CESARE BORGIA
Duke of Valentino and the Romagna
From the portrait by Raphael in the Borghese Gallery Rome

XXXII-e-23

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THE

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND DIPLOMATIC WRITINGS

OF

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN

BY

CHRISTIAN E. DETMOLD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. III.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME III.

MISSIONS.

	Page
Mission to the Lord of Piombino, November 20, 1498 . . .	1
Mission to the Countess Catharine Sforza, July 12, 1499 .	5
Commission to the Army in the Field against the Pisans, July, 1500	27
Mission to the Court of France, July 18, 1500	40
Mission to the Duke of Valentinois, October 5, 1502 . .	141
Mission to Sienna, April 26, 1503	281
Mission to the Court of Rome, October 24, 1503	283
Second Mission to the Court of France, January 14, 1504	389
Mission to Gianpaolo Baglioni, April 8, 1504	445
Mission to the Marquis of Mantua, John Francis II. of Gonzaga, May 4, 1505	454
Second Mission to Sienna, July 16, 1505	457
Second Mission to the Army before Pisa, August 19, 1505 .	482

MISSIONS.

MISSION TO THE LORD OF PIOMBINO.*

LETTER OF THE MAGISTRACY OF THE TEN TO THE LORD OF PIOMBINO.

November 20, 1498.

The entire faith and the very high estimation in which we hold your illustrious Lordship, induce us confidently to ask you to consent to do what our commissioners will ask of you, namely: — Having to withdraw our Captain-General with his troops from the neighborhood of Pisa, for the purpose of sending him to Arezzo, and desiring to replace these troops by others, and in the absence of our general to have a chief capable of properly commanding them, and not knowing to whom we could better confide this responsibility, we have concluded to commit it to your charge, feeling assured that the affection which you bear us will induce you to accept it

* Jacopo IV. d' Appiano, Lord of Piombino, like all the petty lords of his time, sold his sword to whoever paid him best; and thus, after having for some time served the Pisans, he turned against them and engaged in the service of the Florentine republic. His *condotta* dates from 26 August, 1498, and was made jointly by the Florentine republic and the Duke of Milan. It was for two years, with the option on the part of the Condottiere to extend it for a third year. D' Appiano was to bring with him two hundred men-at-arms, and was to receive as his pay 22,400 florins for each year of service, with the customary reservation of seven per cent. The Condottiere had obligated himself to be ready with his men within fifteen days of the first payment in advance, or anticipation, as it was then called. But he was not true to the sworn terms of the agreement, and delayed his departure for the camp until the last days of the following February. And hardly had he reached Pontedera when he demanded an increase of compensation. It is to this point that the mission of Machiavelli has reference; but being so near the city of Florence there was no correspondence on the subject. The result, however, is known from later documents, which show that the Florentine secretary succeeded in making the Lord of Piombino abandon his pretension to higher pay; but not the augmentation of his force by forty men-at-arms, which was conceded to him with the consent of the Duke of Milan in the latter part of May, with a corresponding increase of compensation.

willingly, and that you will with the utmost possible promptitude proceed with your troops to the Pisan territory. And we feel convinced that, when you are once on the spot with your troops, our interests there will be fully protected.

And so that you may have some one to guide you there, we send you our most valued citizen, Niccolo Machiavelli, to accompany and guide you by the most convenient route. And we beg you most earnestly to comply with our request and expectations with your accustomed promptitude and prudence, feeling assured that you will do so cheerfully, as the charge which we ask you to accept is a most honorable one, etc., etc.

MISSION OF MACHIAVELLI TO THE SAME.

INSTRUCTIONS.

You will proceed to Pontedera, where you will present yourself to the illustrious Lord of Piombino; and after having presented our letters of credence, you will explain to him that you have been sent by us because we had been informed by his chancellor, who is here, and through our ambassadors at Milan, that it is his Lordship's desire to receive from us, besides the sum stipulated in the contract for his engagement, the additional sum of five thousand ducats; alleging that this was promised him, and that it would be no more than proper inasmuch as his lordship is in no way inferior to the Count Rinuccio. In relation to which demand we have judged that you could better explain by your personal presence what we have to say on the subject; which in fact amounts to this, that we are sincerely desirous of satisfying his Lordship generally in every respect, because of the good faith and affection which he has manifested towards our republic, and which we appreciate highly. You will enlarge upon this in the most effective manner, so as to show our favorable disposition towards his Lordship, but you will do it in vague and general terms, so as not to commit us to any positive obligation whatever.

As regards this demand for an increase of compensation, you will say that, so soon as we received notice of it, we examined the register of our military engagements, where we found in

the second chapter that his Lordship had agreed with his Excellency the Duke of Milan and our magistracy that his compensation for the engagement was to be 2,400 ducats, and as much more as our magistracy might deem proper. And that upon this point we beg his Lordship to content himself with what at one time had been satisfactory to him. And although this matter was left to our discretion yet we trust that his Lordship will take into consideration the circumstances in which we find ourselves, but that he may count upon our good will; and that he will excuse us on account of the many considerations which we are obliged to have in this matter. And thus you will offer to his Lordship for another time all that is due to his valor and good conduct, and to the love we bear him; keeping however in your language always within the limits of friendly expressions, from which he may know our good feelings towards him and may hope to realize them. But above all you must have patience if he should threaten a rupture, and let him run on, and then reply and use your best efforts to induce him also to have patience.

It may also happen that his Lordship will claim from you the additional forty men-at-arms provided for in the third clause of his engagement. To which you will reply that, as his engagement was in common between us and his Excellency the Duke of Milan, it would not seem proper for us to make any alterations or additions to it without the concurrence of his Excellency, because of his interest in the matter. But that we will write to Milan about it and await a reply, which we doubt not will be in accordance with his Lordship's desire. And so far as we are concerned in this matter you will assure his Lordship that we shall strive in every way to meet his wishes; and you will excuse this delay on account of the necessity above stated of having the concurrence of the Duke of Milan, because of his interest in the matter.

With these considerations you will carry out the first and second part of your commission; and you will do so in such manner as at the moment may seem most suitable to you.

Decemviri Libertates et Baliæ
Rep. Flor.

Ex Palatio Florentino, 24 March, 1499.

MISSION TO THE COUNTESS CATHARINE SFORZA.*

INSTRUCTIONS

GIVEN TO NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI ON BEING SENT TO FURLI, TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE COUNTESS SFORZA AND HER ELDEST SON, SIGNOR OTTAVIANO.

RESOLVED ON, 12 JULY, 1499.

YOU will proceed to Furli and present yourself to the illustrious Lady Catharine and to his Excellency the Signor Ottaviano, her eldest son, and after having offered your homage to them, and presented our letters of credence, with which you will be furnished, to both of them jointly and to each separately, you

* The Florentine republic, having resolved in 1498 to terminate the war against Pisa, not only made great efforts to collect a numerous army, and engaged in their pay the most renowned and powerful Condottieri of Italy, but they acted with the greater energy in this, as there was a probability of their being obliged to fight against the Venetians, who had declared in favor of Pisa. Amongst the captains thus taken into their pay by the Florentines was Ottaviano Riario, Lord of Furli; a young man of only nineteen years at the time. His mother, the Countess Catharine, was the natural daughter of the Count Francesco Sforza, who afterwards became Duke of Milan. Her first husband was the Count Girolamo Riario, Lord of Furli and Imola; after his death she married Feo di Savona; and after him Giovanni de' Medici, son of Piero Francesco, who died at Furli, 14 September, 1498, and by whom she had a son called Giovanni Lodovico, who afterwards became celebrated as Giovanni delle Bande Nere, and who was the father of the Grand Duke Cosimo I. It was on account of her alliance with the Medici family that she showed herself friendly to the Florentines; and at the request of Andrea de' Pazzi, Florentine commissioner in the Romagna, she permitted Ottaviano, her young son by her first marriage with Girolamo Riario, to enter the service of the Florentine republic; and on the 9th of June, 1498, the agreement for his *condotta* was duly signed at Florence by Sir Filippo Roffia da San Miniato as procurator for the young Count Ottaviano Riario; the engagement being for one year, with the option on the part of the Florentine republic of extending it for another year, and was to begin in the month of June, 1498. The Signor Ottaviano was to furnish one hundred men-at-arms and one hundred light horse, and was to receive fifteen thousand florins, which was to

will state the object of your mission; which you will explain has been resolved upon in consequence of their agent's having asked of us a renewal for this year of the Signor Ottaviano's engagement. Upon this subject you will point out to them

cover all provisions, etc., with the customary reservation of seven per cent, and four months' notice in advance in case the Florentine Signoria wished to extend the *condotta* for a second year. The stipulations of the agreement were faithfully carried out by the Florentine government; and towards the end of January, 1499, they notified the Signor Ottaviano that they desired to continue the *condotta* for another year. The Signor Ottaviano, however, declined this, on the ground that the Florentines had not observed the stipulations of the agreement, inasmuch as he had already served eight months and had not yet received the advance pay to which he was entitled, and that therefore he did not consider himself bound to serve for a second year.

The Ten of Liberty dropped the negotiation, but not so the Lady Catharine of Furli, who, when she found that Cesar Borgia was about to make war upon the despots of the Romagna, and to begin it with an attack upon Furli, felt the necessity of surrounding herself with powerful allies, and therefore herself asked of the republic that which she had refused six months before; pretending that she had been called upon by her uncle Lodovico il Moro to aid him, he being seriously threatened by the army of King Louis XII. of France. She accordingly addressed a letter to the Florentine Signoria, stating that her uncle, the Duke of Milan, had applied to her for fifty men-at-arms, and a like number of mounted crossbowmen, but being under an engagement to serve the Florentine republic another year, if they required it, she begged them to inform her of their final intentions, etc.

Immediately upon receipt of this letter the Signoria resolved to send Niccolo Machiavelli as ambassador to the Countess Catharine to bring this matter to a conclusion, and for that purpose gave him the above instructions.

Machiavelli had scarcely started from Florence when the Priors of Liberty, etc. sent an express messenger after him, with the following additional instructions: —

"PRIORES LIBERTATIS ET VEXILLIFER JUSTITIÆ POPULI FLORENTINI.

"SPECTABILIS VIR, ETC.: —

"In passing by Castrocaro you will have sent here, in accordance with our instructions, all the powder that may be there; and should this not already have been done, we desire you to have it done immediately. And then by way of securing an abundance of powder you will request the most illustrious Lady Catharine of Furli to let us have ten or twelve thousand pounds of powder, either as a loan or as a purchase, as may seem best to her Excellency. And furthermore, as we have lately had the news from the camp of the last reduction in the number of the infantry, and seeing that we have always been well served by the men from that country, you will make known to her Excellency that we desire that she should select five hundred good infantry under good captains, and with the pay lately agreed upon of fourteen lire and seventeen soldi, to be at our camp on the 28th of the present month, where they will receive their pay. These last two commissions respecting the powder and the infantry, you will treat in such manner as will carry them in the earliest and best way into effect. But should any difficulty arise on the subject, you will write to us immediately by the same courier that brings you this. *Et bene vale!*

"MARCELLUS VIRGILIUS.

"EX PALATIO NOSTRO die Julii 1499."

that we do not consider ourselves bound to do so, having at the proper time, through our commissioner, Andrea de' Pazzi, made their Excellencies understand the reasons which we believed would readily justify our refusal.

You will also recall the fact, that when, on the last day of January, our commissioner urged the Signor Ottaviano to give his consent to such a renewal, his Excellency replied, "Non "teneri, nec obligatum esse, cum pro parte Magistratus Decem- "virorum, etc., non fuerint sibi servata capitula conductæ "suæ." This refusal on his part was formally drawn up by a certain Ser Spinucci of Furli; and was moreover confirmed on the same day by letters from the said Signor Ottaviano, and by several letters from Andrea de' Pazzi, in which he wrote in behalf of the illustrious Lady Catharine that she would on no account give her consent to such an engagement. Whence we concluded that his Excellency was under no obligations to us, nor we to him; it seeming to us that the efforts we had made, and the written replies thereto, were sufficient evidence that their Excellencies would on no account accept a renewal of the engagement. Added to this is the fact that our ambassadors at Milan had written several times that her Excellency the Countess had written to that most illustrious prince, in reply to his letters in which he advised her to accept the engagement, that she would under no consideration give her consent; alleging that she was badly compensated, etc., and that she hoped, in the event of her obtaining more favorable conditions elsewhere, his Excellency would not deprive her of that advantage.

All these circumstances constrain us to think that both by words and by acts their Excellencies will not continue their engagement any longer. And moreover, that, even if all these reasons did not exist, the fact that his Excellency did not accept within four months the conditions which we offered makes it impossible for us now, after a lapse of so much time, to come back to the terms of an engagement which has absolutely expired. In this wise you will clearly justify our course, so that his Excellency may understand that we have acted with good reason in this matter, as the above argument will show. And you will immediately add that, notwithstanding all this, we have an earnest desire to meet the wishes of his Excellency, and to satisfy him as far as we possibly can at this time; and

with the view to showing him our gratitude for all he has done for our republic, we have determined to accord to their Excellencies such an engagement at the expiration of the present term. But owing to the present state of things, and the great number of men-at-arms which we have still in our service, we desire that such an engagement should be on a peace footing, and for one year, at a compensation of ten thousand ducats. And we think that such an engagement ought to satisfy his Excellency, if not by its importance, at least by its stability, for in this way it may last longer than if we maintained it at the same rate of compensation and the same number of men-at-arms as heretofore. And moreover we believe that, in accepting our proposition, his Excellency will be influenced less by a desire to advance his own interests than to gratify our republic, and by the wish to secure our affection more and more by adding to his past services this new proof of his liberality.

You will also point out to his Excellency, that, if such an engagement is not altogether in accordance with his wishes, yet it will not be without dignity nor without the prospect of improvement, when once our republic shall have recovered all her territory and is restored to her proper state and power. And should his Excellency refer to the increase of compensation conceded by us to some of our other Condottieri, you will have ample reasons for explaining to him that the circumstances at the time demanded this, assuring him at the same time that, if we had to do so now, it would not be on so large a scale, nor should we have the same considerations for these Condottieri now as we were obliged to have at the time, when our affairs were in the condition in which they were then. And should reference be made by his Excellency to the loss of rations, you will in reply observe that two months of such an engagement have already expired, which is clear gain to his Excellency, and that we could easily compensate him for such loss.

Upon these several points you will enlarge in the most effective language and in the best terms that may suggest themselves to you; so as to convince his Excellency of our sincere desire for an opportunity to benefit him, and to acknowledge the services which he has rendered to our republic, as also of our entire confidence in him. At the same time, you will point out the necessity of the union of our states, employ-

ing the most acceptable language in your endeavor to persuade him to that effect.

You will not omit to write to us promptly an account of your proceedings, so that we may reply at once and remove any difficulties that may arise. And you must shape your proceedings so that his Excellency will not take it amiss if we do not at all times meet our payments at the moment they are due. For this purpose you will explain to him, that we propose to make this engagement with him from no necessity of our own, but merely to gratify his desire; and that, weighed down as we are with such heavy charges, we may find ourselves obliged occasionally to defer our payments, in respect to which you will make our excuses in such terms as will be acceptable to his Excellency.

CREDENZIALE.

Illustribus et Excellentib. D. D. Catharinæ Sfortiæ, Vicecomiti, etc., et D. Octaviano de Riario, Imolæ Furliviique D. D. et amicis clarissimis.

Illustres et excellentes Domini, amici clarissimi. Mittimus ad excellentias vestras Nicolaum Machiavellum, civem et secretarium nostrum, qui, ut illi mandavimus, coram multa exponet, in quibus habere illi certissimam optamus fidem, non secus ac nobis loquentibus. Bene valete.

Ex Palatio nostro die 12 Julii 1499.

Priores Libertatis et Vexillifer Justitiæ } Pop. Flor.

Marcellus.

LETTER I.

Magnificent and Illustrious Signori, etc., etc.: —

I arrived here yesterday evening about the twenty-second hour, and reported myself immediately to his Magnificence the Captain-General, and communicated to him your Lordships' wishes in relation to the powder, balls, and saltpetre. He replied that all the iron balls here, both large and small, had been

sent last year to be employed in the siege of Vico; and that the powder that had been left here by the French, amounting only to about fifteen or twenty pounds, had been destroyed two years ago, having been set on fire by a stroke of lightning, and that the explosion had shattered that part of the citadel where the powder had been stored. I then sent for Farragano to obtain information respecting the saltpetre, in accordance with the instructions given me by your Lordships' purveyor. He told me that he had only one hundred pounds, but that he had a friend in the country who had about six hundred pounds of powder; and although this is but a small quantity, yet I send it to your Lordships by the bearer of this, so that this trip shall not have been entirely in vain; and I beg that you will have him paid promptly at the rate of forty florins per one thousand pounds, which I have promised him. Upon weighing this powder we found it to be five hundred and eighty-seven pounds; the teamster who brings it to you is called Tommaso di Mazolo, to whom you will please pay the value of the powder according to my promise to him; I have paid him for carrying it to you the sum of eight florins and three soldi.

In regard to what has passed between Ser Guerrino del Bello and our commander touching the attempt of the latter to arrest Marchione Golferelli, as well as the other occurrences here, I have learned the following from persons of different conditions, so that I believe it to be true; namely, that your Lordships' predecessors having written to the commander here that they had some apprehensions lest Dionigio Naldi should enter the place during the night for the purpose of doing some mischief to the Corbizo family, and that a certain Marchione Golferelli was to aid him in this, the commander resolved to lay his hands upon this Marchione; but having been brought by the sergeants almost within the palace courtyard, he was rescued by two of his relatives, who carried him away with them to Furli. And as they believed that this attempted arrest of Marchione's had been suggested by the Corbizzo family, they cancelled the truce that had for years subsisted between the two families.

Respecting this matter of Ser Guerrino, I called on his father, Bello, who does not attempt to excuse the disobedience of his son, but complains of the inhumanity of the captain in requiring him to send away out of his house in the night four of his friends and relatives. For he believed that his loyalty was so

well known that no one could have a doubt upon that point; and that at the time when the enemy was all around them he had received at different times thirty of his friends in his house, and had never been blamed, but rather commended for it by the commissioner, and therefore he recommended himself and his son to your Lordships. This Bello, according to what I learn from the chief priest Farragano, and from a number of other inhabitants of this place, is a worthy and peaceful man, who has never openly taken sides with either party, but has always been rather a peace-maker than a fomenter of troubles. Taking now a general view of things in this country, it seems to me that the people are very united, and that there is no open enmity between any of its inhabitants.

Since the death of Corbizzo some little jealousy appears to have sprung up amongst them, as each desires to exercise the same influence which he had; but unless this feeling is purposely stimulated by some one, it is not likely to produce any bad results. The only thing is a very strong feeling of apprehension lest this Dionigio Naldi, with the aid of the Lady Catharine, should do them some mischief. For although this lady is on terms of friendship with your Lordships, yet they cannot rely upon nor trust her, and thus the inhabitants of the place as well as the country are kept in a constant state of anxiety. It was only yesterday that some fifteen or twenty crossbowmen of the Lady Catharine's went to a place about a mile from here, called Salutare, belonging to your Lordships, and wounded three men and carried one away with them after having robbed his house. Similar outrages are committed every day, and it was only yesterday that a number of country people complained to me, saying, "Our lords have aban-"doned us; they have too many other things on their hands." Your Lordships will doubtless, with your great prudence, take such measures in this matter as the honor of our republic demands, and as will give satisfaction to these your most faithful subjects.

There is nothing else of interest to communicate. I shall leave immediately for Furli to execute the commission given me by your Lordships, to whom I commend myself most humbly. *Quæ feliciter valeant.*

Minimus servitor,

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CASTROCARO, 16 July, 1499.

LETTER II.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote to your Lordships yesterday morning from Castrocaro, reporting what I had done in relation to the balls, powder, and saltpetre, and the condition of things generally there. I went afterwards on the same day, at an early hour, to Furli; but finding the illustrious Lady Catharine occupied with some of her own affairs, I did not obtain an audience until about the twenty-second hour. No one was present but her Ladyship and Messer Giovanni da Casale, the Duke of Milan's Chargé d'Affaires here. Her Ladyship's son Ottaviano had gone on a pleasure trip to Furlimpiccolo.

After having presented myself to her Excellency, I explained to her your Lordships' commission, employing the most suitable expressions to convince her in the first instance of your Lordships' earnest desire that the time might come when you could show effectually how highly you valued those who had loyally served our republic, and who, regardless of everything else, had shared her varying fortunes, as her Excellency had ever done. And that if the refusal to accept her services now seemed contrary to these assurances, and if we had contested with her agents our being bound and held by an annual engagement, her Ladyship might be assured upon this point, as was proved by the several letters of your Lordships which showed that the reason of it was the impossibility of providing the means, because of the heavy charges to which our republic was already subjected. And as to our efforts to explain that we were not bound to a renewed engagement, I pointed out to her Ladyship that it had never been your intention to refuse to do anything that might be agreeable to her, and that the only reason why your Lordships wished to explain that you were not bound was to make her Excellency understand that nothing, not even the necessity of the evil times, induced you to offer her a renewal of the engagement, but that you do it solely from the affection you have for her, because of her great merits. And that for this reason you had sent me to her Excellency to make known to her that, although your Lordships were not bound, yet in recognition of the valuable services which she had rendered to our republic you were willing to accord an

engagement to her son; but that, on account of the number of men-at-arms which you had already in your service, you wished such an engagement to be on a peace footing, and the compensation for this year not to exceed ten thousand ducats.

Nor did I fail to demonstrate to her Excellency, with the best arguments that suggested themselves to me, that such an engagement ought to be satisfactory to her; saying that her acceptance of it would be an addition to her many other merits, and that time would prove that she had not served an ungrateful Signoria; and that she would never have occasion to repent having added this to her other services to our republic. Her Excellency replied that your Lordships' words had always been satisfactory to her, but that your actions had not always pleased her, and that she had never received compensation commensurate with the value of her services. Nevertheless, knowing that gratitude was one of the characteristics of your illustrious republic, she could not believe that you would now begin to show yourselves ungrateful to one who had for a great while back done more for you than perhaps any of your other allies, by exposing her dominions, without any obligations on her part, to the rapacity of the Venetians, her most powerful neighbors. And that therefore she was willing to abide by the hopes which your Lordships held out to her. Nor would she dispute whether your Lordships were bound or not to renew the engagement, but she desired time for replying to the propositions made to her, inasmuch as it seemed but reasonable to her not to decide at a moment's notice a matter which you had with so much prudence discussed and consulted about for some time. And having replied to this in becoming terms, I begged her Excellency to hasten her decision, and took my leave.

Later in the day, at about the sixteenth hour, Messer Antonio Baldraccani, first secretary of her Excellency the Countess, came to see me, and told me that the illustrious Duke of Milan had written some five or six days ago to her Excellency, asking her to send him for his own use fifty men-at-arms and fifty mounted crossbowmen. That her Excellency had written on Sunday last to your Lordships on the subject, but had as yet received no reply. And he added that on that very day a letter had been received by her Excellency from the aforesaid Duke of Milan, begging her that, inasmuch as she had not come to terms with the Florentine Signoria about a renewal

of her engagement for the year, she ought to enter his service on the same terms and conditions as she had last year from your Lordships. The aforesaid secretary also told me that letters had been received the evening before from the curate of Cascina, saying that eight deputies, members of the Council of Eighty, had given him to understand that they wanted to re-engage the Signor Ottaviano on two conditions. The first was the same which I had already explained to her Excellency; and the second was that she should consent to pledge her state, which the said curate demonstrated to the deputies that her Excellency could never agree to. Moreover the said secretary stated that her Excellency was in doubt what course to take, and therefore could not give a prompt reply. The reason of this was that it seemed disgraceful for her and her son to accept the conditions offered by your Lordships, because others, who had not rendered you the same services as herself, had their compensation increased, whilst that of herself and her son was diminished; and she could not believe that your Lordships made so little account of her as never to give her anything but fair words. And in fact she did not know how to excuse herself to the Duke of Milan if she accepted the conditions offered by you, which were so little creditable, and refused his, which were in the highest degree honorable. At the same time it seemed to her that she was under obligations to the Duke of Milan both by blood as well as by the numberless benefits she had received from that prince; and for that reason she was at a loss, and could not decide so promptly upon a reply, but wanted me to write to your Lordships, so that you might in the mean time write back what you thought of the matter.

In answer to the first part, touching the demand by the Duke of Milan for men, and the other propositions, I said, that as your Lordships had received no notice of this before my departure, you could not have given me any instructions on the subject, and therefore I could do nothing but write to your Lordships and await your reply. Respecting what the curate of Cascina had written about pledging her state, etc., I could also say nothing, but wondered much that, if this matter had been decided upon before my departure, no instructions were given me about it, or that I was not afterwards written to on the subject; and therefore I had also nothing to say on this point,

but would write the same as in relation to the other matter. To this Messer Baldraccani replied that this latter point was of no importance, for if we were agreed about the other matters this would present no difficulties whatsoever; for her Excellency did not care to give any written obligation upon this point, but that she intended to fulfil her promises without any writings, the same as she had done in the last year. In my reply to this I observed, with regard to the embarrassment in which her Excellency found herself in deeming it discreditable for her to have the terms of her engagement reduced, whilst those of others were increased, as also in reference to the considerations which he thought she ought to have for the Duke of Milan, and the offers made by him, etc., etc., that if her Excellency would carefully weigh the reasons that obliged your Lordships to increase the pay of your other Condottieri who are carrying on the war for our republic, and those which influence them now to offer to re-engage her Excellency, she would find that her acceptance of the proffered engagement, so far from being discreditable, as she alleged, would be in the highest degree honorable. For whilst your Lordships were constrained to the former by the exigencies of the times, you were prompted to the latter by nothing else than the regard and affection which you had for her Excellency, and therefore your propositions to her were the more honorable and worthy of acceptance, as they were entirely voluntary. Moreover, his Excellency the Duke of Milan could not and should not complain if her Ladyship declined his propositions, although somewhat more advantageous, and accepted those of your Lordships, which for the moment seem less brilliant; first because of the friendly relations existing between his Excellency and our republic, which should make him look upon every advantage to your Lordships as for the common benefit; and secondly because in a certain measure the Signor Ottaviano was still in our pay, and the terms offered him now were in no wise in contradiction with his engagement of last year.

