proposed that Varino should succeed him in this respectable and lucrative situation; but this not taking effect, the pope, in the month of July following, nominated Varino to the bishoprick of Nocera, which diocese he governed with great credit during upwards of twenty-three years.^(b) In the same correspondence many instances

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occur

(a) *MSS. Florent. v. Appendix, No. XCVI.*

(b) *Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital. xix. 95.* Varino died at Nocera, in the year 1537, and was interred in the chapel of S. Venanzio, where a noble monument was erected to his memory, with his statue in a reclined posture. Below are four inscriptions in Greek,

occur of the respect paid to his opinion on subjects of literature, and concerning the manuscripts of ancient authors. (a) The high estimation in which he was held by the pontiff, caused him also to be frequently resorted to by those who wished to obtain the favours of the Roman see; and it was chiefly by his means that Gianmaria Varani, Lord of Camerino, was honoured by the pope with the title of the first duke of that territory, by a decree which passed the consistory, on the thirtieth day of April, 1515. (b) The cardinal Innocenzio Cibò was deputed from Rome to place the ducal diadem on the head of Gianmaria, in which embassy he was attended by two bishops, one of whom was Varino, who had the honour of celebrating mass on the occasion, and of investing the duke with the insignia of his new rank, and also with those of prefect of Rome, and count of Sinigaglia. (c)

His Apothegms.

The next publication of Varino, was a translation into Latin of the apothegms of various Greek authors, collected by

Greek, one of which consists of the following verses of Politiano, prefixed to the Thesaurus of Varino.

Ελλάδι τοῖς ἰδίοις πεπλανημένη ἐν λαβυρίνθοις,
 Οὐ μίτον ἀλλὰ βίβλον παρέθετο δαιδάλειον,
 Οὐχ Ἕλλην, Ἴταλός δὲ Βαρῖνος· κούτι γε θαῦμα,
 Ἐγὼ νείοι τὴν γράυην ἀντιπελαργέομεν.

(a) MSS. Florent. v. *Appendix*, No. XCVII.

(b) On this occasion, Varani struck a medal in honour of Leo X. with the arms of Camerino on one side, and on the reverse, a laurel wreath, with the motto, "LEONIS X. CULTUI."

(c) *Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia*, xix. 94.

by Stobæus, which he dedicated to Leo X. and printed at Rome, in the year 1517,(a) Of this work another edition was published at Rome, in 1519, under a very different title;(b) and this was reprinted at Cracow, in 1529, with a Latin epigram in praise of the author, by a learned native of Poland.(c)

CHAP. XL.

A. D. 1514.

A. Æ. 39.

A. Pont. II.

But the great work by which Varino is known to the present times, and which will always secure to him an honourable rank among the promoters of Grecian literature, is his Greek dictionary, which, after the labour of many years, was completed by him in the life time of Leo X. who granted him a privilege for its publication; notwithstanding which, it did not make its appearance until the pontificate of

His Greek Dictionary under the name of Phavorinus.

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his

(a) "ΑΠΟΡΗΘΗΓΜΑΤΑ ex variis autoribus per JOANNEM STOBÆUM collecta, VARINO FAVORINO interprete."

At the close,

"Impræssum Romæ per Jacobum Mazochium, die xxvii. Men. Novemb.
"M.D.XVII." in 4to.

In the dedication, Varino thus addresses the pope: "Hunc igitur, B. P. tuo auspicio publicum accipere volui; ut qui tibi jampridem meas operas, meque totum dediderim, mea quoque studia accepta referam. Zeno, *Giorn. d'Ital.* xix. 110.

(b) VARINI CAMERTIS *Apophthegmata, ad bene beateque vivendum mire conducentia, nuper ex lympidissimo Græcorum fonte in latinum fideliter conversa, et longe antea impressis castigatiora, &c.*

At the close,

Romæ in ædibus Jacobi Mazochii, die xix. mensis Decembris, M.D.XIX. 8vo. Zeño, Giorn. d'Ital. xix. 111.

(c) "Lector candide, si cupis repente,
"Divina quasi virgula vocatus,
"Moralem Sophiam tibi parare,
"Hoc parvi moneo legas libelli,
"E græco tibi quod bonus VARINUS
"Traduxit, lepide simul latine."

Wences. Sobeslaviense. Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. xix. 112.

his successor Adrian VI. in the year 1523, when it was published at Rome, from the press of Zaccaria Calliergo.^(a) In this department Varino had indeed been preceded by Giovanni Crastone, a Carmelite monk, but the production of this ecclesiastic is so defective, that Varino is ranked as the first who favoured the learned world with an useful and authentic lexicon. The merit of this performance is fully confirmed by the authority of the celebrated Henry Stephens, in his *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*; not indeed in express terms, for he has not even mentioned the labours of his industrious predecessor; but by the more unequivocal circumstance of his having transcribed many parts of the volume published by Varino, and inserted them in his own more extensive work.^(b) The dictionary of Varino was, on its publication, dedicated by him to Giulio, cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. Another edition was printed at Basil, in the year 1538;^(c) and notwithstanding the various works of the same nature which have since been published, the authors
of

(a) "MAGNUM AC PERUTILE DICTIONARIUM quod quidem VARINUS PHAVORINUS CAMERS, Nucerinus Episcopus, ex multis variisque auctoribus in ordinem alphabeti collegit."

"LEONIS X. P. M. literis cautum est, ne quis possit hoc Varini Phavorini Episcopi Nucerini Magnum Dictionarium, impressum per Zachariam Calliergi Cretensem, per decennium imprimere aut venundare, sub poena excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, et amissionis librorum." Zeno, *Giorn. d'Ital.* xix. 118.

(b) Zeno, *Giorn. d'Italia*, xix. p. 114.

(c) This edition was superintended by the celebrated Camerarius, and inscribed by him to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg. It was printed at the press of *Robertus Chimerinus*, or Robert Winter, at Basil, under the following title:

Dictionarium VARINI PHAVORINI CAMERTIS, Nucerini Episcopi, magnum illud ac perutile, multis variisque ex autoribus collectum, totius linguæ Græcæ commentarius. Zeno, *Giorn. d'Ital.* xix. 119.

of which have availed themselves, without scruple, of the labours of Varino, his dictionary was again reprinted at Venice, in the year 1712, by Antonio Bartoli, in a correct and elegant manner,^(a) and yet retains its rank among those useful and laborious compilations, of which it set the first laudable example.^(b)

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1514.

A. Æt 39.

A. Pont. II.

Another eminent Italian scholar, who at this period distinguished himself by his proficiency in Greek literature, was Scipione Forteguerra, of Pistoja, better known by his scholastic appellation of *Carteromachus*, by which he chose to express his family name, in his favourite language. His origin was respectable, and his father had several times held the supreme magistracy of his native place. He was born in the year 1467, and received the rudiments of his education at Pistoia, whence he afterwards removed to Rome;^(c) but it was in the city of Florence, and under the directions of Politiano, that he acquired that thorough knowledge of the Greek language, on which his reputation is founded. On this occasion he was the fellow-student of Varino, and being associated with the Antenori, and other young men of rank, was allowed to receive instructions in the family of the Medici. From Florence he transferred his residence to Padua, whence he wrote, in the month of April, 1493, to his preceptor Politiano, with whom, as appears from this letter, he

Scipione Forteguerra, called Carteromachus.

(a) A full account of this edition is given by *Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital.* xix. 89.

(b) The various appellations assumed by Varino, have misled the French bibliographer de Bure, who has, in the general Index of his work, quoted *Guarino Camerti*, the author of the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ*, and *Varino Phavorino*, the compiler of the Greek Lexicon, as distinct authors.

(c) *Zeno, Giorn. d' Italia*, xx. 279. xxvi. 320.

he still maintained the most friendly intimacy.^(a) About the year 1500, he was invited by the senate of Venice to give instructions in the Greek language in that city. At this period he had acquired such credit by his proficiency in that tongue, that we are assured that the Greeks themselves acknowledged his superiority, even in their native language.^(b) On the elevation of Julius II. Scipione was called to Rome by that pontiff, and by him appointed to attend as preceptor and companion on his nephew, the cardinal Galeotto della Rovere, to whom Scipione soon afterwards inscribed an oration of Aristides, which he translated from the Greek.^(c) From the intimacy which subsisted between Galeotto and the cardinal de' Medici, it may be presumed, that Scipione at this period renewed that friendship with the latter, which had been formed when they were fellow-students at Florence. During his attendance on Galeotto, he met at Bologna with the celebrated Erasmus, who has described him as a man of deep and consummate erudition, but so remote from all ostentation, that unless called forth by controversy, no one would have suspected him to have been possessed of such accomplishments. The acquaintance which these distinguished scholars

(a) "Pudet equidem, *Politiæ*, præceptor optime, eam potissimum expectasse ad te scribendi occasionem, unde necessitudinis potius, quam voluntatis aut officii ratio appareret. Nam cum debuerim initio statim quo huc profectus sum, scribere ad te, ut est amici officium, ac multo magis *discipuli*, ego id prætermisi," &c. *Inter Pol. Ep. lib. xii. Ep. 22.*

(b) "— tametsi Latinus est, attamen vel Græci ipsi in suæ linguæ cognitione et subtilitate, primas deferunt." *P. Alcyon. de Exsilio. ap. Zeno, Giorn. d' Ital. xx. 282.*

(c) Published from the Aldine press, with the Augustine Historians, in the year 1519. *Zeno, Giorn. xxiv. 324.*

scholars then contracted, was ripened into more particular friendship when they met together at Rome. (a) On the untimely death of Galeotto in the year 1508, Scipione attached himself to Francesco Alidosio, cardinal of Pavia; after whose assassination at Ravenna, by the duke of Urbino, in the year 1511, he returned to Rome, and enjoyed the society of the few men of learning then resident there, and particularly of Angelo Colocci. If we may credit an eminent Italian critic, Scipione was indebted to Colocci, for his introduction to the friendship of the cardinal de' Medici; but we have already found sufficient reason to conclude, that their acquaintance had commenced at a much earlier period; (b) and it is certain, that before the elevation of Leo X. to the pontificate, Scipione was not only ranked among his friends, but resided with him under his roof. (c) After that fortunate event, Leo is said to have appointed Scipione to direct the studies of his cousin Giulio de' Medici, then archbishop elect of Florence,

(a) "Bononiæ primùm videre contigit Scipionem Carteromachum, reconditæ et absolutæ eruditionis hominem; sed usque adeo alienum ab ostentatione, ut ni provocâsses, jurâsses esse literarum ignarum. Cum eo post Romæ fuit mihi propior familiaritas." *Erasm. Ep. lib. 23. ep. 5.*

(b) "Sappiamo bene, per la testimonianza del Valeriano, che Scipione, per mezzo del Colocci, venne in conoscenza, che è lo stesso che dire in istima, del cardinale Giovanni de' Medici," &c. *Zeno, Giornal. d'Ital. xx. 285.* In this account the modern writer appears not to have consulted the authority which he has cited, with his usual accuracy. *v. Valer. de Literat. infel. in art. Scip. Carterom. p. 119.*

(c) Pet. Alcyonius, in his book "de Exsilio" introduces Giulio de' Medici, as addressing himself to the cardinal Giovanni, afterwards Leo X. and designating Carteromachum
"maco

rence,*(a)* but it is scarcely probable, that Leo would have interfered with the studies of his relation, who was then of mature age, and fully competent to choose his own associates and instructors. Scipione had, however, reason to flatter himself, that from the liberality of such a pontiff, he should receive the just remuneration of his talents and his services; nor is it likely, that his expectations would have been defrauded, had not his premature death prevented his obtaining the full reward of his merits. The precise time when this event happened, has been a subject of doubt; but from the most authentic account, founded on the records of his family, it appears that he died at Pistoia, about six months after the accession of Leo X. or in the month of October, 1513.*(b)* In consequence of his untimely fate, Scipione is indebted for his literary reputation, rather to the numerous commendations of his contemporaries and friends, than to his own writings, many of which are said to have been dispersed at his death, and usurped by others into whose hands they had fallen.*(c)*

Among

maco by the name of *Familiaris noster*. “ Multos item Græca literatura insignes
 “ viros *domi* habes, ad quorum emulationem non desiisti cum omni genere exercita-
 “ tionis, tum maxime stylo augere partam eloquentiam; atque inter hos maxime eminent
 “ *Scipio Carteromachus*; quem honorificentissime, pro tua natura, liberalissimeque
 “ tractas, cum præsertim videas illum, quamquam Latinum, sic loqui et scribere, ut
 “ solus post veterum græcorum, Platonis, Isocratis, Demosthenis, & Strabonis interitum,
 “ orbæ eloquentiæ tutor relictus videatur.” *Giorn. d'Italia*, xx. 287.

(a) *Valerian. de Literator. infel. p. 119.*

(b) “ Il Salvi, e le memorie dei Signori Forteguerra, il fanno morto ai 16 di Ot-
 “ bre, 1513, cioè di 46. anni.” *Zeno, Giorn. d'Italia*, xxvi. 326.

(c) Giraldi thus adverts to his death, “ per hæc nostra tempora fuit Pistoriensis
 “ *Scipio Carteromachus*, qui Græce et Latine scivit, nec infans fuit: interceptus ille ante
 “ diem, quæ utraque lingua inchoata promiserat, haud plane perfecit; multum quidem
 “ eo moriente amisimus.” *Girald. de Poetis. ap. Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital.* xx. 289.

Among those which remain, is his oration in praise of Grecian literature, recited by him before a full and noble audience at Venice, in 1504, and published from the press of Aldo in the same year; (a) besides which, several epigrams in Greek and Latin, and a few Italian compositions, are extant in the publications of the times. (b) "It might be truly observed of him," says Valeriano, "that there was nothing written before his time which he had not read; nothing that he had read, which he did not convert to the utility of others." (c) During his residence at Venice, he frequently assisted in correcting the editions of the ancient authors published by Aldo, who has mentioned him in several of his publications, in terms of high commendation and esteem. (d) He also united with Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo, and other learned men, in correcting the edition of the geographical works of Ptolomæus, printed at Rome, in 1507, which has before been noticed.

Fra Urbano Valeriano Bolzanio, of Belluno, has already been mentioned as one of the coadjutors of Varino and Aldo, in the publication of the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ*; but the services which he rendered to Grecian literature by his subsequent labours, entitle him to more particular notice. He was born in the year 1440, and is said by his

Urbano Bolzanio.

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nephew,

(a) Reprinted by Frobenius, at Basil, in 1517, and also prefixed, by the learned Henry Stephens, to his *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*.

(b) These are particularly indicated by Zeno, in his *Giorn. d' Ital.* xx. 294, &c.

(c) *De Literator. infel. lib. ii. p. 119.*

(d) Particularly in the preface to his edition of Demosthenes, in 1504.

nephew, Pierio Valeriano, to have been the earliest instructor of Leo X. in the knowledge of the Greek tongue. (a) Although an ecclesiastic of the order of S. Francesco, he quitted the walls of his monastery, with the laudable curiosity of visiting foreign parts; and having had an opportunity of accompanying Andrea Gritti, afterwards doge of Venice, on an embassy to Constantinople, he thence made an excursion through Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and other countries; always travelling on foot, and diligently noting whatever appeared deserving of observation. (b) The disinterestedness of Urbano is strongly insisted on by his nephew Piero, who informs us, that he rather chose to suffer the inconveniencies of poverty, than to receive a reward for those instructions which he was at all times ready to give, and that he always persevered in refusing those honours and dignities which Leo X. would gladly have conferred upon him. His activity, temperance, and placid disposition, secured to him a healthful old age, nor did he omit to make frequent excursions through Italy, until he was disqualified from these occupations by a fall in his garden, whilst he was pruning his

(a) "Secutus sum institutum Urbani Valeriani, patrum mei, qui primus Græcas literas docuerat Joannem, Clarissimi Laurentii filium, tunc protonotarium; is autem mox Cardinalis, post multa rerum molimina colludentisque fortunæ varietates, ad summum Pontificatum evectus; brevique post tempore illustribus fratre, nepoteque desideratis, cum ad prolem demum eorum fovendam animum adjecisset, me delegit, qui, quam operam patruus meus in eo olim erudiendo contulisset, eandem ego in illustres Hippolytum et Alexandrum navandum susciperem." *Pier. Valerian. Dedicat. ad Hexamet. Giolit. 1550.*

(b) *Valerian. de Literat. infelic. lib. ii. p. 166*, who informs us, that Urbano travelled also into Sicily, where he twice ascended the mountain of Ætna and looked down into its crater. *Ib.*

his trees.(a) His principal residence was at Venice, where he not only assisted Aldo Manuzio, in correcting the editions which he published of the ancient authors, but gave instructions in the Greek language to a great number of scholars; insomuch, that there was scarcely a person in Italy distinguished by his proficiency in that language, who had not at some time been his pupil.(b) His earnest desire of facilitating the knowledge of this language, induced him to undertake the composition of his grammar, which was the first attempt to explain in Latin the rules of the Greek tongue. This work was first printed in 1497,(c) and was received with such avidity, that Erasmus, on inquiring for it in the year 1499, found that not a copy of the impression remained unsold.(d)

The exertions of Leo X. were not, however, exclusively confined to the promotion of any one particular branch of literature. Soon after his elevation, he caused it to be publicly known, that he would give ample rewards to those

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who

(a) *Valerian. de Literat. infel. lib. ii. p. 168.* Urbano never required the use of a horse, except on one occasion, when he passed over the rocky road of Assisi, in his way to Rome, to kiss the feet of his former pupil, Leo X. *Ib.*

(b) Urbano died in the convent of S. Niccolo, at Venice, in the year 1524, and bequeathed to that convent his valuable library. His funeral oration, by Fr. Alberto da Castelfranco, was printed at Venice, in the same year, by Bernardino de' Vitali, in 4to. *Zeno. Giorn. d' Ital. xix. 104. Note (a).*

(c) URBANI, GRAMMATICA GRÆCA. *Ven. ap. Aldum mense Januario anno. 1497, 4to.*

(d) "Grammaticam Græcam, summo studio vestigavi, ut emptam tibi mitterem; sed jam utraque divendita fuerat, et Constantini quæ dicitur, quæque Urbani." *Eras. Ep. at Jacob. Tutorem, 1499.* De Bure had never seen a copy of this edition. *Bib. instr. No. 2221.* It was dedicated by Aldo to Giovan. Francesco Pico, nephew of Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula. *Maittaire, Ann. typ. vol. i. p. 638.* The Grammar of *Constantine Lascar* above mentioned, was wholly in Greek.

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1514.

A. Æt. 39.

A. Pont. II.

Leo obtains a more complete MS. of the works of Tacitus.

who should procure for him manuscript copies of the works of any of the ancient Greek or Roman authors, and would, at his own expense, print and publish them with as much accuracy as possible. In consequence of this, the five first books of the annals of Tacitus, which Lipsius afterwards divided into six, and which had until that time existed only in manuscript, were brought from the abbey of Corvey, in Westphalia, by Angelo Arcomboldo, who was remunerated by the pope with the liberal reward of 500 zechins.^(a) Such of the writings of that eminent historian as had before been discovered, and which consisted of the last six books of his annals, and the five first books of his history, had been printed by Johannes de Spira, at Venice, about the year 1468, and several times reprinted at Rome and Venice. On obtaining this valuable copy, which besides comprehending the additional books, supplied considerable defects in those before published, Leo determined to give to the world as complete an edition as possible; for which purpose he intrusted the manuscript to the younger Filippo Beroaldo, with directions to correct the text, and to superintend the printing of it in an elegant and useful form. In order to reward the editor for his trouble on this occasion, Leo proposed to grant to him an exclusive privilege for the reprinting and sale of the work; and as the brief in which this privilege is conceded, contains a kind of justification on the part of the pontiff, for devoting so much of his attention to the promotion of profane learning, an extract from its preamble may not be inapplicable to the subject of our present inquiry.

“ Amongst

(a) Brotier. *Tacit. in præf. p. 18. op. Ed. Par. 1771.*

“ Amongst the other objects of our attention, since
 “ we have been raised by divine goodness to the ponti-
 “ fical dignity, and devoted to the government, and, as
 “ far as in us lies, to the extension of the Christian church,
 “ we have considered those pursuits as not the least impor-
 “ tant, which lead to the promotion of literature and use-
 “ ful arts; for we have been accustomed even from our
 “ early years to think, that nothing more excellent or more
 “ useful has been given by the Creator to mankind, if we
 “ except only the knowledge, and true worship of himself,
 “ than these studies, which not only lead to the orna-
 “ ment and guidance of human life, but are applicable
 “ and useful to every particular situation; in adversity
 “ consolatory, in prosperity pleasing and honourable; in-
 “ somuch, that without them, we should be deprived of
 “ all the grace of life, and all the polish of society. The
 “ security and extension of these studies seem chiefly to
 “ depend on two circumstances, the number of men of
 “ learning, and the ample supply of excellent authors.
 “ As to the first of these, we hope, with the divine bles-
 “ sing, to shew still more evidently, our earnest desire and
 “ disposition to reward and to honour their merits; this
 “ having been for a long time past our chief delight and
 “ pleasure. With respect to the acquisition of books, we
 “ return thanks to God, that in this also an opportunity is
 “ now afforded us of promoting the advantage of man-
 “ kind.”(a)

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Grants to Bem-
 bo a brief for
 its publica-
 tion.

The pontiff then adverts to his having obtained, at great
 expense, the five books of Tacitus, which he confides to the
 the

(a) Leon. x. Bulla, Taciti op. a Beroaldo præf. Ed. Rom. 1515.

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the care of Beroaldo for publication, with high commendation on his talents, industry, and integrity, and in order to secure to him the reward of his labours, he denounces the sentence of excommunication *latæ sententiæ*, with the penalty of 200 ducats, and forfeiture of the books, against any persons who should reprint these works within ten years, without the express consent of the editor.(a)

But notwithstanding the censures of the Christian church were thus employed by the pontiff, for protecting the writings of an heathen author, neither these nor the temporal penalties

(a) This edition was accordingly published in a handsome volume, in folio, under the following title :

P. CORNELII TACITI LIBRI
 QUINQUE NOVITER IN
 VENTI ATQUE CUM
 RELIQUIS EJUS
 OPERIBUS
 EDITI.

“ Ne quis intra decennium præsens opus possit alicubi impune imprimere aut impressum vendere gravissimis edictis autum est.”

At the close of the Dialogue de Oratoribus, after the table of errata and register, we read,

“ P. Cornelii Taciti Equitis Ro. Historiarum libri quinque nuper in Germania inventi ac cum reliquis omnibus ejus operibus quæ prius inveniebantur, Romæ impressi p. Magistrum Stephanum Guillereti de Lothoringia Tullen. dioc. anno M. D. XV. Kl. Martii. Leonis X. Pont Max. anno secundo.”

On the reverse are the pontifical arms, with a further address, as under :

NOMINE LEONIS X. PONT. MAX. PROPO-
 SITA SUNT PREMIA NON MEDIOCRIA
 HIS QUI AD EUM LIBROS VETERES
 NECQUE HACTENUS EDITOS
 ATTULERINT.

This is followed by the life of Agricola, with which the volume closes.

penalties by which they were accompanied, could prevent another edition from being printed at Milan in the same year, by Alessandro Minuziano, who had established himself there as a printer, and contended with Aldo Manuzio in the publication of the writings of antiquity. So vigilant was Minuziano in this respect, that he obtained the sheets of the Roman edition as they came progressively from the press, and it is probable that his own edition was nearly completed before he was aware of the heavy denunciations against those who should presume to pirate the work. By this measure the incautious printer, not only incurred the penalties in the papal brief, but excited the indignation of the pope, who found his monitory treated with contempt in the very place which he had lately freed from the yoke of the French, and who ordered Minuziano immediately to appear at Rome. The interposition of some powerful friends, and not improbably that of Maximiliano Sforza, was however exerted in his behalf, and such representations were made to the pope, as induced him to relax from his severity, and release the offender from his excommunication; which was followed by a kind of compromise between him and Beroaldo, by which the Milanese printer was allowed to dispose of the remaining copies of his work.^(a)

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A. Pont. II.

The work printed by Minuziano of Viterbo.

The restoration of the Greek and Roman languages was accompanied, or speedily followed, by the study of the oriental tongues, which, although so necessary to the perfect knowledge of the sacred writings, now first began to engage the attention of the learned. To the successful prosecution

Rise of the study of oriental literature.

(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Italia. Art. Beroaldo.*

Teseo Ambrogio professor of the eastern tongues in Bologna.

prosecution of these inquiries, the favour of the great was yet more necessary than to the other branches of learning; and the assistance afforded by Leo X. to those who engaged in them, may serve to shew, that his munificence was not confined, as has generally been supposed, to the lighter and more ornamental branches of literature. Among those who had made an early proficiency in the knowledge of the eastern tongues, was Teseo Ambrogio, of Pavia, regular canon of the Lateran,^(a) who arrived at Rome in the year 1512, at the opening of the fifth session of the Lateran council. The great number of ecclesiastics from Syria, Ethiopia, and other parts of the east, who attended that council, afforded him an opportunity of prosecuting his studies with advantage; and at the request of the cardinal *Santa Croce*, he was employed as the person best qualified to translate from the Chaldean into Latin, the liturgy of the eastern clergy, previously to the use of it being expressly sanctioned by the pope.^(b) After having been employed by Leo X. for two years in giving instructions in Latin to the subdeacon Elias, a legate from Syria to the council, whom the pope wished to retain in his court, and from whom Ambrogio received in return instructions in the Syrian tongue, he was appointed by the pontiff to the chair of a professor in the university of Bologna, where he delivered instructions in the Syriac and Chaldaic languages, for the first time that they had been publicly

(a) He was of the noble family of the Conti d'Albonese, and born in 1469. At fifteen years of age, he is said to have written and spoken Greek and Latin, with a facility equal to any person of the time. *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Italia*. ii. 609.

(b) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. ubi. sup.*

publicly taught in Italy.(a) Ambrogio is said to have understood no less than eighteen different languages, many of which he spoke with the ease and fluency of a native.(a) In the commotions which devastated Italy after the death of Leo X. he was despoiled of the numerous and valuable eastern manuscripts, which he had collected by the industry of many years, as also of the types and apparatus which he had prepared for an edition of the Psalter in the Chaldean, which he intended to have accompanied with a dissertation on that language. This, however, did not deter him from the prosecution of his studies, and in the year 1539, he published at Pavia, his "Introduction to the Chaldean, Syrian, Armenian, and ten other tongues, with the alphabetical characters of about forty different languages;" which is considered by the Italians themselves, as the earliest attempt made in Italy towards a systematic acquaintance with the literature of the east.(b)

CHAP. XL

A. D. 1514.

A. Æt. 39.

A. Pont. II.

His introduction to the Chaldaic and other languages.

The labours of Ambrogio were emulated by several other learned Italians, and particularly by Agostino Giustiniani; who with more success than Ambrogio, undertook

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(a) *Mazzuch. ut supra.* But by an epistle of Isidoro Clario, bishop of Foligno to Ambrogio, cited by the same author, we are informed with more probability, that Ambrogio was master of at least ten different languages. "Etenim si Ennius, propter Latinæ et Græcæ linguæ scientiam, duo se corda habere gloriabatur, quanti tandem is est, qui decem et eo amplius corda, ob tam multam tot Linguarum eruditionem, habere credendus est?"

(b) *Mazzuch. ut sup. Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas. Characterum differentium Alphabeti circiter quadraginta, &c.* 1539, 4to. *Excudebat Papiæ, Ioan. Maria Simonetta Cremon. in Canonica Sancti Petri in Cælo aureo, sumptibus et typis authoris libri.*—"Questo," "says Mazzuchelli, "è il primo libro che in tal genere di Grammatica siasi veduto in Italia."

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1514.

A. Æt. 39.

A. Pont. II.

Agostino Giustiniani publishes a polyglot edition of the psalter.

Complutensian polyglot of cardinal Ximenes dedicated to Leo X.

Leo directs the translation of the scriptures by Pagnini to be published at his expense.

an edition of the psalter in four languages, which he published at Genoa, in 1516.(a) It is observable that Tiraboschi considers this work as the first specimen of a polyglot Bible, which had been seen in Europe,(b) but this praise is justly due to the great complutensian polyglot of cardinal Ximenes, of which the earliest part bears the date of 1514, and which work is inscribed to Leo X.(c) On being informed that Sante Pagnini, a learned ecclesiastic then in Rome, had undertaken to translate the Bible from the original Hebrew, Leo sent to him, and requested to be allowed the inspection of his work. The satisfaction which he derived from it was such, that he immediately ordered that the whole should be transcribed at his own expense, and gave directions that materials should be provided for printing it. A part of it was accordingly executed, but the death of the pontiff retarded its completion, and the labours of Pagnini were not published until the pontificate of Clement VII.(d) The Hebrew tongue was also publicly taught

(a) He had intended to have given a similar edition of the whole of the sacred writings, but this portion only was published by him. v. *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. par. ii. p. 403.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) For a particular account of it, v. *de Bure. Bibl. instr. No. I.*

(d) In the dedication to Clement VII. Pagnini thus relates the foregoing circumstances: "Leo X. me, cum Romæ agerem, accito, quam olim elucubraveram utriusque instrumenti translationem, ut sibi ostenderem benigne ac perhumaniter injunxit. Is cum aliquot vidisset quaterniones, et ex iis cetera suo præclaro expendisset ingenio, volo, inquit ut meis impensis totus transcribatur liber, et typis exacte revisus excudatur. Tum, ut novit Tua Beatitudo, non modo pro scribis, verum etiam pro parandis iis quæ opus erant executioni, impensas suppeditavit, et sequenti deinde anno nonnulla excusa fuerunt. Sed proh dolor! illo post hæc brevi ex humanis sublato, gravi omnium mœrore intermissa sunt omnia." ap. *Fabr. vita Leon. x. Adnot. No. 27.*

taught at Rome, by Agacio Guidacerio, a native of Calabria, who published a grammar of that language, which he dedicated to Leo X. and of which he gave a more complete edition at Paris, in 1539.(a) Francesco de' Rosi, of Ravenna, having, during his travels into Syria, discovered an Arabic manuscript, under the title of *The mystic philosophy of Aristotle*, caused it to be translated into Latin, and presented it to the pope, who in his letter of acknowledgments, expresses his earnest desire of promoting similar researches, and his approbation of the labours of Francesco, to whom he also grants a privilege for the publication of the work, which was accordingly printed at Rome in the year 1519.(b) These brief notices of the rise of oriental learning in Europe, may sufficiently demonstrate the interest which Leo X. took in promoting those studies, and the success which attended his efforts.

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1514.

A. Æt. 39.

A. Pont. II.

Encourages researches for eastern MSS.

N N 2

(a) Tiraboschi *Storia della Let. Ital.* vii. ii. 418.

(b) For the letter of Leo, X. v. *App. No.* XCVIII.



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CHAP. XII.

1514.

PUBLIC thanksgivings at Rome for the successes of the Christian arms—Splendid embassy from the king of Portugal to Leo X.—Papal grant of newly discovered countries to the king of Portugal—Louis XII. endeavours to engage in his interests the Helvetic states—Proposed alliance between the Royal Houses of France Spain and Austria—Efforts of Leo X. to prevent such alliance—Leo endeavours to reconcile the French and English sovereigns—Treaty of alliance between England and France—Wolsey appointed archbishop of York—Marriage of Louis XII. with the princess Mary sister of Henry VIII.—Singular interview between Erasmus and the papal legate Canossa—Magnificent exhibitions at Florence—Triumph of Camillus—Tournaments—Deliberations at Rome for aggrandizing the family of the Medici—Leo X. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples, and the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino—Enters into a secret alliance with Louis XII.—His motives explained—Leo obtains the city of Modena—Endeavours to reconcile the Venetians to the king of Spain and the Emperor elect—Legation of Bembo to Venice—The senate refuses to comply with his proposals—Historical mistakes respecting this negotiation—Death of Louis XII.—His character—His widow marries Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.





CHAP. XII.

THE reconciliation which had been so happily effected between Louis XII. and the Roman see, was extremely agreeable to the pope; not only as it afforded a subject of triumph to the church, in having reduced to due obedience so refractory and powerful a monarch, but as having also extinguished the last remains of that schism which had originated in the council of Pisa, and had at one time threatened to involve in contention the whole Christian world.

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1514.

A. Æt. 39.

A. Pont. II.

Public thanksgivings in Rome for the successes of the Christian arms.

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This satisfaction was soon afterwards increased by the intelligence of the important victories which the kings of Hungary and of Poland had obtained over the common enemies of the Christian faith, and of the discoveries of Emanuel king of Portugal in the east, under the conduct of the celebrated Vasco del Gama.^(a) Such a concurrence of great and prosperous events, induced the pope to direct the celebration of a public thanksgiving in Rome, which was accordingly observed with extraordinary pomp, and splendid processions to the churches of *S. Maria del Popolo*, and *S. Agostino*; in which the pontiff appeared in person, and by the propriety and decorum which always distinguished him on public occasions, gave additional dignity to the ceremony.^(b) At the same time he ordered Camillo Portio to pronounce, in the pontifical chapel, a Latin oration in praise of the character and actions of the king of Portugal, who had communicated to him his success, and testified his dutiful obedience to the Roman court, and his personal attachment to the supreme pontiff.^(c)

This mutual interchange of civility and respect between
the

^(a) This event supplied the celebrated Portuguese poet Luis de Camoens with the subject of his *Lusiad*, which was not however written until many years afterwards, and was first published in 1572.

^(b) "S. Santità questa mattina per bona consuetudine è stata ad la Minerva, con tutti li cardinali cum grandissima pompa, et dove quella compagnia della Annunciata soleva al più maritare xx. zittelle, con lo adiuto di S. Santità, erano questa mattina LV, o più; et dipoi la Messa, et ceremonie facte là, se ne tornò in Castello, et li è stato tutto oggi, et questa sera per il Corridoro tornatosene al palazzo." *Balt. da Pesca, a Lor. de' Medici, 26 Mar. 1514. MSS. Flor.*

^(c) The letter from the king of Portugal to the pontiff is given in the Appendix, No. XCIX.

the king of Portugal and the pontiff, was however rendered much more conspicuous by a splendid embassy from the Portuguese monarch, which soon afterwards arrived at Rome, to the great delight and astonishment of the inhabitants. The chief ambassador on this occasion was the celebrated Tristano Cugna, who had himself held a principal command in the expedition to the east, and had acquired great honour by his conduct and courage in its prosecution. He was accompanied by Jacopo Paceco, and Giovanni Faria, professors of the law, of great eminence and authority. Three sons of Cugna, with many others of his relatives and friends, accompanied the procession, which was met at the gates of the city by a select body of cardinals and prelates, who conducted the strangers to the palaces appointed for their residence. But the respectability of the envoys was of less importance in the eyes of the populace, than the singular and magnificent presents for the pope, by which they were accompanied.^(a) Among these were an elephant of extraordinary size, two leopards, a panther, and other uncommon animals. Several Persian horses, richly caparisoned, appeared also in the train, mounted by natives of the same country, dressed in their proper habits. To these was added a profusion of articles of inestimable value; pontifical vestments, adorned with gold and jewels, vases, and other implements for the celebration of sacred rites, and a covering for the altar, of most exquisite workmanship. A herald, bearing the arms of the Portuguese sovereign, led the procession. On their arrival at the pontifical palace, where the pope stood at the windows to

(a) This incident is celebrated by Aurelio Sereno, Giovanni Capito, and others, in several copies of Latin verses, for a specimen of which see Appendix, No. C.

see them pass, the elephant stopped, and kneeling before his holiness, bowed himself thrice to the ground.^(a) A large vessel was here provided, and filled with water, which the elephant drew up into his trunk, and showered down again on the adjacent multitude, dispersing no small portion of it among the more polite spectators at the windows, to the great entertainment of the pontiff. Six days afterwards the ambassadors were admitted to a public audience, on which occasion the procession was repeated. The pope, surrounded by the cardinals and prelates of the church, and attended by the ambassadors of foreign states, and all the officers of his court, was addressed in a Latin oration by Paceco,^(b) at the conclusion of which, Leo replied to him in the same language, highly commending the king for his devotion to the holy see. Of this opportunity the pontiff also availed himself, to recommend the maintainance of peace among the states of Europe, and the union of their arms against the Turks; expressing himself with such promptitude, seriousness, and elegance, as to obtain the unanimous admiration of the auditors.^(c) On the following day, the presents from the king

(a) " In annis enim tui Pontificatus ludis, mense Martio celebratis, Indus Elephas, omnium animalium sagacissimus, a Serenissimo Emanuele Lusitanorum Rege, per splendidissimum Equitem, Oratorem suum, Tristanum Cuneum missus, incognitus nec dum sæculo nostro in Italiâ visus, stupentibus ac mirantibus populis, per totam urbem exhibitus apparuit. Quod spectaculum Pompeio, Hannibali, Domitiano, paucisque aliis patuit, id tuo augustissimo tempore fuit demonstratum; ut docile animal in tua publica hilaritate oblatum, supplex tuum numen sentiret adoraretque." *Aurel. Serenus. Theatr. Capitol. in dedicat. ad Leon. x. an. 1514.*

(b) This oration, although in a style of the most hyperbolic panegyric, was highly admired by the Roman scholars, and gave rise to several commendatory copies of verses, in praise both of the king and his ambassador. *v. App. No. CI.*

(c) " Questa mattina (25 Mar. 1514) li ambasciatori Portoghesi, quali sono stati tre, uno

king were brought into the conservatory of the gardens adjoining the pontifical palace, where, on the introduction of animals proper for that purpose, the wild beasts displayed their agility in hunting, and their ferocity in taking their prey. A spectacle which humanity would have spared, but which was probably highly gratifying to the pontiff, who was devoted to the pleasures of the chase. The Portuguese monarch had intended to have surprized the Roman people with the sight of another, and yet rarer animal, which had not been seen in Rome for many ages; but the Rhinoceros which he had brought from the east with this view, unfortunately perished in the attempt to get him on board the vessel prepared to transport him to Italy.

In return for these public testimonies of consideration, and respect, on the part of the king of Portugal, Leo addressed to that monarch a public letter of acknowledgment, *(a)* and soon afterwards transmitted to him a consecrated rose. His holiness had in truth for some time hesitated, whether he should present this precious gift to him, or to the emperor elect Maximilian; *(b)* but the at-

Papal grant of the new discovered countries to the king of Portugal.

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“ uno Consigliere et due Dottore del Re, in Consistorio publico hanno prestato la solita obedientia ad N. Signore; et uno di loro ha facto una bellissima oratione, et N. Signore ha facto una più bella risposta, con certe sante parole, che parevano proprio uscissero fora d'una bocca d'uno santo, che concludevano lodando questo Re, che haveva facto tante cose per la fede, et exhortando li altri principi ad far pace infra se, et convertire quelle forze che si agitano uno contra l'altro, verso li infedeli; et che suo desiderio non è altro, che ridurre questi principi ad la pace, et andare contra li infedeli, le quale tutte due orationi, se potrò havere ve manderò.” *Balth. da Pescia ad Lor. de' Med. MSS. Flor.*

(a) This letter, which bears date 21 March, 1514, is given in the Appendix, No. CII.

(b) “ Questa mattina (26 Mar. 1514.) N. Signore ha benedetto la Rosa, la quale non è ancora

tention which he had experienced from the king, seems to have effected this important decision. He also granted to Emanuel the tenths and thirds of the clergy in his dominions, as long as he should carry on the war in Africa, (a) together with the right of presentation and ecclesiastical preferment, in all countries discovered by him beyond the Cape of Good Hope; (b) and these concessions were soon afterwards followed by a more ample donation of all kingdoms, countries, provinces, and islands, which he might recover from the infidels, not only from Capes *Bojador* and *Naon* to the Indies, *but in parts yet undiscovered and unknown, even to the pontiff himself.* (c) About the same time, the pope beatified the memory of Elizabeth queen of Portugal, who had signalized herself by the sanctity of her life, (d) and enrolled in the list of martyrs the seven minorites, who are said to have been the last family in Africa who suffered martyrdom for their adherence to the Christian faith.

Although Leo was highly gratified by the event of his negotiations with Louis XII. the success of which might justly

“ ancora risoluto S. Santità se la dona al Portogallo o ad lo Imperatore.” *Lett. di Pescia. MSS. Fl. p. 11.*

(a) 20 April, *Supplem. au Dumont. Corps Diplomat. tom. ii. par. i. 26.*

(b) 7 June, *Ib. p. 27.*

(c) 3 Nov. *Ib. p. 28.*

(d) The degree of *Santo* and *Beato*, in the hierarchy of the Roman church, must not be confounded; the former being only conferred on those endowed with the highest degree of sanctity, accompanied by the evidence of miraculous powers; whilst the latter may be conceded to persons of holy life, although without such pretensions. The queen of Portugal in this instance is only *Beata*.

justly be attributed to his own firmness and moderation, yet he could not but perceive, that his alliance with that monarch gave rise to considerable embarrassment, as to the course of political conduct which it would in future be necessary for him to adopt. With his hostility to the church, Louis had by no means relinquished his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, for the recovery of which he had already begun to make formidable preparations. As he had been frustrated in his former attempts by the opposition and promptitude of Leo X. and by the courage of the Swiss, he determined, after having secured the favour of the one, to obtain, if possible, the assistance, or at least the neutrality of the other. In this attempt he met, however, with greater obstacles than he expected. During the late contests, the Swiss had imbibed a spirit of resentment against the French monarch, which had at length been inflamed to a high degree of national antipathy. The treaty of Dijon, by which Louis stood engaged to pay to them the enormous sum of six hundred thousand crowns, as the price of their evacuating his dominions, had not yet been fulfilled; and the preparations making by the king for another invasion of Milan, were a sufficient demonstration that he did not consider himself as bound by a treaty, of which the chief article was his relinquishment of all pretensions to that duchy. It was to no purpose that he endeavoured to justify himself to the Helvetic states for this open breach of a compact, by which his own dominions had been released from the most imminent danger. Those hardy and independent republicans, had even the magnanimity to refuse a much larger sum than that for which they had before stipulated, and which was offered them, on the condition of their releasing the king from his engagements;

Proposes an alliance with the houses of Spain and Austria.

engagements, and favouring his enterprise against the states of Milan.^(a)

Unable either to secure the favour, or to mitigate the resentment of the Swiss, who threatened not only to take upon themselves the defence of the Milanese in case of a future attack, but also to make a second irruption into France, Louis had recourse to another expedient. The affinity that already subsisted between him and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had married his niece Germaine de Foix, afforded him an opportunity of proposing an alliance by marriage, between his youngest daughter Reneé, then only four years of age, and the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor by the name of Charles V. who stood in an equal degree of relationship, as grandson, both to Ferdinand and the emperor elect Maximilian. By this union Louis expected to secure the co-operation of both these powerful monarchs in his designs upon Italy; and as the Venetians still remained firmly attached to his interests, for the support of which they had indeed made great sacrifices, he had no doubt that he should now be able to accomplish his purposes. The preliminaries for the marriage were accordingly agreed upon,^(b) and as this important union could

^(a) Louis had offered to pay down 400,000 ducats, and 800,000 more by installments at future periods. *Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 68.*

^(b) Muratori asserts, that this treaty was concluded the 24th March, 1514. *Annal. d'Ital. vol. x. p. 109.* But it appears to have been signed at Blois, on the first day of December, 1513. The only parties being, their Catholic and most Christian majesties. The husband was to be either the archduke Charles, or his brother Ferdinand, at the choice of the Catholic king and the princess Reneé. Louis agreed to relinquish all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. The states of Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, were

could not, from the youth of the parties, be carried into immediate effect, the truce which had been already established for one year, between Louis and Ferdinand, was soon afterwards again renewed; with a reservation for the emperor elect, and the king of England, to accede to it, if they should think proper.(a)

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A. Pont. II.

These proceedings were a cause of great alarm to Leo X. who perceived, that by this union of the courts of Aragon, Vienna, and France, the duchy of Milan, and its dependent states, would fall an easy prey to the invaders.(b) Nor were the fears of Leo confined to this district. He well knew that the opposite interests of these great continental powers, had hitherto preserved from a foreign yoke those provinces of Italy which yet remained under the dominion of their native princes; and he justly dreaded that this coalition would only be the harbinger of a general partition of that country, to almost every part of which, one or another of these potentates had already advanced pretensions.

Efforts of Leo
X. to prevent
this alliance.

to be conquered and transferred as a patrimonial inheritance to the archduke and his intended bride. The pope was named as the common ally of both parties, and power was reserved for the emperor and the king of England to accede to the league; the latter restoring to Louis XII. the city of Tournay. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat. vol. iv. par. i. p. 178.*

(a) v. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat. v. iv. par. i. p. 179.*

(b) On the 20th of March, 1514, a correspondence commenced between the cardinal Giulio de' Medici at Rome, and Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence, which was carried on, at Rome, by Balthazar da Pescia, and discloses not only all the transactions of the Roman court to the minutest particulars, but the views and designs of the supreme pontiff. From these letters, none of which have before been published, some extracts have already been given, and others will occur in the course of the present work.

pretensions. In this emergency, all his talents and exertions were employed to prevent the proposed union from taking effect. (a) He was well aware, that Louis had been chiefly impelled to this measure by his misunderstanding with the Swiss; on which account he earnestly laboured to reconcile the differences which had arisen between them. Nor was the French king unwilling to listen to his representations, in the hope that he might yet obtain the assistance of those warlike mercenaries; in which case he would gladly have relinquished his treaty for the alliance with Spain and the emperor, which he already began to suspect could only terminate in the aggrandizement of the united house of Aragon, and of Austria, and in the humiliation of that of France. Under these impressions he proposed to unite his interests with those of the pope, and the Helvetic states, provided they would not oppose his pretensions on the state of Milan; at the same time offering to the pope a compensation in some other part of Italy for any injury which he might sustain. (b) Whatever might have been the determination of Leo, who appears to have balanced in his mind the probable consequences of the alliance between France and Aragon, with the certainty of the loss of Milan, he had not an opportunity of making his election; the Swiss having positively refused to relax in their pretensions, or to enter into any alliance with the king, unless the treaty of Dijon was carried into full effect. In order to mitigate their resentment, Leo dispatched to the Helvetic diet as his legate, the cardinal of Sion; but although

(a) *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor. App. No. CIII.*

(b) *Lettere, ut sup. Ap. No. CIV.*

though that prelate had great influence on the minds of his countrymen, he could not on this occasion prevail on them to depart from their resolution. On the other hand, Louis XII. displayed equal pertinacity in maintaining his pretensions to the state of Milan, the relinquishment of which he considered as not only derogatory to his just rights, but as a stain on the honour and dignity of his crown.(a)

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But although Leo was thus disappointed in his expectations, he did not relax in his endeavours to defeat the dreaded alliance, which he considered as pregnant with danger to the independence and repose of Italy. The cautious and procrastinating temper of Ferdinand of Spain, and the folly and indecision of Maximilian, had hitherto prevented this projected union, which might have subjugated all Europe to the dominion of a single sovereign. In this emergency a dawn of hope appeared in another quarter, of which the pope did not fail most eagerly to avail himself. Henry VIII. of England, who had acted so important and so honourable a part in the league against France, had learnt with extreme indignation, that his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, had, without his concurrence, renewed his treaties with Louis XII. and had thereby, as he asserted, a third time deceived and imposed upon him; on which account he avowed his determination not to interfere further in the contest.(b) This change in the disposition and views of Henry, was communicated by him to the pope, who was no sooner apprized of it, than

Leo endeavours
to reconcile
the French
and English
sovereigns.

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(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Ital lib.* xii. ii. 67.

(b) Guicciard. *lib.* xii. v. ii. p. 72.

than he determined to encourage the resentment of Henry against his father-in-law, and to promote, as far as in his power, an alliance between the French and English sovereigns; well judging, that if he should be fortunate enough to accomplish this object, it would frustrate the treaty yet depending for the marriage of the archduke Charles with the daughter of Louis XII. Nor was Louis less inclined to listen to terms of accommodation than Leo was to propose them; being fully persuaded, that whilst he had so formidable an enemy as the king of England, who had lately carried the war into the heart of his dominions, he could not without extreme imprudence undertake his favourite expedition into Italy. Of this Leo was also sufficiently apprized; nor was he desirous of facilitating the views of the French monarch; but of the two evils with which that country was now threatened, an attack upon Milan by the unassisted arms of the French, appeared to him to be the least, as he still hoped to provide for its defence by the aid of the Swiss, with whom, in case an alliance took place between France and England, the emperor elect and the king of Aragon would probably join; whilst, on the other hand, the union of the powerful houses of France, Spain, and Austria, left not the slightest hope of successful resistance.

Treaty of alliance between England and France.

The high consideration in which Leo was now held both by the French and English monarchs, afforded him the fairest prospect of success. To the former he had lately been solemnly reconciled, and had received him as a repentant son into the bosom of the church. In the dissensions between Louis and the Swiss, he had acted the part of a mediator; and although his interference had been unsuccessful, and he had in fact other purposes in view, than the

the promoting the ambitious views of the king, yet it gave him fair pretensions to his confidence, and added weight to his opinions. Louis had lately been deprived of his queen, Ann of Bretagne, with whom he had lived in great harmony, and who died in the beginning of the year 1514, leaving behind her the reputation of a princess of extraordinary virtue, talents, and piety; an event which, as it afterwards appeared, was of no inconsiderable importance, in facilitating and cementing the proposed reconciliation between the contending powers. With Henry VIII. the pope was upon terms of still closer amity. In the war with France, Henry had on all occasions avowed himself the champion of the holy see, and expressed his determination to frustrate the efforts of all schismatics. In return for his attachment and his services, Leo had presented to him a consecrated sword and hat; a distinction conferred only on those princes who have obtained in person a signal victory in defence of the church.^(a) But, what was of more importance, Wolsey, already bishop of Lincoln and of Tournay, was daily rising in the favour of his master, and was eagerly grasping at those higher preferments which Leo alone had it in his power to bestow. Under these flattering auspices, Leo communicated his project to Bambridge, cardinal archbishop of York, who then resided at Rome, as ambassador of the English monarch,^(b) requesting him to represent to his sovereign, that after the glory

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which

^(a) These honorary rewards "not so estimable for their materials, as for their mystery," were transmitted to England by Leonardo Spinelli, and were accompanied by an explanatory letter from the pontiff to the king, informing him of their value and use, of which he might not otherwise have been aware. v. *App. No. CV.*

^(b) *Lettere di Balthazar da Pescia, in App. No. CVI.*

which he had obtained in his contest with France, and the unexampled breach of faith which he had experienced from his allies, he might now with justice and honour consult his own interest, in effecting such a league with Louis XII. as might not only indemnify him for the expenses which he had sustained, but secure to him the result of his victories.*(a)* To this advice Henry listened with approbation, and in a conversation with the duke de Longueville, whom he had taken prisoner at the battle of Guingaste, and who seems to have obtained no small share of his confidence, he gave such indications of his pacific intentions, as induced the duke to acquaint his sovereign with this fortunate change in the disposition and views of the English monarch. No sooner was Louis apprized of this event, than he dispatched Jean de Selva, president of the parliament of Normandy, as his envoy to the English court, upon whose arrival a truce was agreed on between the two monarchs, to continue as long as the ambassador should remain in England.*(b)* For the purpose

(a) Although Guicciardini seems not to have determined whether this negotiation arose from the interference of the pontiff, or the proper inclination of the parties, yet he fully admits that it commenced between the pope and the archbishop of York at Rome. "Come si sia, cominciò presto, o per *l'autorità del pontifice*, o per *inclinatione propria delle parti*, a nascere pratica d'accordo tra il Re di Francia e il Re d'Inghilterra, i ragionamenti della quale, *cominciati dal Pontefice con Eboracense*, furono trasferiti presto in Inghilterra." *Storia d' Ital. v. ii. lib. xii. p. 73.* The documents now produced will, however, shew, that the measure originated at Rome; a circumstance of which neither the Italian nor the English historians seem to have been sufficiently aware.

(b) *Balth. da Pescia, a Lor. de' Medici, 25^o. Maggio, 1514.* "Monsign. Reverendiss. (il card. de' Medici) crede che N. Signore non farà cosa alcuna nova, per non alterare le cose di là da' monti; dove di già ha cominciato qualche pratica d'accordo; et il Re d'Inghilterra ha acceptato di auscultare il Generale di Normandia per homo di Francia, et tutto segue con ordine di sua Santità." *MSS. Flor.*

pose of promoting this negotiation, the pope also sent to Paris Lodovico Canossa, bishop of Tricarica, a man of noble birth and of great ability and address, who after having prepared the way for pacific measures, proceeded thence to England.^(a) These deliberations were not of long continuance. Louis XII. had fully authorized his envoy to conclude the proposed treaty; and in order to shew that his intentions were sincere, he directed the duke de Longueville to request in marriage for the French monarch, the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII. then only eighteen years of age. In the commencement of this negotiation, to which Wolsey was the only person admitted on behalf of the king of England, the demands of Henry were extravagant; but the representations of the duke de Longueville, and the policy of Wolsey, who well knew, that by promoting this alliance he should recommend himself to the favour of the Roman court, soon induced him to relax in his demands. The pride of Henry was also gratified by the proposed union between his sister and Louis XII. who, to use his own words, *had sought so gently unto him for both amytye and marriage.*^(b) Some objections however arose respecting Tournay, of which Wolsey was yet bishop, to the restitution of which Henry positively refused to assent; and Canossa, the pope's legate, again hastened to France to prevail upon Louis XII. to consent to its being retained by the English monarch. His efforts were

^(a) " Di nuovo non ci è altro, salvo che Monsignore mi dice, che si aspecta la risolutione de Tricarico, quale è andato al Christianissimo, per concordare queste cose di Francia et Inghilterra, et se ne spera bene." *Lettera di Balth. da Pescia*, 30 Maii, 1514.

^(b) *Rapin's Hist. of England*, book xv.

were successful; and the convenient recommendation of the French king's counsellors was procured, to shield their sovereign from the disgrace of having, by his own free will, assented to the dismemberment of his kingdom.(a) On the second day of August, 1514, the treaty was signed at London, by which the two sovereigns, after declaring that they have been chiefly induced to concur in this arrangement, by the exhortations and mediation of the pope, bind themselves to afford each other mutual assistance in the prosecution of their rights, and the defence of their respective dominions.(b) The claims of Louis XII. to the states of Milan and Genoa, are explicitly asserted, and virtually admitted. The treaty is to continue during the joint lives of the contracting parties, and for one year afterwards, and they mutually promise to endeavour within twelve months, to obtain from the pope a sentence of excommunication against him who should first infringe the terms.(c)

This

(a) *Guicciard. lib. xii. ii. 73.*

(b) It is remarkable, that the author of the league of Cambray asserts, "que le Pape entra dans le negociation peutre pour la refroidir plûtost que pour l'échauffer." to which he adds, "Ce qui est certain c'est que le card. d' Yorck, Christophe Bembrice ambassadeur d' Angleterre a Rome, qui sçavoit les intentions du Pape, ecrivoit souvent a son maitre, pour le dissuader de faire la paix." *Tom. ii. p. 363.* If the cardinal of York wrote to this effect, it is evident that he either did not know, or did not approve of the intentions of the pope, which are unequivocally expressed in the secret correspondence of the Medici family before referred to.

(c) *v. Rymer. Fœdera. v. vi. par. i. p. 64. Dumont, Corps Diplomat. v. iv. par. i. p. 183.* On the signature of the treaty, Henry VIII. wrote to the pontiff, informing him, in terms of the highest esteem and respect, of the reconciliation which had taken place between him and Louis XII. which he justly attributes to the recommendation and interference of the pontiff. *v. App. No. CVII.*

This treaty was immediately followed by two others between the same parties; the one for the marriage of the princess Mary with Louis XII. the other for the payment of a million of crowns by Louis to Henry, "as well for the arrears of certain sums already due, as on account of the good affection he bore him, and to the end, that their amity might be the more lasting." By the treaty of marriage, Henry agreed to convey his sister at his own expense to the city of Abbeville, where, within four days after her arrival, the king of France was solemnly to marry her. He also promised to give as her portion four hundred thousand crowns, one half of which should be reckoned for her jewels and preparations, and the other half deducted from the million of crowns agreed to be paid by Louis XII. who, on his part, undertook to fulfil the marriage, and to make the jointure of his bride equal to that of Ann of Bretagne, or any other queen of France.^(a)

These important negotiations were scarcely concluded, when messengers arrived at Paris, from the emperor elect and the Spanish monarch, with full powers to ratify the proposed alliance, by the marriage of the archduke with the princess Reneé, on such preliminary terms as the French monarch might approve;^(b) but Louis had now less occasion for their support, and hesitated not to reject their overtures, and the princess afterwards became the wife of Ercole II. duke of Ferrara. It has been supposed by

^(a) *Rymer. Fædera. vol. vii. p. i. p. 68, &c. Dumont, Corps Diplomat. vol. iv. par. i. p. 188, &c.*

^(b) *Guicciard. lib. xii. v. ii. p. 74.*

by the English historians, that in his transactions with Louis XII. Henry suffered himself to be misled by his great favourite, and imposed upon by that monarch, who eventually prevailed upon him to rest satisfied with his bond for the million of crowns, which was the price at which Henry had estimated his friendship. But whatever were the private objects, or private disappointments of the parties, it must be confessed, that as a great public measure of precaution for the safety of Europe, it was one of the most important alliances that ever was formed; as it served, not only to terminate the bloody contests between England and France, but prevented the coalition of the French monarch with the united houses of Spain and of Austria, and was well calculated to raise up a formidable barrier to that preponderating power, which was shortly afterwards concentrated in the person of the emperor Charles V.

The active part which Wolsey had taken in effecting this reconciliation, recommended him still further to the favour of his sovereign, to whom an opportunity soon occurred of testifying his approbation. Whilst the treaty was yet depending, the cardinal archbishop of York, Christopher Bambridge, suddenly died, on the twenty-fourth day of July, having been poisoned by his steward, Rinaldo da Modena, who is said to have confessed, on being put to the rack, that he was induced to commit the crime, in revenge for a blow given him by his master.^(a) With this event

(a) It appears, that when Rinaldo was required to sign his confession, he found an opportunity of stabbing himself, and died the following day; after which he was hanged and quartered, *in terrorem*. “ Questa mattina è stato appichato in ponte, et poi squartato, Don Rinaldo da Modona, alias el Pretino, che era servitore del cardinale di
 “ Inghilterra;

event the cardinal, Giulio de' Medici, immediately acquainted the king of England, at the same time informing him, that the pope had resolved not to dispose of the livings held by the archbishop until the king's pleasure should be known.(a) Henry immediately requested that the archbishoprick of York might be conferred on his favourite Wolsey, with which the pope, without hesitation, complied, and thereby repaid the obligations which he owed to Wolsey for the active part which he had taken in the negotiation, under the appearance, and with the credit of complying with the wishes of the king.(b)

The preparations for the marriage of the princess Mary, occupied nearly two months, during which Louis XII. frequently addressed himself by letter to Wolsey, entreating him with all the impatience of a youthful lover to expedite the departure of his intended bride, and assuring him, that his most earnest desire was to see her in France, and find himself along with her.(c) On the second day of October, 1514, she embarked at Dover; to which place she had

Marriage of
Louis XII.
and Mary
sister of Hen-
ry VIII.

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been

“ Inghilterra ; perchè dicono che ha confessato havere avenenato il suo patrone, el quale
 “ è stato molti dì in Castello, et sendo più volte examinato diligentemente, ultima-
 “ mente, dicono, che venendo per ratificare, si dette d'uno coltellino nella poppa manca,
 “ che nessuno lo vidde ; et volendolo porre ad la corda si venne mancho, et viddeno
 “ correre sangue, et trovorno come lui si era ferito ; et questo fu Venerdì mattino, et
 “ Sabato sera circa 24 hori si morì, con buono sentimento ; et così morto per dare ex-
 “ emplo ad li altri questa mattina lo hanno facto justitiare.” *Bald. da Pescia, ad Lor. de' Med. 28°. Agost, 1514. MSS. Fior.*

(a) v. *Appendix, No. CVIII.*

(b) Soon afterwards the king sent the cardinal de' Medici a present of two horses with splendid trappings, for which the cardinal returned a respectful letter of thanks. v. *App. No. CIX.*

(c) v. *App. No. CX.*

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been accompanied by the king and queen, who then consigned her to the duke of Norfolk, to be conducted to Abbeville. A numerous train of the chief nobility, also attended her to that city, where the marriage was celebrated with great splendour on the ninth day of the same month. After the ceremony, her whole retinue was dismissed, except a few confidential attendants, among whom was Ann Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn. The coronation took place shortly afterwards at Paris, on which occasion magnificent spectacles were exhibited, with jousts and tournaments, in which the duke of Suffolk, and the marquis of Dorset, came off with honour. The king and queen of France were spectators; but Louis, although not at an advanced age, was so infirm, that he was obliged to recline upon a couch.^(a)

Singular interview between Erasmus and the papal legate Canossa.

The important part which England had lately taken in the affairs of the continent, and the negotiations for the marriage of Louis XII. had opened a more direct intercourse between this and other countries, than had before subsisted, and certainly contributed to promote, in no inconsiderable degree, the growth of those studies, which had shortly before been transplanted from Italy, by the labours of William Grocin, Thomas Linacer, Richard Pace, and other Englishmen. Among those learned foreigners who had fixed their residence here, and were honoured with the patronage and friendship of the great, was Andrea Ammonio, a native of Lucca, who held an important office in the English court, and who by his correspondence with Erasmus, appears to have enjoyed the particular esteem of that eminent scholar, and to have been possessed of

no

(a) *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. & Rapin's Hist. lib. xv.*

no inconsiderable share of talents and of learning.^(a) The arrival of Canossa the papal legate, who was one of the most accomplished men of his time, extended still further the literary intercourse between the two countries. For the better effecting the purposes of his important mission, he had laid aside his ecclesiastical character, and appeared only as a private gentleman, to which rank he had just pretensions, both by his education and his birth.^(b) Erasmus was then in England, and having been invited to dinner by his intimate friend Ammonio, he there met with a stranger in a long vest, his hair inclosed in a caul, or net, and attended only by one servant. After wondering for some time at what Erasmus calls his military air, he addressed his friend Andrea, in Greek, and inquired who this person was; to which he received for answer, in the same language, that he was an eminent merchant; which it seems Erasmus thought a sufficient

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sufficient

^(a) Andreas Ammonius was an apostolic notary, the pope's collector in England, Latin secretary to Henry VIII. and prebendary of St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster, and of Fordington and Writhington, in the church of Salisbury. *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*, p. 36. From a letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII. it appears, that some difficulties had arisen in the appointment of Ammonius to his office of receiver, which the pope submitted to the decision of the king. *Rymer. Fœdera*, vi. i. 86. The letters between Ammonius, and Erasmus, compose the chief part of the eighth book in the epistolary correspondence of the latter. He died of the *Sudor Britannicus*, or sweating sickness, in the year 1520, as appears by a letter from Sir Thomas More, in *Erasm. Ep. lib. vii. Ep. 4.*

^(b) He was of a noble family of Verona, and before his ecclesiastical preferments, was denominated the count Lodovico Canossa. By his talents and integrity he acquired great authority and reputation; and was employed during the chief part of his life in the most important embassies, frequently in the service of Francis I. whose esteem and confidence he enjoyed in an eminent degree. His letters, many of which are published in the *Lettere di Principi*, under the signature of *Il Vescovo de Baiusa*, are written with great ability, and no less freedom with respect to the characters of the times; insomuch that they may be considered as the best in that collection.

sufficient reason for treating him with marked contempt. The party then sat down to dinner, when Erasmus and his friend entered into conversation on various topics, in which Erasmus did not fail to express his opinion of their associate, who he conceived was ignorant of the language in which he spoke. At length he adverted to the politics of the day, and inquired whether the report was true, that a legate was arrived from the pope to reconcile the differences between the French and English monarchs; observing, that the pope did not want his opinion, otherwise he should have recommended, that not a word should have been said about peace; but should rather have advised the establishment of a truce for three years, which might have given time for concluding negotiations. He then proceeded to make further inquiries respecting the legate, and asked whether he was a cardinal, which led to a jocular contest between Erasmus and his friend, all which Canossa heard in silence. The patience of the latter being, however, at length exhausted, he first spoke a few words in Italian, and then turning towards Erasmus, told him in Latin, that he wondered he would reside in so illiterate a country, unless he chose to be the *only* scholar in England, rather than the *first* in Rome. Struck with the acuteness of this observation in a merchant, Erasmus replied, that he was better satisfied with residing in a country where there were many men of great learning, among whom he might occupy the lowest place, than in Rome where he should hold no rank whatever.^(a) Erasmus did not, however, discover the imposition, until

(a) Erasmus has, on other occasions, spoken with great commendation of the state of literature in England, which in point of improvement he places next to Italy. "Pro-
" cul

until he was afterwards informed of it by his friend, with whom he was in no small measure displeased; for, as he justly observes, he might perhaps have used some expressions respecting the legate, or even the pope, which might have proved to his disadvantage.(a) From this incident Erasmus imagined, that the legate was offended with him; but this was so far from the truth, that Canossa, after his return to France, whither he went as apostolick legate, and where he was appointed by Francis I. bishop of Bayeux, wrote to invite Erasmus to come and reside with him; promising not only to maintain him, but to pay him two hundred ducats yearly, and to provide him with two horses and two servants;(b) an offer which Erasmus did not choose to accept; and which it seems could not remove from his mind the illiberal dislike which he had conceived against a man, whom he had first known and conversed with in the borrowed character of a merchant.(c)

Whilst

“cul abest ab Italia Britannia, sed eruditorum hominum æstimatione proxima est.”
Ep. lib. xxiii. Ep. 5.