After having thus replied to each other, as the subject required, the secretary reiterated the conclusion that the Countess Catharine could not decide so promptly, and therefore it would be well that I should inform your Lordships of all that had been said and done; and that he would in the same way communicate all that I had said to her Excellency the Countess, although I had the privilege of communicating at all times personally with her Excellency. And on leaving me he said that he had forgotten to tell me on the part of the Countess that she desired much to know what compensation your Lordships intended to give her for former services; and that I should, on her part, beg you to send some reply upon these points. For if you came to some favorable conclusion upon that matter, she would regard it as an evidence of your disposition, and could then with greater confidence and security enter your service.

Having been here but so short a time, I shall not presume to say much of the state of things here; but according to what those Florentines who are near the Countess tell me, her Excellency could not be better disposed towards our republic than what she is. There is here a certain Messer Giovanni da Casale, Chargé d'Affaires of the Duke of Milan, of whose character and condition I shall not attempt to say anything, as he was last winter with the ducal troops in the Casentino. It will be enough for you to know that since he is here, which is now two months, he seems to rule everything.

Valeant Dominationes vestræ.

FURLI, 17 July, 1499.

P. S. — Yesterday I demanded of her Excellency on the part of your Lordships the balls and saltpetre, under the conditions prescribed by you. Her Excellency replied that she had neither, and was herself greatly in need of them.

Iterum valeant E. E. N. V.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LETTER III.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote to your Lordships yesterday at length, by the courier Ardingo, what I had done in execution of the commission intrusted to me, and await your reply with impatience. This morning I received through Tommaso Totti, a letter from your Lordships urging me in relation to the powder and saltpetre which I was to obtain at Castrocaro. Having reported fully on

this subject on the 16th instant, I shall not enlarge upon it any further; but as your Lordships had charged me also to ask her Excellency for powder and men, I presented myself immediately before her and communicated again to her Ladyship your wishes and the pleasure which her compliance with your request would give you. She replied that she had no saltpetre at all, and but little powder; but that by way of not failing to do what was possible she would be glad to give you ten thousand out of the twenty thousand pounds of saltpetre which Leonardo Strozzi had purchased for her account at Pesaro, and she charged Risorbolo to write to the said Leonardo what she wished done in the matter. I spared no efforts to dispose her Excellency favorably to your requests, but could obtain nothing more from her. Your Lordships will therefore have to see Leonardo Strozzi, and can arrange with him so that you may send your teams at once to Pesaro to bring the saltpetre away. Or if you prefer, you can write and send me an order from Leonardo to have the saltpetre delivered to my order; and I will arrange to have it transported to Castrocaro, where your Lordships' teamsters can come and take it. This was the course adopted last year, as is well known to your minister, Guaspare Pasgni.

Respecting the troops, her Excellency told me that she was quite willing to permit her subjects to engage in your Lordships' service, but that it was not possible to make them march without money. Your Lordships must, therefore, send means to raise the troops, whilst her Excellency will endeavor to send you only picked men, well armed and loyal, and will expedite them promptly. If, therefore, your Lordships are in want of troops, you must at once send five hundred ducats, so that one may be given to each man; and I believe that within two weeks from now they would be on Pisan territory, but not sooner. Your Lordships will decide what arrangement will suit you best, and advise me accordingly, and I shall execute your commands with the utmost diligence.

When I communicated your Lordships' letters to the illustrious Countess this morning, and before I had time to add a word, she said: "I have good news this morning, for I see that your "Signoria are going to make earnest of it; they are collecting "troops, for which I commend them, and am the more pleased "at it as I was before dissatisfied by their tardiness, and the "seemingly irreparable loss of time." I thanked her Excellency

most sincerely, and then assured her that this tardiness had been caused altogether by necessity. Her Excellency readily admitted this, adding that she wished that her states were so situated that she could stir up all her troops and subjects in your favor, as that would show to the whole world that in espousing your cause she had been influenced solely by her affection for and entire faith in your Lordships. But she desired some acknowledgment for this, and that she should not be wounded in her honor, which she prized above all else. This she thought would be becoming in your Lordships, not so much on her own account as for the example which you would thereby give to your other adherents of your not being ungrateful for services received. I replied to the best of my ability, but could not help observing that mere words and arguments will not go far in satisfying her Excellency, unless supported, in part at least, by acts. And I truly believe that if your Lordships were to make some acknowledgment to the Countess for past services, or increase the compensation under the new engagement, you will be sure to preserve her Ladyship's friendship. For she could not be better disposed towards our republic than what she is, of which I have every day the most striking indications. It has seemed to me proper to write all these particulars so that your Lordships may the better judge what I wrote you yesterday.

Quæ feliciter valeant.

Humilis servitor,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

FURLI, 18 July, 1499.

P. S. — Enclosed is the letter which her Excellency had written to Leonardo Strozzi about the saltpetre.

P. S. — One of the secretaries of the Countess has been to see me, and informed me on the part of her Excellency that two kinds of troops may be raised in her dominions. The one is a corps of fifteen hundred men, which she has armed for her own service as may be needed. Of these she cannot send any to your Lordships, unless they are paid a whole month in advance. Her Excellency would pay them herself, or hold herself responsible for such as do not serve the full time of a month. She wants eighteen lire per man; so if your Lordships want any of them you will have to send fifteen hundred ducats for five hundred men, which her Excellency

promises shall be good men and well armed, and shall be sent at once. The other kind of troops are such as are in the habit of engaging with any one for pay, but are not enrolled by her Excellency. Of these the Countess leaves you to hire at your pleasure, and at such rates of pay as you can agree with them for. Your Lordships will in your high wisdom take such as you may deem most suited for your purpose. I am ready with all diligence to execute whatever commission your Lordships may charge me with.

Iterum valeant, die qua in literis.

LETTER IV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote to your Lordships on the 17th by the courier Ardingo, that the illustrious Lady Catharine was in doubt as to what course to take; for on the one hand your Lordships wanted to reduce the conditions of the new engagement, and on the other the Duke of Milan offered her the same terms as under the former engagement; and that her Excellency therefore wanted me to write to your Lordships, so that you might understand the whole case, and might show more consideration for her honor, and satisfy her in proportion to the services she had rendered, etc., etc. She awaits your reply with eagerness, and as it has not yet been received, it seemed to me well to send the bearer of this, and to beg your Lordships to reply promptly, unless you have already done so, and let me know your final decision; so that, whether I conclude an arrangement with her Excellency or not, I may return to your Lordships' feet.

I believe the way to content her Excellency would be first to assure her that she will be compensated for her former services, upon which point she has been greatly dissatisfied, and then to increase the pay for this year to twelve thousand florins. This at least is my opinion, in which however I may be mistaken; for her Excellency has always stood much upon her honor, and has never intimated to me that she would accept any less than what the Duke of Milan has offered her; and it is difficult to judge by her disposition whether she is more favorably inclined to the Duke of Milan or to your republic. For, to begin with, I see

her court filled with Florentines, of whom it may be said that they almost entirely control her government; and then I see her naturally well inclined towards our city, and manifest the most earnest desire to have the love of our citizens, for which there are the most palpable reasons, for having a son by Giovanni de' Medici, she hopes to have the usufruct of his possessions, and expects every day to assume his guardianship. And finally, what is most important, she sees the Duke of Milan attacked by the king of France, and does not know what security there would be for her to attach herself to him under these circumstances, all of which her Excellency knows very well.

These are the considerations upon which I found the opinion that she will accept our conditions, even though they be not liberal. On the other hand, I see near her Excellency the Duke of Milan's agent Messer Giovanni da Casale, who is very highly esteemed, and seems to rule everything here. This is of great importance, and may easily sway the undecided mind of the Countess to whatever side he pleases.

In fact, were it not for the influence of this fear of the king of France, I should be inclined to believe that even on equal terms she would leave us, particularly as she supposes that she would not thereby forfeit your Lordships' friendship because of your amicable relations with the Duke of Milan.

I have thought it proper to make this statement to your Lordships, so that you may know what impediments present themselves here to my success, and so that you may come to some positive decision, if you have not already done so. Her Excellency awaits your reply impatiently, for she is every day tormented by the Duke.

There was a review here yesterday of five hundred infantry, whom her Excellency sends to the Duke of Milan under command of Dionigio Naldi. A couple of days ago there was also a muster of fifty mounted crossbowmen, equally destined for Milan. These will leave here within the next few days with one of the Duke's secretaries, who came here to enlist and pay them. I am under the impression that your Lordships have changed your mind respecting the infantry which you wanted to obtain from the Countess; which seems to me the wiser course, as you have been able to obtain them from elsewhere more conveniently. Should your Lordships, however, still be in want of them, then you can have good and faithful troops from here,

well disciplined and ready to start immediately. In that case, however, it will be necessary to send the money for a month's pay, as I have already stated in my last letter to your Lordships, to whom I recommend myself ever so much.

Humilis servitor,

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

FURLI, 22 July, 1499.

LETTER V.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote yesterday that I had despatched an express to your Lordships, as a reply to my letter of the 17th seemed to me to be unduly delayed. Since then your Lordships' courier Ardingo arrived, bringing me your letters of the 19th and 20th instant. So soon as I had perused their contents, I presented myself before her Excellency, and communicated to her in the most becoming terms what your Lordships have charged me with touching the propositions made to her Excellency by the Duke of Milan. After that, I stated to her the offers made by your Lordships, and endeavored to make her understand that you would certainly never fail to do all that might inure to the honor, safety, and advantage of her Excellency, employing such arguments as I thought necessary and proper to persuade her, etc. To which her Excellency replied that all her hopes were in your Lordships; and that the only thing that caused her pain in this whole matter was the dishonor which she feared she would incur, and the respect which she felt she ought to observe towards her uncle. But that, knowing now the final resolves of your Lordships, she would endeavor to come to a prompt decision, and remove, so far as in her power, all difficulties that might interpose. After having replied in a becoming manner, and referred to your Lordships' letter of the 19th, in relation to the outrage committed upon some of your subjects, I begged her Ladyship to come to a speedy decision, and took my leave.

Later in the day, Messer Baldraccani called to see me, and, after having made excuses for her Excellency's not having personally informed me of her intentions, alleging that it was owing to her being indisposed, and most unhappy on account of

the serious illness of her son Lodovico, by Giovanni de' Medici, he communicated to me, on behalf of her Excellency, that she did not regret having, regardless of all else, thrown herself into your Lordships' arms, in whom she placed all confidence and hope. That she consented to accept the engagement on a peace footing for one year, on the basis of your Lordships' last offer of twelve thousand ducats. But for the sake of being able more completely to justify her taking this step before the whole world, and with the more honor and credit to her government, her Excellency desired that your Lordships would bind yourselves to defend, protect, and maintain the integrity of her dominions, which she was fully assured your Lordships would do anyhow, without any special obligation to that effect. Yet that she greatly desired such an obligation from your Lordships, which she knew you would not refuse her, as it would be in the highest degree honorable for her, and in no way prejudicial to your Lordships. And, lastly, Messer Baldraccani said that her Excellency desired to have a settlement, if not in full, then at least in part, for her former services; that she needs it for her many wants and urgent necessities, and that she cannot believe that the charges which you have to provide for are so heavy as to be an obstacle to such a settlement; and therefore she charged me most emphatically to write to your Lordships, and urge this matter on her behalf.

As to the first point, namely, the acceptance of an engagement for a year, etc., I replied in the most amicable manner, saying that I felt sure that the good opinion which her Excellency had of our republic would even increase with time and experience. But as to the obligation which her Ladyship asked for, I regarded it as superfluous for the very reasons alleged by her Excellency herself. And as I had no authority to conclude anything not comprised in my commission, her Excellency might for the present accept the engagement, and afterwards write to her agent at Florence to present her demands, which I believed would be favorably received.

Messer Antonio replied that her Excellency wished to close the entire business at one and the same time, and that therefore she had requested that I should write to your Lordships to send me the necessary powers, promising at the same time to ratify any agreement that might be made by me in your name. All the arguments I could present to the contrary could

not induce her to alter her decision; and I am therefore obliged to submit to you the demands made by her Excellency as they have been presented to me; so that your Lordships may in your supreme wisdom decide, and promptly advise me of, your ultimate resolve, and so that I may be enabled to return to Florence, which is my most earnest desire.

Respecting the indemnity for former services, I observed that her Excellency had spoken to me some days ago about it, and that I had written to your Lordships on the subject, and that you had replied; and therefore it seemed to me superfluous to repeat the same thing over again, particularly as I knew your favorable disposition, as well as the difficulties which prevent you from doing anything in the matter now. Nevertheless, by way of satisfying her Excellency, I would write once more very urgently on the subject.

Yesterday, when I complained to the Countess on behalf of your Lordships of the outrage committed by some of her archers upon your people at Salutare, she made me the most strenuous excuses, saying that she had directed her men to go and gather the harvest of a certain Carlo Buosi, who cultivated a farm on her territory; that this Carlo had been killed not long since by Dionigio Naldi to revenge the Signor Ottaviano; and that when the country people saw her archers carry off the harvest, they had shouted to them that they would be cut to pieces, and otherwise overwhelmed them with insulting words, so that the archers felt themselves as it were constrained to resent this abuse. Her Excellency added, that she was nevertheless grieved at heart about it, and as proof of it she had at once ordered the leader of her archers, who had begun the disturbance, to be disarmed and dismissed from her service; and this has been done.

I recommend myself most humbly to your Lordships.

Quæ bene valeant.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

FURLI, 23 July, 1499.

P. S. — The fifty mounted crossbowmen which the Duke had taken into his pay leave to-morrow for Milan.

LETTER VI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Yesterday I received by your Lordships' courier Ardingo your two letters of the 19th and 20th, and hope to-morrow to close the engagement with the illustrious Lady Catharine, in accordance with your latest instructions; and after that I expect also to arrange the business of your subjects at Salutare in a manner entirely satisfactory to your Lordships. I cannot enlarge upon these matters now, as the messenger is in the greatest haste to depart. I will only add, that, so soon as these matters are settled, I shall return to your Lordships, to whom I recommend myself most humbly.

Humilis servitor,

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

FURLI, 23 July, 1499.

LETTER VII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I had written the enclosed yesterday, and was just about to despatch the bearer of this, Ardingo, when Messer Giovanni da Casale came to see me, and told me on the part of her Excellency that I need not write, as her Excellency the Countess was satisfied not to ask any further obligations from your Lordships, feeling perfectly assured that you would not act differently in your dealings with her than what she would have done towards your Lordships; and requesting me to come to her Excellency this morning for the purpose of signing the engagement, etc.

Fully persuaded that the business would actually be closed, and the curate of Casina being about to despatch an express to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco, I availed myself of that opportunity to write to your Lordships expressing my belief that the matter was as good as concluded. This morning, then, fully persuaded that everything would be closed according to the understanding, and being with Messer Giovanni in presence of her Excellency, she said to me that she had

reflected upon the matter during the night, and thought that it would be more for her honor in attaching herself to your Lordships, if you were to declare that you would obligate yourselves to defend her dominions, as her secretary had previously explained to me. She had therefore resolved again to ask me to write to your Lordships about it. Her Excellency added, that, if she had given me to understand differently through Messer Giovanni, I must not be astonished at it, for the more matters of that kind were examined, the better were they understood. I could not but feel disappointed at this sudden change, and manifested my feelings both by words and gestures, saying that your Lordships would also be greatly surprised, as I had written you that her Excellency was satisfied upon every point without exception. But as I could get nothing else from her Excellency, I feel constrained to send you the enclosed, and to inform you specially by this of what has taken place, so that your Lordships may judge of it, and promptly decide what is to be done.

To-morrow I purpose going to Castrocaro, to see if I can secure the Corbizzos against Dionigio Naldi and his partisans; her Excellency, the Lady Catharine, has offered to do her best to aid me in this matter. Whatever the result may be, I will advise your Lordships, to whom I humbly recommend myself. *Quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

FURLI, 24 July, 1499.

* After the departure of Machiavelli, the Lady Catharine sent an envoy to Florence with the following credentials: —

"TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND MAGNIFICENT LORDS, PRIORS, ETC., ETC.: —

"In compliance with the promise given to your commissioner, Messer Niccolo "Machiavelli, I send to your Lordships the worthy Messer Joanni, my auditor, "who is to explain to your Lordships the matter with which he is charged in my "name. I beg your Lordships will deign to accord to him your confidence, the "same as you would do to me were I personally in presence of your Lordships, "to whom I do not cease to recommend myself.

"CATHARINE SFORZA,
Countess of Riario, Furli, and Imola.

"FURLI, 3 August, 1499."

COMMISSION TO THE ARMY IN THE FIELD AGAINST THE PISANS.*

LETTER I.

FROM LUCA DEGLI ALBIZZI TO THE SIGNORIA OF FLORENCE.

MAGNIFICENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNORI: —

WE are now at the fourteenth hour, and have as yet no further news from the Gascons, as M. Samper has not returned from there, although we expect him at every moment. Everything remains in confusion and uncertainty, and things augur badly for us, for at every moment we hear of some fresh at-

* On the refusal of the Pisans to accept the decision given by the Duke of Ferrara as umpire in the peace negotiations between the Venetian and Florentine republics, the Signoria of Florence determined to resume the war with increased vigor, so as to bring these rebellious subjects once for all to submission. They therefore engaged fresh troops, and gave the supreme command of them to Paolo Vitelli, and the principal charges to his brother Vitellozzo and the Count Rinuccio da Marciano. As Vitelli had proposed to begin this enterprise with the capture of Cascina, the Signoria convoked the Council to hear their opinions and then to decide upon the matter. The Council approved the plan proposed by Vitelli, and twelve days after the meeting of the Council Cascina was recovered by the Florentines. This enabled the army to advance and approach the walls of Pisa, after having assaulted and taken the castle of Stampace. But Paolo Vitelli, who commanded the expedition, did not know how to take advantage of the terror of the enemy, and permitted the victory, which he held in his hands, to escape him; for Pisa would undoubtedly have been taken if Paolo had dared to push forward. But by his temporizing he afforded the Pisans the opportunity to recover their courage, so that they obliged him to abandon the castle of Stampace, and to withdraw from before the walls of Pisa; for it was not long before, aided by sickness produced by the malaria, the Pisans had the satisfaction of seeing Vitelli raise the siege of their city. The Signoria suspecting their commander of treason, had him arrested at Cascina, and thence brought to Florence, where after two days he was beheaded. Thus terminated the discreditable campaign of 1499; but it was resolved to resume the war in the following year under better auspices. The Signoria, anxious to secure the help of powerful allies, sent Pietro Soderini as ambassador to Georges d'Amboise, Cardi-

tempt or outrage against us; and no sooner is one disposed of than four others occur, — enough to convince any one that they are endless. Moreover, a number of Germans came into my chamber this morning, saying that at the time when the Emperor came to Pisa they were three months in our service, and that one hundred and thirty of their companions under command of a captain called Antonio Buner had never been paid; and with insulting and threatening language they demanded immediate payment from me. I told them that I knew nothing whatever of the matter; but if they would depute two of their number I would give them letters to your Lordships so that you could settle with them. But they refused this, and the only arrangement I could make with them, after much abusive language on their part, was that I should write to your Lordships; and if within forty-eight hours they were paid they would be satisfied; if not, they would pay themselves with my blood. M. Saliente and some other Frenchmen happened to come in at the time; they seemed frightened to death, and were as much alarmed by this crowd as I was myself. They excused themselves, and comforted me with fresh water, and approved the proposition that I should write you. Beaumont seemed utterly disheartened, and manifests great regret at this occurrence; but he sees no remedy for it, and seems really distressed that both his good will and his ability are of no avail. The captain of the Swiss seems full of good intentions, but brings forth nothing. All this, however, may be merely pretended, and may have no other object than the justification of the king at our expense.

nal of Rouen and governor of Milan for Louis XII., king of France, requesting him to let them have a portion of his troops to aid them in recovering Pisa. D'Amboise yielded to their request, and agreed to send them five thousand Swiss infantry and five hundred lances, the latter to be paid by the king, and the former by the Florentines, who were also to supply the artillery and whatever else might be necessary for a siege. The Seigneur de Beaumont was appointed captain of this force, at the request of the republic, who had on former occasions experienced his friendship. This auxiliary corps lost much precious time on the road to Pisa; and no sooner had they arrived at the Florentine camp than difficulties arose between these troops and the Florentine commissioners, Giovan Battista Ridolfi and Luca degli Albizzi, to whom Machiavelli had been sent as an adjunct in the beginning of June. The Gascons mutinied, and the Swiss insulted Commissioner Luca degli Albizzi, held him prisoner, and under false pretences extorted from him the sum of thirteen hundred ducats; and the whole expedition proved a complete failure.

The letters to the Florentine government in relation to this mission were written in part by the commissioners, and in part by Machiavelli.

As for myself, I augur very ill of the situation, and should deem it well if your Lordships would consider whether, without prejudice to our republic, I might think of my own safety; for what has not yet taken place may occur at any moment. I beg your Lordships, however, not to attribute this suggestion to cowardice on my part, for I am resolved to face any danger that may be deemed for the interest of our republic.

All these proceedings tend only to make us despair of Pisa, and to apprehend even worse, and therefore, as I have several times written to your Lordships, it is well to watch the whole of this game, and amongst many evils to choose the least, and above all promptly to apply the remedies that can be thought of, so as to produce an immediate effect. Weigh all this carefully, and confine yourselves to such measures and dispositions as the times demand; and believe him who tells you in good faith that the eye speaks the truth, rather than the ear.

Your Lordships must understand that I had been notified some days before of the above-mentioned trouble with the Swiss; but not wishing to annoy your Lordships, and believing that I should be able to defend myself against such dishonesty, I did not inform your Lordships of it before; nor should I have said anything on the subject now, but that I recognize the manifest danger.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

LUCAS ANTONIO DEGLI ALBIZZI,
Commissioner-General.

FROM THE CAMP BEFORE PISA, July 8, 1500,
at the 14½ hour.

P. S. — For God's sake do not forget the provisions, for that would be the completion of our ruin. De Beaumont must also be provided for; he has begun to importune me, and never sees me without worrying me on that point.

LETTER II.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

The commissioner wrote you yesterday evening the condition of things in which we find ourselves here; and to-day at three o'clock there came about one hundred Swiss to his quar-

ters, and demanded pay for the company of Gianotto; saying that they would not leave without being paid. The commissioner could not pacify them with words or promises, so that after much disputing they have carried him off prisoner. Since then I have heard nothing further, for I have remained at the station of San Michele, so as to be able to give your Lordships this information, that you may take measures to prevent one of your citizens, with so many of his people, all your subjects, from being carried off, and by whom! *Valete!*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

FROM THE CAMP BEFORE PISA, 9 July, 14th hour.

LETTER III.

FROM GIO. BATTISTA BARTOLINI TO THE SIGNORIA OF FLORENCE.

MAGNIFICENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNORI: —

I wrote to your Lordships at the sixteenth hour, and sent it by the same courier that brought me the news of the carrying off of the commissioner by the Swiss, so that he might in his own words relate to you what he has told me; for having nothing else to communicate, I should not have ventured to have written you expressly about this matter. We are now at the twentieth hour, and I have heard nothing positive except that a little while ago Piero Pucci returned with another courier, and told me with his own lips that the commissioner had been liberated, but he could give me no further particulars. He said also that he had been told in camp to stop the provisions here in Cascina, as the camp was to be moved to-morrow to San Giovanni della Vena. Not having any other positive information on this point, I should not have mentioned it to your Lordships were it not for the importance of this place, which is well known to you, and therefore it seemed to me dangerous to leave it badly supplied with everything, as I have already several times written to your Lordships.

Borgo Rinaldi has arrived, but he has only a few men, and these without arms. I have anyhow urged him to make up his company. Believing the Signor Piero in Florence, I have urged him also to the same effect, as your Lordships know.

But I fear that unless they act promptly we shall not be in time. We have neither cuirasses, long lances, nor bucklers, nor any ammunition except a few barrels of powder, which I have retained here since yesterday. Everything else is absolutely wanting. I beg your Lordships to provide these things if you think proper, and very promptly.

There is a post here of some eight or ten archers, sent here by M. de Beaumont, at the request of Gio. Battista Ridolfi and Luca degli Albizzi, as before mentioned, for the purpose of protecting the country against the outrages of the brutal camp followers. Up to the present these men have kept good and diligent watch; if I receive some infantry now, so that I can myself protect the country, I do not know whether or not to discharge this post of archers. I believe that the troops which I expect will arrive before I can receive a reply from your Lordships, in which case I will do the best under the circumstances until I shall receive your wiser decision. But I beg you will send me your instructions, and, if received in time, I will conform to them. But above all things I entreat you to send provisions, and that quickly, as otherwise I greatly mistrust the people of the country, particularly in view of the treatment we have experienced at the hands of these troops. Moreover, if the camp is moved to-morrow to San Giovanni, we shall have the Pisans full of courage and confidence after us.

Knowing these things now, I hope your Lordships will weigh them well and provide for them. I recommend myself most humbly to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

CASCINA, 9 July, 1500.

P. S. *At the 20th hour.* — Letters from the commissioner inform us that the army will be to-morrow morning at Campi, the other side of the Caprona, whence they are to make their first movement. He directs me to be sure and have a supply of provisions ready. I shall do my utmost in the matter. He moreover charges me to urge Borgo, and the Signor Pietro Guagni and Carlo da Cremona, and Messer Bandino, to have their companies ready and in order; and that your Lordships urge the Signor Piero in Florence to the same effect.

G. B. BARTOLINI,
Commissioner-General.

LETTER IV.

COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY ME, LUCA DI ANTONIO DEGLI ALBIZZI, TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND MAGNIFICENT SIGNORIA, 9 JULY, 22^{D} HOUR.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I know not whether in the last hour of my life (which God grant may be soon!) I shall suffer one fourth of the pain and affliction which I feel at this time; not so much on account of the perils to which I have been, and am still exposed, nor on account of my seizure and detention, but because I see from the letters of your Lordships, and particularly the one of the 8th, written at the fourth hour, that you have not as much faith in me as I had supposed that I deserved; but that I have been abandoned by all, like one forsaken and lost. My sins and ill fortune will it so; but God perhaps will succor him who is so unjustly abandoned! Having fully pointed out to your Lordships the dangers, and you knowing perfectly yourselves the wretched conduct of these men so recently towards the king of France and the Duke of Milan, it was not to be supposed that any expedients would moderate the dishonest demands of these Swiss. But it has pleased your Lordships to have it so, and although for the moment out of prison, yet I continue to be obliged to dispute my life, for at every moment there are fresh menaces and impositions, and new dangers, all on account of our republic, and whether just or unjust, I alone have to suffer without so much as being pitied! May God comfort me by death, if in no other way!

Niccolo Machiavelli has informed you of my capture; after that I was led on foot half a mile or more in the direction of Pisa, and taken before the captain of the Swiss, where after a long altercation, and being threatened with their halberds, I was told that before they would let me get out of their hands they meant that some four or five hundred of their companions who had come from Rome, allured by the prospects held out to them by your Lordships, should be paid, and that I should guarantee it; and if not promptly done, they would not content themselves merely by keeping me prisoner. I recalled to them the honor of the king, the good treatment

they had received, and that they would be settled with by your Lordships, and therefore they ought not to maltreat me personally; but neither reason nor the manifest impossibility of my doing anything could move them in the least. So that after much contention and threatening I was told that, if I did not settle with them, not only my person, but our whole republic, would suffer in consequence; and that they had the means of paying themselves with our artillery if they chose to do so. Seeing no help, and being utterly without any means wherewith to satisfy them, I begged their captain to guarantee my promises to them, which he did; but it is evident that he will have to be paid before I can leave him. I will do my utmost to procure the means, and if Pellegrino has nothing left, I must see whether I can have recourse to Lodovico Morelli, and to what little money may remain in the hands of Bernardo Pacini, which, however, would derange everything, unless your Lordships provide otherwise; for I had intended that money for the re-establishment of the garrisons of Cascina and Vico; but I shall do as best I can. Although it was agreed in my arrangement with the captain of the Swiss that the artillery should be brought to me all safe to Cascina, yet I am not certain whether it will be done.

These men intend breaking up in the night and moving towards San Giovanni alla Vena, where they are to remain to-morrow, and then go by the Lucca road to Pietrasanta, to remain until they learn the pleasure of his Majesty the king. I understand that the Gascons are waiting for them on Lucchese territory; and if I am permitted, I shall remain at Vico or Cascina and wait there for my leave from your Lordships. Upon this point I ought reasonably to have no apprehensions, my hope being mainly in your Lordships' good will; nor do I reply to your third and last letter, for both the times and circumstances favor those at whose discretion we happen to be. I recommend myself to your Lordships.

Although I wrote yesterday at Cascina and Vico urging the completion of the companies, yet I entreat your Lordships to provide for them at once, whilst we are in danger. And so soon as these troops have left here the Lord of Piombino should concentrate all his forces at Cascina; and if you have other troops at your service they should be sent to Vico, so as to establish a reasonable garrison there. And when Cascina shall

have been properly provided for, then all the suspected persons whom your Lordships have lately sent away from Florence should be removed from there.

LETTER V.

THE MAGISTRACY OF THE TEN TO GIOV. BATTISTA BARTOLINI, COMMISSIONER AT CASCINA, JULY 9, 1500.

A LETTER from Niccolo Machiavelli informs us this morning that the Germans have carried off Luca degli Albizzi. Sensible of the discredit and danger which this may cause us, we have deliberated all day as to the means of providing for your safety and of that of the other places near you. Besides remedying these evils as far as we can, we have at once sent the Signori Piero and Borgo Rinaldi in that direction, and have called Messer Criaco and the Count Checco to reorganize their companies, for which the necessary funds will be ready. According to their promises there will be no delay, and we believe that by to-morrow or the day after at furthest troops enough will be ready to suffice for the protection and defence of Cascina. Meantime you must do your utmost to hold the place, and so far as in your power provide also for the necessities of the other places, or at least write and advise them as to what they should do. And inasmuch as the charge of all this may be too heavy a burden for one man, in the midst of all these troubles and disorders, we have to-day sent Piero Vespucci with the authority of a commission with whom yourself and such other of our citizens as may be there will consult as to the best course to pursue.

Of the capture of our commissioner we have but a very brief account from Niccolo Machiavelli, given in a few words, as indeed at the date of his letter he could say no more. He does not tell where they have taken the commissioner to, and whether any other persons have been carried off at the same time; nor what has become of the artillery, or of the four hundred Germans who had gone in the direction of Livorno; nor does he say whether any others left the camp at the same time, or what the men-at-arms intend to do, or what course the captain has

decided to take. It would be well for you to give us a full account of all this as soon as possible. We desire also to know what has become of such of our citizens as were in camp at the time, for their relatives are in the extremest degree anxious on the subject.

LETTER VI.

THE MAGISTRACY OF THE TEN TO LUCA DEGLI ALBIZZI, IN CAMP, 10 JULY, 1500.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

As much as we were grieved yesterday on hearing of your capture, through Machiavelli, and afterwards through Giov. Battista Bartolini, which made us fear that all our other citizens in your neighborhood had probably shared the same fate, just so much are we elated to-day by the news of your liberation, from which we conclude that the others are safe and free. And although the defection of those troops placed us in the most precarious position possible, because of the discredit and dishonor which it has brought us, yet the discomforts, injuries, and danger to which you have been exposed aggravates the matter so much that we regard it as a great change from bad to good to know that you are safe and well.

We could wish to repair all the other misfortunes in the same way, but as that is impossible, we must accommodate ourselves to circumstances, and think for the present only of consolidating our affairs in those parts. For this purpose it seems to us desirable if possible to have all the artillery and munitions which we had sent you brought back here, and to have them withdrawn to Pontedera for greater security. Also, without loss of time, to withdraw all the artillery and the remainder of the munitions that are still in the hands of the French, and to make every effort to provide for the defence of Cascina; which we have so much at heart that we shall not lose an hour in despatching some infantry there. We should have done so already this evening, had it not been that the danger which threatens Pescia is even more pressing. We learn from several sources that the Gascons are marching on that place, together with

some other troops to the number of four thousand, and some hundreds of cavalry; which surprises us the more, as up to this hour we had not heard that any men-at-arms had left the camp. You can well imagine how much we regret this, which we are greatly inclined to attribute to some intrigue of the Lucchese. But we should not have attached any credit to this, knowing how fear makes these people exaggerate everything, were it not that we knew that some one from Lucca had told the same thing at Pescia, and under the influence of fear had withdrawn all his effects from there, which only a few days before he had stored there from fear of the French. We have sent some officers there with their companies, and think of nothing else than to provide for the safety of the two places, but first for that which is hardest pressed.

It would be well for you to notify M. de Beaumont of all this, and to try and get a reply from his Lordship as to the matters that have been intrusted to Piero Vespucci, and respecting which we also wrote to you this morning; and more especially with regard to the offer of troops. We should like to have a reply from him in writing, which we charge you by all means to obtain from him if possible; and you will renew to him the same proposition for troops to serve during the siege; so that the engagement of these troops be made with his consent, and that we may avail ourselves of their service to suit our purpose.

So long as the revolted troops remain in your vicinity, which will probably be not more than a few days, it seems to us that it will not do for you to leave, as that would expose our affairs to complete ruin; but whenever they depart you can advise us and have our reply in a few hours.

As we have no particulars from you as to the cause or the manner of your detention, nor as to the means of your release, nor any other details on the subject, we cannot definitely instruct you as to the course to be pursued when those troops leave, and if they should require you to go with them, either for the reasons that prompted your capture, or for any other reason. We must therefore leave this matter entirely to your own judgment; and fully persuaded that you will do nothing without having thoroughly examined all the circumstances and consequences, we can but approve in advance all that you may decide upon doing.

Your determination to call to your aid the Lord of Piombino seems to us in the highest degree commendable. We shall write to him this evening, to mount and proceed with all his men in your direction, and if possible to push on to Cascina; and if that cannot be done, then at least go to Pontedera, and to make every effort to send from there as many men as possible to Cascina, and to conform in all respects to whatever orders you may give him.

We have again written to-day in all directions for provisions, and especially to the Vicars of ———, and have given them hopes that these hardships and annoyances will not continue long. It does not seem to us advisable to withdraw any men from Cascina, until there is a sufficient garrison of infantry to enable us to do it more safely and more creditably.

We have forgotten to tell you that, in case Beaumont should leave with the troops, and should wish to have some one of our people accompany him, as you cannot go with him, you must try to send Pellegrino or Francesco della Casa.

We wish very much to know the particulars of your capture and detention, as also the cause and the means of your release, if you can give us this information without danger to yourself or ourselves; but if you think it not safe to communicate it by letter, then send us some confidential person who is fully informed on that subject, as well as on all other matters that we ought to know.*

Bene vale!

LETTER VII.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY KING LOUIS XII. OF FRANCE TO THE SIGNORI OF FLORENCE, DATED AT ROUEN, 27 JULY, 1500.

LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE, ETC., ETC.:—

VERY DEAR FRIENDS,—We have been informed only a few days since of the great disorders that have occurred in the army engaged in the siege of Pisa, in consequence of the mu-

* Besides the letters which we have given above, there exist a great many others that have reference to these events, and particularly to the measures to which the republic of Florence had to resort, not so much for the purpose of re-

tiny and quarrel of several ill-disciplined bodies of infantry forming part of that camp; and who without any cause have risen and left the camp and the siege without the knowledge or consent of M. de Beaumont, our lieutenant, or that of any of the captains or men of rank who were in the camp; which occurrence has caused us as much regret as anything that could possibly have happened. And inasmuch as, besides the injury which it has caused you, it touches our honor and reputation, we are absolutely determined and resolved to remedy and provide for what has occurred in such manner as fully to maintain our power and authority. And to effect this purpose we have decided to leave nothing undone, as you shall see and know very soon by the result. We have therefore sent our Major-domo Corcou,* whom amongst other things we have directed to make us an exact and true report upon this affair, and how these disorders originated and progressed, so that we may provide against them as becomes our honor and to your satisfaction. For the present we have thought, and have so communicated to your ambassadors here, that for the good of the cause, and for the re-establishment of our army, it would be best that some one else should select some suitable spot on your territory where the army might stop and go into camp, without retreating any further this way. And for this purpose we have written to and especially enjoined upon M. de Beaumont and all his captains, as they value their lives, not to move, nor leave or abandon the army, without having fresh orders from us.

We have equally written and made known to your neighbors, that the matter of Pisa touches us personally, and that their giving aid, comfort, and support to its inhabitants will cause us to regard them as our declared enemies. That we

establishing their forces before Pisa (for they had decided not to avail themselves any longer of the French army) as for the protection of her own territory against any attempt on the part of the mutinous troops. But we forbear from publishing them, as they do not appertain directly to Machiavelli's commission.

Nevertheless, we give the letter from the king of France to the Florentines, which shows the real disposition of that monarch on hearing of the unworthy conduct of his troops. This good feeling was afterwards changed by the false and evil reports of his agents, which gave rise to the subsequent mission of Machiavelli to the Court of France. The original of this letter has not been found. The one we give is the translation which exists in the Archivi delle Riformazione.

* Duplessis, Seigneur de Courçon.

have had them advised of this, so that henceforth they may avoid doing so, otherwise we shall provide such remedies as we may deem proper.

You must conclude anyhow to settle this matter in such manner that it shall be terminated with honor to ourselves, and with advantage to yourselves and your republic. And finally we beg you to show your spirit in a matter that concerns you so closely; and to employ all your forces and power to that effect. And be assured that in acting thus we make no doubt, and apprehend no difficulty, but what you will in a short time oblige the city of Pisa to return to her duty.

All that we have said and declared in this letter we have also caused to be said and declared to your ambassadors, so that they may also communicate it to you, etc., etc.

Addio, dear lords and friends.

MISSION TO THE COURT OF FRANCE.*

18 July, 1500.

COMMISSION.

Magnifici Domini, etc., etc.: —

Intelligentes multis de causis oportere non literis tantum, sed per eos etiam, qui in Castris Gallicis fuissent, excusare, purgareque multa quæ objicerentur R. P. obque recessum esset ab obsidione Pisanæ urbis, elegerunt Franciscum Casam, et Nicolaum Machiavellum secretarium secum, ambos nobilissimos cives Florentinos, dederuntque illis in sua hac legatione ea mandata, quæ infra scripta sunt, et cum salario unoquoque die, videlicet Francisco Casæ librarum octo florenorum parvorum, et Nicolao Machiavello, ultra ejus salarium ordinarium, ad rationem florenorum viginti largorum in grossis unoquoque mense.

Franciscus reversus est die 6 Martii 1500.

Nicolaus reversus est die 14 Januarius 1500.

You will proceed with all possible despatch, even to riding post, if your strength permits it, to Lyons, or wherever you learn that his most Christian Majesty is to be found. Upon arrival, you will at once call upon our ambassadors there, Messers Francesco Gualterotti and Lorenzo Lenzi, and communicate to them

* This mission had its cause in the events referred to in this commission. Buonaccorsi refers to it on page 34 of his Diary; and the account he gives of it merits being reproduced here, on account of the light it throws upon the whole affair: —

"After the occurrences at Pisa which we have related, the republic was "advised to send messengers to the king for the purpose of explaining to him "that it was not the fault of the republic that the troops had not persisted in "the enterprise against Pisa; for these troops had left the camp in a manner "so discreditable to the honor of the king, that it was to be apprehended that "their commander and captains would throw the blame of it upon the republic

our present instructions, and confer with them as to whether there is anything to be added or left out; also as to your mode of proceeding in urging one thing more than another. You will then present yourselves, together with our ambassadors, before his Majesty, the king, and, after the customary formalities of the first audience, you will expose to him in our name the substance of the instructions you will receive from us; although we do not believe that we can give you more clear and positive information than what you already possess touching the events of which you have yourselves been witnesses, and in connection with which you were in great part the agents and executors of all that had to be done on our part.

The whole of this matter consists of two parts, viz.: first, to complain of the disturbances that have taken place, and to make known their cause and the names of their originators; and, secondly, to defend and exculpate us from the imputations that may be brought against us. But upon this latter part you will not touch unless obliged by necessity to repel the charges they may make in relation to what we ought to have done under the circumstances, etc., etc. You will, therefore, limit yourselves in your first exposition to enumerating all the reasons

"of Florence, as in fact they did. Francesco della Casa and Niccolo Machia- "velli were therefore appointed for that purpose, as they had been personally "witnesses of the occurrences. They were kindly received by the king, who re- "plied to their address, that he would show how greatly he was displeased at "such conduct on the part of his troops; and for this purpose he resolved to "send one of his Major-domos, called M. de Corcou, to investigate the affair "on the spot, and to make full report to him of the same. The said M. de "Corcou came and wanted the troops to return to camp before Pisa, and to "carry on the war effectually. But this was refused, although he maintained "that that was the only way to press the Pisans and oblige them to surrender. "This refusal was caused by the fears which everybody entertained in conse- "quence of the previous conduct of the French troops. M. Corcou left Flor- "ence most unfavorably disposed towards that republic; he reported such a mass "of falsehoods to his Majesty the king, as to arouse his indignation against the "Florentines to the highest degree; so that he sent for the two envoys on the "15th of October, and complained bitterly to them at having been thus dishonored. "He asked them what course he ought to pursue in their judgment; for having "been obliged to pay a considerable sum of money to the Swiss to make them "return to their own country without robbing the Florentine merchants, he de- "manded the reimbursement of this sum anyhow. For this purpose the king "wanted to send one of his chamberlains, named Edouard Buliot, to the Signoria, "to come to some understanding on these matters. All the replies and argu- "ments of the Florentine envoys were of no use, for his Majesty remained firm "in his demands. The envoys wrote to the Signoria of the king's displeasure, "and, seeing no way of avoiding it, the Signoria assumed this expense, and sent "a new ambassador, which was Pier Francesco Tosinghi."

that have constrained Monseigneur de Beaumont to despair of success, and finally to abandon the siege of Pisa. And these were, according to our judgment, the lack of obedience of the troops to the orders of the commander-in-chief, the intrigues which at first were carried on by the captain of the Swiss with the Pisans, and afterwards by certain Italians of the party of the Trivulzi and the Pallavicini, by order of Messer Gianjacopo, who, seeing how much our city, after recovering all her possessions, could do to aid in the preservation of the duchy of Milan, had taken this means of thwarting an undertaking which he did not approve of; and perhaps he also contemplated in this way to interrupt the attempt against the kingdom of Naples. It is thus that nearly all the others excepting Beaumont and Samplet have acted; and that the governor of Asti and Monsignore di Buno (on account of Entraghes) have revived all the old passions of Italy. To this statement you will be careful to add the full particulars of what you have witnessed yourselves, and of which you have a distinct recollection, but of which it is impossible for us to give particular details. You must add, furthermore, all that has been done in favor of the Pisans by the people of Lucca, Genoa, and Sienna, of which we have no positive evidence, although we know that ambassadors from these cities were kept in camp to create disturbances and to keep the army in suspense. You will on no account omit to say that these men have often been seen to enter Pisa in secret; and especially Rinieri della Sassetta, who has been pointed out to us as the agent and special favorite of the Pallavicini, to whom, together with all the others who were unfriendly to our enterprise against Pisa, we attribute the defection of the Gascons, and which had no other cause than that, and was the manifest origin of the ruin of this enterprise. For after that the Swiss became turbulent, and refused to perform all service, in consequence of which the camp had to be broken up. The object of stating all this to his Majesty is to demonstrate to him that the failure of the enterprise can in no way be attributed to us.

You may begin your statement with the departure of the troops from Piacenza, and show that, until their arrival under the walls of Pisa, all that could be done was done by us; and then you can go on immediately to state the above-mentioned circumstances, and add all that you can remember as having

contributed to the failure of the enterprise. Let that be the substance of your first audience, and be careful to avoid seeming to excuse us in any way, unless it be that we are reproached with having neglected to throw a bridge over the river Osole, or with having allowed the army to remain without provisions and ammunition as well as pioneers. Your reply upon these points will not be difficult, however, for the bridge could not be constructed for want of an escort, which it was their business to furnish; and as regards munitions, you are yourselves aware that they were furnished in more than double the quantity that their bombardiers had asked for, of which we still have their own letters as proof. In fact, they have never been short of ammunition, unless it was after it became manifest that the success of the enterprise was despaired of. And, moreover, they declared that they would not burn an ounce of their own powder, although it was agreed at Milan that they were to let us have all the powder and balls which they had, on condition that our commissioner paid them for it, or returned them an equal quantity. And finally as to the pioneers, notwithstanding the bad treatment to which they were subjected in being obliged to plant batteries by daylight, yet our commissioner had offered and agreed with the master of artillery, in case he should be in want of pioneers, to supply them at our expense from amongst those who were in camp, without any reclamation whatever for their pay; and this offer was accepted, and had satisfied them. As regards the matter of provisions, you have so large a field for explanation in the frequent and manifest dishonesty of the French, that this point will be more easily excused than any other; and you must not fail to relate the greater part of the particular instances that have occurred, which was so frequent a subject of our letters to the camp.

It will, furthermore, be proper for you to speak of the capture of our commissioner, of the persons guilty of this outrage, and of the manner in which it was done, and of the outrages and insults we have had to bear, even from the lowest private soldier. In fact, you must make a summary of all these matters, which will go to prove that we have been treated by them more like enemies than friends, amplifying or extenuating these matters as will best serve our cause. And upon this point you must not forget to say that the detention of Gianotto da San Martino and of his troops was entirely by order of Beaumont;

and for our entire justification upon this point you will take his letter with you, as well as copies and originals of other writings that will serve for our vindication.

We deem it unnecessary to add anything more for your information to this commission ; for all the knowledge we have has been obtained from the camp, where you were personally present, and could therefore see and know all the facts better than ourselves. You will therefore enlarge upon these facts as much as may seem necessary to you, without departing from the course which we have indicated to you above ; namely, you will first explain all the causes that have given rise to these disorders ; and then you will show all that has been done by us since the departure of the troops from Piacenza, both for the payment of the stipend, as well as everything else ; and when necessary, you will repel and vindicate us from all charges of having been the authors of these disorders that have led to the failure of the enterprise.

And although we have refrained from blaming the commander, not wishing to incur his enmity, nevertheless when, speaking before his Majesty the king, or other personages of importance, the opportunity presents itself of successfully laying the blame upon him, you will do so energetically, and must not hesitate to charge him with cowardice and corruption. You will also state that he had constantly in his tent with him, and at his table, either one or both of the ambassadors from Lucca, through whom the Pisans obtained information and advice of all our plans and our doings. But until such an opportunity occurs, you must speak of the commander in an honorable manner, and throw all the blame upon others, and avoid particularly saying anything against him in presence of the Cardinal d'Amboise ; for we do not wish to lose his good will, unless we can thereby gain a corresponding advantage in another direction. Our ambassadors can give you all the information, not only upon this point, but also whether it will do for you to speak openly of Trivulzio and the others, in which matters they can best guide you, for they know the favors and disfavors of the court much better than we do.

You may add in justification of the non-construction of the bridge over the river Osole, that the troops had hastened their march, and arrived there on the very day when they were expected to reach the bridge over the Serchio.

Touching the Lucchese, you will state that one of their ambassadors accompanied the Gascons at the time of their defection ; and that, whilst the French held the mouth of the river Arno, they constantly permitted provisions and troops and munitions of war, etc. to reach Pisa by way of the river ; and particularly that Tarlatino of Citta di Castello entered Pisa in that way with a number of companions ; and immediately upon his arrival was placed at the head of all the infantry that was there.

REGI FRANCORUM.

Die 17 Julii 1500.

CHRISTIANISSIME REX, ETC. — Mittimus ad Christianissimam Majestatem Vestram Franciscum della Casa et Nicolaum Machiavellum, nobilissimos cives nostros, quibus mandavimus multa exponere illi nostro nomine de his quæ pertinunt ad bellum quod gestum est contra Pisanos : quibus precamur fidem habere certissimam, et quia nostro nomine loquentur, et quia presentes in castris omnia viderunt, poteruntque ob id certissime omnia renuntiare Majestati Vestræ.

PATENTES

PRO NICOLAO MACHIAVELLO ET FRANCISCO DELLA CASA, AD CHRISTIANISSIMAM REGIAM MAJESTATEM.

Die quo supra (17 Julii 1500).

IN sending at the present time, on account of certain important matters of ours, our respectable and most valued citizens Francesco della Casa and Niccolo Machiavelli to the court of the Most Christian King, we beg the friends, confederates, and well-wishers of our republic, and command our subjects, that both in going and returning you will receive them with all their servants, goods, and equipage, and treat them in the most friendly manner everywhere within your dominion, without payment of any tolls or taxes. And in case they should require any guides, escorts, or any other favors for their safe conveyance to where they wish to go, we pray you promptly to comply

with their requests. Your doing so will be appreciated by us in the highest degree, and in similar or more important occasions we offer you the same service at your good will and pleasure.

INSTRUCTIONS

GIVEN TO FRANCESCO DELLA CASA AND NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI BY LORENZO LENZI, AMBASSADOR, ETC., ETC.

In consequence of the absence of Messer Francesco Gualterotti, and the departure of the king from here, I shall not be able to present you to his Majesty, and therefore deem it necessary to give you the following instructions, namely: —

You will follow the court, and upon your arrival there you will present yourselves to the Cardinal d'Amboise and make known to him the object of your mission. Say to him that you have come for the purpose of explaining to his Majesty all that has occurred in the camp before Pisa; but that before doing so you desire to render a full and particular account of it to his Eminence, so that you may afterwards communicate so much of it to his Majesty and the Council as his Eminence may deem proper. In fact, that you are prepared to follow his advice in all things, inasmuch as our republic looks upon his Eminence as her chief protector and benefactor. Ask him to present you to his Majesty whenever he thinks it best, and to direct you what, in his judgment, it will be proper for you to communicate to his Majesty, as well as the manner of doing it. And in your language to his Eminence be prodigal of assurances of our having the most unlimited confidence in him; in short, do all that can be done to preserve his favorable disposition towards our republic, and to derive from it all the advantages possible.

When you enter upon the particulars of the troubles that occurred in the camp, you must avoid as much as possible laying the blame upon M. de Beaumont, particularly in those matters that cannot be laid to our charge. You may say that the trouble arose from his not having influence enough in camp, and from the natural gentleness of his character, which caused him not to be sufficiently feared as he should have been. But that his intentions always had been most excellent, and that he always manifested the greatest anxiety and displeasure at seeing things go as they did, to our disadvantage and to the discredit of his Majesty; and that, so far as his talents and labors could produce any good effect, he never relaxed his efforts nor his diligence; and that the malignity of others was the sole cause of all the disorders. You must reiterate that it was the envy and bad conduct of those Italians who were in the camp; and whom you may blame regardlessly, for you will be addressing your remarks to his Eminence the Cardinal d'Amboise, and in presence of Monseigneur d'Alby and the Maréchal de Gies.