(a) The particulars of this incident are given by Erasmus himself, in a letter to Germanus Brixius. *Ep. lib. xxiv. Ep. 24.*

(b) “Non voglio mancar di dirvi, che trovandomi in migliore fortuna del solito, ho scritto a quell’ Erasmo, che sapete, che se vuol venire a viver meco, io gli darò dugento ducati l’anno, & le spese per due cavalli, e due bocche, e tanto otio per studiare, quanto esso saprà o vorrà prendere. Potrebbe essere, che si facesse beffe di me; & che m’ invitasse con manco salario assai, perchè manco ne merito, ad andare a star seco; ma che farà di me? non sapendo io stampare, nè fare altra cosa che gli satisfacesse; se forse non si diletta di dir male al solito.” *Lettera di Canossa, a Andrea Ammonio. Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 18. b.* In which last observation Canossa jocularly alludes to his first interview with Erasmus, at the house of his friend to whom the letter is addressed.

(c) Erasmus, in the year 1532, thus speaks of Canossa, “Si nunc Canossa parum bene est in Erasmum animatus, nihil est novæ rei. Solet spretus amor in iram verti,” &c. *Erasm. Ep. lib. xxiv Ep. 24.*

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Splendid exhibi-
tions at Flo-
rence.

Whilst Leo X. was diligently attending to every variation in the political horizon of Europe, the immediate direction of the Florentine state was still intrusted to his young nephew Lorenzo de' Medici, who continued to reside at that city, and to maintain the rank of his ancestors, as representative of the elder branch of his family. But notwithstanding the authority of Lorenzo, and the external form of a popular government, which was still preserved, the city of Florence, was at this time virtually governed by the Roman court, and Lorenzo himself acted only in conformity to such directions as he received from the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was the organ of the will of the pope in all the transactions of the Tuscan state. The amity which now subsisted between the pope and the other European sovereigns, restored to the city of Florence that tranquillity which it had not for many years enjoyed; and its history at this period is little more than the succession of its public officers, and the records of those splendid exhibitions, of which one of the chief objects was to reconcile the minds of the inhabitants to the loss of their former independence. These exhibitions, first introduced by Lorenzo the Magnificent, were peculiar to that city, and were intended to unite the charms of poetry with the most striking effects of picturesque representation. For this purpose, some well-known incident in ancient history, which might admit of the introduction of a splendid procession, was generally fixed upon, and neither expense nor labour were spared in displaying it to the utmost advantage. The triumph of Paulus Emilius had thus, in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, afforded a subject for the talents of Francesco Granacci, the fellow-pupil of Michel-agnolo, who had represented it with such a variety of invention, and in

so characteristic a manner, as to have obtained great applause. Even after the exile of the Medici from Florence, these exhibitions were occasionally continued, although with circumstances suitable to the more gloomy and superstitious character of the place. Among those who distinguished themselves by the singularity of their inventions, was Piero di Cosimo, a Tuscan painter, who having made his preparations in secret, and engaged the necessary attendants, brought forth, in the midst of the public rejoicings of the city, *the Triumph of Death*. This he represented by a car, which was drawn by black oxen, and painted with imitations of bones and skulls, intermingled with white crosses. On the car stood a large figure of death, armed with his scythe, and beneath, in the sides of the car, were openings representing sepulchres, from which, as often as the procession stopped, issued a troop of persons, who being clothed in black, and painted with white, so as to imitate the bones of the human body, appeared in the gloom of night like so many skeletons. These figures, seating themselves on the car, sung the verses written for the occasion by Antonio Alamanni, among which were the impressive lines ;

“ Fummo già come voi sete,
 “ Voi sarete come noi ;
 “ Morti siam come vedete,
 “ Così morti vedrem voi.”(a)

Once like you we were,
 Spectres now you see ;
 Such as we now are,
 Such you soon shall be.

This

(a) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori* ii. 387. The whole of this piece may be found in the *Canti Carnascialeschi*. p. 131. *Ed. Fior.* 1558.

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This spectacle, which was accompanied by great crouds of attendants, with appropriate standards and devices, affected the whole city with mingled sentiments of surprize and horror; but the novelty of the sight, and the invention which it displayed, excused so bold an attempt, and even obtained for the artist great commendation. There is however reason to believe, that a deeper meaning was couched under this exhibition, than might at first sight have been suspected, and that it was in fact intended by the adherents of the banished family of the Medici, to represent the wretched and death-like state of Florence, whilst deprived of those to whom she had been indebted for her former happiness and glory.^(a)

Triumph of Camillus.

The twenty-fourth day of June, in the year 1514, being the anniversary festival of St. John the baptist, the patron saint of the city of Florence, and which had for ages been celebrated by the inhabitants with particular hilarity, was fixed upon by the young Lorenzo de' Medici, for the exhibition of a splendid spectacle, accompanied with tournaments and rejoicings, intended to commemorate the return of the Medici to Florence, and the recent elevation of the family. This intelligence no sooner arrived at Rome, than it threw the whole court into commotion, and the concerns of nations, and the interests of the church, were forgotten for

(a) " Sentì dire io ad Andrea di Cosimo, che fu con lui (Piero di Cosimo) a fare questa opera, ed Andrea del Sarto, che fu suo discepulo, e vi si trovò anch' egli, che fu opinione in quel tempo, che questa invenzione fusse fatta per significare la tornata della Casa de' Medici del 12. in Firenze; perchè allora, che questo trionfo si fece, erano esuli, e come dire morti, che dovessino in breve resuscitare," &c. *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori.* ii. 36.

for a while in the anticipated pleasures of this great event. Many of the cardinals requested permission to be present at Florence on the occasion. Among these were Cibò, and Rossi, both near relations of the pontiff, the cardinals of Ferrara and of Aragon, Cornaro, Bibbiena, and Sauli; who having obtained the consent of the pope, prepared for their journey, and that the dignity of their rank might not prevent their sharing in the amusements of the populace, they determined to assume borrowed characters.^(a) The cardinal Giulio de' Medici, although at that time indisposed, expressed his earnest desire to accompany his brethren; and even the supreme pontiff interested himself with such warmth in the preparation and conduct of this spectacle, as evidently demonstrated that he would himself have been present, had he not been prevented by a sense of the decorum due to his high station. He gave, however, positive directions that the most minute account of whatever might occur, should be transmitted to him from day to day.^(b) His brother Giuliano, under less restraint, and accompanied by his friend Agostino Chigi, again visited his native place.^(c) The principal incident proposed to be represented was the *Triumph of Camillus*, after his victory over the Gauls. In order to give greater magnificence and novelty to the procession, Lorenzo requested that the pope would permit the

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elephant

(a) *Lettere di Balth. de Pescia. MSS. Flor. App. No. CXI.*

(b) v. *Ibid. App. No. CXII.*

(c) "M. Agostino Chisi si è partito di qua col Magnifico Giuliano," &c. *Lettera di B. da Pescia, 19 Junii, 1514. MSS. Flor.*

elephant and other animals, which had been presented to him by the king of Portugal, to be sent to Florence. This request the pope thought proper to decline, as far as respected the elephant, which it was alleged could not, on account of the tenderness of his feet, travel to so great a distance; but the two leopards and the panther were sent, under the direction of the Persian keeper. That these spectacles, besides tending to reconcile the Florentines to their dependent situation, generally concealed some political allusion, has already been observed; and the *Triumph of Camillus* was undoubtedly selected with a particular reference to the late expulsion of the French from Italy. The very recent accommodation of all differences between Louis XII. and the pope, had, however, in some degree changed the disposition and views of the Roman court, and although it was not thought absolutely necessary to abandon the subject proposed, and to adopt one of a less hazardous tendency, yet strict admonitions were given that nothing offensive to the French nation, who were stated to be particularly susceptible of such insults, should be allowed to take place.(a)

Tournaments.

The extreme attention paid by the Medici to the acquisition of popular favour and applause, is strikingly manifested in the correspondence between Rome and Florence on this occasion. Lorenzo is reminded, that in the *giostra*, or tournaments, which were to take place, and of which great expectations had been formed, he should be particularly cautious

(a) *Lettere di Balth da Pescia. MSS. Flor. App. No. CXIII.*

cautious in making such choice of his partisans as might insure his success, so that the honour might rest with the family, as had been usual on former occasions. He is also advised not to rely on the Florentines, but to engage on his party strangers, who had been more accustomed to such exercises; in other words he was to assure himself of the victory before he entered the lists:^(a) The prudent advice of his political preceptors, was accompanied by the still more cautious admonitions of his mother Alfonsina, who then resided at Rome, and felt all the solicitude which a fond parent may be supposed to experience, on such an occasion, for an only son. “Your mother has been informed,” says the faithful secretary, who transmitted to Florence the instructions of the Roman court, “that you practise yourself in tilting, wearing heavy armour, and managing the great horse, which may in all probability be injurious to your health. I can scarcely express to you how much she is dissatisfied with these proceedings. In the greatest distress she has enjoined me to write to you on her behalf, and to observe to you, that although your ancestors have displayed their courage on similar occasions, yet you should consider who, and what they were. When Piero di Cosmo appeared in a tournament, his father, who governed the city, was then living, as was also his brother. At the time Lorenzo exhibited, his father was also in being, and he had a brother, Giuliano, the father of our most reverend Cardinal; and when the same Giuliano tilted, Lorenzo himself governed. When your father appeared in the lists, he had two sons and two brothers; notwithstanding which, he did not

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“ escape

(a) *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor. App. No. CXIV.*

CHAP. XII. " escape blame. You are yet young, and the magnificent
 A. D 1514. " Giuliano and yourself (both of you yet unmarried, and
 A. Æt. 39. " he infirm in his constitution) are the only support of the
 A. Pont. II. " family. You cannot, therefore, commit a greater error
 " than by persevering in such conduct, and she recom-
 " mends that you should rather engage others in the con-
 " test, and stand by to enjoy the entertainment; thereby
 " consulting your own safety, and preserving the hopes of
 " your family."(a) How far these remonstrances were ef-
 fectual it is of little importance to inquire; but they serve to
 shew, with what an habitual solicitude every circumstance
 was regarded which could contribute to the support and
 aggrandizement of the family of the Medici; when even
 the solicitations of a mother, to prevail on a son to attend
 to his personal safety, were supposed to be most strongly
 enforced by such an argument.

The preparation of the apparatus, on this occasion, as far as respected the machinery and decorations of the painter, was intrusted to Francesco Granacci, the same artist who had displayed his talents with so much applause in the service of Lorenzo the Magnificent; and his invention and ability in executing the task imposed upon him is highly celebrated in the records of his art.(b) Besides the furnishing appropriate designs for the cars, standards, dresses, escutcheons, and emblems attending this magnificent spectacle, Granacci erected a triumphal arch opposite to the great gate of the monastery of S. Marco, in a rich and ornamental stile of architecture. Several historical pieces
 finely

(a) v. *Lettere di Balth. da Pesca. MSS. Flor. App. No. CXV.*

(b) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori. ii. 388.*

finely painted, so as to imitate tablets in *basso rilievo*, and elegant statues modelled in clay, gave additional grandeur to this temporary structure, and on the summit of the arch appeared in large characters,^(a)

LEONI X. PONT. MAX. FIDEI CULTORI.

On the return of Giuliano de' Medici to Rome, he was accompanied by his nephew Lorenzo, for the purpose of deliberating with the pope and the cardinal de' Medici, on the measures to be adopted for increasing the power and authority of the family, and securing it against those dangers to which it might be exposed, in case it should be deprived of the protection of the pontiff. The cardinal had already made a decisive election, in devoting himself to the church, and from his high station and the influence which he now possessed, he was enabled to lay the foundations from which he hoped to rise to that supreme dignity which he afterwards obtained. It was therefore only in the persons of Giuliano and Lorenzo, that the pope could realize those secular honours, which he considered as necessary to the establishment and aggrandizement of his family. The character and disposition of these near relatives were however widely different. Of all the descendants of the Medici, Giuliano seems to have inherited the least of the ambition of his ancestors. Attached to the studies of polite literature, and delighted with the society of

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1514.

A. Æt. 39.

A. Pont. II.

Deliberations at Rome for aggrandizing the family of Medici.

^(a) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*. ii. 388. It must however be observed, that Vasari is mistaken both in the year, and the occasion of these rejoicings, which he places in 1513, on the arrival of Leo X. at Florence. The celebration of this festival was in 1514, and Leo did not visit Florence until the end of the year following. The verses sung on this joyful occasion, written by the Florentine historian Jacopo Nardi, have been preserved in the *Canti Carnascialeschi*, and are given in the Appendix. No. CXVI.

of those men of learning and of talents whom he met with at Rome, he preferred the charms of private life to the exercise of that authority which was within his grasp. The delicacy of his constitution was perhaps an additional motive to the choice which he had made; yet he was not without pretensions to military honours, and had frequently been in arms during the various attempts of the Medici to re-establish themselves in their native place. His nephew Lorenzo had on the contrary, already given sufficient indications of a bold and aspiring mind. Dissatisfied with the administration of the Florentine state, in which he held no ostensible rank, except such as he enjoyed in common with other citizens, he had already begun to estrange himself from the society of the inhabitants, and to devote himself to military exercises, in the hope of being enabled, by the support of the pontiff, either to assume the absolute dominion of his native place, or to obtain an independent sovereignty in some other part of Italy.

Leo X. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples and the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino.

The result of these deliberations appeared in the measures soon afterwards adopted by the pontiff; which have given occasion to the historians of these times to charge him with inconsistency in his designs and conduct, but which, a nearer view of the state of Europe, compared with his own situation, and that of his family, will perhaps sufficiently explain. The character of Leo X. now stood high in the estimation of all the sovereigns of Christendom. Although not of royal descent, he was considered in his own person as the representative of the most respectable family in Europe, that did not assume the insignia of sovereignty. To this was added the dignity of his high office, which entitled him to take the precedence of the proudest

proudest monarchs of the time; and these pretensions to superior respect, were strengthened by the active and important part which he had taken in the political transactions of the times. It is true, it had been principally, if not wholly owing to his interference, that the emperor elect and the catholic king had been disappointed in their endeavours to effect the proposed alliance with the crown of France; but Leo had so conducted himself on this occasion, as to retain the favour of those sovereigns, even whilst he counteracted their purposes. By the emperor elect and the Venetian state he had been appointed the arbiter of their differences; and although his decision had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the continual vicissitudes of the war, and the avarice and ambition of the cardinal of Gurck,^(a) yet he still maintained his credit with both parties. The influence which he had acquired in the English councils was apparent on many important occasions, and might be accounted for, not only from the great attachment and respect which Henry yet entertained for the Roman see, but from the earnest desire of Wolsey to ingratiate himself with the pontiff. Of all the European sovereigns, Louis XII. was the prince with whom Leo stood in the most delicate situation; yet Louis was the very potentate whose favour he considered as of greater importance to him than that of any of the rest. He was now fully convinced that it was not in his power to divert the king from his

(a) It appears from the private correspondence of the Medici family, that the cardinal wished to obtain 20 or 25,000 ducats from the Venetians, and the dignity of legate from the pope. As this information is derived from the confidential secretary who was employed in this transaction, there can be no doubt of its authenticity. v. *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor. App. No. CXVII.*

his projected expedition against Milan; and as the facilities afforded the king by his new alliance with England, left little doubt of his success, it became a subject of serious deliberation to the pontiff, how he might best counteract the injurious consequences of this measure, or rather how he might convert it to the advantage of himself and his family. For this purpose he turned his views towards the kingdom of Naples, conceiving, that from the advanced age of Ferdinand of Spain, an opportunity would soon be afforded both to Louis XII. and himself, of interfering in its concerns, and perhaps of occupying its government, to the exclusion of the young archduke; for whom it would not in such case be difficult to find sufficient employment in other parts of his widely dissevered dominions. This important acquisition, Leo probably destined for his brother Giuliano; whilst the state of Tuscany, to which he also hoped to unite the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, were the intended inheritance of his nephew Lorenzo. By these means the family of the Medici would have enjoyed a decisive superiority over any other in Italy, and by the subsequent union of these territories, which was likely to take place at no distant period, would have held an important rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

Secret alliance
between the
pope and
Louis XII.

No sooner was this ambitious project determined on at Rome, than Leo not only began openly to relax in his opposition to the king respecting his pretensions on the Milanese; but actually to make representations to him, to prevent his relinquishing his projected enterprise; assuring him that the Spanish army in Italy was greatly diminished in its numbers; that the soldiery were unpaid, the people of Milan wretched and dissatisfied, and that with respect to the Swiss,

Swiss, there was no one who would undertake to subsidize them, and that it was well known they would not move without such an inducement. At the same time he gave the king to understand, that he would exert his influence with Ottaviano Fregoso, to restore the authority of the king at Genoa, where the fortress of the Lanterna was yet in possession of the French. After having thus manifested his dispositions, Leo addressed himself to the cardinal Sanseverino, who was then considered as the agent of the French monarch at Rome,^(a) by whose means he proposed to the king, that as the jealousy of other powers would not at this juncture permit them to enter into an ostensible and avowed alliance, it was his desire that they should at least lay the foundation of that future union, which he hoped would ere long be established between them. For this purpose the pope transmitted to the king certain minutes, as heads of a private treaty, on which he requested to know his sentiments. The French monarch in reply, expressed his acknowledgments for the confidence placed in him by the pontiff; but whether some of these propositions were of such a kind as to require long deliberation, or whether any other circumstance prevented the king from returning an earlier answer; certain it is, that he did not send his definitive reply to Rome for the space of fifteen days, or thereabouts. Although this delay may appear inconsiderable, yet from the critical nature of the business, it alarmed the pontiff, who probably conceived, that if Louis disclosed this communication to the emperor elect and the king of Spain, it might draw down upon him their resentment. He therefore availed himself of an opportunity which was

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(a) Guacciard. *Storia d'Ital.* lib. xii. ii. 74.

CHAP. XII.
 A. D. 1514.
 A. Æt. 39.
 A. Pont. II.

at this season afforded him, of renewing his treaties with those sovereigns for the term of a year, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to the mutual defence of their respective states. The reply of the king of France to the proposals of the pope, arrived immediately after the signing these treaties, and the king thereby expressed his entire approbation of the terms of amity offered by the pontiff; suggesting, however, that as one article in the minutes obliged the king to the protection of the Tuscan state, and of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, it would be necessary that they should become parties in the engagement. On the arrival of this answer, the pope excused himself to the king for his apparent precipitancy, in renewing his treaties with the houses of Aragon and Austria, the cause of which he attributed in some degree to the unexpected hesitation of the king himself. This apology Louis thought proper to consider as satisfactory, and the convention was agreed on. In order, however, to prevent the terms from transpiring, they were not declared by any public instrument, but remained in the form of a schedule, under the signature of the respective parties.(a)

Motives of Leo
 X.

These extraordinary measures are attributed by a great contemporary historian to the artifice and insincerity of the pope, who either conceiving that the king of France would undertake this expedition without his incitement, expected, in case it should prove successful, to secure his favour, or knowing, that in the truce which Louis had entered into with the Spanish monarch and the emperor elect, it was stipulated that he should not attack the state of Milan, was

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. xii. ii. 75.

was desirous of embroiling him with those powers.(a) It may, however, be presumed, that Leo had yet more important objects in view, and that he was at this period sincere in his endeavours to prevail upon the French monarch to make another descent upon Italy. The secret treaty undoubtedly contained some articles favourable to the advancement of the family of the Medici; and Leo might suppose, that if he assisted the king in the accomplishment of so favourite an object as the recovery of Milan, he might in return expect his aid in obtaining the sovereignty of Naples; a proposition to which there is indeed reason to believe that the French monarch had given his express consent.(b) If this great object could have been accomplished, Leo would not only have laid the foundation of a splendid monarchy in his own family, but would have rescued the most extensive state in Italy, from the opprobrium of a foreign yoke. In sacrificing to this acquisition the duchy of Milan, he might also perhaps have looked forwards to a time when he might be able, by the aid of the Swiss, with whom he still maintained a secret but strict alliance,(c) to repeat the part which he had acted on a former occasion;

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occasion ;

(a) Guicciard. *Storia d'Italia lib. xii. ii. 76.*

(b) Guicciardini himself informs us, that the king of Spain was apprehensive, and not without reason, that the pope aspired to the kingdom of Naples for his brother Giuliano, *lib. xii. 74*, to which he afterwards adds, "che il Re di Francia prometteva aiutare il pontefice ad acquistare il Regno di Napoli, o per la Chiesa, o per Giuliano suo fratello," *lib. xii. ii. 76.* A circumstance which fully explains the conduct of the pontiff, in attempting to prevail on the king of France to hasten his expedition to Italy.

(c) "Per l'ultima mia di hieri me scordai dire ad V. S. circa le Svizeri, come Mon-
" signore Rmo. me haveva detto; che N. Signore continuando li pacti della Lega vec-
" chia

occasion; and thus by liberating Italy from both the Spaniards and the French, to place on the head of his brother the only crown of which that country could boast.

In order to confirm the proposed union between the French monarch and Leo X. it had been further agreed, that a family alliance should be formed between them by the marriage of Giuliano de' Medici, with Filiberta, daughter of Philip duke of Savoy, and sister to Louisa, the mother of Francis duke of Angoulême, who succeeded at no distant period to the crown of France by the name of Francis I. This marriage, notwithstanding the important alterations which soon afterwards occurred, was celebrated in the early part of the ensuing year, and although unproductive of any offspring, probably led the way to those future alliances, by which the family of the Medici became so closely connected with the royal house of France, and which all Christendom has had such ample reason to deplore.

Leo obtains the city of Modena.

But whether the proposed attempt was frustrated by the unexpected hesitation of the king, and the consequent engagements of the pontiff with other powers, or by the reluctance of Giuliano de' Medici, to take an active part in so bold and hazardous a transaction; certain it is, that Leo soon relinquished his representations to Louis XII. on this subject, and began to adopt the most decisive measures for the defence of his new possessions in Lombardy,

“chia con loro, li manda fra pochi di danari, et farl ogni cosa de confermarla, &c.
 “Et che io ricordi ad quella per sempre, che di simili avisi non voglia conferire con
 “alcuno, salvo che ad qualche proposito suo, et che solo questa si fa, acciochè V. S.
 “sappia come le cose passano, et non per communicarle.” *Balth. da Pescia a Lor. Med.* 26 Mai, 1514. *MSS. Flor.*

bardy, and for defeating the projected expedition of the French monarch against the states of Milan. He therefore gladly availed himself of an opportunity afforded him by the necessities of the emperor elect Maximilian, of purchasing from that sovereign the city and state of Modena, for a sum of forty thousand gold ducats, subject to a right of redemption in the emperor on repayment of the money, which there was not the slightest probability that he would ever be enabled to reimburse.^(a) This acquisition was of the utmost consequence to the pontiff, as it opened an uninterrupted communication between the states of the church and the cities of Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza, and in conjunction with those territories, composed a rich and populous district of no inconsiderable extent and importance.

In the mean time, the war between the emperor elect Maximilian, the king of Spain, and the Venetian state, was carried on with great activity; and as the latter was considered as the bulwark of Europe against the Turks, Leo availed himself of the information lately received respecting the successes of the Turkish arms, to attempt once more to effect a reconciliation between the contending powers, well knowing, that if he could detach the Venetians from their alliance with Louis XII. it would either prevent his proposed expedition to Milan, or in all probability frustrate his expected success. To this end he dispatched as his legate to Venice the celebrated Pietro Bembo, who still enjoyed the office of his domestic secretary, with directions to exert all his efforts for the purpose of prevailing on his countrymen

Leo endeavours
to reconcile
the Venetians
with the king
of Spain and
the emperor
elect.

^(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia* x. 108.

trymen to listen to such overtures of pacification, as the pope was already authorized on the part of their adversaries to propose.

Legation of
Bembo to
Venice.

Bembo having undertaken this task, proceeded from Rome towards his native place ; and that he might not commit himself by any unguarded expression in a negotiation of so delicate a nature, he, in the course of his journey, reduced into writing the arguments which he judged proper on such an occasion, which he read as a *proposito* or proposition, from the pontiff to the senate. This singular document yet remains, and throws a strong light on the state of public affairs, and on the conduct which the pope thought it consistent with his duty or his interest to pursue.^(a) After expatiating in ample terms on the services which the pope had sought to render to the republic, the orator adverts to the part which Leo X. had acted in effecting a reconciliation and alliance between France and England, and to the encouragement which he had given to Louis XII. to attempt the conquest of Milan, “ whence he expected some “ advantages might have accrued to the Venetian state.” The delay of the king in this long threatened attempt, is attributed to his indifference, or to his weariness of a contest which had involved him in such enormous expense. Under these circumstances, the legate earnestly advises the Venetians to terminate their differences with the emperor elect and the king of Spain, and to abandon their alliance with France; in which case he proposes to them, on the authority of his catholic majesty, that all their continental possessions occupied by their enemies, excepting only the city

(a) v. Appendix, No. CXVIII.

city of Verona, then held by the emperor, should be restored to them ; they paying to the emperor four hundred thousand gold florins, or such other sum as the pope should judge reasonable. In directing the attention of the senate to the improbability of their deriving any future benefit from their alliance with France, the legate adduces arguments of a very extraordinary nature. “ It may not only,” says he, “ be expected, but believed, that the king of France has relinquished his attempt upon Italy. Some months have elapsed since he concluded the treaty with England, at which time he had twenty thousand men in arms for this enterprise, and might have engaged in it with the consent and favour of the pope, and with the reputation acquired by his new alliance. At that time he might also have attacked his adversaries whilst they were unprepared and unwilling to oppose him, as well from other circumstances as from their reverence for his holiness, who would openly have favoured his cause. If therefore he would not engage in this attempt, although invited and solicited by the pope, how can it be supposed, that he will now undertake it, when the Swiss, the Spaniards, the emperor, the states of Milan, of Florence, and of Genoa, are all united with his holiness to oppose him, and are employed in preparations for that purpose? Add to this, that he has lately married a beautiful wife, who will daily withdraw his mind more and more from the concerns of war. There are indeed some, who think that these nuptials will abridge his days, or rather render them very short indeed ; considering that he is already advanced in years, not remarkable for his continence, and devoted to the love of this young damsel, who is not more than eighteen years of age, and the most beautiful
“ and

“ and attractive woman that has been seen in France for many years. In short, he is said to be already on the decline, and to have contracted complaints which will shortly bring him to the grave.” When the legate ventured not only to utter, but to commit to writing such observations as these on so great a monarch, the avowed ally of his master, it is no wonder that he entreated his hearers, “ in the name of heaven, to bury them in eternal secrecy.” After having exerted all his eloquence in endeavouring to prevail on the senate to accede to his propositions, he proceeds to lay before them in strong terms the consequences of their refusal, which he asserts will infallibly lead to a conclusion of the treaty already in agitation, between the king of Spain, the Swiss, the states of Milan, Genoa, and Florence, and the pope; who would be under the necessity of regarding the Venetians as their common enemy.

The senate refuse to comply with his propositions.

But although this oration has been regarded as a specimen of diplomatic skill and eloquence, it failed to produce the intended effect on the minds of the Venetian senators; nor can it be denied, that in committing topics of so delicate a nature to the formality of a written composition, the Roman legate acted the part rather of a scholastic rhetor, than of a judicious negotiator. A few days afterwards Bembo was again admitted into the senate, when a written paper was read to him in reply to his oration; by which, after expressions of respect to his holiness, the senate refuses either to relinquish Verona to the emperor, or to annul their alliance with the king of France.^(a) This answer was

(a) The letters from Bembo to Leo X. containing the particulars of his embassy, are given in the Appendix, No. CXIX.

was immediately dispatched to Rome by Agostino Beazzano, a scholar of considerable eminence, who accompanied Bembo on his legation; and Bembo himself soon afterwards followed; but he was so fatigued with his journey, that he was obliged to rest on his return a few days at Pesaro, where he met with his friends Madonna Emilia Pia, and the duchess Elizabetta, the widow of Guidubaldo da Montefeltro duke of Urbino. Bembo was aware that he might incur the suspicion of having feigned indisposition, that he might enjoy the society of these amiable and accomplished women; but in a letter to the cardinal da Bibbiena, which bears date the first day of the year 1515, he makes the most solemn asseverations that his illness is not a pretext; and if his assurances were not believed, his delay was excused, by his friends and patrons at Rome.(a)

1515.

This embassy of Bembo to the Venetian state, was not only unproductive of those advantages which the pontiff expected to derive from it; but, if we may place implicit confidence in some of the historians of those times, it tended to injure the character of the pontiff in the estimation of the French monarch; who is said to have been now fully convinced of the insincerity of the pope, and to have renewed his negotiations with Ferdinand of Spain, preparatory to his intended attack on the states of Milan.(b) Frequently,

Historical mistakes respecting this negotiation.

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however,

(a) v. *Appendix*, No. CXX.

(b) "Manifestarono al Re di Francia la cagione della venuta di Bembo, donde il Re, dispiacendogli che in tempo tanto propinquo a muovere l'armi, cercasse di priarlo de' gli aiuti de suoi confederati, rinovò le pratiche passate col Re Catolico," &c. *Giuciard. lib. xii. ii. 77.* "Ma l'aver egli (il pontefice) inviato a Venezia il celebre Pietro Bembo, per istaccare quella republica dall' alleanza co' Francesi, senza pero poterla smuovere, fece al fin capire al Re Lodovico che capitale avesse egli a fare delle belle proteste di questo Pontefice." *Murat. Annal. d' Ital. x. 107.*

however, as this has been repeated as matter of reproach to the pontiff, it may with confidence be asserted, that Louis was never informed of the result of this negotiation, and consequently that he could not have manifested that dissatisfaction with the conduct of the pope which has been so positively imputed to him.^(a) On the very day that Bembo wrote the before-mentioned letter from Pesaro, his prophetic representations respecting Louis XII. were fulfilled by the death of that monarch; which event is also said to have been occasioned by the cause to which Bembo with so much confidence attributed it; he having survived his marriage only eighty days. It is not therefore to be supposed, that the purport of a negotiation which only terminated at Venice, towards the end of December, could be conveyed to France prior to the first day of January; much less is it likely, that Louis, when at the point of death, should have had either leisure or disposition to attend to political discussions; and at all events it is wholly impossible, that those subsequent negotiations should have taken place between

(a) "Ce fut toute la satisfaction qu'il eut de sa négociation, dont les Vénétiens firent part aussitôt au Roi leur Allié. Cette confiance éclaira Louis XII. sur les véritables sentimens d'un Pape qui tentoit toutes sortes de voyes pour séduire ses amis, dans le temps qu'il le faisoit assurer qu'il avoit le génie et le cœur tout François. Ce prince résolut enfin de ne plus compter sur lui, qu'en cas qu'il donnât d'autres assurances de sa sincérité que des protestations affectueuses." *Ligue de Cambray, lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 375.* "Mais le Pape fut obligé de s'expliquer clairement. Pour forcer le pape à le faire, l'homme du Roi se servit de l'envie qu'avoit sa Sainteté de ménager toujours la France. Il lui dit, avec la vivacité & l'énergie Françoise, que Louis XII. prendroit pour rupture & pour marque d'une inimitié irréconciliable le refus d'une réponse à ses propositions. Leon X. portant alors sa main gauche au côté de son bras droit, & l'élevant, dit qu'il donneroit ce bras pour voir le Roi de France en possession de son héritage, sans qu'il en coûtât une mer de sang à la Chrétienté, & il employa les biais les plus subtils des frases Florentines & tous les détours du jargon de Rome pour esquiver, & se défendre de donner une réponse plus formelle," &c. *Ib. p. 385.*

tween Louis XII. and the pope, which are related at great length by writers of credit, and have given occasion to severe animadversions on the supposed duplicity and treachery of the Roman pontiff.^(a) But as it is difficult to conceive, that the authors referred to can be mistaken on a subject in which they have almost uniformly concurred, it may be necessary further to relate, that on the departure of Bembo from Venice, two envoys were dispatched by the senate to the kings of England and of France, for the ostensible purpose of congratulating them on the restoration of peace, and on the alliance which had been so happily established between them. The ambassador to France was further instructed to assure the French monarch of the invariable fidelity and attachment of the senate to his cause, and to incite him by every possible effort to send an army into Italy without further delay; but whilst these envoys were yet on their journey, they received intelligence of the death of the French king, which terminated the chief object of their mission, and obliged them to wait for the instructions of the senate respecting their further destination.^(b) Whatever therefore might have been the feelings, or the resentment, of Louis XII. had he lived to have been informed of the embassy of Bembo, it is sufficiently apparent, that the sarcastic remarks on the conduct of the pontiff, to which this incident has given rise, have been falsely attributed to that monarch, and can only be considered as

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the

(a) Guicciardini, lib. xii. *Ligue de Cambray*, lib. iv. &c.

(b) This relation is confirmed by the positive authority of the Venetian historian Paruta, who adds, "Queste cose furono à gli Ambasciatori commesse; *ma mentre ancora essi ritrovansi nel viaggio*, il Re Lodovico, soprapreso da grave infermità, vi lasciò la vita." Paruta. *Hist. Ven. lib. ii. p. 102.*

the fabrication of those who have substituted the fictions of their own fancy for the authentic records of historical truth.

His character.

The latter events in the life of Louis XII. had greatly diminished the glory which he had acquired in the former part of his reign; and the sanguinary and fruitless victories of Ghiaradadda and Ravenna, were counterbalanced by the insults and defeats which he suffered from Leo X. and Henry VIII. the former of whom had expelled him from Milan, and the latter had established the English arms in the midst of his dominions, and reduced him to the necessity of securing, by the stipulated payment of an enormous sum of money, the safety of the rest. That inordinate and blind ambition which sacrifices the peace and happiness of a country to the vain expectation of foreign acquisitions, the attainment of which is often a greater misfortune than the miscarriage of the attempt, is in no instance more to be lamented than in that of Louis XII. who if he had not been misled by this deplorable frenzy, would indeed have merited the appellation bestowed upon him by his subjects, of the father of his people. Throughout his whole reign no new taxes were imposed in his dominions. He was the first sovereign who secured the peasantry of France from the rapacity of the soldiery, who were before accustomed to plunder them with impunity; and his memory was rendered dear to his country by his edict in 1499, by which he ordered that the law should on all occasions be strictly enforced, notwithstanding any contrary directions which the importunity of individuals might obtain from the sovereign.

About two months after the death of the king, his
young

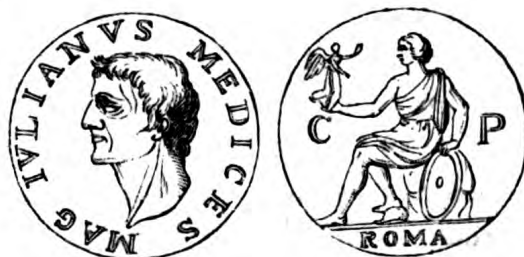
young and beautiful widow married the accomplished Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to whom she is supposed to have been attached before her former marriage, and who attended her to France, although he was not nominated as one of the embassy. Mezerai asserts, that the duke of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. caused this English lord to be narrowly watched, lest he should give the king a successor. This second marriage was a cause of great displeasure to Henry VIII. but his sister assuming the blame to herself, and protesting that she had almost compelled the duke to this rash action, the anger of the king was not of long duration. The progeny of this marriage was numerous. Frances, one of the daughters, married Henry Grey, afterwards duke of Suffolk, by whom she became the mother of the accomplished and unfortunate lady Jane Grey, who reluctantly contended with the bigot Mary for the crown of England. The other descendants of the princess Mary, intermarrying with the English nobility, have diffused a portion of the royal blood through many of the principal families in the kingdom.

A. D. 1515.

A. Æt. 40.

A. Pont. III.

His widow mar-
ries Charles
Brandon
duke of Suf-
folk.





APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

Nº. LII.

(Vol. ii. p. 10.)

Storia d' Italia di Gio. Ant. Summonte. vol iii. p. 551. cor. 615.

Petri Summontii Neapolitani.

AUSONIÆ splendor, durisque exercite bellis,

Hector, ab antiquis quem genus ornat avis;

Æquasti veterum qui fortia facta virorum,

Heroi tollens invidiam generis;

I felix, i quære alio sub sole triumphos,

Non datur in patriis nomen habere locis.

Si non Alcides charis migrasset ab Argis,

Non foret Eois notus, et Hesperiiis:

Fertur post varios insigni Marte labores

Ferrea Tartareæ janua aperta domus.

Fertur Iasoniæ pubes commissa carinæ,

Ausa maris tumidas prima secare vias.

Cessite Gangaridum, Lenæi gloria, Tellus;

Pelleo et longe Fama petita Duci.

In pretio semper nimio peregrina fuere,

Nescio cur, sordent dum sua cuique domi.

Adde quod, et melius translata reponitur arbor:

Tanta est mutati gratiâ, honosque soli.

I felix, nec te Patria, aut remorentur amici,

Aut de cognato sanguine fidus amor.

Fortibus omne solum Patria est, hos adjuvat ipsa

Virtus, et his cælum, terraque nuda favet.

Nº. LII

N^o. LII

Prima tibi vicisse pios Victoria amores ;
 Incipe mox laudes accumulare novas.
 Nec tibi deerunt, æternis qui grandia chartis
 Facta canant, digna concelebrentque lyra.
 Quis neget assiduo renovari sæcula cursu,
 Quin meliora potest ducere longa dies.
 En sopita diu, surgit tandem inclyta virtus,
 Heroesque novos sæcula nostra ferunt.
 Æmulus Iliaco, nostris fuit Hector in armis :
 Pro decore Italiæ prælia honesta gerens ;
 Hector, propositæ cessit cui gloria palmæ,
 Devictis Gallis nomen in Ausonium.
 Nullius hic armis cedit, quoscunque vetustas
 Et Graia, et Latia jactat in Historia.
 Tempus erit, quo te Dux o fortissime postquam
 Sub titulos ierint plurima bella tuos
 Te Capua excipiat, spoliisque assurgat opimis
 Porrigat et meritis laurea sarta comis ;
 Cum Patres, equitesque et Plebs numerosa merentem,
 Deducant Patrii limina ad alta Jovis ;
 Cum vox omnis Io clamet, geminataque ad auras,
 Reddat Io, cum te femina virque canat.
 Hoc precor, huic utinam servent me Numina Famæ,
 Hæc celeri veniat sydere fausta dies.

N^o. LIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 18.)

Ex op. Joannis Aurelii Augurelli. Iamb. Carm. ii. ex Lib. superaddito.

AD JULIUM II. PONTIFICEM.

In communi omnium summi ejusdem Pontificatus plausu Gratulatio.

N^o. LIII.

SECUNDE Juli pontifex Sanctissime,
 Optate cunctis gentibus diu pater,
 Electe summo nunc jubente cœlitum,
 Patrumque votis omnium faventibus,
 Jam quisque pro se gratulantes offerunt
 Tibi, quod esse deditæ signum queat
 Mentis ; Potentes urbium volentium,

Rerumque

Rerumque firma publicarum pectora
 Legationibus datis frequentibus
 Spondent, fidemque dedicant læti suam :
 Tanquam daturi prodeant majus nihil.
 At qui minori sorte victum temperant,
 Omnes opellam pollicentur uberem,
 Præstare qualem diligens virtus potest :
 Quos ut tuorum scripseris semel gregi,
 Dignere læto contueri lumine.
 Spe cujus ultro motus ipse gratiæ
 Ausim reposti collis ad cacumina
 Repens anhelans ac laborans tendere ;
 Ubi sorores floribus sertum novem
 Texunt micantibus, æmulisque syderum :
 Quod inde necum deferens tibi sacrum
 Pergam superbis dedicare postibus
 Templi, quod ulnis sustines unus tuis.
 Ne prorsus ergo seduli munusculum
 Vatis, pusillum sit licet, despexeris.
 Nec ille namque cujus hic vicem geris,
 Rerum supernus fabricator omnium
 Terris inhabitans parvulos contempserat.

Nº. LIII.

 Nº. LIV.

(Vol. ii. p. 26.)

Petri Criniti op. p. 554.

De laude Consalvi Ferrandi in victoria Lyriana contra Gallos.

O QUIS reposti pocula Liberi
 Depromit, aut quis nunc mihi victimas
 Cum thure sacro rite puer parat,
 Insignem ut referam diem
 Quo dux vigenti milite maximus
 Lyrim refuso sanguine Galliæ
 Vidit tumentem, Gesaque supplici
 Porrecta in medium manu ?
 Heu quanta passim funera nobilem
 Lucem sacrarunt, qua tibi maxima
 Ferrande laus, et perpetuum decus
 Partum est auspiciis tuis.

Nº. LIV.

Tu

Tu macte princeps consilio gravi
 Frænum receptis viribus injicis:
 Gallosque et astu, et viribus occupans
 Hostilem superas manum
 Victor, et urges: testis adest cruor:
 Testisque et omnis Gallia: dum tuum
 Mirata forti pectore militem
 Hispanum subiit jugum.
 Quantus triumphus: quæ statuæ tibi
 Debentur? o si nunc meritas queam
 Cantare laudes principis, et pares
 Aptare ad numeros chelyn.
 Sic est, volenti nil homini arduum,
 Quem firma virtus extulit: invium
 Nullum relictum est ingeniis iter,
 Queis cælum petere est datum.
 Ferrandus armis, et sapientia
 Prælatas, ut qui Marte potens acris
 Dejecit arces funditus, et sibi
 Aeternum statuit decus.
 Non ante quisquam tam celeri gradu
 Oppressit hostem victor: et impiger
 Munita certis oppida viribus
 Astu perdomuit suo.

 Nº. LV.

(Vol. ii. p. 33.)

Ex. Epist. Gregorij Cortesii, Mutinensis p. 234.

JO. MEDICES CARD.

DETULIT ad me Aloisius Lottus, quem secretis tuis adhibere solitus es, te noctes diesque cogitare, si qua ratione afflictas perditasque res *Casinatis Cœnobii* possis instaurare, ut renovato ibi divino cultu, et Benedicti institutionum observatione, speciem aliquam primevæ majestatis recuperare possit, habereque te Julium Pont. Max. et Consalvum Ferandum regis Hispaniæ copiarum ducem, ejus consilii non participes solum, sed arbitros etiam et mirificos adjutores. Digna sane cogitatio animi tui magnitudine, et anteactæ vitæ consentanea: digna patris tui Laurentii atque atavi Cosmæ religione, qui et vetustate collapsa templa plurima pristinæ restituerunt magnificentiæ, et complura à fundamentis incredibili impensa extruxerunt. Tu vero non parietes ipsos, non contignationes, non cæteras partes ædificii sanctas tectasque reddes, sed religionem, sed castitatem morum, sed pietatem pristinam,

pristinam, Benedictum denique ipsum suis ædibus hac ratione restitues. Huc accedit, quod cum multa celebrentur majorum tuorum in re publica atque privata gesta præclarissime, maxime quod illorum favore atque auspiciis extincta dudum liberalia studia revixerunt, debetur quidem tibi nescio quo pacto hæreditatis jure, pars quædam ejus laudis, sed ea ratione ut rei soliditate ipsis majoribus derelicta, umbram solum, et velut auram quampiam tibi inde vendicare possis. Enimvero, si id quod tanta cum indole aggredi cogitas, à te fuerit confectum, tum demum consequeris, ut integram laudem consilio pietati atque ingenio tuo omnes assignandam ducant. Præterea quotquot futuris retro temporibus et penè dixerim, in omni æternitate in augustissimis illis ædibus sacris operabuntur, illi omnes in primis te ipsum familiamque tuam, vel certe secundum Deum, tanti operis autorem confitebuntur, cum sacrificiis, laudibus, continentia, adorationibus, divinum favorem generi humano satagent demereri. Movit te ad hoc ut opinor cogitandum, quod sacerdotium id tibi commendatum esse putas, non ut ex ejus annuis fructibus equorum magna multitudo, canes venatici, volucres ad aucupia nutrentur; nec idcirco ut major pompa et numerosiore caterva stipatus ad Pontificias ædes deducerere: non ut uno alterove episcopis esses in equitando comitator: quæ ut Christianæ simplicitati et bonis moribus certum est magnopere repugnare, sic ab animo cogitationibusque tuis longissime abesse debent; sed ut sacerrimæ illæ ædes divinis laudibus multiplicatis, die noctuque psallentium vocibus resonarent: ut quæ olim ibi viguerunt liberalium artium studia reviviscerent, denique ut ex Christiana religione illic omnia administrarentur. Etenim locus ipse, ut nosti, divina quadam providentia electus esse videtur, qui et bonarum artium et omnis eruditionis, ut ita dicam, officina assidue futurus esset. Sic namque ante exhibitam nobis à Christo Opt. Max. admirandam humanitatem M. Varronis Academia est nobilitatus. Sic deinde studiis omnium disciplinarum floruit, ut medicos, philosophos, postremo Thomam Aquinatem illi debeamus, inter eos qui novum hoc Theologiæ genus professi sunt, facile principem. Nam de Benedicto ipso loqui quid attinet, cum nulla ferme regio sit, nulla civitas atque adeo nullum ignobile oppidulum, quod non et illi dicatis ædibus et ejus disciplinæ professoribus sit refertam? Ut mihi videatur acerrimus ille humani generis hostis, jure quodam suo, Casinatæ Cœnobium præ cæteris omnibus odio et malevolentia prosequi, quod ex eo potissimum penè infiniti duces extiterint, qui collatis secum signis sæpius victoriam exportarunt. Quare, pro ejusmodi cogitatione tibi mirum in modum gratulor, hortorque atque obsecro, uti ne diutius cunctando negocium differas. Scio te et quamplurimos et acres adversarios habiturum, partim mentito nomine Christiano, Christianæ religionis hostes acerbissimos, partim etiam qui iniquissimo animo sunt laturo ejus sacerdotii opulentiam, non amplius ad luxum et delicias, sed ad divini cultus decorem et pauperes nutriendos convertendam esse. Tu vero, certe scio, qua animi magnitudine negocium aggressus es, eadem atque etiam longe majore ad exitum usque prosequere, ut nec pietas in voluntate, nec in proposito constantia, nec consilium in exequendo desiderari possit. Quare, tecum pluribus ager Eusebius Mutinensis, ordinis nostri Præsidentis, qui has nostras, ut opinor, tibi est redditurus. Et cujus fidei quædam à me commendata sunt ad te deferenda, ut gratissimum omnino mihi facturum sis, si de omnibus fidem illi adhibere volueris. Vale.

N^o. LVI.*(Vol. ii. p. 41.)**Dumont, Corps Diplomatique, tom iv. par. i. p. 89.*

Breve Pontificium JULII Papæ II. ad FRANCISCUM GONZAGAM Marchionem Mantuæ emanatum; Quò cum Generalem Locumtenentem sui, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ Exercitus constituit. Datum Imolæ die 25. Octobris Anno 1506.

JULIUS PAPA II.

N^o. LVI.

DILECTE Fili Salutem, et Apostolicam Benedictionem: Egredia tua virtus, ac fides, rei militaris scientia, et animi magnitudo quibus majores tuos belli gloria claros, non solum equiparas, sed exuperas, quarumque dum Inclitæ Reipublicæ Venetæ Capitaneus Generalis esses in prima juvenia maxima documenta etiam cum Potentissimo Rege signis collatis dedisti, et deinde carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Maximiliani Romanorum Regis Illustris, ac Ludovici Sfortiæ tunc Ducis Mediolani, et novissime carissimi etiam in Christo Filii nostri Ludovici Francorum Regis Christianissimi Locumtenens Exercitum ejus in Regnum Neapolitanum duxisti, merito nos inducunt, ut tuæ nobilitati præ ceteris Prefecturam Exercitus nostri, ac Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ demandare velimus, sperantes quod tuo ductu, tuaque virtute, et auctoritate dilectissima civitas nostra Bononiæ tyrannide prout cupimus liberabitur, et reliqua quæ tibi committenda duxerimus, bene, ac fideliter peragentur. Quocirca te Exercitus nostri, et Ecclesiæ antedictæ omniumque gentium armigerarum nobis, et dictæ Ecclesiæ militantium Generalem Locumtenentem nostrum, ad nostrum, et Sedis Apostolicæ beneplacitum, facimus, constituimus, et tenore præsentium deputamus, cum facultate, et potestate exercitum, et gentes ipsas ductandi, quo dignitas, et status noster, ac dictæ Ecclesiæ postulabunt, et à nobis tibi injunctum fuerit, jubendi quoque, et imperandi omnibus Ductoribus Comestabilibus, et Militibus, ceteraque omnia ordinandi, imperandi, et exequendi, quæ alii Generales Exercitus, et Gentium armigerarum Ecclesiæ antedictæ Locumtenentes pro tempore ordinare, jubere, et exequi potuerunt. Mandantes proinde Ductoribus Comestabilibus, et Militibus antedictis ut jussionibus, et ordinationibus tuis tanquam nostris plene pareant et obediant in quantum nostram gratiam promereri, et indignationem evitare desiderant. Tu igitur, Fili dilecte, ita Exercitum gubernare, et te gerere studeas, ut Sancta Romana Ecclesia quo te tanto favore prosequitur, per te non solum sua jura conservata, sed etiam aucta esse sentiat, prout fore non dubitamus, Deo cujus causa agitur, tuos gressus in omnibus dirigente. Datum Imolæ sub Annulo Piscatoris, die xxv. Octobris M. D. VI. Pont. nostri, Anno tertio.

SIGISMUNDUS.

No.

N^o. LVII.*(Vol. ii. p. 42.)**Carmina illust. Poet. Ital. vol. v. p. 408.**Hadriani, S. R. E. Card.*

ITER JULII II. PONT. MAX.

AUGUSTI memoranda dies vicesima sexta
 Pontificem magna Roma dimisit Julum,
 Pæne omni patrum, et procerum comitante Senatu.
 Formello pius excepit Jordanus, et uxor
 Moribus, ingenio, formaque et nomine Felix.
 Postera lux Nepete Antiquum, tum proxima Veios
 Ostendit, mox per Cimini montemque lacumque
 Tendimus insignem per balnea multa Viterbum.
 Discordes bonus hic cives pacavit Julius.
 Præbuit hinc celebrer mons dulcia vina Faliscus,
 Detinuitque diem. Veterem post vidimus urbem
 Excelsæ rupi impositam sine mœnibus ullis.
 Hic templum genitrici ingens, cui sculpta vetusto
 Marmore stat facies, spirantque in marmore vultus.
 Carnajola procul, pons hinc sex milia distans,
 Cyaneas transmittit aquas, sparsasque paludes
 Per sata, per silvas; ah quantum absumitur agri!
 Plebis ad indomitæ Castrum pervenimus, inde
 Impositæ apparent Perusinis collibus arces,
 Castellana lacus Trasimenus mœnia cingit:
 Hunc ratibus læti tranavimus. Insula lætos
 Accipit hospitio. Pasianum allabimur, unde
 Prospicimus campos Romanis ossibus albos;
 Servat adhuc nomen locus, et de sanguine fuso,
 Sanguineos campos Perusini nomine dicunt,
 Hic ubi commisso fallax certamine Pœnus
 Flaminiumque ducem, Mavortiaque arma subegit.
 Per colles, ripamque lacus, Corclana subimus
 Mœnia, oliviferis tumulis lætissima rura.
 Vicina placuit patribus recubare sub ulmo.
 Hic simul occurrunt equitum peditumque catervæ
 Urbinatæ Duce, illo nec melior fuit alter,
 Nec pietate prior, sed nec præstantior armis;
 Tot dotes juveni invidit lapidosa podagra.
 His circumsepti legionibus, ordine longo
 Ingredimur Perusinam urbem, civilibus actam

N^o. LVII.

Eversamque

Eversamque odiis : hanc tu pater optime Juli,
 In placida tandem compostam pace relinquis.
 Non procul oppidulum est, Fractam cognomine dicunt :
 Amnis obit muros cœno, et graveolentibus undis.
 Huc ubi delati, montes, Eugubia tecta,
 Hærentemque jugis urbem superavimus ; inde
 Perpetuos colles Cariani villula findit,
 Villula munifico non aspernanda popello.
 Hos prætervectis tumulos plebecula callem
 Quæ colit angustum, (Cagli cognomine dicunt,)

Occurrit facie obducta ; nam tabida fertur
 Infecisse lues ; celeri pede fugimus omnes.
 Hinc ad aquas Laniæ perreximus, unde Metaurus
 Confusus Cauno Foruli spectacula præbet.
 Est operæ pretium versu describere mirum
 Naturæ ludentis opus. Stant vertice ad auras
 Hinc atque hinc montes prærupti, flumine subter
 Secretis labente viis, ut fumus ab imis
 Surgat aquis, lateque fluant aspergine cautes.
 Rupis ad extremum læva venientis ab urbe
 Porrigitur molis dorsum, qua scmita nulla,
 Nulli aditus quondam, nec erat via pervia cuiquam ;
 Cæsar inaccessam patefecit Titus, et illam
 Quantum acie possunt oculi servare cavavit,
 Inscriptisque fores ; et adhuc vestigia utrumque
 Limen habet, scabro et fragili vix cognita topho.
 Sunt soliti hac camera multi latitare latrones,
 Exceptosque viatores demergere in amnem.
 Repsimus e crypta, atque angusta fauce viritum
 In campos Ubalde, tuos ; hinc imus in urbem,
 Urbinum dixere patres tua regia tecta.
 Ardua quæ saxo colitur Macerata vetusto
 Hinc petitur, vicoque brevi succedimus ; inde
 Scandimus excelsas nimbose cacumina pinnas,
 Dive Marine tuas. Tumidi hic subsidere montes
 Incipiunt, superoque mari consternere litus
 Planitiem ingentem terris, opibusque superbam
 Gallia qua fluvio Rubicone comata patescit.
 Italiæ hic finis quondam : nunc omnia miscet
 Effera barbaries, antiquaque nomina vertit.
 Savignana vocant pinguissima rura coloni ;
 Huc madidi, multoque luto, fessique venimus.
 Progressi meliore via, cœlo graviore

Cæsenam intramus. Culices avertere somnos
 Omnibus, et variis vultus maculare figuris.
 Pompilii Livique forum divertere cogunt;
 Terra ferax populusque ferox, ac cæde frequenti
 Terribilis, semperque furens civilibus armis.
 Ut ter quinque dies abierunt, Livia tecta
 Linquimus, atque iterum montes jubet ire per altos
 Julius, et Castri ad lævam juga visere Cari.
 Imus præcipientes per mille pericula rerum
 Turrigerasque arces, rupes, et inhospita saxa.
 Appenninicolæ accurrunt, visoque senatu,
 Reptantes genibus per humum nova numina adorant.
 Modiliana jacet vasto depressa barathro,
 Accola torrenti, truncis salebrisque fragoso.
 Hanc terram pedibus celso de monte ruentes
 Prendimus, et placido curamus corpora somno.
 Postera lux alios scopulos, cœloque propinquas
 Nubigenasque Alpes aperit; Marradia vulgus
 Saxa vocat, summum excipiunt magalia Julum.
 Inde Palatiolum statio opportuna labori
 Hospitio lassos refovet, tum fluminis arcta
 Provehimur ripa tenui discrimine cuntes.
 Est locus extremis in montibus asper Etruscis,
 Hunc dictum perhibent a tussi Tussinianum:
 Huc quoque delati montes devovimus omnes.
 Orta dies latos campos, et amœna vireta
 Corneliique forum, feliciaque arva reducit.
 Hic meus ortus habet sedes Papiensis avitas
 Nobilis, et clarum genus alto a sanguine ducit.
 Constitit hic pastor, dum prospicit omnia, Julius:
 Et belli pacisque simul dum pondera librat,
 Consilioque patrum rerum moderatur habenas;
 Appulit interea Gallorum exercitus ingens,
 Conseruitque manum, et muros circumstetit armis,
 Felsina docta tuos. Volat impiger actus ab urbe
 Nuntius, et Serram exactam pnisumque tyrannum,
 Excussumque jugum patriæ cervicibus affert:
 Pontificem implorat fessis succurrere rebus.
 Hoc oratores certatim ex urbe frequentes,
 Exposcunt, patriæque patrem properare precantur.
 Thura adolet Julius templis, sacrisque peractis
 Tendit iter, gressum celerans, urbi que propinquat,
 Urbs antiqua ingens Etruscis regia quondam

Felsina, tum Boiis fato irrumpentibus impar
 Accepisse novum fertur Bojonia nomen.
 Verum ubi sunt Boi Romano milite pulsī,
 Barbariem excussit, cœpitque Bononia dici.
 Subditur ad Boream radicibus Appennini;
 Planitie acclivi, procumbens solis ad ortus,
 Inter aquas Sapinæ, et Rheni, quarum utraque in urbem
 Ducta vehit, revehitque rates, pistrinaque versat,
 Æmiliz decus, et belli, pacisque patrona,
 Dives opum variarum, et nullius indiga cultus,
 Musarum domus, atque omnis nutricula juris.
 Jamque dies aderat, mediumque vehebat ad axem
 Omnia conspiciens Phœbeæ lampadis astrum;
 Obsedere patres majoris limina portæ,
 Qua modo Felsinea pastor requieverat æde;
 Porticibusque amplis expectant numen Juli.
 Tandem de thalamo sella sublimis eburna,
 Gestatusque hominum scapulis, longo agmine prodit;
 Cui trabea ex auro, gemmis, ostroque coruscat,
 Tempora conchili fulgent redimita tiara:
 Progreditur procerum legio, tua, Felsina, proles;
 Æratæque ruunt acies, clypeataque circum
 Agmina funduntur; placidos dat Curia gressus
 Æquati spatiis omnes, et vestibus omnes;
 Purpureisque Patres tecti capita alta galeris
 Obvia quæque oculis perstringunt numinis instar:
 Visendi studio effusi juvenesque senesque,
 Et matres, puerique simul tecta omnia complent:
 Culminibusque astant, portisque et turribus hærent.
 Ut vero ad divi venit penetralia Petri
 Julius, aspersitque patres in limine primo
 Rore levi, geminis manibus veneratus ad aras
 Effigies sacras, Grates quas possumus, inquit,
 Accipe, Christe Deus, nam quæ sat digna queamus
 Munera, quas laudes humana voce referre?
 Tu nos incolumes per tot discrimina vectos
 Urbe hac Felsinea sine cæde, et sanguine donas.
 Da pater omnipotens, rerumque æterna potestas
 Sic superos penetrare aditus, verosque triumphos
 Terreno involucro exutos, vitiisque subactis.
 Hæc ubi supplicibus votis oravit Julius,
 Quisque domum properat, factoque hic fine quiescit.

Nº. LVIII.

Nº. LVIII.

*(Vol ii. p 57.)**Joannis Cottæ.*

DE VICTORIA LIVIANI.

O QUÆ alma grato carmine fortium
 Mori, Thalia, facta vetas virûm,
 Nunc et per ora LIVIANUM
 Omnium, et omne feras per ævum.
Dic, ut superbæ contuderit minas
 Germaniæ, atque a Cæsare barbaro
 Fessæ tot annos imminentem
 Ausoniæ arcuerit ruinam.
Nam quis malorum eheu veterum memor
 Non expavebat? quum populos truces
 In nos remotis usque ab oris,
 Qua glacie riget Amphitrite,
Audiret armari; asperaque Alpium
 Jam vincere altis cum nivibus juga
 Feris inaccessa, atque fines
 Undique jam populare nostros?
At LIVIANUS in trepidis docens
 Audere rebus, qua violentior
 Vis hostium ingruit, citatis
 Obvius agminibus cucurrit.
Ductore tandem hoc scilicet Italas
 Videre montes insoliti manus:
 Tormenta, atque equos, et arma
 Alpicolæ stupuere Fauni.
Tandemque nostra impune nimis diu
 Bacchati in arva Theutones horridi
 Sensere in antiquumque robur,
 Inque novum Marium incidisse;
Quum cæsa, pubis flos Alemanicæ,
 Repente in alta valle Cadubrii
 Phalanx nives cruore tinxit
 Purpureo, rapidumque Plavem,
Arx et recepta est; pectora militum
 Quum sæva nostrorum ardua non via,
 Non saxa, non arcere muris
 Terrifici potuere nimbi,

N^o. LVIII.

Cadente aëna fulminis in modum
 Contorta ab igni sulphureo pila,
 Qua terra subsultat, nigerque
 Cum sonitu ferit astra fumus ;
 Dirum repertum ; et ingenium male
 Sagax, sacrumque, quo truculentius
 Nil invenire atrox Megaera,
 Sæva nec ira potest Deorum.
 Sed cuncta præsens horrída temnere
 Dux acer urget, hunc sequitur cohors
 Secura ; præsentemque mortem
 Magnanimo Duce freta vincit.
 Diis cura nostri est, et Venetus pater
 Probe Latinæ consuluit rei,
 Quum jus tibi omne copiarum,
 LIVIANE, tribuit suarum ;
 CORNELIUMQUE mox socium dedit
 Magno e Senatu, cui sapientia
 Insignis, ac fortuna avorum
 Scipiadam reparant honores.
 Non Imperatorem ille queat sibi
 Optare, Mavors quem mage diligat :
 Non tu Senatorem ferendis
 Consiliis animosiozem.
 Vos nuper hostium unanimes feram
 Fregistis audaciam, ac pavidos patres
 Firmastis, ac suam attulistis
 Semianimis populis quietem.
 Vos jam timebit barbarus, ac suis
 Pedem cavebit tollere finibus,
 Ni læva mens est, Dique nostros
 Accumulare volunt triumphos.

N^o. LIX.

(Vol. ii. p. 63.)

Jo. Pierii Valeriani.

AD. M. ANT. SABELLICUM PRÆCEPTOREM.

De Portentis anteaquam totus terrarum orbis in Venetos conspiraret.

EST aliquis mens ipsa Deus, de semine Cœli,
 De superis porro sedibus illa venit.

Usque adeo eventi semper præsaga futuri,
 Quod nusquam est, multo prævidet ante malum.
 Quin etiam totus, quo circumfundimur, aër
 Ætheriis passim præditus est animis,
 Qui tacito semper videantur in aure susurro
 Instillare homini consilia alta Deûm.
 Ilicet et cum membra thoro sopita quiescunt,
 Libera mens cœlum scandit, aditque Jovem;
 Atque hunc, atque illum e Superis per longa salutat
 Atria, et illa videt, quæ latuere prius.
 Quid sit cumque satis manifestum est, contremere omnem
 Euganeam, horrendis casibus attonitam.
 Corda hominum passim nam consternata videmus
 Olim venturis nunc trepidare malis,
 Terrifica insani quæ pangunt carmina Vates,
 Carmina de exitio Cromnia terra tuo.
 Imminet heu quantus Venetis labor! otia cedant,
 Non mare, non Tellus tuta erit ulla diu.
 Cedite jam ingenui, ac alio properate labores.
 Artibus hac summis nullus in urbe locus.
 Namque canunt, hoc Dii facinus prohibete, futurum
 Cedat ut hoc subito pulsa Minerva solo.
 Aptæ manus calamis enses tolerabit, et hastas;
 Aptæ levi chartæ scuta onerosa feret.
 Heu decus, heu specimèn Phœbi Phaëtontia tellus,
 Seu vis Euganeum, seu Venetum esse genus.
 Venisti ad culmen studiorum, et nominis, heu heu
 Destinatus in clades sic sua quemque dies.
 Qui tibi perpetuo conjuncti fœdere Reges
 Fœdabunt læsa jusque piumque fide.
 Heu quot amicorum spoliis patientur iniqui,
 Tincta quot in socio sanguine tela gerent.
 Jurabunt omnes, terrarum quidquid in orbe est,
 Omne tuum ut perdant terra beata decus.
 Qua mare, qua montes, quaque Addua, fonsque Timavi
 Terra novem magnis inclita fluminibus;
 Per quorum ora vagus passim premit arva superbus
 Hadria, amara ut aquis dulcibus ora riget,
 Stagna cruoris erunt, et flumina sanguinis ibunt,
 Præda erit omne solum, flamma, favilla, cinis.
 Extemplo ille quidem terra pelletur ab omni;
 Et mediis dura sorte latebit aquis,
 Sæpe animo, et solitis collectis viribus altum
 Surget, et in latos stagna refundet agros.

Hæc tam dira canunt Vates, majora minantur
 Terrificis passim monstra nefanda modis.
 Motu Creta ruit terræ, non una crematur
 Insula in Hadriacis, non regio una Vadis.
 Emporium terrarum orbis, Germanaque tecta
 Tantum opus in cineres flamma proterva dedit ;
 Mox Navale tot annorum labor, ac opus, heu heu
 Quam subito in mediis funditus arsit aquis !
 An referam tristes nocturno tempore voces ;
 Numina vel medio sæpe locuta die ?
 Visa Dei Mater (testis pro littore templum est)
 Lugubri Gnatum peplo operire suum,
 Ejectoque sedens trunco clamare per undas,
 Terra fleas, hoc ter dicere, Terra fleas.
 Ille quidem Truncus toti venerabilis orbi
 Visitur, et sancta est religione sacer.
 Unde autem exultas risu, gliscisque cachinnis
 Italia, O populis sæva Noverca tuis ?
 Sic arguta plagis Philomele cantat in arctis,
 Sic duro vinctus Navita navigio.
 In tua convertis sceleratum viscera ferrum,
 Et misera in proprio læta dolore furis.
 Quin Venetos optas salvos, ut ab igne redemptis
 Reliquiis, horum libera tecta petas ?
 Interea venerande Senex nos instrue Musis,
 Dum licet, et Venetum pax fovet alma solum ;
 Dum trahis eduras suavi Testudine quercus,
 Et liquido lapsas aëre sistis aves.
 Dum Venetùm historias, primaque ab origine mundi
 Ad tua conscribis tempora res hominum.
 Te sequimur, tibi docta cohors se dedicat uni.
 Ut nunc quisque animis ingenioque valet.
 Seu tibi in Hadriacis libeat considerare tectis ;
 Sive Aponus cordi, seu Medoacus erit.
 Culta vel illectent tot amœnis collibus arva,
 Sive Arquata placent, seu Theolana magis.
 Dum datur esse hilares, neque adhuc crudelis Enyo
 In promptu bellum, quod meditatur, habet
 Ne timor ante tubam consternat pectora inanis.
 Vivamus. Musæ gaudia mentis amant.

N^o. LX.*(Vol. 2. p. 77.)**Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. viii. p. 59.**Ant. Francisci Rainerii.*

DE NICOLAO URSINO PETILIANO.

URSINI venerare ducis picta ora, manusque,
 Eridanum quicumque bibis, Tiberimve Athesimve,
 Tyrrheno quicumque mari, Hadriacove potenti
 Adlueris; celsi aut juga suspicis Apennini.
 Ille etenim Ausonios cum se effudisset in agros
 Horrida tempestas, totamque involvier armis
 Cerneret Italiam, et trepidantes pectore Patres
 Italiæ Venetos decus, et cum maximus hostis
 Fulminibus claram Patavi contunderet urbem
 Exitium in magnum; stetit imperterritus ille
 Huc illuc aciem volvens, urbemque pererrans:
 Romulidum priscâ fractus quâ barbarus arte
 Vique animi invictâ, Ausoniis excessit ab oris.
 Salve ô bellipotens, tot qui unus millia contra
 Sublapsam nobis vigilando restituis rem,
 Qui fera Gallorum et Germanæ robora pubis,
 Innumeras acies qui comprimis Hispanorum,
 Et conjuratos Itala in præcordia reges.

N^o. LX.N^o. LXI.*(Vol. ii. p. 88.)**Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. v. p. 434.**Pauli Jovii.*

IN ALIDOSIUM CARD. PAPIENSEM.

IMPROBIOR Caco, Lernæque immanior Hydrâ,
 Geryone asperior,
 Ille est, Ausoniæ non enarrabilis aulæ
 Pestis et opprobrium
 Jam tum vulgatum cunctis Alidosius oris;
 Quem tamen impavidus
 Sustulit Herculeo confossum Feltrius ictu,
 Scilicet ut merito

N^o. LXI.

Sublatus

No. LXI.

Sublatus terris Stygias inviseret umbras
 Tergeminumque canem,
 Perpetuas illic pœnas, et sæva daturus
 Supplicia, heu miserum!
 Te pudor et pietas, et religionis honores
 Deseruere simul:
 Pro quibus invidiam et rabiem exeroere solebas,
 Imperium patriæ
 Affectans, tumidi dum te victoria Galli
 Erigit, atque putas
 Illius auspiciis cuncta exoptata referre:
 Sed vetuere Dei.
 At vos jamdudum cæso gaudete Tyranno,
 Patriciorum animæ,
 Et tu cum placido lætare, Bononia, Rheno;
 Nam quis erit scelerum
 Tantorum inventor, qui tristes improbus iras
 Effugiat Superûm?

No. LXII.

*(Vol. ii. p. 91.)**Exemplar in Bibliotheca Vaticana conservatum.*

Oratio Maximi Corvini Parthenopæi Episcopi Esernien. Sanctissimo Julio Secundo, Pontifici Maximo dicta.

No. LXII.

AD Rev. in Christo patrem et dominum, Dominum Joannem Sanctæ Mariæ in Dominica Diaconum Cardinalem de Medicis. S. R. E. Bononiæ Flaminiaque Legatum dignissimum: Maximi Corvini Episcop. Esernien. Epistolâ.

Oratio sanctissimi Fœderis, quam in templo divæ Mariæ, quæ Romano populo præest, tertio nonas Octobris egi, tuo auspicio exeat. Quippe cum trium horarum fœtura sit, quando trium dierum duntaxat ad agendum mihi spatium datum fuerat, eam domi retinere institueram. Sed plerique mei amantissimi cum omni officio efflagitassent, repugnare non potui. Quæ si forsitan in livoris ignavi morsus incideret, tua auctoritate, tua disciplina, et brevissimi temporis fœtura defensa, dentes non formidabit. Vale.

Oratio.

Cum in omni oratione, quæ inter sacra et ceremonias, Beatissime Pater, dici consuevit, dicendi initium Deo opt. max. magnæque Genitrici semper Virgini, cœli Reginae, gravissimorum Oratorum officium rite dicaverit, ea duntaxat ratione, quod nemo mortalium (ni si divino numine adjutus fuerit) quicquam de se promittere posset, hodierna die meæ orationis

orationis, ne dicam initium, sed cæteræ partes; immo ipsa etiam memoria et actio a me consecrari debent. Quis enim in tanta rerum silva subito profari queat? Quis de tanta celebritate absque divini luminis auxilio, quod spiritum sapientiæ et intellectus oranti subministrare solet, breviter dilucide et ornate dicere possit? maxime coram te summo totius orbis terrarum Patre Beatissimo: cujus sapientiæ cælo connata est: onus quippe atque provincia meis viribus impar. Sed me tua sancta jussa, tua divina oracula (quæ servare religiosum, detractare nefas est,) ad dicendum quocumque possem orationis curriculo impulerunt.

Dicendum est igitur de Sanctissimo Fœdere: quod tandem divino numine a tua sapientia perfectum atque a tua sanctissima Majestate cum Ferdinando Catholico Rege potentissimo, de hac Apostolica sede semper bene merito, et inclita Venetorum republica: Kal. Octob. in sacro Senatu tot amplissimorum Patrum sancte sancitum fuit. Quod quidem opto, ac prepotentem Deum suppliciter precor, ut in primis Sanctitati tuæ et huic Apostolico Imperio, inde Ferdinando Catholico Regi, Venetorum Reipub. ac fideli et Christiano populo faustum fortunatum felixque sit. Quo igitur divinitus sancito, cum Sanctitas tua in hoc gloriosissimo die, more majorum, supplicationes Deo Opt. Max. ac Divæ Genitrici, quæ huic templo præest, rite et sancte decernendas duxisset: sacro mihi jussit oraculo, ut meo ore propalam mortalibus fieret.

Cujus quidem Sanctissimi Fœderis multæ magnæque sunt rationes: nam cum tu Pater beatissime, qui divini nominis observator, christianæ religionis cultor, ac hujus sacrosanctæ Sedis vindex maximus semper extitisti, superiore anno populos Ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis superbissima Tyrannide, et amaro servitio, quibus per tot annos premebantur, liberare instituissem, plerique Tyranni, multique seditiosissimi mortales, tam profani, quam sacri, ne quicquam ordinis (qui devia caliginosa et perdita ferunter via) omnes tuos conatus, conjuratis etiam inter se animis et viribus, retardarunt. Unde cum maxima detrimenta huic sacrosancto apostolico Imperio intulissent, et adhuc damnata in Heresi pertinaces hæerere videantur: hoc sanctissimum Fœdus (in quo alii potentissimi Principes hac tenus nominabuntur) inter Sanctitatem tuam, Ferdinandum catholicum Regem, et Rempub. Venetorum solemniter ictum est.

Primo pro salute, presidio, statu, atque libertate tam Sanctitatis tuæ quam hujus Apostolici Imperii, ne quid detrimenti amplius patiatur. Inde ut jura, munia, oppida, Civitates et loca Ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis, quæ huic sacro Imperio, immo Jesu Christo, humani generis redemptori, hostes nimis superbe et avare non sine dolo malo eripuerunt, recuperentur. Postremo ut Tyrannorum atque seditiosissimorum animi, qui furore agitantur, atque ab una sancta catholica et apostolica Ecclesia dissidere videntur, aliquando ad sanitatem redeant: ne superbissimi Luciferi ritu, aut Gigantum more, adversus præpotentem Deum amplius impios conatus moliantur: sed penitentia ducti, tranquilla in pace resideant. Pro cujus quidem sanctissimi Fœderis vel defensione vel presidio pugnare summa virtus, mortem oppetere gloria et vita est sempiterna. Et vero laudantur diuturna memoria Lacedæmonii, qui pugnantes adversus vim et injuriam Persarum, adverso pec-

torum vulnera acceperunt. Ornantur eximia laude Romani; quod pro patriæ charitate, contra perduellem Antonium fortiter occubuerunt. Anteferentur quidem omnibus, qui pro Apostolico Imperio, pro hoc sanctissimo Fœdere servando, atque pro illa perniciosissima heresi, et portentissima seditionis bellua extinguenda constansissima fide pugnabunt: quibus non monumenta, non honores, non merita, non laudes sempiternæ, non supplicationes decerunt: quos ego, cum fortissimos et victores fore existimem, non minorem gloriam fortiter occumbendo, quam navitur vivendo, consecuturos judico: quando fortissimus quisque pro Jesu Christo, pro ejus Vicario, pro catholica Ecclesia, et pro Christianæ reipublicæ salute pugnare debet: de quibus in hoc sanctissimo fœdere magnis conatibus agitur. Verum enim verò quis de hujus sanctissimi fœderis victoria atque felicitate dubitare potest? cum hoc divino consilio inceptum, sapienter consultum, castè juratum sit: et hodierna die inter sacra et ceremonias sanctè celebretur. Quin etiam cum tuam, Beatissime Pater, castam et integerrimam mentem considero, quæ divini ignis amore percita, quæ erga Christianum populum magno charitatis ardore incensa, cum pro Apostolico imperio semper spiritale martyrium subiisset, toties tot periculis et laboribus ultro se se exposuisset, nulla unquam ægritudine, nullo incommodo, neque fortuna retardatus es, et cui cum hoc ipsum Tyrannidis ac seditionis nomen pro ecclesiastica libertate, pro Christianæ reipub. pace semper invisum fuerit; omnia quæcumque futura sunt, divino numine, divina justitia, et tua divina potentia atque virtute (quam superis simillimam judico) gloriosa et serena fore decerno. Cùm gesta Ferdinandi catholici Regis tota mente repeto, jam tanti principes summa et heroica virtus, quæ semper Apostolicum Imperium fortiter tuendum duxit; quæ semper contra hostes Christiani nominis acerrime pugnavit, unde tot urbes, tot populos, tot provincias, tot regna Christiano Imperio subjecit, adeo ante ceteros Reges (ut pace omnium dixerim) immortalem gloriam sibi comparavit, ut certam nobis victoriam promittat. Quid de constantissima Venetorum Republica dicam? quæ tum per tot annos, tum terra, tum mari, Turcarum impetus ab Italiæ vastitate prohibuisset: superiore anno auxiliares copias misisset: hoc etiam tempore omnes suos conatus pro hujus sanctissimi Fœderis præsidio non est intermissura.

Ceterum, cum Tyrannorum atque seditiosissimorum hominum, qui huic Apostolico Imperio impie infensi sunt, naturam, mores, et facta commemoro, cum eorum animos, qui in consilio impiorum versantur, et in cathedra pestilentiae sedere admittuntur, in mentem duco; cum tot monstra, tot prodigia, et tot portenta, quæ in eorum capita ferri visa sunt, perquirō; quæ etiam Moses et summi Sacerdotes in vetustissimis monumentis non aspernati sunt. Jam jam illos conscientia delictorum agitados, jam tot monstris perterritos, jam incertos, dejectos, vanos, devios, et inter se dissidentes fluctuare vehementer intueor; denique cum prepotentem Deum, qui hanc sacratissimam sedem sibi elegit in terris, atque eandem per te Sanctissimum Patrem, suum legitimum Vicarium regere voluit, mentis et animi luminibus suspitio; illum ipsum sublimi in majestate, altera manu Sanctitatem tuam, et hoc sacrosanctum Imperium protegentem, altera ignita tela contra seditiosissimos hostes vibrantem video; quapropter nihil verendum, nil dubitandum, quin hoc sanctissimum Fœdus, quod justis et magnis rationibus inchoatum, summa pietate et sapientia consultum, sociorum fide et virtute juratum, tua Sanctitate sancitum,

sancitum, et divino numine atque auspicio celebratum: faustum, fortunatum, felixque futurum sit.

In fine Orationis meae vos Presides custodesque hujus sacri Imperii, magnos Apostolos, teque in primis Deum optimum maximum, teque etiam caeli Reginam, oro imploro atque obtestor, ut Sanctissimum patrem Julium II. Pontificem Maximum, Ferdinandum Regem catholicum, Rempublicam Venetorum, ac ceteros fortissimos Principes pro Ecclesiastica libertate, atque perniciosissima seditionis peste extinguenda, in hoc sanctissimum Foedus euntes, incolumes, victores, felicesque diutissime servetis. Dixi.

Cursii Panegyris de Federe inter Julium II. Pont. Max. et Hispan. Regem.

Sixtus, Aemae urbis Prior, Petro Cursio, Praeceptori suo, S. P. D.

ACCIPERE, mi Cursi, Panegyrim, seu mavis Sylvam, a te subito calore editam. Cui enim quam tibi, dicari tua melius poterant? ut quod te invito et inscio ederemus, sub tuo nomine ederetur. Siquidem hanc (ut nosti) quod Tertio postquam effuderis die coram Julio Pon. Max. Kal. Novembris recitaturus eras, mihi legendam, et Galeatio Boschetto magno iudicio et litteris predito emendandam commiseras, verum (ut saepe accidit) ovem lupo commisisti: quam enim mihi tamen legendam, et Boschetto (ut dixi) nostro emendandam dederas, de consilii sententia imprimendam curavimus. Non quod eam vel solo nutu probaveris, sed ut tua tu epigrammata, elegias, eclogas, quas palam secreto nobis recitasses, aliquando in vulgus dares. Nam etsi scimus quam tibi non placeas; scimus etiam quam de te opinionem concitaveris. Ignosce igitur, si quid inscio et invito amico, in amicum, amicitiae causa, deliquerimus. Tibique tandem persuade, cum haec extemporalia digna ut publicum acciperent judicaverimus, impendio magis, ea placitura, quae in multos annos presseris. Vale. Ex aedibus nostri prioratus, pridie Kal. Novembr. M. D. XI.

Cursii Panegyris de nono Anno Pont. Julii, et novo Federe.

FESTA dies noni qui nunc novus inchoat anni

Juleos renovat fastos: hinc clarius orbem

Illustrant solis radii: jactantior hinc est

Auspiciis Roma alta novis: hinc aurea pubes

Purpureique patres: et plebs non sordida cultu,

Principis accumulans lucem. Non flamina perflant,

Sed variis avium coetus consentibus auras

Mulcent, et fluvio gestit Tyberinus ameno.

Ditior hinc solito templis nitor; altior aris

Flamma micat; plenaque deis sparguntur acerra,

Quos calices, divesque tulit panchaia odores.

Sic primos decet ire dies; sic secula renasci

Julia, qui celsi referas palatia caeli.

Omnia qui referas ad sacra, et publica vota:

Fama ingens, melior factis, et numine numen.
 Æmula sideribus quisquis tua templa tuetur,
 Non opus esse hominum, sed cæli mœnia credit.
 Ergo alacres animis juvenes optate Secundo
 Æternosque dies, eternaque gaudia vitæ.
 Nam (si vera negent non ipsi facta Tyranni,
 Qui non horruerunt veluti Titania proles,
 Tempa Deum spoliare suis custodibus, aras
 Ferro, igne, eruere, et crudeli spargere cæde,
 Infantes ante ora patrum mactare, puellas
 In matrum gremiis populo spectante piare)
 Qui metus orbis erat? quæ tristia murmura? quæ tum
 Mens hominum? cum te rapuit pene improba febris?
 Nonne mori est omnis Juli cum funere mundus
 Creditus? atque omnis cura est dimissa salutis?
 Scilicet his hominum clausissent luctibus aures
 Numina sprevissetque virum pia vota, precesque?
 Ut populator opum, divum contemptor, Juli
 Immemor, offensis superis frueretur, et orbis
 Quem lacerat, tandem prædo potiretur habenis.
 Non ita: namque hominum justas timere querelas
 Cælicolæ quis enim coluisset numina, Jule,
 Si pereas? per quem pereant nec sacra, nec urbes,
 Non tibi sed superis qui quæras regna, et honores.
 Ergo erat in fati, ut post tua fata resurgens
 Talia non sineres audere impune Tyrannos,
 Turbatamque ratem fida in statione locares.
 Te populis, populosque tibi servare liceret,
 Ulciscique deos, juncto tibi fœdere Hiberno
 Principe, quo melior bello non extitit unquam,
 Non erit, aut nunc est, qui tot non cognita regna,
 Tot populos nunquam auditos, sine lege vagantes
 Ad Christi revocat cultus, melioraque fata;
 Quasque acies, turmas, classes, in viscera Mauri
 Legerat, has geminis mittit ductoribus; alter
 Is Raimundus erit, quo Bellatore cruentus
 Hannibal Italiam nunquam tetigisset: et alter
 Omina felici felicia nomine portans
 Terminus, Imperium et famam quæ terminet astris
 Jule tibi, populis segura in pace locatis.
 Militat auspiciis Regis Raimundus, Juli
 Terminus, auspiciis divum pugnabit uterque.
 Auspiciisque tuis, certa est victoria, certus

Bellorum eventus, quæ Petro atque auspice Rege,
 Juli, bella geres, pro libertate labanti
 Italiæ, spretisque focis, templisque Deorum.
 Anne Deum, Julique hostes non sternat Hiberus?
 Qui Reges et Marte suos prostraverit hostes
 Ter, quater, et decies felix, deciesque Beate
 Termine, qui turmis Petri, turmisque Secundi
 Preficeris: poterunt unquam quæ premia reddi
 Digna tibi? statuique tibi quæ digna tropea?
 Nunquam omnes poterunt terræ tibi digna referre
 Præmia: decernet polus ipse trophea, triumphos.
 Nec trahet albus equus currum: nec flectet habenas
 Vir tibi, cælesti in cælum vectabere curru,
 Certatim superum turba comitante triumphum,
 Fama jugum, virtusque trahent, moderante Minerva.

Nº LXIII.

(Vol. 2. p. 91.)

Exemp. in Bib. Vaticana.

Lo numero e la quantità de la armata, cioè de li homini d' Arme, de le Galee, et de li Pedoni, chi verranno in ajuto de la S. Lega nova.

SE fa noto et manifesto ad ogni persone, come el summo in Christo padre, Julio, per la divina providentia Papa II. per la recuperatione de la Città de Bologna immediate pertinente a la sancta Romana chiesa, suo Conta et distrecto; ac etiam de tutte altre Città, Rocche et Castelle de qualunche persona siano detenute, mediate o immediate pertinente ad sua Beatitudine, et sancta Chiesa, et defensione de la persona sua, et conservatione, de la auctorita dignita et liberta ecclesiastica, et unione de la sancta Chiesa Romana, et per obviare ad ogni Scisma, havere facto sanctissima lega et confederatione stabilita et solemnamente firmata con el Serenissimo Ferdinando de Aragonia, et de l'una et l'altra Sicilia Re catholico, e Governatore et Administratore deli Regni de Castella et de Leon, devotissimo figliolo de la sancta Chiesa, et Illustrissimo Duce et la Signoria de Venetia, per subsidio de la quale recuperatione et conservatione de la liberta et stato Ecclesiastico, contra ogniuno si voglia opponere a dicta Sanctissima lega et confederatione el prefato Re Catholico ad fede effecto manda lo Illustrissimo Don Remondo de Cardona Vicere de Napoli per Capiteano generale de tutta la lega et confederatione con M. CC. homini d'arme in bianco, et M. gianeti, ben in ordine de cavalli et arme, et X. millia fanti Spagnoli recipienti, et artigliaria bene in ordine, et ad tale expeditione necessaria, et per mare XI. Galee. Et sua Sanctita da in subsidio de dicta lega CCCCC. homini d'arme in bianco, sotto el governo et conducto de lo Illustrissimo Duca de Termine. Et el prefato Duce et Signoria

No. LXIII.

Signoria de Venetia ogni loro exercito et forza de homini d'arme come cavalli legieri, et fanteria, et oportuna artigliaria, et per mare ogni sforzo loro di Galee ovvero quello sara bisogno, conjuncte con le sopradicte Galee del Catholico Re, possano non solamente resistere ali inimici, sed offendere a chi presumerà ad dicta Sanctissima lega opponerse, come più expresso è a pieno ne li Capitoli sopra de dicta lega et confederatione particolarmente stipulati et confirmati, con debite promissione et juramenti. De le qual cose et Sanctissima lega è informatissimo el Serenissimo Re de Inghelterra. L'animo del quale circa ciò et volonta assai e certa et declarata ad sua Sanctità, et altri confederate: reservato honestissimo loco ad ogni altro Re e Principe Christiano, quale vora ad effecto predicto intrarne dicta confederatione et Sanctissima lega, facta al nome del omnipotente Dio et sua gloriosissima matre et vergine Maria, et gloriosi Apostoli Sancti Pietro et Paulo, Principi e defensori de Sancta Romana Chiesa, et de tutta la Corte celestiale, conservatione et incremento del stato de sua et Sanctità, et liberta ecclesiastica. Et viva Sancta Chiesa et Julio II.

No. LXIV.

*(Vol. ii. p. 93.)**Bandini, Collec. Vet. aliquot Monumentorum. Areti, 1752.*

LUDOVICI AREOSTI.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et Domino D. meo col. D. Cardinali de Medicis Bononia Legato dignissimo:

Ut a tribus incompatibilibus, ut inquit auctor, solvatur, enixe rogat.

No. LXIV.

REVERENDISSIME Domine D. mi Colendissime. La servitù, et observantia mia, che da molti giorni in quà ho sempre avuta verso Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, e l' amore, e benignità, che quella mi ha dimostrata sempre, mi danno ardire, che senza adoperare altri mezzi, io ricorra ad essa con speranza di ottenerne ogni grazia; e quando intesi a di passati, che Vostra Signoria Reverendissima aveva avuta la Legazion di Bologna, ne ebbi quell' allegrezza, che avrei avuta, se'l Patron mio *Cardinale da Este*, fusse stato fatto Legato; sì perchè de ogni utile, e d' ogni onore de Vostro Signoria, sono di continuo tanto desideroso, e avido, quanto un vero, et affectionato Servitore, deve esser de ogni exaltazione del Patron suo, sì anche perchè mi parye, che in ogni mia accurrenzia io fusse per avere quella tanto propicia, e favorevole, quanto è debitore un grato Patronae ad un suo deditissimo Servo.

Supplico dunque Vostra Signoria Reverendissima de voler mi per Bolla dispensare *ad tria incompatibilia*, et a quel più, che ha autorità di fare, o che è in uso, et a più dignitate insieme, con quelle ample clausule, che si ponno fare, *et de non promovendo ad Sacros*

eros ordines per quel tempo, che più si può concedere. Io son ben certo, che in Casa di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima è chi saprà far la Bolla molto più ampla, che non so di mandare io.

No. XLIV.

L' Arciprete di Santa Agatha presente exhibitore, il quale ho in loco di Padre, et amo per li suoi meriti molto, verrà a Vostro Signoria per questo effecto. Esso torrà la cura di far fare la supplicatione di quello, che io dimando. Supplico Vostra Signoria Reverendissima a farlo expedir *gratis*, la qual mi perdoni, se io le parlo troppo arrogante, che l' affectione, e servitù mio verso quella, e la memoria, che ho delle offerte fattemi, da essa molte volte, mi darebbono ardire di domandarle molto maggior cose di queste (ancorchè queste a me paranno grandissime) e certitudine d' ottenerle da Vostra Signoria. Se ricordi, che deditissimo Servo le sono, alla quale umilmente mi raccomando.

Ferrariæ xxv. Novembris MDXI.

D. V. Reverendissima.

Deditissimus, et Umilis Servus,

LUDOVICUS ARIOSTUS FERRARIENSIS.

No. LXV.

*(Vol. ii. p. 118.)**Hist. Concil. Lateran. Ed. Romæ, 1521.**In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.*

ANNO a nativitate ejusdem 1512, indictione decimaquinta, die vero Lunæ tertia mensi Maii, qui fuit dies inventionis sanctæ crucis, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Julii divina providentia Papæ II. anno nono, præfatus Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa, qui alias indixerat Concilium Generale in aliena Urbe, in ecclesia Lateranensi, die Lunæ decimanona mensis Aprilis præteriti inchoandum et celebrandum, et deinde propter certum conflictum habitum apud Ravennam civitatem Romandiolæ inter milites Sux Sanctitatis et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et Regis Catholici ex una, et exercitum Ludovici regis Francorum et prætenso scismaticos, adhærentes conciliabulo Pisano, seu conventiculæ Satanæ, ex alia parte; in quo conflictu fuerunt interfecta multa hominum millia, et inter cæteros Dominus de Fusso magnus magister capitaneus regis Franciæ, et plures alii diversi duces et barones et proceres Gallorum et Hispanorum, et capti reverendissimus dominus loannes Cardinalis de Medicis apostolicæ sedis legatus, et Fabricius Columna, et alii plures, et dicta civitas ecclesiæ miserabiliter a Gallis direpta; inchoationem hujusmodi usque ad Kalendas Maii ejusdem anni prorogavit, et demum ex eadem causa ad supradictum diem Lunæ tertium supradicti mensis Maii iterum prorogavit, prout in literis apostolicis, quarum tenores infra acta primæ sessionis inseruntur, plenius continetur.

No. LXV.

Volens.

Volens idem sanctissimus dominus noster, dominus Julius II. pontifex maximus inchoare dictum concilium generale ex pluribus et variis, gravissimis et urgentissimis causis, statum universalis ecclesiae et apostolicae sedis, ac perniciosissimi schismatis extinctionem concernentibus, ut in literis indictionis Concilii latius continetur, indictum, cum die praecedenti ex palatio apostolico lectica vectus ob sui corporis indispositionem in pontificali apparatu et comitiva omnium reverendissimorum dominorum cardinalium, patriarcharum, primatum, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, protonotariorum, abbatum, et universa curia et custodia militum Rhodianorum cruce signatorum, et consuetis ceremoniis, ut moris est, in dictae basilicae Lateranensis aedibus divertisset et hospitatus esset et pernoctasset, constitutus dicta tertia die de mane in praefata basilica Lateranensi, celebrata prius in majori altari missa per reverendissimum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Raphaellem episcopum Ostiensem, Cardinalem sancti Georgii vulgariter nuncupatum, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae Camerarium, et collegii sacri cardinalem decanum, ac facto sermone Latino per reverendum patrem et magistrum fratrem Egidium de Viterbio, sacrae theologiae professorem, ac ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini priorem generalem, ac verbi Dei praedicatorum celeberrimum, cujus tenor in fine praesentis actus et solennitatis initii sacri Lateranensis concilii ponetur. Facta etiam prius processione per eundem sanctissimum dominum nostrum, reverendissimos cardinales, patriarchas, archiepiscopos et episcopos ac abbates, nec non alios viros, qui de jure seu consuetudine ad concilium generale venire consueverunt, intraverunt ornati pivialibus, planetis, et dalmaticis juxta ordinis qualitatem, et mitris, locum in medio praedictae Lateranensis ecclesiae pro celebratione concilii hujusmodi paratum, cum suis subselliis, tabulatis, clausuris, altaribus, pontificali cathedra, ornamentis et ordinibus, quae in hujusmodi sacrorum consiliorum celebrationibus servari et fieri consuevisse reperiuntur. In quo cantatis litanis et aliis devotis orationibus, et hymno, *Veni creator Spiritus, &c.* de more in principio celebrationis conciliorum a sanctis patribus et sancta Romana ecclesia legi et decantari solitis et consuetis, capella cantorum incipiente, *Salvum me fac Deus, quoniam intraverunt aquae usque ad animam meam, &c.* et invocata Spiritus sancti gratia, ac exhibita per omnes cardinales et praelatos praefatos sanctissimo domino nostro obedientia et reverentia consueta in paramentis ordinate et convenienter, cantatoque evangelio per reverendissimum in Christo patrem dominum Ludovicum sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin diaconum cardinalem de Aragonia vulgariter nuncupatum, incipiente, *Designavit dominus alios septuaginta et duos, &c.* Reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Alexander sancti Eustachii diaconus cardinalis de Farnesio vulgariter nuncupatus stans in thalamo eminenti, ubi dictus dominus noster Papa sedebat, legit schedulam tenoris infra scripti, nomine suae sanctitatis, propter indispositionem sui corporis impediti, videlicet.

Indicto per nos hoc sacro Lateranensi Consilio, de quo, cum in minoribus essemus saepenumero cogitavimus, et ad summi apostolatus apicem vocati, omnino nobis celebrandum proposuimus, dum ante ipsius inchoationem bella inter Christianos vigentia sedare, et oves perditas ad ovile dominicum reducere intendimus, repente intestina haeresis, insidiante Satana bonorum operum perturbatore, domum Dei, quam decet sanctitudo, invasit. Ne igitur contagiosa pestis latius serperet, et Christi gregem nobis commissum sensim inficeret,

ficeret, pastorali officio jugiter invigilantes, vocemque Isaiā animo repetentes: *Ini consilium, coge concilium*: diutius cunctandum fore non duximus. Convenimus itaque, venerabiles fratres, vosque dilecti filii, hodierna solenni die in hac Lateranensi basilica, ut in Spiritu sancto congregati viam veritatis eligamus, et abjicientes opera tenebrarum, induamur arma lucis. Vos igitur hortamur in Domino, ut illum præ oculis habentes, qui est via, veritas et vita, in medium libere consulatis, Deo magis quam hominibus placere studentes. Speramus enim domino cooperante in hac sacra Lateranensi Synodo sentes ac vepres ab agro Domini penitus extirpare, depravatos mores ad meliorem frugem redigere, pacem inter Christianos principes componere, denique expeditionem adversus hostes fidei inter se dissidentes decernere, ut in hoc vexillo salutiferæ crucis, quæ huic sacro concilio auspiciatissimum dedit initium, antiqui hostis insidias superare valeamus.

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Nº. LXVI.

(Vol. ii. p. 128.)

*Exemplar. in Biblioth. Vaticana.**Oratio Civitatis Parmæ ad Julium Secundum Pont. Maximum, habita.*

Magnifici Domini Jacobi Bayardi Juris utriusque Doctoris, Equitis et Comitæ, Parmensium Oratoris, ad Beatissimum Julium Secundum Pontificem Maximum Optimum, Oratio habita in deditione Urbis Parmæ.

SOLEMUS plerumque tristes, Beatissime Juli Pontifex optime maxime, multiplices ad exprimendam ægri animi acrimoniam voces reperire, lætis vero et exultantibus nescio quomodo non ita facile occurrunt. Evenit enim sæpenumero ut jucundos admodum quidam veluti mentis error occupet. Id quod mihi quoque in præsentiarum accidisse ita sentio, ut unde publicum meæ Civitatis gaudium aperiatur satis idoneam Orationem, (etsi jampridem hoc saxum volvo) nondum invenerim: nam dum cogito, dum expiscor, dum in magna veluti verborum silva anxius pervagor, devius voluptate animus aberrat. Neque aliam arbitror ob causam voluptatem Egyptii sextodecimo numero exprimebant. Quia illa nimirum ætas petulans inconstansque voluptati dum nimium indulget rationem penitus et consilium dediscere consuevit. Sumusque præmodum læti: non illi fere ætati absimiles. Itaque si parcior communis lætitiæ voluptatisque quam Parma nostra civitas te principe a Deo immortalis cæloque ipso sibi misso concepit venditor fuero, si parum in Oratione constans et minime castigatus, sit hæc Civitatis Populique Parmensis gratulatio locupletissima. Ut primum enim lætissimas tui divini nominis audit acclamationes, oblita cladum quas à Barbaris, quibus ad extrema fere deducta, passa est innumeras, movere sese ab imis sedibus urbs ipsa visa est, gestireque, et certis quibusdam nutibus testari quam læta foret quam jucunda, quam sibi denique felicitatem polliceretur. Certe si in præstando officio expendi cujusque animus debet, nulla unquam Civitas quamquam pro acceptis beneficiis tam grata tamque fidelis pariter et obsequens fuit. Sed ibi qua me impellit voluptas, nulla inquam Civitas in Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam talem unquam, tamque affectam se ostendit. Obtulerint aliæ habenas, impenderin

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pecunias, arras, focos, liberos, militaverint, navigaverint, bella passæ sint. Parma (quod summum est, quod nec vi, nec ferro, nec cædibus extorqueas) voluntatem ajo ipsam, et animum impendit. Quippe seculis Patrum nostrorum cum etiam sub Tyrannis degere-mus, bona pars Civitatis Parmæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ semper constantissime favit: et no-vissime sub Barbaris contineri studia hominum ac cohiberi plausus, quamquam extrema illi minarentur, vix poterant: quibus ex rebus plurima a Gallis Civitas perpessa est detrimenta. Norat enim natio Italis semper infensa quo in te animo essemus, cujus nomen ab homi-num cordibus facile non posset aboleri. Quare non solum factum est ut non evelleretur, sed ut longe amantiores essemus. Nimirum solent qui amant si quid patiantur ob istud ipsum jacturæ, vehementius etiam diligere, percipereque quod difficilius periculosiusque ad consequendum videatur. Adde quod Parma Civitas nostra, immo tua, Beatissime Juli Pontifex optime maxime, jam ab initio cognominata est Julia, ut in antiquis nostræ Civi-tatis monumentis legitur, quod fatis tamen ipse nequaquam adscripserim, sed Dei maximi providentiæ, cujus æterna mens facile præviderat quandoque futurum, ut inexplebili Ty-rannorum siti exhausta, teterrimis Barbarorum rapinis et incursionibus vexata, tan-dem sub Opt. Max. Julio Pontifice quem vere nobis Secundum præsciverat, interspiraret, defessasque vires et accisas reficeret. Sunt etiam qui nostra e Civitate majores tuos origi-nem traxisse opinentur; adeo quod uni ingeniorum Principi Homero contigit, tot te sibi urbes vendicare, quamquam ut de illo Antipater, ita propter summas et incredibiles animi et corporis dotes de te prædicare non erubescamus, Patriam tibi esse cælum. Nam nec aliunde te tot infractum bellis venisse, tot indefessum cædibus, tot Belgarum insidiis, cedere ac vinci nescium, tot periculis domi forisque circumventum, tot inexhaustum sumptibus, tot sceleratas hiemes, tot æstus, tot vigilias, tot labores passum hoc ætatis Prin-cipem arbitrari convenit. Propterea est quædam privata nobis Parmensibus tuæ immor-talis gloriæ voluptas, ceteræ Italiæ immo orbi non communis et propria gratulatio, quæ cogitari facilius potest quam exprimi, vel si maxime possit, in aliud rejicienda est tempus. Nunc dedit sese tibi Beatissime Juli Pontifex Optime Maxime tua Julia Parma; id liben-ter prolixèque facit; sanctissimis advoluta pedibus dedit Civium animos, et Incolarum voti demum compotes tam fidos et obsequentes, quam par est, summo rerum humanarum divinarumque Principi devotos subditos. Et nos Oratores Juliam Parmam armis, litteris, religione insignem, soli fertilitate beatam, Procerum frequentia illustrem, cæli temperie salubrem, animi magnitudine excelsam, vere Romanam, Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ jure hereditario diu debitam, atque a tuis prædecessoribus jam possessam ut publicis ha-betur documentis, hactenus per Tyrannos, et præsertim Gallos vi occupatam, et illegitime detentam, tibi Julio Optimo Maximo Pontifici, vero Christi Vicario, legitimo Petri suc-cessori, Sedique Apostolicæ, potius restituimus quam damus, inviolabile juramentum fi-delitatis et omagii qua valemus reverentia læti et exultantes præstare parati. Tu vero Juli Pontifex Optime Maxime ita nos suscipe, ita habe, tueareque (ut optimum Principem de-cet) ita amplectere, protege, et fove, ut intelligamus Dei te munere, cui tua summa vir-tus et pietas cordi semper fuit, nobis et toti fidelium gregi optimum parentem contigisse. Vos vero cælites omnes, Tuque Deus maxime dator innocentia, qui tibi Principes, quorum subditiōne omnes degunt homines, curæ esse voluisti Beatissimum Julium Pontificem op-timum

timum Maximum non solum Juliæ Parmæ, verum etiam totius Italiæ libertatis defensorem, sospitem ac voti compotem diu servate et incolumem. Dixi.

NO. LXVI.

Silva Francisci Marii Grapaldi, in deditione Parmæ, S. Julio II. Pont. Max.

Julio II. Pont. Max. Italiæ Liberatori.

GLORIA Pontificum, Salve, Rex maxime regum,
 Atque pater patriæ, Juli, tutela, decusque
 Justitiæ, tu Martis honor, cum bella moventi
 Obstas, et merito vim vi propellis; ad unum
 Ausoniæ cessere Duces; tua signa superbus
 Contremuit Gallus, vinci modo nescius ulli,
 Ut canis Egypti sitiens cum potat ad amnem.
 Fatale est Julii quando tibi Gallia nomen.
 Quo schisma? aut quo conciliabula plura? Diræ
 Hæc agitant: nebulas in dolia condere vanum est.
 In stimulum quisquam non calcitret: optima vitæ
 Sors est, sorte sua contentum vivere: te unum,
 Te Italiæ gentes cupiunt, venerantur, adorant,
 Expertæ quam sit durum servire Tyrannis:
 Te duce, barbarici rabiem contemnimus hostis.
 Te duce, quid paveant populi? cui militat æther,
 Stat Deus æterno cui fœdere: maxime Juli,
 Soter ades cunctis: sic nos te fronte serena
 Accipimus: meritosque tibi præstamus honores,
 Atque fidem, natos, nos, nostra, addicimus uni:
 Pro te equidem prompti quæcumque extrema subire.
 Auguror et vinctes: sunt in te nulla cupido
 Auri nulla sitis: mens est, atque unica cura
 Stat patriæ, numerosa cohors de gente feroci
 Assueta et bello; nervi sunt rebus agendis,
 Invictusque animus, rerum experientia. Cæptis
 Insiste: (haud dubita) dabitur mox omne quod optas.
 Æmiliæ e primis sub te coiere quot urbes?
 Ecclesiæ et Juli sunt dulcia nomina, dulce
 Regnum, sub dulci populi ditione perennent:
 Te Regem, dominum volumus, dulcissime Juli:
 Tempa Deis, leges populis, das ocia ferro:
 Es Cato, Pompilius, Cesar, sic Cesare major,
 Sit qualis quantusque velit: civilia bella
 Suscitat hic, reprimis placidus tu, mitis, et idem
 Tu gravis, et nulli est melior facundia: solus
 Tu Xerxem superas sumptus splendore togatum,

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Delicium humani generis, spes unica nostri :
 Ætatem robur supra est, in pectore robur,
 In cunctis robur ; roburque insignia ; victus
 Robur erat priscis ; homines de robore nati
 Per te vita, salus, per te sunt cuncta renata,
 Dasque novam faciem Latio : liberrima per te
 Et nova libertas, multis non cognita ab annis :
 Gens Itala id debet tibi libera Roma Camillo
 Olim quod debet : terra hinc mare, sydera et urbes,
 Letitia acclamant : sed Parma ex omnibus una
 Lætior, atque tuum præsens modo numen adorat :
 Julia Parma tua est merito, quæ Julia Julii
 Nomen habet, sed re nunc est nunc Julia Parma :
 Parma tibi sese commendat, Parma precatur
 Suppliciter, populum addictum tibi, maxime Juli,
 Excipe, et exhaustis libeat succurrere rebus :
 Felicem præstent sedem tibi numina, votis
 Aspirent eadem, nec sit quod gaudia tollat,
 Nestoreamque simul fauste egrediare senectam.

Falliciter.

Beatissime Pater: cum me Patria a secretis comitem oratoribus in verba S. T. juraturis dedisset, visum est hec pauca scribere in ejus laudem, quæ et illi recitavi, et nunc (ut jusserat) mitto, non quod docta elegantiaque sint et digna tanto numine: sed quod fidei et devotionis unde prodierant referta sunt: Tuæ S. erit animum expendere, non carmina: valeat diu felicissimeque S. T. cui me humiliter commendo.

Humillimus Servulus,

FRANCISCUS MAR. GRAPALDUS. PARMEN.

Nº. LXVII.

*(Vol. ii. p. 148.)**Ex. origin. in Archiv. Reip. Florent.*

*Reverendiss. Domino Joanni Medices Dei gratia Cardinali, ac Legato de Latere,
 Domino observantissimo. Florentiæ.*

Nº. LXVII. **DUM** animi lætus sum, corporis autem infirmi, jam dicere possum, satis me vixisse arbitror. O quantum gaudium, o quantum refrigerium meum corpus febrizans sensit, dum illa serena facies in patriam restituta fuit. Donum Dei. Pervenit unice Reverendiss. Domine quo tendebam, et audebo familiariter loqui; numquam opes, neque dignitates optavi, nisi

nisi introitum illum tam felicem, tamque prosperum. Si vera loquor, Deus protector testis sit, et vita mea, huc semper omnes curas, omnes vigilias meas verti. Dicam illud Plutarchi ad Troianum Principem, virtuti vestræ gratulor, et fortunæ meæ. Hoc mihi solatium non mediocriter peperit, quod illa relegatio injusta, dulcis, et prædilecta in Republicam facta sit, in qua Pater divus, pater patriæ Avus, Proavus tam justus, tam pius, et liberales in eam fuerunt. O veri Liberatores, protectores, auctores, divites opum, et predivites ingenii, ut scriptum erat: gloria, et divitiæ in eorum domibus. Ita senuerunt longa serie. Quid plura? Nunc nihil habeo, nisi Deum immortalem precari, ut desiderium, et sensum Reverendiss. D. vestræ ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi proferre liceat. Proinde quid animi restat, ut compos votorum meorum ad plenum sim. Solum manus sanctas dilectas osculem Deo favente, et Arcangelo omnium Angelorum principe. Cupio cum Reverendiss. D. vestro bene vivere, et ad ultimum in ætate longeva mori, et in Republica feliciter valere. Valeat R. D. V. in eo, qui omnia regit, et gubernat, et Servi fidelis memor.

Pridie calend. Septembris M. D. XII.

Reverendiss. Dom.

Vr. Servitor,

MICHAEL ANGELUS.

de Antiguardis.

Ar. Sanctæ Reparatæ de Castrocaro.

Io credo unice Reverendiss. Domine provedere quella d' uno, o dua sparviere nidace, et de uno terzollo d' uno pare di cani liprieri, et di dua fanelli. Et quando, quod Deus avertat, bisognassi di cento amici palischi tutti son per fargli andare, dove quella designarà, et el corpo exporre cum le facultà. Come son veramente obligatissimo, pregando V. R. S. me riserbi un loco apresso a quella, come antiquo et fidele servo, et familiare, et dove occurrera andare in omnibus locis *usque ad inferos*.

N^o. LXVIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 156.)

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. iv. p. 357.

Joan. Anton. Flamini.

AD JULIUM II. PONT. MAX.

MAXIME cœlicolum cultor; quo præside majus

Nil videt, aut terræ clarius orbis habet;

Quem divum genitor Romanâ in sede locavit,

Et summum in terris jussit habere locum;

Res gravis est, cui te moderantem cuncta necesse est

Consulere, ac totis viribus esse ducem.

Cura tibi, et generis late commissa potestas

Humani, quod te numinis instar habet,

N^o. LXVIII.

Ut

Ut spernenda tibi non sit pater optime nostri
 Tutela, aut tantis destituenda malis.
 Aspice, quo rerum nostrarum summa redacta est,
 Et patrium, cuius vix manet umbra, decus.
 Terra potens opibus, populisque, et fortibus armis,
 Magnorumque altrix tam numerosa ducum,
 Quæ domitrix rerum, cui terræ paruit orbis,
 Gentibus exposita est, servitiumque timet.
 Quanta sit hæc Latiae subeunda injuria genti,
 Quam foedum patriæ dedecus, ipse vides.
 Cura tibi, scimus, debetur publica rerum,
 Teque patrem populis omnibus esse decet.
 Hoc tamen ante alias pars hæc pulcherrima rerum
 Poscit, et imprimis digna favore tuo est.
 Hic vetus imperii locus est : hinc clara propago
 Pontificum : hic rebus gloria parta tuis.
 Hæc patria, hæc sedes simul est tibi, qua regis orbem,
 Et caput in populis hic quoque Roma tua est.
 Mille alias possim causas memorare ; sed iis tu
 Non egeas ; nec te me reticente latent.
 Serviet ergo, quibus dominata est Romula tellus ?
 Itala, tam turpi terra premere jugo ?
 O patria ! O Divum sedes certissima custos
 Imperii, et terris omnibus ante pavor !
 Sic ne igitur vilis, sic tu contempta jacebis ?
 Non arma arripient ? Non feret ullus opem ?
 O pater, et tantæ tu, Romule, conditor urbis ;
 O decus antiquum, bellipotensque genus !
 Si vobis, si sensus inest, si gloria tangit,
 Famaque sub Stygias pertulit ista domos,
 Non facinus tetrum, stirpisque infamia vestræ,
 Non acris animas ira, pudorque movent ?
 Quo nunc Italiæ, quo belli gloria cessit ?
 Et vetus armorum militiæque decus ?
 In tenebras abiit majorum lumen, et ingens
 Gloria, quæ toto splenduit orbe, perit.
 Brute, tuum hic nomen, tibi cruris gloria, Cocles,
 Fit minor : et dextræ, Scævola, languet opus.
 Aule, lacus tibi nunc decrescit fama Regilli ;
 Nostra iterum Senones signa, Camille, petunt.
 Magna parens, tellus altrix fecunda virorum ;
 Tam sterilis foetu, tam sine honore jaces ?
 Nullus erit Cossus ? non Manlius ? Impia nullum
 Cursorem tali tempore bella dabunt ?

Non quisquam summis eludet montibus hostem?
 Nec spes in Deciis ulla salutis erit?
 Spes igitur rebus jam fessis una; suos quem
 Non decet in tantis deseruisse malis.
 Aspice nos placido, Latii pater optime, vultu;
 Et mala mox oculis mitibus ista vide.
 Inspice: tam gravia hæc, tam mox horrenda videbis
 Ut mens inspectis non queat illa pati.
 Pestis atrox sævit; morbi contagia crescunt:
 Et mala præteritis asperiora ferunt.
 Sic ubi conceptum est membris lethale venenum,
 Inficit, ac sensim spargitur atra lues.
 Hic agitur rerum de summâ, deque salute
 Certamen durum est totius Ausoniæ.
 Si male res cedunt, libertas interit; et res
 Hæc stragem nobis, servitiumque parit.
 Huc demum tracta est Italæ sors ultima gentis:
 Nostraque tam dubio, vitæque, morsque loco est.
 Quod si nos, tantæ fortuna inimica duelli,
 Cogat Santonico subdere colla iugo,
 Quid tibi mentis erit? Quo te nunc vertere possis?
 Quid tutum credas rebus inesse tuis?
 Quid Latium de te, quid regna externa loquentur?
 Quis rumor cunctis partibus orbis erit!
 Exeat hæc igitur? tam turpis fama vagetur?
 Hanc ferat in populis Ausonis ora notam?
 Insultare aliquis, vel dicere possit, Julo
 Pontifice, Italiam barbara jura pati?
 O natum vere tunc infelicibus astris,
 In patria qui sic vivere possit humo!
 Tu potes in tanto rerum discrimine solus
 Optatam populis ferre salutis opem:
 Et potes, et debes rebus succurrere lapsis,
 Ne Latium casu mox graviore cadat.
 Viribus ipse vales propriis, quas ampla ministrat,
 Et magis Ænortii pars metuenda soli.
 Tot tibi nunc parent urbes, tua jura sequuntur
 Tot populi, ut possis omnibus esse metus.
 Adde tot insignes equitum peditumque catervas;
 Tot simul egregios ad tua signa duces.
 Flos Italæ, virtusque tibi delecta juventæ
 Militat: in castris hæc habet arma tuis.
 Quot confecta tibi jam tali bella fuerunt
 Milite? quot tali parta tropæa manu?

Irrita cesserunt tibi numquam coepta : nec ullæ
 Conatus vires impediere tuos.
 Majestas tibi tanta dehinc, tu tantus in istâ
 Sede nites ; uni sic tibi posse datum est ;
 Totus ut a nutu terrarum pendeat orbis
 Ipse tuo, Christi qua patet orbe fides.
 Cui solium Petri sic scandere contigit umquam ?
 Cui numquam mersæ sic dare vela rati ?
 Dux opus est acris populos qui cogat in unum ;
 Qui male concordēs jungat ad arma manus.
 Sed nemo est, tibi quem conferri posse putemus ;
 Aut melius, quam tu, qui ferat ullus opem.
 Fac tantum norint Itali te velle, coibunt,
 Et novus in cunctis protinus ardor erit.
 Qui Senones nostris ? quis miles Santonus armis ?
 Belgica quæve Italiam sint satis arma tuis ?
 Ausonio quoties jam milite Gallia victa est ?
 Quot sævis pœnas cladibus illa dedit ?
 Nulla fuit, simili quæ non invaserit olim
 Eventu Latias gens inimica domos.
 Quid genus Æacidûm, quos patrum bellica virtus
 Compulit a nostris finibus ire procul,
 Aut tibi Pœnorum referam numerosa potentum
 Agmina ? quid Cimbros, Teutonicamque manum ?
 Aut Herulos memorem perfusus sanguine nostro ?
 Aut Hunnas acies ; semiferumque Geten ?
 Non desunt vires, modo non concordia desit,
 Atque habeat, qualem res petit ista, ducem.
 Hæc tua sunt igitur : te solum hæc coepta repossunt :
 Auspiciis sunt hæc bella gerenda tuis.
 Magna quidem est, verum provincia grandibus ausis
 Convenit, et curam postulat ista tuam.
 Ingentes animos ingentia facta sequuntur :
 Nec tenues curas mens generosa capit.
 Tradita præcipuè gentis tutela Latinæ
 Est tibi ; et ad partes it prior ista tuas.
 Quod licet (et possunt nunc summa pericla) rogamus,
 Tuta sit ut tanto præside nostra salus.
 Sit defensus honor, libertas publica, per te ;
 Pristina sit Latio te duce parta quies.
 Barbaricam hanc magnis expertus sæpe periculis,
 Dum licet, Ausonio pellere Marte para.
 Non tu tutus eris, non cani limina Petri,
 Ni properes, tutus non locus ullus erit.

Sæpe nocet gravibus morbis cessasse medentem :
 Sæpeque dilatam cura repellit opem.
 In te oculos, in te verterunt ora Latini,
 Hoc sperant urbes, suppliciterque petunt.
 Adde ingens decus hoc titulis, quos inclita virtus,
 Cœlestisque favor tot peperere tibi.
 Nam quamquam in populis tua tantum gloria crevit,
 Ut facile augeri non queat illa magis ;
 Tot tamen ex factis, nullum præstantius, et quod
 Te magis insignem reddere possit, erit.
 Fama hæc Auroræ croceos properabit ad ortus ;
 Ad loca, quæ Phœbo deficiente tepent.
 Fama hæc Isariam Rhodopen transibit, et Hæmum,
 Et populos medio quos videt axe dies.
 Italia est, quam tu tutandam sumis, et in quâ
 Est tua cum nostrâ Marte tuenda salus.

Nº. LXIX.

(Vol. ii. p. 166.)

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. vii. p. 172.

JOANNIS FRANCISCI PHILOMUSI NOVOCOMENSIS.

Sylva, et Exultatio in Creatione Pont. Max.

Leonis Decimi.

QUID sibi tot plausus? quid tanta tonitrua poscunt?
 Quid poscunt celeres ad sacra palatia cursus?
 Fallor, an insonuit Medices mihi Nomen? et illa
 Vox tam grata homini, quàm non ingrata Tonanti
 Cœlitus emicuit tenues delapsa per auras;
 O festam, sanctamque diem! o suffragia sancta!
 Candidiora nive, electro mage pura nitenti,
 Quæ Deus omnipotens cælo demisit ab alto
 Parcarum signata manu: quæ lacteus orbis
 Exceptit, fovitque sinu, quibus atra recedant
 Flagitia, et Fidei jam longa obliviosa sanctæ.
 Quis bella, et cædes, et prælia dira facessant
 Quis bona mens, pax alma, pudor, probitasque, fidesque,
 Et sancti redeant mores, et præmia morum.
 Sed quæ turba sequens urget? quæ turba sequentem

Nº. LXIX.

Me prior exulcat sancta hæc suffragia cantu
 Intempestivo celebrantem? En templa sacerdos
 Maximus ingreditur, populique Patrumque coronâ
 Stipatus. Salve o Numen sanctumque, piumque.
 Noctem oculis, noctem menti, noctem excute sacris
 Carminibus, pectusque pio mihi robore firma.
 Nam quid inops animi pavor hic per genua per artus?
 Nam quid ad ima redit singultim spiritus et vox?
 En supplex procumbo, en genua pedesque beatos
 Amplector, jam se facies augustior offert
 Supra hominem, captumque hominis, jam tollor in auras
 Supra hominem, captumque hominis, jam Numen amicum
 Experior; sacri video penetralia cordis,
 Magnanimamque fidem, cujus cervicibus altis
 Humanumque genus, magnusque innititur orbis.
 Salve Magne Parens hominum, cui summa potestas,
 Summus honos triplici frontem Diademate cingit,
 Unde sacri flexo certatim poplite Reges
 Imperii pia jura petunt, et fascibus ultro
 Summissis adeunt, et sanctum Numen adorant,
 Cujus ab excelso pendet vitæque, necisque
 Judicium nutu, cujus de luce suprema
 Celsum iter ad summum nobis aperitur Olympum,
 Quemque Deus dedit esse Deum mortalibus ægris,
 Cujus in augusto divinæ culmine Petræ
 Fundamenta piæ Fidei certissima jecit.
 Sed quibus hanc titulis, quibus hanc virtutibus arcem
 Te meruisse canam? circumstant agmine longo
 Centenique patent aditus. Tu siste parumper,
 Magne Leo, mentem tantarum in limine laudum.
 Neve precor tibi me claris Natalibus offer;
 Neve offer patriæ Florentis amabile nomen.
 Dum majora cano, dum non vacat ire per omnes
 Herois magni titulos. Insigne Parentum
 Nomen avis, abavis, atavis, præfulserit; at qui
 Non ita præfulsit, ne major ab indole lampas
 Fulserit usque tua. Patria est illustris, at illam
 Illustrant Medices mage, quam illustrentur ab illa.
 Illustrant velut astra tamen, velut æthra serenâ
 Nocte micat. Medio tu sol clarissimus orbe
 Largiris patriæ insigni lucemque, caloremque,
 Ut vivat Duce te, æternos et floreat annos.
 Nec generosa pii referam cunabula partus,

Maternosve sinus, teneris ut creverit annis
 Et pudor, et probitas, castæque modestia mentis,
 Semper et innocui sine labe, et crimine mores.
 Ingrediare meos mihi longe augustior orsus
 Puniceo cinctus caput hoc illustre Galero.
 Prætextæ nondum, ac bullæ tua cesserat ætas,
 Cum supra ætatem sapere, et profectibus annos
 Vincere te magni vidit pia cura Parentis ;
 Atque ait : hæc nobis domus est satis ampla, sed uni
 Est angusta tibi. Magnæ te moenia Romæ
 Accipiant, bona mens cui tantum indulsit, et alti
 Doctrinarum haustus. I fili, grande Parentum
 Grande decus Patriæ, melioribus utere fatis,
 Et fortuna domûs et gratia poscit honestæ,
 Et tûa relligio, mea ne sinat irrita vota,
 Indole macte tua : mira indulgentia summi
 Pontificis vicit pia vota, precesque parentum.
 Et subito sublimis apex tibi vertice sedit.
 Tum vero qualem te publica munia, qualem
 Te privata domus vidit ? quo tempore mores
 Præcipites labi cœpere, et recta relinqui
 Officia, et metis longè post terga relictis
 Roma potens sceleri totas effudit habenas ;
 Unus eras nulla conspersus labe veneni,
 Non secus ac Psyllus Libyæ sitientibus arvis
 Cui dirum afflatum posuit, cui sibila serpens
 Non oculis, non dente minax, non verbere sævus.
 Insidiæ, et fraudes totâ dominantur in Urbe.
 Terror, et ira nocens, et nullis tetra libido
 Nominibus parceas, nulli non conscia culpæ,
 Ungue minax unco, piceataque dextera torvis
 Anguibus, et rigido miscebat prælia ferro.
 Hic nigris volitans alis instabat Erinnys
 Tartareas accensa faces, et Pyxidis usu
 Terrificæ succincta sinus, geminoque cruentam
 Letho armata manum, cædes, ac bella ciebat.
 Inter tot rerum discrimina solus ab alti
 Libertate animi pendens, sanctæque recessu
 Mentis, eras vultu intrepido, Fidei ægide tectus,
 Et cupiens animam pro relligione pacisci.
 Tum quoties trepido vexata est Roma tumultu,
 Ortaque seditio diris immiscuit armis
 Omnia, te circum placidæ longa otia Pacis,

Te circumstetit alta quies; injusta tuorum
 Vidisti exilia, illacrimans non damna tuorum,
 Damna tuæ patriæ magis, et miserabile fatum,
 Ingratosque animos vano te nomine, vano
 Judicio extorrem vocitantes, cum tua virtus,
 Cum tua te Pietas procul asseruisset ab omni
 Fortunæ imperio. Patriæ tibi limes ab ortu
 Solis ad occasum longe lateque patebat.
 Exul erat patria illa nocens, oblita Parentes,
 Teque, domumque tuam insignem, et benefacta Parentum.
 At simul ac Patria est tibi reddita, reddidit illa
 Se sibi; quæque prius stricto pendebat ab ense
 Gallorum, hæc eadem pietatis tecta paternæ
 Nunc clypeo, æternos tecum florebit in annos.
 Hic diversa subit rerum fortuna tuarum,
 Quantaque in adversis fuerit tua cognita virtus,
 Qui modo Flaminiae fueras legatus, et armis
 Hispanis male defensus sub Gallica jura
 Jam legatus eras. Captivum dicere nemo
 Audeat, infensis qui te jus reddere Gallis
 Viderit, expressasque preces expressaque vota.
 Procubuisse tibi amplexos tua genua, pedesque,
 Supplice voce sui veniam petiisse furoris.
 Sic victor victoris eras, et ab hoste triumphum
 Victore extorquens, quæ essent captiva docebas
 Quæve essent nullis obnoxia colla catenis.
 Ecce autem vinclis tibi rursus illudere certant
 Ducere trans Alpes, Regi ostentare potenti
 Insignem Christi de religione triumphum.
 Magnum iter emenso micuit tibi lampadis instar
 Fastigiatus apex, et circum tempora flammæ.
 Non hostes sufferre valent, non tela, nec enses
 Ignivomæ frontis faciem. Sic agminis ordo
 Turbatus, longo propior fuit intervallo,
 Qui propior: disjecta fuga sunt Gallica castra
 Protinus: Italiaeque humeris in tuta receptus
 Ausus es a Patriæ oppressis cervicibus ingens
 Excussisse jugum. Cum te tua Roma repente
 Advocat, atque jubet majora capessere fata,
 Auspiciis longè majoribus astra mereri.
 Erepti quærendus erat successor Julî,
 Illis, quæ possent hominique, Deoque probari
 Artibus, has inter belli, fideique procellas,

Quem pia relligio commendet, et inclita virtus,
 Ab Jove qui summa Cœli credatur ab arce
 Demissus, Fidei cui demandentur habenæ,
 Quem tantum sentire queat, monstrare nec audeat
 Nec possit mortale genus, te præter, in omnes
 Virtutum numeros sic alto vertice supra
 Sic extantem humeris, ut te tua Roma, Latinæ
 Optarint urbes, populi, Regesque, Ducesque;
 Omnis et optarit te voto supplice Mundus
 Ante pia hæc fratrum suffragia, qualia summi
 Lætus ab arce poli cernens, hominumque probata
 Relligione, Deus votis subscripsit honestis.
 Murmura jam cessent veteris turpissima famæ
 In proceres Fidei, quos nunc non ulla potentum
 Gratia, amicitia non vis, fraudesve, dolive,
 Non spes ulla lucri a vero detorsit et æquo.
 Ambitus æternum tenebris damnatus et Orco
 Pro diademato sibi vertice, frontis inustæ
 Perpetuum jam stigma geret. Vos cardine rerum
 In summo positos, per quos teterrima labes
 Tartaream patitur centena in secula noctem,
 Vos ego Patronos Fidei, Pietatis et almæ
 Longum assertores vos relligionis in ævum
 Ut video, agnoscoque favens, ut pronus adoro!
 Non rubros apices, speciosaque Nomina, et altos
 Divinis titulis latè ostentantia fastus,
 Non comitum ingentem longo procul ordine pompam,
 Sed puras, sanctasque manus, incoctaque honesto
 Pectora, et humanos non respicientia sensus,
 Atque pias Christi tantum meditantia leges.
 Ergo lethiferæ, vobis auctoribus, istis
 Excessere adytis pestes: jam cessit ab Urbe,
 Cessit ab orbe nefas: utres difflavit inanes
 Fastus, et ad meritos celsæ virtutis honores
 Summisit fasces: cessit furor omnis, et omnis
 Ira nocens: Strophadas ultra exarmata Celæno
 Evolat, et livens tandem sibi Livor edaci
 Dentem dente ferit, tantum in sua viscera sævitis.
 Emigrantque malæ pennis pernicibus artes
 Euphratem supra, et Nilotica flumina supra;
 In quarum subiere locum læto agmine mores
 Ingenui, sanctæque artes, jus, fâsque, piæque.
 Roma exuta gravi languentia corpora culpâ

Induit

Induit assimiles justo sub Principe mores.
 Cujus ab exemplo jamdudum Maximus orbis
 Ad vitæ faciem sese componit honestæ.
 Artibus his tantam meruisti scandere sedem ;
 Artibus his retinenda tibi est, augendaque tantis
 Officiis, ut spem, fuerit quæ maxima, vincas,
 Quando visus eras nondum diademate cinctus ;
 Ut te omnes virtute tua, meritisque minorem
 Esse affirmarent. Nunc quum nil maximus orbis
 Te melius videat, nil te sublimius uno,
 Optima si præstes, semper videre necesse est
 Humano generi longe meliora daturus.
 Jam sancti accipiant amplissima munera mores ;
 Ingeniis nec priscus honos, nec gratia desit.
 Expectent majora tamen, melioraque semper ;
 Nec frustra expectent, modo sit pax alta per omnes
 Et tranquilla quies populos ; Regesque, Ducesque,
 Unanimes Duce te jungant in fœdera dextras.
 Jam vero i, volitans Pallas, bona nuntia pacis,
 Nuntia amicitiae ; populos, Regesque saluta.
 Ulterius ne odiis certent, irave minaci,
 Neu bello, neu cæde fremant, ferrove cruento,
 Diva jube. Dic clausa bifrontis limina Jani,
 Pro foribus stare ædituum ad sacra Templa Leonem,
 Nunc precibus, nunc vi, ferrum extorquere, minaces
 Exarmare hastas, nunc tradere Tybridis alveo
 Arma Ducum, illustres galeas, thoracas ahenos,
 Squallentes auro tunicas, atque ære trilicem
 Loricam, Mavortis equos, Mavortia castra,
 Gradivumque Patrem in Thracas armare furentes ;
 Aonidum dehinc cincta choro, vatumque piorum,
 Pontificis repetas sanctissima limina : tecum
 Sit pia relligio, sit morum grata bonorum
 Majestas, nulli deerunt sua præmia, nullus
 Principis a tanti pedibus non lætus abibit.

N^o. LXX.*(Vol. ii. p. 174.)*

Alla Clarissima Signora et Madonna, Madonna Contessina Medica, del Magnifico Piero Ridolphi consorte, et del Summo Pontifice Leone X. carnale Germana, Maestro Jo. Ja. Penni Medico Florentino S. P. D.

SOGLIONO li desiderosi in scrivere, clarissima et unicha mia Patrona observandissima, quando vogliono alchuno opusculo mettere a luce, acciò le rabide lingue senza lesione transgredere possino, dedicare a qualche Magnifica o colenda persona acciò sotto più favorevole ombra emissa più consideratamente dalli Lettori gustata sia (ancorche el basso ingegno et la mia rauca cetra non merti dal Lauro dali descendententi de esso laude, o corona) Così io confiso nella tua benignia Magnificentia, o pigliato presumptione sotto l'ombra di quella, la presente operetta mandar fora acciò dove l'ingegno mio manchi el favore et humanità di quella per me supplisca. Et sappia V. S. non per altro essermi mosso se non la affettuosa volunta mia spronatomì, acciò secundo mia conditione possi far cosa che sia grata a quella. Et anchora perchè la famosa Prosapie Medica per spatio di tempo delle glorie immense, et famosi triumphì obnubilata, non inlaudata passasse, et accio li descendententi nostri per il tempo senza cognitione di si magno triumpho non decessino restare. Et si vegia che'l Summo Fattore miserato a questa nostra Europa, over Christianità, habi voluto el Laureo tempo, o vogliamo dire Aureo per sua clementia retorni; che possiamo dire da che successe la condolenda morte della Laurea Magnificentia, primo membro dello Italico potentato viridario virtuoso, et della Pontificia prole degno genitore, possemo dire da indi in qua la eta aurea con la virtuosa premiatione insieme con laureato corpo fossin sepulte, donde sequi che li Italici Potentati, lassate le virtuose imitatione, ale quale a gara di Lauro davano opera, chi in vendicarsi con el inimico, chi per cupidita di thesoro o regno, pigliate le arme in mano, dettenu causa che la aurea eta in ferrea se convertisse: donde n'è sequito effusion di sangue, stupri, rapine, depopulation de cita, et quasi ruina de tutto questo nostro Italico Regno, come habiamo a tempi nostri oculata fide possuto inspicere: insino a tanto che'l Summo Rectore de questa mundial machina ha voluto per conservatione di quella, per vero Pastore delle anime dare a noi uno Leone, assai piu humile et immaculato che puro agnello: qual cosa l'universo cognoscendo, non la progenie sua, non la propria Cita, non Roma genitrice, ma tutta la Italia con la remanente Christianita con una vocealtro che'l vivente Pastore non desiano. Siche unicha Patrona mia, conoscendo io non se convenire ad un mortale a laudare un che sempre alle divine fur sue opre equale, perche non altramente mi trovo tra le tante narrande laude Pont. et de sua gesta implicato, qual nochiero troppo auso creduta la cimba sua a procellosi venti disperato ridursi al tuto et desiato porto si trova. Pertanto non riguardando alla mia troppa ausa presumptione, ne al basso stile, ma più presto alla sparsa et exviscerata servitu quali da nostri antecessori di continuo alla nobile familia Medica e stata maxime cognoscendo io non essere persona niuna più gratamente fusse per acceptar tal dono, accio la S. V. absente le fraterne Pontificie laude et honesti triumphì lieta possa con l'occhio mentale considerare quello che'l corporale per la distantia del

N^o. LXX.

del locho non a possuto: qual prego come affectuosamente si condona cosi grátamente quella si degni acceptare. Anchor che'l donatore con la donata opera indegno si cognosca: pur qual sia con la continua servitù donando di continuo alla S. V. humanissima si raccomanda, Valet.