And when you happen to be alone with his Eminence d'Amboise, you may incidentally state that the conduct of these Italians had been so bad that there could be no doubt but they were acting under orders from outside of the camp. You may point out to his Eminence some of the instances mentioned in your commission, and especially the fact that they had engaged Rinieri della Sassetta, one of our rebels, and employed him in the intrigues with the Pisans, in which a great many of the Lombards participated. In the same way you may refer to the insolence and brutality of the infantry, and the waste of provisions of which they were guilty, and from which all the other troubles originated. Do not fail to testify to the good conduct of Saliente. And another matter to which I must call your particular attention is, that if his Eminence d'Amboise should say to you, when you are alone with him, or in the presence of the king or any other persons, that M. de Beaumont had been appointed to the command of the army at the request of Pietro Soderini, and with our concurrence; then admit that you have heard that this was so, and that it could only have been of advantage for us; for it is most important to preserve the good will of the Cardinal for objects of greater magnitude, or when we may need him to relieve us from even heavier charges.

You will add that you have heard that, notwithstanding what has occurred, his Majesty is disposed to persevere in carrying on the war against the Pisans, and against all who give them aid and support, or attempt in any way to injure us. So that the siege is to be recommenced, and that for that reason it had lately been agreed with us Ambassadors that the camp shall be located in a healthy place in the vicinity of Pisa, and where it can be conveniently supplied with provisions and other neces-

saries for making fair war against Pisa, until the siege is resumed; but that you are ignorant as to the present whereabouts and the condition of the camp, as well as what Florence may be able to do; knowing that since the departure of the troops the Pisans have ravaged the country to our detriment and dishonor, which would not have occurred but for the fact that our reliance upon the troops of his Majesty made us disband our own, so as the better to be able to provide for the pay of the army and the other expenses of the war. That it is necessary promptly to put an end to these insults, and for that reason, although without having been asked to do so by our Signoria, we have resolved to ask of his Majesty as soon as possible to give orders to his commander and his troops, whenever requested by the Florentine government, to send two hundred lances, but not Italians, to go and remain on Pisan territory; where they are to be quartered in a convenient and healthy situation, the same as has been specified for the whole army, and for the purpose of obtaining the same results. And you may say that you expect to find his Majesty well disposed to do this, as you have heard from your Ambassadors that his Majesty had said to them that, believing his army had crossed the Alps, he intended to send one hundred fresh lances into the Pisan territory for the purpose of carrying his objects into execution. But that in your judgment this number would be insufficient to make itself feared; and that their coming would be rather late, inasmuch as the Pisans had taken fresh courage. Nevertheless, this number would be better than the whole army, for, whilst they would answer the immediate purpose, it would be easier to supply them with provisions, and they would be a less heavy charge; and moreover, if the whole army were there, it would be a shame not to press the place more closely; whilst the small number would seem to be there merely to prevent further insults, until the siege could be really resumed in earnest. It would also show that his Majesty had no thought of abandoning the enterprise, which would comport with his dignity as well as our interests. You must also ask his Majesty to allow Giovanni Bentivogli to come to our aid with his forces, he being animated by the desire to do so in honor of his Majesty and for our benefit, whenever his Majesty will deign to permit it, for he deems it his duty to do nothing without his Majesty's consent.

The persons upon whose influence with his Most Christian Majesty we can most depend are, first, the Cardinal d'Amboise, Monseigneur d'Alby, — in fact, I may say the whole house of Amboise; the Maréchal de Gies, and Monseigneur General Robertet, whom you will see as often as you can, and let him see that you have full faith in him, which you will find to your advantage.

I had forgotten to name the Grand Chancellor, who, although he has the reputation of being favorably inclined towards the Lucchese, yet is our friend, and you may safely trust him. Show equal confidence to Messer Jacopo da Trivulzi, and when you come to discuss matters with him, give him to understand that you intend to follow his counsels, and recommend our city to him. The same with Ligny; when you have occasion to talk with him, show him confidence, and use all means to dispose him favorably towards us, or at any rate as little unfavorably as possible.

You have been informed of what the Cardinal has lately written, showing that he is inclined to accept the excuses of the Lucchese. It is possible that on your arrival you may find that this matter has not yet been finally disposed of; if this be so, then let his Eminence know the manner in which the Lucchese have conducted themselves towards us, making it appear as bad as you can, without, however, manifesting any passion. And having done all this, you will say to his Eminence that our Signoria will approve whatever he may decide; but if, with regard to the reinforcements asked for the enterprise against Pisa, his Eminence should be of the opinion that things ought to be left as they are until after the capture of the city, then I think you should insist upon such reinforcements, which would act as a stimulant to keep the Lucchese in greater fear, and make them more circumspect. The same with the Pisans, and such as are disposed to aid them, for they also would feel more restrained by a greater terror than if all the troops were recalled, which would reanimate the courage of the Pisans and of their allies.

Above all, do not dispute upon any of the points on which you see that his Eminence has formed a definite judgment; and when you find him decided upon any particular course, approve all he has done, for the power and good will of the king of France will make up for all that we might lack. And do not

fail to say to the Cardinal d'Amboise that the report which has been made to him in relation to the conduct of the Lucchese may be the result of ignorance of the individual who made it, or he may have been influenced by some other motive. Nevertheless, after you have done all you can in the matter, you must conform to the will of his Eminence.

LETTER I.

MAGNIFICENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNORI, ETC., ETC.: —

Having but just now heard of the departure of the courier, we have no time to write to your Lordships other than most briefly to inform you that, after travelling with the utmost speed, we arrived here on Sunday the 26th of this month, but found that the king had left. To enable us therefore to execute your Lordships' commission, and some other instructions given us by your Ambassador Lorenzo Lenzi, with regard to the troops of Messer Giovanni Bentivogli, etc., we propose mounting horses here to-morrow, it being impossible to follow the king by post, and to proceed as rapidly as possible to such place as will be most suitable for having an audience of his Majesty. We shall use all diligence and care faithfully to make known to him all that you have charged us with; and will then report fully and at length to your Lordships, which it is not in our power to do to-day.

Valeant Dominationes vestræ.

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA *et*
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LYONS, 28 July, 1500.

LETTER II.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

As the courier of yesterday could not wait we had to write but very briefly to your Lordships, but stated amongst other things the causes of our having arrived here a little later perhaps than your Lordships could have desired. The cause of

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Smt. HANSA MEHTA LIBRARY, BARODA

this delay was an unforeseen accident, which obliged us to stop on the road. On arriving here we found that Messer Francesco Gualterotti had left with the court, as stated in our letter of yesterday, and had taken the road to San Antonio. Your Lordships may judge of our disappointment; particularly as it obliged us to execute our commission as though we ourselves were ambassadors.

We communicated to his Magnificence Lorenzo Lenzi the object of our coming and of the commission with which we had been charged by your Lordships, all of which he listened to with attention, and examined with his habitual prudence. Our justification as to the raising of the siege of Pisa seemed to him complete, and calculated to confute all attempts to blame us, whenever heard and examined. His Magnificence afterwards explained to us the position of the affairs of our republic with his Majesty, and stated what he had written to your Lordships, in consequence of the determination of the king to keep his men-at-arms and infantry in healthy locations on Pisan territory, and convenient for attacking the Pisans at any moment, until he should return from Troyes, whither he had gone now to have an understanding with the Emperor of Germany's ambassador for the reorganization of his army and a fresh attempt at the capture of Pisa. He stated that all this had been communicated by himself and his colleague to your Lordships; but as in your reply you had declined this proposition, they did not deem it proper to lay it before the king, but had decided at once to write you again, suggesting to your Lordships once more carefully to examine the matter, and that they are still awaiting your reply, which his Majesty also desires to have; for every time that he has seen D'Amboise he has asked after the ambassadors.

We have said, in answer to all this, that we thought the probable reason of the coldness of your reply, and your non-acceptance of the king's offer, was the want of success in the siege of Pisa, which had disappointed the general expectation, and had brought little honor to the king and great injury to our republic. So that your Lordships, from the experience you have had, can never again have confidence in those troops; and that the collecting of five hundred men-at-arms and three thousand infantry around Cascina, according to the latest resolve of the king, would be impossible, in view of their charac-

ter, etc., etc.; for they could not be supplied with provisions for any length of time. Adding that it would not redound to his Majesty's honor that so large a number of his troops should remain here merely to ravage an already wasted and exhausted country, without laying regular siege to a city that had been many times besieged and closely pressed by your Lordships with a less numerous force.

These considerations, we said, might possibly have caused your Lordships not to listen to what your ambassadors had written; and we enlarged upon this in such manner, narrating the events of recent occurrence, and the spirit and disposition of these troops, that he remained silent, and almost changed his views. And in the discussion as to the means of satisfying the king, to whom we would have to speak before receiving your Lordship's answer, the ambassador was of opinion, that, since his Majesty was inclined to temporize with his troops on Pisan territory until a regular resumption of the siege could be organized, we ought to point out to his Majesty that this could be done equally well with a much less number of men-at-arms, and without infantry. That in fact, if his Majesty thought proper to leave, or, in case they should already have left, to send back two hundred of his lances, to be stationed between Cascina and Vico, and who could scour the country daily up to the very walls of Pisa, being supported by our infantry, his Majesty would gain time, as has been said, until a reorganization of the entire enterprise; and your Lordships would profit by the king's credit, without incurring any further expense for men-at-arms, whilst the king would consider himself in a manner interested in the success of the enterprise from seeing his name connected with it, and consequently his honor. The ambassador thought that his Majesty would readily consent to this, having already offered one hundred lances in support of your interests, when under the impression that his army had already passed through the territory of Parma, as had been reported to him. Adding, however, that all this ought not to be asked of his Majesty until your Lordships had decided whether you would avail yourselves of this support. Now although we charge ourselves very reluctantly with this commission, as not being comprised in your orders to us, yet, being only conditional, we shall execute it so soon as the opportunity is given to us to be with the king or the Cardinal

d'Amboise. And we will endeavor to obtain letters to these captains, instructing them to place two hundred lances at your disposal, if you request it. Your Lordships, however, can examine the whole subject, and will then communicate to us your decision at length. We have nothing else of interest to mention from here to-day.

We leave here positively to-morrow to follow the court; we have been obliged to defer our departure in consequence of our having arrived here denuded of everything, and having to procure at the same time horses, wearing apparel, and servants. All this has become very difficult because of the recent departure of the court; they having stripped the whole country around of all means of travel and transport. Thus the small compensation which we receive, and the heavy expenses to which we are subjected with little prospect of being reimbursed, cause us no little anxiety. But we have every degree of confidence in your Lordships' discretion and kindness.

In passing through Bologna we had an interview with Messer Giovanni Bentivogli in accordance with your Lordships' instructions; and after having spoken to him about the mules that had been taken, etc., etc., we offered him on behalf of your Lordships all our good offices during the expedition; which his Lordship accepted in a suitable manner, thanking us and offering his own in return. We shall do what we can to render him service, and so that he may be permitted to come to your assistance, in accordance with your late instructions to the ambassadors; for Lorenzo Lenzi is, to our great regret, positively determined not to follow the court, but to return to Florence.

It remains for us to inform your Lordships that we met between Parma and Piacenza several thousand Swiss, who had formed part of the army, and who were now returning home. Although this fact ought to have been made known to you by Pellegrino Lorini, yet we deem it well not to omit mentioning it, so that your Lordships may avail of the information when occasion offers.

We recommend ourselves to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LYONS, 29 July, 1500.

LETTER III.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

By the enclosed we have informed your Lordships of what had occurred up to that time. The present is to let you know that at this very moment, it being the twenty-first hour, we are about to leave for the court; so that we may communicate to his Majesty the king the object of the mission which your Lordships have confided to us. We shall endeavor with the utmost celerity to make up for the time which we were unavoidably obliged to lose in putting ourselves in proper condition, and to supply ourselves with all the necessaries for the purpose of proceeding, which involved many difficulties and much expense, as already stated in the enclosed.

It remains for us now most respectfully to remind your Lordships that it may readily happen that we shall have to despatch special couriers to you for matters of great importance; but which we shall not be able to do, being without money or credit. It becomes necessary therefore that your Lordships should think of ordering either Nasi or Dei, or some other of the merchants, to forward our despatches, with promise of prompt compensation for such service; for unless this is done we shall be helpless, and might be charged with neglect without any fault of ours. We shall be equally embarrassed, in consequence of our being destitute of money, by the couriers whom your Lordships may think proper to despatch to us. We have deemed it proper to make this state of things known to you, so that your Lordships may have compassion on us. We can but do our best to perform our duty, and the impossibility of doing it will always serve as our justification in the eyes of everybody.

Bene valeant Dominationes vestræ!

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LYONS, 30 July, 1500.

LETTER IV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Your Lordships know what salary was assigned to me on our departure from Florence, and also the amount accorded to Francesco della Casa. Doubtless this was done under the belief that in the natural course of things I would have occasion to spend less money than Francesco. Such however has not been the case; for not finding his Most Christian Majesty at Lyons, I had to provide myself with horses, servants, and clothing, the same as he; and thus following the court has obliged me to incur the same expenses as Francesco. It seems to me, therefore, beyond all human and divine reason that I should not have the same emoluments. If the expenses which I incur seem to your Lordships too great, then I would observe that they are quite as useful as those of Francesco's, or that the twenty ducats allowed me per month are simply thrown away. If in your opinion the latter is the case, then I beg your Lordships to recall me; but if it be not so, then I trust your Lordships will take such measures that I may not ruin myself, and that at least I may be credited in Florence with the amounts for which I am compelled to become indebted here. For I pledge you my faith that up to the present moment I have spent already forty ducats of my own, and have requested my brother at Florence to make me an advance of seventy ducats more.

I recommend myself again to your Lordships, and beg that a faithful servant of yours may not, without any fault of his own, be subjected to shame and loss in the performance of services that bring to others profit and honor.

Humilissimus servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

FROM ST. PIERRE, 5 August, 1500.

LETTER V.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

As we informed you by our last, we left Lyons on the 30th ultimo, and made every effort to join the court, with all the speed that our wretched horses would permit, having been obliged to buy such as we could get. We should have succeeded ere this in overtaking the court, had it not been that his Majesty has travelled more rapidly than usual, and has varied his route because of the sickness that prevails in this country; so that in several instances where we attempted to take a shorter and more direct road for the purpose of gaining time, we have actually gone farther away from him. Nevertheless we reached today this little town of St. Pierre le Moutier, about five leagues from Nevers, where we were told we should find the king, so that we hope confidently to overtake his Majesty to-morrow. We shall as soon as possible execute your Lordships' commission; also the additional instructions given us by our ambassador, and which we communicated to your Lordships in our last. And so soon as we shall have been able to do this, we shall immediately notify your Lordships of the result, sending our letter to Rinieri Dei at Lyons, for which we shall pay with what little money may remain in our purses; for the sum which you have given us has enabled us to pay only about two thirds of the expenses which we have incurred thus far.

We take our chance in sending you this letter, as we desire that your Lordships shall be informed day by day of our progress, and because we know how disagreeable it would be for your Lordships if there were any delay in receiving our reports, even if there be nothing of importance to communicate.

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ST. PIERRE LE MOUTIER, 5 August, 1500.

LETTER VI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Since our departure from Lyons, we have written you twice from different places, and advised your Lordships of the causes that have delayed our joining the court, which we will not now reiterate, partly because we do not wish to weary your Lordships, and partly because we assume that our letters have reached you safely, although we sent them at a venture. Since then we have continued our route in disregard of all the fatigue and fear of sickness which prevails in this country; and with God's help we have arrived here, where we found his Majesty with a very small court, on account of the limited size of the place. Immediately after dismounting we presented ourselves before his Eminence the Cardinal d'Amboise; and although we had no letters for him from your Lordships, which it would have been well for us to have had, we exposed to him summarily on your behalf and on the part of the ambassadors the cause of our coming, and recommended your interests to him, as your only protector, in whom your Lordships always had and continued to have the most entire confidence.

His Eminence replied briefly, showing by his remarks that there was no great occasion for vindicating your conduct as regards the occurrences in camp, which were already an old affair; but that it was of much greater importance to think of repairing the losses in honor and profit which his Majesty as well as yourselves had experienced in consequence. And then he began immediately to question us as to what we thought of recommencing the enterprise. To this we could make no reply, for we arrived at that very moment at the king's quarters. His Majesty, having just dined, was taking a little repose; but a few moments afterwards he arose, and, having learnt from the Cardinal d'Amboise the object of our coming, he had us called, and after we had presented our credentials, his Majesty made us enter an adjoining cabinet, where he gave us most graciously a very satisfactory audience; to which none of the French seigneurs were admitted except his Eminence the Cardinal d'Amboise and Robertet. All the other lords of the council being absent, Messer Gianjacopo Trivulzio, the Bishop of Novara, and two others of the Palavicini, were called in, as

they happened to be there, and remained throughout the whole audience.

In conformity with your Lordships' instructions we began by submitting that inasmuch as the enterprise against Pisa and the siege of the city had, to our great prejudice and the great discredit of his Majesty's army, an entirely different issue from his other most fortunate and successful enterprises, and as we had ourselves been present at all the events that had occurred in camp, we had been sent by your Lordships to explain to his Majesty that the cause of the raising of the siege of Pisa was in no way chargeable to any act or neglect on your part. We then related, according to our instructions, all the details as far as seemed to the purpose, and more particularly all that related to the departure from camp of the Gascons, the outrages of the Swiss, and the carrying off of our commissioner, and to the constant parleying of the French commander with the enemy. We also mentioned the insulting manner in which your Lordships and all the Florentines had been spoken of, and how all this had inspired the Pisans with fresh courage to defend themselves, contrary to the expectations of everybody; and how all this had been the chief cause of the ruin of the enterprise. It did not seem to us advisable, notwithstanding your orders upon this point, specially to accuse any Italians; for the individuals whom we have named being present, we thought that such a public accusation would be likely to make us more enemies, rather than prove of advantage to our cause.

The king and D'Amboise replied that the failure of the enterprise against Pisa was as much due to your shortcomings as to those of the king's army; and when we answered that we really did not know wherein your Lordships had been wanting, they alleged the lack of provisions, munitions, and of many other things, observing at the same time that it was not worth while to say anything more about the matter, as it would only lead to endless recriminations.

Nevertheless, deeming it our duty to avail of the occasion to vindicate ourselves from such charges, we said that your Lordships had never failed to furnish the most abundant supply of provisions, and that there never had been any deficiency, but that they had been wantonly wasted, and that those who had brought them into camp had been overwhelmed with all

sorts of insults and bad treatment; and that if at any time it had seemed to any one that there was not a sufficient abundance, it was solely due to the injudicious distribution and the waste to which we had referred; and when we offered to give some special details upon this point, they cut us short in our statement.

As to the ammunition and the pay, in the furnishing of which we were accused of having been tardy, etc., we replied, as to the first point, that your Lordships had supplied more than what the king's chief of artillery had called for; and as to the second, that the money had arrived in camp at the proper time, but that the paying of the troops had been deferred some five or six days because the captains of the companies had themselves so ordered it, as they did not care to have the troops paid any sooner. Respecting the Gascons, his Majesty showed several times in the course of his remarks that he was cognizant of their perfidy and treason, and that he should not fail to have them punished. And when we remarked that they had gone off by sea, his Majesty said that he had ordered their arrest and punishment on their arrival in their own country.

In relation to the carrying off of our commissioner, of which we spoke very fully, characterizing the act as brutal and infamous, they only said that the Swiss were in the habit of acting thus, and of practising similar extortions. His Majesty finally cut the discussion short by admitting that his troops had not done their duty, but that there had been equal remissness on our part; adding that Beaumont had not always made himself obeyed as he ought to have done, and that, if there had been another commander who had more thoroughly enforced obedience, the enterprise would not have failed. Having been advised by our ambassador that the Cardinal d'Amboise held Beaumont in great affection, and that the least censure of Beaumont would be displeasing to the Cardinal, we were very careful, whilst admitting on the one hand that there had been great lack of discipline, beyond all reasonable limits, which in fact had been the cause of all the disorders, to say on the other hand that we had always found Beaumont extremely jealous of his Majesty's honor, and very friendly to our country, and that, if the others had shown an equal good will and disposition with Beaumont, we should doubtless have been victorious.

And thus we succeeded in satisfying the Cardinal, to whom we knew that what we had said of Beaumont would be most agreeable, and at the same time not contradicting the king's conclusions as to want of discipline, etc., etc.

As it seemed to his Majesty that enough had been said on these matters, he turned towards us and said: "Since now this "enterprise has ended in a manner so prejudicial to yourselves, "and so little creditable to myself, and with a view to prevent "my army from ever experiencing a similar check, it is neces- "sary to come to some decision as to what had best be done "for the recovery of my honor, and at the same time your in- "terests. Some days ago already I made my views known to "your Signoria through their ambassadors, and also through "one of my couriers whom I despatched for that purpose to "Tuscany. I have thus far done all I possibly can, and wish "to do the same for the future, and only ask you to let me "have your answer."

To this we replied that we had no orders from your Lordships upon that point, and that our instructions were confined to the events that had occurred in camp, and at which we had been personally present. But that our opinion was, that the people of Florence, who had been involved for so many years in a continual and most onerous war, seeing the unhappy and unexpected issue of this last enterprise, had become impressed with the idea that, owing either to their ill fortune or to their numerous enemies, both within and without Italy, they had nothing more to hope for; that they had lost all confidence, and consequently the courage and the strength necessary for venturing upon another enterprise. But that if once his Majesty restored Pisa to our hands, so that we could see a certain reward for the expenses which we should have to incur anew, in that case we confidently believed that your Lordships would justly and amply compensate his Majesty for his outlays.

At these words the king, the Cardinal, and the other persons present began all to cry out, saying that it would be very unseemly for the king to make war for our benefit and at his expense. We at once replied that such was in no way our intention, but that we meant that his Majesty should be fully reimbursed for all the expenses incurred after having placed Pisa in our hands. To which it was answered, that the king would always

do his duty according to the stipulations of the treaty;* and that, if your Lordships failed in yours, his Majesty would be excused by the whole world. The king himself added, that Pisa and Montepulciano were as much in his power as Pietrasanta and Mutrone, if he wished to keep them for himself; giving us to understand thereby that, if he did not keep them, it was merely from his desire strictly to keep his engagements. Thereupon Messer Gianjacopo Trivulzio turned towards us and said that, if we allowed this opportunity to be lost, which the king's will and disposition, as well as other circumstances, rendered so favorable, your Lordships would in all probability never be able to recover your losses, and especially not by these means. We made no reply to this except that what we had suggested was our individual opinion, and that we had no instructions upon this point from your Lordships. Whereupon the king and D'Amboise remarked that, inasmuch as we had left Florence before the arrival there of the king's courier, it was not surprising that we had received no instructions upon that point.

We suggested that we should receive within a very few days a reply from your Lordships to his Majesty's letter, whereupon the king said, that without such a reply and a definite decision on your part it would be impossible to proceed any further in this matter; and that it was important that your Lordships should decide at once, so that he might know whether or not to disband the infantry, which remained on the ground at your Lordships' disposal, giving us to understand at the same time that the expense thereof was at your charge; and that whilst awaiting your Lordships' reply we might go on to Montargis, where he would be himself within three days. And with that conclusion we took our leave.

In our reply touching the matter of Pisa we conformed

* The treaty with the king of France was concluded at Milan, 12 October, 1499, by Monsignore Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop of Arezzo, and Pietro Soderini, who afterwards became perpetual Gonfalonier. The republic of Florence obligated herself by this treaty to defend the French possessions in Italy, with four hundred men-at-arms and three thousand infantry; also to aid the king of France in the conquest of Naples with five hundred men-at-arms and a subsidy of fifty thousand florins. And the king of France, on his part, bound himself to defend the Florentines, against whoever might attack them, with six hundred lances and four thousand infantry; and to put them in possession of Pisa again, and all the other places which they had lost by the coming of Charles VIII. into Italy, excepting such as were held by the Genoese.

strictly to your Lordships' intentions; for although no instructions had been given us upon this point, yet having read at Lyons your Lordships' last letters to our ambassadors, which, in fact, we had here with us, and which state that a reply upon this point would be expressly sent to his Majesty, we availed ourselves of the occasion respectfully to make such reply to him, being convinced that it could not in any way affect whatever new decision your Lordships may have made. We hope most earnestly that our conduct may be satisfactory to your Lordships.

This is all we have to communicate to your Lordships, up to the present, in relation to the execution of our commission. We should have enlarged more amply upon certain points but for the consideration which we were obliged to have for the Italians who were present, and also because we knew that such discussions could not but be disagreeable to the king and D'Amboise; first, because they regarded this whole matter as a thing of the past, and as it were already digested; and next, because we should have made them hear some particulars little creditable to their honor and government. Nevertheless, we thought that we ought not to leave any important particulars unnoticed, except such as we have referred to above; and these we shall relate to the king and the Cardinal on some other and more suitable occasion. We mean more especially the matter of the Lucchese, respecting which we had given some intercepted letters to Robertet, who advised us to have such portions of them as it was proper to make known translated into French, showing thus that he attached some importance to them. It was from him also that we learnt that the Lucchese ambassadors had been recalled on the day previous, so that they might appear at court.

Your Lordships had also written to our ambassadors to obtain permission from the king for Messer Giovanni Bentivogli to come with his troops to your assistance. Lorenzo Lenzi had also directed us to ask his Majesty to leave two hundred lances for the protection of your interests, but we did not think it advisable to speak of this matter in the presence of the other Italians; but we took General Robertet aside, and made your Lordships' wishes known to him with regard to Messer Giovanni's troops, but did not mention anything else to him. He replied, that he hardly thought such a feeble

assistance would be needed by us, as the king's troops were at Pietrasanta, and in condition to make effectual war, and that only quite lately one hundred more lances had been sent there. Nevertheless so soon as his Majesty comes to Montargis we shall speak to him and D'Amboise about this matter; and unless we should receive contrary orders from your Lordships, we shall endeavor to obtain the permission and the number of troops you ask for.

Having arrived only to-day, we are unable to say anything as to what is going on here. The reason why his Majesty has given up his visit to Troyes, and has come here instead, is not clearly known; although we had heard on the road that the Emperor's ambassadors, who were to have gone there, will not go. We shall endeavor to ascertain the truth more fully, and will inform your Lordships in our next letters.

Servitores

FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

NEVERS, 7 August, 1500.

P. S. — We have kept this letter until to-day, 10th August, as we had no opportunity of sending it sooner, although we made every effort to do so. We send it now, by some one who is going to Lyons, to Rinieri Dei, who is to forward it by first express. We are now at Montargis, where his Majesty also arrived this morning; but we have as yet no further news to communicate to your Lordships, to whom we again recommend ourselves.

LETTER VII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC., ETC.: —

[The beginning of this letter is a copy of the preceding one, after which it continues: —]

To here is a copy of our last letter of the 7th, which we could not send until the 10th from Montargis. In the execution of so much of your Lordships' orders as had not already been attended to, we called upon the Cardinal d'Amboise, and were fortunate in having a good long audience

from him. We had translated the intercepted letter of Piero da Poggio of Lucca into French, and begged his Eminence to read and examine it, as he would find in it many particulars that would prove to him in the most evident manner that the Lucchese had manifestly acted adversely to his Majesty the king. Seeing that the Cardinal did not care to read it, we began to relate to him some of the main points of the letter, but his Eminence promptly objected, and said that a report from Beaumont and the other captains proved that the Lucchese had never acted adversely to his Majesty, but had served him more effectually, and with a better will, than the Florentines, and more especially in the matter of provisions. To this we replied, that it seemed very strange to us that the Lucchese, with a show of fair words and by the influence of some friends, should prevail over truth itself; that in fact we had always striven to uphold the honor of the king, whilst the conduct of the Lucchese had been directly the reverse, and more especially in the affair of Pisa. We wanted again to submit to his Eminence the translation of the letter mentioned above, but he declined; and when we offered to leave it with him, he cared not to accept it.

On our observing to the Cardinal that we had learnt that the Lucchese ambassadors had been called back to the court, he answered promptly that, not having found them at fault in any way, he deemed it proper to have them recalled. His Eminence then began to tell us that, when Corcou was at Florence, he had made known to your Lordships how favorably the king was disposed towards our republic, and most particularly in relation to the matter of Pisa; and then he complained that your Lordships had been reluctant to take any measures for the success of that enterprise; and, further, that you had been unwilling, or cared not, to have his Majesty's troops in garrison within the Florentine territory; and, moreover, that you had refused to pay what was due to the Swiss, although it was provided in their engagement that they should have pay for their return home; and, finally, his Eminence charged the ill success of the expedition against Pisa entirely to our short-comings. To these charges we replied, first, that our republic was exhausted by the many protracted wars, and, moreover, that the people of Florence could not and ought not to have any confidence in such ill-disciplined troops, who had shown themselves so ill disposed towards our republic. His Eminence answered the same as he had done on a former occasion, that, besides the insufficient measures taken by the Florentines, they were not even united amongst themselves. We expressed our astonishment that he should hold such an opinion, which was altogether erroneous. The Cardinal said that he had been so informed by all the Frenchmen who had been at Florence. We assured him that they could not have heard or known anything of the kind, as our republic was perfectly united upon all important matters, and most particularly in the desire to recover Pisa, as was proved by the energetic measures adopted in raising and sending the money required for that purpose, and which could only be obtained by the concurrence of two thirds of all the citizens of Florence. We begged his Eminence to reflect well upon the character of the individuals who had made such statements to him, as also upon the nature of the things reported to him. As to the pay of the Swiss, we observed that your Lordships were not bound to pay them, for they had not performed the service required of them, and had refused to mount guard or stand sentinel, and, moreover, had nearly all disbanded. To which the Cardinal replied that your Lordships ought to pay them; for if you did not, the king would have to do it with his own means, which would make him greatly dissatisfied with your conduct. Respecting the complaint that the enterprise failed in consequence of your short-comings, we recalled to him very briefly the disorders that had broken out in camp, and closed by saying that, if his Majesty had not been informed that a great part of the wagons had been stolen, and the remainder badly distributed, then the truth had been studiously withheld from him. We urged again that we had come here prepared to submit to the strictest investigation, for the purpose of proving the truth that your Lordships had always supplied abundance of everything that was needed. His Eminence answered by declaring any further discussion useless, and that he was astonished at your Lordships' unwillingness to do anything to recommence the enterprise, and at the proposition that the king should restore Pisa to you at his own expense. We expressed at once our conviction that your Lordships intended to do your duty in the matter to the utmost extent of your ability; but since the late attempt had resulted in the manner known to his Eminence, it

was not to be wondered at that the republic of Florence, fed so long with vain hopes, should mistrust the future, and that consequently she lacked men and money to undertake a fresh enterprise; but that it was a small matter for his Majesty the king to make so inconsiderable a war at his own expense, provided only that in the end he was victorious, which could not fail to be the case, especially when it became known that the enterprise was carried on absolutely in his Majesty's name and at his expense; for that would keep any of our neighbors or enemies from venturing to interfere at the risk of offending his Majesty. We concluded by saying to his Eminence, that, if the king would assume the enterprise from the beginning as his own, it would not only be more easy, but most certain of success; that it would redound more to the honor of his Majesty, and would give greater satisfaction to your Lordships, and really without any burden of expense to his Majesty, as it was always your intention to reimburse the king, in strict accordance with the treaty stipulations, immediately upon the restitution to them of the city of Pisa.

All these arguments produced no effect upon his Eminence, who constantly replied that the king would never agree to such a proposition. Robertet also told us, that such a proposition on the part of your Lordships seemed almost as if made in derision of the king, and that his Majesty was so dissatisfied and ill content with your disposition that really he did not see any person at court who, under the circumstances, could remain your friends, or could support your interests. Subsequently we stated to his Eminence that, in addition to the other causes that discouraged the people of Florence, was the non-restitution of Pietrasanta, which was now in his Majesty's possession. To which he replied, that he had informed Pietro Soderini that the reason of this non-restitution was a promise made to the Lucchese not to restore Pietrasanta to your Lordships until after the taking of Pisa. We said that of all others that was precisely the reason that induced the Lucchese to put every obstacle in the way of our recovering Pisa; and, moreover, that his Majesty the king had obligated himself to restore Pietrasanta to your hands before ever he made any promise to the Lucchese, and that the first pledge and obligation ought to have precedence. His Eminence assured us that all of his Majesty's obligations would be fulfilled, provided your Lordships would do their duty in recovering Pisa; but if you would not, then the king would hold you responsible.

We asked his Eminence to obtain from the king the authorization and letters to Messer Giovanni Bentivogli, so that he may come to your aid with his men-at-arms and infantry, as requested by your Lordships. He said that he would do it with pleasure, and has ordered the letters asked for to be written; and so soon as we receive them we will forward them to your Lordships, to whom we humbly recommend ourselves.

Servitores

FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MONTARGIS, 11 August, 1500.

LETTER VIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Uncertain whether your Lordships have received the previous letters which I have addressed to you on my own account, I venture once more to write to your Lordships, so as not to be wanting to myself in the straits in which I am. At our departure from Florence, your Lordships assigned to Francesco della Casa eight lire per day, and only four lire to me. I doubt not that your Lordships had good reasons for doing so, but that you did not suppose that things would happen as they have done. Now you must know, Magnificent Signori, that I follow the court at my own expense, and that in every way I am obliged to spend just as much as Francesco. I therefore entreat your Lordships either to accord to me the same salary as Francesco, or that you will recall me, so that I may not impoverish myself, which I am sure cannot be your Lordships' wish. I have already spent forty ducats of my own, and have given orders on my brother Totto for seventy ducats more. Again I recommend myself most earnestly to your Lordships.

Servitor humilissimus

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MONTARGIS, 12 August, 1500.

LETTER IX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

We had not yet sent off the enclosed, which is in part a copy of one of our previous letters, when we received by the courier Bolognino, who had been sent by Nasi to Lyons, your Lordships' last letters of 5th instant, with two enclosures, the one for his Most Christian Majesty, and the other for his Eminence the Cardinal d'Amboise; also copies of your correspondence with Corcou and Beaumont; also the deposition of the witnesses in relation to the Lucchese. After carefully reading and examining them all, we called at once upon the Cardinal, his Majesty the king having left three hours before to hunt some three leagues from here, whence, according to what some persons say, he is going about seven leagues farther to a property belonging to the Grand Admiral, to remain some days for his pleasure, after which he will return here. It is difficult, however, to get at the exact truth, owing to the natural uncertainties of the court.

After presenting ourselves before his Eminence the Cardinal, we handed him the letters from your Lordships, and informed him that you had advised us of your having sent commissioners towards Pescia, to arrange with Corcou and the other captains for the distribution of the quarters to the men-at-arms of his Majesty on Florentine territory; adding, so far as circumstances would permit, such remarks as seemed to us suitable to make this matter more acceptable to him; for we found him closely engaged with Monseigneur d'Alby. We have stated in the enclosed how his Eminence had spoken to us, at our interview with him yesterday, of the answer which Corcou had reported as having been made to him by your Lordships, and how he had complained to him of the want of confidence which we had shown him, as well as of many other things, all which we have reported in the enclosed. We deemed it proper to say in reply to his Eminence, that Corcou had doubtless misinterpreted your Lordships' reply, since you had proposed that the men-at-arms should be quartered in a healthy locality upon Pisan territory, whence they could press the Pisans closely; and where they would be amply supplied with everything, and would in all respects be well cared for by your Lordships; and

that you had always left it to Corcou to decide what course to pursue, he being better acquainted with the king's will than any one else. His Eminence seemed well satisfied with your having sent commissioners for assigning quarters to the men-at-arms; nevertheless, he intimated to us that he expected letters from the captains upon this matter, and that they would undoubtedly go fully into details on this subject. And as to our suggestion respecting Corcou's having misinterpreted the reply, etc., and that consequently he could not make it fairly known here, his Eminence manifested some displeasure, saying that Corcou was a man of honor and sagacity, and greatly beloved by the king on account of his good qualities. We found no difficulty in removing this little irritation by assuring his Eminence that your Lordships had an equally good opinion of Corcou, but that even a man of honor and intelligence might easily misunderstand a matter of that kind. His Eminence admitted this; nevertheless he deferred his final judgment until he should have received the next letters from Corcou and the other captains.

After that, we broached the Lucchese business and the testimony of the witnesses given in presence of the king's officers. We pointed out to his Eminence that this examination had been made with all due solemnity, and that the evidence was of a character that left no doubt as to the perfidy of the Lucchese, and of the aid given by them to the Pisans; so that the king might without hesitation restore Pietrasanta to our hands, even if he had to make more account of the obligation which he had contracted with the Lucchese than of that which he had concluded with your Lordships, — which, however, could not and ought not in reason to be done. And holding this deposition of the witnesses in our hands, we wanted to submit it to his Eminence, who however declined to look at it, and repeated to us the same language he had used the day before, and which we have reported to your Lordships in the enclosed; namely, that Beaumont and all the other captains affirmed the very contrary of what we had stated; and that we, being a party concerned, ought not to be believed; and that, even if the aforementioned captains had in their letters confirmed and justified our statements, the Lucchese ought certainly to be made sensible of the error of their conduct, but that your simple averment was not sufficient.

Thus your Lordships see what foundations you will require if you wish to build up anything good and solid in relation to this affair. It seems to us that in this as in all other matters which we may have to attend to here, for the purpose of satisfying the king or of serving your interests, we shall have to depend entirely upon the reports made by the captains; so that it is of the utmost importance to dispose these officers favorably to your Lordships. The contrary might be very prejudicial to your interests, as the experience with regard to Pietrasanta will prove to your Lordships; for it has not been of the least service for us to meet all the objections to its restoration to us, or to demonstrate that the investigation and examination of witnesses was authentic, and resulted from a public act made in due form. In fact, all that we could say, and all the proofs we could adduce, led to no other conclusion than what we have reported to your Lordships.

We did not deem it well to speak to his Eminence in relation to the pay of the artillery and of the Swiss, nor did he ever say anything to us about it; but the very first time that he mentions these matters, which we believe will be very soon, we shall reply in accordance with your Lordships' latest instructions. Nothing else occurs to us in response to your letters. It is said that his Eminence intends leaving here tomorrow to join the king, and that both will then return here. We shall not lose sight of his Eminence, and shall govern ourselves in our dealings with him according to circumstances, and as events may suggest.

Although it may seem presumptuous for us to speak of matters here, having but so recently come here, yet we shall write to your Lordships all we can learn of any interest, trusting that you will pardon us if our information should in some instances not prove entirely correct. His Majesty's court here is very small compared with that of his predecessor; and of this small number one third are Italians, which is ascribed to the fact that the distribution of favors is not as abundant as the courtiers could desire. The Italians are all dissatisfied, some for one reason, some for another, beginning with Messer Gianjacopo, who seems to think that he is not treated with the consideration due to his reputation. He makes no secret of this to any one, for, happening to meet him the other day in church, and knowing his disposition of old, we entered into

conversation with him; and when we touched upon the Pisan business he expressed himself in terms of great affection towards us, and laid all the blame of that failure upon the French, adding in a formal manner the following words: "In "saying that errors were committed by all parties, the French "attempt to make others share the responsibility of the faults "which were exclusively their own."

We shall say nothing of the other Milanese, for they all seem to think the same as their chief. The Neapolitans here, of whom a good many are banished from their own country, despairing of the renewal of an attempt upon Pisa, are in the highest degree dissatisfied; for, according to common report, both the king and queen are opposed to their projects. True his Majesty the king was quite ready for another expedition, but since the Pisan affair proved a failure, he is not quite so anxious for it; for he had counted that, Pisa once taken, he would be able, with the money obtained from your Lordships, and with the help offered him by the Pope and the Orsini, and above all by the influence of his own reputation, to push his army at once against Naples. But as the Pisan affair had quite a different result from what he anticipated, he is more disposed to listen to terms of accommodation than to engage in a new enterprise; and there are already rumors that Neapolitan ambassadors are already on the way for that purpose.

The Venetian ambassador solicits the king's aid against the Turk, pointing out the danger to which they are exposed, and alleging the loss already of a good many places, and altogether exaggerating the alarm and danger far beyond what it is supposed to be in reality; but up to the present he has not succeeded in obtaining any encouragement.

It is said that the Pope also asks his Majesty's support most urgently in his attempt to take Faenza, with the view of adding that place to Furli and Imola for his son, the Duke Valentino; but the king does not seem disposed to do anything for him, deeming that he has already done enough for his Holiness. Nevertheless, he does not deprive him of all hope, and goes on encouraging the same as he has always done; whilst the Venetians and some other persons of the court do all they can to encourage the Lord of Faenza. There is moreover an emissary of Vitellozzo's here, who spreads reports everywhere of the damage which Vitellozzo will shortly inflict upon your Lord-

ships, whenever the Pope or any other power shall declare war against Florence. This individual is constantly on the look-out for some dissension between his Majesty the king and your Lordships, that will permit him to push on his intrigues; and he intimates that the Pope would really be more disposed to favor Vitellozzo's projects than the attempt upon Faenza, if he could be convinced that the court here would countenance it.

There is nothing else going on here worthy of your Lordships' attention, unless it be the rumor that his Majesty, accompanied by a few persons of the court, will devote himself for a few days to hunting and other pleasures. Nothing more is heard of the Ambassador of the Empire, who was to have had an interview with his Majesty at Troyes; and it is said even that he will not come at all. It is also reported as a positive fact that the Archduke has been made a Prince of Spain,* which gives force to the suspicion that it will not be so easy to come to terms with the Emperor, and that his Majesty the king will think less of an attempt upon Naples.

There is here in the house of the Pope's ambassador, a certain Messer Astorre from Sienna; and so far as we have been able to find out, he is kept there by Pandolfo Petrucci. It is said that he openly expresses the confident hope of arranging the Pisan business, and on better terms even than what could have been done some time ago; adding that Montepulciano and its territory will remain theirs. We shall take the greatest pains to discover this intrigue, and if we find that there is really some truth in it we will make it a point to remind the Cardinal of our treaties, and of the honor of the king.

There is not a single Florentine merchant here, nor any other person of whom we could avail ourselves to procure us either money, of which we stand in great need, or to despatch couriers, or forward our letters. Your Lordships will hold us excused, therefore, if you do not receive communications from us as promptly and as often as you could desire. It is important, so long as we are kept here, that your Lordships should provide for this service in such manner as you may deem best; for even before leaving Lyons we had already spent all the money we had received from your Lordships, so that at present we are living upon our own means, and upon what our friends at Lyons could furnish us. We recommend ourselves to your Lordships' good graces.

* This was the Archduke Philip, nephew of the Emperor Maximilian, and father of Charles of Austria, afterwards the Emperor Charles V.

We had not yet closed this letter, when news came that his Majesty, in running his horse this morning, had a fall, and has injured one of his shoulders. All his equipages have been sent back here, and he himself is expected to-morrow. In our next we will further report upon the consequences of this accident, and again recommend ourselves to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MONTARGIS, 12 August, 1500.

P. S. — Deeming this letter of importance, and having no other means of sending it, we have sent Bolognino back to Lyons, and directed this letter to the care of Nasi, who will forward it to your Lordships, and whom we have instructed to pay Bolognino seven scudi. We beg your Lordships will have this amount reimbursed to him, so that we may have credit with him on future occasions.

Die qua in literis, etc., etc.

LETTER X.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Two days since we wrote at length to your Lordships advising you of the receipt of your letters and instructions of the 5th instant, and rendering an account of all we have done here up to that time. To insure the safe arrival of that despatch we sent it by an express, to whom we promised seven scudi for that service. It does not seem necessary, therefore, to repeat now what we reported in that communication. Up to the present we have not been able to deliver your Lordships' letter to his Majesty the king, who, as we have already informed you, met with an accident whilst running his horse in hunting. The horse fell on him and sprained his Majesty's shoulder, causing him a good deal of pain, so that he has been obliged to remain at a little village some six miles from here, where

we believe he lies still confined to his room and bed. It seems certain, however, that this accident has had no other bad consequences, and that his Majesty intends to return here within a couple of days. Meantime, letters ought to arrive from Corcou and Beaumont respecting the Lucchese affair. We shall endeavor to learn the nature of the report they may have on this matter, and shall do what we may judge for the best in relation thereto.

We recommend ourselves to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MONTARGIS, 14 August, 1500.

LETTER XI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Since our last of the 12th from Montargis, we wrote very briefly on the 14th, but have no letters to acknowledge from your Lordships since the one of the 5th instant. His Majesty the king has been obliged, in consequence of his fall, to remain ever since at some of the small villages along the road here. At first he had to remain quiet in bed, after which he had himself carried in a litter, so that it was only yesterday that he was well enough to return here, although his shoulder is not yet entirely well, but has to be kept bandaged. The whole court is now here, the Maréchal de Gye, the Admiral, and the Grand Chancellor having arrived, together with many other lords. We have presented ourselves several times within the past few days before his Majesty, and have not failed to call at least every other day upon his Eminence the Cardinal d'Amboise, in whatever place he happened to be at the time; although we did not care much to speak to him for some days past, knowing that he was not well pleased because the men-at-arms were not in garrison on Florentine territory. But having been informed by your Lordships' last letters that you had sent commissioners to Pescia to receive those troops, we hope they have succeeded in quartering them on Florentine territory, and that this act of your Lordships has so gratified

the captains of these troops, that they will have sent more favorable reports from there than what they have done hitherto. It was in this hope that at any moment letters might arrive from these captains expressive of their satisfaction, which would placate the king and the Cardinal, that we thought it best for a day or two not to press our own business, feeling convinced that had we done so we should, as usual, have received an unfavorable reply and unsatisfactory conclusions.

In a conversation which we have since had with Robertet, however, we learned that the men-at-arms were this side of Pontremoli, and refused to return to Pisa; and that his Majesty the king was much dissatisfied with your Lordships, and that there was no chance for your friends to say anything in your favor.

We expressed our astonishment at this assertion, after your Lordships' letter of the 5th, and said that the refusal of the troops to return to Pisa could in no way be laid to your charge, and that before pronouncing such a judgment matters ought to be thoroughly understood; but all we could say was of no use, and Robertet persisted in his opinion that the fault lay with your Lordships, and added some very unpleasant expressions as to dissensions existing amongst your Lordships, and intimating that there was a party in Florence who wanted the return of Piero de' Medici, and not Pisa,—words not to be disregarded as coming from the mouth of a secretary of state. We said all we possibly could, and which was not a little, to refute this assertion, but it produced no effect upon him. During this conversation Robertet pointed out to us a Pisan who happened to pass at that moment, and who has been a long while in France, but whom we have never seen since. We do not know by whom he is specially protected, unless it be that he enjoys the favor of all your enemies here, and they are more numerous than your friends. It is quite possible that this individual has returned to Pisa charged with some fresh intrigue. We shall do our best to find out, and will then promptly inform your Lordships.

Since this conversation with Robertet we had an interview with D'Amboise, now six days ago, and found him of the same mind as regards his unwillingness to engage in a fresh war, and as to the pay of the Swiss, and the refusal to receive the men-at-arms. It was of no use for us to attempt to refute

these charges, which we had already done so often; for he came back immediately to the Swiss whom his Majesty the king had been obliged to pay out of his own resources. And thus we parted from his Eminence, without being able to get anything more from him.

As already stated, his Majesty has returned here now with all the court, and by a singular coincidence Corcou arrived here on the same day. So soon as we heard of his arrival, we thought it important to have an interview with him before presenting ourselves again before D'Amboise, so as to learn Corcou's opinions, and judge therefrom in what manner to approach his Eminence again. Accordingly we called upon Corcou and assured him that your Lordships had the most entire confidence in him, and that you hoped that he had made a good report as to your Lordships' favorable disposition and attachment to his Majesty the king; adding all we thought proper to incline him favorably to us.

He replied that he was well affectioned to your Lordships on account of the great honor which you had shown him; but that he could not say anything else to his Majesty than the official answer to him of your Lordships, and what you had communicated to him in writing. He dwelt particularly upon the payment of the Swiss, saying that the king had been greatly displeased at having been obliged to pay them out of his own purse. Having replied to this in the same way in which we had before met this charge, he accused the Swiss of gross brutality, and attributed their dishonesty to their habits; but soon returned to his first complaint, that the king had been obliged to pay them. He then added, that you had never been willing to receive the men-at-arms in garrison on Florentine territory, although these troops had been specially asked for from his Majesty by your Lordships' ambassadors, and complained that he himself had made a useless voyage to Florence on that account. And when we said in reply, that your Lordships had never refused quarters to the king's men-at-arms, but had hesitated only as regards the infantry, in consequence of the experience you had had with them, he said that it could not reasonably be expected that men-at-arms would go into quarters on foreign territory without infantry, and that fifteen hundred infantry ought not to have caused your Lordships any apprehensions; but that the real cause of all

the difficulties was the want of unity in Florence, where one party wanted Pisa, and the other party did not want it.

As this opinion seemed to have been generally disseminated at court, and was calculated to produce very bad effects, we made every possible effort to refute it, and to eradicate it from Corcou's mind by the fullest and most earnest arguments, even to saying to him that such a statement exposed him to have his sound judgment called into question. We almost succeeded in convincing him, or at any rate we thought that we had produced a good effect upon him. But we must not omit to tell your Lordships that in the course of this discussion Corcou said: "What has lost you Pisa is, that you did not "spend some eight or ten thousand ducats amongst all these "lords and captains. In similar affairs, you must keep your "money-bags open; for in that way you spend but once, whilst "otherwise you spend six times."

After leaving Corcou we resolved to speak with the Cardinal d'Amboise, and took occasion to call upon his Eminence, to whom we said that now, since Corcou had arrived, both his Majesty the king and his Eminence must have heard from him how things had happened; as also your Lordships' good disposition towards his Majesty and his men-at-arms, and likewise the bad conduct of the others, and especially that of the Lucchese. His Eminence interrupted our remarks abruptly, and said: "Yes, we have heard everything, and, by my faith, until now "I have always done you all the good I possibly could; but "now, since your conduct is so bad, I really know not what "more to do for you; and his Majesty thinks it very strange "that he should be obliged to pay the Swiss for your Lord-"ships." We replied, that, if his Eminence would listen to our justification, he, as well as his Majesty the king, would find that our republic had always done her duty in all respects; and that the refusal to resume the war against Pisa resulted from the impossibility of doing so, to which the republic found herself reduced, partly because she was overwhelmed and exhausted, and partly from the lack of confidence in the army, which on every occasion had manifested hostility rather than friendship for our republic. We then spoke of the payment of the Swiss, to which the king seemed to attach more importance than to all else, and said that this matter might be adjusted in a reasonable manner, if his Eminence would favor us with his

aid and advice. To which he replied: "Neither that nor any "other means can now arrange your difficulties in a way that "would be satisfactory." We reiterated our entreaties that his Eminence would not withhold his protection from your Lordships without reason; and not by such words to discourage a people who had always been faithful friends of France, and who had suffered, and in such various ways, for that devotion, that they merited commendation and support rather than disfavor and discouragement, which would only benefit those who wished no good to his Eminence, and still less to his Majesty the king of France. For what could the other peoples of Italy hope for from his Majesty when his devoted friends, the Florentines, who had spent and suffered so much on his account, were treated so badly by his Majesty?

We concluded by saying that your Lordships were more willing and better disposed than ever to render any service and pleasure to the crown of France. To all this the Cardinal replied that these were mere words, and that he had no confidence in all our arguments, and was in short extremely dissatisfied with your Lordships; and this was said by him so loud that all the bystanders could hear it; and thereupon he immediately mounted his horse to follow his pleasure.

The reason of our not yet having had an audience of the king, nor presented your Lordships' letter, was the accident which his Majesty had, on account of which he refrained for some days from all business, and remained for his pleasure in some villages in the woods, and in other places, where no lodgings could be had for any one else; and since his return here we thought it might seem inopportune to present your Lordships' letter. His Majesty is constantly and closely surrounded by a few persons, except when he rides out, so that it is difficult to find a convenient moment for approaching him; and all business is devolved upon the Cardinal d'Amboise. We shall, nevertheless, watch the first opportunity of speaking to his Majesty, and will endeavor, in as suitable a manner as the occasion may permit, to impress him most efficiently with your Lordships' devotion and good will towards him, and to efface from his mind whatever unfavorable opinion he may have formed in consequence of the reported dissensions and want of unity amongst the Florentines that have reached his Majesty's ears from various sources; and of the result your Lordships shall be duly informed.