Ar. S. ad Lectorem.

Cuncta mihi ex animo cesserunt optime lector
 Dum Pompæ exactæ grata trophæa cano.
 Maximus hæc cernit Pastor: Germanus et illi
 Julius: et Medices candida turba domus.
 Attamen hoc unum conturbat gaudia, nullo
 Tempore quod LAURENS me leget ille prior;
 Elysias sed si quicquam descendit ad umbras
 Heroum, hunc etiam tantula fama iuvat.

A. P.

Qui vidit Decimi Lateranum Stemma Leonis
 Ille semel: cernes (hunc lege) multoties.

Cronica delle Magnifiche et honorate Pompe fatte in Roma per la Creatione et Incoronatione di Papa Leone. X. Pont. Opt. Max.

NEL anno della salutifera Incarnatione M. D. XII. a Di XX. del mese de Febraro, in Dominica sequente, il Lunedì ad hore XI. di nocte; La felice memoria de Julio II. Pont. Max. de questa fragil vita passo, et portato dalli Canonici de San Pietro a sePELLIRE in dicta Chiesa con debite et solemne cerimonie et pompa, come a tali Pontefici costumar si suole. Di poi per nove giorni continui furon celebrate per li Reverendissimi Cardinali le sump- tuose et honorate exequie. Le quale finite il giorno sequente che forno Tre del Mese di Marzo da poi celebrata Messa del spirito Santo di commune concordia entrorno nel Con- clave, quale preparato era nel palazzo Apostolico nella Capelia della fe. re. de Sixto IV. Pont. Max. Si quali forno in numero Vinticinque per eligere uno nuovo Pastore alla grege Christiana; et infusi per il divino splendore del Spirito Sancto un Giovedì di nocte che forno Dieci del ditto mese di Marzo tutti ad una voce elessonó in novo Pastore Joanni figliolo di Lorenzo de' Medici allhora Cardinale Diacono del titulo de Sancta Maria in Dome- nica, di eta di anni xxxvii. et mesi tre. Et la mattina sequente ad hore xiv. rotta la fi- nestra del conclave quale era murata forno per el R. Alexandro de Farnesio Diaco. Car- dinale de S. Eustachio tal parole con alta et intelligibili voce publicate; *Gaudium magnum nuntio vobis, Papam habemus, Reverendissimum Dominum Joannem de Medicis Diaconum Cardinalem Sanctæ Mariæ in Domenica: qui vocatur Leo Decimus.* Finite de publi- care le dicte parole fu sentito per spatio de hore doi nel Castello Adriano et il Palazzo Apostolico, santo strepito et romore de bombarde et altre artiglierie et suoni di varii instrum- enti et campane et voce di populo gridare, VIVA LEONE, et PALLE PALLE, che pareo proprio il

cielo tonitruasse, o fulminasse. Non molto da poi assentato in una Cathedra Pontificale dal detto Conclave con grandè triumpho et comitato di tutto il Clero et Religiosi cantando *Te Deum laudamus*, in la Ghiesa di Pietro al magiore altare condotto fu, et quivi dalli Cardinali della sacra Chiesa fu intronizzato. Pervenuta la sera del detto di, et per octo continui giorni per tutta l'alma Citta di Roma furono fatti fuochi lumi et razi in segno di alegrezza; et in diversi lochi precipue tra nobili Mercanti Fiorentini furno buttati denari, et dispensato pane, et molte botte piene de vino in mezzo delle piazze et strade si poneano; et de ogni sorte de instrumente da sonare davanti allor case et palazi si sonavano, et facevansi grandissime feste, attal che Roma non fu mai piu si lieta. Fu preparata di fare la solenne Coronatione adi XIX. del prefato mese. Sopra delle scale marmoree del Principe deli Apostoli fu constructo un grande et amplo Palcho ligneo, et erectovi octo colonne bellissime, et sopra di esse un cornicione rilevato si vedea ben fabricato che veramente marmoreo pareva. Sotto del quale nel primo aspetto sculpto era un breve a lettere majuscule de oro, tal parole: LEONI X. PONT. OPT. MAX. LITERATORUM PRESIDIO, AC BONITATIS FAUTORI. Al resto circumcirca di finissimi panni di razza adornato era. Venuta la mattina del prefato giorno fu condotto dalli soi insieme con tutto il sacro Collegio de Cardinali, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi et Prelati dal suo Apostolico palazzo in la Chiesa di San Pietro, et quivi in la Capella dello Apostolo Andrea posato, furon cantati solennemente li matutinali Psalmi et orationi. Perfecte le decantate laude fu adornato de habito sacerdotale per celebrare la Messa, et menato dalla detta Capella a l'ara di Pietro, et el Maestro delle Cerimonie avanti di lui con doi arundine, una in man dextra, et l'altra in la sinistra, in la summitate delle quale una ballotta di stoppa, et una candela accesa, et genuflectendosi davanti al lui, ponendo la candela in la stoppa, tale parole exprimeva: *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*. Pervenuto alla sacra ara di Pietro, quivi con grandissima divotione celebrò la sua prima messa, la qual finita si condusse al palco sopranarrato, et demoratavi alquanto, fu da doi Cardinali, cioè il Cardinale Farnesio, et de Aragona, sopra del suo capo imposto un regnio di tre Corone circondato, et di molte altre varie perle et gioie adornato, con gran tumulto di tubicine et altri instrumenti et alegreza di populo, fu coronato. Di poi con ilare fronte benedetto tutto il populo quivi presente, in lo Pontifical palazzo retornò. Et ordinatosi per l'undecimo giorno del sequente mese de andare ad acceptare la possessione del suo Episcopato Lateranese. Pervenuto il dicto giorno con tale ordine detteno principio alla felice cavalchata.

Radunati nella platea del Principe delli Apostoli gran moltitudine de gente per accompagnarlo alla Laterana Ecclesia, in tal modo principiorno la triumphante andata. Primo homini ducento a cavallo armati con lance, con banderole, et in lor persona sajoni et calze con fiamme bianche et rossa, divisa Ursina. Non molto di poi a costoro venia piu di Cento Signori et Conti di diversi lochi, si della nobil genta Ursina et Columna, come Sabellica et Contescha, de finissimi brochati et velluti adornati, loro et lor stafieri et cavalli. Alzando li occhi tra i primi mi parve di vedere quel famoso Signore Jo. JORDANO in mezzo di quella honorata copia, cioè S. Fabricio Columna, et S. Julio Ursino. Sequia da poi a costoro, a dui a dui, S. Franciotto, el Conte Pitigliano, S. Prospero de Cavi, et S. Camillo, S. Mario, S. Octavio, et S. Amico, della nobil familia Ursina: S. Alessandro de Palles-

trina, et S. Federico Columna, S. Jo. Bapt. de Stabia, et S. Stephano di Valmontone, et molti altri per non esser fastidioso a V. S. lor nomi taccio. Appresso di costor sequiano di molti et varii sonatori, vestiti alla divisa, o ver livrea del Pontifice, chi de velluto, chi de finissimo panno cioè bianco rosso et verde, et innel pecto un dignissimo richamo de oro facto vi era un Diamante con tre penne, una biancha, l'altra verde, e l'altra pavonaza, ligate al pie con un brevicello, nel qual vi era questa parola scripta, SEMPER: et derieto nelle rene un Jugo, con questa over simel littera di sopra. N. Di sotto un brevicello che dicea, SUAVE. El significato di tal cosa lassaro a voi considerare. Sequiano da poi questi l'antiguardia delli Greci, vestiti alla sopradetto livrea Pontificia di veste fatte a loro usanza con capelletti in testa, et lance con banderole et targhette. Appresso veniano le Valige delli Cardinali della Sacra Chiesa con degnissimi richami di oro, factovi la loro insegna overo arme. Insieme con queste erano doi simile rosate senza alcuno richamo, overo arme della Sanctità di nostro Signore; le quale sopra de Cavalli che quelle portavano, sopra uno era el Barbiere di Sua S. et l'altra el Sartore. Sequia costoto gran copia de nostri Concivi Merchanti di ricchissime veste di velluto, di raso chermosi, et panni rosati vestiti: tra li quali mi parve cognoscer Pier Francesco di Borgarini, Bindo Altoviti, Bernardo Bini, Pandolpho della Casa, Luigi Gaddi, Pier del Bene, Francesco della Fonte, Mario Guiducci, et Guidetto Guidetti: tutti con varie livree et devise alli loro staffieri. Non longe da costoro sequiano doi Maestri di Casa del prefato Pontifice, et derieto a lui a lui li Scutiferi del nostro Signore vestiti di veste rosate, et Sajoni di damasco raso over velluto, et jupponi di raso chermusi: quali erano circa ducento sexanta. Et doppoi loro una Chinea bianca coperta di velluto, sopra del dorso suo una scaletta coperta di velluto chermusi; con la quale el Papa monta a cavallo, era la soprascritta Chinea da uno Palafriniere menata a mano, et lui con un bastone pinto rosso in mano. Sequian a costoro dodici Cursori vestiti de panni rosati sopra di belli cavalli con una bandiera in mano per uno di taffetto rosso, con la insegna del Pontifice. Sequiano dappoi a costoro tredici giovani a piede, detti Conestavoli delli Romani, Capi de Regioni, con una bandiera in mano con la insegna della regione. Dappoi venian doi altri Cursori Bidelli del Roman Gimnasio con una simile bandiera in mano, che vera depinto un Cherubino di focho per uno. Sequia non molto lontano da costoro lo Illustrate Signore Giovangiorgio della nobil familia Cesarea, Confaloniere del populo Romano con un gran Vexillo in mano di seta rossa, di finissimo oro adornato, con la insegna del Populo Romano cioè littere simile de oro. S. P. Q. R. Et con lui havea gran copia di staffieri de finissimi rasi et velluti vestiti. Venia di poi el nobile gentilhomio Giovanni Blanckfeldt de la Marcha Brandeburgen, quale era vestito di candidissima seta, con un stendardo in mano di taffetto bianco, con una Croce negra nel mezo, per la religione di Sancta Maria Teutonicorum, con molti Staffieri di seta biancha vestiti. Et appresso sequia il nobil Cavaliere Misser Julio della famosa casa de Medici, al presente Archiepiscopo Fiorentino, che per la religione di Sancto Joanni Hierosolimitano Rodiano, el gran standardo havea di taffetto rosso con una croce biancha nel mezzo, con gran moltitudine di staffieri a sua livrea vestiti. Non molto dappoi venia il Signor Frachasso con un altro gran Vexillo di seta rossa con la Chiave: qual era del Capitano della Sancta Chiesa, con staffieri di brochato di oro et velluto vestiti. Sequitava un altro Nobil giovane con un altro standardo in mano, qual diceano esser del Confaloniere di sancta Chiesa, cioè del Duchia di Ferrara, con molti staffieri

staffieri come li antedicti adornate. Dapoi a costoro venian piu de ducento Signori Baroni et Cavalieri: i quali, chi con el Duchà di Ferrara, chi con quel di Urbino, e chi con el Signoro di Camerino venuti erano: Intra li quali el Signor Carlo Baglioni vi si vedeva: et altri nipoti et Parenti di Cardinali de richissimi vestimenti adornati. Preteriti costoro veniano nove Cavalli chiamati Achinee bianchissime, et tre Mule di richissimi fornimenti et coperte di brochato d'oro et velluto chermusi, con adornamenti di purissimo argento et oro, menate per mano da Parafrenieri vestiti con sajoni di velluto, jupponi di raso chermusi, scufe de oro, berrette di rosato, et cinti de oro tirato, et bastoni di colore rosso in mano. Drieto a questi veniano doi Maestri di stalla con più di quaranta famigli di stalla a pie vestiti di rosato. Da poi a questi sequitavan quattro nobili giovani Romani nominati Scudieri di honore, li quali ciaschuno havea in mano un bastone di velluto chermusi, et in la summita era un cappello di velluto chermusi per uno della Sanctità di nostro Signore. Da poi a costoro sequivano cinquantasei coppie di Cubicularii, vestiti di rosato con li cappucci attorno il collo foderati di bianchissimi armellini. In fine di questi erano quattro altri similmente: i quali dui di loro haveano una Mitria Episcopale in mano per uno, de richissime gioje et perle adornate, li altri doi Regni circondati di tre corone, tutti de finissime gioje adornati. Sequiano poi dieci Corsieri con barde di brochato di oro coperte con regazi sopra con cimieri in testa bellissimi et lance in mano. Parvemì vedere dopo a questi Regazi el Signor Nicolo Nipote della fe: me: di Julio II. con lui molti Signori sequitarlo con tanti adornamenti che diro, come disse il Mantuano Poeta: *Non mihi si linguæ centum sint oraque centum, ferrea vox*, La minima parte non bastarebbe a narrare. Appresso; di costoro sequian molti nostri Giovani floridi. Tra quali questi mi parve di cognoscere Pietro de Paulo Antonio Soderini, Pierfrancesco de Lorenzo de Medici, Simone Tornabuoni, Giovannino de Giovanni de Medici, Antonio de Medici, Pietro de Jacomo Salviati, Luigi vostro primogenito, Bernardo del Butta de Medici, Piero Pucci, Luigi Martelli, Misser Ricciardo Milanese, Raphaello Pucci, et Raphaello de Medici, Girolamo Morelli, Philippo Strozzi, Francesco Tornabuoni, Antonio da Ricasoli, Leonardo Bartholini, et Misser Philippo da San Miniato, Commessario generale del Sanctissimo Pontefice; et molti altri assai, che per abbreviare taceremo. Costoro ciaschaduno vestiti di finissimi drappi con varie livree di divise di drappi alli loro staffieri ricamente decorati passorno. Preteriti costoro sequiano li Oratori, si quelli della Marcha Anichonitana, como quelli del Patrimonio, del Ducato Spoletano, della Romandiola, et de Bologna, et della nostra Cita florida, vi erano Matheo Strozi, et Francesco Vittori, quello della Signoria Veneta, del Catholico Re di Spagna, del Christianissimo Re di Franza, quel del Serenissimo Imperatore in mezzo di Jacobo Salviati, et del Illustre Julio Scorciati alhora Senator di Roma. Venne dapoi questi Francesco Maria Duchà di Urbino con livrea negra di velluto e raso se et sua staffieri, per dimostrare el dolore del suo Zio morto Julio II. Pont. Max. Et con lui el Magnifico Lorenzo di Piero de Medici con infinita moltitudine di staffiera a sua divisa et livrea. Et perche la Sanctità del nostro Signore Papa Leone, mentre che la honorata compagnia allordine cavalcava, voleva montare a cavallo, havendo dello amanto Ducale rivestito lo Illustre Alfonso da Esti Duca benemerito di Ferrara, el prefato Duca montata sopra della Chinae la quale doveva cavalcare el Papa, cavalco alquanti passi, et dipoi dismontato tenne la staffa al benignio Pontefice, et assettatogli li paramenti attorno,

montò sopra del suo cavallo, et andò allo ordine dove nel processo del cavalcare lo ritroveremo. Da poi la onorata compagnia, dui Custodi Hostiarîi con un bacadetto in man per uno, coperti di velluto chermusi in segno di loro offitio. Et drieto aloro tre Subdiaconi Apostolici, li quali quel di mezzo portava sopra de un gran bastone argenteo et deaurato la Sanctissima Croce. Sequia di poi una bianchissima China: et quella sopra del dorso suo havea un tabernaculetto adornato di brochato d'oro nel qual dentro si posava la Sacra Eucharistia, et di sopra era un bellissimo baldacchino, et circumcirca forse vinticinque Parafrenieri con torce di purissima cera bianca accense in mano, et drietoli il Sacrista con un baculo ligneo in mano, per custodia di Christo. Successe da poi questi a dui a dui un Secretario et uno Advvocato consistoriale. La prima coppia erano dui chiamati Perfetti navales, et havean tutti in dosso una cotta over camiso, et di sopra un Piviale, ma erano alla Apostolica, cioè seoperti il braccio diritto. Sequian costoro li Cantori della Capella Pontificia, et li Clerici della Apostolica Camera, et li Advocati Consistoriali con loro, el Maestro del sacro Palazzo, con li rochetti et cotte indosso. Dapoi sequian tutti li Episcopi, et Archiepiscopi, i quali forno circa CC. cinquanta, sopra di buoni cavalli coperti tutti di guarnello bianco, excepto li occhi donde vedeano, et loro haveano in dosso sopra di loro rochetti Piviali adornati de richissimi lavori: et le mitrie in testa di finissime tele bianche. Sequian poi li Cardinali della Sacra Chiesa a l'ordine loro, cioè prima i Diaconi, da poi li Preti, li ultimi li Episcopi, vestiti secondo li sacri ordini che havevano, cioè li Diaconi con le Dalmatiche, li Presbiteri con le Pianete, et li Episcopi con li Piviali de richissimi brochati di oro, sopra di Cavalli coperti tutti fino in terra di taffetto bianco, et loro con le mitrie di candidissimo damasco in capo. Tra li quali dui primi Cardinali, cioè Sigismundo Reverendissimo Cardinale di Mantua, et Alfonso Reverendissimo Cardinale Senense, era lo Illustrè Duca di Ferrara de una richissima veste di oro adobato con gran copia di bene adornati staffieri: et ciascheduno de sopradetti Cardinali havea a piedi octo Parafrenieri bene in ordine con un bastone bianco in mano per uno: et quattro o ver sei camerieri con sajoni et robe di velluto damascho o raso. Veniva dapoi el R. Padre Paris de Grassis Episcopo Pisaurensis. Maestro delle Cerimonie. Dapoi lui Alexandro Cardinale di Farnesio, et Reverendissimo Cardinale di Aragona. Dapoi la guardia delli Elvetii in giubone bianchi e rossi et calze simile con un broncone verde, che nasceva dal pie ritto, et per la gamba di fuore si distendeva per el giubone sino alla mano, che pareva una pittura. Veniano dapoi questi li Parafrenieri del Papa, insieme con li Capi de' Regioni de Roma vestiti di raso chermusi, et velluti, et altri richi drappi, et con Coloro li Conservatori et altri Officiali Romani, tutti di finissimi velluti chermusi vestiti: et questi portavano lo honorato baldacchino. Sotto del quale sopra di una Achinea veniva quello Illuminatore della fede Christiana, dicho Successor di Pietro, LEONE DECIMO con un richissimo piviale adosso, et un regnio in testa adornato di tre corone auree, et di molte altre gioje et pietre pretiose, donando la sua sancta Benedictione a tutto quanto il populo che per le strade genuflexo a veder era, et ad alta voce gridava, VIVA LEONE LEONE, et PALLE PALLE, per terra et per mare, che per infino al cielo da piccoli puti, dali giovani et di vecchi, et donne tal boche risonavano. Sequia derieto a lui lo Illustrè Giovanni Maria de Varano S. di Camerino, et il R. patre Mercurio de Vipera Decano delli Auditori di Rota, et Capellano del prefato Pontifice. Appresso veniva un Clerico de la Camera Apostolica, nomato Misser Ferrando Ponzetto, quale

quale havea davanti lo arcione del cavallo doi sportoni pieni de danari con la impronta o vero insegna del prefato Leone X. et de quelli per tutta la via, hora in qua hora in la, ad tutto il populo spargendo. Di poi costui sequiano li Reverendi Prothonotarii con veste ad usanza Cardinea, excepto che li Capelli erano tutti negri. Finalmente sequia la retroguardia, quali erano piu di quattrocento Balestrieri, a cavallo, con sajoni alla divisa over livrea Pontificia, delli quali ne eran Capitani Guido Guaina, Gironamo degli Albizi, et Vincentio de Tibure. Così felicemente ad ordine questa ornata compagnia andava fino alla Sede Lateranense. Et immediate di poi questi tutti di nuovi panni et drappi passo la mia Magnificagime, come la Mula del Zacheria, cioè con li mia fornimenti vecchi, con livrea di calze una rotta, et l'altra straciata, senza staffieri, perche ero a pie. Partendosi de Pontifical palatio trovorno davanti la casa di Cechotto Jenuese uno apparato quadrato in tal modo costruito. Sopra di quattro colonne argentate era un bello festone, et di sopra un fregio di panno azuro attorno attorno, adornato di dentro di diamanti, penne, et Jugi, et Palle deaurate, con odoriferi profumi. Dalla parte di fuora del predicto fregio verso il palatio a lettere di oro tal parole vi erano scripte: LEONI X. PONT. MAX. QUIETIS ATQUE ARTIUM LAUDATORI. Da l'altra banda che'l Capel Castel remirava, a simil lettere tal parole vi erano, VIRTUTIS ALUMNO, FORTUNE DOMINATORI. Sopra del narrato fregio era una coronice che veramente marmorea pareva, et il cielo del apparato era di panni chiamati rovesci azurri. Di sopra in ciaschuno angulo della coronice era una Palla deaurata, et fra le dui Palle era una insegna, o vero arme Pontificia. Di sotto tra una columna et l'altra per ogni parte era uno quadro di pittura da non insufficiente Maestro pitte: in quel che da man destra stava, era il Papa in un cielo infra dui rami di palme, et dalla dextra mano un Sancto Pietro et un Sancto Paulo che parlavan col dicto Papa, et da l'altra mano si vedea un angelo sonare una tromba, et havea nella banderiola della tromba l'arme Pontificia: sotto a questo si vedea uno arco cioè Iris, et sotto l'arco montagne, fiumi, pianure, arbori, frondi, homini et donne, et un brevicello che dicea: APERTUS EST ORBIS ET EXIVIT REX GLORIÆ. Dalla sinistra mano dello apparato in nel quadro era pitto il Pontifice che sedea, et dalla mano dextra eron molti Regniflexi che li presentavano oro et argento, et di sopra di questi era un brevicello che dicea: PARCERE SUBJECTIS: Da l'altra mano erano certi Imperatori con un altro brevicel di sopra che dicea: DEBELLARE SUPERBOS. Dal narrato apparato di qua et di la, la strada per insino al Castello Adriano de bellissimoi panni parata si vedeva. Alla porta del prefato Castello era un palco ligneo coperto di brocchati di oro et sericei drappi; qui erano molti Judei con le tabelle de loro legge con octo facelle bianche di cera accense, et quando quivi pervenne LEONE X. PONT. OPT. MAX. domandorno esserli confirmate le loro lege: pigliato dal prefato Pastore dalloro un libello aperto in mano, et lectovi alquanto, queste dui parole mi parve de intender: *Confirmamus sed non consentimus*, lassandosi caschare il libro in terra seguì il suo camino. Dal Castello sino allo exito del ponte era apparato de belli et richi panni adornati con festoni et insegne Pontificie, Jugi, diamanti, et penne. Allo exito del ponte era un bellissimo arco, che a quelli che alli antiqui triumphanti Romulei si faceano: el quale in tal forma stava. Questo dignissimo arco dalla parte che'l Castello riguardava da ogni banda facea un poco di curvo, innella qual curvità in quella che da man dextra era, si vedeva depicta una donna che tenea in la man sinistra un libro, et la dextra con un digito disteso alzava verso il cielo, nell'altra curvità era un Apollo con la lira in mano, et la pelle di

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di Marsia in su la spalla et l'arco et la pharetra a li piedi, haveva di poi il prefato arco dua pilastri con li suoi capitelli, nel mezo de quali artifiziosamente di ciascuno uscia una fontana. Di quella che da man dextra era usciva di una palla vino mero et singulare, et dall'altra di una guastada di vino acqua clarissima et pura: et sopra i capitelli di ditti pilastri era uno architrave che quando era sopra la medietate della curvita dello arco vi stava una testa di Leone che haveva appenso un diamante in bocca; era sopra questo architrave un fregio pitto a Leoni, diamanti, et penne, et sopra tal fregio una coronice, et di sopra uno epitaphio a lettere di oro di tal tenore. LEONI X. PONT. MAX. UNIONEM ECCLESIASTICAM INSTAURANDI CHRISTIANOSQUE TUMULTUS SEDANDI STUDIOSO: di sopra lo narrato epitaphio un'altra coronice dove sopra vi si posava la inclita insegna Pontificia in mezo di dua Leoni i quali ciascuno un piede sopra una Palla et l'altro alla insegna teneano, et havevan di sotto un brevicello per uno, delli quali uno ne dicea: PRÆDIGNA MEÆ GLORIÆ, et l'altro, MIHI CURÆ EST. Entrato poi sotto lo arco nel suo celo si vedea in uno ottangulo la Pontificale insegna, et era tutto questo cielo ad ottanguli compartito, dentrovi varie fantasie tra li quali in uno era lo Redemptor nostro Jesu Christo, che dava le chiave al principe delli Apostoli, Pietro. En in l'altro un sacrificio vi si vedea; et da ogni banda del dicto arco nelle sue faccie di dentro eran doi belli quadri ne quali quello che da man dextra era si vedea il Pontifice in una cathedra Pontificalmente aparato sedere, et de intorno molti Imperatori Re et Principi i quali pareva che se pacificassino et adorassino: da l'altra mano molti populi che se abbracciavano. A piede della sua degna residentia erano due fanciulli che haveano una facella di fuoco in mano et radunati molti instrumenti bellici si li abrusciavano. Dalla man sinistra del arco era la nobil Cita Florida et molti concivi di quella pareva che lietamente el Papa in habito Cardineo hilari lo acceptassino, si che festigiando pareva che dentro alle porte di quella volesino intrare. Et cosi dentro questo arco era situato senza narrare le parte da pie, le quale per non esser prolixo lasso. Dalla facciata di fuora cioe la parte che nelli banchi riguardava stava como nella faccia che rispondeva verso il Castello, excepto che questa parte faceva doi gomiti più larghi che li antediti: nel gomito ad mano dextra era un tabernaculo, o vogliam dire un mezo nichio nel quale si vedea di rilievo una figura de una donna assai più grande del naturale, et questa dalla dextra mano havea una spada, et dalla sinistra una Palla, e sotto i piedi un brevicello di tal tenore: E CÆLO TANDEM REDI. E di sopra passato lo architrave fregio et cornice era pur di rilievo un Christo che pareva parlasse, tanto naturale si vedea: questo havea le chiave in mano, et alli piedi un breve che dicea: TRADO TIBI TERRÆ ET CÆLI REGNUM. Nel gomito della man stanca de l'arco in un nichio era una donna risponente al'altra, la quale havea un Regno Papale dalla dextra mano, et dalla sinistra una palma, et sotto i piedi un breve di tal suono: PRÆCLARÆ VIRTUTIS PRÆMIUM. Et sopra li medesimi ornamenti derti era pur di rilievo un Sancto Pietro che guardava a Christo che da l'altra banda habiamo scritto, lo epitaphio che da questa banda era sopra lo arco diceva: LEO X. PONT. MAX. VINCENDO SEIPSUM OMNIA SUPERAVIT. Et di sopra doi Leoni con l'arme come da l'altra banda havemo narrato con un brevicello sotto, che l'uno di tal suono era: SUPPLICIS GENEROSÆ EXAUDIO. Et l'altro diceva: IN SUPERBOS IRAM EXERCEO. Et molti altri adornamenti che per non esser fastidioso lasso. Questo sopranarrato arco per lo Episcopo Petruccio Castellano del prefato Castro fu ordinato.

Et

Et seguitando la strada el Sanctissimo nostro Leone, avanti la casa del nobil Misser Augustino Chisi Senese era edificato uno memorabile arco di tal forma. Era posto sopra di octo colonne in quadro ad ogni cantone una quadra, et per di dentro una tonda, et faceva di sopra un piano con un architrave fregio et coronice, et in nel fregio dalla banda che riguardava il Castello eran dui versi a lettere di oro di tal tenore: OLIM HABUIT CYPRIS SUA TEMPORA, TEMPORA MAVORS OLIM HABUIT, SUA NUNC TEMPORA PALLAS HABET. Et sopra il verso era la cornice et uno Epitaphio che dicea: LEONT X. PONT. MAX. PACIS RESTITUTORI FELICISSIMO. Et da ogni banda dello Epitaphio era un tabernaculo cioè mezo nichio ne quali in quello che era da manò dextra vi stava una figura viva, la quale representava Apollo. Et da man sinistra nel altro mezo nichio un altra figura viva, che representava Mercurio. Venia sopra questi Tabernaculi, e lo Epitaphio una cornice a uno piano, dove che di sopra alla dextra mano in su lo angulo era di rilievo una statua, che era dal mezo in suso homo, et dalla metà in giù Serpente, et tenea in mano uno oriojo a polvere, et da l'altra mano innello angulo era pur di rilievo un Centauro, et sopra uno saltare era posto a sedere un Leone nel mézo del arco: di dentro il palco suo di sopra nel mezo era la insegna del Papa: et da ogni banda quella del prefato Augustino Chisi. Et dalle faccie in ciascuna un quadro bellissimo di diverse materie picto, et sotto li quadri era da ogni banda tre mezi nichii, ne quali in quel di mezo era una Nimpha, et di qua et di la dui Mauri piccoli vivi, si da l'una banda come da l'altra. La Nimpha che era dalla dextra mano con audace faccia recitò alquanti versi. Drento in li quadri, precipue quello che in la man dextra eravi pitto, in fra dui monticelli una donna, la qual cavava la spina del piede ad un Leone: et questa la figuravano per la Virtù, dove poi questa medesima donna era assaltata da molti varii et venenosi serpenti, et pareva quasi che ristretta a perire a tal che il detto Leone con grande impeto quelli assaltava et liberavala da tale insidiatione, et havevanè morti parecchi a piedi. Eravi dappoi un Spirito Angelico, che coronava il Leone di tre corone Pontificie. Nel quadro dalla mano sinistra era una donna per la Virtù, la quale havea quattro Vitii da se schacciati: era prostrato in terra, uno in forma di huomo grosso, et havea una mescola in mano, et tre donne che pareva volessino fugire, tra le quale una giovane et bella era con una borsa in mano, et l'altra bellissima che pareva che un braccio tirassi l'altro braccio, et l'altra era una vecchia. Figuravan costoro Gula, Avaritia, Luxuria, et Invidia. Quella che era Virtù era in loco piu elevato che queste altre, et haveva un Leone che lo porgea nel zodiaco alla Vergine, et lei infra se el Cancro lo metteva, vedevasi in questa Zona Gemini el Cancro la Vergine, et parte della Libra, et questo Leone porto dalla Virtù alla Vergine. Di fuori verso la Zeccha era decorato nel medesimo modo che era verso il Castello, ne altra differentia vi si vedea, salva che'l breve che era nel fregio da questa banda così a lettere di oro era descripto: VOTA DEUM LEO UT ABSOLVAS HOMINUMQUE SECUNDES, VIVE PIE UT SOLITUS VIVE DIU UT MERITUS. Et le figure che erano poste nelli tabernaculi, una rapresentava la Liberalità, et l'altra la Dea Pallas. Et le figure che erano in su li anguli, era una Donna, la quale haveva un freno di cavallo in mano. Et dall'altra banda del arco era un homo con un timone, et molte altre cose, che per non esser prolioso taccio, perche volendo veder tutto, caminare mi bisogna. Basti che Misser Augustino mostrò lo animo suo essere in ogni parte generoso.

Ne mi pare di lasciare indrieto che passato il prenarrato Arco sopra della Bottega di Maestro Antonio da San Marino Orefice, stava una Statua di Venere Marmorea; la quale haveva un verso di sotto a lettere de oro scripte: il quale illudea alquanto quelli de Misser Augustino Chisi: cioè quelli che dicea, OLIM HABUIT CYPRIS. Quello che sotto della dicta Venere stava in tal modo risonava: MARS FUIT, EST PALLAS, CYPRIA SEMPER ERO. Et di continuo la dicta Statua acqua clarissima spargeva.

Non so se'l mio rozo ingegno potrà tanto, che narri l'arco, over edifizio facto da nostri Concivi mercanti Fiorentini. Era la intrata di questo ornato edifitio di qua et di la sopra doi pilamidoni una bellissima columna per uno, et ciaschuna il suo pilastro capitello et architrave fregio et cornice. In su la columna a mano dextra era San Pietro con le chiave in mano, et un libro. Da l'altra banda pur sopra di una columna era un S. Paulo, che havea nella man dextra un libro, in l'altra la spada. Questi dui figure erano di rilievo coperte tutte di oro et parevano proprie vive. Dallo architrave di ciascuna columna longo il muro si partiva architrave fregio et cornice distendendosi insino alla columna del arco. Et da ogni banda erano quattro pilastri con li capitelli. El fregio de jughi et Leoni per insino a li archi questo andito o vogliamo dire portico, era tutto di bellissimi panni di raza parato. Et perche la longezza di un panno benche grandi fussero non servivan a l'altezza, avevano in questo mezo fatto un fregio di brochato a la larghezza della peza, tal che tutto lo apparato pareva una pittura. Hora perche le facce de l'adornamento si se affrontava dui strade come si sa, noi havendo a descrivere primamente parleremo de uno e poi de l'altro; et diremo prima di quello che era in la Via Pontificum, et poi del altra. Et perche la facciata dinanzi era comune ornamento di tutti a dua li archi la descriveremo. Questa facciata era con quattro belle colonne in su li loro pilamidoni che veramente di altro che di bianchissimo marmo non si giudicavano profilate di finissimo oro. Infra li dui archi si se videva da basso, cioè al piano delle colonne tre tabernaculi li quali alla intrata de tutti quattro columnette se li adornava; li dua da li canti sopra le colonne havevan lo architrave fregio et cornice; sopra del quale si voltava un mezo arco compartito con arte assai ne vacui, in uno era un diamante con tre penne e'l breve, et in l'altro era un jugo pur con uno altro brevicello; quello del mezo solo havea lo architrave et era piu spacioso, perchè li altri dui havevan un mezo nichio per uno, et una figura, et questo dui mezi nichii et dua figure: nel mezo tutte coperte di oro di grandezza alquanto maggiore di huomo naturale si era un Christo nudo, et Sancto Joanni Protector della nostra Città Florida, che lo battezzava; et ne tabernaculi dalli canti era da l'uno San Cosmo, et dal altro San Damiano. Non mi fu di poca allegrezza veder li Medici sopra li triumphali Archi, perchè pensai noi altri essere favoriti dalli Cieli. Ma poi molto male me ne e riuscito, perche Idio havendo fatto delli Medici el Papa, gli pare allui che noi siamo tutti ricchi; ne gli pare, che sia piu conveniente che nessuno si si amali, o che si dia ferite. Et per piu nostro fastidio scaccia el mal francioso di Italia; non so come la andera. Credo bisogniera che el Papa ci faccia tutti Episcopi, a volere potere regerci. Qualche cosa fia, sequitiamo nostro ordine. Sopra la figura del mezo era un breve tenuto da dui Leoni che tenevano i piedi sopra de tabernaculi, et a ettere di finissimo oro in campo azurro tal parole risonava: MIRABILIS DEUS IN SANCTIS SUIIS. Et sopra questi una cornicetta et dui altri tabernaculi dove si vedeva in quello da
mano

mano dextra un San Lorenzo, et da man sinistra un San Juliano col Falcone in pugno. Nel mezo infra questi dui tabernaculi era depitto de finissimo lavoro la cena del nostro Signor Jesu Christo con li Apostoli ; et poi di sopra un architrave che sopra tutti a dui li archi se destendea era un fregio bellissimo di colore azuro, fino nel quale questo verso a lettere di oro vi era posto: LEO X. PONT. OPT. DE CÆLO MISSO, GENTILES CIVESQUE SUI MERITO NUMINI EJUS DEVOTI. Et sopra questo breve era un bellissimo cornicione, dove sopra alli dui summitate delli archi si riposava supra ciascuna una figura a jacere con un corno di dovitia, le quale quella che era sopra l'arco de Via Pontificum havea volto il volto verso banchi, et l'altra dalla Via Florida havea volte le spalle ; de drieto a queste figure, et sopra tutto lo apparato che si vedea dinansi, era con bellissime figure picte decorato con certi saltari dove dui candiliera di marmo candidissimo stavano, et in mezo la honorata Arme del Pontifice, et dalle bande che venivano apunto sopra delli archi era un bellissimo giglio roso insegna dil populo Fiorentino. Nelli trianguli dello arco che prima vogliono parlare si era la Sibilla Libica, ne l'altro la Sibilla Persicha. Ne pilastri delle colonne era depinto varie fantasie, bronconi, palle, jughi, et diamante. Entrando sotto lo artificioso arco el suo cielo tutto ad otto anguli compartito, nelli quali in quel di mezo era la nobil insegna del Papa, nelli altri varie fantasie erano. Nelle faccie de dentro dello arco stavan dui quadri di degna pictura facti in tal forma ; innel uno era uno arbore secco sopravi dui piccholi rami viridi, et sopra questo arbor eran tre putti che se attenevano et attaccavansi meglio che potevano, et allo fusto dello arbore erano tre huomini nudi legati, et da ogni banda era sopra una sedia una donna, la quale haveva dietro alle spalle uno angelo, che li tenea sopra il capo una palla, et una di queste haveva alli piedi tre Re, che tenevano le corone in terra, et stavano genuflexi, et l'altra donna che haveva di molti homini attorno, et un come Sacerdote li mostrava un Leone, et tenea una grilanda in mano. Sopra queste figure erano certe altre figure picchole che giucavano alla palla con quelli putti che erano sopra lo arbore detto. Nel altro quadro pitto vi si vedea una palla nel cielo infra Cherubini et Seraphini, ed dua Angioli, che una negulata pareva, tenessino questa palla, et sotto questa nugola era figurata una Cita che ardea, et a pie di questa Cita era una donna in sedia con molte donne et homini attorno con palle in mano et a piedi una paniera di palle infra rose et fiori se potea considerare, et cosi stavano le picture de li dui quadri di questo arco. Lo esito dell arco erano dui bellissime colonne sopra li pilamidoni come stava nella banda di nanzi, et nelli trianguli dello arco era pitta da una banda la justitia et da l'altra la forteza, et di sopra lo architrave fregio et cornice. Da questo arco nascea un bellissimo adornamento fatto fare del prudente de ogni liberalita pieno Messer Johanni Zincha Teutonico, patrone della Zeccha della Romana Camera et Sede Apostolica. Nel quale apparato molte diverse et varie cose notande vi si vedea ; delle quale ne daremo notitia secondo che 'l nostro debile ingenio saperra. Questo magnifico ornamento nascea di sopra e detto dal arco cioè sopra le colonne nascea lo architrave, cosi il fregio et cornicione, et distendevasi da ogni faccia tanto quanto la onorata casa della Zeccha si destendea, alla fine del quale eran dui belle colonne dove di sopra et sopra la strada passava un architrave un fregio, et una cornice dove stava la triumphante Arme del nostro Signore Leone X. Pont. Max. et dalla man dextra l'arme dello Imperatore, et dalla sinistra quella dil Re d'Ungaria, vedeansi dalla banda di fuore como da quella di dentro, dalla banda di dentro sotto alle arme

era scritto tal parole. LEONI X. PONT. MAX. Dal altra di fuora: VIRTUTUM AMATORI, Drento a questo apparato era tutto di panni di raza bellissimi adornato; et sopra un fregio bellissimo de jugi, diamanti, et bronchoni, et quattro Arme del Papa: Sottovi un breve che dicea: FELIX ROMANUM IMPERIUM HOMINUM DEIQUE CONSENSU SAPIENS DOMINATUR VIRTUTIBUS OMNIBUS JANUAM APERIENS. Et ancora vi si vedea octo tondi, quattro per lato, con octo fantasiete assai bene ordinate, et sei octanguli tre per banda compartiti con li tondi et framezati de jughi et diamanti, delle qual storie narraremo: et prima delli tondi, et poi delli octo anguli.

Era in nel primo tondo di pictura figurato uno fiume, alla ripa del quale un Pastore havea acceso un gran foco, et con una sua reticella con grande affectione pareva che pescassi, et quanti pesci venenosi et di mala natura pigliava innello acceso foco lo metteva. Et quelli che erano boni nel medesimo fiume li buttava. Et era sotto il tondo un brevicello di tal parole; NON DESINAM USQUE AD UNUM.

Nel secundo circolo era picto un putto sopra di uno loco rilevato alquanto, et havea in mano uno breve di tal tenore: VIRTUS CUNCTIS EMINET. Et alli piedi havea molti vecchi, li quali lo adoravano con le mano giunte, et le genochia in terra, con un altro motto di sotto che cosi diceva: CANICIES SINE PRUDENTIA RIDICULUM.

El tergo tondo vi se vedea una Cita assediata da uno exercito grandissimo di gente de arme et fanteria et artigliaria, come se rechiede a tale exercitio. Et sotto questo era un breve che dicea: TE PRÆSIDE NIL VEREOR.

Innel quarto tondo pur di pictura se comprendea un campo pieno di Spine, et molti venenosi animaletti, nel mezzo del quale pareva che con difficultà uscissi un fiorito et bello giglio: et sotto vi era un breve di tal tenore: NON OBSTITIT INCÆPTO DIFFICULTAS.

El quinto tondo era decorato sopra de una Sedia pontificalmente un Papa, alli piedi del quale si vedea dui Re li quali genuflexi deposte le Corone in terra lo adoravano, et vedevasi dui Leoni, li quali pareva che li ditti Re leccassino et facessino loro honore. Et sotto a costoro anchora si vedea dua armati tutti, et ciascuno un feroce Leone che con loro certava. A questa degna consideratione era sospeso un breve che diceva: PROSTRATIS PLACIDUS, REBELLIBUS FEROX.

Nel sexto tondo si vedea una Navicella da quattro venti combattuta contrari l'uno al altro: dentro alla quale si vedea un giovane il qual pareva che un suo zufoletto sonassi con tal motto di sotto: TANTO VENTORUM TURBINE IMMOTA.

Nel settimo tondo si vedea un fiume che repente caschava da certe foce, et veniva ad un bello piano dove si vedeva molte varie et diverse spetie de animali per natura inimici: li quali

quali di commune concordia beano tutti a quella acqua, et era appenso a questo circolo un tal breve: **NATURALIS INIMICITIE OBLIVIO.**

Innel octavo et ultimo tondo era un fiore del quale usciva una palla, et della palla duo tralci ne usciva, lo uno faceva grano bellissimo, et l'altro uva: et queste spiche et uve pareano che coprisse tutta una Palla, in la quale era il mondo figurato, sotto al tondo tal brevicello era suspenso. **AUREÆQUE VITÆ SECLUM.**

Nel primo octangulo si vedea un Papa che tenea un piede sopra la terra et l'altro nel mare, et havea nella man dextra una chiave colla quale apriva el Cielo, et nella sinistra un'altra chiave: et drieto a lui si vedea la nobile Cita Florida elevata in aere, et sotto a questo di tal tenore il breve era, **ELEVATA SUM, QUIA PENES TE PATRIÆ, PARENTUM, MARIS, TERRÆ, CELIQUE REGNUM ESSE CONSPICIO.**

Nel secondo si se vedea el Papa che incensava lo altare, in compagnia molti Cardinali et Episcopi con le mitrie in capo, et molti Preti, Fratri, et altri Religiosi, eravi scripto, **TAMQUAM AARON.** Et a pie del octangulo tal breve sospeso. **TU AB EXACTISSIMO CULTU CERIMONIARUM OCULOS NON REMOVES, ET RELIGIONI SUA OBSERVATIO AB OMNIBUS REDDITUR.**

Nel tertio si vedeva la ruota della Fortuna, nella summita sua il Papa, ne altri dalli canti ma la Fortuna, che la rota tenea ferma; et eravi sospeso un breve che in nome de la fortuna tal parole risonava. **IMMOBILIS CONSISTO, QUIA TE SAPIENTEM SAPIENTIUM PROTECTOREM, IN VERTICE SENTIO.**

Era nel quarto sopra un carro triumphale la Maestà dello Imperatore, et il Re di Francia, et il Re di Spagna, da un'altra parte era il Papa che guardava questo carro con quelli Re che pareano di alegrezza pieni triumphassino, et sotto a questo tal breve era scripto, **CUNCTI FIDELES GAUDIUM CELEBRANT, QUIA TU PACIS AC CHARITATIS AMATOR MUNDUM GUBERNAS.**

Drento al quinto si vedea il Papa con li cubiti sopra del altare con le man giunte, et le ginocchia in terra, et drieto a lui haveva molte gente armate, et era scripto nello octangulo. **TAMQUAM MOYSES,** et sotto il detto octangulo un breve era di tal tenore. **TU BENE ATQUE CONSTANTER DIVINÆ POTENTIÆ FAMILIARIS, ET CHRISTIANI NOMINIS INIMICI TIBI CEDENT.**

Nel sexto et ultimo octangulo era il Concilio Lateranense cioè il Papa con tutti li Cardinali et li Imbasciatori, et il Papa a tutti dava la benedictione; di tal tenore sotto a questo era il breve. **TU CONCILIO FINEM IMPONES, AC ECCLESIE REFORMATOR VOCABERIS.**

Passato il degno apparato apresso de monte Giordano davanti una Chiesiola nomata Sancto Angelo in Macerello, era una figuretta non molto grande sopra di un broncone che

si cavava de un pie una spina, del loco della spina aequa clarissima usciva, sopra la figura erano questi tre versi. *Decembre fu al suo natal favore. Aprile al cor li die pena et tormento. Marzo cavato la d'ogni dolore.* Seguitando il camino tutta la strada era parata et coperta di richissimi panni, et in molti lochi Altari adornati de molte argentarie per magnificentia del novo Pontifice. Andavano le voce al cielo di LEONE LEONE, et PALLE PALLE. Pervenuto apresso alla piazza de parione davanti la casa di Messer Ferrando Ponzetta, della Apostolica Camera Clerico, era un degno arco di tal struttura. Havea questo degno Arco una entrata o vogliamo dire porticho, cioè, sopra dui pilamidoni dui colonne, una da ogni banda della strada, sopra delle quale lor architrave, fregio, e cornice. Da una parte stava un Perseo de rilievo con lo scudo in braccio: et in la man dextra teneva una corona de ulivo, sopra de l'altra era uno Apollo che teneva in una mano una corona di lauro, nell'altra una lyra. Di queste colonne et loro architrave fregio et cornice lungo il muro da ogni parte della strada se destendeano insino a l'arco che era in mezzo de dua altre colonne. Nelli spatii del portico alle sue facie in una di quelle era picto in habito Cardineo el Papa in sedia, et pareva che con certi vecchi disputassi, et tutti vincente lui alegro si mostrava. Dal'altra banda si vedea et popule gentile che adoravano un Serpente, et pareva che venissi Moises, et sopra di loro facevi piover Serpenti venenosi. Et sopra le dui colonne che lo arco tenevano era de rilievo un Mercurio, che dalla dextra tenea un rufoletto, et dalla sinistra il baculo con li serpenti, et sopra del'altra era Diana con l'arco in mano. El fregio che adornava tutto questo arco era pieno di jughi, diamanti, penne, et bronchoni. Sopra il fregio et cornice da questa parte sopra lo arco era uno epitaphio di tal tenore. *SCOLA OMNIUM VIRTUTUM IN ECCLESIA DEI RENATA EST.* Et sopra lo epitaphio era una cornice, disopra di dua bellissimi Leoni, li quali tenevano l'arme della Sanctità de nostro Signore Leone x. Pont. Max. Di dentro allo arco tutto il suo cielo era fatto di rilievo compartito Palle, Regni, et Chiave, et da cisaschun canto dello arco era un quadro de pictura con figure bellissime, tra le quale in quello da man dextra era un Lauro, el quale oltra il suo piccolo seme, o frutto, producea certe palle in nelle quale in una che nel mezzo si vedea aperta, ne usciva un bambino piccolo con le mano giunte, pareva che uno angelo li figurato parlasse, et a piè del verdigante Lauro si vedeva molti homini et donne giovani et vecchi genuflexi stavano ad adoralo. Nell'altro da man stanca era figurato il Papa in habito Cardineo, sopra di una mula, et havea in compagnia soldati, et vedevasi quello gia a canto a una riva de un fiume, dove una piccola barcheta sopra de l'acqua si riposava, et vedevasi in aere sopra l'acqua un angelo che scacciava quelli che con arme in compagnia de lui erano. Dalla parte di fuora verso la piazza de Parione, lo arco senza lo antiporto in un medesimo modo era posto, excepto che sopra una delle colonne era posto una figura de rilievo, cioè un giovane armato con un scudo in braccio, dentrovi uu breve che dicea. *LIBERTAS.* et da l'altra banda una figura di donna che tenea in mano una grillanda di varii fiori, et era vestita tutta de bianco. Et lo epitaffio posto da questa banda dicea. *LEO X. PONT. MAX. OB REM LITTERARIAM RESTITUTAM QUIETEMQ. FUNDATAM.* Et passato il detto arco di qua et di la la strada, et di sopra era apparata di richissimi panni, et cosi in tanto gaudio pervenuto dalla casa dello Episcopo della Valle, era quivi davanti uno arco di laude, degno non per la sublime fabrica, ma per memoria delli antiqui Romani. Stava in questa forma; dalla banda de nanzi verso Parione da ogni banda del arco un pilamidone, et un pilastro

con suo capitello, et sopra di ciaschuno pilamidone era posto uno Phaunto di statura quanto uno homo giusto, di pietra marmorea, et ciaschuno havea sopra della testa una panierà di varii pomi piena, et erano statue antiche di tanta bellezza quanto dir se possino; sopra li capitelli de' pilastri era uno architrave, fregio, e cornicione, e sopra la Pontificale insegna; el cielo dello archio era de panni setuasi benissimo, et da l'una delle facce sotto lo archio era un Ganimede, et uno Apollo, et un Baccho statue marmoree antique, et certe teste bellissime pur antique; dal altra banda era una Venere, et un altro Baccho con certe teste pur antique. Dalla parte di fuora verso S. Marco stava como gia dalla prenarrata banda, excepto che le statue marmoree che erano sopra i pilamidoni in uno era un Mercurio, et in l'altro un Hercole puro antique, fu existimato bello adornamento solo per la admiratione delle cose antique. Procedendo allo honorato camino, al cantone della pillicciaria di verdura eravi un archio el quale per due versi che erano nel fregio non ho voluto preterirlo senza narrarli, li quali cosi resonavano. LEONI X. PONT. MAX. VIRTUTE DUCE COMITE FORTUNA, SALVA EST ROMA, et l'aloro dicea FACTA VIAM INVENERUNT. Cavalchato alquanto de qui per il suo camino davanti alla casa de Messer Evangelista de Rossi nobile patritio Romano, erano tante statue di marmo, Alabastri, et Porfidi, che valeano un thesoro, et per essere antique et belle mi è parso narrarne alquante. Prima vi vidi una Diana de Alabastro che proprio parlar volessi mi pareva, di poi un Neptuno con el tridente, uno Apollo col cavallo allato assai gratioso, un Marsia che lieto l'armonia sua sonava, una Latona con dui piccoli putti in braccio, un Mercurio con acto veloce, un fido Achate, un Bacco lieto, un mirabil Phebo, un vago Narciso, un Plutone, et un Tritolomo, con dui altre statue senza nome, tutte integre antiquissime et belle, con dodeci teste d' Imperatori, et de antiqui et famosi Romani. Sarebbe stato necessario più de uno corso volare a volere contemplare queste. Passato che fu cavalchando de uno in altro adornamento, et de pitture, et de panni volendo ciaschuno mostrare la alegrezza che dentro al core havea, mi pareva quel di ch'el Redemptore della humana natura andò in Hierusalem el di delle palme, et per iscambio de dire Osanna filii Davit, gridavano VIVA PAPA LEONE, et PALLE PALLE; et per cambio de ulivi et palmé, veste et panni per le strade si vedea, et cosi cavalchando pervennero alla desiata sede Lateranenese, et quivi fatto le ordinarie cerrimonie quale se usano fare alli altri Pontifici, fu lietamente nel Episcopato acceptato. Finite tutte lor cerimonie la sera del medesimo giorno ritornò al suo Palatio Apostolico, per la strada che viene a campo de fiore, con tutti li Cardinali, Episcopi, et Prelati che con lui andorno la matina, ma non con quelli habiti che portorno, cioe Paramenti, ma come alla loro usanza sogliono cavalchare. Et queste strade erano parate de panni et altri ornamenti, como quelle altre donde andò la mattina. Et essendo passato già la Cancellaria alla casa de Sauli merchanti Genovesi depositarii de Sua Santità, era uno archio da profundo ingenio erecto in questa forma. Erano nella faccia verso la Cancellaria dui pilamidoni, sopra de quali se ríposavano per ciaschuno, una bellissima columna con sua capitelli tenevano in mezo la entrata del archio, et sopra de capitelli uno Architrave innel quale in mezo al archio era una Arme del Papa con un verso di tal tenore. LEONI X. PONT. MAX. EXOPTATÆ TRANQUILITATIS NOVO SIDERI. Sopra questo architrave era un fregio, a jughi, diamanti et Leoni; et sopra questo uno Epitaphio che in tal modo dicea. NON DE CÆSORUM NUMERO FUSOVE CRUORE; SED DE SPERATA PACE TROPHEA DAMUS. Era posto sopra delle colonne, el cornicione sopra di due saltaretti dui figure

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figure de rilievo che l'uno rapresentava Numa Pompilio, et l'altro Antonio Pio, et sopra dello epitaphio una coronice, sopra della quale se riposavano dui Leoni, che teneano una Palla de oro in aere, sotto del archo nel suo celo ad octo anguli compartito, si vedea nel mezo in un octangulo una Arme del Papa, et in dui altri dalli canti in uno era un sacrificio fatto da dui Pastori che amazavano davanti uno altare un agnello, et in l'altro era un Mutio Scevola, che ancora la mano sopra el fuocho tenea, et innelli altri, varie et diverse fantasie. Lo octangulo del mezo dove era l'arme del Nostro Signore, al passare di esso si levò via, et di quello locho uscì una Palla, la qual se aperse, e eravi dentro un putto, che questi infra-scripti versi con audace animo et ilare fronte recitò.

Si fuerat dubium Superis an Regnia daretur,
 Ambiguum Princeps Optimus omne levat.
 Nam rebus nemo fessis adhibere salutem,
 Nec melius Medicus sciret habere manus.

Recitato li dicti versi la Palla se ritirò dentro, e l'Arme al luogo suo ritornò; era nelle facce sotto l'archo da ogni banda un quadro de pictura, nell uno de quali si vedea molti militi, et quelli portavano un candelabro sopravi molti fuochi. Et innel altro quadro da mano stanca era uno giovane sopra un carro triumphale tirato da dui bellissimoi corsieri con molti prigioni et spoglie de inimici, et militi assai. Di fuora innella parte che risguardava li banchi stava nel medesimo modo che habiamo descripto della faccia verso la Cancellaria, salvo che sopra delle colonne, in una delle quale era pur di rilievo una figura di Fabio Manlio, et sopra l'altra uno Scipione Africano, et verso dello Architrave, et quello dello Epitaphio dicea, come quelli che dall'altra banda habiamo scripto. Tale che passato questo archo, la notte cominciò ad aparire, tale che immediate dalle case et apoteche cominciorno a venire numero infinito di torce accense di cera bianca et gialla, talche più de dua milliarìa numerare se ne potea, et così cavalchando giunse all'altra parte del richo adornamento fatto fabricare dal soprascritto già Messer Johanni Zincha della Zeccha patrone, et quale si se univa con l'altra parte del archo fatta fare dalli nostri merchanti Fiorentini, et questo è la parte che lassamo della via Florida. Era come dalla via Pontificum dua colonne sopra delle quale era uno Architrave, un fregio con un cornicione sopra del quale come dall'altra banda stava l'arme del Papa, dello Imperatore, et del Re de Ungaria, et a lettere di oro nel fregio era scritto, LEONI X. PONT. MAX. et le medesime Arme dalla parte di dentro si vedeano, et un verso che dicea, LITERATORUM FAUTORI, questo portico che faceva compagnia al archo uno pareo fatto per ornamento di quello, perche da ogni banda se univa con lo Architrave fregio et cornicione del Archo, et era decorato con panni de raza, et haveva da ogni banda un tondo et dui ottangoli con pictura secondo che descriveremo. Dalla man dextra era in un tondo el Papa in un studio sopra di una cathedra; pareo che studiassi, et a questo tondo si li pendeva un breve di tal tenore; STUDIO VACANS. Nelli ottangoli che tenevano in mezo questo tondo eran le septe Arte liberale; in uno era Gramaticha, Logicha, et Rectoricha, et sottovi un breve così descripto. NON PAUPERES ATQUE NUDE ERIMUS AMPLIUS, TU ENIM QUI NOS COLIS DOMINUS FACTUS ES ORBIS. Innel altro era Aritmeticha, Musicha, Geometria, et Astronomia, et a questo tal breve sottovi era. MULTOS HABEMUS COMITES,

CUM

CUM DOMINUS OMNIUM NOSTER SIT COMES. Dal altra parte in mezzo de dui octanguli era dipinto il Papa, che pigliava denari de un vaso che li era porto, et davali a uno artifice mechanico, e sotto era tal brevicello. PECUNIAS EXPONAS. Nelli octo anguli erano le mechaniche arte picte, erano in uno il Lanificho, et la arte Fabrile, et uno Navigante, et di sotto tal breve attachatovi era. JACENTES ATQUE INERTES NON ERIMUS, DEINCEPS QUAM LARGITATEM TUAM CERNIMUS. Innelaltro octangulo era Agricoltura, la Venatione, et la Medicina; sottovi un tal breve. AUREA ERIS ROMA, QUIA OMNES ARTES SUUM EXERCENT OFFITIUM. Erano trame-rati i tondi dalli octanguli con diamanti, penne, jughi, bronconi, et Leoni. Passata la dicta consideratione si trovava sopra dui pilamidonì dui columne, le quale teneano in mezzo lo archò del qual debiam parlare con loro pilastri, architrave, fregio, et cornice, et innelli trian-guli del Archo era in uno la victoria adormentata, et in l'altro era uno Angelo con una palma in mano con una grillanda che pareva che la destassi, et intrando sotto l'archò nel suo cielo compartito ad octanguli, era in quello che veniva in mezzo la ornata Arme del Pontefice, et in quattro altri attorno era in uno la Fede, in l'altro la Speranza, in l'altro la Charità, in l'altro la Prudentia. Ne e di maraviglia alcuna se la maggior parte delli compartimenti delle cose sono state tutte fatte, o a tondi o octanguli, li tondi figurati Palle, e li octanguli per octo undeci notabili si trovano innella Sanctità di nostro Signore, li quali lassando li millesimi sono questi. La sua natività a di xi. di Dicembre el di di Sancto Damaso Papa, et a di xi. di Marzo (la vigilia di S. Gregorio Papa) da Innocentio VIII. fu fatto Cardinale. Et el di della dedicatione del Salvatore, a di nove di Novembre, per popolare movimento li sua cari Germani, della inclita Cita di Fiorenza si partirno, et lui dal distretto, el di de Sancto Martino a di xi. del sopradetto mese si se alontano. Et a di xi. de Aprile lungo tempo da poi (essendo da Julio II. Pont. Max. fatto Legato di Bologna per quella alla chiesa ridurre sendo con lo Hoste Spano a Ravenna) fu fatto prigionie delle gente Francesche. Et el di de Sancto Barnaba Apostolo, del mese di Giugno, per divino ajuto di Dio piu che mondana opera acioche quello fussi suo vicario lo libero. Et a di xi. di Settembre della nativa sua Cita Florida con gran pompa e gloria reintrod. Et a di xi. de Marzo fu publicato Pontifice. Et a di xi. de Aprile fu questa sua solenne coronatione. Mirabile certamente in mesi undeci liberato do Galli, tornato alla desiata patria, et creato Pontifice Max. Et pero uno mio commendate sotto li infrascripti versi compose, et in lo narrato Archo decoro.

Undecima eduxit LEONEM lux candida in orbem.

Et patribus sacris addidit Undecima.

Undecima existi patriæ confinibus exul.

Hostibus es sævis captus in Undecima.

Undecima exolvit nexus et Gallica vincla.

Nativas sedes reddidit Undecima.

Undecima e vatis Pastorem Curia solum

Te legit, et regnum firmat in Undecima.

Undecimum Vates numerum celebrate quotannis.

Carminibus cultis lux sonet Undecima.

Per tornare al nostro archò, era da ogni canto un quadro di pittura, in l'uno delli quali

si vedevano certi homini che havevano serpenti venenosi in mano, et dua giovane Donne a cavallo, con Arme inastate le quale assaltavano et amazavano li serpenti, et delli homini quali per terra morti, et quali in fuga si metevano. Et drieto a queste era dua donne a pie che dua trombe pareva sonassino. Nascea nel mezo di questo quadro un bellissimo Broncone elevato in aere, et sopravi la Dea della Justitia con la bilancia in mano senza spada, vedeasi sopra certi pogetti da ciascuna banda homini et donne che tutte stavano in acto admirativo. Innel altro quadro si vedea di pittura molti Astrologi con li loro libri, e astrolabii, et sphere, ma dormivano, et eravi tre infantuli con Palle in mano, pareva che giuchassino, et sopra questi putti era pitto un pilamidone, sopravi una columna con un Idolo in la sumitate che haveva dua Leoni a piedi; sopra el capitello della columna, et in sul piano del pilamidone eran picte due donne con dui baculetti in mano, et un Gallo che becchava sopra il pie di una delle donne, et l'una di quelle li tenea il baculetta sopra il collo, et l'altra che mesta pareva a sedere el becco li percoteva, et era da ogni banda intorno a questo Idolo homini et donne pur in acti admirativi, altro non era da considerare nel narrato arco. Passato il Papa con infiniti lumi ripassò l'arco de Augustino Chisi, et dal Casteliano, con suoni et tonitruoi de artiglieria quanto dire si puo, et cosi allegramente nel Borgo retornato, passato lo adornamento di Cecchotto nel suo Apostolico Palatio reintro; et cosi licentiate li Cardinali della Sacra Chiesa, et tutti li altri Prelati ciaschuno tornò alle loro habitatione et con fuochi et altri segni di alegrezza si mostrò lieto in tutta quella notte, in festa, suoni et canti. Et a me nel considerare le vedute Pompe et alte Magnificentie, me crede una volonta del Pontificale grado, che la notte mai possetti dormire senza riposarmi. Tal che piu non me maraviglio che questi Prelati tanto desiderino tale dignità. Perche io non credo che sia alcuno servitore che non volessi piu presto se Papa che il Patrone. Et per la fissa mia imaginatione a tale degnita, ponendomi a scriver, havendo la memoria debile, adesso che al fine della opera sono venuto, cognoscho havere lassato di dar notitia di molti nomi di Signori, Merchanti, et Parenti, et Amici del prefato Pontifice che alla cavalcao si trovorno. Priego la loro humanità vogliono perdonarmi, offerendomi a quelli che vi verranno a non minore gloria di Papa Leone ricordargli. Preghino Dio che li dia tanta vita che li Cardinali se troverano alle morte sua lo vegino vecchio, perche non mancherà materia alli Scriptori. Et cosi a quelli che nella cavalchata si ricordano, priego che per me preghino la Sanctità del N. S. Papa Leone, et sua Consorti et Amici, che questa calamitosa poverta, non mi habia piu ad angustiare tanto, quanto l'a fatto insino adesso. Et voi unica mia Patrona observandissima, scorta et mediatrice alli mia desiderii, humilissimamente con tutte le forze del cor mio mi yi raccomandando. Cognosco che questa storia vorrebbe essere stata decorata con altro parlare che'l mio rusticano, et con altri vocabuli piu limati, per la brevita del tempo et el mio poco ingegno non estato abastanza tanta opera. Accetterete in quella la mia buona affectione verso V. S. alla quale di nuovo mi raccomando.

VALETE ET PLAUDITE.

IDEM MAGISTER JOANNES JACOBUS DE PENNIS
 MEDICUS FLORENTINUS
Faciebat.

N^o. LXXI.*(Vol. ii. p. 176.)**Exempl. in Biblioth. Vatican.*

Janus Vitalis Castalius Doctissimo Pierio Valeriano S. D.

ME quoque cultissime Pieri, Sanctissimi LEONIS X. Pont. Opt. Max. Electio una cum omnium, et deorum et hominum letitia, maximo gaudio medullitus affecit. Quocirca non potui in tanta Vatum hilaritate non aliquod exultationis signum pro viribus præstare, quantum videlicet nostris juvenilibus lucubrationibus fieri potuit. Quod si aliquid calamo dignum inerit, acerbis adhuc annis, temporis inopie, ac nimie lætitiæ attribuas obsecro. Ne vero expectes a me artem ullam quam a vestri generis grege in primis expeti non sum nescius. Tanto enim, et tam commune omnium gaudio confusus, nullum ordinem servare potui. Tu igitur (nam tibi nuncupantur) hæc qualiacumque sint ingenioli mei monumenta (ut benignus es) accipe. Quæ si aliqua ex parte laudabuntur, certe quod tanto viro sint accepta, censerì poterunt. Proinde spero te duce me ad majora progressurum.

N^o. LXXI.

VALE Aonidum levamen.

Datum Roma iii. Id. April. M. D. XIII.

Janus Vitalis Castalius LEONEM X. P. M. Lateranen. Episcopatum ingredientem lætabundus admiratur.