The letter of license for Messer Giovanni Bentivogli has not yet been prepared, nor have we asked for it again; for when this matter was touched upon in our conversation with Robertet, we asked whether his Eminence of Amboise had ordered the letter to be written, he replied, that he had not; and that the Cardinal did not intend to have it done; and that, if we would speak to him ourselves on the subject, we would find that he had changed his mind. We therefore deemed it best to say nothing about it now to D'Amboise, as your Lordships have yet to decide whether you will receive the French men-at-arms in garrison, for his Eminence might have formed an erroneous conjecture as to your Lordships' intentions, and might suppose that you preferred to employ Italian troops instead of French. We shall not renew the request without further instructions.

Nor have we said anything about Pietrasanta; for the answer we received upon that point, and which we have communicated to your Lordships, discouraged us from bringing this matter up again. We are constantly after Corcou, trying to induce him to serve us in this matter, as the investigation that had been ordered to be made on the spot was made in his presence; also to see whether we can, with the assistance of Robertet, who has much influence over him in this as well as in other matters, obtain any advantageous results. We shall do our best to that effect, although the ambassador from Lucca has returned, and has been well received. All this comes from knowing how to acquire *amicos de mammona iniquitatis*, whilst your Lordships believe that you need no other help but justice and reason, etc.

We have had a long conference with the Grand Chancellor, and related to him the entire course of things, and how the whole Pisan affair occurred; we also told him of your Lordships' offer for recovering the honor of the king's troops, and for repairing the damage which you had suffered, and the reasons why you could do no more. His Lordship was very glad to see us, and listened most graciously to all we had to say. But as to the last point he remarked that he could say nothing except that his Majesty would certainly fulfil the promise he had made to furnish us the men-at-arms; but as to restoring Pisa to our possession, that depended altogether upon fortune, and therefore his Majesty could make no promise upon that

point. But he added that, whenever opportunity occurred, he would always favor our cause the same as he had ever done in the past. We begged him to continue the same good will towards our republic, and said that your Lordships regarded him as a real benefactor, etc. We have had an interview with this minister since then, during which he told us that he had not yet had an opportunity to speak with his Majesty in relation to our business; but this did not seem likely, and we believe that he did not wish to make any other answer, having found his Majesty not well disposed towards your Lordships.

We shall endeavor to see his Lordship again, and shall not fail in our duty, sparing no effort, regardless of either fatigue or discomfort; and if we do not accomplish anything, it will be because we cannot or know not how, in which case we hope your Lordships will hold us excused.

Your Lordships' letters recommending Bartolommeo Ginori* have been received by us and presented to his Majesty, who had already made him come to court and ordered the marshals to hear his complaints, and to have justice done him. Yesterday Bartolommeo appeared before them, and they took him from the hands of Talaru and placed him in those of the king. We shall do what we can for him, and shall employ what credit we may yet have here in his behalf, and believe that we may hope for a good result.

Nothing more is said about the treaty between his Majesty and Pandolfo Petrucci. We believe the reason of this is that it is no longer desired.

Two days ago an ambassador from the Swiss arrived here in relation to the matter of Bellinzona. He had a long audience, but the result is not yet known.

It is also said that his Majesty the king has concluded a truce with the Emperor, to last until next March; and although some personage of importance speaks of it as really true, yet we hear on the other hand that it is doubted by many; thus we can neither affirm nor deny it.

We recommend ourselves to the good graces of your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MELUN, 26 August, 1500.

* This Ginori had been taken prisoner and plundered by the Count de Ligny in Savoy, whilst going from Naples to France on commercial business.

LETTER XII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

From our preceding letters your Lordships will have seen the condition of our affairs here; and our latest despatch will have informed you that his Majesty is not at all satisfied with your Lordships, particularly upon two points to which he attaches most importance. The first is your having refused to resume the war against Pisa, and the second, your not having paid the Swiss. To these may be added a third, which to some extent is also deemed important, and that is your refusal to receive French troops in garrison. Whenever either of these subjects is discussed, it gives rise to complaints in such manner and terms as we have already made known to your Lordships. And although all these matters could easily be explained, as your Lordships have endeavored to do at Florence with Corcou, and as we in compliance with your orders have striven to do here, yet we are never listened to when opportunity occurs for us to speak on these subjects; nor do we see any chance for bettering this state of things, unless something quite unforeseen should occur. For as to the first point, we do not believe that his Majesty will ever assume the entire burden of a fresh war; the reason for our thinking so is, first, the king's indisposition to send money; and secondly, his whole conduct hitherto with regard to the affairs of Italy, being ever anxious to draw all he can from this country, but never willing to spend anything there, seeming to attach more importance to immediate profit than to ultimate results. This causes his Majesty to attach little importance to what your Lordships offer him after he shall have taken Pisa; so that when his Majesty was spoken to on that point he treated it as a jest. And there is the more reason to believe that he will not do it, as (you may venture nineteen sous to a lira) peace will either be made with Naples, or the new enterprise will be deferred for a long time to come, which would cause his Majesty to think no more of the fifty thousand florins, etc., etc. And there are several grounds for looking upon such a peace as probable; first, the will of the queen, who is said to be most favorably inclined to it, and, according to report, spares no pains to bring it about; and it is also said that the majority of the council is of the same mind,

deeming the conquest difficult, and the maintaining it still more so, referring to the experience of the past, as well as to other reasons which your Lordships will readily find out. It is, moreover, supposed that such an attempt might arouse the Turk, who certainly would oppose it most determinately; and that the apprehension of the loss of Naples would induce the Emperor and the Empire to take measures such as even the conquest of Milan did not cause them to take. For King Frederick constantly keeps ambassadors near his Majesty, who fears the war and earnestly desires peace. These imperial ambassadors have not yet come to Troyes, and when they do come, it is understood that their demands will be so great that they will not be acceded to.

Your Lordships will have heard that the king of Spain has raised troops for the purpose of supporting King Frederick, and that he has created the Archduke a Prince, all of which facts indicate the same purpose. And then comes his Majesty's aversion to spending money, and his extreme prudence, which makes him move very slowly in all doubtful matters. Moreover, his Majesty has seen lately, in the case of Pisa, that where force is necessary neither chalk* nor reputation will suffice; and that, if he found the enterprise in itself difficult, the help of the Turk or of others would render it next to impossible, and would expose him to the risk of being obliged to withdraw in a manner that would be anything but honorable for him, and expose him to the loss of all his possessions in Italy; being unable to support such heavy expenses for so long a time, or to be disastrously defeated.

But even if all this were not true, or had not been properly understood, or still worse explained, which is quite possible, yet this much is true beyond all question, — that the secretary of Naples is here and labors incessantly to bring about a peace. And if once they listen to any one here who promises and gives, it is difficult not to believe that they will take what is offered. Thus to return to our own matter. Even if such a peace be one of the things that will be, or if the enterprise against Pisa is to be deferred for a long time to come, which we leave to your

* Alluding to the expression applied to the descent of Charles VIII. into Italy, that he conquered it with a *piece of chalk*; that is, sending his quartermaster ahead, who merely marked with a piece of chalk the houses where the French troops were to be quartered.

Lordships' wisdom to decide, the fifty thousand florins are not likely to influence the king to engage in that enterprise for his own account. If, therefore, your Lordships' views on this point are not changed, his Majesty of France cannot remain satisfied; and we are rather apprehensive, from some remarks made by the Cardinal d'Amboise and by Robertet, lest his Majesty, for the purpose of repairing the honor of his arms, attempt some measure adverse to your interests and necessities.

As to the payment of the Swiss, which seems to be the thing that irritates his Majesty the most, and the refusal to receive the French troops in garrison, we have made such answer as we have stated in the enclosed, and which has been accepted, as the enclosed will also inform your Lordships. According to our judgment your Lordships ought to satisfy the demands of the Swiss, or you will have to think how you will defend yourselves against the anger which his Majesty will feel against you; and which, in our opinion, will increase of itself, and from being fomented and kept alive by your enemies. Nor must your Lordships imagine that well-digested letters or arguments will be of service in the matter, for they are not even listened to. It is idle to recall to the French here the good faith with which our republic has always acted towards the crown of France, or the services rendered to some of her former sovereigns, or the large sums of money which we have spent and the dangers we have borne on their account, and how many times we have in return been fed by them with vain hopes; or to point to more recent occurrences, and to the ruinous damage which our republic suffered in consequence; or what his Majesty might still count upon from you if you were strong, and what security your power and greatness would give to his Majesty's possessions in Italy, and how it would insure the good faith of the other Italian states. But it is all useless, for they hold a very different language about all these things from what you do, and view them with another eye altogether from that of persons who are not of this court; for they are blinded by their power and their immediate advantage, and have consideration only for those who are either well armed, or who are prepared to pay. It is this that does your Lordships so much harm, for they imagine you lacking both these qualifications. As regards the first point of being well armed, they see that ordinarily you are without troops. And as to the second, namely, the question of their own

advantage, they have given up all hope, for they believe that you consider yourselves as having been badly served by them, and that you have lost all confidence in them in consequence of their conduct in the late affair of Pisa. They call you *Ser Nihilo* (Signor Nothing), and baptize your inability discord amongst yourselves; and the ill conduct of their troops they ascribe to your bad government. And this opinion is gaining ground, according to our judgment, in consequence of the departure of your ambassadors from here, and the fact that nothing is heard of the coming of new ones, which they charge to our want of union, or to a wish on our part to alienate ourselves from them entirely. We therefore beg your Lordships, with all due respect, to give attention to this, and to think of remedying it seasonably; for our mission here is evidently not agreeable to them, and our rank and quality insufficient to save a sinking cause. But if your Lordships really desire to maintain your relations with this court, then we deem it absolutely indispensable for you to send fresh ambassadors here. At the same time, we beg you to understand distinctly that they will be of little use, unless they come with instructions to pay the Swiss, and with means enough to make friends; for there is no one here that does not understand his own interests, or who has not managed to secure for himself some patron to whom he can resort when occasion requires. In truth, your Lordships are the only ones who have deprived yourselves of such support; and even the king's friendship for you, as well as that of the Cardinal, needs to be sustained if you desire to preserve it; for it has been shaken in various ways by your many enemies, as well as by the ill fortune of our republic. But under any circumstances, and however they may come, we hold the sending of ambassadors here as indispensable, if you desire to advance your cause here in any way.

Meantime we beg your Lordships to be pleased to instruct us as to the course which we shall pursue, and what attitude we shall assume in relation to that point which seems to us so important and delicate, and which demands a prompt remedy. *Valete!*

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MELUN, 27 August, 1500.

LETTER XIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

When your predecessors first decided upon sending us here, in the belief that we should find his Majesty the king at Lyons, and your ambassadors near him, they provided us with just sufficient means to execute our commission, and return to Florence in a few days; and it was more particularly to me, Francesco, that the Signori said that we were not to remain here. The very opposite, however, has happened. In the first instance, we found that the king had already left Lyons; and then, being denuded of everything, we were obliged to incur the expense of supplying ourselves in two days with such horses as we could find, to provide ourselves with clothing, and to hire servants. And, without the advantage of travelling in the company of ambassadors, we had to follow the court, and continue to follow it still at an expense of one half more than we should have needed to incur if the court had been at Lyons. It would have been a great relief to us if we had been in the company of ambassadors; for as it is, we are obliged to keep two more servants. We do not live in hostelries, but in private houses, where we have to supply all the provisions and other necessaries, and have the cooking done ourselves. And besides, there are always other extraordinary expenses, such as quartermasters, porters, and couriers, etc., etc., which altogether make up a sum which in our position is very heavy for us. Being thus under the necessity of applying to your Lordships for assistance, we have deemed it proper to inform you of the particulars of our situation; and therefore beg your Lordships most respectfully and confidently to take into consideration, first, that with the salary allowed us of eight lire per day for each, it is impossible for us to supply our wants without adding a portion of our own means. Your Lordships will also bear in mind that at our departure from Florence each of us received only eighty lire, of which we each spent thirty lire for our voyage to Lyons, and having there to provide ourselves with horses, clothing, and other necessaries, we were obliged to borrow money from our friends to enable us to resume our route, and after having spent that, we have been forced to recur to Paris for further loans from others. And if these

should fail us before your Lordships order funds to be sent to us, we shall suddenly find ourselves without money and without credit, and your Lordships may judge of the situation in which we should then find ourselves placed.

We therefore entreat your Lordships, most humbly, to send without delay sufficient means for our necessities during the time that your Lordships may determine that either one or both of us shall remain here in your service. Your Lordships will bear in mind that we have neither the means nor the credit of our own that would permit us, like so many other ambassadors, to maintain ourselves here for months, or even weeks, without receiving the means of subsistence from your Lordships, to whom we recommend ourselves.

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MELUN, 29 August, 1500.

LETTER XIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

To-day is the 2d of September, and we have not yet despatched the enclosed, being unwilling to send them at a venture, and yet unable to despatch them by a special messenger, such is the penury to which our ordinary mode of living has reduced us; and unless your Lordships promptly supply us with means, we shall be compelled to leave here. Our necessary expenses are one scudi and a half per day for each; we have already laid out for clothing, and in establishing ourselves here, more than one hundred scudi each, and are now actually without a single penny, and have in vain attempted to use our credit, public and private. So that your Lordships must excuse us if, in the event of our not receiving funds, we find ourselves obliged to return to Florence; for we prefer being at the discretion of fortune in Italy rather than in France.

Since our writing the enclosed, we hear from all sides, O Magnificent Signori, that his Majesty is greatly dissatisfied with us. The principal reason of this is, that his arms remain

dishonored in Italy on your account, and because he finds, according to the answer given by your Lordships to Corcou, that he will not be able to repair this dishonor at your expense; and moreover he has had to pay thirty thousand francs to the Swiss, and for artillery and other things, out of his private purse; whilst according to the terms of the agreement and the convention concluded at Milan between the Cardinal d'Amboise and Pietro Soderini, all these items should have been paid by your Lordships. His Majesty's irritation on that account has increased to that degree, that it has encouraged a number of your enemies to propose various measures to his Majesty that would be adverse to your interests and necessities. These propositions have all found favor with the king, so that a few days since it was discussed in council, whether it might not be well to accept the proposition made by the Pisans to surrender, on condition that they should not be subjected to the rule of your Lordships. If this negotiation has not been actually concluded, supported as it is by all the Italians here, it is owing rather to a regard for your Lordships' rights, which has caused it to remain in suspense, than to the interposition of any friend who may have remained true to you here. For amongst the entire court, since his Majesty's dissatisfaction with you has become manifest, you have scarcely a single friend left, but everybody seeks to injure your cause to the extent of his power to do so.

Although we were of our own knowledge cognizant of this unfriendly disposition, from the several conferences which we have had with the Cardinal d'Amboise, as mentioned in our several despatches to your Lordships, yet we have become still more sensible of it from the reports that reach us from all sides; so that if your Lordships do not take measures to correct it, you will find yourselves very soon in such a position with regard to the king, that you will have to think more of protecting and defending your possessions, and even your personal liberty, than of recovering the territory you have lost.

This state of things has been made known to us, amongst others, by Robertet, who is the only person that has remained our friend; but we shall lose him too very soon, unless we sustain his friendship with something more substantial than words. The same with some other gentlemen; and even Messer Gianjacopo Trivulzio called us aside one morning whilst

at court, and said: "I am sorry to see your republic in such "imminent danger, for if you do not promptly apply some "remedy, you will be obliged to think how to defend your- "selves against the anger of the people here; for it is their "nature to take very sudden resolves, and they never for- "give those whom they have once offended, but will continue "rather in their hostility; so look to your interests, and that "promptly." And he said this with much earnestness, so that from all we have seen and heard we cannot doubt but what he spoke from the heart.

We have been cautioned in the same way by others, on whom we can rely, but who were afraid to speak to us in public, fearing lest they should be remarked as being your friends. These have told us, amongst other things, that it had been reported to his Majesty the king that your Lordships had sent ambassadors to the Emperor and to the king of Naples, with offers of money, for the purpose of stirring them up against his Majesty of France; and that his Eminence the Cardinal d'Amboise had several times said that you had broken your word; and that you would yet be forced, to your shame and damage, to repay his Majesty the amount which he had paid to the Swiss.

All these things seemed to us of great moment, and, unless promptly remedied, as calculated to embroil you with his Majesty beyond the chance of reconciliation. We made great efforts, therefore, to have an audience of the Cardinal d'Amboise, where we should be listened to quietly, and with that attention which the case really deserves. Although we have failed thus far to obtain such an audience as we desired, yet we took occasion to meet and converse with his Eminence; and began by complaining of the malice of your Lordships' enemies, who were not ashamed to defame you to his Majesty beyond all reason, by telling him that you had sent ambassadors to the Emperor and King Frederick with offers of money for the purpose of turning them against him, a proceeding so incredible that we could not believe that either his Majesty or his Eminence would attach the least credence to it; for the long-continued fidelity of your Lordships to his Majesty, as well as the experience which he had had so lately of your good faith, did not deserve that such a calumny should have been believed; but as such a report had reached our ears, we desired to speak to

his Majesty on the subject, more for the purpose of performing our duty than because we believed that you needed such a justification. After that we added, that from the several conversations which we had had with his Eminence, and from what we had heard from various quarters, it appeared that his Majesty the king was dissatisfied with your Lordships, and was engaged in negotiations that did not comport with our friendship and the loyalty which we had always manifested towards the crown of France; that no notice whatever had been given us of these proceedings, at which we were astonished, for we believed that his Majesty ought to have complained in an amicable way of any supposed short-comings on the part of your Lordships, and that he would have spoken his mind openly and freely about it, and would have listened to your Lordships' explanations; and that if there had really been any remissness of duty on your part, that in such case his Majesty would take every occasion to assert his rights against your Lordships. And therefore we entreated his Eminence to be pleased to tell us what was really going on, and to enlighten us upon those points upon which we had to report to your Lordships.

His Eminence made no answer whatever to the first part of our remarks, as to your having sent ambassadors to the Emperor, etc., but complained at great length that he had been much pained by your Lordships' conduct, which had deprived him of all means of helping you; for that you had neither been willing to resume the war, nor to receive the French troops in garrison, nor to pay the Swiss; so that his Majesty's interests as well as his honor had suffered damage in consequence. When we attempted to reply to this, his Eminence added: "We have "already heard and know what you would say; we have also "seen the answer you have made to Corcou." And when we urged his Eminence to inform us as to what we ought to write to your Lordships, etc., he said: "Speak to Corcou about it; he "happens luckily to be here, and will tell you what is necessary "for you to know."

We therefore went to see Corcou, and he concluded that you must either pay back to his Majesty the thirty-eight thousand francs which he has disbursed on your account, or have him for your enemy forever. And although we said all we could, — that this was unreasonable, and that it would be useless to write this to your Lordships, — yet he remained firm in his

decision. And seeing thus how much importance they attach to this matter, we said that we would write to your Lordships on the subject; and Corcou promised to try and induce the Cardinal d'Amboise to await your Lordships' reply; and thus we left him.

You see thus, O Magnificent Signori, in what condition our affairs are here; and in our judgment it will really depend upon your answer, whether we shall have the king's friendship or enmity. Do not imagine that reasons and arguments will be of any avail with him, for they would not be listened to, as we have already explained in the accompanying letters. And so important has it seemed to us to preserve his Majesty's friendship, that if I, Francesco, had not felt so seriously indisposed that I believed I should be obliged to leave the court for the purpose of taking care of my health, one of us two would have come by the diligence to Florence, to tell you by word of mouth, and so to say to make you touch with your fingers, what we cannot make so plain to you by writing.

We must not omit, however, to tell you, that we learn from a good source that there are intrigues on foot to induce his Majesty to take Pisa for himself after having first caused all its territory to be restored; and to form a state out of it by adding Pietrasanta, Livorno, and Piombino, and in course of time also Lucca, and to establish a governor of his own there; which they think can easily be done and maintained, as a portion of the constituent parts are well disposed for such an arrangement, being contiguous to the state of Milan. They see another advantage in the fact that the Pisans have offered an immediate payment of one hundred thousand francs, contributed by your enemies, and afterwards a regular yearly revenue. This project is furthermore regarded as a step towards the taking of the kingdom of Naples, whenever that attempt shall be made. We believe that this project has its origin with and is being urged by your many enemies, and that it may easily be accomplished because of the king's dissatisfaction with your Lordships, and because of the immediate advantage which he would derive from it. And moreover, amidst the general hatred of your Lordships, it is supposed that his Majesty can only gain in doing what would be a great injury to you.

In accordance with your Lordships' wishes, we have written without reserve, and very fully, about matters here, as we see

and understand them; and if we have expressed ourselves too boldly upon any one point, it was because we preferred rather to harm ourselves by thus erring, than not to write, and thereby risk of failing in our duty to our republic. And we have ventured to do so because of our confidence in the wisdom of your Lordships, who, after careful examination of our communications, can form a more correct judgment upon the points in question, and can thus come to a wiser decision.

We beg most respectfully to remind your Lordships of the importance of promptly sending ambassadors here, so that your next despatches may inform us of their coming, and that they may be in time to achieve some good results; for we ourselves can do no more in the business here than what we have done, and have, indeed, played our last stake. Nor would we like to find ourselves present here at the breaking up of a friendship which we have so earnestly solicited, and nursed at such expense, and maintained with so much hopefulness. And until we receive orders from your Lordships that will permit our presenting ourselves at court, we shall avoid all conversation with them upon other points; for having really nothing to tell them, they might think that we are merely mocking them. We shall simply show ourselves, so that they may know that we are here, and that they may call us if there should be occasion for it.

His Eminence, D'Amboise, leaves to-morrow for Rouen, and will remain there some ten or twelve days. It would be well if on his return we could present to him your Lordships' answer, which we beg you will send to us; and that we may then also be able to say to him that your ambassadors are on the way here, which is so essential.

Messer Giulio Scurcigliato, a Neapolitan, has had a long conversation with his Eminence, the Cardinal, in relation to your Lordships' affairs, of which we shall say nothing more, as he will write you himself very fully at Florence. Since then we have heard that the truce between the king and the Emperor has been publicly proclaimed at Milan.

We commend ourselves to your Lordships.

Servitores

FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MELUN, 3 September, 1500.

P. S. — Whilst in the act of sealing this letter, Ugolino came to us to say that a friend of his, who had agreed to co-operate with him in the expediting of our despatches, had changed his mind, so that we were obliged to promise him twenty-five sun scudi. We must therefore beg your Lordships promptly to pay that amount to Giovanni di Niccolo Martelli, so that we may be able to command his services on future occasions, and not be obliged to pay him out of our own means. He has promised to have this despatch delivered within seven days.

LETTER XV.

Magnificent Signori: —

It is now evening, and we have not yet been able to come to any agreement with the party who had proposed to unite in despatching this courier, nor do we know whether we shall succeed in coming to terms with him, nor the hour at which the courier is likely to start to-morrow.

We cannot think of anything more to say to your Lordships, unless it be to urge once more the sending of the ambassadors, and to decide about paying the thirty-eight thousand francs. For, on returning from accompanying the Cardinal, who started to-day after dinner for Rouen, we met Robertet, and questioned him with regard to our affairs. To which he replied: "They "have improved somewhat since our last conversation; but do "not fail to write to your Signoria that they must not think of "doing otherwise than paying the money which his Majesty has "paid for your account. Say to them also, that, whatever they "may decide upon, the most important thing is to send ambas- "sadors here, or at least one, who, however, should be the first "and most reputed citizen of Florence; and that his having "started should be made immediately known here, so that it "may in a measure remove the ill feeling and the umbrage "given by the abrupt departure from here of the former am- "bassadors. Write most strenuously upon this point, for it is "of the utmost importance."

We replied that the ambassadors would be sent, and made excuses for the departure of the former ones; and told him that we would write to you about it, as also about the money,

although we hardly knew what to write you upon this latter point, owing to the events that had occurred since. And as we wanted to touch upon the Pietrasanta affair, Robertet said, "All can yet be arranged, if you will only hasten the coming "of the ambassadors." We have deemed it proper to communicate all this fully to your Lordships, so that you may be able to decide the better as to the course to be adopted.

It is now three o'clock in the night, and with the help of God we have arranged to despatch this courier by our paying half the cost. Thus, your Lordships will pay to Giovanni Martelli thirty-five scudi, that being the amount which Ugolino Martelli has advanced to us. What we have written in the enclosed upon this point is hereby cancelled. Thus, your Lordships will have to pay only thirty-five scudi, which we trust you will be pleased to do, so that the favor conferred upon us here may not be paid with ingratitude; and so that we may not have to remain debtors to Ugolino, to whom we have pledged ourselves personally.

And thus we recommend ourselves to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Melun, at the 3d hour of night, and
3d day of September, 1500.

The present courier will leave early to-morrow, and promises to be in Florence within seven days.

Servitores
Francesco della Casa,
Niccolo Machiavelli.

LETTER XVI.

Magnificent Signori: —

On the 5th of the present month we received two letters from your Lordships, the one of the 14th ultimo, and the other of the 30th, together with a copy of a letter from Beaumont to your Lordships. From these we learn your wishes, and the steps you want us to take with regard to the affair of the Marquis of Massa, and the restitution of Pietrasanta.

We believe, Magnificent Signori, that, before the arrival of

your letters here, your Lordships will have received our despatches of the 26th and 27th ultimo, and of the 3d of the present month, which were sent to you by a special courier through the agency of Martelli, under cover to Ser Antonio della Valle, and at the cost of thirty-five scudi. We do not deem it worth while to send a copy of it, but merely, by way of precaution, will briefly repeat the substance of it; which was to the effect that his Majesty of France was much irritated against your Lordships because of your inability to resume the war against Pisa, and that thus he was prevented from retrieving the honor of his arms at your expense; and then that he had been obliged to spend his own money to pay the Swiss, and the artillery, and the Gascons, all of which should have been paid by you. This is the sum and substance of all that has to be settled here; and unless these points are satisfactorily arranged, it will be impossible to attempt any new negotiations, or, even if begun, to conclude them satisfactorily.