Jam am novus in terras alto descendit Olympo
 Jupiter, et sancto lætatur martia vultu
 Roma, triumphales iterim ductura quadrigas.
 Sed tamen armorum cedat furor, impia cedant
 Prælia Mavortis, si quidem revocamur ad illa
 Secula, Cumæis præcognita vocibus aurea,
 Secula, queis nunquam majus sonuere Poetæ
 Ausonii: patribus assurgit Romula Thuscis
 Pompa: genusque suum, et veteres agnoscit honores,
 Unde urbem, proceresque auxit, gentemque togatam.
 Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.
 Felicem patriam! felices Principe tanto
 Hunc populum! hosque patres! felicia mænia Romæ!
 Felicem Italiam! et terrarum quicquid ubique est!
 Nam quæ monstra prius totum furibunda per orbem
 Irruerant, cædes, incommoda, damna, rapinas,
 Omnibus intulerant, mansueti hac fronte Leonis,
 Territa cesserunt, atque exanimata repente
 Proripuerunt fugam, in Stygium raptata Baratrum.
 Quique prius morbi ingruerant mortalibus aegris
 Luce Leonini pelluntur Apollinis alma;
 Datque salutiferos passim Medicina liquores,
 Non Aloe tristis, non succis improba amaris:
 Dulcior Ambrosia sed enim est ac nectare dulci.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Ipsum hunc namque tui poscebant jure quirites ;
 Ipsum hunc Italia, et terrarum quicquid ubique est,
 Non ausi sperare unquam tam grandia dona,
 Quæ videre prius quam spes foret ulla petendi.
 Qualis ubi ad gelidos fontes, laticesque sonantes,
 Improvisus adest, praeda lassatus, et arcu,
 Venator liquidis rabiem positurus in undis.
 Ergo agite, atque focos, et lumina festa per urbem,
 Læti incendamus, lectosque crememus odores ;
 Cuncta sonent cantu, vincantur lumine noctes ;
 Stellarum passim radiosque, facesque micantes,
 Æthera per tractusque poli jaculemur ovantes ;
 Atque omni sonet ore Leo, Leo cantibus unus
 Emodulandus adest. Leo sit vox omnibus una.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis :

Non hunc terra tulit, non hunc genuere parentes
 Mortali de gente sati, descendit Olympo
 Tale genus, licet humana sub veste videre
 Immortale bonum, sanctum, et venerabile numen.
 Te regnantē cadent fraudes, neque non mala mentis
 Gaudia : simplicitas imprimis pura vigebit.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Non opus est armis, nutu superabitur hostis,
 Si quis erit : sed quis tam barbarus, atque malignus,
 Ut contra ire paret ? non Maurus et accola Syrtis,
 Non Babylon, non Persa ferox, non dira furentum
 Pectora Turcarum valeant sævire, nec iras
 In te acres movisse unquam, licet improba cunctos
 Vexet avaritia, atque pii sitibunda cruoris
 Gens rabiāt, queratque Italos populare penates.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Qui si unquam fors tale nefas tentare parabunt,
 Sunt animi, atque viri, et congesta pecunia, et auri,
 Argentique ingens pondus, sunt arma, ducesque,
 Magnanimusque Leo, imprimis quem diligit ipse,
 Ipse Deus, Deus ipse. Leo tibi vincula, Turce,
 Exitiumque feret ; jam nostra excedere terra
 Bizantique oris meditare, et linquere pontum.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Thracia debetur nobis, spatiosa Propontis
 Nostra fuit, nostrisque venit nunc obvia regnis.
 Tuque Asia ampla, tuos ritus antiquaque sacra
 Jamdudum aspicias, pietas est tanta Leonis.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Nunc erit in pretio virtus, nunc digna labori
Præmia, et ingenuis nunc artibus ampla parantur
Munera; quid resides animi torpetis? ab' alto
Jamdudum somno consurgite, Concitat omnes
Nunc Leo: sat vitiis, sat fœdè, et turpiter ausis
Indultum: nunc regna sibi tenet unica Virtus.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

O tandem, O longo post tempore secula nobis
Aurea nascentur; nullo poscente colono,
Matris Eleusinæ fruges, et palmite pleno,
Decerpet dulces uvas, et dona Lyæi;
Mella dabunt sentes, sudabunt robora Amomum.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

O felix patriæ dominus, nunc urbis, et orbis;
Quæ tam, quæ fausta, et felix concordia cætus,
Cardinei, studiis qui tam concordibus unum
Te juvenem patribus cunctis, tantoque senatu,
Preposuere: ultroque tibi dixere, jubetis:
Rex tu noster eris: tali tu stemmate dignus.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Sâncte Pater, hominum reverentia, cura deorum,
Spes miserûm, lux clara hominum: decus atque deorum,
Aspice nos: felixque pias ne desere Musas.
Solutus ab Aoniis semper cantande Camœnis.
Tu vero, Pater alme hominum, Pater alme deorum,
Sydera qui tractusque maris, terrasque jacentes
Arbitrio regis immenso, et mortalia secla
Sponte tua reficis, truncas, multosque per annos,
Producis, nec fata tibi ullam imponere legem
Audent, his hominum precibus moveare precantur:
Dum sic intenti spectant placida ora Leonis,
Longos esse dies Decimo, multosque per annos
Da Decimo prodesse ægris mortalibus, atque
(Quod cupit) humanum genus instaurare medela.
Quam tulit, e summo per te demissus Olympo.

FELICITER.

Mariangelus Accursius.

Cui nova Semiferi tetrica sub arundine fama
Contigit, ore novo dum canit ad Cytharam:
Mirantur Minixæ juvenem præclara moventem,
Orphea majorem qui prius audierant.
Hic quoque quod juvenis, quod nomina clara Leonis,
Ore novo exultat, læta per arva lyra;

No. LXXI.

Quis non quod tetrica modulatur arundine Carmen,
Miratus dicat, spem fore Roma tuam ?

Franciscus Aquila Beneventanus.

Cervice inflexa celestis claviger aulae,
Qui vidit Eoas, Hesperiasque plagas :
Templa dedit Latio, et primum celestibus aras,
Instituitque sacris thura Sabea focis.
Castalii Vates hic Janus janitor antri,
Atque Hyppocrenis nectar ab inde ferens
Pontificis primum canit iste Leonis honores :
Quo cingat meritum terna corona caput.
Si qua parte huc usque cavæ viguere tenebræ :
Obscurum lustrat nunc Cynosura locum.

No. LXXII.

(Vol. ii. p. 184.)

Guidi Postumi Silvestri Eleg. lib. i. p. 4.

AD MANES ALEXANDRI ET JULII PONT. DE LEONE X. P. OPT. MAXIMO.

No. LXXII.

IMMITES Sexti manes, manesque Secundi,
Dira quibus cordi prælia semper erant,
Per quorum gladios, et adhuc Latium ossibus albet,
Quin matrum gemitus nunc quoque ferre grave est ;
Audistisne precor quo successore, renata est,
Ipsa sibi a vestro terra recepta metu ?
Audistis reor, ac magni decora alta Leonis
Vobis perpetui vulneris instar erunt.
Quot rogo nunc animas istuc tranare videtis,
Quas ferri abstulerit ambitiosus Amor ?
Imperjuratæ requievit portitor undæ,
Scilicet, atque suum nunc leve sentit onus.
Iste Deus noster sceleri dedit ocia vestro,
Supremam bellis imposuitque manum ;
Quasque coegistis rixarum et cædis in usus,
Ingeniis meritas usque refundit opes.
Sæcla deditque, annis non visa prioribus, heu, quæ
Sospitibus vobis ferrea semper erant.
Christe potens rerum, tuque illius innuba Mater,
Quæ Capitolini verticis alta tenes,
Et Vaticanæ pater ac vetus accola rupis
Petre, Palæstino proxima cura Jovi,
Diique Deæque omnes, quibus esse vel infima cordi,
Nunc Leo, qui vestro est de grege, signa dedit,

Ne

Ne revocate precor stellis, sed perstet in ævum,
 Cernitis hoc mundi quod superesse caput,
 Sunt modo apud superos tot millia multa piorum,
 Hoc sinite oro homines numen habere suum,
 Vobiscum est Janus, vobiscum mater Elissa,
 Vobiscum est Hiero qui triplici ore tonet,
 Vobiscum est vestræ Paulus tutela coronæ,
 Proque polis, stricto stat ferus ense pater.
 Sit qui vos doceat cœlo imperitare sereno,
 Nec vana populos credulitate capi,
 Sit quoque divitiis qui nesciat orbis abuti,
 Sed bene partitas cum Jove servet opes.
 Sit quo confugiat rectum, probitasque fidesque,
 Qui grave quondam alio sub duce crimen erant.
 Quod si unquam hunc, cœlum nobis inviderit olim,
 (Quantum etiam Pylios vixerit ante dies)
 Aut tunc rectorem nullum, dominumque feremus,
 Flebilis et nullo præside mundus erit,
 Aut vestrum huc aliquem flendo eliciemus ab astris,
 Assueti vestro de grege habere ducem.

 No LXXIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 185.)

Bemb. Ep. Pont. lib. i. Ep. 18.

JULIANO MEDICI FRATRI, FLORENTIAM.

EX tuis literis intellexi, te a Legato istius reipub. atque tuo, qui apud Ludovicum Regem Gallorum est, certiore esse factum, de summi Pontificis munere mihi credito Regem illum magnam lætitiâ cepisse, deque me multa gravissimis amantissimisque verbis fuisse loquutum. Quæque idem Rex de te cum illo egerit summa cum tua dignitate & illustri testificatione amoris erga te sui, quantumque tibi tribuerit, libentissime cognovi. Jucunda etiam mihi fuit voluntas, quam præ te fers, gratum te ei atque memorem illius in te benevolentia ostendendi: rationesque tuæ, quibus me de tractanda pace uti cogitem hortaris, multæ illæ quidem prudenterque collectæ, mihi magnopere probantur. Quibus de rebus omnibus hoc te primum scire volo, nullam me ad rem tam pronam tamque propensam esse, quam ad omnium Christianorum Principum animos sanctissimis concordia vinculis colligandos, inter seque conglutinandos: nihil plane tam cupere, quam pacem. Quam quidem si pacem omni tempore humiliorique in fortuna summopere concupivi, cujus tu meæ voluntatis optimus atque locupletissimus esse testis potes: certe nunc Pontifex Maximus, cum Christi vicarium gero, qui pacis fons atque autor pacem hominibus diligentissime commendavit, multo magis eam velle, multo curare impensius debeo. Neque mea a memoria excidit, quantum Rex te amaverit, cum in Galliam turbulentis illis nostris temporibus te contulisses,

No. LXXIII.

contulisses, quoque loco apud se habuerit: quanta semper etiam in Gallorum reges cum patriæ, tum familiæ in primis nostræ observantia extiterit: in qua manere te, modo cum dignitate fiat, non solum volumus, sed etiam optamus. Eorundem Regum quanta fuerint in rem Romanam merita, quanta hujus ipsius, non sum oblitus. Ipse quoque, si per illum non steterit, omnia ei paterna officia, ita sum præstaturus, ut quæ tu, quæ familia nostra reliqua illi debet, etiam persolvere videamur voluisse. Quod si, ut scribis, ejus animus ea quæ recta sunt cogitat, facile & ipsi inter nos conveniemus, & tu, quæ vis hac in re, quæque optas, assequere, tuamque apud me auctoritatem, tuas cohortationes plurimum valuisse cognosces. Unum illud cogitare te est æquissimum, ut quoniam Rex te internuncio uti apud nos voluit, non tu illum minus ad bene de nobis merendum tuis literis excites, quam me ad illum amantissime complectendum es cohortatus. Extremum est, de quo te Regem certiorum facere plane volo, ut intelligas me daturum operam, ut illum de pontificatu meo gavisum fuisse, numquam poeniteat: præsertim si æquas atque honestas, hoc est, cum hujus reipub. majestate conjunctas pacis conditiones proponet. Datis prid. Cal. April. M. D. XIII. Anno primo. Roma.

No. LXXIV.

*(Vol. ii. p. 187.)**Sadoleti Ep. Pont. No. 10, Rom. 1759.*

REGI FRANCORUM.

No. LXXIV.

DILECTE Fili. Postquam nobis renuntiatum fuit, dilectum filium Bartholomæum de Alviano, quem antea Majestas tua sub diuturna custodia retinuerat, a te propemodum restitutum esse in libertatem, latioresque illi, & liberiores fines ad vagandum esse concessos; quamquam illi forti viro, nobisque multis rationibus conjuncto, omnia semper optavimus, quæ illius commodum honestatemque attingerent, tamen in hoc tuo facto, non minus in gerendo modus, quam ipsa res gesta nobis lætitiæ ac jucunditati fuit. Sic enim ad nos fuit allatum; te, cum ultro admonente nemine, illius liberandi mentem induxisses, tum addidisse, nostra præsertim causa te & sedulo, & libenter id facere; ut quem nobis gratum esse intelligeres, omni indignitate custodiæ liberares. Hæc tua singularis, & regia liberalitas a nobis intellecta, facile declaravit cum magnitudinem animi tui, tum erga nos optimam voluntatem, quorum alterum commendatione atque laude, alterum grata tanti officii memoria prosequimur. Quod si ii sumus, qui quidem esse cupimus; ut imitatione Salvatoris nostri nihil majoris æstimemus, quam bonam voluntatem, potes existimare, nos tuum hoc non mediocre munus, non solum hominis nobis cari, atque grati nostra causa liberati, sed multo magis animi tui adversum nos in optimam partem spectati & cogniti, pari aliquando munere, cum Dominus dederit, repensuros. Illud quidem interea Majestati tuæ significandum duximus, hoc tuum beneficium in hominem esse collatum dignum tua omni humanitate, non modo propter virtutem, & fortitudinem, verum etiam propter fidem atque constantiam. Quacumque enim tibi conditione fidem suam obstrinxerit, in ea eum certe confidimus permansurum esse. Datum Romæ, anno primo.

SADOLETUS.

No.

N^o. LXXV.

(Vol. fi. p. 188.)

Sadoleti Ep. Pontif. N^o. 11, Ed. Romæ 1759.

LUDOVICO FRANCORUM REGI.

DILECTE Fili. Ex eis litteris, quas Julianus de Medicis noster secundum carnem germanus ab Oratore Florentinorum, qui apud Majestatem tuam Legati officio fungitur, ad se scriptas nobis misit, intelleximus id, quod nobis maximæ lætitiæ ac jucunditati fuit, inducias inter te, & carissimos filios nostros Ferdinandum Aragoniæ, & Siciliæ Regem Catholicum ad annum factas, in quibus Massimilianus electus Romanorum Imperator, & Henricus Angliæ, & Jacobus Scotorum Reges, aliique nonnulli Principes comprehenderentur, pactaque ac capitula, quæ inter vos convenissent, ad nos missa studiose legimus. In quibus illud optimum, & sanctissimum exordium (vos scilicet idcirco laborare, ut, ad unitatem Christiani nominis conficiendam, sanguinisque fidelium nimis diu, ac largiter effusi rationem habendam, perfidosque Turcas comprimendos, ut sepulchrum Domini nostri Jesu Christi aliquando ex impiis infidelium manibus eripiat, viam nobis, atque aditum aperiat) nostrum animum ita affecit, ut sublatis continuo in cælum manibus Deo omnipotenti gratias infinitas ageremus, qui diuturnas Christianorum inter se discordias, & dissensiones, in viam aliquando speratæ atque exoptatæ pacis perduceret. Itaque in tantam spem venimus concordiæ universalis constituendæ, ut vix gaudii nostri atque lætitiæ modum inveniremus. Nam, si, dum in minoribus essemus, quantum potuimus semper, non solum consilio atque sententia, sed votis precibusque institimus, ut arma inter Fideles Principes ponerentur, adversus impios sumerentur; postquam illius providentia sine cujus nutu, ne folium quidem in arbore moveri credimus, in hunc altissimum gradum sumus eveci, quid nos agere, aut quantum hujus rei causa laborare oportet, non solum nostro perpetuo iudicio ac desiderio accensos, sed etiam Dei ipsius maximo beneficio obligatos? Hanc tamen, ut vere fateamur, spem nostram, lætitiâque conceptam, illud imminuit, quod sequebatur, Majestatem eandem tuam a domesticis periculis vacuum tandem & liberam, conversuram arma ad Italiam, suumque jus, ita enim scribitur, in suis rebus ablati, bello recuperandis persecuturam, neque existimaturam in eo, aut cuiquam injuriam, aut nobis molestiam aliquam posse inferri. Denique (ea enim aliquantum a supradicto capitulorum exordio discrepabant) non omnino Majestas tua velle arma deponere, sed potius transferre videbatur, ut cum una ex parte, otio, & quieti tuæ prospexisses, libentius altero bello indulgeres. Sed per summi Dei bonitatem, & erga te beneficentiam, qui tibi tantum potentiæ et dignitatis tribuit, ut populo suo fideli defendendo, ac conservando esset aptior; confer te parumper in eam curam, & cogitationem, ut intelligas, si arma tibi tantopere placeant, longe honoratiorem & gloriosiore militiam a te expectari. Nam in rebus quidem Italiæ, si quemadmodum credimus, a jure, & æquitate discedere non cogitas, quanto facilior ratio atque explicatior ad tuum jus perveniendi, per viam tractatus, & honorificæ compositionis proponitur; in qua nos utilitatem, & commoditatem tuam non modo adjuvare, sed omni nostro studio, quantum cum Domino & justitia poterimus, procurare sumus parati: neque id solum com-

N^o. LXXV.

modo,

No. LXXV.

modo, sed honori etiam tuo atque existimationi vehementer consulere: per vim vero, atque arma rem velle gerere, tumultusque denuo maximos concitare, non solum a Dei voluntate alienum longe esse, sed etiam ab optimi Regis dignitate. Ac nos quidem, quoniam in memoria versantur ea, quæ tot annos continuos magno cum dolore vidimus, misera, & calamitosa detrimenta Italiæ, nihil mirum est, si & pro pastorali officio, quod sustinemus, & pro amore patriæ, cui tanquam homines, & non ingrati alumni affecti sumus, metu impendentium malorum commovemur. Vidimus enim, nec commemorare possumus sine dolore, maximas sæpe cædes, atque strages Christianorum fieri, virginibusque, & matronis nefariam vim inferri, urbes non paucas prædæ gladiisque subjici, templa Deo immortalis consecrata, sanguine & acerbissimis rapinis violari; quæ talia, & tam acerba qui perpessi sunt, perpetuum mœrorem, qui vero egerunt, brevem adepti sunt lætitiã. Atque hæc si iterum expectanda, & perpetienda essent, quæ armis rursus commotis, instare, & imminere necesse esset, sane miseram, & calamitatibus nimium addictam existimaremus esse Italiam, quæ cum propter nobilitatem, & principem inter omnes nationes Imperii ac veræ Religionis gloriam, immunis omnium malorum esse deberet; tantis ultra cladibus, & calamitatibus est afflicta, ut nihil addi ad deteriorem conditionem posse videatur. Quare iis omnibus rebus adducti, & quæ dictat nobisque inspirat maximus auctor pacis, & charitatis Deus, tibi quoque persuadere cupientes, Majestatem tuam quanto possumus studio, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri adhortamur, & enixe oramus, ut suum Christianissimum nomen cogitet, velitque sua in Deum pietate, nostraque erga ipsum benevola & propensa voluntate, imitari illum summum Regem, qui se inter cetera nomina pacificum appellari voluit; armisque omissis sibi periculosis, Italiæ perniciosis, legitimam juris, & honestissimam compositionis viam persequi: in qua nos illi non modo æquitatem nostram, si eam requisierit, sed etiam benevolentiam paratam fore promittimus, ut intestinis inimicitiiis dimissis, ea consilia quæ inchoata sunt omnino communis concordie conciliandæ, sanctissimique in crudelissimos Christi hostes belli suscipiendi ad debitum, & optatum finem perducantur. Quibus nostris paternis, & amantissimis monitis si Majestas tua animum adhibuerit, cum ceteris quoque Principibus agere non cessabimus, ut hujusmodi optatæ pacis societate, non solum Italia, sed omnes, quæ ubique crucem Christi agnoscunt gentes nationesque conjungantur. Datum Romæ anno primo.

SADOLETUS.

No. LXXVI.

*(Vol. ii. p. 190.)**Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. i. Ep. 23.*

HENRICO REGI BRITANNIÆ.

No. LXXVI.

ET si ea, quæ de tua religione atque in hanc rempub. nosque ipsos propensa præstantique voluntate, deque tuis plurimis egregiisque virtutibus Episcopus Wigorniensis Legatus tuus quotidie commemorat, mihi per se gratissima jucundissimaque sunt, tamen illa ipsa gratiora

tiora etiam & jucundiora efficit ejusdem oratoris probitas, prudentia, virtus, atque is, quo illum amplexus magnopere sum, amor charitasque mea prope singularis. Itaque cum de eo, quæ volo, quæque de Rege præstantissimo magnæque spei adolescente possunt dici libenter exaudio, tum propterea quod ab homine nobis amicissimo & virtute prædito tuæ virtutes prædicantur, uberiorem ea res nostram eam voluptatem facit. Spem enim capio fore, ut quoniam animi tui magnitudinem atque præstantiam, cum egregia in Deum Opt. Max. pietate et in Romanos Pontifices observantia maxime conjunctam & consociatam esse intelligo, & tu de tuis virtutibus uberrimos jucundissimosque fructus, & Christiana respub. de te magnos proventus, egregia incrementa, illustres utilitates sit perceptura. Quam te in cogitationem incumbere noctes atque dies decet, ut in ista adolescentia florentique tua ætate, ea fundamenta jacias virtutis & probitatis tuæ, quibus reliqua ætas omnis egregie præclareque nitatur. Quod erit, si in hujus Pontificatus observantia non modo permanebis, sed etiam in dies singulos magis magisque te accendes ad ejus dignitatem, majestatem, gloriam & tuendam, & augendam. Id cum, ut spero, ipse feceris, curabo profecto ego, enitarque ut ea tibi a me ornamenta proficiscantur, quibus lætari facile possis te ejusmodi cogitationes suscepisse. Hæc autem, atque his longe plura, deque mea non solum spe, sed etiam erga te mente, quamquam multa cum oratore tuo egerim, in meas tamen etiam ad te literas partem eorum aliquam facile conjeci, ut tibi ipse omnia de me paterna officia polliceri uberius, & cumulatus posses. Reliquum est ut intelligas, eundem ipsum oratorem tuum, quem tum etiam, cum fortuna leviori nitebamur, unice semper dileximus, nunc, quia is egregiam tibi singularemque operam præstat, a nobis etiam impensius amari; ejus enim & prudentiam atque agendis rebus probitatem cognitam perspectamque habuimus jam inde ab illis temporibus cum is viri clarissimi Patris tui istiusque Regni res negotiaque procurabat summa atque mirifica diligentia: & postea ex adversis ejus turbulentisque rebus, quæ sunt illa tempora consequutæ, magnam molestiam cepimus: utque hominis plane probi & nobis amicissimi ægre molesteque tulimus illam calamitatem. Quas ob res atque causas omnes cum eum tibi esse charissimum existimem, illud magnopere cupio, ut mea commendatione tibi sit etiam charior, omnibusque in rebus, quæ ad ejus dignitatem pertinebunt, quibus in rebus ei aspirare provehereque illum possit aura studii & favoris tui, quæ quidem res erunt semper plurimæ atque maximæ, & fidem illius erga te, & meam in illum benevolentiam charitatemque recordere. Dat. tertio Non. April. M. D. XIII. Roma.

Nº. LXXVII.

(Vol. ii. p. 197.)

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. iv. Ep. 1.

HELVETIIS, LIBERTATIS ECCLESIASTICÆ
DEFENSORIBUS, FÆDERATIS NOSTRIS.

EQUIDEM cum in ea victoria, quam superioribus diebus maximam estis atque clarissimam consequuti, unum illud vel pro naturæ meæ sensu & lenitate, vel pro credito mihi

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communis

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N^o.
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communis Parentis atque Pontificis munere doluerim, tantum scilicet humani sanguinis effusum esse, tantam Christianorum hominum manum tamque fortem cecidisse: valde tamen vehementerque lætor, vos, qui Ecclesiæ Romanæ libertatem defendendam tuendamque suscepistis, vestros & ejusdem libertatis hostes fugavisse, propeque delevisse. Qua ex re magna vos gloria magnæque utilitates sunt subsequutæ. Neque enim minorem ex vestris commodis, honoribus, incrementis, voluptatem capio, quam par est Patrem capere in optimorum & charissimorum filiorum prosperis felicibusque rebus. Illud etiam me voluptate magnopere afficit, quod qui legitimam Dei sponsam vexare, non sutilemque Christi tunicam scindere sunt aggressi, quos quidem, antequam in eam cogitationem atque scelus animum induxissent, omnium rerum gloria florere videbamus, ut primum se malis conatibus dederunt, infeceruntque schismaticis pravitatibus, execrationumque Julianarum justissimis vocibus tacti percussique sunt, statim illis amare omnia infeliciterque ceciderunt: partaque ab ipsis gloria simul cum Regno, ad eos qui aut Ecclesiæ Romanæ parent, aut eam tuentur, facile transiit. Quibus de rebus omnibus ago maximas Immortali Optimoque Deo gratias, agamque dum vivam, qui abalienatos a se, desciscentesque respuit; suos, aut jacentes sublevat, aut stantes non deserit. Vos autem, quos idem Deus suæ voluntatis esse ministros voluit, charissimos animoque meo sensibus omnibus plane habeo conjunctissimos. Neque vos moveant improborum voces, quæ, ut intelligo, jactantur temere illæ quidem atque injuste, nos reliquosque fœderatos nostros compositis & pacatis rebus, vestrum præterea nomen vestramque benevolentiam non curaturos. Nam me quidem ab eo fœdere, quod mihi vobiscum est, quoad vos non pœnitebit, nihil profecto abducat. Quin illud etiam dies noctesque cogito ac verso, quonam vos pacto cum omnibus fœderatis mihi Regibus ac populis, conjunctos facere atque fœderatos possim: ut & securiores esse, majori fulti præsidio possitis, et eorum omnium adjumento & conspiratione ornatiore. Quod Dei benignitate brevi futurum confido. Itaque hoc sic habetote, ut de mea prona propensaque ad vos amandos ornandosque voluntate, studio, benevolentia, vobismet ipsi omnia polliceamini, quæ expectari possunt ab hujus reipublicæ præfecto, vestri nominis amantissimo. Hortor autem vos, planeque a vobis etiam atque etiam peto & postulo; ut quemadmodum adhuc quidem egregie laudabiliterque fecistis, seduci vos abalienarique a nobis quorundam malevolorum artibus posthac ne permittatis: sed contra erigatis potius, diligentiamque vestram ea in re etiam adaugeatis. Quibus de rebus omnibus Ennius Episcopus Verulanus aget vobiscum latius. Data prid. Jul. Anno primo. Roma.

N^o. LXXVIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 197.)

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. iii. Ep. 1.

MAXIMILIANO MARIAE MEDIOLANENSIVM DUCI.

N^o.
LXXVIII.

ALLATUM est, Helvetios pro tua ditionisque tuæ propugnatione, cum Gallis apud Novariam conflixisse, eosque superavisse, ac prope ad internitionem pulsos fugatosque redigisse.

gisse. Ea res tametsi propter occisorum magna numerum, qui quidem Christianæ reipublicæ esse usui aliquando potuissent, meum animum dolore admodum perculit; tamen pro tua in nos observantia & meo in te tuosque omnes veteri singularique amore magnopere gavisus sum, qui te de statu rerum tuarum deturbare atque expellere sunt aggressi, eorum conatus cogitationesque non solum irritas & inanes fuisse, sed ipsis etiam insignem cladem attulisse. Cujus quidem eventus atque victoriæ Deo Opt. Max. qui te tueri atque defendere voluit, gratias agere, tantorumque beneficiorum summam illi acceptam referre te in primis decet: ut pius in illum esse, ac dignus eo munere maxime fuisse videare. Quod quidem fiet, si duci efferrique te victoriæ dulcedine non sines, neque statues eos omnes, qui contra te aliquid conati sunt, usquequaque velle te perdere ac persequi. Quam in cogitationem ut incumbas, lenissimeque agas, eodem illo meo in te amore benevolentiaque admonitus vel potius impulsus te rogo, & quidem valde rogo; atque ut si quid a quoquam erratum peccatumque est (est autem fortasse a multis) venia id magis, quam vindicta dignum existimes a te peto. Sic enim melius eorum, qui abalienati sunt, animos tibi benevolos reddes, neque infirmabis ullam rerum tuarum partem. Qui enim potes in ullos animadvertere, quin ditionis tuæ homines mulctes ac punias? quod si sæpe facias, tuas ipsius opes debilitaveris. Accidet enim id, quod esse tibi exploratissimum debet, ut minus multa perficias, cum timore, non benevolentia, erunt negocia constituenda. Extremum illud adjungitur, quod quidem haud scio an omnium primum atque maximum sit: quod si parces multis, si veniam pluribus dabis, imitatus Dominum fueris, qui tibi vires subministravit ad tui nominis hostes fugandos atque propulsandos. Nihil enim illo mitius, nihil injuriarum minus retinens, nihil ad parcendum, ad miserandum pronius atque profusius unquam fuit. Quamobrem redeo ad illud, ut te amantissime hortor, ut tua victoria quam moderatissimo quamque lenissimo animo utare. Quod si feceris, neque aures malevolis hominibus præbueris, id quod solet esse difficillimum efficiēs, prudentiamque cum fortuna conjunges. Dat. III. Id. Jun. Anno I. Roma.

 No. LXXIX.

(Vol. ii. p. 198.)

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. iii. Ep. 2.

RAIMUNDO CARDONÆ PROREGI NEAPOLIS.

HELVETIORUM contra Gallos victoria de qua nuncij nuper ad me sunt allati, non solum propter Maximiliani Insubrum Ducis incolumitatem fortunasque eo prælio restitutas plane atque confirmatas, sed etiam quia tu pro illo laborasti, mihi gratissima atque jucundissima accidit. Quanquam sane tot fortes homines, tot claros viros tantam tamque bellicosam manum, quæ quidem reipublicæ Christianæ dignitatem tueri facile propagareque potuisset, funditus periisse non molestissime ferre non potui. Pacem enim maxime, non bella, hominumque in Deum pietatem, non jacturam Christiani sanguinis, aut prælii dimicationem cupere singuli exoptareque debemus. Quoniam autem ad Maximilianum dedi

No. LXXIX.

N^o. LXXIX. literas, quibus literis hortatus eum sum, ne omnes illos, qui aliquid in se conati molitive sunt, dignos putaret quos usque ad internitionem persequeretur: peto abs te, quem quidem scio plurimum apud ipsum valere, ut autoritate tua studium meum juves, ostendasque ei nihil esse vero Principe dignius nihil omnino laudabilius placabilitate, lenitate, misericordia: nihil contra detestabilius inclementia, iracundia, crudelitate. Itaque velit injuriarum oblivisci, mitemque se atque flexibilem ad humanitatem præbere, ut & dignus eo munere, & optimi tranquillique animi, atque in primis Deo grati esse maxime videatur, suorumque populorum non tam fortunas, quam etiam animos possidere, eis amicissimis & benevolentissimis uti possit. Id si feceris, & ipsi optime consulueris, & certe mihi, qui summa illum benevolentia sum complexus, quietemque & multorum finem laborum cum omnibus tum illis maxime populis aliquando tandem dari cupio, feceris gratissimum. Data tertio Id. Jun. Anno primo. Roma.

N^o. LXXX.

(Vol. ii. p. 201.)

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. p. 50.

Ad Regem Litera Cardinalis Eborum, super Victoria in Conflictu communiter vocato, LA JOURNEE D'ESPERONS, super Indulto nuper Papæ in manibus Cardinalis Sinagalensis deposito, super Reductione Scismaticorum Cardinalium, & de Imperatore movendo pro Pace cum Venetis.

PLEASE IT YOUR GRACE,

N^o. LXXX. THE Fifth Day of this Month the *Poppis Holinis* was advertised from oon Ambassadour of the Florentynes, Resident at the Fransshe Court, upon *Your Grace* late Conflict with th' Ennymyes of the Churche, and the manner of Your moste Victorious Tryumphe obtenyde against the same; whiche was unto *his Holines* and all odir *Your Grace's* Frenδες Lovers and Servaunttes here marvalous grette Joye and Comforthe, and surelie unto your Ennymyes in this Courtt no lesse Paine and Discourage.

Uppon the Morrowe next aftur I went unto the *Cardinall Sinogalen*, desyring him, in *Your Grace's* Name, for to have deliverde unto Me the *Breve*, that *Youre Grace* knowthe of, putt into his keeping for *Your Highnes* by the Blessed Memorye of *Pope Julye* according to the said *Popis* Commandement:

He answered me that nodre he is ne ever was of oder mynde but that *Your Grace* shulde have it uppon the accomplishyng of such Conditions as be compriside in the same, which he grauntithe that nowe *Your Grace* most noblie and with moost glorious Victorie hath fullfillide; Albeit he saithe that, because the said *Breve* is of so greate and so weightie Importance, apperteignyng the perpetuall Honour of so Highe and Myghtie a Prince he durste no be so boulde as to deliver itt from his Hands unto ony leving Creatour without speciall

speciall Commandement yeven unto hym from *Your Grace* in Writing; whiche hade, he saithe, he will with all his Hartt and Mynde deliver itt unto Me for *Your Gracis* Bihove and Honour, soo he grauntith that the said *Poope Julie* commaunded hym, he praithe *Your Grace* to latt itt be noo otherwise shewide butt that Ye hade the saide Breve in Youre Haundes in *Pope July's* Days, he wolde nott that the *Popis Holines* that nowe is shulde in ony manner knowe the contrary.

And, standing that *his Holines* hath Confirmyde all such Indulties and Graces as the said *Pope Julie* did Graunte unto *Your Grace*, whereof this said *Breve* is oon and moost of Gravite, Me semyth *Your Highnes* may right honourabilie and condignlie desire of *his Holines* speciall Confirmation of the said *Breve* in more ample maner *under Leade*; whiche I truste verali nodre he will ne convenyently may denye.

I sende unto *Your Grace*, with thies Presenttes, a Lettre from my said *Lorde Cardinall Sinogalen*, writen with his own haunde, uppon his loving contynuyde good Mynde and Woll towards *Yor Grace* in the Premysse.

If it may stonde withe *Your Graces* Pleasour, att convenyent tyme, aftyr youre receptt of the said *Breve*, to Yeve unto hym some Promotion more or lesse in recompence of his trewe and feithfull demenour towardis your *said Grace* in this Bihalf, I thinke that nat onlie it should grettlie redunde unto your Honour, but also retcigne hym evir to contynewe as oone of *Your Gracis* moste kynd and loving Frenedes during his Lyve.

After that thies Newes afforesaide ware dyvulgate in the Citie here, th' Ambassadour of Venyce, being here Resident, desiride Me withe grett instance moste humblelie to besiche *your Grace* uppon thare bihalfe, that, stoundyng that *th' Emperour* is now present with *Your Grace*, ye woll wiche save to move his Majestic for some goode and indifferent Peace to be establashide betwixt the Same and Them; He depeched a Curious straightlie unto their Signorie with writing uppon this forsaide Ovarthrowe of the Franshmen, and saithe he doubtithe nott but the hoill Signorie woll in all haste possible adresse their Letters towards *Your Grace* of most humble Supplication for the Premysse, supposing veralie that, by reason of *th' Emperiall Majesties* Presence with *Your Highnes*, ye shal set some goode Ordor betwixt Them, and doubtith not, as he said, but that the saide Signorie wol be right tractable thereunto.

Uppon the *Breve* of Confirmation of all such Grauntes as *Pope Julie* had grauntide unto *Your Highnes* sundrie days affore that ye were advertiside thereof frome Me ande my Lorde your Oratour here, and in like maner uppon the Restitution of the Scismatiques *Saintt Crossis* and *Saintt Severyne*, I pray *Your Grace* nott to thynke herefore that he shulde in your Causes be more diligent or use better Studie for th' Exspede therof then We do; well I am assuride that the *said Breve* was graunted and finallie Exspede, save onlie at the Plombe, Sundrie Days affore that ever he knewe it laboride; fore as soon as
he

N^o. LXXX. he hade knowlege of it, he corruptid oon of the Secretaries, and gatt of hym a Copie, to th' entent he myght shew unto *Your Grace* his pretendite Diligence and goode Service.

He myght right longe affore have shewide unto *Your Grace* the intendide Restitution of the said Schismatiques; His Diligence and Labours were moche more seen in bryngyng that matier to pass thenever I did see in hym for ony Cause apperteinyng owdere to *Your Gracis* Honour or Pleasour.

Thus I shall most hartlie besiche the Blesside Trinitie for the Preservation of *Your* moste Highe and Roiall Astate.

From *Rome*, the xiith Day of Septembre 1513.

Your moost humble Beedman and Subject.

N^o. LXXXI.

(*Vol. ii. p. 203.*)

Bembi Epist. Pontif, lib. v. Ep. 19.

REGI BRITANNIE.

N^o.
LXXXI.

LECTIS tuis literis, quibus me de tua in Morinis contra Gallos victoria, Morinorumque deditione certiore facis magna sane lætitia pro mea in te paterna benevolentia, proque rei confectæ magnitudine affectus sum: habuique Deo Opt. Max. gratias, quod is eorum, qui pro hujus Imperii dignitate tuenda & conservanda pio ac recto animo arma sumserunt, curas conatusque fortunaverit. Quanquam id quidem certe prope pro comperto semper habui. Sperabam enim fore, ut omnia tibi prospere atque feliciter evenirent, cum propterea quod prudentibus consiliis, summis opibus, magno apparatu, numerosissima validissimaque manu, Maximiliano etiam Romanorum Imperatore designato, sua tecum consilia communicante, bellum hostibus inferre es aggressus: tum vel maxime, qui Dei causam agendam et defendendam suscepisti. Itaque cum non multos dies de tua victoria lætus inter tuorum Legatorum jucundas salutationes confecissem, vellemque ut par erat, ea de re tecum per literas gratulari, ecce alteras abs te literas, quæ secundam nobis partem abs te victoriam longe maximam atque clarissimam attulerunt, Britannicos scilicet exercitus tuos cum Jacobo Scotorum Rege, qui quidem ingenti militum numero invaserat in ditionem tuam, manum conseruisse, ejus exercitum fudisse, magnam eorum partem Rege ac Regni Principibus occisis internitioni dedisse, magnam etiam captivam fecisse. Itaque paucis te diebus bellum atrox ac periculosum felicissime confecisse. Iis intellectis, tametsi per mihi molestum fuit, tantum Christiani sanguinis effusum fuisse, tot hominum millia e populo Dominico desiderari, tum Christianum Regem egregii sane nominis neque spernendarum virium, Sororis tuæ virum, Christiani Regis sibi que conjunctissimi ferro confossum cecidisse;

disse; valde tamen sum gavisus, alteros tuos exercitus tam illustrem tamque celerem victoriam de alteris tuis hostibus qui te ab optimo tuo incepto revocare conabantur, reportavisse. Quamobrem eundem illum, qui hos duplices gloriæ tuæ proventus subministravit, Deum flexis ad terram genibus, erectisque cælo manibus adoravi, quod tibi Regi plane juveni bellorum initium ab Ecclesiæ suæ defensione auspiciantem hæc rudimenta tam præclara tamque conspicua, quasi fundamenta jecerit reliquæ sane vel gloriæ vel ætatis tuæ. Te vero in primis decet existimare, ab illo te omnia, non ab humanis opibus accepisse: quoque Dominus Deusque noster pluribus atque majoribus ornamentis virtutem illustrare atque condecorare voluit tuam, eo te quidem certe illi humiliorem submissioremque fieri, erit virtutis et prudentiæ singularis. Quod cum feceris, non solum credibile est fore ut tibi is secunda prosperaque omnia in iis, quas nunc tractas, rebus atque bellis largiatur: sed viam etiam muniat, per quam ingrediens, tuum nomen optimis atque sanctissimis artibus æternitati consecrare facile possis. Id erit, cum tibi eas cogitationes propones, quibus reliquis tuis restinctis pacatisque bellis ad contundendam Turcarum nimis jam incitatam exultantemque ferociam accendere. Quas ad cogitationes ineundas, quemadmodum nunc quidem se res habet, multum dari nobis posse temporis, non est existimandum. Ita jam et Pannoniæ Sarmatiæque regna populata debilitataque ab illis sunt, premunturque in dies acrius: et ipsa Italia amissis in proximis regionibus non unis præsidiis, illos sibi vicinos finitimosque acerbum sane dolendumque spectaculum contuetur. Hæc pericula, ut vere dicam quod sentio, me suspensum atque sollicitum habent, meamque de secundis tuis rebus voluptatem et lætitiâ esse solidam atque propriam non sinunt. Quare ab ipso immortalis Deo precibus omnibus atque votis peto, ut quemadmodum Ecclesiæ suæ dignitatem ab iis, qui ejus propugnationem suscipere in primis debebant, aliquando male habitam egregie prosperrimeque est tutatus: ita eam et ab accenso ad inflammanda sacrosancta ejus templa atque delubra igne, et ab imminente populorum sibi dicorum cervicibus ferro, inimicarum perpetuo gentium, aliquando tandem eripiat. Quibus de rebus omnibus cum Episcopo Unigornensi, Legato tuo, loquutus sum, ut is tibi mentem meam perscribere latius ac diligentius possit. Datis quinto Id. Octob. Anno primo. Roma.

 N^o. LXXXII.

(Vol. ii. p. 212.)

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. p. 51.

SERENISSIMO AC EXCELLENTISSIMO PRINCIPI ET DOMINO MEO COLENDISSIMO DOMINO
HENRICO, ANGLIÆ, &c. REGI.

SERENISSIME & Excellentissime Rex & Domine, Domine mi Colendissime, Humillimam
Commendationem.

N^o.
LXXXII.

Provenit me nuper non mea quidem virtus, quæ exigua aut nulla est, sed *Summi Pontificis* Benignitas, cum Tribus aliis Dominis & Collegis meis ad Cardinalatûs Dignitatem:

De

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De qua (verum fatebor) non tam mihi existimo lætandum esse, quam illud considerandum quo, ut unusquisque se cognoscat, admonemur.

Equidem ut de me loquar, nam aliis jampridem eam Dignitatem meritò deberi sciebam, in eum ordinem me sentio relatum, illud fastigium ascendisse ubi sine periculo consistere posse vix me puto; nam video quale æquor intravimus & cujus navis remigio admoti sumus, nec cui confidam certior ac vicinior succurrit quam Autor Deus, qui dignabitur suâ clementiâ vires præbere sustinendo ponderi quod imposuit, & honorem quem dedit conservare, meque eam vitam ducere quæ creditæ mihi Dignitati conveniat.

Quod vero ad meam in *Majestatem vestram* servitutem attinet, visum mihi est nunc Illi scribere non tam ut promotionem Illi meam significarem (quam ex aliorum literis auditam illi puto) sed animum ut aperirem meum clarissimis ac felicissimis inclytisque ejus rebus gestis Deditissimum & obstrictum.

Et, quicquid ex hac mea Dignitate, qualiscumque futura ea est, honoris, emolumenti, industriæ, laboris, ac studii promittere possum, Illi omnia dedicare, sicut vero & optimo Principi & de sancta Universali Ecclesia, difficillimo ejus tempore, tantopere merito, mihi vero præcipuo & singularissimo Domino; & cui ego & Familia nostra omnia omnia debemus, & ejus Regio Servitio parata semper offerimus.

Habeat in hac Curia plurimos *vestra Regia Majestas* doctrina, prudentia & auctoritate præstantiores; qui me fide, animo & affectu erga eam sit superaturus inveniet certe neminem, sicut ex suo ore, qui Servitutis meæ testis est locupletissimus, planius intelliget, *Vestra Regia Majestas*; cui me continue & humillime commendo.

Romæ ex Palatio Apostolico xxx Septembris, M. D. xiii.
Excellentissima Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis.
Humillimus et Fidelissimus Servitor.

J. CARDINALIS DE MEDICIS.

Nº. LXXXIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 213.)

Bembi Epist. Pontif. lib. v. ep. 7.

Ferdinando Hispaniæ Regi.

ETSI scio iis de rebus, quæ per nos publice geruntur, a Legato tuo homine per diligentem, fieri te quotidie certiores: volui tamen, ut quod novissime pro Reip. ornamento & incremento statui faciendum, id meis etiam literis cognosceres. Non enim vereor, quin tibi pro
tuo

tuo erga me amore Remque pub. Christianam studio, ejusmodi omnia æque jucunda sint, atque ipsi mihi. Itaque scies me ad XI. Cal. Octob. fratrib. meis E. R. Cardinalibus consentientib. Laurentium Puccium, familiarem meum, a dandis literis, & Julium Medicen, Archiepiscopum Florentiæ designatum, patruelem meum, & Bernardum Divitium Bibianam, Quæstorem, atque Innocentium Cibum, Sororis meæ filium, Innocentii Papæ Octavi nepotem, plurimis maximisque de caussis in Cardinalium collegium cooptavisse. Quorum trium prudentiam, integritatem, agendisque rebus usum atque scientiam, virtutesque cæteras, & esse tibi perspectas existimo & reip. & honori & præsidio confido fore. De Innocentio autem, spero fore ut volumus; habet enim egregiam indolem conjunctam cum optimis moribus, quos ornat literarum & bonarum artium studiis; ut nihil jam sit adolescente illo probius, elegantius, charius. Ejus rei confectio, quæ me magnopere delectavit, erit sane mihi & gratior & jucundior si tibi quoque, qui recte omnia prudenterque judicas, pendereque soles probabitur. Existimare autem debes, quoniam tuorum in me familiamque meam, plurimorum non solum officiorum, sed etiam beneficiorum, illi ipsi omnium optimi testes semper fuere, quæ ad tuam dignitatem tuendam atque amplificandam pertinebunt, eos esse non minus diligenter, quam quæ nostra ipsorum intererunt, omni tempore curaturos. Datis IX. Cal. Octob. M.D.XIII. Anno primo. Roma.

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No. LXXXIV.

(Vol. ii. p. 217.)

AURELII SERENI THEATRUM CAPITOLINUM.

Beatissimo Clementissimoque Divi Leoni X. Pont. Maximo, Aurelius Serenus Monopolitanus.

AD uberiorem tui imperii gloriam, Beatissime Pater, id divinitus contigit, quod nullo unquam tempore superiorum Pontificum contigisse proditum est. In annuis enim tui Pontificatus ludis mense Martio celebratis, eo quidem mense quem Romulus, urbis tibi obsequentissimæ conditor, patri dedicavit Marti, quo tempore ver novum incipit, et tellus, floridis induta coloribus, suavissimos odores per orbem effundit, Indus Elephas omnium animalium sagacissimus a Serenissimo Emanuele Lusitanorum Regem, per splendidissimum Equitem Oratorem suum Tristanum Cuneum missus, incognitus nec dum seculo nostro in Italia visus, stupentibus ac mirantibus populis, per totam urbem exhibitus apparuit. Quod spectaculum Pompeio, Hannibali, Domitiano, paucisque aliis patuit, id tuo augustissimo tempore fuit demonstratum: ut docile animal in tua publica hilaritate oblatum, supplex tuum numen sentiret adoraretque. Congruit igitur ut iisdem letitiæ diebus hic meus libellus prodiret et Septimo mense legitimam fortasse foeturam emitteret, qui ob rei novitatem ac magnitudinem, Elephas jure appellari potest. Agitur quidem de celeberrimo Capitolino Theatro; quod superiori mense Septembri, S. P. Q. R. Magnifico Juliano dilectissimo tuo Germano, civitate donato, paravit; quo nihil ornatus copiosius magnificentiusque usquam auditum, visum, aut in historiis descriptum ostenditur. Verum id negotii suscipiendum

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mihi satis pertimui, quandoquidem Chilonem illum Lacedemonium, cujus responsa pro oraculis accepit antiquitas, ex tot sententiis quas edidit, hunc precipuam saluberrimamque tulisse autumant, Unumquemque se ipsum noscere oportere. Hoc dictum adeo celebratissimum apud priscos viros fuerat, ut e cælo cecidisse non ab re crediderint. Metiri enim se quemque suo modulo ac pede certum est. Quam rem si quisquam recte perceperit, atque animo menteque sæpius volutaverit, nihil absonum nec laude indignum agitabit; sed per sanctissimum rationis tramitem assidue gradietur, decorumque ad unguem in rebus omnibus servabit. Id mihi vitio nonnullos in præsentia objecturos esse non vereor; qui tantam ac inusitatam provinciam aggredi non dubitaverim. Ego etsi meas tenues exilesque vires non denegaverim, meque inter pelliculam (ut ajunt) tenere sciverim, ne tam magnum onus subirem, quum ad celebrandum hunc Capitolinum Apparatum, non mea, quæ perexigua est, sed Maroniana opus esset Musa; tamen si id agendum meo jure vendicasse videor, et aliquid de ipsis laudibus, quæ pene divinæ et innumerabiles sunt, in medium afferre instituerim, duabus me tutabor rationibus. Altera est meæ ingenuæ adversus Beatitudinem tuam, Senatunque Romanum ipsum observantiæ significatio. Altera exploratissimæ veritatis ostensio. Quæ quidem, dum patefiat, non cultam verborum copiam desiderat, non eloquentiæ ornatum exoptat, sed simplex animi obsequium pensabit; tantum roboris in se habet veritas, et nullo angulo indigeat, nullumque ad concitandos animos, apud doctos præsertim clarosque viros, loquacitatis fucum, calamistratumque sermonem postulet. Nam quemadmodum Maurus ille et agrestis homo, Elephantis rector ac moderator, universæ urbi, spectantique populo, ingentem voluptatem tribuit, quo ductore immanis belua mitis et mansueta incedit, ad cujus nutum omnia perficit, obsequiturque docilissima, nec illius persona ad tantæ rei momentum despicitur; ita et ego ad hujus Theatri structuram non indignus opifex exiero: dum qualibuscunque carminibus Romanorum laudes enarraturus, urbem ipsam admirantibus voluptatem attulero. Rem itaque omnem a principio, qualiter gesta fuerit, examussim aperio, nihilque intactum reliquisse videor. Malui diligens indagator fieri, longamque seriem accuratius absolvere, quam in tanto rerum fastigio, ob incultæ linguæ pudorem, aliquid mutilatum minusque perfectum ostendisse. Quare cum libellus iste (ut diximus) ex æqua utriusque partis majestate, et urbis suscipientis, et civis suscepti, Elephantis instar habeat, veritus ne verborum inopia Grillus diceret, pepercisse calamo alienum judicavi, digressionibus non ineptis materiam exaggerans; eo tamen pacto, ut tripartito operi (ni fallor) quo ad Theatri descriptionem, nihil deesse videbitur, quo ad apparatus ordinem nil vehementius dici potuisset, quo demum ad epuli celebritatem, ut cæna ista omnibus aliis superiorum Principum longe antecellit, ita a nemine ullo propensius cæna aliqua explicata invenitur. Theatrum igitur Capitolinum, res urbis et fratris tui complectens, tuo Sancto Nomini dedico; ut eo libentius cum ocium dabit legendum audias; quo illam confoves tuerisque; et illum diligis et amas. Quod munus ita gratius suscipere dignetur tua Beatitudo, ut mentis meæ serenitatem ex animo perpendere possit; qua eandem Beatitudinem, togatamque Romanorum gentem prosequor, colo, ac veneror. Hocque pro tempore edatur satis. Deinde tuarum laudationum libellum imprimendum curabo. Romæ decimo Kal. Apriles Anno a natali Christiano M.D.XIII. Tui vero pontificatus anno secundo.

Nº. LXXXV.

*(Vol. ii. p. 221.)**Bembi Epist. Pontif. lib. iii. ep. 22.*

MAXIMILIANO ROMANORUM IMPERATORI DESIGNATO.

HERI, quemadmodum Deo Opt. Max. placuit, qui delinquentium interitum non vult, sed ut eos pœniteat & vivant, Bernardinus Caravajalis Episcopus, & Federicus Severinas Diaconus Cardinales, quos ante, propterea quod in Dei Ecclesia sacrosancta atram perniciosamque schismatis nebulam excitavissent, Pisanumque Concilium conflavissent, Julius II. Pontifex Maximus, Cardinalatus amplitudine ac munere sacerdotiisque omnibus mulctaverat, privatosque reddiderat, aura Zephyri cœlestis afflati ad veram pœnitentiam revertentes, frequenti fratrum meorum Cardinalium Conventu populari in veste ad pedes se nostros demissi supplicesque projecerunt, veniamque suorum erratorum & delictorum precibus omnibus petiverunt, paratosque se dixerunt esse, quam ipsis cunque pœnam statuissimus, eam luere & perpeti animis libentissimis: pollicitique sunt, se posthac Sacro Lateranensi Concilio semper adhæsuros, semper meæ fratrumque meorum voluntati mandatisque obtemperaturos. Quod ipsum tametsi antea, per eam schedam manu sua scriptam, fecerant, quæ in postremo ejusdem Concilii die perlecta, pœnitentiam eorum humilitatemque declaravit, idem tamen multo quidem clarius atque apertius præsentis egerunt; Pisanoque Concilio repudiato, altera a se perlecta scheda plenior scilicet, expressiorisque sententiæ planeque submissioris, quæcunque in eo acta essent, damnaverunt, magnopereque improbaverunt. Quamobrem nos, quos quidem a lege universæ Christianæ Reip. Deus posuit, ut nemini vere pœnitenti, pietatis suæ cuius nos ministros esse voluit, fores occluderemus, humilitatem eorum, confessionem, pœnitentiam, gratissimum Deo sacrificium sperantes futuras, eos ambos, paterne quidem antea reprehensos atque castigatos, eorundem Cardinalium consensu, ad Cardinalatus officium, dignitatem, sessionemque qua prius utebantur, restitimus. Quod eo libentius feci, quod perniciosum illud schismatis vulnus, quo tunc Ecclesia Dei scissa disjectaque ab illis non solis fuit, eorum duorum ad veram pœnitentiam reditu, coire plane jam sanarique videbatur. Ad cuius quidem schismatis nomen extinguendum atque delendum ipse certe negligentior ac dissolutior si fuisset, tuæ tamen prudentes hortationes me in primis excitare potuissent, ut nihil prætermitterem, quod ad negotium conficiendum, ad exitumque perducendum posse aliquid afferre opis et facultatis videretur. Itaque cum per me ipse nihil æque unquam optavissem, quam in Dei Sponsæ vultu eam notam cicatricemque aboleri, te hortatore libentius atque proclivius in eam cogitationem incubui, ut eos viros, quos commemoravi, abalienatos dudum a Rep. desciscentesque, ad veritatis fontem recta redeuntes via amice paterneque exciperem. Qua omnino de re non solum nos, sed universa urbs visa est magnam voluptatem cepisse, seque admòdum audito ejusmodi humilitatis pœnitentiæ restitutionisque nuncio exhilaravisse. Ipse autem maximas Deo gratias cum egissem, qui suos de alienis facit, quique nobis dedit tanti sceleris comprimendi facultatem, hæc tibi omnia in primis duxi esse significanda: quem quidem pro tua in rempub. conservandam atque amplificandam cura, studio, diligentia, labore,

No.
LXXXV.

N^o.
LXXXV.

plane scio libenti animo has literas perlecturum : in quibus erit utrarumque de quibus mentionem feci, schedarum, et cum iis abolitionis nostræ eorum peccati restitutionisque ad priorem statum exemplum, quo cognoscere singula melius atque facilius possis. Te vero, tametsi minus id quidem necesse est facere me, sed pro meo in te studio mihi tamen faciendum puto, amantissime sane hortor, ut, quod adhuc quidem semper fecisti, posthac etiam facias, piamque matrem omnium Deum amantium Ecclesiam, cujus protegendæ causa post Christi vicarios maximum ipse in terris magistratum geris, ab omnibus ejus pacem atque concordiam perturbantibus, vindices atque defendas. Datis IV. Cal. Jul. Anno Primo. Roma.

N^o. LXXXVI.

(Vol. ii. p. 221.)

Rymer. Fæder. tom. vi. p. 53.

LITERA PAPÆ LEONIS AD PACEM HORTATORIA.

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.

N^o.
LXXXVI.

Eis ex Literis, quas ad Nos & quibus ad Dilectum Filium nostrum *Christophorum Titulæ Sanctæ Præedix Presbiterum Cardinalem* rationes tuas de eo ipso Legato non admittendo perscripsisti, cognovimus animum *Majestatis tuæ* non ita, uti vellemus, deflexum ad Pacem, & a consiliis concordiae aliquantum abhorrentem; sed tamen ut ex eisdem literis & constantis Regis & Invicti Principis virtus atque animus eluceat; quippe enim Te religione Fœderum & Conjunctorum Regum societate ac concordia impediri scribis, quo minus Tibi consilia Pacis scorsum ab illis capias; firma quidem in eo & constans est ratio tua, neque aliter decet Regem Magnanimum & Præstantem, sed neque a Nobis consilium ullum profectum est erga Te ut illis relictis Paci solus studeres. Nos enim evellere ex animo tuo omnes odii atque inimicitiarum aculeos voluimus, ut illis ejectis tanquam in bonum solum sic in sensum tuum Pacis & Concordiæ semina jaceremus: nec tamen Tibi soli hoc persuadere nixi sumus; sed, hortante Nos nostri honoris munere atque officio, Venerabilibus etiam Fratribus nostris, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, & ab initio Pontificatus nostri, & postea sæpe tam in Consistoriis nostris secretoque in Sacri Concilii Lateranensis Sessionibus palam Nos ad hanc curam suscipiendam conficiendæ Pacis vocantibus & obtestantibus, agere cum cæteris quoque Regibus, ad arma si qui spectant, non destitimus, neque verò desistemus, Deique in eo voluntati & Salutis Christiani nominis quantum eniti poterimus, omni & studio & operâ adhærebimus; præsertim cum etiam multorum Regum atque Principum querelæ ad Nos per Literas & Nuncios ipsorum parlatæ sint, ferentium
graviter

graviter & indignantium has perseverare inter Christianos discordias, non solum fidei Catholicæ perniciosas, sed ne ipsis quidem qui eas exercent ullo modo utiles.

No.
LXXXVI.

Quocirca etiam, *Carissime in Christo Fili*, Nobisque in amore & paterna Caritate præcipue adhortamur in Domino & rogamus, ut dedere Animum tuum nostris amantissimis Consiliis velis.

Etenim cum illud nobile & gloriosum propositum animi tui, quo ad arma capienda adductus es, ut Libertatem Ecclesiasticam violatam Injuria nonnullorum defenderes, Sedisque Apostolicæ dignitatem ab omni labe vindicares, jam ad exitum perductum sit, hostesque tui numine & tua incredibili virtute, tuorum quoque Confœderatorum Opera, positis animis contumacibus, ad Unitatem Ecclesiæ & erga Nos ac sedem Apostolicam Reverentiam humiles accesserint, est jam tuum gerere inimicitias placabiles, et si tuo Honori satis consultum fuerit, Pacem quoque potius quam Bellum appetere. Illius enim jam tui præstantissimi facti fructus, qui Tibi ex nostra & totius posteritatis prædicatione uberissimi debentur, Tibi sunt & erunt semper paratissimi, nunc, sicut armis invictum Te præstitisti, ita optimis consiliis tractabilem Te ut præbeas, erit non minoris laudis tuæ quam illud fuit gloriæ. Nos quidem, qui & constantiam ac fidem tuam probamus, & virtutem miro amore complectimur, non Tibi suademus quæ contra tuam honestatem sint, ut sine Confœderatorum tuorum consensu Te ad Pacem accedere velimus; sed salvâ Dignitate tuâ & honorificis conditionibus paratis ut animum promptum ad Pacem, si cæteri consenserint, habeas, id rogamus; nec Te ab Illis avellere, sed, Te, Nobiscum una, Illos adhortante, causamque Dei & Pacis fovente honestis conditionibus arma ponere animum cæteri ut inducant, Nos aliquid assecuturos speramus; *Majestas quidem tua* si Consilia nostra in eam partem acceperit ad quam diriguntur, seseque ad illa & suas Deliberationes accommodaverit, aget & ex Summi Dei Sententia & ex virtute ac humanitate sua.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die Decimâ septimâ Decembris, Millesimo quingentesimo decimo tertio, Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo.

JA. SADOLETUS.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri.

No. LXXXVII.

(Vol. ii. p. 231.)

See Appendix, No. LXIX.

No.
LXXXVII.

No.

N^o. LXXXVIII.*(Vol. ii. p. 232.)**Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. tom. x. p. 31.**Jo. Pierii Valeriani.*

SERMO, cui titulus est SIMIA, AD LEONEM X.

N^o.
LXXXVIII.

NEMO unquam tanto studiove, fideve, labore
 Proficere, officiis vel sedulus omnibus, ut non
 Interpret malus occurrat, qui singula prave
 Invertat, veluti quædam modo fabula vates
 Subsannat, Pater alme, tuas & vellicat aures.
 Nam quoties tibi quicquam, animum quod leniat ægrum
 Porrigimus, curis et blandimenta paramus,
 Ecce, ajunt, vere nunc Simia vana Leonem
 Exagitat, viden' ut turba importuna poëtæ!
 Quamprimum nostro illuxit Leo Maximus orbi,
 Hunc misere affligunt quocumque in limine, nunc in
 Porticibus, nunc in lecto, et penetralibus imis,
 In specula, in luco citriorum, altoque recessu.
 Sive is res duras, et magna negotia versat,
 Et quæ omnes nunc invadunt incendia terras,
 Sive cibum capit, aut superante labore quietem,
 Fortior ut rebus se mox accingat agendis,
 Instant hi tamen; inque meras avertere nugas
 Tantum hominem, tantis vexatum pectora curis
 Pergunt; ulla unquam ne sit spirare potestas;
 Denique sic petulans generoso infensa Leoni
 Simia; quæ natibus, caudæque, et clunibus hujus
 (Tantum animi est parvis) adfixa procacibus ausis
 Hoc tam magnum animal vexatque, agitatque, neque ullam
 Esse moram patitur, musca importunior apta.
 Illa feros vitare unguis, et dentis acumen,
 Lubrica dum fudit saltu, levibusque lacertis,
 Deque suo affectat sibi tot ludibria rege;
 Ergo odere tui sic nos, Pater optime, sed tu
 Quid facias? vis esse Leo? patiare Leonis
 Jura, neque hæc temere conungi nomina credas,
 Quæ Deus, aut sapiens Natura animantibus ipsis
 Indidit, et tacitum admonuit latitare vigorem.
 Scilicet est curæ nobis, quæ pectore in imo
 Consilia assidue volvas, ut ponere tandem
 Cladibus Europæ finemque modumque ruentis

Possis,

Possis, inque Scythas strictum convertere ferrum.
 Immo hæc, atque alia, atque etiam his majora poëtæ
 Concipiunt, neque enim frustra Deus ingruit illis.
 Sed ne forte adeo, assimulet quod Simia vatem,
 Ridiculum esse putes, natura hæc compare constant.
 Nonne vides, rebus non bruta ut mente gerendis
 Simia se, et nostris adcommodat artibus, utque
 Humanos ritusque modosque imitatur et ori?
 Denique ut est nostro similis digitisque, volaque,
 Nempe etiam humanos pro re, pro tempore, mores
 Qua de cunque velis vitæ ratione, poëta
 Exprimit, atque omnem dictis accommodat artem;
 Fit Proteus, fit Vertumnus: nunc fingit Julum
 Acrem animi, indomitumque malis fera bella moventem,
 Seu Venetos, seu Felsineos domitare pararet,
 Sive Pado dare jura suo; seu vertere bellum
 Trans Alpes, Italoque solo donare quietem.
 Nunc te cum patribus dudum, sanctoque Senatu,
 Pacandis mundi rebus diversa petentem
 More Numæ, indigeris post aspera bella Quirini
 Consulere in medium, quo possint fœdere tandem
 Jungi Gallica castra, Caledoniæque phalanges;
 Unde animos ponat Cæsar; Veneti unde quiescant;
 Unde modus prædis, et tantis cædibus; unde
 Spes Italis. Regemve suum, aut sua jura tueri,
 Barbaricasque olim collo abruptisse catenas.
 Demum horum est vates, ut ludicra Simia, mimus.
 Hæc eadem, si vera canunt, venerabile quondam
 Signum habitum in templis. Nilique per oppida sanctum.
 Nam docilis calamos ductare, et volvere chartas
 Rite admissa sacris, delubri in parte locata
 Damnavit populos votis, precibusque benigne
 Favit, et Ægyptum omnem in relligione, pari cum
 Iside, cumque Oro vel Osiride detinuisse
 Fertur, et oblati ditasse altaria donis;
 Seu Caniceps manibus cœlo sublimibus, ortum
 Laudaret Lunæ, posita seu sede sederet,
 Sive cava latices cauda instillaret, et horas
 Funderet, et pisces aversa fronte caveret.
 Sic olim vates, qua totus panditur orbis
 Ambitus, a populis, a gentibus omnibus uno
 Sancti habiti, dictique sono; hinc oracula, leges,
 Hinc modus, atque tenor vivendi mentibus hæsit;

Sive error, sive improbitas mortalia corda
 In sordem, in fraudem vano illectaret amore.
 At postquam e terris jus, fasque, piūque recessit,
 Subrepsere doli, visque omnia vertit, et ille
 Clarior est, qui plura potest; timere poētæ
 Liberius taxare malos: qui, proh pudor, aureis
 Carminibus turpes mores laudare coacti.
 Nil sincero animo, ingenua nil mente locuti;
 Temporibus se subjecere; ut Polypus omnes
 Attrahit a scopulis animo trepidante colores.
 Suntque ita Simiolas imitati, ut ludere numquam
 Desierint, risusque hinc, et jocus esse tyrannis;
 Qui sanctos vates, vitæ, morumque bonorum
 Auctores, tandem sic elusere protervi,
 Ut tanquam Satyri terga hispida fune revincti
 Pro foribus, pro vestibulis, altisque fenestris,
 Ostentarentur populo in risum, inque cachinnos.
 At patriæ queis cura suprema diu obtigit omnis,
 Non ita inhumani Medices, qui in sorte secunda
 Virtutum omne genus sic erexere benignis
 Auxiliis, opibusque, ut quidquid ubique nitoris
 Cecropii, Latiique foret, Florentia totum
 Ad sese traheret, doctasque referret Athenas.
 Invidit Fortuna bonis; ac ne foret ullus,
 Qui ingenia auderet, sanctasque fovere Camœnas,
 Attritis graviter rebus vos expulit urbe:
 Nec tamen evaluit nitens pervincere tantum,
 Ut non vestra domus doctisque probisque pateret
 Semper, opemque libens miseris afferret amicis.
 Nunc vero quum tu Fortunam eviceris omnem,
 Mortalem supra sortem; qui flectere habenas
 Terrarum cœlum usque potes, precor illa voluntas
 Quæ cupienti olim fuerat, sit certa petenti;
 Nam sine te (ut Sphynxis repetatur fabula nostræ)
 Aonidum chorus est tanquam sine lumine Solis
 Luna; sub imperio cujus vaga Simia vivit.
 Nam cava si fuerit, si nullo candicet igne,
 Simia languescit pariter, clangensque per omnes
 Duodecies horas urinam sanguinis edit,
 Inde suo fit Sole potens, lucemque remittit,
 Qua Sol parte ferit tantum, et sine Apolline vates
 Obscuri vitam in tenebris sine nomine ducunt.
 Sol, Leo; ut Ægypti sapientia monstrat ab alto

Ille micans, terris felicia cuncta ministrat :
 Unde hominum genus, alituum pecudumque vigescunt,
 Et pisces, tanta est virtus, vis tanta Leonis.
 Quid memorem laticum lætissima munera ? Nilum
 Undantem, et late spatiosa per arva refusum,
 Fertilibus glebis Cerealia dona ferentem.
 Ægyptum hisce bonis Leo munerat, unda Leonis
 Ore fluit, fontesque tubique ex ore Leonis.
 At rores, pluviamque olim, et liquor omnis Olympo
 Deciduus, signum doctrinæ effingitur, illa
 Nulla erit absque opibus : veteres hinc sculperere cribrum
 Commenti, et fruges prius ostentare paratas,
 Quam tu unquam Musas, et honesta negotia tractes.
 Quando igitur Leo Magnanimus tanto omine terris
 Affulges plenoque exundat Copia cornu,
 Nunc age Cercolytes, et sacros Cercopithecos,
 Quos Liber, Albiolusque et Sepia monstrat alendos,
 Legitimis admitte sacris, si vivere Musæ
 Te nascente, patris Laurenti munere quondam
 Ceperunt, casusque tuos, tua damna per, omne
 Exilium tulerunt, si tecum, O denique fatis
 In melius versis, redivivo lumine quæ sunt
 Tecum ortæ, tecum vigeant, felicia tecum
 Otia, et optatum teneant, Pater optime, portum.