We desire to point out to your Lordships, that to the above two causes of discontent on the part of his Majesty a third must be added, which is no less important than the others; and this is the suspicion which his Majesty has conceived that you are not willing to take any other course. This doubt has been excited in his Majesty's mind by the unfortunate issue of the attempt upon Pisa, and makes him think that you may consider yourselves as having been badly served in that affair; and that it was in consequence of this that your ambassadors left, so to say, *ex abrupto*, and that nothing is heard of the coming of any new ones. These things have been suggested by your enemies here, and so plausibly that more importance has been attached to them than what their nature would otherwise merit. And more than all others have the Italians been active in this; for they may be said to labor without restraint to put your Lordships in disgrace with his Majesty, and to compass your ruin. The story of your having sent ambassadors to the Emperor of Germany had its origin in the sanctuary of Monseigneur d'Arles, the Pope's ambassador. In fact, they have stretched the cord so tight that, if we had not labored with the Cardinal d'Amboise as we have done, and of which we have sent full report to your Lordships, his Majesty would most probably have decided ere this upon some measures detrimental to your interests, which it would have been difficult, if not

impossible, to avert or counteract. And yet matters remain in suspense for the present, for no reason but to ascertain your intentions, which, according to our judgment, should have for their first object the determination to pay the sum which the king claims to have expended for your account; and next to send ambassadors here whose departure from Florence should be immediately notified to this court. And the sooner they start actually to come here, the sooner shall we be able to begin negotiations touching your Lordships' interests. Meantime we can give you the assurance that everything will remain quiet until the arrival of such ambassadors.

So soon, therefore, as we received your Lordships' letters of the 14th and 30th of last month, we presented ourselves at court, not in the expectation of effecting anything in the Pietrasanta matter, or in that of the Marquis of Massa,* but for the purpose of acquainting his Majesty with what you had written us from Librafatta, so that he might know it first from us, rather than from any one else, for we had been told that the Lucca ambassador had received a courier at the same time with us. And by way of disposing his Majesty more favorably towards us, and inducing him to give us a more favorable hearing, we thought it well in our address to mention the coming of ambassadors from your Lordships. And although you merely inform us in your letter of the 14th of the election of Luca degli Albizzi, and make no further reference to it in yours of the 30th, yet this seemed to us so important a matter that, seeing no better way of gaining time, we assumed the authority of stating to his Majesty that we had letters from your Lordships, informing us of the selection of the ambassadors, and of their

* This Marquis was the Signor Alberico Malaspina, Marquis of Massa, who, in virtue of the conventions or agreements concluded at Milan on the 12th of October, 1499, was on the following 17th of February proclaimed amongst the allies and confederates of the republic of Florence, together with Jacopo IV. d'Appiani, Lord of Piombino, and Morello Malaspina, Marquis of Treschietto.

The French on their passage through Lunigiana, when on the way to the siege of Pisa, had spoliated him of part of his possessions, in disregard of the above-named conventions. Buonaccorsi speaks of this fact in his Diary, on page 31, in the following terms: "Giovanni Battista Ridolfi and Luca di Antonio degli "Albizzi were sent to encounter these troops, who had halted at Massa in the "Lunigiana territory, and had already spoliated this poor Marquis, who was an "ally and confederate of the republic, of two of his properties, at the instigation "of his brother, the Marquis Gabriello, who was his enemy, and to whom these es-"tates had been given. This proceeding caused the worst apprehensions, seeing "that even on their very first arrival the French began to offend their friends."

early departure, and that we had every reason to believe that they would certainly be on the way hither by the middle of the present month. After that we told his Majesty of the loss of Librafatta; and to save our credit as much as possible, we said that, although your Lordships had been deprived of your men-at-arms from having relied with too much confidence upon his Majesty's troops, and that since their withdrawal you had not had the time to reorganize your forces, yet the Pisans never could have taken Librafatta without the treachery of the castellan in charge of it, and the aid and support of the Lucchese, who in that affair, as in all other instances, had manifested their bad disposition and evil-mindedness towards us, caring little at the same time whether they offended his Majesty or not, as was seen but a short time ago, when his Majesty's army was before the walls of Pisa; that his Majesty could by a single blow make them sensible of the mistake they have made, and at the same time relieve our republic from the wretched situation in which it is placed by the restitution of Pietrasanta. And here we pointed out to his Majesty the good that would result from it, in such terms as the time and the nature of the audience admitted; recommending to him at the same time our republic, and assuring him of your constant good faith, and of the malignity of those who were not ashamed boldly to accuse your Lordships of having sent ambassadors to the Emperor of Germany; but as this would have been altogether a most unreasonable act, we did not deem it worth while to say anything more in excuse of your Lordships.

His Majesty graciously replied, that if your ambassadors were ready to start he would receive them with pleasure, for he should then know that your Lordships felt the same towards him now as you had always done in the past, and as you had said you desired to do in the future. But that he should still be more convinced on the subject when he should see that he was not to suffer any loss, by having to pay what, according to the stipulations of the convention, should be paid by you. In speaking of this blessed money which he has paid to the Swiss and others for your account, after the raising of the siege of Pisa, his Majesty made use of expressions that should be seriously weighed, coming as they do from the mouth of so powerful a person; for he said, "If your Lordships were "to refuse to pay this money, I should consider that they are

"no friends of mine, and should protect myself by all the "means at my command." When we wanted to reply to his Majesty, and relate to him the dishonesty and bad conduct of the Swiss, he replied, "that he was himself very ill satisfied "with them; that he had been subjected by them to paying "tribute; that he had been obliged to have patience with "them, and that your Lordships ought now to do the same." Coming back, however, always to the money which he had disbursed, he said "that he could not have done otherwise "without disturbing and spoiling the negotiations now being "carried on in Germany, which he had much at heart and "desired to settle, so that it was really necessary that your "Lordships should satisfy him upon that point." We replied that those ambassadors would soon be here, and we believed that your Lordships would, in accordance with your invariable practice, always do what was right and reasonable; and that we hoped his Majesty would be pleased to await their coming, so as to be able to judge fairly of their disposition. To this his Majesty replied, that he was well satisfied, and that we might now dismiss the Pietrasanta affair, as well as the other matters that remained to be settled; and thereupon we took our leave. We did not think it advisable to bring up the affair of the Marquis of Massa, for the reason that nothing relating to your Lordships' interests or to those of your adherents, would be listened to here, until the departure of the ambassadors is positively known here, owing to the doubts entertained of your real intentions. Moreover, as the Cardinal d'Amboise is not here, nothing would be concluded without him, even if all else were favorable for us. Therefore it seemed to us prudent to defer a discussion of that subject until a more suitable time, when it could be done with greater advantage and less risk for your Lordships.

Since then we have had a long conference with Monseigneur d'Alby, of the same tenor as that with his Majesty the king. His Lordship professed quite an affectionate regard for our republic, and a readiness to do anything that might be to our advantage, but said that, if your Lordships wished that he and your other friends should be able to do so, then you must make up your minds to refund the king the money which he has paid out for your account, and arrange so that something positive should be heard as to the coming of the ambassadors.

And then he enlarged upon the subject, showing how much umbrage it had given to his Majesty that your former ambassadors had left at the very time when ambassadors should have been sent, if none had been here; and that the king had on several occasions said, "The Florentines are drawing off "from me, and I am sorry for them." We replied to his remarks about the money the same as we had replied to his Majesty, and excused the going away of the ambassadors; saying at the same time that he would see that your Lordships would send others, and men of such high character that his Majesty would be convinced that your Lordships desired to be regarded as good children to him, the same as they had ever been. He evinced great pleasure at hearing this, and thus we left him, unable to obtain any other answer from him in relation to the Pietrasanta affair than what we had already obtained from the king; unless it be that a person familiar with all the secrets had intimated to him that, by agreeing to refund to his Majesty the money which he had paid out, we might possibly obtain Pietrasanta; and he gave us to understand that it was almost as good as done, provided there was no delay in the coming of the ambassadors.

This is all we have been able to do in the matter; nor will it be in our power to do more, for the reasons explained in our former despatch, and repeated in this. We ask the indulgence of the Almighty and of your Lordships on that account; for to remove the impression that has been created here by our disunion, by our alienation from France, and by our weakness, requires new remedies, and greater authority than we possess. We shall continue, as we have done heretofore, to do our best to prevent the conclusion of any treaty with the Lucchese, or any one else, before the arrival of your ambassadors; but it is essential that we should hear within ten or fifteen days that they have actually started, and that we should be able to show a letter to that effect to his Majesty the king; for when the Cardinal d'Amboise returns, who ought to be here within that time, and does not find that your ambassadors are really on the way hither, it may easily happen that they will not be able to accomplish any good when they do arrive. We beg your Lordships in your wisdom to think of this, and to do what will be of greatest advantage to our republic; also to excuse our presumption on account of our devotion, which makes

us speak as we have done. We learn, moreover, to-day that Monsignore di Ligni is coming here in the course of a few days. Some say that he will be accompanied by Piero de' Medici; so that if this enemy joins the others, who are already quite powerful enough, and if your Lordships do not take care to prevent his Majesty from giving ear to them, the danger to our republic will be increased twofold.

We know nothing of what Monseigneur de Beaumont has had to communicate to your Lordships by his envoy to you, Salient, and therefore can say nothing on the subject; but should anything come to light in relation to it, we will at once inform your Lordships.

The affairs of Italy are more discussed here than those of any other country, and yet we have nothing new to write, for we do not deem it necessary to make your Lordships read again what you know already. In truth, nothing new has occurred here, unless it be the report that ambassadors from the Emperor of Germany are now on the way here; but they are said to be men of little importance, and are not the same that were at first nominated, and to meet whom the king had left Lyons to go to Troyes.

The ambassadors of the king of Naples, however, are said to be coming, notwithstanding that they have been several times ordered to return home, and are in doubt whether to come or return; although at present their coming seems to be the most likely. We shall know by to-morrow what the result will be. *Bene valete!*

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACCHIAVELLI.

MELUN, 8 September, 1500.

LETTER XVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

Our last of the 8th instant was a reply to two of your Lordships' communications of the 14th and 30th ultimo; and although we suppose that our despatch has reached your hands safely, yet we deem it well to send a duplicate. Nothing spe-

cial has occurred since, nor have we anything else to write beyond what we have already said to your Lordships; namely, that if you wish to preserve the friendship of his Majesty of France, you must make up your minds to reimburse him the amounts which he claims to have paid out for your account to the Swiss and the other troops employed in the siege of Pisa. And this comes to our ears from so many quarters that in our judgment there is really no other remedy; for in matters of this kind his Majesty would demand the same satisfaction, if the amount were only one hundred francs, as he does for the thirty-eight thousand francs which he claims. And so long as his Majesty has such a subject of complaint against your Lordships, it will be useless to argue, or to think of obtaining the least thing in your favor. After this it is of the utmost importance that the ambassadors should come here to remove the opinion entertained here, and which has been suggested to the court here, as to your Lordships' alienation from the king and the want of union amongst yourselves, to which two causes the departure of the former ambassadors and the non-arrival of the new ones are attributed. Every day fresh rumors are set afloat here; at one moment it is that you have sent ambassadors to the Turk, at another it is to the Emperor of Germany. We do our best to contradict these reports everywhere, but shall not be able to do so any more, if the departure of your ambassadors to his Majesty is delayed any longer. We desire to do our duty in calling your Lordships' attention to this, and to repeat doing so very often, so that in any event we may never be charged with having neglected our mission in this particular. And we tell your Lordships frankly that our labors here can be of no further advantage, for which we have given you the most conclusive reasons.

At another interview which we have had with Monseigneur d'Alby, for the purpose of contradicting the report that your Lordships had sent ambassadors to the Emperor, etc., he declined to speak on any other subject except the money which his Majesty had paid out for your account, and to inquire of us whether the ambassadors had yet left Florence to come here. We desire, moreover, not to fail to remind you, with all due respect for your Lordships, of the importance of making some one here your friend, who from other motives than mere natural affection will watch your Lordships' interests

here, and will occupy himself in your behalf, and of whose services those who may be here as your agents may avail themselves for your advantage. We will not discuss here any further why and how necessary this is. You have in Florence many distinguished and wise citizens, who have been here as ambassadors, and who can give you better reasons than we can for such a measure. But we will only say upon this point, that it is with just such weapons that the Pisans defend themselves, and that the Lucchese attack you; and that the Venetians and King Frederick, as well as all others who have any business to transact at this court, help themselves; and whoever does not do the same may be said to think of gaining a lawsuit without paying an attorney.

Corcou has returned here; we leave it to your Lordships to judge of his reason for coming back. He has made such a report of the state of things at Florence, that, if Messer Giulio Scurcigliati, on whom, as a disinterested party, some reliance can be placed, had not arrived since then, affairs there would seem to be turning to everybody's advantage except that of your Lordships. As this Messer Giulio will have fully reported to you of all he has done, we will not weary you with giving an account of it, but shall confine ourselves merely to his request to recommend to your Lordships a lawsuit that is pending between himself and the heirs of Paolo Antonio Bandini, in relation to which his Majesty will also write you.

As we have already stated in our previous letter, ambassadors from Germany are on the way here; but they are personages of less importance than what was reported a couple of months ago. His Majesty the king leaves to-morrow for Blois; we shall follow him there, hoping for the news that your Lordships' ambassadors have really started. We shall continue with the utmost diligence to do all in our power for your advantage, and humbly recommend ourselves to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitores
FRANCESCO DELLA CASA,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

MELUN, 14 September, 1500.

LETTER XVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.:—

On the 14th instant Francesco della Casa and myself wrote you our last joint despatch from Melun, and sent it with a duplicate of our previous one of the 8th, which was in reply to your Lordships' two letters of the 16th and 30th ultimo. These were sent by royal post to Lyons to Francesco Martelli, under cover directed to Giovanni Martelli; we presume they have reached you, as also the original sent in the same way. From these letters, as well as from our previous one, which we sent by express messenger on the 3d instant, we think your Lordships will have fully understood the condition in which our affairs here are at the present time; also the extent of our ability to be of use here, and how very necessary it is to have started the ambassadors from Florence; also what determination you ought to come to with regard to the thirty-eight thousand francs, and whether it is your wish to temporize in this matter in the hope of obtaining anything from his Majesty. You will have learnt also how much importance the king attaches to this matter, and in what manner he speaks of it. We are in hourly expectation of letters that will bring us the information that your ambassadors have really started; for we are daily questioned upon this subject, and could have desired, as we have stated to your Lordships, to have been able to show such letters to the Cardinal d'Amboise on his return, so as to remove the dangers to which we are daily exposed of the king's concluding some treaty prejudicial to the interests of our republic, and to close the mouths of your enemies, who employ every argument to prove to his Majesty that your Lordships are ready to turn their backs upon him on the first occasion; adding thereto the statement that you have sent an envoy to the Emperor of Germany, and have come to a secret understanding with the king of Naples; all of which it is easy to make his Majesty believe, for the reasons given in our former despatches.

His Majesty left Melun on the 14th instant to come here, as we wrote to your Lordships in our last; and Francesco della Casa went at the same time to Paris, being troubled with a slight fever, which he desired to have cured before the malady

should become permanent; but according to what he writes me, he will be back very shortly. The king arrived here six days ago, and to-day the Cardinal d'Amboise also came, having been absent from here and at his own home since the 3d of this month. When I heard yesterday morning that his Eminence was coming, I thought it well promptly to mount and meet him where he was to lodge over night, both by way of showing him the courtesy of riding out to meet him, as also to have the opportunity of conversing with him at my convenience. It was thus that I came last night to a village about eight leagues from here, but as it was already late, I deferred speaking to his Eminence until this morning; and then I accosted him on the road, and in the most suitable and affectionate words that occurred to me I made known to him the sad condition in which your Lordships found yourselves, on account of the heavy expense which you had been obliged to incur in the past solely on account of France, and lately also in aiding his Majesty in his enterprise against Milan, and since then in the attempt upon Pisa; and that, whilst you were hoping at least to have his Majesty's sympathy and to be able again to begin to recover your forces and your credit, you find yourselves daily assailed and discouraged by various calumnies, your reputation blackened, and all sorts of plots set on foot against you; so that every Italian here is encouraged to raise his hand against our republic. I related to him the loss of Librafatta, and that Vitellozzo, Baglioni, and the Orsini were up in arms, and that it was the general belief that they intended to employ them against your Lordships. And therefore I begged his Eminence not to withdraw his protection from you, but rather to persist in persuading his Majesty the king to treat you like his own children, and to do so in a manner that would make it known to everybody; and thereby to restore your credit and reputation, which it would be easy to do by the mere restitution to us of Pietrasanta, etc.

His Eminence replied with some feeling and at length, and argued that there had been no default on the part of his Majesty in complying with the terms of the treaty, and that he had loaned you his men-at-arms, and had offered to resume the attempt upon Pisa *de novo*, and afterwards to maintain troops on the Pisan territory; but that none of his propositions had been accepted by your Lordships; and that as to Librafatta

you had only to blame yourselves, and not his Majesty, who had really good cause for complaining because of the money which he had to pay for your account, contrary even to the treaty stipulations. And then his Eminence went on speaking at length, and said that your Lordships did not act prudently, and would not make reparation in time, and that by and by you would not be able to do so. He asked whether the ambassadors had started, and the causes why their coming had been delayed so long, etc., etc. To all this I replied as fully as possible, earnestly contesting every point excepting the subject of the money, upon which he would listen to no argument, so that I was constrained, for the sake of not leaving the matter in dangerous suspense, to tell his Eminence that I had had an audience of his Majesty, and that, when the king complained of having been obliged to make this payment, I had begged his Majesty to be pleased to await the arrival of your ambassadors before coming to any determination, so that he might hear from them the justification of your Lordships and your devotion to his Majesty; and that, as the king had promised to be satisfied with this, I begged his Eminence to do the same, for I felt persuaded that the ambassadors had certainly started before this.

Thus your Lordships will see how your interests remain in suspense until the coming of your ambassadors. There was no other way of gaining time, and even this delay will quickly expire if they are not already on the way. Anyhow it cannot be said that we have failed to bring this matter to your notice, having written so often and so urgently to your Lordships about it, and pointed out to you that it was impossible for us to take any other course; and that, if your Lordships do not consent to the repayment of these thirty-eight thousand francs, all other thoughts of obtaining anything from his Majesty will be in vain; and that henceforth you will have to look upon him as your enemy. It may very possibly happen that, if we succeed in gaining time, the restitution of Pietrasanta may take place. Thus if your Lordships should fail either to send ambassadors here, or to advise us how we shall bear ourselves in this strait, and how we are to gain time in these matters, being without a single friend at court, having lost the favor of the king, who is surrounded by so many of your worst enemies, who present to him daily new projects, pointing out to him your weakness and the great advantages which he would

derive from creating a state for himself around Pisa (as we have explained to you in previous despatches) and placing a governor there of tried fidelity, who, unable to maintain himself there except with the support of his Majesty, would of necessity be most loyally devoted to the king, — that then your Lordships, surrounded by the states of the king, would, without waiting for other forces, come to his Majesty with chains around your necks and lay a *carte blanche* at his feet. All these things are listened to, and there is danger lest they be carried into effect, as I have been given to understand by some one here. And what increases my apprehensions is, that, being lately at court, N. N. approached me, saying, "I have something to tell you; try and come to my house to-day." I went there, and, finding him reticent and indisposed to say anything on any particular subject, I asked him why he had requested me to come to him, whereupon he said, "Are your ambassadors coming?" and when I replied that I believed they had started, he said, "If they are really coming they may be productive of good, and "may prevent some acts that would be prejudicial to your Sig- "noria." But with my utmost efforts I could not draw anything more from his lips. I am greatly afraid, therefore, lest some secret intrigue is going on which the king may have so much at heart that this person was afraid to confide it to me. I have deemed it proper to write you all this exactly, so that your Lordships may judge of it more correctly than I can; and in any event to urge the coming of your ambassadors.

As already stated in our previous despatch, Italian affairs are much talked of here, and especially the army which the Pope has collected. But no one is able to say what direction it is going to take; whether it will march to the Romagna to attack Faenza, Rimini, and Pesaro, or whether it is intended to meet the Colonnesi. The latter is most generally believed, because that would best please his Majesty of France, and would also serve a better purpose with regard to the king of Naples; for if war be made against the allies of the latter, he would be compelled to defend them; and being thus weakened, it would be easier for his Majesty of France to make satisfactory terms with the king of Naples. Or if he should attempt the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, he would find success more easy. All of these matters I think must now be quite clear to your Lordships.

Respecting the coming of the ambassadors of the Emperor of

Germany there are various reports; up to the present, it is not even known whether they have set foot on French soil. And it is evident that there is a slight feeling of uneasiness here with regard to Germany, which accounts for their giving just now less attention to Italian affairs, which may enable us more easily to temporize in your Lordships' matters.

The departure of Monseigneur de Ligny from Lyons for Genoa has for some days kept all minds in a state of suspense, and is variously interpreted. Some say that he has been sent by the king on some particular business of his own, and perhaps having reference to Pisa; others say that he has gone entirely on his own account, being in love with the daughter of the governor of Genoa; and upon this point more things are said here than I could venture to affirm. But whether it be the one thing or the other, I shall leave to the better judgment of your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary.

BLOIS, 26 September, 1500.

LETTER XIX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

My last despatch to your Lordships was of the 26th ultimo. I therein related to you the arrival here of his Most Christian Majesty, and that I was left alone here in consequence of Francesco della Casa having gone sick to Paris; also that the Cardinal d'Amboise had returned, and my efforts in your behalf with his Eminence; and how essentially necessary it was that your ambassadors should come, if you wished to prevent altogether, or at least delay, the carrying into effect of some projects with regard to Pisa, as well as other intrigues carried on here to your prejudice.

I judge that my letters have reached you safely, for I sent them to Rinieri Dei at Lyons by a special messenger, who was despatched by the agent of Messer Giovanni Bentivogli. Since then I have received your Lordships' last of the 20th ultimo, by the hands of one of the Prefect's men, specially sent here for the reasons mentioned in your Lordships' letter to me. So

soon as I received it, I presented myself first before the king, and afterwards before the Cardinal d'Amboise, and communicated to them your Lordships' instructions to me; and explained to them that the necessity of defending yourselves had obliged you to take men-at-arms into your pay, and to claim the services of the Prefect,* in conformity with the treaties between your Lordships and his Majesty the king. And although the Prefect's envoy had already spoken both to the king and the Cardinal, yet his Majesty sent me back to the latter, not forgetting, however, first to ask me whether the ambassadors were coming, and to complain about the money which he had paid out. I replied in the very words of your Lordships' letter; namely, that you informed me that you would not write me again except through the ambassadors, adding, however, that I was firmly persuaded that they would certainly present themselves before his Majesty within the month of October.

His Eminence the Cardinal spoke to me at length, and whilst doing so, he took Monseigneur d'Alby, who was present, by the arm, so that his Lordship might hear him, and said: "The "conduct of the Florentines begins to be inexplicable. We "offered to keep for their defence five hundred men-at-arms "and fifteen hundred infantry, but they would not have them; "we then offered them one hundred, or two hundred, or as "many as they might deem necessary, but they declined them, "and now they go begging for help from others." And then he turned to me and said, "Secretary, I really know not what "to say to you." When I attempted to reply to the charge that we had refused their men-at-arms, etc., he added, that we knew well how to give reasons for our conduct, but that his Majesty had nevertheless been obliged to pay the money which ought to have been paid by your Lordships. And then he asked me whether the ambassadors were coming, to which I answered the same as I had done to his Majesty the king; namely, that they ought to be here in the course of the present month, if not sooner; and that they would prove that our

* This was Giovanni della Rovere, Prefect of Rome and Lord of Sinigaglia. In virtue of the fifteenth article of the treaty with the king of France, mentioned elsewhere, this Prefect was to be Captain-General of the Florentine forces. This article was inserted into the treaty at the instance of the Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, brother of the Prefect, and generally called the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincola, and who afterwards became Pope, under the name of Julius II.

fidelity to his Majesty had increased rather than otherwise, and could not but continue to increase; and that they would exculpate your Lordships from all the calumnies that were daily originated by those who wished no good to your Lordships, and still less to the honor of his Majesty the king. And when I finally asked his Eminence what I should write to your Lordships in regard to the Prefect, he replied that an agent of the Prefect's had arrived, and that they would give him their answer, which was all I could get out of his Eminence. I have nothing further to write to your Lordships on this subject; but as this agent is about to return to the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola, and will be the bearer of this letter, your Lordships will be able to get full information from Pietro Soderini. But I must not omit to tell your Lordships that, after my conversation with the Cardinal d'Amboise, Robertet called me aside, and told me how much he had always had your interests at heart, and how he had always labored for your advantage, and that he had ever been ready to exert himself in your favor, and how grieved he was to see that you had abandoned your own cause; for that in so important and urgent a matter as the present, your not having ambassadors here gives offence to everybody, and is regarded as the result either of disunion amongst yourselves, or of discontent with the state of things here, or because you have not been well informed on the subject. For reason alone demanded that the ambassadors should have been sent here by post, so as to prevent the adoption by his Majesty of some unfriendly resolution, which is daily urged upon him. To all this I answered as for the moment seemed to me most suitable, affirming again that the present month would not pass without seeing the ambassadors here; and that everything would be satisfactorily arranged, provided there was no determination to wrong your Lordships anyhow, which I did not believe, etc., etc.