 N^o. LXXXIX.

(Vol. ii. p. 234.)

Marini, Lettera sopra il Ruolo de' Professori dell' Archiginnasio Romano.

QUOD bonum faustum felixque sit LEONI X. PONTIFICI MAXIMO, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Patribus, Populoque Romano, Dei Optimi Maximi, Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, & Apostolorum Petri & Pauli auspitiis.

Pater amplissimus Raphael Episcopus Ostiensis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Camerarius, Dominicus Jacobatius Episcopus Lucerinus, Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ in alma Urbe Vicarius Generalis, Gymnasii Romani Rector, Antonius Zoccolini, Marius Octaviangeli, Antonius Draco, & Gabriel de Minutulis ejusdem Gymnasii Reformatores. Cum litteræ omnium fundamenta sint virtutum, illisque teneræ mentes excultæ omnia deinceps officia facile exequantur, Pontificis Maximi liberalitate, studioque erga lit-

teras invitati, ex ejus auctoritate, decretoque bonarum artium, disciplinarumque omnium tam humanarum, quam divinarum in præsentem annum a Christi natali 1514, a Pontificatu LEONIS X. secundo, Professorum nomina proponuntur, quorum industria excitentur ingenia, erudiantur mentes, doctrinæ atque eloquentiæ studia floreat, virtutumque omnium honestissima exercitatio instituat, Professores ergo, qui inscripti sunt, tertio nonas Novembris negotium suscipiant, meminerintque quantum illis oneris sit impositum, labore industriaque enitentur ut *tali* honore, majoreque in dies præmio digni judicentur. Sciant non litterarum solum, sed morum optimorum, virtutumque Magistros se constitutos, *nihil* a Christiana Religione alienum doceant. Libertatem ecclesiasticam, auctoritatemque Pontificis Maximi, et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ tudentur, commissumque sibi munus exequantur, neque alium quemvis suum in locum substituant. Statutis diebus, si *per valetudinem* licuerit, legant, legisse Discipuli fidem faciant, si negotium sit, non nisi potestate per Rectorem facta, munus omittant, secus si fecerint Floren. XX. quotiens cessarint mulcentur. *Præter*. liceat nemini.

In Theologia de mane.

Flor. 150. Magister Johannes. Ord. S. Aug.

De sero.

Flor. 150. Magister Nicolaus de *Lana*.

Diebus festis, de mane.

Flor. 50. Magister Ciprianus Beneto.

De sero.

Flor. 200. Magister Ant.

In jure canonico, de mane.

Flor. 250. Dominus Michael Angelus de Pisis.

Flor. 200. Dominus Julius de Stephanutiis.

De sero.

Flor. 230. Dominus Sebastianus de Phedericis.

Flor. 200. Dominus Zaccharias.

Ad Lecturam Decreti.

Flor. 130. Dominus Jo. Antonius de Nobilibus.

Flor. 80. Dominus Jo. Baptista Vicentinus.

Ad extraordinariam diebus festis.

Flor. 100. Dominus Franciscus Castellanus.

Flor. 100. Dominus Jacobus de Phara.

Ad Lecturam Sexti.

Flor. 100. Dominus Antonius de Leonibus.

Flor. 100. Dominus Clemens de Cesis.

Ad Lecturam Clementinarum.

Flor. 100. Dominus Philippus Onessus.

In jure civili, de mane.

Flor. 250. Dominus de *Sancta Cruce*.

Flor. 200. Dominus Lanceloctus de Senis.

Flor.

- Flor. 120. Dominus Tiberius Manellus.
De sero.
- Ducat. a. a. 300.
- Flor. 150.
- Flor. 100. Dominus de Sanguineis.
Ad extraordinariam, de mane.
- Flor. 100. Dominus *Michael Conradus* de Tuderto.
De sero.
- Flor. 80. Dominus Petrus Paulus de Parisi de Cusentia.
- Flor. 60. Dominus Petrus Sabinus.
Ad extraordinariam diebus festis, de mane.
- Flor. 150. Dominus Marius Salomonius.
- Flor. 80. Dominus Julius Cesar.
De sero.
- Flor. 70. Dominus S. de Aretio.
- Flor. 50. Dominus Silvester S. . . . Politianus.
Ad lecturam Institutionum.
- Flor. 200. Dominus Pirrho Senen.
- Flor. 100. Dominus Jubentius.
- Flor. 100. Dominus Archangelus de Patritiis.
Diebus festis, de mane.
- Flor. 70. Dominus Sigismundus Dondolus.
- Flor. 70. Dominus Lucas de Perleonibus.
De sero.
- Flor. 70. Dominus Evangelista de Goris.
- Flor. 50. Dominus Jacobus Carpinus de Firmo.
In Medicina theor. de mane.
- Flor. 530. Magister Archangelus de Senis.
- Flor. 100. Magister Bonifatius.
- Flor. 230. Magister Johannes de Macerata.
- Flor. 150. Magister Severinus de Spoleto.
De sero.
- Duc. aur. a. 300. Magister Cristoforus.
- Flor. 500. Magister Scipio de Lancelloctis.
- Flor. 230. Magister Alexander de Spinosis.
- Flor. 200. Magister Marius Scapucius.
Diebus festis, de mane.
- Flor. 250. Magister Jo. Angelus de Victoriis.
De sero.
- Flor. 70. Magister Jacobus de Præpositis.
- Flor. 60. Magister R. lo de Fabriano.
Ad Lecturam Practicæ, de mane.

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LXXXIX.

- Flor. 250. Magister Nicolaus de Doxio.
 Flor. 230. Magister Jo. Baptista de Verallis.
 De sero.
 Flor. 400. Magister Bartholomeus de Pisis.
 Flor. 150. Magister Joannes de Phara.
 In Metaphisica.
 Flor. 150. Magister Aug. p. de Ve
 Flor. 100. Magister Michael Angelus de Sanctis.
 Ad Lecturam ordinariam Philosophiæ.
 Duc. a. a. 300. Magister Augustinus de Sessa.
 Duc. similes 200. Magister Johan. de Montes de hoc.
 Flor. 100. Magister *Petr.* Nicolaus Cillenius.
 Ad extraordinariam.
 Flor. 130. Magister Bernardinus de Radicibus.
 Flor. 130. Magister Sebastianus de Veteranis.
 In Philosophia morali.
 Flor. Magister Damianus.
 Flor. 130. Magister Paulus Jovius.
 In Logica. *
 Flor. 80. Magister *Jordanus* de *Scandria*.
 Flor. 100. Magister Cesar Manellus.
 Diebus festis.
 Flor. 60. Magister Cinilius Campallus de Spoletto.
 Flor. 60. Magister *Valerianus*.
 In Astrologia.
 Flor. 100. Magister Petrus de Aretio.
 In Mathematica.
 Flor. 120. Magister Lucas de Burgo Ord. Minor.
 Flor. 70. Magister Antonius de Firmo.
 In Rhetorica de mane.
 Flor. 300. Dominus Thomas Phedrus.
 Flor. 250. Dominus Philippus Beroaldus.
 Flor. 250. Dominus Jo. Baptista Pius.
 Flor. 250. Dominus Raphael Lippus.
 Flor. 250. Dominus Julianus de Camerino.
 Flor. 250. Dominus Antonius Amiterninus.
 De sero.
 Flor. 250. Dominus Baptista de Casalibus.
 Ducat. 200. Dominus Janus Parrasius.
 Flor. 180. Dominus Gallus.
 Flor. 120. Dominus Vincentius Pimpinellus.
 Flor. 150. Dominus Decius Sillanus.

Diebus

Diebus festis, de mane.

- Flor. 150. Dominus Camillus Portius.
 Flor. 130. Dominus Joannes Darius Novarien.
 Flor. 130. Dominus Donatus.

De sero.

- Flor. 50. Dominus Michael de Fulgineo.
 Flor. 70. Dominus Desiderius Sabinus.
 Flor. 50. Dominus Jo. Julius Siculus.
 Flor. 60. Dominus Leonardus *Mantuanus*.

In Græco, de mane.

- Flor. 300. Dominus Augustus.

De sero.

- Flor. 300. Dominus Basilius.

Diebus festis.

- Flor. 300. Dominus Varinus.

Ad declarationem Simplicium Medicinæ.

- Flor. 80. Magister Julianus de Fulgineo.
 In Gramatica, pro Regione Montium.
 Flor. 50. Magister Jacobus de Genezano.
 Pro Regione Trivii.
 Flor. 50. Magister Jacobus C.
 Pro Regione Columnæ.
 Flor. 50. Magister Angelus de
 Pro Regione Campi Martis.
 Flor. 50. Magister Jo. Baptista de
 Pro Regione Pontis.
 Flor. 50. Magister
 Pro Regione Parionis.
 Flor. 50. Magister Jo. Baptista de
 Pro Regione Arenulæ.
 Flor. 50. Magister Franciscus.
 Pro. Regione S. Eustachii.
 Flor. 50. Magister Andreas
 Pro. Regione Pineæ.
 Flor. 50. Magister Antonius
 Pro Regione Campitelli.
 Flor. 50. Magister
 Pro Regione S. Angeli.
 Flor. 50. Magister Angelus.
 Pro Regione Ripæ.
 Flor. 50. Magister
 Pro. Regione Transtiberim.
 Flor. 50. Magister Julius

Pro

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LXXXIX.

Pro Reverendo Domino Rectore, Ducat. auri in auro papales 100.

Pro quatuor Reformatoribus, Ducat. auri in auro papales 100.

Pro Notario Reformationum, Ducat. auri in auro papales 25.

Flor. 100. pro Bidello.

Flor. 25. pro Campana.

No. XC.

(Vol. ii. p. 234.)

Sadoleti Epist. Pont. No. iii.

JOHANNI LASCARI.

No. XC.

DILECTE Fili. Cum hæc ad te scribenda mandavimus, jam fore existimabamus, ut tu, bona parte itineris confecta, ad nos appropinquare; tamen volumus has litteras ire tibi quasi obviam, significantes, te, quod scribis gaudere et gratulari vehementer hac amplificatione nostræ dignitatis, jure ac merito id agere: non enim amiciorem, vel tibi ipsi nominatim, vel iis artibus optimis atque honestissimis, quibus tu egregie præditus, atque ornatus es, audire potuisti sublatum esse ad summum fastigium tantæ potestatis. Quare, si Deus, cui omnia nostra semper accepta tulimus, nostris cogitatis adfuerit, intelligent omnes boni, fortunam atque potentiam bene institutis mentibus rectisque animis dare facultatem benignitatis potius, quam temeritatis exercendæ. Sed hæc speramus nos coram propediem collaturos. Tu si valebis, nosque cito invises, rem pergratam nobis feceris. Datum Romæ anno primo.

No. XCI.

(Vol. ii. p. 241.)

Μ. ΜΟΥΣΟΥΡΟΥ.

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΑ.

No. XCI.

ΘΕΙΕ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, ξυνοπαθὲ θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσιν ἤρω,

Πασσὺνδὴ μεγάλη Ζηνὶ παρεσπομένοις,

Ἄρμα κατ' ἕρανὸν εὐρὴν ἀλλοπόδων ὅτε πάλω

Κεῖνος ἔλα, πτηνῶ δὲ φρω ἐφεζόμενος,

Εἰ δ' ἄγε, νῦν κατάβηθι, λιπῶν χορὸν ἕρασιώνων,
 Ἐς γὰρ ψυχοφυῶν εἰρεσίῃ πτερούγων·
 Καὶ λάξιν τόδῃ τευχος, ὃ Σωκρατικὴν ὀαριγὸν
 Ἄμφις ἔχει, καὶ σῆς κεδνὰ γένηθλα φρενός.
 ὦ, ENI κοσμοτέχνης, ἰκτὰ πτύχας ἑλύμποιο
 Ἐξ ἰδίων ἔλκων ἀρχέτυπον πραπίδων,
 Δείματο καρπαλίμως, ὑπάτην σελάεσσιν ἀπίεροις
 Δαιδάλλων, τὴν περ κλείομεν ἀπλανέα.
 Τὰς δ' ἄρ' ὑφιξείης μονοφειγίας ἐξετέρουθεν,
 Ἄυτῶθεν ἀκροτάτης ἀντία κινυμένας·
 Ἡ σφείας ἀρπάζουσα παλιμπλάγκτοιο κελύθῃ
 Σύρει ἀναγκάει· ταὶ δὲ βιηζόμεναι
 Οὐκ αἰκισαὶ ἔπονται· ὅμως ἰὸν ὄμιον ἰκάτη
 Ἐμπαλιν ἱξανύει, βάρδιον ἢ τάχιον.
 ὦ, ENI κυδρὸς Ἔρωσ ἀπὸ γαίης ὑψόσ' αἰέρων,
 Ἰμέρω ἄμμι φλέγει κάλλις ἕρασις.
 ὦ, ENI σὺ ψυχᾶς φύσιν ἄφθορον, ἔδ, ἀμεινῶ
 Σκήνους ὄλλυμένα, δεῖξας ἀπολλυμένη.
 ἌΛΛΟΤΕ διογενῶν πόλιν ἕρανογεῖτονα φωτῶν
 Κτίσεις, οἷσι μέλει πόντα Δικαιοσύνη·
 Ἡδὲ καὶ Ἐυνομίη κροτορέφος· ἔδ' ἀπ' ἐκείνη
 Νόσφιν ἀπειτραπίτην ἄγεος ὅσση πάλιν,
 Ἄιδῶς καὶ Νίμεις· Τίς ἔκασά κε μυθολογεῖοι
 Ὅσσα θεοπνεύτοις ταῖσδ' ἐνέθη σελίσι;
 ΤΑΨ γε λαβῶν ἀφίκαιο πόλιν βασιληίδα πασέων,
 Ὅσσης ἕρανόθεν δέρεται ἡέλιος,
 Ρῶμην ἱπτάλοφον, γαίης κράτος αἰὲν ἔχουσαν·
 Ἦς διὰ μισσατίας Θύμβρις ἐλισσόμενος,
 Κόιρανος Ἐσπερίων ποταμῶν κερατηφόρος εἶσι,
 Οὔθαε πιαίνων βύλακος Ἀυσονίης.
 Ἐλθων δ' ἔ Σικελῶν ὀλοόφρονα κῆθι τύρανοι,
 Ὀμοφάγον Σκύλλης λευγαλῆς τρέφιμον,
 Ὑβριγὴν Μισέων Διονύσιον, ἀλλά γε δήεις,
 ὦ, τόθ' ὁμοῖον ἰδεῖν φῶτα μάτην ἐπόθεες·
 (Ἀμφότερον σοφίης τε πρῶμον καὶ ποιμένα λαῶν,
 Ὅπποσοι Εὐρώπην καιετάνισιν ὄλην.)
 ΛΑΥΡΙΑΔΗΝ ἱρατῆς Φλωρεντίδος ἀγέρα πάτρης
 Λαμπρόν. ἀτὰρ ΜΕΔΙΚΩΝ τῶν ὀνομαστοτάτων,
 Τηλεθόον καλὸν ἔρνος, αἰθαλῆς, ἀγλάοκαρπον·
 Τὸ περὶ ἸΩΑΝΝΗΝ, νῦν δ' ἄρ' ἀπειρεσίων
 Γαϊάων ἰσοσηὰ ΛΕ'ΟΝΤΑ, κράτιον Ὀλύμπου
 Κλειδῶχον, τῆ νεῦμ' ὡς Δίος, ἀζόμεθα.
 Πᾶς ὃν ἀναξ σέβεται γενόμενος, ἔδ' τις αὐτῶ
 Τολμᾷ σκηπτέχων ἀντιφριζέμεναι.

ἜΙΣΒΑΣ δ' ὀλβιόδαιμον ἀνάκτορον, εὐθύς ἱεραγὰς
 Σείο, ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, πολλὰς ὄψαι ἐν μεγάροις,
 Παντοίαις ἀρεταῖσι μεμηλότας, ἧδ' ὀαριγὰς
 Τερπνὸς καὶ πινυτὸς Ζηνὸς ἐπιχθονίης·
 Πάντοθεν ὅς αὐτὸς μετεπέμψατο, καὶ σφίσι χαίρει,
 Τιμήντα διδὸς καὶ πολύλοβα γέρα.
 Ἐξοχα δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι φιλεῖ δύο· τὸν μὲν ἀφ' ἑξῆς
 Ἑλλάδος ἔχ' ἵνα τῶν οἱ πελόμεσθα τανῦν,
 Ῥωμαῖοι Γραικοὶ τε καλούμενοι, ἀλλὰ παλαίοις
 Ἀτθίδος ἢ Σπάρτης εἴκελον ἡμιθέοις·
 ΛΑΣΚΑΡΕΨΩΝ γεγεῆς ἱρικυδέος ἄκρον ἄωντον,
 Καὶ τριπροσωποφανὲς ἔνομ' ἔχοντα Θεῶ.
 Ὅς μ' ἔτι τυτθὸν ἰόντα, πατὴρ ἄτε φίλτατον υἱὸν
 Στεργόμενος, περὶ δὴ γέρεν ἀπὸ κραδίης.
 Καί μοι γείνος ὀδῶ πρὸς Ἀχαιίδα μῆσαν ἀγέσης,
 Διῖξεν ἀριγνώτως, μῆνος ἐπιγάμενος.
 Τὸν δ' ἕτερον τριπλαῖσι κεκασμένον ἐνεπήησι,
 Καὶ πλασθέντα τριῶν χερσὶ σοφαῖς χαρίτων,
 ΒΕΜΒΙΑΔΗΝ ἤρωα· πατὴρ δὲ συνίγορα πάντων
 Θῆκεν ἀπορρήτων ἕατα τῷδε μέγας·
 Πάντα οἱ ἱξαυδῶν μελεδήματα πορφύροντος
 Θυμῷ, ἀναπτύσσων τ' ἦτορ ἐνεθεῖ ὅλον.
 ΚΕΪΝΟΙ δὴ σ' ἰσιδόντες ἀγινήσασιν ἐς ὄπα
 Πατρός· ὃ δ' ἀσπασίως δέξεται· ἀλλὰ σύ περ,
 Ἦ θέμις, ἀχράντη δράξαι ποδὸς ἵλαθι, λέξας,
 ὦ πάτερ, ὦ ποιμᾶν, ἵλαθι σοῖς ἀγέλαις.
 Δίχυσσο δ' ἐυμενέως δῶρον, τό περ ἈΛΔΟΣ ἀμύμων,
 Δειψηταῖς ἐρίφων γραπτῶν ἐν ἀρνακίσι,
 Πρόφρων σοι προΐησι, διοτρεφές αὐτὰρ ἀμοιβῆν
 Τῆς δ' εὐεργεσίας ἦτε κείνος ἀνῆρ,
 Οὐχ' ἵνα οἱ χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, ἕδ' ἵνα σέμψης
 Ἐμπλήην ξηγέων λάρακα πορφυρέων·
 Ἄλλ' ἵν' ἀποσβέσεσθαι μαλερὸν πῦρ ἀλλοπροσάλλη
 Ἄρηος· τῶ νῦν πάντ' ἀμαθυόμεινα
 Ὀλλυται· ὍΥΚ αἶεις ὡς Εὐγανίαις ἐν ἀρῆραις,
 Πάντα πλέω λύθρον, πάντα πλέω νεκύων·
 Παιδῶν δ' οἰμωγὴν καὶ θηλυτέρων ὀλολυγὴν,
 Ὄκτισσε μὲν Κύκλωψ, ἤκτισσε δ' Ἀντιφάτης.
 Φλόξ δ' ὅλοη τεμίη τε Θεῶν οἴκας τε πολιτῶν
 Δαρδάπτει, μογερῶν τ' ἀγροῦμων καμάτης.
 Ὅσων δ' αὐθ' ἤφαιρος ἰφείσατο, ταῦτ' ἀλαπάξει
 Βάρεβρος, ἢ φορηὴν ἕδ' ἐλεητῶν ἔχων.

ΠΑΥΣΟΝ, ἄναξ, χάριμν ἐμφύλιον, ἔνθεο σοῖσιν
 Υἱάσιν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλότητα, πάτερ,
 Σχέτιλιος ἦν τεταγὼν Ἄρης πολυβειθὴς εἰς ἄντρον,
 Ἦσε λίθοις φράξας πῶμα καταρυχέσιν.
 Ἄλλὰ σὺ μιν μοχλοῖσιν ἀνέγκυσον, ἠδὲ Λόγοιο
 Δειξὼν ἰδεῖν Θεῖα λάτρεισιν, ἀρτεμιά
 Εἰρήνην, πολύκαρπον, εὐφρονα, βοτρυόδαρον,
 Εἰρήνην κόσμῳ πάντι ποθεινοτάτην.
 Αὐτὰρ ἀριθμηθέντας ἐπιπροΐαψον ἅπαντας,
 Τερκογενῶν αἰόμοις ἔθνεσιν αἰνολύκων,
 Οἳ χθόνα δαλώσαντες Ἀχαιίδα, νῦν μεμαάσι
 Ναῦσι διεκπεραῖν γῆν εἰς Ἴηπυγίην
 Ζεῦγλαν ἀπειλῶντες δάλειον ἐπ' αὐχέει θήσειν
 Ἄμμιν, αἰγῶσειν δ' ἔνομα θειοτόκην.
 Ἄλλα σὺ δὴ πρότερος τεύξον σφίσιν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον,
 Πέμψας εἰς Ἀσῆς μυρία φύλα πέδον
 Χαλκιοθωρήκων Κελτάων θῦριν ἐνυῶ
 Ἴηπυος κεντώντων πρῶσιν εἰδομένους.
 Αἰθῶνων μετέπειτα σακίσκαλον ἔθνος Ἰβήρων,
 Καὶ μέλαν Ἐλβετίας πεζομάχοιο ἔφος
 Γερμανῶν τε φάλαγγας ἀπείρονας ἀνδρογιγάντων,
 Τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ Βρεττανῶν λαὸν ἀρηΐφιλων,
 Πάσης τ' Ἰταλῆς ὅσ' ἀλευάτο λείψανα πότμον,
 Οὐδὲ διεξείσθη δέραςιν ἄλλοθρῶν.
 Ἄλλοι μὲν τραφερῆς δολιχὰς ἀναμετρήσαντες
 Ἀτραπεντῆς, αἳ ἔρη καὶ διὰ μεσόγειων,
 Καὶ ποταμῶν διαβάντες αἰὲ κελάδοντα ῥέεθρα,
 Δυσμενέεσσι γένησ κῆρα φέροιεν ἐμῶ.
 Θωρηχθέντες ἄμῃ σὺν Παίοσιν ἀγκυλοτόξοις,
 Τοῖς θανάτῳ Τυρκῶν αἵματι δευομένοισι.
 Αὐτὰρ χιλιόναυς Βενέτων ἄλδς ἀρχιμεδόντων
 Οὐλαμὸς, ὠκυάλους ὀλκάσι μαρνάμενος,
 Καὶ ἴεις Ἰσπανῶν μεγακῆτες, ἔρσειν ἴσαι,
 Αἳ κορυφὰς ἰγῶν ἐντὸς ἔχουσι νεφῶν,
 Εὐθύς εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον (ὑπὲρ καρχῆσια δὲ σφίων
 Αἰὲν ἀειρέσθω γαυρὸς ἀλεξίκακος)
 Ὀρμάσθων ἦν γάρ τε πῶλοι Βυζαντίδι πρῶτη
 Νόστιμον ἀγράφῃ φέγγος ἰλευθερίας,
 Αὐτὴν κεν θλάσσειας ἀμαιμακέτοιο δράκοντος,
 Συντρέψας κεφαλῆν· τᾶλλα δὲ τοῦο μέλη
 Ρῆ' ἀλαπαδνά γίνονται· λῆδς ὅτι θάρσος αἰέρας
 Γραικὸς, ὃ δαλεία νῦν κατατρύχόμενος,

Ἀρχαίης ἀρετῆς, ἴν' ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἴδῃται,
 Μιήσεται, ἑτάζων δῆϊον ἐνδομύχως.
 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κτείνωσιν ἀλαστέρας, ἧ πτέραν Ἴνδῶν
 Φεύγοντας κρατερᾶ γ' ἐξελάσσωσι βίη,
 Αὐτῆμαρ σὺ θεοῖς ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον αἰείδων,
 Καὶ μεγάλης χαίρων εἴνεκα καμμοῖνης,
 Ἄνδράσι νικηταῖς γεφανηφόρα κραάτ' ἔχουσιν,
 Ἄσιδος ἄφνειῆς πλοῦτον ἀπειρέσιον,
 Τερκάων ἀφένος τε, ῥυφεινῆν τε καὶ ὄλβοι,
 Ἐξηκονταετῆς ὅν συνέλεξε χρόνος,
 Χερσὶ τροπαιῶχοις διαδάσσειαι ἀνδρακάς· οἱ δ' αὖ,
 Ἐκυλοχαρεῖς, πάτρης μνησάμενοι σφετέρης,
 Μέλφονται καθ' ὁδὸν Παιήονα, καὶ σφύλιον ὄπλοις
 Ὁρχήσονται, ὅλα ψυχῇ ἀγαλλόμενοι·
 Καὶ τότε δὴ ποτὶ γαίαν, ἀπ' ἕρανῦ, εὐρύοδιαι,
 Πτήσεται Ἀργαίω πρέσβα δίκη θυγάτηρ,
 Μηκέτι μνήσασα βροτοῖς· ἐπεὶ ἐκ ἔτ' ἀλιτρῶν,
 Ἄλλ' ἔγαι χερυσῖν πᾶν γένος ἡμερίων,
 Σείο δεμισεῖνοτος ὅλη χθονί· καὶ μετ' ὄλιθρον
 Δυσσεβίων, ἕσης πανταχῶ ἡρεμίας.
 ΚΑΤ' τὰ μὲν εἶθε γένοιτο· μαθήμασι νῦν δὲ παλαιῶν
 Ἑλλήνων, ὃ ἴναξ, ἄρκεσον οἰχομένους.
 Θάρσυνον δ' Ἐκάτοιο φιλαγρῦπινεσ ὑποφήτας,
 Δωροῖς μιλίσσων καὶ γεραῖοσι θεῶν.
 Παντοδαπῆς τε, πάτερ, ξυναγείρας, ἧ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν,
 Ἡ δὲ πολυσπέρεων νειᾶς Ἑσπερίων,
 Πρωθήσας, καὶ μήτε φρενῶν ἐπιδευίας ἰσθλῶν,
 Μῆτε φυῆς, μήτ' ἔν αἵματος εὐγενέος,
 Ἐν Ρῶμῃ κατάνασσον, ἐπιγῆσας σφίσιον ἄνδρας
 Οἱ σάξασι λόγων ζώπυρον ὠγυγίων.
 Νάιοιεν δ' ἀπάνευθε πολυσκάρθμοιο κυδοιμῶ,
 Νηϊάδων προχοαῖς γειτονεόντα δόμον.
 Τῶ δ' Ἐκαδημείης ὄνομ' εἶη κυδιανείρης,
 Ζήλω τῶ προτέρης, ἣν ποτ' ἐγὼ νεμόμην,
 Κέροισ ἐυφειέσσιον ἐπιγαμένως ὀαρίζων,
 Τῆς γ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ὦν πάρος αὐτοὶ ἴσαν.
 Ἄλλ' ἧ μὲν δὴ ὄλωλε· σὺ δ' ἦν καινὴ ἀναφήνης,
 Ἐνθεν ἄρ' εὐμαθίης πυρσὸς ἀναπτόμενος,
 Βαιῖ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρός, ἀναπλήσει μάλα πολλῶν
 Ψυχᾶς ἠϊθεῶν φωτὸς ἀκηρασίη.
 Ἐν Ρῶμῃ δέ κεν αὐθις ἀνηθήσειαν Ἀθῆναι,
 Ἄντι τοι Ἰλλισσῶ Θύμβριν ἀμειψάμεναι.

ΤΑΥΤΑ τοι ἐκτελέσαντι κλέος, πάτερ, ἀρανόμεναι
 Ἐσχατίας ἤξει μέσφ' ἐς Ὑπερβορέων.
 Ποία γὰρ ποτε γλώσσα, τὴν ποιοῦν γόμα φήμη,
 Ἡ ἀγορητῶν, ἢ καὶ αἰδοπόλων,
 Ὅυκ ἂν ἰφυμνήσειεν; ἀμαυρώσει δὲ τίς αἰὼν,
 Τηλεφανῆ τοίης πρῆξις ἀγλαίην;
 Ταῦτα τεῦ γενετῆρος αἰοίδιμον, ἠδὲ προπάππων,
 Πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἕνομα θῆκαν, ἄναξ.
 Τῶν δὲ σίθεν προτέρων βᾶξις κακῆ ἀρχιερῆων
 Κακίχεται, ἅτι δὴ πάμπαν ἀρειμανεῶν,
 Καὶ τε φιληδόντων ἀνδροκτασιᾶς ἀλεγυιαιῶς,
 Καὶ κεραϊζομένοις ἄγεσι τερπομένων.
 ΤΟῖΑ σὺ παρφαμέως, πείσεις σπεύδοντα παρορμείων,
 Θεῖς ΠΛΑΤΩΝ· ἐπεὶ οἱ πάτρειόν ἐστιν ἔθος,
 Εἰρήνη φιλεῖν, ἐκὰς Αὔσονος ὠθέμεν αἶψα,
 Ῥίμφα, ταλαύρινον βαρβαρόφωνον Ἄρη.
 Ἡδ' Ἐλικωνιάδων Ἑλληνικὸν ἄλσος ὀφέλλειν,
 Ὅρπήκισσι φυτῶν ἄρτι κυϊσκομένων.
 Ναὶ μὰν, εὐμεγέθους σέο μορφῆς ἐκπρεπὲς ἴδος,
 Καὶ τε θεοῖς ἐκίλην ἀθανάτοισι φυῆν,
 Καὶ γεραρὸς ἄμυς, βαθυχαιτηντά τε κόσμον,
 Παλλεύκῃ κορυφῆς, κείνος ἀγασσάμενος,
 Αἰδισθείς τε σίβας πολιῶν, καὶ σεμνὰ γένεια,
 Οὐ νηκιστήσει σῶν ὑποθημοσυνῶν,
 Πειθοῖ θελξινόμῳ κηλέμενος. ἌΛΛΑ' τοι ὄρα
 Πτηνὸν ἰῶντι θεῶν ἄρμα καθιπτάμεναι.

N^o. XCII.

(Vol. ii. p. 252)

Platonis Op. ex. Edit. Aldi. 1513.

ALDI PII MANUTII AD LEONEM. X. PONTIFICEM MAX. PRO. REP. CHRISTIANA, PROQUE
RE LITERARIA, SUPPLICATIO.

EST vetus proverbium BEATISS. PATER, languescere et alia membra, cum caput doleat. Verissimum id quidem in ægris corporibus, sed multo verius in moribus summorum virorum et principum, qui caput sunt populorum. nam longa experientia compertum est, qualescunque principes fuerint, talem civitatem futuram; quæcunque imitatio morum in principibus

principibus extiterit, eandem in populo secuturam. Quamobrem, cum primum creatus es Pontifex Max. tantam ceperunt voluptatem Christiani omnes, ut dicerent, prædicarent, affirmarent, alter alteri, cessatura brevi mala omnia quibus opprimimur; futura bona quæ seculo aureo fuisse commemorant; quandoquidem Principem, Pastorem, Patrem nacti sumus, qualem expectabamus, quo nobis miserrimis his temporibus maxime opus erat. Audivi ipse, meis auribus, illis ipsis diebus, ubicunque fui, omnes hæc eadem uno ore dicere, et prædicare; nec vana fides; multa enim sunt, quæ, ut tantæ hominum expectationi respondeas, promittunt. Primum est, quam optime semper, et sanctissime ante acta vita tua à teneris usque ad Pontificatum. Secundum, familia Medicum clarissima, altrix semper magnorum virorum. Δεινὸς χαρακτήρ, κάπσισημος ἐν ἑροτοῖς ἰσθλῶν γενέσθαι. Hinc, ut taceam cæteros, ortus est Pater ille tuus Laurentius, vir optimus, ac tanta prudentia, ut non solum pacis patriæ, sed et totius Italiæ author fuerit, quandiu vixit; qui utinam et nunc viveret; bella enim, quibus paulò post ejus mortem cœpit ardere, et nunc maxime ardet Italia, ardet et tota ferè Europa propter Italiam, vel nunquam fuissent, vel accensa, statim ut quamplurimi opinantur, Heros ille, gravis pietate, gravis et meritis, sua prudentia extinxisset, quemadmodum sæpe ab illo factum meminimus. O ter, quater damnosam! O semper dolendam, semper deffendam mortem! Sed ad hæc omnia una consolatio est; quod sicut paulo post mortem Patris tui, tanta incendia belli exorta sunt, sic te illius filio, creato Pontifice Max. brevi, tua opera, tuo unius studio, penitus extinguentur. Tertium est ætas tua. Non enim sine numine Divum factum est, ut tu, nondum annum agens trigesimum octavum, Pontifex Max. crearerer; posthabitis tot magnis patribus, tot summa veneratione dignis senibus. Quoniam enim composituro res Christianæ religionis, et correcturo mores hominum, qui ubique terrarum sunt, longa vita opus erat, te cum fore Deus voluit, Juvenem integerrima vita, et moribus ornatissimum, qui hæc omnia faceres longa die nullis succumbendo laboribus, nullis vigiliis. Οὐ χρὴ πανύχιον εὐδην βουληφόρον ἄνδρα, ἢ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται, καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε. Additur et illud, quod maximi faciendum est, tantum terrarum, tantum maris, tot varios populos, ante vel Romanis illis rerum dominis, nedum nobis, incognitos, inveniri ætate nostra, et subjici Christianis Regibus, ita, ut te Rectore Romanæ Ecclesiæ sperandum sit, unum futurum ovile sub uno pastore, eodemque optimo et pientissimo. Quapropter nunquam satis laudari potest Emanuel REX Lusitanæ invictissimus, qui multos jam annos nunquam desinit validissima classè novas terrās, nova regna disquirere, victorque beatos per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo. Solvens enim Olyssippone, ac præteriens circulum Cancræ, Aequinoctiique et Capricorni proxime Antarcticum, tum vertens cursum, rursus circulum Capricorni Aequinoctiique transiens, totam Africam, ac bonam totius Asiæ partem circuit, itinere ad centies, ac quadragies et amplius centena millia passuum, devenitque in locum aromatum quam ditissimum, Callicutium appellatum, atque inde nuper, ad dexteram relicta Taprobane insularum maxima, devenit ad urbem nomine Malacen, populosissimamque, ac ditissimam, et plenam mercium, eamque, difficillimo prælio victor, tandem expugnavit. At illi cognitis sacris nostris, visis Christianorum moribus, certatim baptizantur. O felicissimum Regem. O Heroem semper mirandum, colendum, extollendum in cælum laudibus, et nobis et posteris seculorum omnium. Atque utinam cæteri Christianorum reges idem facerent, nec inter se crudeliter bella gerendo, seipsos, ac potius miseros populos absumerent. *Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur*

plectuntur Achivi. nam paucis annis omnes homines ubique terrarum Deum verum cognoscerent, IN JESUM, Deum Opt. Max. constanter crederent, eumque solum supplices adorarent. Sed cognoscent, credent, adorabunt, te Pontifice. Cum enim tu, Pater, amare inter se filios tuos, nedum projicere tela manu, coegeris, afflictisque populis succurreris, restituta pace, curabis debellandos Christiani nominis acerrimos inimicos; curabis homines, ubicunque terrarum incogniti lateant, disquirendos, ad eosque subactos mittes Apostolos tuos ad prædicandum illis Evangelium, ut sacris Romanæ Ecclesiæ instituti, soli Deo nostro serviant. En potes jam ab Indis incipere; potes ab aliis populis, quos in oceano occidentali Hispani superioribus annis invenere. Nec minor gloria servatur tibi BEATISS. P. in-
taurandis bonis literis; suppeditando optimos quosque libros studiosis, et qui nunc sunt, et qui post aliis erunt in annis, propagandis bonis artibus et disciplinis. Tentarunt hoc olim plurimi ex veteribus et Græci, et Latini, et Barbari, et quia mirum in modum profuere, consecuti sunt ex ea re gloriam sempiternam. Tentarunt et nonnulli ex junioribus non solum privati, ac mediocris fortunæ homines, sed et Pontifices Max. Imperatores, Reges, atque alii illustres; et, ut taceam cæteros, nonne plurimum juvit rem literariam Nicolaus V. Pont. Max? nonne et parens tuus Laurentius? qui si diutius vixissent, multa essent in manibus, quæ non habentur, tum quæ habentur, facta fuissent eorum cura longe meliora. Debes tu igitur, illius magnus successor, hujus dignus filius, quod efficere illi morte præventi non potuerunt, perficere. Ego autem jamdiu hoc saxum volvo; qua in re, mihi quidem videor esse alter Sisyphus, quod nondum illud volvendo perduxerim in apicem montis; aliis autem, iisque eruditis, Hercules; quod nullis cedens malis, nullis succumbens laboribus, jam plus unus ipse juverim rem literariam, quam simul omnes, quotquot fuere multis seculis; ita me amant de tantis laboribus, ut nunc coram, nunc accuratis literis laudando obtundant. *Sed non ego credulus illis.* Nullum enim adhuc dedi librum, in quo mihi satisfecerim. Nam tanta erga bonas literas benevolentia est mea, ut emendatissimos simul, et pulcherrimos esse cupiam libros, quos emittam in manus studiosorum. Quamobrem quotiescunque vel mea, vel eorum incuria, qui mecum corrigendis libris incumbunt, aliquo in libro quamvis parvus error committitur, etsi *opere in magno fas est obrepere somnum.* (Non enim unius diei labor hic noster, sed multorum annorum, atque interim nec mora, nec requies) sic tamen doleo, ut si possem, mutarem singula errata nummo aureo.

Damus igitur nunc Beatiss. P. quæcunque extant Platonis opera, idque sub tuo nomine felicissimo. Quod ob eam quoque causam fecimus, quia cum Marsilius Ficinus Dominus tuæ alumnus, Platonis opera latina à se facta, Laurentio Parenti tuo dicaverit, quod sic foverit semper doctissimos quosque utriusque linguæ, ut Florentia et esset, et haberetur, vivente Laurentio, Athenæ alteræ, nos quoque tibi illius filio, eidemque Pont. Max. tum decori, et præsidio expectato hujus ætatis eruditorum, ejusdem Authoris libros, eosque Græcos atque Atticos, quales ipse composuit, merito dedicare voluimus. Simulque ea in re, morem gessimus quibusdam Amicis nostris, amantissimis bonarum literarum, qui, etsi id mea sponte eram factururus, tamen amice me monuerunt, ut nulli magis, divini hominis lucubrationes, quam tibi, summo divinarum rerum Antistiti, nuncuparentur; sperantes eam rem Academiæ, quam tot annos parturimus, mirum in modum profuturam, ut scilicet nos foveas, provinciamque hanc nostram, maximi cujusque principis favore, ac
auxilio

No. XCII.

auxilio dignissimam, amplectaris, ac potius eam ipsam Academiam, sempiternum bonum hominibus, tu Pont. Max. in urbe Roma cures instituendam; quorum unus, ac præcipuus est Musurus Cretensis, magno vir judicio, magna doctrina, qui hos Platonis libros accurate recognovit, cum antiquissimis conferens exemplaribus, ut una mecum, quod semper facit, multum adjumenti afferret et græcis, et nostris hominibus; quapropter non minus quam nos pacem desiderat, æque ac nos et ipse, ut tuo sumptu, tuis opibus, fiat Academia rogat; id quod ex ejus docta, et eleganti, ac gravi Elegia, græce composita, quæ statim post latinum indicem librorum Platonis sequitur, facile est cognoscere. Gratissimum præterea futurum tibi Platonem hunc nostrum nobis persuademus, cum aliis plurimis, tum etiam, quia cum multis jam seculis in plura dissectus membra vagaretur, nunc illis in unum corpus diligenter collectis, integer habetur cura nostra, idque per ordines quaternarios novem, quemadmodum in vita Platonis, Diogenes Laertius, Thrasyllum secutus, memoriæ prodidit. Sed de Platone hactenus. Tu modo B. P. qui JESU CHRISTI DEI OPT. MAX. locum tenes, cuique commissa est cura populorum, curabis pro viribus, quæ tua est probitas, tua prudentia, tua pietas, PACEM, quam solam moriturus CHRISTUS tanquam testamento reliquit hominibus, habendam passim Christianis tuis, qui nunc inter se, Eheu, bella gerentes crudelissima, validas christianorum vires infesto ferro absumunt, quo graves Turcæ melius perirent.

Curabis inquam tu, communis omnium Pater, summa tua autoritate, sanguinolentos filios tuos componendos, hæc iterum atque iterum repetens, *Neu Juvenes, neu tanta animis assuescite bella, Projice tela manu populus meus.* Atque interim non minus, quam nos speramus, quod et græce et latine sis apprime doctus, favebis nobis tandiu, ac tantum pro re literaria laborantibus. Nam etsi Maximum videmur attulisse adjumentum utriusque linguæ studiosis, tamen tanto majus allaturi sumus, te amplexante provinciam nostram, quanto major est Aldo LEO X. PONT. MAX.

 No. XCIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 253.)

Perotti Cornucopia, Ven. 1513.

LEO PAPA X.

No. XCIII.

UNIVERSIS, et singulis, ad quos hæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Quoniam dilectus filius Aldus Manutius Pius Romanus, qui jam tot annos pro virili de re literaria benemereri non cessat, in eoque genere, ac præsertim tum exacte emendandis, tum omni cura, et studio, imprimendis græcis latinisque libris, atque iis quidem literis in chalibem tam docte, eleganterque incisis, ut calamo scriptæ esse videantur, magnos sumptus facit, magnos labores sustinet, ac propterea veretur, ne sua hæc industria, et labor, aliis, qui inde capere exemplum possent, lucrum, magno suo cum damno, pariat; Nobis humiliter supplicari fecit, ut ad eam rem pastoraalem curam nostram adjicere dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui literarum, et omnium bonarum artium studiosos, quantum in nobis fuit, semper

semper fovimus, et amplexi sumus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, ut hominum ingenia ad honestiores, utilioresque rerum usus vel indagandos, vel inventiendos in dies magis excitentur, librique utriusque linguæ longe diligentius, emendatiusque in studiosorum manus emittantur; atque cum ipso Aldo, cujus doctrinam, et rectum ingenium, mirificamque diligentiam satis cognitam, et perspectam habemus, commode, benigneque agere cupientes; omnibus; et singulis, ad quorum notitiam præsentis nostræ pervenerint, sub excommunicationis, latæ sententiæ, in nostris vero, et S. R. E. civitatibus, terris, et locis degentibus, nobisque et dictæ ecclesiæ mediate, vel immediate subjectis, præterea quingentorum ducatorum auri, et amissionis omnium librorum, quos impresserint, incurrendis, Cameræque nostræ Apostolicæ applicandis pœnis, expresse inhibemus, ne per spatium quindecim annorum à tempore cujusvis libri tam græci quam latini, quem ipse Aldus et antehac curavit et posthac curaverit imprimendum iis characteribus, quos ipse invenit, vel edidit primus, et quibus adhuc usus est, vel quos in posterum invenerit, imprimere, vel imprimi facere; neve characteres eos, quos cursivos, sive cancellarios appellant, imitari, et assimilatione adulterare, aut curare id per alios faciendum, librosque ejusmodi formis excudere, aut excusos venundare ullo modo præsumant; Atque eas ipsas pœnas incidere eos volumus, penes quos id genus libri venales reperirentur. Decernentes nihilo minus autoritate apostolica absque alia declaratione, omnes, quicumque contra inhibitionem hanc nostram facere ausi fuerint, antedictæ excommunicationis sententiæ obnoxios ilico fieri. A subditis vero nostris et S. R. E. ultra pœnam excommunicationis ejusmodi, ab eis incurrendam pecuniariam etiam, et amissionis omnium librorum, ut præfertur, a Camera nostra Apostolica irremissibiliter exigi debere, ita que per præsentis decernimus. Atque, ut hujus inhibitionis, et decreti nostri ignorantiam prætere nemo possit, universis, et singulis nostris, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatis, Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, et locorum Ordinariis, eorumque locum tenentibus, et Vicariis, Gubernatoribus, præterea Prætoribus, et cæteris Officialibus nostris, qui præsentium nostrarum vigore fuerint requisiti, mandamus expresse, ut literas ipsas in locis consuetis ecclesiarum, diocesum, et administrationum suarum publicari faciunt; ipsique Aldo pro consequendo effectu decreti, et inhibitionis hujus nostræ, ubi, et quoties opus fuerit, omni favore, et auxilio suffragentur, constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, cæterisque in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque. Cæterum quia difficile admodum foret præsentis nostras ad singula loca deferri, volumus, atque decernimus, ut his ipsis literis in plura exempla typis excusis, et sigillo alicujus Legati nostri, seu personæ in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis ea prorsus fides adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus nostris, si exhibitæ, vel ostensæ forent, adhiberetur. Tum si quis harum nostrarum publicationem quovis modo impedire, seu obstare ne publicentur, seu publicatas et ubi vis locorum de more affixas, lacere, delere, aut amovere, amovere curare, idque scienter facere præsumpserit, eum volumus, et declaramus supradictæ excommunicationis pœnæ itidem subiacere. Volumus autem, et Aldum ipsum in Domino hortamur, ut libros justo pretio vendat, aut vendifaciat, ne his concessionibus nostris ad aliam, quam honestum est, partem utatur, quod tamen eum pro sua integritate, atque in nos observantia curaturum plane confidimus. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris. Die xxviii. Novembris. M. D. xlii. Pont. nostri Anno Primo.

P. BEMBUS.

N^o. XCIV.*(Vol. ii. p. 254.)**Hodius, de Græc. illustr. p. 255.*

LEO P. P. X.

No. XCIV.

UNIVERSIS et singulis ad quos hae litterae nostrae pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Studia litterarum et bonarum artium, quae vitam humanam imprimis illustrare et excolere videntur, et antea, dum in minore fortuna essemus, semper fovimus, et postquam ad supremum hunc honoris locum divina providentia evecti sumus, de iis, quantum in nobis fuit, bene mereri nunquam cessavimus, facturi idem in posterum tanto libentius tantoque liberalius, quanto ingenia ad artes ipsas capessendas fieri propensiora et ardentiora cognoverimus. Cum itaque dilecti filii adolescentes Gymnasii nostri in Quirinali colle per nos constituti, Græcis artibus incumbentes, hanc antiquissimorum et nunquam antehac impressorum Homeri auctorum interpretationem formis excudendam curaverint, Nos, considerata operis utilitate, et fructu maximo, qui ex tanti tamque illustris poetae expositione ad studiosos perventurus est, et simul habita ratione laborum et impensarum, quos chalcographi in excudendum librum contulere, operæ pretium facere visi sumus, si ad eam rem juvandam favorem et auctoritatem nostram adjiceremus. Ne quid igitur in præjudicium Gymnasii fraudemque et detrimentum dictorum impressorum committat, volumus et mandamus ne quis eos ipsos auctores decennio proximo futuro imprimere, aut imprimi facere, aut impressos venundare, venundandosve dare ullis in locis sine licentia Gymnasii præfati, aut ejus curam gerentium. Qui contra mandatum hoc nostrum fecerit, admiserit, is universæ Dei ecclesiæ toto orbe terrarum expers excommunicatusque esto. Præterea libris et aureis quingentis ad arbitrium nostrum applicandis sine ulla remissione multator. Præcipientes universis et singulis archiepiscopis, episcopis eorumque vicariis, necnon nostris et S. R. E. officialibus, et quemlibet magistratum tam in alma urbe quam extra eam gerentibus, et aliis ad quos spectat in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ut præmissa ad omnem instantiam dicti Gymnasii ipsiusque rectorum faciant inviolabiliter observari, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die VII. Septembris MDXVII. pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

N^o. XCV.*(Vol. ii. p. 256.)**Ex. origin. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lorenzo de' Medici. Flor.*

No. XCV.

AD la sua de xxii. giunta hiersera, non accade fare altra risposta salvo, che al pretio del-
li alumni, che ne scrive V. S. gli rispondo, che M. Augustino Chisi mi disse delli xxii.
Carlini

Carlini o ducato et mezo il cantare, et me lo ha replicato dipoi, tamen hiermatina, de commissione del Cardinale, io fui col prefato Augustino, et meco fu Averardo da Filicaia pure di sua commissione, et per obviare ad la necessità grande, che s'intende esserli per al presente, se ne sono prese mille cantari ad ragione di ducati uno et mezo il cantare, et lo dicto Averado ha preso la cura di provvedere sacchi, et barche, et quelle sara bisogno per supplire ad questa necessità della Città, et non attende ad altro, che sollicitare ea expeditione, et mandargli quanto più presto si può, et non havemo facto altro aecordo, ne instrumento, salvo che lo prefato M. Augustino è contento della fede di V. S. et non vuole, che di li se ne venda ad altri che a quelli del dominio, et questo se gliè promesso, et Monsignore Reverendissimo aspecta la Lettera di Jacopo Salviati, et se ad questo pretio non piacerranno la S. V. havera tempo ad pensarci, et contractare questa cosa con quelli vantaggi si potra ad causa, che al restante che la Città ha di bisogno si possa meglio vantaggiare, o pigliarlo per quello pretio, che Jacopo dice, che sarebbe bonissimo mercato, quando si potessino havere per li xvii, o xviii. Carlini il cantare, come V. S. ne scrive, &c. sicche D. V. deliberabit, et reddet me certiozem de omnibus, &c.

M. Augustino me dice, et me ha imposto, che per parte sua scriva ad V. S. come quella gli fece domandare uno Puledro da Morgante, &c. et che gli rispose, che sarebbe bene havessi aspectato, che havessi preso questa herba, et che al Puledro sarebbe stato meglio il venire dipoi, che innanzi, et che nondimeno lo facessi intendere ad V. S. che ne farebbe quello, che la volessi, et che mai poi ne ha inteso altro. Per la presente fa intendere ad V. S. che il Puledro et lui sono al piacere suo, et quello che disse allora ad Morgante, fu per beneficio del cavallo, et non per altro. V. S. risponda quello vuole si faccia.

N^o. XCVI.

(Vol. ii. p. 265.)

Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Baldassare da Pescia a Lorenzo de' Medici. a Flor. Roma, xxvi. Martii, 1514.

AD li di passati ve Scripsi, come el Generale di Valombrosa era stato misso in Castello per ordine di Nostro Signore ; hora havendo inteso, che lo hanno solum appichato ad la fune per tirarlo su, et che lui ha confessato tra le altre cose haver facto adorare uno manico di rasoio per Legno di Croce, et certa falsità di Contracto, et innanzi chè fussino le ruine di casa vostra, haver facto dir piu de uno anno, uno Psalmo, *Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*, &c. per farla ruinare, et altre cose di importantia, io, come quello che ho pensato, che simile cose meritano pñitione grande, et ad minus, depositione dell' offitio, et parendomi questo esser cosa d' importantia in la Citta vostra, curiosamente, et come affectionato di V. S. sono stato questa sera ad longum cum Monsignore Reverendissimo, et domandatoli ad che

N^o. XCVI.

termine erano le cose sue, et che io desideravo saperle per significarle ad V. S. La medisse, tu hai facto bene ad domandarmene, perchè te volevo imporre gliene scrivessi, et scrivegli, come io lo feci mettere in castello, et che hora mai ho molto bene giustificato le cose sue, et ha confessato di sorte, che io penso ad ogni modo farlo privare dell' offitio, et per obviare, che non si parli, et dica, che noi lo facciamo per avaritia, et per togli la Badia et entrate sue, io andavo pensando di fare unire quella Relligione di Vallombrosa ad la Congregatione di Monte Cassino, et smembrarne uno otto, o nove mila ducati, et li in Firenze edificarne una bella Chiesa di S. Giovangualberto, o altro Santo loro, et parte unirne ad alchuni Monasteri che sono li, et di homini, et donne, che vi sono, che sono poverissimi, et si moiono di fame, et il resto da ducati in sù M. darli ad Monte Cassino, che nonci doverranno fare difficoltà, et riempiere et assettare in Firenze quelli poveri et povere che vi sono, ad futuram rei memoriam, &c. Et vi fa intendere, che questo è l'animo suo; nondimeno ha voluto, che voi lo sappiate, et che segretamente, et cum dexterità voi ne parliate cum alchuni de quelli vecchi, et tritamente esaminiate questa cosa, et qual fussi et sia la opinione vostra et loro gliene significiate; sicchè non ne parlerete, se non cum quelle persone, che vi parranno ad proposito vostro, advertendole, che nonne parlino con homo alchuno. Signore mio, questo mi è parso, et pare una cosa d'importantia grande, et quando non si facessi questo disegno di Monsignore Reverendissimo V. S, pensi, che se si ha ad fare Generale nuovo, come si farà, di metterci uno, che sia ad proposito vostro, e se vi paressi, che M. Guerrino vostro, o alchuno altro fussi bono, pensici quella, perchè havere li uno di chi voi ve ne possiate valere ad ogni vostra posta, et non ce lo havere, se importa assai, sendo la cosa d' importantia, come è; io dal canto mio di quà non cesserò andare pensando cosa che sia, se non per tornare in utilità, et comodo vostro, cum quella audacia, dexterita, et curiosità si ricerchano ad uno bono, et fedel servo, et non mancherò mai ricordarvi quello poco, che io conoscerò, rimettendo mi però sempre in ogni cosa all' judicio, et parere vostro.

 N^o. XCVII.

(Vol. ii. p. 266.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lorenzo de' Medici. a Flor. Roma xvi Junii, 1514.*N^o. XCVII.

EL Dioscoride si fa diligentia di trovare, et essendocene lo haveremo, o quello, che V. S. domanda, o il migliore si trovi in Roma. Quella dica ad Phillippo Strozzi, che Monsignore Guerrino fara transcrivere lo Hippocrate, che gli promise, et io lo solliciterò, et me ha promesso trovare il Dioscoride, et servire Phillippo.

Al Medesimo. 1. Julii, 1514.

El Dioscoride di Monsignore Scipione, secondo che mi dice Monsignore Guerrino, non è corretto, ma gliè ben qui in Roma uno, che ne ha uno antiquo, et bene corretto, ma non lo

lo vuole dare per fora di Roma, et dice che quando V. S. lo volessi fare transcrivere qui, gli sarebbe concesso, altramente saria difficile haverlo; quella commetta quanto vuole la sene faccia, che non si uscirà di commissione.

No. XCVII.

Nº. XCVIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 283.)

Sadoleti Ep. Pont. No. 54.

LEO PAPA X.

Dilecto Filio Francisco de Rosis Rhavannati.

DILECTE Fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum multi, et quidem præstantissimi rerum scriptores, qui non sine gravissima latinæ linguæ jactura delitescebant, nostro tempore e profundissimis quasi tenebris in lucem prodierint, non possumus non majorem in modum studiosis gratulari. Nam inter ceteras curas, quas in hac humanarum rerum curatione divinitus nobis concessa, subimus, non in postremis hanc quoque habendam ducimus, ut latina lingua nostro pontificatu dicatur facta auctior, et bonarum artium cupidus ad maximos in disciplinas progressus, non mediocrem apportatam fuisse opem. Idirco nulli parcendum ducimus impensæ, ut veteres scriptores ubique gentium diligentissime inquirantur, et ad nos deferantur. Sic enim fit, ut neminem sui laboris poeniteat, multi sua sponte id oneris suscipiant, ut in remotissimas penetrent regiones ad antiquorum monumenta vel hominum invidia, vel temporum injuria suppressa, e tenebris eruenda; gnari conatus sui egregie præmia reportaturos. Ut tu nuper fecisti, dilecte fili, qui per tot barbaras, et dissonas gentes in Syriam usque, cum maximo dispendio, nec sine vitæ periculo pervenisti; neque id alia de causa, quam ut a situ, immo interitu, nonnulla præstantissimorum Philosophorum scripta vindicares. Inter quæ quoddam opus, quod Aristotelis Theologia, seu Philosophia mystica inscribitur (sic enim libri titulus innuabat) quandoquidem egregia doctrina refertum Arabicis litteris scriptum, e Greco translatum deprehendisti; quod latinum factum, nobis grato admodum munere obtulisti; idque formis ad usum communem excudendum nostro etiam hortatu suscepisti. Qui ne irritus sit hic tuus labor, si statim post tuam editionem alii quoque excuderint, mandamus universis, et singulis per totum orbem terrarum ad quos hæ litteræ pervenerint, sub excommunicationis, lætæ sententiæ, his vero qui in nostra hac S. R. E. ditione degunt, præterea sub ducentorum ducatorum tibi applicandorum, et librorum quos impresserint amissionis poena, ne post tuam editionem per decennium proxime futurum usque audeant imprimere absque tuo consensu. Absolutionem vero omnium et singularium huic nostræ voluntati contravenientium, nobis tantummodo reservamus; atque iisdem poenis et imprimentes, et impressa volumina vendentes teneri volumus. Ne autem contra nostram hanc inhibitionem audeat quispiam contumaciter insurgere, mandamus, et præcipimus universis, et sin-

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gulis Apostolicæ Sedis Legatis, Nunciis, Oratoribus, Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prælatisque omnibus Ecclesiasticis, nec non eorum locum tenentibus, tum locorum omnium Gubernatoribus, ac Præsidentibus, et copiarum Ductoribus in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub ejusdem excommunicationis incurrendæ pœna, ut requisiti abs te, omni auxilio prohibeant, ne quis contra nostrum edictum per prædictum Decennium audeat innovare. Ceterum, si quis tam audax, ac temerarius esset, qui nostras has litteras vel divulgari prohiberet, vel divulgatas, ex locis sacris, aut profanis amoveret, earundem pœnarum sit reus. Constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, ceterisque quibuscumque contrariis non obstantibus. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xxx. Decembris. MDXVII. Pontificatus nostri an. v.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS.



No. XCIX.

(Vol. ii. p. 288.)

Exempl. in Biblioth. Vaticana.

Epistola Potentissimi, ac Invictissimi Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ, et Algarbiorum, &c. de victoriis habitis in India et Malaccha. Ad S. in Christo Patrem et Dominum nostrum, Dominum Leonem X. Pont. Maximum.

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SANCTISSIMO in Christo Patri, ac Beatissimo Domino, Domino Nostro, E. S. additissimus filius Emanuel, Dei gratia Rex Portugalliæ et Algarbiorum, citra ultraque mare in Africa Dominus Guineæ et conquestæ navigationis, ac commertii Ethiopæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, humillima beatorum pedum oscula. Quantum Deo Opt. Max. quantum et tibi gratulari debeamus, Beatissime Pater, vel ex nuntio quod nostra Indica classis proxime attulit satis apparet. Quod enim te Pont. Max. te S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Christiano Orbi presidente, tam admiranda in Dei laudem ac gloriam gesta, tam ex voto successerint, tua certe laus tua gloria censi debet. Jure itaque visum est, quæ in India, Dei suffragio, ad ipsius cultum spectantia, nostris armis modo facta sint, ad tuam Sanctitatem, utpote totius Christianæ Reipublicæ caput et orthodoxæ religionis normam, carptim ac summatim, ne stilum Epistolarum excedamus, præscribere, ut pro rerum dignitate cuncta pensari, summoque Deo accepta referri valeant, ac indies sui Sanctissimi Nominis gliscentem laudem Christianique dogmatis propagationem facile speremus. Igitur pacata, post plures dubii Martis victorias non sine labore et sanguine partas, India, relictis in ea opportunis præsiidiis Alphonsus de Albicherque protho-capitaneus noster, ut jacturam, quam superioribus annis nostri fecerant, injuriamque ulcisceretur, auream Chersonesum, Malacham accolæ appellant, contendit; ea est inter Sinum magnum et Gangeticum sita, Urbs miræ magnitudinis, utque vigintiquinque millium et amplius larium censeatur, terra ipsa fecundissima, ac nobilissimarum quas fert India mertium feracissima, celebratissimum ob id Emporium, ubi

ubi non modo varia aromata et omnigeni odores, sed Auri quoque, Argenti, Margaritarum ac preciosorum lapillorum magna copia affluit. Hanc Rex Maurus gubernabat, eatenus vires suas Maumetica Secta protendente, cætera Gentiles tenent. Huc itaque cum instructa classe applicuisset Alphonsus, urbem oppugnare destinat; quod præsentientes Saraceni, bello se multis munitionibus et Armis præparaverunt, sed frustra; nam commisso bis prælio, nostri tandem, Dei auxilio, superiores plurimis ex hostibus cæsis, urbem vi intrant, occupant, data prædæ libertate, diripiunt, incendunt. Rex ipse, qui ex Elephante pugnabat, graviter vulneratus, cum superstitibus Mauris fuga sibi consuluit. In ea pugna magnus hostium numerus exiguo nostrorum damno interiit; capti plures; magna etiam ablata spolia, in quibus et septem ipsius Regis bello assueti Elephantes, suis turribus, sericis, atque auro intextis ephippiis, illius Provinciae more muniti, ac æneorum omnis generis tormentorum ad duo millia summa arte fabricata. Capta sic urbe, hostibusque profligatis, quo nostræ rei tutius consuleretur, in fluminis ripa quod mediam urbem interfluit, hoste ubivis terra marique subacto, undique suae securitati prospiciens, munitissimam arcem murorum quindecim pedum latitudine construxit, ex lapide videlicet qui ex dirutis Saracenorum quas Mosquitas vocant ædibus excerptus est. Mirabilis profecto divina providentia, quod ubi tanto tempore Maumeticæ perfidiæ cultus celebratus, ubi Redemptoris nostri nomen toties blasphematum, inde occulto Dei consilio, magna sua laude, Sathanæ dedecore, qui tanto labore ac nostrorum sanguine tamdiu pro Catholicæ Fidei augmento affectamus, huic ædificio et Christianis tam necessario operi opem acceperimus. Erant eo tempore Malachæ plures extranei ac diversarum nationum mercatores, scilicet Zamatri, Pegui, Janæi, Goræi, et ab extremo oriente atque ultima Sinarum regione Chines, alique Gentiles, qui urbem commertii gratia frequentes, multis divitiis, auro, argento, margaritis, et pretiosis lapillis, serico etiam vellere ac multifariis aromatibus et odoribus, affatim replent. Ii cum multis quoque finitimis, ab Alfonso fœdus et amicitiam ultro flagitantes, ab ipso et benigne et favorabiliter sunt accepti, pactoque commertii et mercaturæ tractatu, suas negotiationis domos circum arcem ubi tutius versari possent secum transtulere, mutuo fœdere adeo læti, ut quamvis hactenus illud emporium omnium fuerit celeberrimum, deinceps tamen, si fieri poterit, multo majus ac celebrius futurum existimetur: quin et ipsi Chines nuntium ad nos mittunt, a quo perfectius res suas intelligamus. Atque adeo tam hi, quam cæteri urbis accolæ, dicto audire, imperatisque legibus parere non recusarunt, ut Reip. regiminiis justitiæque officiales nostro nomine Alfonsi manu acceperint, quorum iudicio et arbitrio gubernantur, simul et monetam nostro ibi nomine cusam tanquam Regis Dominiique sui agnoscentes, excipiunt, et expendunt, auream catholicos mille scilicet nummorum, argenteam centum valere Malachenses inscripsere: Hæc cum cognovisset Rex, de Ansia, et gente et solo Orientem versus potentissimus, ad quem fama erat jure Malacham spectare, et a Mauris olim usurpatam, Legato ad Præfectum nostrum destinato, qui se suaque, nostro manciparet obsequio, auream simul craterem cum pretioso magnæque existimationis carbunculo, enseque auro adfabre elaboratum, in signum videlicet recognitionis, ac veræ perpetuæque futuræ amicitiae dono misit; ad quem Præfectus aliquos e nostris expertos vafrosque viros intima regionis scrutaturos cum multis etiam muneribus remisit, unde maximum Dei obsequium et Catholicæ Fidei augmentum fore non dubitamus. Rebus sic apud Malacham compositis, et obfirmato tractato commertii fœdere, relicto in arce tormentis

tormentis, machinisque, munitissima sexcentorum etiam virorum ac strenuorum militum securo praesidio, et classe ad maritimae orae tutelam viris armisque optime instructa, Alfonsus in Indiam revertens, Goæ Urbis præcipuam arcem, quam ipse superioribus annis magno nostrorum periculo, sed majore hostium strage occupaverat, nostræque ditioni et imperio adjunxerat, a Mauris obsessam reperit, extracta etiam juxta alia firmissima arce, unde ruebant Turchorum manus quæ sex millia nostros continue infestabant; quos cum adoriretur Præfectus plurimis jam trucidatis, desperata salute, pacta tantummodo corporum incolumitate, se tandem ac reliqua nostris dedidit, partisque et ibi machinarum, equorum, armorum et hujusmodi haud contemnendis spoliis, quibusdam etiam qui inter Mauros reperti sunt Apostatis qui a fide nostra desciverant, debito afflictis supplicio, urbem pristinae quieti restituit. Appulerat interea Dabuli urbi haud procul a Goa, Presbyteri Joannis potentissimi Christicolarum Domini ad Præfectum nostrum Legatus, qui ejus nomine ut Christiani Christiano omnem opem, omnia ad bellum contra Catholicæ fidei hostes opportuna, militum exercitus, armorum ac commeatus præsidia, ultro offerat; præsertim si mare rubrum, suo conjunctum dominio, nostra classis trajiciat, ubi commodissime utriusque vires jungi possent. Haud exiguum adorandæ et veræ Crucis lignum ad nos mittit, viros vafros et industrios poscens, quorum ingenio et artificio a Sultani territorio et regione, Nilum deflecti atque diverti posse existimat. Aderant tunc apud nostrum Præfectum a Narsingue Rege Legati, Rege Gentili adeo potentissimo, ut mille et quingentos belligeros Elephantes, armatorum Equitum quadraginta millia, præter innumerum peditum numerum, suo arbitrio, in aciem parvo negotio proferre, tantumque agri possidere perhibeatur, quantum semestri itinere vix emetiri possit. Huic plures Reges ac Satrapes parent, quorum nonnulli, maritimis oris proximi, nobis sunt tributarii. Apud Alfonsum et Cambayæ Regis Legatus, terra marique potentissimi, atque inter Mauros maximi, item a Zabayo Goæ quondam domino, atque a Rege Grosapa, alique complures Regum Satrapumque Legati a nostro Præfecto, fœdus pacemque ultro exorantes ac sua munera singuli afferentes. In hac etiam quæ proxime appulit classe ab Armusii Rege Legatus, cum multis margaritarum rerumque pretiosarum donis, in signum videlicet fidelitatis et recognitionis ad nos venit. Hunc Regem Alfonsus idem, urbe opulentissima et præcipuo emporio Armusio vi capto, quindecim millium Seraphinorum, ea est aurea moneta ducatis equivalens, annum nobis tributarium effecerat. Inter hos successus, Pater Beatissime, Divino suffragante numine, per universam Indiam plurimi Spiritus Sancti gratia igneque afflati, depositis gentilitiis erroribus, in dies ad nostram religionem conversi, veram Dei fidem agnoscunt, ob quæ Deo Opt. Max. summæ gratiæ sunt merito referendæ: quod tam procul a nostro Orbe, in tam remotis regionibus, quo ne fama quidem Sui Sanctissimi Nominis penetraverat, nostra nunc sedula opera, suam veram fidem, cultumque celebrari, publicari, ac propagari dignatus sit: unde proculdubio, Divina favente clementia, sperandum est, cum nunc Præfectus noster ad Mare rubrum, ut ejus ostio occupato, Sarracenis earum partium commercia interdicit, relictis in India opportunis præsidiis, ingenti classe properat ut ibi conjunctis sub Crucis vexillo Presbyteri Joannis nostrisque viribus, maximum Dei obsequium, et Maumeticæ sectæ detrimentum et ignominia sequatur, extremaque Orientis ora, quo et sacras Apostolorum voces intonuisse compertum est, Occidentali nostræ propediem jungatur, et ad veri Dei cultum, ipsius suffragante numine, traducatur; S. Sedi Apostolicæ

Apostolicæ ac tuæ Sanctitati, ut optimo pastori Christiani gregis, more debitum, obsequium et obedientiam oblatura. Bene valeat Beatitudo tua, quam pientissimus Deus diu ac felicissime conservare et augere ad votum dignetur. Datum in Urbe nostra Olisipone, 8. idus Junias, Anno Domini M. D. xiii.

Nº. XCIX.

Nº. C.

*(Vol. ii. p. 289.)**Aurelii Sereni Monopolitani Op. Rom. 1514.*

*De aliis muneribus cum Elephante et Leopardo a Rege Emanueli ad Leonem X. Pont.
Maximum dono missis : Aurelii Sereni Monopolitani elegiacum carmen.*

NON tibi sat fuerat divo misisse Leoni
 Hoc ingens animal, quod novitate placet;
 Est ingens, fateor, quamvis deformius esset,
 Id tamen ingenio non caruisse putes.
 Sic natura jubet nihil omni ex parte beatum;
 Una hic dote viget, qua minus ille viget.
 Hoc tamen ornasti pulchro tu munere munus
 Huic dono junctus nam Leopardus adest.
 Distinctus maculis, visu pulcherrimus ille est,
 Omne decus variis rebus inesse solet.
 Digna ministeriis Rex optime munera sacris
 Misisti nostro Pontificique simul.
 Altaris tegmen gemmis decoratur et auro,
 Ampla sacerdotis fit tunica atque nitens.
 Adduntur geminæ pro binis inde ministris,
 Magnum auri pondus quæ preciosa valet.
 Hæc preciosa quidem sunt munera, qualia nulli
 Pontifici a quoquo Rege fuere data.
 Per florès et aves magnis texuntur elencis
 Quos varius rutilans undique jaspis habet.
 Cernitur Emanuel frons et tua grata voluntas,
 Sed dicas tanto dona minora Deo.

Nº. C.

Joannis Capitonis Aretini Elegia ad eundem Elephantem.

Si te Elephas Lybico credas servire Leoni,
 Falleris: e cælo decidit iste Leo.
 Hic tuus, est Dominus, terrarum gloria prima,
 Tergeminum decorat cui diadema caput,

Inter

Inter mortales plusquam mortalis habetur:
 Claudere cui fas est et reserare polum.
 Si servire Deo vere est regnare, Leoni
 Dum servis, regnas; nam Leo in orbe Deus.
 Forsitan hic inter cæli te signa locabit,
 Quando inter superos ille relatus erit.
 Quid natale solum patriasque revisere silyas
 Plus cupias? sedes est sacra Roma Deum.
 Non tu Parthorum regum male fida subibis
 Tecta, sed heroum cælicolumquæ lares.
 In Vaticano cum tu stabulabere colle,
 Delicias orbis jure tenere putes.
 Fertilitate locus pomorum et vere perenni,
 Hesperidumque hortos præstat et Alcinoi.
 Quid memorem dulces auras, cælumque salubre?
 Elysia hic credas arva colenda piis.
 Si te religio, Venus alma, et gloria tangunt,
 Religio hic regnat, gloria, et alma Venus.
 Bellandi studiis si flagres Martis et æstro,
 Romuleam hanc urbem Martia turba colit.
 Hac socia, invicti auspiciis, ductuque Leonis,
 Ad Latios referes clara trophea Deos.
 Læta triumphalis ductabis fercula pompæ,
 Vel Capitolino plaustra superba Jovi.
 Vive diu hic lætus dans omina fausta Leoni,
 Vescere cum Domino nectare et ambrosia;
 Schœnobates fias; varios disce edere ludos,
 Quis dominum curis mille levare queas.
 Sic Latio poteris gratissimus esse Tonanti,
 Atque auram populi conciliare tibi.
 Ne meditare fugam; quod si moriaris in urbe,
 Non poteris fato nobiliore mori.
 Pontificem in summum testabere Regis amorem,
 Cum magna et sancta fœdus amicitia.
 O felix animal, fausto sub sydere natum,
 Quod tam nobilitant Carmina, Roma, Leo.

IA. MANTIUS PHILENUS,

Quos Capitolinum juvit meminisse theatrum,
 Qualiter est procerum res agitata virum,
 Huc adeant, docti relegant monumenta Sereni;
 Spectabunt oculos ceu foret ante suos.

VITALIS,

VITALIS.

Tam bene succedit Syculo bonus iste Poeta
 Ut mereat Succuli nomen et ingenium.
 Hic Elephas Vates ea carmina quæ tibi cudit,
 Nil nasi, et multum nasi Elephantis habet.

No. G.

No. CI.

(Vol. ii. p. 290.)

Exempl. in Biblioth. Vatican.

*Dieghi Pacecchi Jur. Consult. In prestanda Obedientia pro Emanuele Lusitanorum Rege
 Invictiss. Leoni X. Pont. Opt. Max. dicta Oratio.*

ELOQUAR an sileam? Quis enim obsecro vel consummatissimus Orator, P. B. quæ tanta ingenii aut facundiæ felicitas, ne dicam esse, sed animo concipi potest, quæ ante Augustissimum tui acerrimi iudicii Tribunal, apud Majestatem tuam, in sublimi Solio, ac solidissima Petri Petra, divina unanimique omnium sententia sedentem; inter Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardines firmissimasque Columnas, ac tot clarissima mundi lumina, quasi Solem inter sua sidera micantem; in tanta prestantissimorum virorum corona, celeberrimoque totius Orbis teatro, de re tam ardua tamque difficili, non dicam verba facere, sed mutire quidem aut hiscere ausit? Quæ sane res, si ulli unquam in hoc sacro Conventu dicturo difficilis visa est, mihi quidem eo majorem difficultatem afferre debet, quod homo peregrinus, nullo dicendi, nulloque eloquendi studio sim excultus, sed rudis adhuc, et Transalpini sermonis, situ squalidus, crassoque (ut ille inquit) sub aere natus. Venerunt profecto timor et tremor super me, et contexerunt tenebræ. Quid igitur faciam? tacebo ne? Sed urget me parendi necessitas. An justissimi Regis, Domini que mei dicto non audiam, qui sanctissima Dei præcepta libens audire, seque ac sua omnia eidem dicare semper consuevit? An illius imperio non obediam, qui et ipse ultro obediens nos cum obedientia ad te mittit? An optimi, ac religiosissimi Principis tam sancto desiderio refragabor, qui ut tua lumina supplices adiremus, tuosque Sanctissimos Pedes exoscularemur, non sumptui, non impensæ, non laboribus pepercit? In tanto fluctuantis animi æstu hærerem proculdubio, P. B. nisi Serenus iste, Divinusque Vultus tuus, discusso mentis nubilo, omnes jam difficultates pervinceret, quo nos usque adeo recreas, ut tuo velut numine, sinceram Principis nostri mentem, purissimum cor, præcipuam fidem, singularem observantiam, atque hilarem offerentis animum jam perpendisse videaris, neque ex verborum inopia, sed ex animi copia rem metiri, majoremque bonæ voluntatis, quam culti sermonis habere rationem. Quare tuis jam auspiciis, B. P. Serenissimi

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O

Regia

Regis nostri Emanuelis mandata paucis explicabo, ut quam tuæ Sanctitatis auribus molestiam forte hac barbara mea elocutione attulero, eandem ipsam Orationis saltem compendio rependam. Sed unde ordiar? quid primum exequar? Equidem divinas tuas laudes, æternasque virtutes aggressurus, novam quandam pati videor ex copia inopiam. Ita dicere conanti certatim se se ingerunt, ita quælibet festinabunda occurrens, primum apud te locum sibi vindicare gestit, adeo quidem ut invicem se se ipsas eo concursu impediant et obturbent. Cogitanti etenim mihi preclara Justitiæ munera, qua ad amussim et æqua lance cuncta perpendis, quæ ut cæterarum Domina et Regina se primum offert, reclamatur ejus socia Clementia, ac velut tibi peculiaris et propria, præferri miris modis expostulat. Dicturum de singulari Prudentia, qua perpetuæ vitæ lineam tam bene duxisti, non patitur Fortitudo, quæ te interritum, ac summa florentissimarum virtutum cacumina, Leonino more, affectantem, fortissime simul et felicissime, Leo, tot laboribus, tot fortunæ fulminibus sola virtute superatis, in ipso ætatis flore (quod vix alteri contigit) ad eminentissimum rerum fastigium evexit. Cæteras vero contemnit, nullique cedit Temperantia, cum posthabitis voluptatum illecebris, toties de te ipso pulcherrime triumphaveris. Gravitas quoque quæ potissima laus in Principe est, nec lento quidem gradu, ut te sibi quasi suum vindicet, procedit, cum tamen Benignitas longo illam intervallo anteire conatur. Certat cum Frugalitate Liberalitas, neque ei quidem concedere, aut hoc in certamine liberalis esse deliberat. Verum ipsa Dei præpotentis Religio, recteque vivendi Ratio sanctissima, qua cæteros mortales semper præstitisti, merito quidem te totum possidere, sibi que primas ab reliquis deferri debere, summo studio contendit. Ita virtutum quæcumque prior occurrat, illi cæteræ aliæ quasi invidentes sese opponunt, magna que vi obsistunt. In quibus profecto recensendis, cum impediatur turba delectum, cumque ego neque eo ingenio sim, neque ea eloquentia, qui illarum magnitudinem, quæ in te uno suum collocasse domicilium videntur, efferre possim, illis prætermissis, quæso obtestorque te, P. B. ut pro tua humanitate, dum demandatum mihi pensum absolvere pro viribus adnitor, quæ dicturus sum æquis auribus benignissime excipias. Venimus igitur, Potentissimi Regis Nostri Emanuelis, filii tui devotissimi jussu atque imperio, ad Sanctissimos pedes tuos, ejus nomine, Apostolico Throno, ac tuæ Sanctitati de more gratulaturi; Deo imprimis gratias agentes, quod eum huic Sanctæ Sedi, ac Petri naviculæ Governatorem præfecerit; qui ut novit regere, ita et velit et possit. Venimus ab ultimo Lusitaniæ recessu, ut te Dei Vicarium, Christianæ religionis Summum Antistitem, unicum Rom. Ecclesiæ, gregisque Dominici Pastorem, veneremur, colamus, atque in tuo nomine Christum, cujus vicem geris, adoremus. Venimus publice privatimque tuæ Sanctitati, ab utroque Orbe nostris jam armis convincto, obedientiam ac vere recognitionis signa præstituri. Neque ea quidem solita et antiqua, P. S. sed nova, ac multo majora tibi afferimus: Et quæ ad sanctissimam contra Christi hostes expeditionem in Sacro Lateranensi Concilio, quod ad id potissimum tam recte quam sancte continuare instituisti decernendam, non solum attineant, sed vel maxime impellant. Nam ut Lusitanorum retro Principum domi forisque pro Christiano Imperio studium ac gesta omittam, utpote universo Orbi satis jam superque satis nota, ut admirandam Manicongrii Regis cum innumero populo, Regis inquam totius Æthiopiæ maximi ac potentissimi, non sine Divino ministerio, sedula tui Emanuelis opera ad Christum conversionem silentio præteream, cujus nova obedientiæ munera, non multo post, primus videbis, primusque excipies, quid de nostrorum

trorum Indica expeditione, belloque, quod in Oriente magnis animis geritur, existimandum est? Licet enim ad mei Regis famam, meæ Patriæ decus, Lusitanique nominis æternitatem spectet, haud tamen silendum est Opus divinum potius quam humanum, Opus ante sæcula nostra nescio inspiratum, an verius desperatum, Opus quo impius ille Maumetes, ejusque præcipua sedes, Sarracenorum caput, Mecha, in hanc usque diem Christianis armis inaccessible, nobis nunc, divino suffragio, pervia, non sine magno sanguinis pretio reddita est. Nam quod tam longe, tanto terræ marisque tractu, ultra centum stadiorum millia, nostra arma, victricesque manus protendantur, tam immensa Oceani vastitate enavigata, tot insanis tempestatibus superatis, tot laboribus exantlatis, expugnata pene ipsa rerum natura, nec id quidem impune, multa enim nostrorum corpora ipsi indignanti Oceano devoranda, monstrisque marinis in escam dantur, (pretiosa sane, ac summo præmio digna sepultura, quæ sui Dei amore, suæ fidei zelo, sui Regis imperio, suæ Patriæ gentisque studio, pulcherrime paratur) quod tot Reges, ac Satrapæ gentis numero, rerum opulentia munitissimi, classe potentissimi, nostra arma viresque sentiant, eorumque potentia a nostris, quamvis numero imparibus, sæpe retunsa, multoties confracta, sæpius attrita; quod tot Provinciæ subactæ, tot populi sub jugum missi, tot Nationes in potestatem redactæ, nec ipsa modo oppida et opes, sed multorum quoque animæ recuperatæ, qui a perpetuo Maumeticæ servitutis jugo liberati, veram Dei fidem agnoverunt; quod memoratissima alterius quondam Orbis terrarum credita Taprobane, multis antea sæculis incognita, nec minus expetita quam celebris, nobis jam sit familiaris; quod celeberrima illa Aurea Chersonesus, Regiaque ejus Malacha, nostris subacta armis, jura legesque nostras acceperit; quod pluri mi Reges, ac minime aspernandi Principes, audita Lusitanorum fortitudine, ultro fædus et amicitiam per Legatos expostularint, munera etiam, et ea quidem pretiosissima dono dederint; quod maximus ille, potentissimusque Princeps, Presbyter Joannes, sua arma nostris junxerit, veræ adorandæque Crucis haud exiguum lignum tuo Emanueli miserit, totiusque sui Regni vires contra Catholicæ fidei hostes libere quidem obtulerit; nonne hæc omnia P. S. ductu opera auspiciisque tui Emanuelis, in Christi jam peculium recensenda, atque in Sanctæ Ro. Ecclesiæ Patrimonium sunt referenda? Sed quo ego illud piaculo præteream Sanctiss. Leo, quod nuper hoc anno Invictiss. idem Rex noster felicissime in Africa gessit, nihili estimans, quod variis hinc inde bellis, hinc ex Asia, inde ex Africa ageretur, ut magno apparatu bellico, maximaque instructa classe, Illustris magnanimique Bragantiæ Ducis, Sororis Filii, virtute ac robore animi, et fortissimorum militum ardore non fere prius instructam aciem in Africam transmiserit, quam de hostibus triumphaverit; Azamor Mauritanæ urbem, loci situ et soli ubertate insignem, ac totius Regni quasi caput, tantopere a Christianis et frustra tentatam, expugnaverit; mox Almedinam orthodoxo nomini infestam, et cunctis affluentem divitiis, aliaque oppida munitissima, compluraque loca opulentissima, suæ ditioni suoque Imperio felicissime adjecerit. Cujus rei gaudium duo tintinnabula, indigna olim ex Christianis trophæa, in Urbe Azamor reperta, mirifice testata sunt, quæ antiqui non oblita soni, magno Christiani nominis dedecore, tot annos suppressa, insperato nunc quasi postliminio divinas laudes quotidie resonant, et quo diutius conticuere, eo clariore sonitu lætius jucundiusque exultant, tum in gratulationem restitutæ libertatis, tum in contemptum perfidi Maumetis ac superbi Sathanæ, qui ibidem cum diris devotionibus (horrendum dictu) in Christianum nomen, indignissime colebantur, nunc

autem illorum dedecore vera Dei fides, vera laus, vera gloria sciscitatur, agnoscitur, prædicatur. Magna hæc sunt P. B. signa, et (ut verius loquar) certissima Dei promissa. Dominaberis profecto, dominaberis a mari usque ad mare, et a Tyberi usque ad terminos Orbis terrarum. Reges Arabum et Sabæ dona adducent, et adorabunt te omnes Principes, et omnes gentes servient tibi, tibi serviet ultima Thule. Quid enim jam sperandum est, nisi extremam illam orientis oram, quo vix fama quidem Christiani nominis pervenerat, nostræ Occidentali conjunctam, et ad veri Dei fidem cultumque traductam, propediem Tuæ S. ut Optimo Pastori Christiani gregis, novam obedientiam ac debitum obsequium præstituram, ut Indo ac Gange, Tago ac Tyberi, in eundem velut alveum coactis, tuisque auspiciis concorditer fluentibus, fiat unum Ovile, et unus Pastor. Age igitur B. P. quod te jam mente ista altissima evolere credimus, tantam bene gerendæ rei occasionem amplectere, aggredere hanc tam claram provinciam, Magnanime Leo, dignam Principe, dignam Pontifice, dignam iuquam Leone, Orthodoxæ religioni salutarem, Deo Opt. Max. gratissimam. Quid enim Servatori nostro Christo Jesu acceptius efficere potest ejus Vicarius, quam infinitas pene animas, perpetuo barathro demergendas, in viam salutis dirigere? Quid Sedi Apostolicæ et Christianæ Reipub. commodius, quam membra Ecclesiæ suo capiti restituere? Tuum est P. S. æstuantis Petri naviculæ naufragio subvenire; tibi hæreditarium fluenti Populo mederi, et Christianam Rempub. tot procellis, tot sævissimis tempestatibus tam diu jactata, tuo salutifero ac pretioso pharmaco, peculiari quodam gentis Medicæ jure medicari. In te omnis ægrotantium spes alioqui inclinata recumbit. Tu publicæ saluti remedium adhibe. Verum, verum inquam Leonem indue, pervigila, aut oculis adapertis somnum in hac navicula, quod Leoni de suis Catulis sollicito peculiare legimus, captabis, in qua non somniculose est dormiendum ne periclitetur, ne pereat. Pastor es bonus; ne oves tuas Barbaris morsibus lacerandas permittas: Unge nos Leo Clementiss. tuo salutifero adipe, tuo pretiosissimo unguento, quo rapacissimorum Luporum rabiem conteramus, teque ferocissimum Leonem in perfidos Christi hostes ostende. Quod quo facilius perfici possit, totis viribus, quod instituisti, adnitendum est, ut Christianorum Principum concurrentia inter se signa, unde tot vulnera, tot clades, tantam sanguinis effusionem, tot civilibus bellis oppressa res Christiana in dies patitur, in primis componantur; ac tandem confecta pace, qua nec Deo quicquam acceptius, nec huic rei aptius esse potest, sedatisque eorum discordiis, unanimi consensu, concordia fidelium arma, in Infideles tuo felici auspicio, convertantur. Quod ut facias, quanto potest studio ac precibus, te obsecrat, teque obtestatur B. P. tuus Emanuel, qui hujus Sanctæ Sedis, Progenitorum more, ac tuæ S. præcipue semperque studiosissimus, qua solet observantia, nos alacri animo ad te mittit, cujus nomine obedientiam exhibentes, veræ sinceræque fidei officia spondemus nusquam defutura; Teque, verum Christi Vicarium, Petri hæredem, Maximum Romanæ Ecclesiæ Pontificem, totius Christianæ Reip. Præsulem, recognoscimus, fatemur, adoramus. Simul etiam ut vestris Sacris Conciliis intersimus injunxit: ubi Clementissimus Deus dignetur adsistentium corda Spiritu Sancto ita replere, ut te duce decernantur, quæ Dei cultum, Catholicæ fidei augmentum, S. Sedis Apostolicæ decus, Tuæ B. merita ac famam, sacri Concilii laudem, totius Christiani orbis commodum, Infidelium perniciem excidiumque perpetuum concernant; in Dei Opt. Max. gloriam sempiternam, Amen.

M. CASANOVA.

Dum Tulli eloquium et clypeus famulatur Achillis,
Emanuel dextra fulminat, ore tonat.

Jo. Ja. Cipellus.

Armis Emanuel, Paccchus ore est;
Clarus viribus ille, hic eloquendo.
Virtutes quoque Regias in uno
Omneis Emanuele sentiebam,
Dum doctus celebraret hunc Paccchus.
Hinc Regem dubitabo clariorem
Devictine Arabes, et Indi, et Afri,
An Oratio fecerit Paccchi.
Dicent nec scio posteris et nepotes,
Laudandum magis an magis timendum.

Blosius.

Lusitanorum tum fortia, tum pia facta,
Urbem, orbem implerant, Oceanum, Imperia,
Nempe pii et clari per sæcla perennia Regis
Nullum os, nulla ætas laudibus abstinuit.
At postquam suus illa alto tulit ore Paccchus,
Et Regem egregium nuntia lingua refert,
Perculsis stupuere animis Patresque Patrumque
Ipse pater; Regis laus geminata nitet.
Ac simul hinc, Regem, quod fecerit inclita, laudant:
Hinc, se quod tanto jusserit ore cani.

P. Cursius Carpinen.

Regum gloria, Principumque sidus,
Europæ decus, Indiæ subactor,
Unus Emanuel facis quot omnes,
(Si fas vera loqui) suis duellis
Reges non faciunt potentiores.
Quæ nunc scribere non opus, quod omnes
Norunt tam bene, quam suos lacertos.
Nam dum hæc grandiloquo explicavit ore
Paccceus tuus, sic Leo priorum
Longe Pontificum optimus, Senatus,
Sic orbis stupuit tuis trophæis,
Hæc ut te erigere, haud loqui hunc, putarit.
Regum gloria, Principumque sidus,

Europæ

Europæ decus, Africæ subactor ;
 Quod sol exoriens cadentem adorat,
 Quod quum Sol viget, est minor cadente,
 Quod miracula tot facis canenda,
 Felix ter, quater es tuis canendis.
 Sed quæ tot facis ut canat legendus
 Sæclis omnibus, omnibus disertis,
 Ter, quater, decies, perenne, felix.

Lancellottus Politus Jur. Cons.

Quid nam opus hoc ? Oro. Cuinam obsecro dicta ? Leoni.

Pro quo ? Magnanimo pro Emanuele suo.
 Quid potuit tanto dici pro Principe dignum ?
 Quis potuit tanto dicere digna Deo ?
 Paccchus, grandi et claro qui edisserit ore,
 Te digna Emanuel, te quoque digna, Leo.
 Sit tua, Dive Leo, virtus licet unica, et ipsa
 Unica sint etiam gesta tua, Emanuel,
 Par tamen illius dicendi gloria, cum sit
 Unicus ingenio, et unicus eloquio.

B. Dardanus.

Hæc quoque ne occidæ genti laus dasset ab armis,
 Ingenii rarum protulit illa decus :
 Nuper enim Orator dum Lusitanus in Urbe
 Funderet eloquii flumina larga sui,
 Roma sacrosancto stupuit veneranda Senatu,
 Substitit attonitis Albula tristis aquis.
 Eloquium domina quod jam Tagus hausit ab Urbe,
 Hauriat occidui Tybris ab amne Tagi.

Idem.

Imperii augebat latos Hispania fines,
 Mitteret Augustos cum tibi Roma duces :
 Dum Lusitani tonat hic præconia Regis
 Eloquii amissum rettulit illa decus.

Janus Vitalis Panormitanus.

Rex, orator, eques, prudens, torrens, animosus;
 Vincit, agit, pugnat, ingenio, ore, manu.

Camillus Porcius.

Ante quidem, Emanuel, Regum Rex, gloria belli
 Cesserat armorumque tibi, præreptaque nobis

Militiæ laus atque decor, quo maxima Roma
 Divum hominumque parens, cœlo sese intulit olim ;
 Dum tu, posthabitis bellis civilibus, et quæ
 Nunc miseram urgent Europam, felicius arma
 Vertis in infidos hostes, belloque frementes ;
 Indosque, Ethiopesque, ignotaque Regna lacessis,
 Atque indignatum sternis tot classibus æquor.
 Non tamen antiquo e Latio, et Laurentibus oris
 Candor adhuc aberat linguæ, pluresque vigeant,
 Eloquio insignes, soliti volitare per ampla
 Ora virum, æternumque decus nomenque mereri ;
 At postquam Orator grandi tonat ore Pacechus
 Gesta tua, Emanuel, tuæque inclita facta revolvens,
 Flexanimæ rapit adstantes dulcedine vocis,
 Obstupuere omnes, Latiae obstupuere Camenæ,
 Miratæque suum Tyberim ut migrarit in alveum
 Auríferasque Tagi, ac Durii prædivitis, undas.

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(*Vol. ii. p. 291.*)

Sadolet. Ep. Pont. Ep. No. 20.

REGI PORTUGALIE.

POSTEA quam Serenitas tua, suis Legatis, viris lectissimis, ad nos missis, id, quod Regi Christianissimo fuit consentaneum, veram et sinceram obedientiam Deo optimo maximo, nobisque Dei in terris vices, licet immeritis, gerentibus, ac Sedi Apostolicæ præstitit ; cum munus eorum publice cum magna dignitate actum, habitamque luculentam orationem læti auscultavisset, et quæ visa nobis fuerunt ad tuam singularem laudem, et commendationem pertinere, respondisset ; fuimus ab iisdem Legatis tuis appellati, ut privatim eis copiam, et potestatem nostri faceremus, quod habere se dicerent mandata, et munera, de quibus tuo nomine essent nobiscum acturi : quod nos cum illis libenter concessimus (antecesserat autem rumor, et hominum expectatio non mediocris, propter famam, et nobilitatem eorum munerum, quæ abs te missa esse dicebantur, quo esset tua liberalitas testatior) die constituta advocavimus nobis Venerandum Fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium cœtum universum ; magnamque præterea multitudinem et copiam ornatorum ac præstantium virorum tanti spectaculi celebritas concitavit. Itaque constituti in Conventu pleno summæ dignitatis excepimus adeuntes Legatos tuos, eorumque orationem de tua erga nos benevolentia, de muneribus missis, de animo in sanctam Sedem Apostolicam, ac in Dei fidem egregio et præstanti, jucundissime accepimus ; neque mediocri cum voluptate, munera ipsa aspeximus, Elephantum unum Indicum incredibili corporis magnitudine, et Pardum unum aliquanto specie

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specie ipsa venustioŕem, virgato corpore, et maculis distincto: sed in Elephanto omnium admiratio major, vel propter memoriam antiquitatis, quod apud veteres hæc bellua Romæ frequens, tanto sæculorum intervallo visa non fuerit, postquam videlicet hujus maximæ, et nobilissimæ civitatis veteres illæ imperii et potentix opes conciderunt; vel propter docilitatem belluæ atque disciplinam, ita obtemperantis monitis et præceptis rectoris sui, ut fides fieret non falso fuisse a gentilibus nostris litteris proditum, esse quandam illi belluæ cum genere humano societatem. Atque hæc hujusmodi animantium productio, et nobis jucunditati fuit, et popularem in primis habuit admirationem. Sed cum, hoc spectaculo transacto, in medio eorundem Fratrum nostrorum, et in gravissimorum, atque ornatissimorum hominum corona, consedissemus, explicaverunt eo in loco ministri Majestatis tuæ vestem destinatam rebus divinis, ac vere tantummodo dignam, quæ in thesauris Dei omnipotentis censeatur; cum nemo mortalis tam sit arrogans, qui se tanto illo ornatu dignum putare queat. Sed ejus fulgor simul atque, involucris rejectis, ad oculos intuentium est oblatus, silentium primum et tacita admiratio omnes tenuit: neque enim aut oculi ad aspectum, aut vox ad laudem sufficere posse videbantur; idque non injuria. Erat enim ea species, ea pulchritudo nobilissimi operis, qualem nec vidissemus antea unquam, nec videre expectavissemus; is splendor, qui ex candore, et copia tot gemmarum esse debebat; artem autem in eo, et varietatem operum, omnes plane confitebantur etiam pretiosiorum esse materia, cum diuturnus labor nobilitatem summi artificii, ordine et contextu mirabili margaritarum, antecellere omnibus Indicis, atque Arabicis opibus coegisset. Hoc dono conspecto, in quo, et magnitudo animi tui, qui dedicasses, et summi Dei, cujus honori dedicasses, erga te beneficentia perspiciebatur; lectæ sunt litteræ tuæ, scriptæ incertum elegantius, an religiosius; te, quod primitiæ omnium rerum Deo dicandæ sunt, primitias Lybiæ, Mauritanix, Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persidis, atque Indiæ in Dei honorem, nobis, ipsius vices sustinentibus dare, ac dedicare. Quorum omnium, et verborum, et operum magnificentia, a tanto et tam illustri Rege profecta, inusitata quidem nobis et mirabilis visa est; animo percurrentibus, quas tu provincias, quas regiones, quas oras tam terrestres quam maritimas virtute ac victoria, Deo comite, peragrasses; ut te præstantissimum Regem non solum nostra, sed etiam antiquitatis memoria præbuisses. Sed multo clarior, atque admirabilior visa est in tanto Rege, et optima erga Deum voluntas, et summa Religio: animus vero, et benevolentia erga nos, ceterarum rerum omnium nobis accidit jucundissima. Quamquam enim maximas, ac præclarissimas res nobis dono misisti, tamen multo habemus gratiorem amorem erga nos tuum, quam cunctarum opum, et divitiarum apparationem. Itaque munera quidem tua, ut nobis charissima, in sacrario nostri delubri Palatini conservaturi sumus, te vero ipsum ac præstantissimas virtutes tuas in corde, atque animo nostro perpetuo conservabimus. Utinam quas vellemus gratias tuæ Serenitati agere possemus: agimus quidem maximas; sumusque, si occasio feret, aliquando relaturi. Sed referet Deus ipse, qui nec pietatem tuam coelestibus suis præmiis, quæ maxima sunt, irremuneratam, nec nostram cupiditatem referendæ gratiæ, ut confidimus, irritam esse sinet. Nos quidem, quod nostræ est potestatis, et singularem benevolentiam tuæ erga nos voluntati perpetuo habituri sumus, et summum honorem virtuti. Datum Romæ die xi. Maji 1514. anno secundo.

LEO X.

SADOLETUS.

No. CIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 296.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Medici. Flor. Rom. 23 Mar. 1514.*

QUESTA mattina sono stato ad longum cum lo prefato Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro, domandandogli, se haveva da dirmi cosa alchuna, rispondendo di nò; et ricercandolo dell'judicio suo di questa tregua fra Spagna, et Francia, et quello gliene pareva; medisse, che se non ci era sotto qualche trappola, la era per andar bene, et che Nostro Signore non se ne potrebbe più contentare, quando non ci sia drento qualche che, come Sua Santità ne dubita, perchè quando siano per andare al bene, et non remove le cose d'Italia, come lo Stato di Milano, come ne è stato accennato, Sua Santità (come ve dico) ne sta contentissimo; et più di sono il Re di Spagna gliene fece intendere della pratica di questa tregua; ma Nostro Signore ha paura, che non segua quel parentado della figliola di Francia con Spagna, ad la quale si ragiona dare in dote lo Stato di Milano, et quando questo seguisse Sua Santità non ne sarebbe troppo contenta per respecto delle cose d'Italia; questo me ha detto Monsignore Reverendissimo, che io ve scriva, et che voi nonne parliate con homo alchuno, ma solo ad vostra satisfatione sia scripto, et che per adesso non ci è altro.

No. CIII.

No. CIV.

(Vol. ii. p. 296.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare de Pescia a Lor. de Medice. Flor. Rom. 15 Apr. 1514.*

MONSIGNOR Reverendissimo me dice, che qui non ci è altro di nuovo, salvo che questo Archidiacono di Monsignor de Marsilii venuto di Francia, et che voi di là havete il medesimo, et che il Re di Francia desidera restringersi con Nostro Signore, et vorrebbe per mezzo di Sua Santità pigliare accordo con li Svizzeri, et essere con quella, et la pratica, che ha della figliuola con lo Arciduca, se potessi fare altro, lo farebbe volentieri, per respecto che malvolentieri se depotesta dello Stato di Milano, et poi anchora dubita, che se lo Arciduca havessi quello stato, non fussi augmentato dallo Imperatore de una Verona, et altre città li circumvicine, et così ne potessi venire ad danni soi; et dicemi Sua Signoria Reverendissima, che lo Re di Francia promette ad Nostro Signore Stato, &c. se si restringano insieme loro tre, cioè Francia, Papa, et Svizzeri, et che havendo questo non teme nè di Spagna, nè Inghilterra, nè Imperatore, nè altro, et facto questo ne vorrebbe venire in Italia, &c. ad recuperare lo Stato di Milano. Delle qual cose Nostro Signore non è anchora resolutato, et altro non ci è degno da scrivere.

No. CIV.

Al Medesimo. April 18. 1514.

No. CIV.

Io comprehendo, per quello posso ritrarre da alchuno, che Nostro Signore vistosi lassato indrieto da Spagna da uno tempo in quà, comincia ad prestare orecchie, ad queste cose di Francia, et ad ogni hora lo ambasciatore Franzese è con S. Sanctità et lo ausculta volentieri, che prima nonne voleva sentir parlare, et M. Luisi de' Rossi è mezano ad tutte queste cose, et lui me ha detto, che crede, che Nostro Signore se restringerà cum quella Maestà, et veramente non è dubio, che quando fussino insieme Nostro Signore, Francia, et li Svizeri, ci fussi da dubitare, et le cose andrebbono bene per voi altri; staremo a vedere, et intendendo resolutione alchuna, subito se significherà ad V. S.

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(Vol. ii. p. 299.)

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. par. i. p. 57.

De Pileo et Gladio Consecratis, ad Regem missis.

Charissime in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Nº. CV.

IMITATI vetus Institutum Romanorum Pontificum Prædecessorum nostrorum, cum in proximâ Natalis Dominici Nocte, inter Missarum solemnias, *Ensem et Pileum* manibus nostris consecrassemus, ut eo postea munere, uti consuevit fieri, aliquem ex Christianis Principibus de hac Sancta Sede benemeritis donaremus, convertimus cogitationem nostram in tuam præcipuè Majestatem, pro paterna nostra ac singulari in eam benevolentia, proque tuis ac Illustrium Progenitorum tuorum erga ipsam Sedem et Christianam Religionem clarissimis ac testatissimis meritis; Teque tantum ac talem Principem, Sanctæque hujus Sedis ab ipso Deo utrumque Gladium habentis devotissimum Filium, hoc nostro præclaro munere de Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium concilio decrevimus decorandum.

Quod quidem Donum, *Fili Carissime*, non tam Materia quam Misterio prætiosum est; signatur enim hoc Gladio, Unigeniti Dei Filii de inventore mortis ac humani generis hoste victoria, ac Dei infinita potentia in ipso Filio suo, vero Deo et Homine, æquè cum Patre subsistens.

Figurat etenim Pontificalis hic Gladius Potestatem summam Temporalem, a Christo, *Pontifici Maximo*, Vicario ejus in Terris collatam.

Pileus verò cum Ense iccirco conjungitur, ut eo, veluti Galeâ quadam Salutis assumpto, assiduus intrepidusque Propugnator adversus inimicos Fidei et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ protegaris, et armetur caput tuum Spiritus Sancti gratiâ, qui per columbam margaritis ornatam significatur.

Suscipe

Suscipe igitur, *Carissime Fili*, Munus hoc Sacrum Regiâ tuâ Animi magnitudine ac præstanti virtute dignissimum; accipe manu istâ bellicâ *Ensem Bellicum*; hoc Tu felicissimis auspiciis bella geres, hostes fidei nostræ subiges, Christianæ Reipublicæ fines ac Imperium propagabis; tunc Te, *Princeps fortissime*, animum decet advertere ad tantum decus, tantum meritum, etiam ante alios evolare, contra Infidelium rabiem tuæ Militiæ facinora excercere, primitias virium, roboris, ætatis, Deo Optimo Maximo consecrare, ut in Præliis per hoc munus cœlesti auxilio fretus celebres referas ex Christi hoste Triumphos, pace verò deinde partâ idem Tibi munus perpetuo sit decori atque ornamento.

Quod ut Tibi gratius esset, mittimus illud per Dilectum Filium *Leonardum de Spinellis* Affinem ac Familiarem nostrum, Nobis admodum gratum, ut Personæ auctoritas gratiam muneris augeat, et simul ut *Majestati tuæ* intimam nostram erga Te charitatem et benivolentiam coram uberius ostendat.

Datum *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die Prima Martii M. D. xiii. Pontificatûs nostri Anno Primo.

JA. SADOLETUS.

Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri.

Nº. CVI.

(Vol. ii. p. 299.)

Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reip. Flor.

Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de Medici Flor. Rom. xviii. Ap. 1514.

QUESTA havevo cominciato questo dì xvii. credendo si spacciassi, ma perchè non partì alchuno per lì, la ho sopratenuta persino ad questa sera xviii; et dipiù fo intendere ad V. S. come questa sera Monsignore Reverendissimo me ha detto, che io gli faccia intendere come qui sono lettere del primo di questo del Re proprio d'Inghilterra ad Nostro Signore per le quali si duole assai cum Sua Santità de questa tregua, che ha facto Spagna con Francia, et monstra ne essere mal contento, et gli fa intendere, che vuole essere con quella, et non uscire della volontà sua; d'onde Nostro Signore pensa, et con ogni ingegno trama di operare, che l'Inghilterra et Francia se reconcilino, et faccino accordo insieme, et di già ha dato qualche principio, et farà ogni opera d'accordargli, et Dio gliene presti gratia. S. S. Reverendissima fa intendere ad V. S. che di questo ultimo capitolo d'Inghilterra la non ne parli; ma solum sia ad sua satisfactione.

No. CVI.

N^o. CVII.*(Vol. ii. p. 302.)**Exempl. in Biblioth. Vaticana. Et v. Fabron. in vita Leon. x. in Not. 38.*

Copia originalis Litteræ Serenissimi Regis Angliæ ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, Dominum Leonem Papam X. missæ, de pace ac fœdere per eum et Christianissimum Francorum Regem noviter inita.

N^o. CVII.

BEATISSIME Pater : &c. Post multas variasque disceptationes atque altercationes inter Serenissimi Francorum Regis Oratores apud nos, et nostros Conciliarios ultro citroque habitas, divino tandem munere, et Sanctitate vestra duce atque auctore, arma per nos pro ista sancta Sede sumpta deposuimus, et terra marique pacem ac fœdus cum eodem Francorum Rege æquis et honorificis, tam vestræ Sanctitati quam nobis, conditionibus inivimus. Nam vestram ante omnes Sanctitatem, istamque sanctam Sedem, ac universam ejus ditionem, et nominatim Bononiam in hac pace et fœdere comprehendimus. Complexi etiam sumus sacrum Imperium, et Illustrissimum dominum Principem Castellæ, atque illis annum hinc ad tres menses inchoandum dedimus ad animi sui sententiam declarandum, utrum in hac pace et fœdere esse velint, nec ne. At vestræ Sanctitati diem nullam præscripsimus. Nullum præterea non studium et operam adhibuimus, nec quicquam obmisimus, ut Ducem quoque Mediolani eadem pace ac fœdere complecteremur. Verum id obtinere nulla ratione potuimus. De Serenissimo vero Rege Aragonum, quoniam is res suas ex se ipso agere magis amat, neuter nostrum mentionem ullam fecit. A dicto Serenissimo Francorum Rege inter cæteros amicos Scoti quoque sunt comprehensi, sub quibusdam conditionibus, quibus eos nequaquam staturus existimamus. Hujus autem pacis terminus anno postquam alteruter nostrum vita excesserit est constitutus ; quemadmodum ex dictæ pacis Capitulis, quæ ab eodem Francorum Rege intra proximos duos menses sunt comprobanda, et postea infra annum vestræ Sanctitatis auctoritate (adjectis contra violatorem censuris) confirmanda, ac nunc etiam ex Reverendo Domino Episcopo Vigornienti, nostro apud Sanctitatem vestram et Sedem Apostolicam Oratore, copiosius intelliget. Ut autem hæc pax firmior stabiliorque sit, eidem Serenissimo Francorum Regi, Illustrissimam Sororem nostram Dominam Mariam, ab ipso instantissime petitam, in matrimonium promisimus. Quæ olim cum vix Annum XIII. attigisset, per nostrum clarissimæ memoriæ Patrem prædicto Illustrissimo Principi Castellæ, Annum tunc ætatis suæ nonum agenti pacta fuerat, tempusque constitutum, ut cum idem Illustrissimus Dominus Princeps ad annum XIII. pervenisset, Oratores ac Procuratores suos huc ad nos mitteret, qui cum dicta Illustrissima Sorore nostra solemnia Sponsalia, per verba de præsentem, conficerent. Quod cum non esset ab ejusdem Illustrissimi Principis Gubernatoribus observatum, rursus anno superiori cum apud Insulas Oppieses essemus, huic rei, xv. die mensis Maii proxime præteriti, per Oratorem nostrum operam dedimus, atque hoc quoque ab eisdem Domini Principis Gubernatoribus (quamquam sæpe a nobis admonitis et rogatis) fuit neglectum. Quapropter dicta Illustrissima Soror nostra, consultatione prudentum habita, quicquid per eundem nostrum

trum Patrem, suo nomine, cum prædictis Domini Principis Gubernatoribus actum fuerat, coram Notario publico et testibus se rescindere, ac irritum habere protestata est: atque re dissoluta, dicto Serenissimo Francorum Regi est desponsata, et matrimonium per ejusdem Regis Procuratorem jam contractum. Quo vinculo non dubitamus sinceriosem et constantiorem inter eum et nos pacem futuram: ad quam quidem crebre studiosissimeque vestrae Sanctitatis adhortationes, et demonstrata nobis ab ea, non istius Sanctae Sedis modo, verum etiam totius Christianae Reipublicae utilitas nos imprimis allexerunt, ea sane spe, ut non nostra tantum, sed et omnium Christianorum arma plus nimio in mutuas caedes grassata, finem aliquando faciant, et in Christiani nominis hostes convertantur; qui fraternas nostras caedes læti ac ridentes spectant, et nos eo melius rem sibi gerere, ac magis strenue sibi militare, quo atrocius in nostra ipsa viscera sævire arbitrantur. Proinde Sanctitatem vestram etiam atque etiam oramus, ut quod sanctissime cogitavit, et feliciter cœpit, universali paci componendae nunc maxime instet, Divinoque suo concilio, et quantis valet precibus, sicuti apud nos fecit, ita apud cæteros Principes Christianos agat, summaque vi in tam præclarum, tamque vestra Sanctitate dignum, Christianae Reipublicae salutiferum opus adnitatur: quo pulcherrima illa, votisque omnibus et nobis semper exoptata adversus infideles expeditio concordibus omnium Christianorum armis animisque conspiciatur: quod aut sub vestra Sanctitate, aut sub nullo alio Pontifice nos visuros speramus. Ex palatio nostro Greenvici die XII. Augusti M. D. XIII.

N^o. CVIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 305.)

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. par. 1. p. 61.

De Obitu Cardinalis Eboracensis.

Serenissime ac Invictissime Rex et Domine, Domine mi Colendissime.

POST humillimas commendationes. Hodiè, Bonae Memoriae, *Cardinalis Eboracensis* Naturae reddidit quod acceperat, ex cujus obitu quantum ceperim doloris nullis possem exprimere Literis.

N^o. CVIII.

Nam, præterquam quod observaveram et amaveram eum non vulgariter, fecit non parvam jacturam Ordo noster tanto Patre et Domino carere, et cujus etiam Servitio quotidie Regia Majestas vestra uti poterat.

Sed quoniam a Deo hæc sunt, cui nihil nisi rectum placet, ejus voluntati acquiescendum est, ejusque roganda clementia ut inter Servos suos ad æternam illam vitam dignetur accipere.

Ego vero, quod ad Officium meum pertinere existimavi, statim Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum conveni, et suae Sanctitati supplicavi ne quid de Beneficiis prædictae Bonae Memoriae

No. CVIII.

Memoriæ prius decerneret, quàm a *Majestate vestra* de ipsius voluntate certior fieret et juxta eam deliberaret:

Quod ab *Sua Sanctitate*, pro summa ac paterna ejus in *Majestatem vestram* benevolentia et affectione, facile impetravi.

Cogitabit itaque illa maturè quod magis ex ipsius Servitio futurum est, et *Sanctissimo Domino Nostro* quæcumque concedi ab eo poterunt sibi poterit firmiter permittere.

Ego ab Instituto et Officio meo erga *Majestatem vestram* in nulla occasione discedam; quæ et de Cardinalis ægritudine et studio ac opera mea ex *Domini Wygorniensis* ore fiet planiùs certiorata.

Commendo Me humillimè *vestræ Regiæ Majestati*; quam Deus incolumem ac felicissimam diu conservet.

Romæ ex Palatio Apostolico, xiv. Julii, M. D. XIV.

Sacræ Regiæ Majestatis vestræ,

Humillimus ac Fidelissimus Servitor,

J. CARDINALIS DE MEDICIS.

No. CIX.

(*Vol. ii. p. 305.*)

Rymer. Fœdera. tom. vi. part. 1. p. 86.

SERENISSIME et Gloriosissime Rex et Domine, Domine Observantissime, humillimas Commendationes præmissas.

No. CIX.

Indies *Majestas vestra* reddidit me dignitatibus et muneribus obnoxiozem; accepi nuper a Magnifico Equite *Griffitho Don* præsentium Latore, nomine *Majestatis vestræ*, litteras humanissimas, et duos Equos optimos, regiis ornamentis instratos; Donum profectò insigne et mihi gratissimum, tum præstantiâ Equorum, tum vel maximè quòd a *Majestate vestra* missum erat; Cui ago ingentes gratias, et si quando dabitur occasio referam, et me humillimè etiam atque etiam commendo: quæ felicissime valeat.

Romæ

Romæ ex Palatio Apostolico, die tricesimo Octobris M. D. XIV.

No. CIX.

Excellentissimæ Majestatis vestræ

Humillimus Servitor,

Dors.

JULIANUS DE MEDICIS.

Serenissimo et Gloriosissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Henrico, Regi Angliæ, Franciæque ac Domino Hybernæ Observandissimo.

N^o. CX.

(Vol. ii. p. 305.)

Rymer. Fædera. tom. vi. p. 74.

Litera Regis Francorum ad Th. Wolsey Elect. Eboracensem.

Monsieur d'Jorci,

POUR ce que j'ay sceu Retour de ce Porteur pur dela, je ne l'ay voulu laisser partir sans vous porter Lettres de Moy.

No. CX.

Et par icelles Vous prier & affectueusement que Vous vueillez faire mes bonnes & Cordialles Recommandacions aux *Roy & Rayne* mes bonnes Frere & Sœur & aussy a la *Royne ma Femme*.

En Vous priant, en oultre, tenir main a ce que ma Femme parte de la le plus tost que faire se pourra,

Car il n'y a Chose en ce Monde que tant je desire que de la veoir & me trouver avecques Elle,

Et, en ce faist, Vous me ferez plaisir, & m'obligerez de plus en plus a vous.

Priant Dieu *Monsieur d'Jorci* qu'il Vous ait en sa Sainte Garde.

Esript a *Estampes* le Second Jour de Septembre.

Loys.

ROBERTOT.

Dor.

A Monsieur d'Jorci.

Ejusdem ad Eundem. p. 81.

Monsieur d'York Mon bon Amy.

J'AY puis n'aguieres receu la lettre que Vous m'avez escripte.

Et

No. CX.

Et par le contenu d'icelle entendu la bonne et parfaite voulonte, que vous avez non seulement a l'entretènement de la bonne Paix et mutuelle Amytie d'entre *le Roy* mon bon Frere et Cousin *et Moy*, maiz a l'augmentacion et accroissement d'icelle, et de noz Hônneurs et Estatz.

Dont tant et si affectueusement que Je puis Je vous mercy.

Et vous prie, *Monsieur d'Yorc Mon bon ami*, en croye fermement qu'el n'y a amytie ne alliance en la Christiente que tant ne plus Je tiengne chere, que Je faitz et vueil faire tant que Je viuray, celle de mon dit bon Frere et Cousin, esperant, par vostre bon moyen trouver tousjours en Luy pareille Correspondance.

Et quant a ce que m'escrifiez de la traduction et venue par deca *de la Roynne* ma Femme, Je Vous mercy de la paine que Vous prenez pour l'appareil des choses qui sont requises et necessaires pour sa dite venue, et de l'extresme diligence que Vous y avez fait et faictes, ainsi que *le Seigneur de Marigny et Jehan de Paris* m'ont escript.

Vous priant continuer et l'abreger le plus que vous pourrez, car le plus grant desir que j'aye pour leure presente est de la veoyr deca la Mer, et Me trouver avecques Elle, par quoy en ce faisant et ny perdant temps, comme Vous le m'escrifiez, vous Me ferez singulier plaisir, et tel quel ne sera jamaiz que j'en aye souvenance et obligations envers Vous.

Et, quant a ce qu'avez retenu avecque vous le dit *Seigneur de Marigny et Jehan de Paris*, pour ayder a dresser le dite appareil *a la Mode de France*, Vous m'avez fait plaisir en ce faisant, et presentement leur escripts que non seulement ilz Vous obeissent en cela, maiz en toutes autres choses que Vous leur commanderez, et tout ainsi qu'ilz seroyent a ma propre parsonne.

Et, au regart du plaisir, que dictes par vos dites Lettres, que ma dite Femme a pris d'avoyr ouy de mes bonnes nouvelles, et que la chose, que pour le Jourduy plus Elle desire et souhaite, est de Me veoyr et estre en ma Compagnie, Je Vous pris, *Monsieur d'Yorc Mon bon Amy*, Luy dire de par Moy, et Luy faire bien entendre, que mes desirs et souhaitz sont pareilz et semblables aux siens; Et, que puis quel n'est possible que Je la voye si tost que Je desire, que Je Luy prie qu'elle me face savoir de ses nouvelles le plus souvent que faire se pourra, et Je feray le semblable de Mon couste.

Au surplus, en tant que touche les tresaffectueuses et trescordialles recommandacions que Vous avez faictes a mon dit Frere et Cousin da ma part, et celles que de la sienne Vous Me faictes, Je l'en mercy de tout mon cueur, et vous prie derechef les Luy faire, et aussi Me faire primerement entendre s'il y a aucune chose en mon Royaume ou il preigne plaisir, et je metray paine de Luy en complaire.

Au

che la ha domandato lo havessi chiesto tanto innanzi, che fussi potuto venire ad tempo, quella ne sarebbe stata compiaciuta, ma se la se ricorda bene della grosseza, et graveza sua, et se pensa ad le strane vie, che sono di què ad Firenze, ed atteso ad li soi deboli piedi, quali mirabilmente le pietre offende, non si condurrebbe costì in uno mese, non che in xv. giorni, che ci sono di tempo, nondimeno per satisfare ad quella, si va pensando modi, o fargli qualche scarpa, come si fa ad li cani, o se potremo mandarlo per mare, o qualche altro modo, ma nonci si vede possibile; et venendo se si facessi male, et rimnessi per via, Nostro Signore et anchora V. S. ne restarebbono mal contenti. Pertanto, se non lo haverà V. S. dolghisi di se medesimo. Io subito ne parlai non Nostro Signore, et con Monsignore Reverendissimo, et tutti ridendo fortemente disseno, sarebbe bene per honorare quella festa mandarcelo, ma non andrebbe ad tempo, et sarebbero stati contenti darvi questa consolatione, ma el tempo è corto; sicchè la bona voluntà di compiacere ad V. S. nonci è manchata, li effecti non possano seguire per li respecti detti di sopra.

Ad Monsignore Reverendissimo ho dato la copia della conventione de Frati, et operai de' Servi, et quella ha havuto chara, &c.

Hier mattina, doppo il Consistorio Nostro Signore venne in Castello, et staravvi per sino ad Sabato ad vespro, perchè è vespro Papale, &c. Hoggi doppo pranzo passeggiando Suà Santità, et stando audire cantare, si strinseno insieme quella, et Monsignori Reverendissimi di Ferrara, et de Aragona, et M. Luigi de' Rossi, et parlando delle cose di Firenze, cioè della giostra, triomphi, caccie, et altre feste, che si faranno lì, Sua Santità me fece chiamare da M. Luigi, et parlando delle cose di Firenze, cioè della giostra, triomphi, caccie, et altre feste che si faranno lì, Sua Santità mi fece chiamare da M. Luigi et volseno vedere la nota del triompho, et delli capitoli della giostra, che ho havuto di là, et in conclusione si risolvorno, che andando li prefati Reverendissimi Ferrara et Aragona ad Loreto, come vanno fra III. dì, di venire ad vedere la festa, et essere lì stravestiti, la vigilia di S. Giovanni, et che volevano fare la via di Cortona, et venire in poste. Nostro Signore me ha commesso, che io ne scriva ad V. S. et che gli dica per sua parte, che la ordini da Cortona ad Firenze, che siano tante poste, quante sarà di bisogno, et che per ogni posta ordini vi. o viii. cavalli, perchè ciaschuno di loro haverà III. o IIII. Servitori, et che dette poste siano in ordine ad li xviii. o xix. dì di questo, et che la faccia loro honore, et careze, &c. et uno pezo con grandissimo desiderio si parlò di quella festa, et omnino di venire ad vederla, et in questi ragionamenti si disse, che il Magnifico Juliano anchora lui verrà, ma stravestito. Doppo questo, partiti da Nostro Signore li prefati Reverendissimi et M. Luigi mi chiamorno, et commissommi, che io scrivessi ad V. S. per parte loro, come havevano deliberato di venire, per la via et modi detti di sopra, et essere lì la vigilia di S. Giovanni al fermo. Io ringratiatoli, et invitatoli per parte di V. S. me offersi fare il bisogno. M. Luigi et io parlando dipoi insieme della venuta de questi Reverendissimi, &c. ci risolvemmo confortare Nostro Signore ad fare ordinare la camera terrena di V. S. et quella altra per Ferrara, et Aragona, et per lui et M. Augustino de' Triultii, et il Conte Hercule, la camera de' Cancellieri, et per lo Magnifico Juliano la camera dove stette Nostro Signore, et se verrà Cibo, quella di Madonna,

donna, et dice, che se 'l Magnifico Giuliano verrà, lui ne verrà seco; ma non venendo lo prefato Magnifico Giuliano, che lui con li prefati M. Augustino, e'l Conte Hercole sarà costì o Lunedì, o Martedì innanzi S. Giovanni per godere V. S. alchuno dì. Questo ordine delle camere ho conferito con Madonna, et S. S. dice che V. S. lo faccia che saranno bene accommodati, non dimeno me ne rimetto ad quella, &c.

Nº. CXI.

Li danari se haveranno da Nostro Signore, ma non so tutti, et per questa altra mia ne darò migliore notizia: et acciocchè se possa cominciare ad spendere qual cosa si manda con questa una lettera di cambio di ducati 200 d'oro larghi ad Lanfredini, che siano pagati ad Sig. Bernardo, per spese et provisioni di casa, et questo lo ha facto Madonna, &c.

Romæ, viii. Jun. 1514.

Nº. CXII.

(Vol. ii. p. 313.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reip. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Rom. xvii Jun. 1514.*

QUESTA mattina lo ambasciatore Venitiano ha cavato fora per Roma havere Lettere da Venetia fresche, come Monsignore Reverendissimo Gurgense è morto di veneno; il che quantumque per nissuno si creda, nondimeno ne ho voluto scrivere ad V. S. Nostro Signore nè lo Signore Albertone hanno nova nissuna; tamen ogni cosa potrebbe essere, et perchè per Roma non si dice altro, lo ha voluto significare ad quella, ad la quale humilmente me raccomandando, et prego, che per potere satisfare ad Nostro Signore et Monsignore Reverendissimo della festa di là, la non voglia lasciare pretermettere quantunche minima actione, che ad la giornata vi si farà, di per di, farle significare; che veramente, poichè non possano essere presenti li, sentendole per lettere, ne piglieranno piacere grande, et saranno loro molto grate.

Nº. CXII.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xix. Jun. 1514.

M. Luigi de' Rossi con li compagni debbano esser giunti li per sino hieri, al quale V. S. me racomanderà, et gli dirà, che qui non è anchora nova alchuna de quella cosa sua, dipoi si parti di quì; venendocene non mancherò di fare quanto me impose, et che Nostro Signore si sta la maggior parte del dì in la stantia sua ad giocare ad scacchi et udire sonare, et aspectando ad la giornata quello si farà li, di per di de quelle feste; però quella non mancherà quando cominceranno, ogni dì farne scrivere, et spacciare una cavalcata per questo effecto, per sino che le durano, che gli sarà gratissimo. Sua Santità et Monsignore Reverendissimo, et tutti li altri stanno benissimo, et la Clarice con uno corpo grande, et ad la bona gratia di V. S. humilmente me racommando.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xxii. Jun. 1514.

No. CXII.

Per lo amore di Dio V. S. commetta ad S. Joanni, che non manchi di scrivere ad la giornata, ogni minima cosa de qualunque particolare, sì delli Signori venuti di quà, quanto delli altri, et del triumpho, palio, caccia, et giostra, cosa per cosa, perchè Nostro Signore et Monsignore Reverendissimo ne piglieranno quel medesimo piacere, udendole ordinatamente, che se vi fussino presenti; et perchè so, che V. S. debbe essere occupatissima, non gli dirò altro, salvo che ad la bona gratia di V. S. humilmente me raccomandando, quæ felix valeat.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xxiii. Jun. 1514.

Delle nuove che venghano di fora, mentre che sta lo Magnifico Juliano lì, non scriverò altramente, perchè Monsignore Reverendissimo ha ordinato, che ne sia scripto sempre una lettera commune al Magnifico Juliano, et ad V. S.

E stato grato havere inteso la arrivata de' quelli Reverendissimi Signori, et del magnifico Juliano ad salvamento, et molto più sarà ad Nostro Signore grato intendere ad la giornata distinctamente li progressi, li homini che interverranno, le ordinanze, et qualunque altra minima cosa della festa, che per uno piacere non potrebbe ricevere maggiore; et se V. S. dovessi deputare uno ad questa cura, che non habbia altro da fare (se non lo haverà facto) per vostra fede non manchi di fare scrivere ogni minima cosa, di sorte che habbia satisfare ad Sua Sanctità; et quanto più largamente sarà scripto, tanto più sarà grato.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xxvi. Jun. 1514.

Magnifice patrone mi observandissime, &c. Hieri ricevvi due di V. S. de' xxii. et xxiii. ad le quali non accade altra risposta, salvoche li avisi della festa sono stati grati, ma se fussino state un poco più largamente, et particolarmente describe le cose, narrando le persone, li ornamenti, in che quantità, et qualità, et ciascuna altra minima cosa, sariano più piaciuti; et quello che non si è facto V. S. lo potrà fare, dando questa cura ad persona, che le habbia visto tutte, et che non habbia altra cura, et significarle, perchè saranno accepte.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xxvii. Jun. 1514.

Questa sera, dipoi ch' io hebbi mandato le lettere ad la posta, ricevvi le di V. S. de' xxv. cun le avisi della caccia, et del resto della festa, li quali sono stati molto grati, et in verità questo modo di scrivere è satisfacto assai a Nostro Signore; et non mancho piacere ne ha preso sua santità leggendo tutta la lettera, che se la vi fussi stata presente, et queste formale parole ha usato questa sera, mentre la leggeva.

No. CXII.

No. CXIII.

(*Vol. ii. p. 314.*)

Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Rom. viii. Jun. 1514.

QUESTE tante feste che si faranno in Firenze hanno facto venire capricci a tutto il palazzo, et la corte, di venirle a vedere, et Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro, et il Castellano ne hanno grandissima voglia, ma nè l'uno, nè l'altro ci può venire. El Castellano questa mattina ha mandato duo Lupi, che haveva ad V. S. et dice che Nostro Signore ve harebbe mandato lo elephante, se non avesse havuto paura, che gli fussi stato facto pagare la gabella ad la porta, et se raccomanda ad V. S. et la ringratia di quelle cose, et dice che Madonna Appollonia della Masina sarebbe bona per una di quelle vergini vestali del TRIOMPHO DI CAMILLO, et mille altre sue baie, et è tutto di V. S. El quale triumpho, per essere contra Franzesi, è stato di quà notato da alchuno homo da bene, et detto che è da advertirci per respecto de' Franzesi, che sono molto sensitivi, et quando V. S. lo potessi mutare, o subtacere il nome, non sarebbe male; quella è prudentissima, et credo haverà ben pensato tutto; questo gli ho detto, perchè Monsignore Reverendissimo di Ferrara me ne ha advertito questa mattina, che dice cognoscere in qualche parte la natura Gallica. Io ne ho detto con Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro, et anchora lui dice, che quando si potessi mutare, non sarebbe male; tamen tutto sia rimesso ad la prudentia di V. S.

No. CXIII.

Potrebbe essere, che Latino, et io venissimo sino là, in poste, quando V. S. se ne contenti, et Nostro Signore.

No.

N^o. CXIV.

(Vol. ii. p. 315.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de Med. Flor. Rom. xi. Jun. 1514.*N^o. CXIV.

MONSIGNORE Reverendissimo ringratia V. S. del Rosso Ridolphi senza altre cerimonie, et perchè quì si fa gran dire di questa giostra di V. S. S. S. Reverendissima me ha imposto, che io gli scriva, che poichè lì si è deberato di farli, et quì si dica, che V. S. metta in campo non so quanti, come la advertisca di fare electione di quelli giostranti, et hominì sopra ciò, che saranno per lei, che l'honore resti in casa, come sempre si è facto in simile et altre cose, et gli ricorda ad mandare fora di Firenze ad cercare valenti hominì in giostra, et nel ordinare, et che non si fidi di Fiorentini, che non sanno che si peschino, se non di cose antiche; et che in questo V. S. habbia advertentia grande, et di core gliene racommanda per honore della casa.

N^o. CXV.

(Vol. ii. p. 316.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Rom. x. Jun. 1514.*N^o. XCV.

MADONNA me dice, che ha inteso hoggi, come V. S. si prova ad giostrare, et mettesi arme adosso, et corre cavalli grossi armato, et che più presto gli fa male, che altramente, &c. Il che quanto gli sia dispaciuto in verità non lo potrei scrivere ad V. S. et stanne con grandissima passione, et me ha imposto che per sua parte gli scriva, et gli ricordi, che pensi bene ad li Antiqui di casa, che hanno giostrato, quali et chi furno, et ramemora che se Piero di Cosimo giostrò, era vivo suo Padre, che governava la città, et haveva uno fratello; et anchora quando Lorenzo, Avolo di V. S. giostrò, haveva Piero suo Padre, che governava; et anchora lui haveva uno fratello, cioè Giuliano, Padre de Monsignore Reverendissimo, el quale Giuliano quando anchora lui giostrò, la bona memoria di Lorenzo governava, et che etiam quando la bona memoria di vostro Padre giostrò haveva duo figlioli, et duo fratelli, et non obstante questo gliene fu gridato, et ne riportò assai incarico, et che hora, che V. S. è giovine, et in casa non ci essendo altro, che quella et lo Magnifico Giuliano, et tutti dui senza donna et figlioli, et atteso la cattiva complexione del prefato Magnifico Giuliano, quella non può fare maggiore errore, che tenere simil vie; et dice, che V. S. la faccia fare ad altri, et lei stia a vedere, et che la pensi ad vivere, et mantenere la casa. Veramente tutto questo discorso lei me ha facto con grandissima passione, et quasi con le lacrime in su gli occhi, et prega caramente quanto può pregare una madre il figliuolo, V. S. che la si vogli portare in modo, che non gli vogli dare queste passioni, che se le continuassino non la farebbe troppo bene. Signore mio, V. S. vede che sua matre si muove ad buon fine, el quale credo, che se la lo considererà bene, penserà

serà che lo fa ad beneficio suo, non per altro; et io anchora, per lo amore che io gli porto, la prego quanto so, et posso, che non vogli pigliare simili exercitii, che non sono ne di honore, ne utili.

Nº. CXV.

Nº. CXVI.

(Vol. ii. p. 317.)

Canti Carnascialeschi, p. 121. Ed. Fior. 1559.

Di Jacopo Nardi.

TRIONFO DELLA FAMA, ET DELLA GLORIA.

CONTEMPLA in quanta altezza sei salita,
 Felice, alma Fiorenza,
 Poi che dal Ciel disceso è in tua presenza
 La Gloria, e con gli esempi a se t'invita:
 La quale ha tal potenza,
 Ch' a' i morti, rende vita;
 Ond'ella il morto già CAMMILLO mostra
 Viver' ancor per fama, all' età nostra.
 Quell' è Furio Cammillo, il gran Romano,
 Per cui Roma esaltata
 Fu tanto, che l'invidia scellerata
 Usò ver lui la rabbia, benchè invano:
 Perchè la Patria ingrata,
 Il consiglio non sano
 Conobbe poi, che le levò la soma,
 E fu costretta dir, per te son Roma.
 Le pompe trionfal, nel tuo cospetto,
 Le barbariche spoglie,
 Le tempie ornate delle sagre foglie,
 Mostran le lode sue; ma tal concetto
 Una parola accoglie;
 Poi che lui solo è detto
 Della Patria, per l'opre alte e leggiadre,
 Primo liberator, secondo Padre.
 Manca la vita, in un tanto superba,
 Mancan le sue sant'ale;
 La nostra Dea, contro l'ordin fatale,
 Trae'l buon fuor del Sepolcro, e'n vita il serba.
 La Vertu sola vale
 Contro la Morte acerba:
 E senza lei, cercar gloria non giova,
 Ma seguendo Vertu, costei si trova.

Nº. CXVI.

Come

No. CXVI.

Come vedete, seco insieme vanno,
 La Dea Minerva, e Marte;
 Che colla spada, con scienza, e arte,
 A l'huom mortale immortal vita danno:
 E l'haver gratè carte,
 Lo ristora del danno;
 Perche come l' allor foglia non perde,
 La Storia, e Poesia sempre stà verde.
 Dunque colui, che'n questo Mondo brama,
 Col generoso cuore
 Vincer l'invidia, e acquistare honore,
 Ne seco seppellir la propria fama,
 Porti alla Patria amore:
 Perchè colui che l'ama,
 E con giustizia difende e governa,
 In Cielo ha vita e fama al mondo eterna.

 No. CXVII.

(Vol. ii. p. 319.)

Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Baldassare da Pescia. a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Roma, xi. Mai, 1514.

No. CXVII.

MAGNIFICE patrone mi observandissime, &c. Scrivendo hiersera ad V. S. inter cætera della partita del Reverendissimo Gurgense, gli dissi, come la intelligentia et maneggio di queste cose de' Venitiani con lo Imperatore tra Nostro Signore et Gurgense me era cascato in mano, &c. quale è venuto in questo modo; cioè. A dì passati sendosi rotto Gurgense cum Nostro Signore, perchè ne seguiva, ne è anchora seguita, la ratificatione delli Venitiani della pronuntia facta per Sua Sanctità, et havendo S. S. Reverendissima, in su questa rottura domandato licentia da Nostro Signore et da tutti li Reverendissimi in consistorio, et parendoli dipoi pure male partirsi senza conclusione, o vogliamo dire senza, daniari, ha misso el nostro procuratore della Minerva frate Nicolò della Magna cum Nostro Signore Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro, et Frà Piero Quirino Camaldulense, quale tratta quì, oltre le cose de' Venitiani, cose grande, et est apud hos nostros maximæ autoritatis, et non mostrando mosso da lui, è venuto da quattro dì in quà da Monsignore Reverendissimo, et cominciato ad tractare qualcosa sopra questa materia, et per essere lui pure amico nostro, cioè della casa de' Medici, et molto affectionato, gli prestano fede, et per essere lui relligioso non vorrebbe essere veduto ad ogni hora in queste camere, et per essere mio intimo amico, con licentia de Monsignore Reverendissimo, ha preso ad communicare con me tutto quello che lui ha da Gurgense; et per componere et reconciliare S. S. Reverendissima cum Nostro Signore, mediante me, fa intendere ad Monsignore Reverendissimo

dissimo nostro quello, che occorre ogni hora, et quello, che cava da quella, dimodo che per amore di V. S. ad la quale è deditissima non resta ad fare cosa alcuna di introrromettere in questi negocii, et credo, che lui forse se transferirà cum Gurgense dallo Imperatore, come homo di Nostro Signore; il che seguendo, noi saremo raguagliati ad ogni hora delle cose di là sinceramente; et qui adpresso di Nostro Signore fa pensieri lasciare me con una cifra, et indirizzo de' tutto quello, che tracterà per Sua Sanctità et altri, sicchè la S. V. ha inteso, come la cosa è andata, et per quanto si può ritrarre per li ragionamenti havuti col procuratore. Gurgense uccella ad danari, et ad una Legatione, et se lui avesse dalli Venitiani uno 20, o 25. m. ducati, et da Nostro Signore una Legatione, le cose se reconcilierebbono; ma credo, che arerà in arena, et se non piglia altra via, se ne partirà come vorrà; pure mentre che scrivo, lui è venuto da Nostro Signore, et se potrò ritrarre, innanzi che io serri la lettera, cosa alcuna, ne farò partecipe V. S.

Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro me dice, che Gurgense si è partito per ritornare qui domattina da Nostro Signore, et non si è conclusa cosa alcuna; concludendosi, se ne darà notizia ad V. S. et dicemi, che Gurgense gli ha detto, che vuole passare di là, d'onde conforta quella ad fargli honore, et careze, non però fora dell' ordinario, &c. De Inghilterra qui sono lettere, come quel Rè fa la impresa contro Francia gagliardamente, et di Francia ci sono lettere anchora, quali doverranno essere venute là, et però non sene dirà altro.

No. CXVIII.

(Vol. ii. p. 326.)

Bembi Op. tom. iii. p. 478.

PROPOSTA DI M. PIETRO BEMBO,

Al Principe M. Leonardo Loredano, ed alla Signoria di Vinegia, per nome di Papa Leone X.

PAPA LEONE, Serenissimo Principe, ed Illustrissima Signoria, il quale ha continuamente servata memoria delle cose, che questo Dominio ha per addietro a beneficio de' suoi Fratelli, e della sua Famiglia amorevolmente molte volte adoperato, ed ha sempre amato il temperamento di questa Repubblica, fondata in santissime leggi, e la prudenza, e la gravità sua; mentr' egli è stato in minor fortuna, con tutti que' modi, co' quali s'è per lui potuto, ha cerco, e procacciato il comodo, e l'onore vostro, e sempre d' ogni vostra avversità s'è doluto non altramente, che se questa Città la medesima Patria sua stata fosse, e dappoi pervenuto al Ponteficato, quantunque incontanente chiudeste voi la Lega col Re di Francia, senza farneli alcuna cosa sentire; nondimeno, vincendonelo il paterno affetto suo si dispose di fare ogni opera che voi lo stato vostro reintegraste, ed a questo fine tentando, e movendo, come si suol dire, ogni pietra, e con lo 'mperadore, e col Re di Spagna, e spesi sopra molto tempo, e molti pensieri, posciachè egli vide non poterli a conveniente

pace indurre con voi, come che egli assai chiaro per le passate sperienze conoscesse di quanto pericolo era favorir Francesi, ed in Italia richiamargli, pure fermatosi in sul volere, che questa Signoria recuperasse tutto il perduto, incominciò a procurar la pace tra 'l Re d'Inghilterra, ed il Re di Francia, e quella condotta al fin suo, confortò, siccome sa la Serenità vostra, il detto Re di Francia al venire in Italia, affine, che da quella venuta ne seguisse il beneficio di questa Repubblica; la qual fu cosa, che forte offese gli animi degli altri Principi mal contenti di sua Santità rendendogli tutti. Ma tuttavia ne anco questo giovando, e tardando il Re la sua venuta, o perchè non la curasse molto, stanco, e sazio del guerreggiare, e dello spendere anco egli, o perchè così volesse N. Sig. Dio, che per altra, e più sicura via deliberato avesse di rassettare, e tranquillar le cose vostre, e quelle della conquassata Italia, è avvenuto, che i nemici del Re si sono in questo tempo, e spazio deliberati, e risoluti, e preparati alla difesa di modo, che nessuna speranza chi sanamente considera, aver più si può sopra lui, come intenderete. Laonde nè con lo 'mperadore, nè col Re Cattolico avendo nostro Signore trovato modo di soddisfar a voi, e di racchetarvi, nè col Re Cristianissimo sperando di poterlo ritrovar più, egli si stava in grande affanno, e travaglio d'animo, e di mente tutto sospeso. Nel qual travaglio dimorando egli molto mal contento, solo per lo non si potere esso risolvere a beneficio di voi, e tuttavia intrattenendo lo 'mperadore, ed il Re Cattolico, e tanto ancor più, quanto meno si poteva sopra Francia fondamento alcun fare, soprasiunsero le novelle Turchesche, e la rotta, e sconfitta che fi disse il Gran Turco aver dato al Sofì. Le quali novelle forte commovendo l'animo di Sua Beatitudine, conoscendo egli prima, e potissima cura sua dovere essere, lo avere alla salute della Cristiana comunanza risguardo, egli in tutto si rivolse a procurar la unione de' Principi Cristiani, per potere, fatto ciò, mandare avanti la tante volte in vano e pensata, e ragionata, e proposta impresa, e guerra contra Turchi, siccome a buono, e vigilante Pontefice si conveniva, non lasciando per tutto ciò di sollecitare Cesare ed il Cattolico alla restituzion dello Stato della Serenità vostra, e così ne scrisse a' Principi tutti, a cui di ciò s'appartenea di scrivere, e sopra tutto caldissimamente a Cesare, come vedeste. Anzi non ben contento di confortargli, e pregargli alla detta unione per lettere, si dispose di mandar loro Legati a questo fine, e spezialmente Monsignor lo Cardinale di Santa Maria in Portico allo 'mperadore. La qual deliberazion fatta da lui, venutogli poi parendo che il mandarlo Legato si traesse dietro più lunga dimora, e tempo per gli impedimenti, che la legazione ha seco; desideroso della reintegrazion di questo Dominio, si dispose di mandar nelo privato Nunzio, più guardando all' effetto dell' andata sua, ed al poter tanto più tosto procurar il comodo della Signoria vostra, che all' onor del Cardinale a se carissimo, come sapete. Dovendo egli adunque andare in Lamagna, e già s'era presso, che posta in iscrittura, e fornita tutta la commission sua, la quale io vidi, e lessi, di vero, Signori, tanto favorevole alle cose vostre, che pareva che nostro Signore il mandasse più tosto Nunzio di questa Repubblica, che suo; ragionando egli meco sopra la commission predetta molte cose, egli forte si dolea, e rammaricava, che Bergamo alla divozion dell' Imperadore tornata fosse, affermandomi, che a lui avrebbe dato il cuore di fare assai a beneficio vostro, se quella Città si fosse mantenuta per voi. Ora essendo a questo termine, ed in tale stato le cose, ebbe nostro Signore dal Re Cattolico per lettere di 6. del mese prossimamente passato, che egli chiudesse la pace tra Cesare, e la Serenità vostra, con restitu-

zión di tutto lo Stato vostro, da Verona in fuori, pagandone voi all' Imperadore dugento mila fiorini d'oro, o quel più, che necessario fosse a giudicio di sua Beatitudine, la qual cosa avutasi a 25. del detto mese, fe risolver nostro Signore, il quale per addietro molte volte v' avea pensato, di confortar voi ad accettare il partito. E così l'altra mattina per tempissimo, fattomi a se chiamare, mi scoperse questa risoluzione sua, e ordinommi, che io mandassi dicendo all'Ambasciator vostro, ed al Cardinale e Grimano, e Cornelio, che eglino venissero a lui, imponendomi, che io mi vi trovassi ancora io. A' quali egli parlò, quanto per lettere dell'Ambasciatore, e forse delle loro Signorie dee avere vostra Serenità inteso a bastanza. Ma l'altro dì poi, che fu a'27. non rimanendo egli ben soddisfatto di fare intendere a questa Città per lettere la detta risoluzione sua, deliberò mandarle una voce viva per maggiore espressione dell'animo suo, estimando egli, che questa proposta bene intesa, e accettata da voi, si tiri dietro la salute, non accettata forse la ruina di questa Repubblica. Ed elesse me a questo officio, sì perchè io potessi a voi buona testimonianza rendere della sua mente, che e dentro, e di fuori sempre l'avea veduta, e sì acciocchè questa Signoria essendo io de suoi, più fede mi avesse a prestare in ciò, che io le dicesst: commettendomi, che venuto qui più tosto, e con più diligenza, che io facessi alla Serenità vostra intendere, che avendo egli deliberato procacciar primieramente la salvezza della Cristiana Comunanza, siccome principalissima parte del suo Ufficio; perciò, che s'è vero, che il Turco abbia rotto, e sconfitto il Sophì, è bene armarci noi di modo, che tornando egli potente, e superbo da quella vittoria, egli non la possa offendere: se è falso, come anco si dubita, e vero sia, che dal Sophì sia stato vinto il Turco, questo appunto è il tempo da fare arditamente la impresa contre lui; e non volendo starsi e consumar più lungo tempo in trame, ed in consigli senza conclusione alcuna, siccome egli stato era tutto questo tempo del suo Pontificato; egli s'era del tutto risoluto a confortar questa Città e pregarla con tutta l'autorità del paterno affetto suo verso lei a prendere, e ad accettar questo accordo. E dice, che ella il faccia primieramente per onore, e riverenza di Dio, acciocchè nol prendendo voi, e perciò sturbandosi la union de' Principi Christiani; che tutta, rassettati, e riuniti Voi con l'Imperio, agevol cosa fia, che si fornisca e a capo se ne venga in brevi giorni, la Chiesa di Dio, e la Santa fede sua ed i suoi popoli, non ne ricevano qualche scorno. Secondamente per rispetto di lui, e per trarlo di questa noja, nella quale egli è stato tutto questo tempo, solo per cagion della restaurazion vostra. A quali se egli avuto riguardo non avesse, il primier dì del suo Pontificato, egli avrebbe potuto racchettar le cose di quella santa Seggia, e della Patria sua, siccome le avesse sapute disegnare, e ordinare egli stesso. Ma soprattutto vuole nostro Signore, che voi vi moviate a ciò per beneficio vostro. Conciosiacosa, che men male è, anzi pur vie meglio, lasciando Verona, la quale, chi ben considera, si dipone, e sequestra più tosto a brieve tempo, che ella si lasci; e pagando quella somma di denari, la quale si pagherà in buona parte con tempi, e con agevolezze, ricuperar tutto il rimanente del vostro grande, e bello Stato, e alle guerre por fine, che volendo voi Verona, e non l'avendo, poichè ella pure sotto l'Imperio è al presente, per questa cagion porre a manifestissimo periglio tutto esso vostro Stato, e per avventura forse anco la libertà di questa Repubblica. E dice Nostro Signore, e argomenta così; due cose sono ora in elezion vostra, o la pace con Lo'imperadore, o l'amistà col Re di Francia.

Dalla pace con Lo'impèrador ne seguono alla Serenità vostra tutte queste cose : prima di presente la ricuperazione di quelle Terre vostre, le quali non possedete, insieme con l'uso e l'utilità di loro, fuori solo Verona. Appresso le rendite, e la utilità d'alquante altre che possedete, ciò sono Crema, Vicenza, Padova; e per dir più il vero, quasi l'utile di tutta la vostra terra ferma, che sapete bene, quanto voi ne traete a questi tempi. Da poi il mancar delle spese degli esserciti; che per cagion della guerra necessariamente nutrirsi convengono. A questo modo in un punto voi e le vostre rendite crescerete, e le spese sciemerete : che sono le due cose, che ritornar possono nel pristino vigore, e color suo questa Repub. Da poi cesserete le noje, e gli affanni, che sapete quanti, e quanto varj, e quanto gravi sono con voi stati sì lungamente, e vi partorirete quiete, e riposo assai oggimai necessario a questa Città, ed a' popoli vostri. Da poi non isporrete più a periglio la somma dell' Imperio Vostro, e vi leverete questa spina dell'animo, che a ciascuna ora lo dee stimolare, e pugnere; del dubbio, e del sospetto, che per un disordine, o per una sconfitta del vostro Esercito, o per alcun tradimento di qualche suddito, di qualche condottier vostro, o per altri molti somiglianti errori, che avvenir possono, se ne vada, e perdisi il tutto. E ricordivi bene, quante volte questi non molti anni addietro avete cagione avuta di timerne. Oltre ciò a questo cammino andando entrerete per la via medesima di ricuperar Verona istessa. Perciocchè è openion di molti savj uomini, che quando bene il Re di Francia venisse in Italia, e ricuperasse a questa Signoria il suo Stato, non perciò potrà egli ricuperarle Verona, essendo allo 'mpèrador agevolissimo mandarvi sempre buona quantità di fanti a difenderla, come egli fatto ha più volte. Laddove facendo voi pace con lui, e per la pace levandogli il pensare alle cose della Italia, come gli leverete, egli senza dubbio entrerà in nuove imprese, o alle cose della Borgogna, alle quali par già volto, o all' acquisto dell' Imperio di Constantinopoli, facendosi la impresa contra Turchi, o in altri disegni, e pensamenti, e trame, che gli sono sempre cosa molto naturale, e molto propria, per ciascuna delle quali essendo necessario, che gli venga bisognando aver buona quantità di moneta, eziandio, che voi non voleste, si vorrà egli darvi Verona, e renderlavi, e così la ricupererete voi con agevolezza, ed al sicuro. Non potrà uno animo grande, e vasto come il suo è, avendo con voi pace, non aver di voi uopo bene spesso, oltra che bella, e grande loda così facendo acquisterete dal mondo tutto, e opinione, che siate buoni e pacifici, e cessar farete quella voce, che si dà a questa Repubblica d' aspirar grandemente all' Imperio della Italia, la qual voce, non accettando voi il proposto partito, si confermerà, e stabilirà nella mente di ciascuno, stimandosi, che nessuno altri ricusare il potessero; specialmente essendo egli a beneficio di tutti i popoli Cristiani, e desiderandosi ciò per dar modo alla union de' Prencipi, perchè ne segua la guerra contra gl'infideli, se non spiriti, che ostinatamente affettino, e attendano alla Signoria del tutto. Il che dice N. Sig. che non dee ultima cosa essere in considerazione appo voi. Queste sono le parti utili congiunte con la pace. Vegga ora la Serenità vostra, e ben consideri, quali e quanti danni partorir vi potrà il voler continuare, e mandare innanzi l'amistà de' Francesi, nella qual considerazione, dice N. Sig. così. O il Re di Francia verrà in Italia, o egli non ci verrà. Se verrà, veduto che essendogli voi sempre buoni amici stati, ed avendogli mantenuta ottima leanza, anzi pure avendosi questa Signoria tirata addosso la guerra dell' Imperadore, e la sua nimistà solamente per lo avere voluto ella servare al Re fede, e per tale e tanto rispetto do-

vendovi

vendovi egli eterno obbligo sentire, egli nondimeno vi ruppe guerra senza cagione alcuna averne, accordandosi, e legandosi col vostro nimico medesimo, fattovi nimico per suo conto, e per lo non gli avere voi voluto consentire il Ducato di Melano, che era del Re, nella qual guerra egli di tutta la terra ferma, che tenevate, vi spogliò, sopra cui, nè in tutta, nè in parte egli ragion niuna non ebbe giammai : che si dee credere, che egli ora debba voler fare, ragionevolmente dee in odio avere tutto il nome Viniziano, vedendo egli, che ogni Viniziano grandissima cagione ha di sempre odiar lui, dal quale tanti nostri danni, tanti travagli, tante ruine sono procedute ? Ed ora dico, che egli potrà dire d'averne alcuna giurisdizione sopra Crema, e Bergamo, e Brescia, che sono alquanti anni state sue. Non credete, voi, che egli penserà di ripigliarlesi, almeno per torre a voi modo d'esser grandi, e di potere a qualche tempo vendicarvi di lui ? Crediatelo, crediatelo, oltre gli altri argomenti, eziandio per quello del capitolo, che egli col Re d'Inghilterra fece a questa Signoria ben palese, e ben chiaro, che dimostra chente l'animo di lui sia d'intorno alle cose della Lombardia, ed alle giurisdizioni sue sopra le terre vostre. Che se giudicaste, che egli avesse fatto lega con voi per altro, che per valersi di questo Stato alla ricuperazion di Melano, voi di troppo sareste errati. Non vi vuole ora essere amico colui, che esser non volle, quando egli devea, e vi fe inganno ; ma vuole di voi giovarsi, ed apprestarsi al potervi ingannare un'altra volta. Ma posto pure, che egli non pensi allo 'nganno, non istarete voi almeno in gelosia sempre di lui ? Nol temerete ? E per dir più il vero, nol temerete per le passate prese da voi sperienze della sua fede, potendo egli con una trombeta dalla mattina alla sera torvi lo Stato tutto ? O non bisognerà per questa temenza, e rispetto, che gli siate sempre sottoposti, sempre ad ubbidienza, sempre servi ? Ora qual perdita, Serenissimo Principe è maggiore, o può essere di questa ? Qual Verona può contravalere, e ristorar questa servitù, questo ragionevolissimo sospetto, questa continua paura ? ma chi sa, che prima, che egli venga, per agevolar la sua venuta, che parer gli dee vie più che malegevole, egli non sia per pigliar con l'Imperadore, e col Re Cattolico accordo, e lasci loro lo Stato vostro, che essi hanno in preda, promettendo loro ancora di ajutarli a pigliare il rimanente ? Io so ben tanto, Serenissima Signoria, che sono venute a nostro Signore novelle di buona parte, che gli fanno intendere, ch'il Re di Francia pensa di lasciarvi per ogni piccolo acconcio suo, e tanto nol fa, quanto egli ancora nol trova. Or se ciò adivenisse che non sarebbe cosa guari lontana dall'usanza di questo Re, il quale veggiamo aver lascati gli Scozzesi, antichi e perpetui suoi amici e confederati, in preda degl'Inglesi, ed i Navarresi in preda degli Spagnoli, de' quali due popoli l'un Re ha perduto lo stato suo per lui, l'altro prese col cognato, che Re d'Inghilterra è, guerra per rivocarlo dall'impresa contra Francesi, ed è in quella guerra morto a lui servendo, se questo, dico, adivenisse, non direbbe ognuno, dice nostro Signore, che a voi bene stesse ogni male, che vi siate fidar voluti di chi una volta ingannati vi ha così laidamente, e specialmente con tanti esempj innanzi gli occhi aver d'altrui, a cui egli ha fatto questo medesimo inganno ? La qual cosa Dio non voglia, che dire si possa giammai di questa così prudente, e grave, e saggia Signoria, e Repub. Queste cose, e queste parti tutte da considerar sono, che avvenir possano, venendo il Cristianissimo in Italia, o per composizione, o per forza ; conciosiacosa, che per semplice amore, e di volontà degli altri Principi, egli non è per venirci giammai. Ma se egli non viene, o non tentando la venuta, o tentandola, e risospinto essendone, siccome

come egli l'anno passato fu, a qual termine, a qual partito vi troverete esser voi, avendo rifiutato l'accordo, e la pace, che ora vi si propone, e per ciò avendovi voi oltra l'Imperio, e la Spagna fatta nimica tutta l'Italia? non riman questo Dominio in preda certa, e manifesta de' suoi nimici? Per Dio, Signori, guardate che a voi non si possa dire quel proverbio, *Essi tardo hanno apparato a sapere*; e ricordivi, che la penitenza da sezzo non giova. E' di mestiero, che altri s'avvegga per tempo di quello che danneggiar lo può, e schifilo. Ora che il Re non sia per venire in Italia eziandio non tentando di venirci, è non solamente da sospettare, ma ancora grandemente da credere; perciocchè se avendo egli chiusa questi passati mesi la lega col Re d'Inghiltera, ed armato trovandosi con più di ventimila fanti pagati per far la impresa, e potendola egli far di volontà, e consentimento di N. S. e col favore, e con la riputazione che gli dava in quel tempo quella lega; quando egli averebbe i suoi nimici sopragnanti sproveduti, e impauriti, sì per altre cagioni, e sì ancor per riverenza di N. S. che favoreggiava il Re, quanto s'è veduto, nulla di meno egli venir non si volle, nè anco invitato, e sollecitato da sua Santità; che si dee credere, che egli debba volere fare a questo tempo, nel quale, e Svizzeri, e Spagnoli, e Lo'imperadore, e Melano, Fiorenza, e Genova tutti uniti, e d'un medesimo animo insieme con N. S. non vorranno, che egli ci venga, e saranegli preparati allo'ncontro; aggiuntogli la nuova, e bella moglie allato, la quale tanto di più gli farà in obbligo metter le guerre. E sono di quelli, che stimano, che queste nozze abbiano a raccorciar la sua vita, anzi pure a farla brevissima, siccome d'uom vecchio non molto continente, preso, e invaghito nell'amor di quella Fanciulla, che più che diciotto anni non ha: la qual si dice esser la più bella cosa, e la più vaga che si sia peraddietro di molti anni veduta in quelle contrade. E già pare, ch' egli incominci a debilitarsi, fatto cagionevole di mala qualità, senza che da stimar non è, che al Rè d' Inghilterra, il quale promesso ha di darli alquanti arcieri per la venuta, sia cara la grandezza sua; conciosiacosa, che il naturale e sempiterno odio di queste due nazioni, non pate, nè permetter può, ch'elleno per leghe, o per parentadi, che si facciano, voglia lo innalzamento, e la grandezza dell'altro. Oltra che sono venute a nostro Signore certissime novelle, acciò che la Serenità Vostra sappia, e scuopra più innanzi, che quando il Cristianissimo richiederà quegli arcieri, che il cognato Re se gli è obbligato di dare, egli si troveranno ben cagioni, e modi da trarre in lungo la bisogna, e da non dargliele. Ma questo tanto Serenissimo Principe, per amore di Nostro Signore, che ve ne priega, si rimanga sotto perpetuo silenzio di questa Signoria. E' adunque da stimare, che il Re di Francia non sia per mettersi a passare in Italia, o per poca voglia di guerreggiare, o per disiderio di riposo, o perchè egli vegga siccome vederà, il varco molto malagevole, e mal sicuro. E se pure egli vorrà farlo, vedete Signori in quale stato sono le cose a questo diè. Svizzeri si sono deliberati, e promettono, e si vantano soli, e senza favore, o soldo di persona, di nol lasciar passar occupandogli i passi, ed al varco opponendoglisi, o pure passar lasciandolo, di chiudernelo nel mezzo, e di far la giornata e rompernelo vie meglio, che eglino a Novara l'anno passato non fecero, e hanno già descritti, e apparecchiati quaranta mila fanti tutti d'un volere per la impresa da spignerli avanti ogni volta, che 'l Re di voler venire farà segno. De' quali tutti ogni bella cosa creder si può, quando s'è veduto, che solo ottomila di loro sconfissero un cotanto esercito, e si bene instrutto l'hanno varcato. Ma non fien soli Svizzeri a ciò fare. Perciocchè Genovesi le lor forze vi aggiugneranno. Ed ho

ho io vedute lettere di quel Doge scritte a 20. del passato per le quali egli si proferisce di spendere 250,000. fiorini d'oro a favor dell'impresa, e dice aver modo di trovargli senza danno alcuno, e con sodisfazione di quella Città. Aggiugneranvi medesimamente le loro forze eziandio Fiorentini; perciocchè vedendo N. Sign. Svizzeri, Melano, Spagna, Lo'imperio, e Genova d'uno spirito, non vuole mettergli a rischio; ma gli lega con costoro tutti a fine, che siano dalla parte sicura. I quali se hanno da contribuire alle spese, non è da dubitare. Ma acciocchè voi Signori questo particolare intendiate, promette il Magnifico Lorenzo in due dì trovar in quella Città, e mettere insieme dugentomila fiorini di ora ad ogni richiesto di N. Sig. e ad ogni cenno suo. E sono queste due poste sole, un gran numero, come vedete. Non vi mancherà il Re Cattolico, non Lo'imperadore, non il Duca di Melano, il quale solo si vede, che tanto può, che a voi più noja dà, che egli non vi bisognerebbe. E per chiuder la somma del tutto, non vi mancherà Nostro Signore, il quale si vuol dichiarare, e non istar neutrale più oltra; perocchè spronandolo la cura delle Cristiane cose, a lui non par questo tempo di starsi pendente più lungamente. Puossi per queste ragioni tutte al sicuro conchiuder, Signori, che il Re di Francia passare in Italia non potrà, e sic ributtato incontrandolo cotante potenze alla resistenza del passo. La qual cosa se avverrà, dove si troverà questa Signoria? Non fia ella manifesta, ed aperta preda di Barberi? Quantunque stima Nostro Signore, e crede, che eglino non abbiano a dover indugiarsi a quel tempo, ma tiene per fermo, che incontanente, che voi arete il partito rifiutato che ora vi si propone, chiusa la lega, che si chiuderà senza dimora, essi se ne verranno a danni vostri, per torvi il modo di poter dar favore ed ajuto a Francesi. La qual cosa è molto ragionevole per se stessa. Che se eglino averanno deliberato di contrastare al Re, medesimamente contrastar voranno a suoi collegati, e per non avere a far cotanto ad un tempo, a loro profitto fia lo incominciare da voi e debilitarvi. Questo teme di voi N. S. sopra ogni cosa, e questo medesimo temendo egli alla Patria sua, e ciò è, che se Fiorentini d'entrare in lega con gli Svizzeri, e con gli altri loro collegati si ritrassero, essi ne venissero direttamente a danni loro, siccome hanno di voler fare apertamente minacciato, veduto oltre a ciò, che ad esso pare, che'l Sig. di sopra, volendo egli al tutto liberare la Italia da Barberi, voglia cominciare a liberarla da Francesi, ha conchiuso di risolversi con la Italiana parte. E dagli il cuore d'indurre eziandio il Re di Francia con alcun tributo, che gli dia il Duca di Melano a starsi di là da'monti, amorevolmente mostrandogli la impossibilità del venire, come mostrare agevolmente si può a chiunque udire voglia il vero. Fatto prima questo discorso con voi, e questo ragionamento, che vi fa chiare le ragioni, che N. Signore muovono alla presa diliberazione sua, nella quale egli sempre altrettanto rispetto ha della vostra Repubblica, e di voi avuto, quanto egli ha tuttavia della sua medesima Patria, e de'suoi, e per la cui salvezza tutto il tempo del suo Ponteficato egli s'ha molte cure, molti pensieri, molte fatiche prese, tenendo ora per certissimo questo esser il ben vostro, m'ha imposto, che con la benedizione sua accompagnata da quella di Dio, io vi conforti e prieghi, lasciando le passioni particolari, a riverenza della Divina Maestà, ed a sicurezza della Cristiana comunanza, a prendere al tutto e ad accettar la condition, che egli vi propone, di racquistar tutto lo Stato vostro, da Verona come s'è detto, in fuori; con pagamento delli dugento mila fiorini d'oro, o alcuna cosa più, secondo che conchiuder si potrà il meno, promettendovi nondimeno egli per se, e per nome del Cattolico

Cattolico Re, di fare ogni opera, e tenere ogni via; che Verona eziandio più tosto, che si possa, vi ritorni, e d' intraporre in ciò tutta l' autorità di quella santa Seggia, e sua; dal pigliar le arme contra Cesare in fuori; e vuole, che io vi dica che se voi non volete ciò fare per conto della presente vostra utilità, e prò, essendovi la ricuperazion, e racquisto delle altre terre vostre ora dal vostro nimico possedute, e per lo respiramento, e quiete, che darete a questa città, ed agli altri vostri popoli, e ben sapete, se fa loro di ciò mestiero, se far nol volete per cagion della ruina, che per molti capi addosso vi si tira l' amistà de' Francesi, se non anco per rispetto di lui, che così paternamente s' è adoperato, e faticato a beneficio vostro cotante altre volte, ed ora in questo consiglio medesimo si fatica più che giammai; si vogliate voi per cagion del Figliuol di Dio farlo, la salvezza, e gloria della fede, e de' popoli, del quale principalmente si studia, e si procaccia con questo accordo, e a lui Verona doniate in luogo di tante altre città, di tanto imperio, di tanta, e sì lunga libertà, e Repubblica, che il suo Omnipotentissimo Padre ha donato a voi, il quale molto tosto vi potrà non solo ritornar Verona, ma ancora restituirvi cotanto altro Stato, che il Turco possiede di questa Signoria, e farvi più grandi, e più gloriosi, che mai. La quale speranza, se niuno altro rispetto non vi movesse, si vi dovrebbe ella muovere, e spignere a pigliar questo assettamento, acciò che si faccia la guerra contra gl' Infideli, la qual facendosi, chi non vede, che questa Signoria se ne ingrandirà più che prencipe veruno altro, ed in istato, ed in riputazion sempiterna? Ultimamente vuole nostro Signore, che io chiaramente vi dica, e vi protesti, che se voi ora a questi dì, alla pronunzia mia, la proposta condizione non accetterete, come che egli sia per ciò fare con le lacrime a gli occhi, siccome colui, che teneramente ama questa Signoria, pure tuttavia estimandovi egli per questa ostinazione, e durezza, e perfidia, nè buoni, nè giusti, nè riposati, egli il farà con men dolore, vi protesti dico, che egli incontanente lascerà la protezion vostra, e non vorrà più di voi, e dello stato, e delle cose vostre niuna cura, niun pensiero pigliarsi; a quali se calamità di ciò ne verrà, e ruina, e dissolazione, dice, che voi non arete da imputarne altri, che voi stessi. Egli innanzi tratto se ne scuserà co' Prencipi tutti, e farà loro intendere quanto egli faticato s' è a beneficio di questo Dominio, e la reprobata ostinazion vostra. Sopra tutto mi ha imposto, che io vi dica, che voi non crediate, che egli così apertamente vi protesti, per indurvi a quello, che si cerca, e che se ben voi non accetterete la pace, egli però non farà tutto quello, che egli dice di dover fare, nè egli in preda di Barberi vi lascerà, non tornando ciò a profitto nè della Seggia di Roma, nè della Patria sua; perciocchè voi di ciò ingannati vi trovereste; E vuole, che io a memoria vi ritorni, che nè anco il Duca di Melano, detto Lodovico, credette che questa S. dovesse poter far lega col Re di Francia a danni di lui; perciocchè egli non era a prò e bene del vostro Stato, aver così grande e così potente vicino, siccome nel vero non era. Nondimeno egli rimase di ciò ingannato, e voi con Francia vi legaste; di che ne seguì in brevissimo spazio la sconfitta, e la presura sua. Dice ancora, che io vi ricordi, che per lo non voler questa Signoria lasciar Faenza, e Rimino, o forse anco una sola di queste terre alla Chiesa, a tempo del Predecessor suo, ella ne perdè in pochi mesi tutto il suo Stato così grande, e così bello, e così potente, come egli era, e perciò vi conforti a non volere ora, a tempo di lui, a posta di Verona, la quale come detto s' è, si dee credere, che si dipositi solamente, e sequestri, perder tutto il rimanente, e peravventura, il che Dio

non voglia, eziandio la libertà della Repub. conservata cotanti secoli. Vuole più ultimamente, che io ancora vi dica, che non crediate con lo star duri, e ritrosi a questo, e costanti nella lega co' Francesi, tirar Lo'imperadore, e il Re Cattolica a rendervi eziandio Verona per ispiccar, e scioglier da Francia questa Sign. quasi necessitati a ciò, se vogliono la vittoria contra il Cristianissimo. Perciò che questo, che vi si propone ora è lo scaglione Sezzajo, al quale costoro scendono più tosto per soddisfare a Sua Santità, che sì lungamente ha sopra ciò battuto, e chiesto, e conteso, che vi sia restituito il vostro, che per altro: parendo loro, che se Lo'imperadore vi ritorna Bergamo, e Brescia che egli ha, possiate voi onestamente lasciare a lui Verona, che non avete. E se forse la Signoria vostra pensasse, che il Re di Spagna questo tentamento facesse per mettervi alle mani, e ad astiarvi col Francese, e volessesi egli poi accordare, e legare a danni vostri con esso lui, promette N. S. esservi mallevadore in ciò che tanto appieno osservato vi sarà, quanto egli ora vi propone. Fin quì ho parlato, Serenissimo Prencipe, siccome Nuncio di Nostro Signore, e come ispressor dell'animo suo, e dichiaratore, e apportatore della sua mente. Ora parlerò io come Pietro Bembo Cittadino, e Servitor vostro, desideroso dell'onore, e del bene di questa Communanza al pari di ciascuna delle Signorie vostre, che qui siete. Io Signori, quando da nostro Signore mi fu imposto il venire in diligenza a questa Signoria; quantunque alla età, e alla complession mia, l'una non verde, e l'altra non robusta, e all' esercizio mio, assai lontano da ciò, non si convenga l'andare per istaffetta, e questa inusitata fatica a me paresse molto grave, specialmente a questi guazzosissimi, e fierissimi tempi; nondimeno la pigliai volentieri, estimando di portarvi una buonissima novella, recandovi pace, e quiete, e sicurezza in luogo delle guerre, e de' travagli, e de' pericoli, ne' quali da molti anni in qua stati siete per lo continuo. Nè si pensi alcun di voi, che io sia quì venuto per vendervi ciANCIE, e menzogne, affine d'acquistar con Nostro Signore grazia, o forse con Lo'imperadore, o col Re Cattolico. Che della grazia di questi due Prencipi se io ne avessi fatto alcun disegno, prima che ora ingegnato mi sarei d'acquistarla, nè mi sarei lor dimostrato sempre aperto difensore delle Signorie vostre, come fatto ho senza riguardo. La grazia di Nostro Signore ho io bene desiderata sempre; ed ora più che mai la desidero e cerco. La qual grazia non posso io acquistare per nessuna via meglio, che lui, ed il suo costume imitando, e di rassomigliar procacciando. Il qual ottimo Prencipe, e d'ottima volontà, e mente essendo, ha quelli suoi serventi più cari, che sono di buona volontà, e di buona mente anco essi. E perciocchè lo adoperarsi alcuno a beneficio della Patria sua cosa buona, e lodevole fu sempre, non che io acquistassi nuova grazia con lui per ingannar la Patria mia, ma io ne perderei quel tanto, o quanto, che posso di lei a questo di averè acquistato. Ho adunque parlato il vero alle Sign. vostre, siccome colui, che lasciar l'affetto naturale, e l'amor della mia Patria nè debbo, nè posso, nè voglio, ed il quale sempre sono alla parte del bene, e del mal vostro con voi. Laonde più arditamente vi priego, che mi prestiate fede, e crediate, che sotto questa dinunzia mia niuno inganno, niuna fallacia, niuna arte è nascosa. Quanto all' accettar voi, o rifiutar questo partito, fatene pur tutto il profitto vostro, e la volontà del Signore del Ciclo, il quale io priego a mano giunte, e supplico divotissimo, e inchinatisimo alla sua bontà, e pietà, che egli a quello farvi ispiri, e induca, che è da lui conosciuto essere il benè di voi, e di questa travagliata Signoria. Ma io vi so ben dire, ed

affermar questo, che tantosto, che voi rifiutato l'abbiate, si chiuderà la lega dell'imperadore, e del Cattolico, e de'Svizzeri, e di Melano, e di Genova, e di Fiorenza, e di Nostro Signore a commune difesa contra chiunque. La qual lega come sia chiusa, se essendo Nostro Signore con voi, quello, che egli per addietro è stato non ha tuttavia potuto a' nemici vostri alcuna volta qualche cosa negare, che è di danno vostro, e di dispiacer stata, che stimiate voi, che egli sia per dover fare ancor che egli contra voglia il faccia, essendosi chiusa detta lega non più contra Francesi, che contra voi? La qual lega, acciocche sappiate tanto oltre, è oggimai e tramata, e ordita. Perciocchè aspettandosi questa risoluzione del Cattolico, s'è sopra esse e parlato, e disputato molte volte, e disposte tutte le parti di maniera, che elle in un punto prenderanno la lor forma. Daranno alla lega Nostro Signore e Fiorentini mille uomini ad arme, ed ancor più. Ne darà il Cattolico ottocento, Cesare trecento di quei suoi alla Borgognona, Melano quattrocento, che fieno in somma duemila, e cinquecento. E daranno tutti oltre a questi ancor duemila Cavalli leggieri, daranno Fanti delle terre del Papa, e de' Fiorentini, se bisognerà, quanti bisognerà, e fieno i migliori di tutta Italia, e quello che importa più che altro, essi già pensato, e ordinato un nuovo modo a fare, che i denari, che a spendere si haranno per la impresa, sian sempre alla mano, secondo che essi veranno bisognando, e quasi nel mezzo della piazza dello esercito. Perciocchè daranno tutti promessa di banco sicura, quale in Roma, e quale in Melano, siccome più sia espediente, ciascuno per le porzion loro a suoi tempi, che non se ne perderà, o tarderà oncia, e pensano di tirare eziandio Ferrara, e Mantova, e Monferrato, e Saluzzo, e Savoia ad entrare in lega, ed a contribuire alla spesa con esso loro, spignendo in Savoia di presente quattro, o cinque mila Svizzeri, per far quel Duca o per volontà o per forza alle voglie loro declinare, e dichiarirsi loco compagno. E anco si sono tra'l Cattolico, e la casa di Nostro Signore de' parentadi tramati di qualità, che potranno esser poco giovevoli a questa Signoria compiendo essi di tesserli, e non essendo essa con loro. Oltra che a Nostro Signore sono novelle venute dal Commissario suo, che in Verona è, le lettere del quale sempre sono vere state, e ultimamente molto più che S. S. voluto non arebbe, che dicono, che l'Imperadore vuole scendere nel Frigoli. Il che quanto sia per dovervi esser di danno, e di pressura, e d'amaritudine, avendo voi tuttavia, e Spagnuoli, e altri Imperiali da quest'altro lato, voi vel potete considerar di leggiero. Quantunque teme Nostro Signore d'un altro vostro incommodo più importante, e più grave, a cui rimedio alcuno non avete, se eglino si disporranno a darlovi, e non teme giammai Sua Santità senza cagione, che per ventosi romori non si muove, e cioè, che rifiutato per voi l'accordo, gli Spagnuoli, e gl'Imperiali disperatisi della unione, e della pace con voi, non ardano, non dico io, come l'anno passato fecero, alquanti luoghi, ma dico Este, Monselice, Montagnano, Cologno, e forse anco Vicenza, che è loro ispostissima, e appartissima, e da quelle parte, dove essi sono, discorrendo, e Pieve di Sacco, e Campo San Piero, e Cittadella, e Bassiano, ed in sommo venendo in giù, e pel Trivigiano non mettano a fuoco, e fiamma tutte le Castella, tutte le Ville, tutte le Case, e Secessi, e poderi della Nobiltà, e de' Popoli vostri in fin sul lito, ed in su le alge di questa Città. Al qual impeto, e furor Barbarico dubita Nostro Signore non poter trovar riparo; in tanto vi si rivolgerà tutto il mondo allo' incontro. Notate bene Illust. Signori, e avvertite a questo pericolo, di cui vi parlo. Il tutto è vietar

vietar l'acqua, che non incominci a rompere; il che agevole suole essere, e farsi leggiermente; che poichè ella incominciato ha e rotto, ella piglia forza, e corso in guisa, che non si può ritener più. Voi per pruova sapete, che cosa è avere il Pontefice nimico. Sapete quel che è rimaner soli contro a molte potenze, e molte forze. Sapete per quanto tesoro si vuole tal volta poter frastornare un mal preso principio, e non giova. Ora, che sete in su l'eleggere, considerate quanto e come sostener potrete l'impeto di cotanto lega quando a poca parte di lei conviene, che cediate, e non sete a sostenerla bastanti. Estimate quanto i Vostri Cittadini, i Vostri Popoli sono contenti, sono abili, sono presti a portar molti disagi, e molte gravezze più oltre, e troverete, che egli non si può meglio fare, che scansare, e declinare le furie de mali pianeti. Diceva Alfonso il vecchio Re di Napoli un motto di questa maniera, *Chinati, e concitati*. Voi vi chinate alquanto più di quello, che vorreste, non di quello, che ora siete, lasciando all'omperadore Verona. Ma tuttavia se Voi v'inchinate, e Voi vi acconciate altresì, e chi non sa, che quando altri s'è acconcio, egli più agevolmente inalzar si può, che quando egli cade, e trabocca tuttavia? Pigliate Signori, e accetate la proposta di N. S. con allegro animo, e volto; perciocchè quando voi mostrerete da suoi prudenti, e amichevoli consigli non volere dipartirvi, e darete segno, di volere in tutto rimettervi nel paterno affetto di lui, voi raccenderete nella sua mente un disiderio di far per voi, e di conservarvi tale, che egli troverà ben modo, vedendo di poter di questo stato quello, che egli vuole, di tosto reintegrarlo del tutto. Date per questa via, alli tanti danni, alle tante conquassazioni vostre, refrigerio, e sostegno. Date questo respiramento a vostri popoli, che stanchi, e vinti dalle tempestose onde della rea, e avversa fortuna Vostra, vi priegano di riposo, ed in sommo date a divedere al mondo, che nè più pacifici, e riposati uomini, nè migliori Cristiani sono in esso, di voi.

N^o. CXIX.

(Vol. ii. p. 328.)

Bembi op. tom. iii. 492, &c.

A Papa Leon X. a Roma.

IO giunsi qui lunedì, che fu a quattro, avendo posto nel cammino, che è stato assai malagevole, meno di cinque giorni. E subito fatto intendere a questa Signoria la mia venuta, arei avuto il Martedì mattina udiienza, se non che quella ora era stata promessa ad uno Ambasciatore del Turco, la venuta del quale, e altre cose, che si son dette, fanno credere, che'l Turco ricevuto abbia una grande sconfitta dal Sofi. Benchè questi Signori dicano, che per lettere da Costantinopoli si raccerti, il Sofi essere stato inferiore, ed il Turco rimasto Signore della Campagna. Ebbi adunque udiienza questa mattina, nella camera del Principe, così richiesta da me, che questa Signoria era per darmela nelle usate lor Sale onoratamente mandandomi ad incontrare, e accompagnare da molti delle lor Sig. per riverenza di vostra Santità. La qual cosa io non volli, vedendo, che all'essere io venuto

per le poste, e per pochi di le molte ceremonie non mi si dovevano, e perciocchè io era stato avvertito essere o impossibile, o sommamente malagevole spicar questa Sign. da Francia, per la openion, che hanno di non poter per altra via sperar la reintegrazion del loro Stato, la quale openione ha fatto le radici alte nelle menti di questi Signori, massimamente che tengono certa la venutà di quel Re, e pure il dì, che io giunsi erano venute lettere di Francia con le scritte dello esercito, che s' appresta per l'Italia, che molto gli aveano rallegrati, ho giudicato essere spediante propor loro la commission datami da Vostra Santità molto risoluta, e gagliarda, e mostrar loro vivamente il loro danno, se non accettano il consiglio di lei, e così posto in carta quello, che io a dir loro avea, sì per non mancare in parte alcuna delle cose dettemi da Vostra Santità, e molto più affine, che essi credessero, che io ci fossi venuto con materia ben considerata, e deliberata, lessi a questa Sign. la scrittura, che ora io mando a Vostra Santità, la qual letta, prese il Prencipe tempo a rispondermi, convenendosi trattar la materia prima ne' loro consigli. Pure egli disse allora tanto, come da se, e non per risposta, che io compresi, essermi stato detto il vero, e voler questa Signoria, o non accettar l'accordo, o tirare la risoluzione allungo, sperando forse, che'l tempo a mutare abbia Vostra Santità da questa sentenza. Perchè ho pensato, se io vedrò che fra'l termine, nel quale potranno aver diliberato, e consultato, che questa Sig. non si risolva, d' andare in Collegio, e dire, che io abbia in commissione, che se passato quelli giorni, che fieno stati bastevoli a farmi risposta, essi risoluti non si saranno, io pigli questa irresoluzion loro per negazione, e mi parta, e ritorni a Vostra Santità. La onde avendo io voluto significar loro il tutto, io faccio loro intendere, che se fra due altri di eglino non mi risponderanno, io mi partirò senza dir loro altro, e così farò se da Vostra Santità non averò nuovo ordine, e se per un brieve suo, che esplicasse avermi così ordinato Vostra Santità rinforzasse lo impormi, che io non mi lasciassi tirare in tempo, e gagliardamente di nuovo m'imponesse il protestare a questa Signoria, che si risolva al sì, o al no, altramente che io mi partissi, crederci, che altro che giovar non potesse. Perciocchè io non posso in tutto credere, che quando questa Signoria vedrà, che Vostra Santità faccia da doverò, ella consenta mai di perderlasi, e inimicarlasi. Dunque se Vostra Santità desidera trarre questa cosa a buon fine, non è da rimetter punto il sollecitargli alla risoluzione, e il protestargli, che non si risolvendo essi, Vostra San. chiuderà la lega con gli avversarj loro. Il Trivulzi Ambasciator del Cristianissimo è stato oggi appresso mangiare alla Signoria, giudico per intender quello, che io abbia questa mattina proposto per nome di V. San. Sua Sign. ha mandato un suo Cancelliere a visitarmi, e ad offerirmisi, come Persona di quel Re, che è buon figliuolo di Vostra Beatitudine. Qui s'e già inteso il trattamento del matrimonio del Magnifico Lorenzo nella figliuola della Duchessa di Cardona, e quinci stimano esser nata la nuova intelligenza di Vostra Santità con Ispagna. Bacio umilmente il piede santissimo Vostro. A' 6 di Dicembre 1514 Di Vinegia.

A Papa Leon X. a Roma.

Io scrissi a' 6. del presente, che prima che io proponessi a questa Sign. la commission datami da vostra Beatitudine, avea inteso questi Padri esser molto fissi nella loro lega col Cristianissimo, e malagevole, o forse impossibile cosa essere il potergli smuovere da

da quel proponimento, e dappoi che io la proposi loro, per la risposta del Prencipe, non perciò datami per riposta, avea compreso così essere il vero. Poscia questi giorni sono stato per diverse vie certificato, che questa Signoria per niente non acceterà il partita, siccome quelli, che credono che impossibile sia vietar la venuta del Cristianissimo in Italia, e quelli, che tengono per indubitato, che Vostra Santità, e chi si legherà con lei, abbia ad essere ingannata dal Cattolico. Perciocchè hanno contezze, siccome essi tengono, certissime, che il detto Cattolico propone tuttavia per un suo Nuncio secreto, che egli ha appresso il detto Re, la restituzion del Ducato di Melano a Sua Maestà, volendolasi pigliar per amica pacificamente, con questa condizione, che egli lasci questa Sig. e dicono, che anco Lo' imperadore ha voluto accorda col predetto Cristianissimo con utile del Re. Ma perchè era con danno di questa Signoria, Sua Maestà accettar non l'ha voluto. Onde se gli tengono grandemente ubbligati, e mancar di fede non gli vogliono. Ha eziandio debilitato la proposta mia ciò, che essi dicono, alcuni di quelli di Vostra Beatitudine avere, appresso la partita mia da Roma, detto all' Ambasciador di questa Signoria, e ad altrui, che se Francesi verranno in Italia, voi sarete Francese. Il che io stimo non sia vero, o se pure vero è, a qualche altro modo sia suto detto da coloro, e con altro sentimento, che interpretato non è stato. Sono ancor venute lettere da Roma particolari, che dicono, che io ho un altra commissione da Vostra Santità a parte, di promettere a questa Signoria eziandio Verona insieme col rimanente, che promesso le ho. Tutte queste cose accrescono difficoltà alla materia difficilissima da se stessa, aggiunto ancor ciò, che pensano, che Vostra Santità solo per odio del Re Cristianissimo tenti di spiccargli da lui. Perciocchè hanno da alquanti mesi in qua continuate novelle, e dall' Ambasciator loro in Francia, e dal Francese qui, d'un malvagio e acceso animo di quella Maestà incontro Vostra Beatitudine cagion dell'odio, che essi dicono, e non perchè ella vegga così malagevole il suo venire in Italia, come ella il fa, e così possenti, e uniti gli avversarj suoi al vietargliela. V. Santità savissima considererà per questi rispetti tutti quanto sia necessario, che ella continui severamente la somma della commission datami, ed il protesto, che se questi Signori non accettano l'accordo con Cesare, voi gli lascerete, e potrete anco dirlo all' Ambasciator loro, mostrando di avere avuto da me, che io non isperi buona risoluzione della mia proposta, per trovare gli animi qui ostinati, e se anco Vostra Santità con un poco di commozion d' animo, e querela, che questa Sig. non conosca il buon voler vostro verso lei, dirà ciò a quello Ambasciator, mal soddisfatta mostrandosene, fie peravventura vie meglio, e perchè questa Signoria niente ancor m'ha fatto intendere, o aver deliberato, o voler deliberare sopra la proposta di Vostra Santità. Questa mattina ho mandato il Beazzano a sollecitargli, dicendo loro, che se essi non si risolveranno, io sarò astretto a partirmi; così avendo in commissione da Vostra Beatitudine. Non ho voluto per ancora metter mano a quel protesto, che io scrissi a Vostra Santità avere in animo di far loro, che se eglino fra due dì non si risolveressero, io piglierei la loro irresoluzione per negazione, e mi partirei, aspettando io fra due dì risposta da lei alle mie lettere. Hannomi risposto, che essi si risolveranno, e risponderannomi. Il Signor Bartolommeo Alviano e qui tre dì sono, e staracci tre altri. Fa sue mostre di Cavalli leggieri a Mergara, volendo ridurre il numero tutto de' cavalli di questa Signoria, che sono assai più di mille, a soli ottocento elettissimi, come egli dice, che ha fatto delli uomini d' arme, avendogli, e cassi, e rimessi a sua voglia, di modo che egli

egli si crede per la somma di ottocentocinquanta cavalli aver la miglior compagnia, che sia in tutta Italia, e meglio a cavallo. Ieri sera volle, che io seco cenassi, onorandomi molto per nome di Vostra Santità, e molte cose dicendomi da riferire a lei, che tutte in somma tendono a questo fine, di dolersi, che ella non abbia voluto credere agli amorevoli ricordi suoi, e di confortarla ora a non voler fidarsi in altri, che in questa Sign. Raccomandasi a' piedi di Vostra Beatitudine. Il Signor Renzo eziandio è qui. Il Vescovo d'Aste Orator del Cristianissimo è venuto a visitarmi, siccome è servitor del suo Re buon Figliuolo di Vostra Santità, e servitore insieme con tutta la casa, e famiglia sua di Vostra Beatitudine. Parla della venuta del Re in Italia assai modestamente. Io bacio umilmente il santissimo piè di Vostra Beatitudine. Agli 11. di Dicembre 1514. Di Vinegia.

A Papa Leone X. a Roma.

Io fui questa mattina chiamato da questa Sig. la quale mi rispose avere intesa la proposta fattale da me per nome di Vostra Santità questi passati giorni, che io fui alla presenza sua, e quella ben considerata secundo l'uso di questa Repubblica alli loro Consigli rispondermi col Senato in cotal maniera, e fecemi il Prencipe leggere una scritta di questa contenenza. E ciò è, che questa Sig. aveva avuta gratissima la venuta mia, siccome di Ambasciatore di Vostra Beatitudine, di cui questa Repub. è sempre devotissima stata, toccando in parte la benevolenza mostrata da questa Signoria per addietro all' Illustrissima sua famiglia e come di Cittadin suo e perchè la proposta mia conteneva due capi principali, l'uno era la pace con la Cesarea Maestà con lasciarle Verona, l'altro il mancar dalla lega col Cristianissimo per unirsi con gli altri. Al primo, dice questa Signoria, che Vostra Santità sapientissima può ben considerar di prima, quanto sia a proposito di cotesta Santa Sede, e suo, e di questo Stato, che all'omperadore, nimico non meno della detta Sede, che di questa Signoria, si lasci l'adito di quella Città, da poter perturbar la Italia ad ogni sua posta. Appresso che questa Signoria non solamente non potrebbe credere di aver recuperate quelle Città, che restituir le si vogliono, essendo in poter dell'Imperador sempre che egli volesse, chiuder loro il passo di poterle soccorrere ne' bisogni, ma eziandio, che egli potrebbe tener questo Stato continuamente in travaglio ancor di queste altre, che da Verona in qua sono. Al secondo, che essendo sempre stato in costume di questa Signoria servar fede a' collegati suoi, e avendo questa Repub. molte volte eletto più tosto sostenere gravissimi danni, che romper le leanze, e le confederazioni sue, ella non può ora mancare in ciò, testificando a Vostra Santità, che di questo Stato ella si può promettere a beneficio di cotesta Santa Sede, e suo nientemeno, che ella possa della Patria sua. Questa è la contenenza della scrittura, che questa Signoria mi fece leggere per risposta di quanto io le avea proposto per nome di Vostra Santità, con la quale le mando il Beazzano, che per nome mio le dirà le altre cose, che ho stimate esser degne della sua notizia. Al quale siccome a buono, e fedel servo suo, e insieme a secreto, e ingenuo, ella si degnerà darle fede. Bacio a V. San. il santissimo piè non solo per me, ma ancora per nome di mio Padre, che al tutto, se Dio gli concede tanto di vita, vuol venire a basciarlo in Persona. A' 15. di Dicembre 1514. Di Vinegia.

(Vol. ii. p. 329.)

*Bembi op. tom. iii. p. 496.**A Monsignor Bernardo Bibiena Cardinal di Santa Maria in Portico. a Roma.*

RICEVUTE le ultime lettere di V. S. in risposta del Beazzano, che fu a' 27. del passato alle tre ore, mandatemi dal Serenissimo Principe, per le quali V. Sign. mi commetteva, che io senza dimora mi partissi e tornassi a N. S. per non dar tempo alla commissione sua, la mattina seguente ispeditomi delle mie bisogne particolari, e domestiche fatta collazione entrai in barca, e fui a Chioggia non prima, che la sera a notte, per molto contrario vento, che soffì quel giorno. Salito poi a Chioggia per le poste, e affrettando il cammino, avendomi il Beazzano scritto, che io venissi tosto a Roma, parendomi pure un bel fatto il correr per questa marina quanto poteano i cavalli avvacciarsi, io fui bene il Sabbatho alle 20. ore qui in Pesaro, ma così stanco, e battuto, e rotto, che io mi accorsi, che le staffette non sono opera da vecchi, anzi per dir meglio mi confermai in questa opinione, che accorto me n'era io molto prima, che io da Roma mi partissi. Passai quella notte non senza qualche alterazione di febbre, nè mi giovarono le carezze, ed i vezzi fattimi da Madonna Emilia, che nel vero furono assai. La Signora Duchessa nostra, era nel letto postavisi per lo spavento d'un fuoco, il conforto del qual fuoco, e danno ricevutone è stato quel fuoco, e quel danno, che avete avuto voi costì, riputando bella cosa questi Signori avere il Papa per compagno di questa fortuna, ed in questo lor caso. Parmi vedere a queste parole V. S. ridere, e dire, o bella invenzione, estimando, che io abbia finto il malato per istarmi con questa scusa qui alcun giorno. Per Dio Monsignore mio e per Santi, che io non ciancio. Sono stato tutto ieri sì fiacco, e lasso, e conquassato, che io non mi potea reggere in piè, ed ho dubitato, e dubito tuttavia averne più, che per una notte. Onde sapendo io, che a V. Sign. increscerebbe il mal mio, che siete amorevole de' servitori vostri, e a Nostro Signore altresì, ho pensato di starmi anco oggi qui, e poi domattina, se peggio non mi sopravverrà, che piaccia a Dio di no, monterò a cavallo, ma non per le poste, e verrommene con le cavalcature, che mi presta il Signor Duca a buone giornate. A quello, che V. Sig. mi scrisse, che pigliando io comiato dalla Signoria, domandassi come da me, quello, che essi spenderebbono quando potessero ricuperar Verona, le rispondo, che sì perchè io avea già presa licenza da loro, e fu il dì seguente a quello, nel quale io ebbi la risposta di quella Signoria fatta alla proposta di N. Sig. e sì perciò avendo la predetta Signoria per contezze avute da Roma sempre aspettato, che io le proponessi quell'altro partito, siccome commissione avuta da sua Santità a parte, se io mi fossi tornato alla Signoria, e avessi loro accennato, comunque si volesse cotesto, essi si sarebbono confermati in tutte le altre cose, che hanno avuto da Roma, e specialmente in quella, che N. S. non sia per ispiccarsi da loro così, come io ho lor detto, anzi che sua Santità non possa far senza essi, e si sarebbono peravventura levati tanto in su con le speranze loro, che arebbon voluto essi esser pregati avendo ad accettare il partito; laonde mi parve di tacerla, quanto a quelli Signori: estimando, che poi di costà si potesse ciò fare con più riputazion di nostro Sig. e più loro utilità, conciossiacosachè il dar loro ansa da insuperbire sia il danno di quella Repubblica. E' vero, che avendo io a cenar quella medesima sera, che

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che io ebbi le lettere vostre, e fu l'ultima, che io in Vinegia fui, in casa M. Luigi Soranzo Genero di M. Paolo Cappello, che è del Consiglio de' X. il quale anco vi si dovea trovare, e trovovvisi tornando alle quattro ore di notte del detto Consiglio, mi parve opportuno dire a lui quanto V. S. mi commetteva, siccome da me, e con modo, che ciò non gli avesse ad alzar più, offerendomi, se io era buono a fare cosa alcuna, che piacesse loro, che essi m'adoperassero, la qual cosa tutta nondimeno stimo sia da loro stata accettata con poco frutto. Scrisi a nostro Signore quella sera, che io da Padova ritornai, che fu a' 23. il Sig. Renzo esser venuto a Roma. Il che non fu vero, ma fu a pruova finto da quelli Signori, e fattol dire, e credere, siccome cosa verisimile molto, affine, che non si sapesse, che eglino lo rimandavano in Crema, temendo non egli potesse essere intrapreso, e ritenuto in alcun luogo di quelli, per li quali esso a passare avea. Di che ne sospettavano alquanto. Mandaronlo con molta diligenza, avendo di Lombardia alcuni sentori avuti, che gli confermarono vie più in una speranza, nella quale già erano, e ciò è, che uno dellì confederati con Nostro Sign. s'avesse a spiccar da lui, o a non entrare in lega con sua Santità, e pare, che questo sia il Doge di Genova. Anco di Nostro Signore non hanno mai temuto quello, che io ho protestato loro, e stavanne al partir mio di buona voglia assai. Ho voluto dar questi pochi avvisi a V. S. per lettere, poichè io portargliele a bocca così tosto, come io volea, non posso. Alla cui buona grazia bacio la mano, pregandola mi raccomandi a Monsig. mio de' Medici, ed al mio Sig. Magnifico. Bacio i piedi santissimi di nostro Signore. Il primo di dell' anno 1515. Di Pesaro.