As I have already said in my former letter, Italian affairs are more talked about than anything else, and more particularly the Pope's enterprise, which, as I wrote you in my last, was believed to be intended against the Colonnesi. But now we understand that it is just the contrary, and that the purpose is to march to the Romagna. I can say nothing further on the subject, but your Lordships are in a position to know the truth of the matter better than myself. I will merely say that everything is conceded to the Pontiff, more from an unwillingness on the part of the king to oppose the Pope's unbridled desires, than from any wish to see him victorious; for Messer Giovanni Bentivogli has been written to, with the king's special approval, to do all in his power for the defence of Faenza, and to act in the matter as a good relative, etc., etc.

I have nothing new to write to your Lordships respecting the embassy from Germany, for we do not yet know exactly when it is likely to arrive; his Majesty himself is altogether in doubt about it. The only thing of interest is that the Venetian ambassador is here to solicit aid against the Turk, more especially now since the loss of Modone and Corone is clearly known. Long consultations have been held on the subject, but as yet it is not known what conclusion has been come to. It was proposed to levy a tithe upon the priests, which formerly had been entirely consumed by the receivers, and which his Majesty intends to revive. With all this the Venetian ambassador is not very well satisfied.

Your Lordships must have heard that the Grand Turk has sent ambassadors to his Majesty here, to reply to the complaints which the king had communicated to the Turk through a herald, and how the Grand Master of Rhodes had placed this herald on the footing of an ambassador, by way of giving him more importance. Upon their arrival at Venice, the Turkish ambassadors were dismissed by his Majesty, at the request of the Venetians, who gave them to understand that they would not be welcome without full power to conclude a peace; and that they must not advance any further, but return whence they had come. His Majesty has since then repented this very much, having been informed that the Venetians had urged this advice upon him, so that he might not hear of the intrigues they were carrying on with the Turk adverse to his Majesty. The Grand Master of Rhodes was also greatly irritated, inasmuch as it was mainly upon his solicitations that the Turk had sent this embassy, and it is said that he has sent one of his knights here to accuse the Venetians, and to treat them as enemies. This is the reason why the aid asked by the Venetians of his Majesty is deferred, and that it will certainly not be rendered in time for this year.

I mention this matter very briefly, so as not to weary your Lordships' patience, as I take it for granted that you have

received from other sources more detailed and accurate accounts of the greater part of this affair.

I recommend myself most humbly to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Blois, 2 October, 1500.

P. S. — I can but rejoice at the re-establishment of the Magistracy of the Ten, and thank God for it. Let us hope much good from it; for from a better government we have the right to hope for happier results. I shall avail myself of this information as I may judge best for the credit of our republic.

Iterum valete!

Servitor
Niccolo Machiavelli.

LETTER XX.

Magnificent Signori, etc.: —

My last was of the 2d instant, and was sent by the agent of the Prefect; and although I have at this moment nothing special to communicate to your Lordships, beyond what I have urged upon you in every despatch, and have actually persuaded myself that your ambassadors are on the way here, nevertheless their coming seems to me of such supreme importance that I do not hesitate to weary your Lordships with the same story by every messenger that leaves here. And what makes me do so with even increased energy is, to see your enemies every day inventing some new schemes for their own advantage. Not more than a couple of days since, a report was spread at court that your Lordships had recalled, under heavy penalties, all the Florentine merchants that are in France; and this report was confirmed by some Frenchmen just up from Lyons. And although such things carry their justification with them so far as you are concerned, nevertheless they are heard, and together with other rumors that are set afloat every day they produce a bad impression. Until now we have kept these rumors in check by assuring the court of the near arrival of the ambassadors, through whom his Majesty will learn the good spirit that animates you in all things possible and reasonable

for your Lordships. This has in part satisfied them, but if the actual departure of the ambassadors from Florence does not become known here very soon, I cannot foresee the consequences, but doubt much whether it will be anything to your advantage. On the other hand, however, if they do come, then I shall hope for good results, if anything good can be hoped for from here; for his Majesty the king has been very much annoyed for the last few days by the German affairs; for the embassy that was expected from there with so much solemnity will either not come at all, or will be reduced to a simple herald, or some other personage of similar rank. Since then we see manifest signs of doubts and suspicions; such as the ordering of three hundred lances into Lombardy again; the drawing closer to the Pope, and attaching more importance to it than usual; and where, as I stated in my last, Giovanni Bentivogli had been directed to act like a good relation with regard to Faenza, he has now been written to just the contrary, with special injunctions not to render any assistance whatever to that city. Moreover, they greatly favor the requests made by the Pope of the Venetians, namely, that they confer upon his son the Duke Valentino the title of Captain-General of their armies and the rank of gentleman, and give him a palace in Venice; all of which they hope to obtain. His Majesty's conduct towards the Venetians is very much in the same style; he promises them more decidedly than he has ever done before to render them assistance against the Turk. And therefore I believe that the same causes will also place your Lordships upon a more favorable footing with his Majesty, provided that your ambassadors arrive here promptly; for the above-mentioned apprehensions with regard to Germany will not fail in their effects, nor are they likely to be removed, provided you will take advantage of this chance, as seems to me most reasonable. But if it does not very soon become known that your ambassadors are really coming, then his Majesty will be more inclined to believe the calumnies of your enemies than our justifications. Everything depends upon the faith which his Majesty may have as to their coming or not; and should he once think that you are his enemies, then he will take care that you shall not be able to injure him. I therefore pray your Lordships, with the utmost respect, that you will not fail of your duty to our republic in this matter; and that you will not

be satisfied to have the ambassadors come in the ordinary way, but that they come by post at least as far as Lyons, for the importance of the matter merits every possible effort.

For the past three or four days it has been rumored that his Majesty will leave here to go to Nantes, — not to remain there however very long, his intention being to proceed to Lyons; but I cannot say anything positive upon this or many other subjects, because the plans and resolutions are changed almost every hour. Your Lordships will therefore pardon me if you should find some contradictions in my letters.

I shall not write at length about relieving my own necessities, for your Lordships know that on my leaving Florence I had but eighty ducats, of which I spent thirty to come here by post. At Lyons I had to renew my entire outfit, and have to keep here three horses at the hostelry; and without money nothing can be done.

I recommend myself most humbly to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI
apud Christianissimum.

BLOIS, October 8, 1500.

LETTER XXI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

My last was of the 7th instant, in which I reported to your Lordships all that had occurred of interest up to the day. I had previously sent two other despatches, one of the 26th ultimo, and the other of the 2d instant; which I presume have safely reached your hands. Since then I have received your Lordship's letters of the 26th ultimo, with report of the state of things in Florence. After carefully reading and examining their contents, and particularly all that relates to the coming of the ambassadors, and to the calumnies circulated about your Lordships, and to the arrangements of the Genoese for seizing Pietrasanta, I called upon his Eminence the Cardinal d'Amboise, as his Majesty had gone to a village some eight leagues from here, where he was going to pass the evening. And although it was hardly worth while to take much trouble to

justify your Lordships from the calumnies, having already done so on previous occasions, to the extent that both his Majesty the king and the Cardinal had promised me to await the arrival of your ambassadors to know the truth and come to some decision, and that I could rather have wished to be able to announce the positive departure of the ambassadors from Florence; nevertheless, encouraged by your Lordships' letters, I made it a point to declare to his Eminence your Lordships' disposition, intentions, and desires; and demonstrated to him also how utterly without foundation were the calumnies spread about your Lordships, and in what evil disposition they had their origin; and in fact, that it was the calumniators, rather than the calumniated, who ought to be looked after. I furthermore said to his Eminence, that the future would prove the truth of all this, even if the past were insufficient to do so; and that his Majesty the king, as well as his Eminence himself, would be fully satisfied upon all these points, when your Lordships' ambassadors should arrive here; and that these ambassadors were on the point of starting, and would assuredly be here in the course of this month. I begged his Eminence, at the same time, to keep his Majesty in his present favorable disposition, and to abide the arrival of the ambassadors, and not to listen to evil tongues, nor to come to any decision for the present, as in fact his Eminence had on a former occasion promised.

I then proceeded to speak of the Pietrasanta affair, and related to his Eminence the reports started by the Genoese, of their having a concession, etc.; I told him of the attempt which their commissary had made, and the injuries which your vassals had suffered at his hands. His Eminence listened patiently to all I said, without particularly replying to any one point; but suddenly he entered upon the same subject upon which he had already spoken to me several times, as reported by me to your Lordships; namely, that his Majesty was exceedingly displeased by your having refused to resume the war against Pisa, by your declining his offer of men-at-arms, and by your unwillingness to refund the money which he had paid to the Swiss and for artillery, etc., etc.; and that for that reason no thought could be given to your affairs, nor could anything be said in your favor. I replied, that as to your refusal to resume the war against Pisa, and the non-acceptance of the troops, I had no other excuse to offer than what I had already

presented on former occasions; namely, as to the first, the actual impossibility of your doing so; and as to the latter, the bad disposition of those very troops; and I added that these excuses were so well founded, that neither his Majesty the king nor his Eminence himself could or ought to think differently. And as to the third point of complaint, namely, the money, that I had entreated his Majesty to await the arrival of the ambassadors, who were ready to start, and had instructions to satisfy his Majesty; and that if he wished to see your Lordships' letters on that subject, I was prepared to show them to him. To this his Eminence replied in the precise following words: "Dixisti, verum est; sed erimus mortui antequam ora-"tores veniant; sed conabimur ut alii prius moriantur." * And when I replied that the time was short, and that there could be no loss by waiting, he said, "Come back here to-day at three "o'clock in the afternoon, and you shall then know the king's "intentions, and the course which these things must take."

The Cardinal left his house whilst talking to me, and continued his remarks on the way to church; and when we reached the chapel we found Messer Giulio Scurcigliati there waiting for the Cardinal, who, so soon as he saw him, called him, and said that he wished him to be present at this last interview between us, and that he would be obliged to him if he would return with me to his house at three o'clock; for knowing his devotion to your Lordships, he wanted him to be present and hear what was said. And thereupon I took my leave, his Eminence being very angry at what I had told him about Pietrasanta; and he immediately directed Robertet to write to Genoa and give orders that no Genoese should be allowed to enter Pietrasanta; and also to write to Beaumont to give strict orders to the commandant of the citadel to be well upon his guard, and under no circumstances to have any dealings with the Genoese. To the first letter he added a paragraph about the restitution of the stolen cattle, and to enjoin upon the people the preservation of good relations with their neighbors, etc. However, I shall endeavor to obtain a special letter upon this subject, and will send it to your Lordships.

In accordance with the Cardinal's request, I returned to his house at three o'clock, and presented myself before his Emi-

* "It is true you say so, but we shall be dead before these ambassadors come; we will endeavor, however, that others shall die before."

nence, and found Messer Giulio there. His Eminence spoke for more than half an hour, beginning with complaints of your obstinacy before the first treaty was concluded with his Majesty of France; and how badly your Lordships afterwards observed the stipulations of that treaty; and how tardy you had always been in all matters; and blaming us in a measure for the money spent in the recovery of Milan, after the revolt of that city. After that he came to the new treaty made with Pietro Soderini at Milan, and to the army that had been directed against Pisa; and how, from his affection for you, his Majesty's arms had suffered dishonor in that affair; and how you had always lagged behind on every occasion of danger, although you had shown yourselves very brave in refusing to pay one farthing of the money for the Swiss and the artillery, etc., leaving it all to be paid by his Majesty. And finally he concluded by saying, that he was willing to forget all the other things, but that it was indispensable for your Lordships to decide upon refunding that money to his Majesty; that there was not a day but what the Lucchese, the Genoese, and the Pisans came about his Majesty's ears with offers of large sums of money, without agreement or obligations of any kind; which his Majesty could not but admire, seeing on the one hand their excellent disposition, and noting on the other hand your obstinacy, first in refusing to pay despite your obligations under the treaty, and your delay now in putting off to do anything under pretence of waiting for the new ambassadors. "But I tell "you," said he, "from the affection which I have for your re-"public, although of course not equal to that which I have for "the king, that these ambassadors of yours can neither nego-"tiate, nor will they be listened to upon any point, unless pay-"ment is first made of the amount due to his Majesty; and if it "is not understood that such is your intention, write therefore "at once to your Signoria, for we do not wish to remain any "longer in suspense upon this point, and let them understand "that, whether they choose to be friends or enemies, in any "event they will have to pay. But if you remain our friends, "as you will if you are wise, his Majesty will pass Christmas "at Lyons, and Easter at Milan. Up to the present he has "sent two thousand lances into Italy, and over six thousand "infantry, of those who have already been there; and we shall "see whether Pisa will resist him, and whether those who op-

"pose him are stronger than he is. His friends will know "then that he is king, and that his promises will be strictly "carried out." And then, turning to Robertet, his Eminence told him to have the accounts got ready, and to give them to me, so that I might forward them to your Lordships.

Your Lordships will judge whether it would have been possible for me to have made a reply to such a proposition, even if I had been able to constrain them to listen to me with patience. Therefore I judged it best to confine my remarks to touching upon the most necessary points; I could not, however, refrain from saying that the fact of his Eminence complaining of all your Lordships' actions, and particularly of those that really deserved the highest encomiums, encouraged me also to complain of the Pietrasanta business, and that the restitution of that place to your Lordships had not been made according to the terms of the treaty. This stirred and vexed his Eminence, who said that that was another business altogether; but that all this would be arranged provided your Lordships did not fail in the performance of your obligations. I continued the conversation, and said that I would attempt no further justification of your Lordships, nor weary myself by repeating what had been so often discussed and demonstrated, namely, that no default had ever been made by your Lordships in the performance of your engagements; nor would I say anything more respecting the last point, upon which depended his Majesty's favorable or unfavorable disposition towards us, than what I had always said until now, namely, that the ambassadors were coming, and would give full satisfaction to the king, provided he demanded nothing unreasonable or impossible. For to demand either the one or the other could only be regarded as an attempt to injure our republic, which I could not believe was intended, because it would be injuring the best friends which his Majesty had in all Italy. I begged his Eminence not to give so ready an ear to the promises of the Genoese, the Lucchese, and the Pisans; and said that he ought not to listen to anything but what was to the honor of his Majesty the king, and to such promises as were likely to be fulfilled; and that he ought to consider whether a small present advantage was preferable to a great and continued benefit. But that I would report everything fully to your Lordships; and that the reply would be in the same

spirit that had always been manifested by our republic, which by the heavy and fruitless expenditures to which she had been so long subjected ought to have extinguished all jealousy henceforward, and ought to excite compassion instead.

His Eminence replied to the last part of my remarks, that his Majesty the king regretted the sufferings to which our republic had been exposed, but could take no other action than what he had done; nor could it be reasonably expected that he should submit to a loss by paying out his own money. He advised me to write you at once, and that they would await your reply provided it was not delayed too long; that they wanted acts, having no longer any faith in words; and that the king's friendship could only be preserved by your paying the amount in question, whilst to refuse it would provoke his enmity. And thereupon I took my leave.

Magnificent Signori, the enclosed memorandum will show you the amount that is claimed, and the reasons why you are held responsible for it. You will find that it comprises the amount which you are to pay for account of the Signor Lodovico, and for which you are held responsible the same as for the other items.* I have taken the memorandum just as it was brought to me, not wishing to examine the calculations, nor to make any further objections, as it would have been of no use to have done so, but might rather have made the condition of our case worse in some respects. I could truly wish this letter had wings, so as to enable me to have a prompt reply; but know not how to manage, having never received any instructions as to what to do in case it should become necessary to send a special courier. I shall pray the Almighty to aid me, and if I can find any one who will carry this despatch, I shall devote to it what little money I may yet have.

I have nothing further to say to your Lordships, unless it be to entreat you, with the utmost respect, to let me have your answer promptly, and, if you resolve to pay, then to prove it by deeds; for I doubt whether they will wait much longer, mainly on account of German affairs, which cause them a good deal

* The Signor Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, and surnamed "Il Moro," had loaned certain sums of money to the republic of Florence to enable them to carry on the war against Pisa. According to Article 14 of the treaty concluded at Milan in 1499, the Florentines promised to pay to the king of France whatever amount they might owe at the time to the deposed Duke Lodovico.

of apprehension here, as mentioned in a former letter, and which has made them draw nearer to the Venetians and to the Pope. I want to see now how they will behave towards your Lordships, and how they will employ the money which they demand of you, or what they may obtain from others in the event of your refusing to pay; and how, in case you declare yourselves their enemies, they will act so as to render you harmless. But they are not willing at the same time to be in uncertainty as to your intentions, and leave Pisa open for any one to go in who may be disposed to make war upon them. Your Lordships will also remember, from all we have written, and from the conduct of the court since we have been here, that neither the king nor the Cardinal ever descended actually to ask us for the money, or to name their conditions to us as they are doing at present; but that they only complained to us on the subject on every occasion and in every place, and that they have entertained the Lucchese, have had dealings and close relations with the Pisans and the Genoese, and openly threatened your Lordships. It was this that induced me to go to the Cardinal and to express to him my surprise at his pretended dissatisfaction, and at the treaties that were being negotiated without reference or notice to your Lordships. And when I pressed his Eminence warmly as to what I should write to your Lordships, he refused to give me a definite reply, and referred me to Corcou, as I wrote you fully in my letter of the 3d of September. Then came your Lordships' letters of the 30th of August, which afforded me the opportunity to speak of the coming of your ambassadors; and since then all my efforts have been devoted to urging your Lordships to hasten their departure, and to keeping matters here in suspense until their arrival. And what has occurred since then is reported above in this despatch. I have not deemed it amiss to make this little recapitulation, so that your Lordships may form a better idea of the state of things here, and may thus be enabled to determine what course will be for the greatest advantage to our republic.

I have no further news to communicate, unless it be that two days since there arrived here an ambassador from the Marquis of Mantua, together with one from the Marquis of Ferrara, and likewise an ambassador from the king of Naples. From this your Lordships will not fail in your wisdom to see

that they all have more fear of this king than faith in each other; notwithstanding that Mantua is situated in a lake, and that the king of Naples has the Turk for his neighbor and is on good terms with the Emperor of Germany. I must therefore beg your Lordships again, with the utmost respect, to reflect well upon your answer, and to let me have it as quickly as possible. And yet Robertet has intimated to me that his Majesty the king will send some one to settle these matters; but as the Cardinal has not said anything to me on the subject, I cannot affirm the truth of it. Nor should I advise your Lordships to delay your answer on that account, for I am in daily fear lest something be resolved upon here that would make your answer come too late, and that thus you might be obliged to pay the amount in question without deriving any advantage from it, and without preserving the king's friendship; and in that case our ambassadors would have to come here on wings to be able to ameliorate our situation in any degree, even if that be possible. Above all things, therefore, is it essential to act with the utmost promptitude, and hasten the time of the ambassadors' departure.

Being unable to find any one willing to share in the expense of sending a special courier, or to pay the whole cost of it myself, I have been obliged to despatch it by the king's post, and to direct it to Nasi at Lyons, at the cost of one franc; and have written him, for the love which he bears to our republic, promptly to forward it by special messenger, in case no regular courier is despatched from Lyons; and that your Lordships will reimburse him for it, and in case you do not, then to charge the cost of it to me. I pray your Lordships, therefore, to repay Nasi the amount which he has expended, and of which he will inform you; so that he may be willing to render us similar service on future occasions, and so that I may not be afraid to ask it of him, or that I may not have to pay it out of my private means.

I recommend myself to the good graces of your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary, etc.

BLOIS, 11 October, 1500.

LETTER XXII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

This is the 14th of the month, and his Most Christian Majesty has resolved to send Odoardo Bugliotto, one of his body servants, and bearer of this, to learn more fully your Lordships' intentions with regard to the money which he claims from you, as I have explained at length to your Lordships in my despatch of the 11th instant, which, for want of other facilities, I sent by the royal post to Nasi at Lyons, with instructions to forward it with all possible speed to your Lordships. There is no occasion for me to repeat what I have written before, inasmuch as the bearer of this will inform you fully as to the king's intentions, and will supply any omissions I may have made. I will only repeat what the Cardinal d'Amboise told me, viz.: "That, friends or enemies, we would have "to pay, and that thus your real intentions would be made "known by your acts, for words and promises would no longer "satisfy them." Assuming that your Lordships have received my letters, and moreover as you will hear what the bearer of this will have to say, your Lordships will decide with your habitual prudence as to the course which it will be best to pursue. But I beg your Lordships, amongst other things in connection with this matter, to take some measures that will oblige the person who comes to you, if he cannot or will not favor your cause in any other way, at least to write the truth when he reports to the king. For the unfavorable reports that have been sent here on previous occasions are to a great degree the reasons that have provoked the anger of the king, and of the bad condition in which your interests are here at present.

Nothing further occurs to me to write, except to recommend myself humbly to the good graces of your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary.

BLOIS, 14 October, 1500.

His Majesty the king leaves this morning for Nantes, where he will remain a few days, and then return by way of Lyons, etc.

LETTER XXIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Having written to your Lordships on the 11th instant, and stated at length all that his Eminence the Cardinal had said to me respecting the money they claim that your Lordships ought to pay, etc.; and having since then repeated the same in my despatch of the 14th, sent by the hands of Odoardo Bugliotto, who was sent to Florence by the king for a similar purpose, I should not have had occasion to write again to your Lordships, were it not that your despatch of the 3d instant had been received, which informs me of the nomination of Pier Francesco Tosinghi, and that he is to start on the 10th or 12th instant. Nothing could have given me more pleasure to learn, for the reasons which I have so repeatedly written to your Lordships, as well as on account of the distinguished character of the man, from whom we may hope for such fruit as it may still be possible to gather on this soil. And although since it was decided to send Odoardo to Florence I have not been so harassed every day about the delay in the arrival of the ambassadors, yet it seemed to me well to inform his Eminence the Cardinal what your Lordships have written me, namely, that the ambassador was to start, and must at the present moment be near Lyons; adding such words of my own as seemed to me suited to calm his feelings. His Eminence replied to me, in a few words, that it was well, and that the ambassador ought to hasten his journey. He asked me why there was only one ambassador, which I readily explained, although I do not know but what they may take umbrage at it; for your Lordships' enemies here will not fail to comment upon it in a dozen different ways. But I shall continue to be on my guard, and shall spare no efforts to justify your Lordships, if need be. His Eminence subsequently asked me again to write and urge you to come to a good resolution with regard to the money due to his Majesty, and to prove it by acts; assuring me that they had no longer any faith in fair words or promises, and that they should clearly know what to expect, so soon as they should hear from Bugliotto. I replied that I would do so with the utmost diligence, although it seemed to me unnecessary to urge your Lordships to do what was proper,

or what you possibly could do in the interest of the king; to which his Eminence replied, that it would have to be proved by facts.

Your Lordships request me to ascertain the condition of Messer Giovanni Bentivogli's affairs here. Now, as all doubts as to the preservation of his state arise from the enterprise which the Pope is carrying on against the Romagna, I will begin my explanations with that. Your Lordships will remember that, soon after our first arrival here, we informed you how the Pope pressed the king to aid him in this attempt against the Romagna, and how the king procrastinated and kept the Pope along with promises. For being at that time still more hopeful as to the affairs of Germany, his Majesty wanted the Pope to employ his power against the Colonnesi, as was then generally believed, for the reasons which we wrote you in some of our former communications. And the king had given his consent that, if the Pope should nevertheless attempt this attack upon the Romagna, Messer Giovanni Bentivogli should act the part of a relative, inasmuch as his Majesty had not yet charged the Venetians, as he has done since, to give up the protection of the Romagna. But as since then the ambassadors of the German Emperor have not arrived, and as his Majesty is in daily apprehension of being attacked, he was, as it were, forced to consent to the Pope's carrying out his plans against the Romagna. For in all the possible events that may occur in Italy, his Majesty counts more upon the Pope than upon any of the other Italian potentates; partly because the Pontiff has always proved himself better armed than any other, and has suffered less from wars hitherto, and has fewer obstacles to surmount, and is moreover head of the Church, etc., etc. The Cardinal d'Amboise aims also at the same mark; for he, being really the man that governs, has drawn upon himself the envy and enmity of all the other powerful lords, and therefore hopes through the Pope's influence so to increase his own credit as to be able the better to resist the envy of the others. It is said, even, that in the creation of the new legates on account of the Turkish affairs the Pope will name the Cardinal his legate for France.

The Venetians also, being afraid of the Turk, and advised by the king to give up the protection of the towns of the Romagna, have done so readily; hoping that the Pope would move all

Christian potentates in their favor. They judge moreover, that they will not lose much if those towns were to fall into the hands of the Duke Valentino, as they have taken him under their protection, and have adopted him as their son, and, as is generally supposed, will make him Captain-General of their forces.

Now the well-known insatiable rapacity of the Pope makes everybody here suppose that the same reasons that have made his Majesty and the Venetians yield their consent to the Pope's attempt upon the Romagna will also cause them to consent to his attempt upon Messer Giovanni Bentivogli. And fearing this, Messer Giovanni, together with the Duke of Ferrara, have made the greatest efforts to induce his Majesty to consent to their rendering assistance to their friends of the Romagna; and it is only quite lately that Monseigneur d'Aubigny, at their request, sent one of his men here expressly for that purpose; who, however, could obtain no further answer from his Majesty, than that he could not interfere, as it was a matter of the Church, and that he could not consent to his allies making any opposition to her. And quite lately, when the envoy of Messer Giovanni spoke to his Majesty on the subject, and pointed out to him the danger to which his lord would be exposed, unless he could depend upon his Majesty's protection in the event of the Pope's succeeding in his present undertaking, he obtained, after much talking, the following reply: "That when it had come to the point that the Pontiff was act-"ually about to attack Messer Giovanni, that then his Majesty "would hear the reasons of the Pope and of Messer Giovanni, "and would then decide against whoever was in the wrong." This is in fact all that can be learnt here in relation to Messer Giovanni's affairs; and as I have it from the best authority, I believe it to be the truth.

I have not yet said anything to your Lordships about Agostino Semenza, for the reason that several days ago Giulio Scurcigliati received letters from Messer Antonio Cola, an agent of the Prefect of Rome, informing him of the coming of this envoy, but giving at the same time much more importance to his mission, and a reply highly favorable to affairs here. But as I reported that information fully in a former communication, it seems to me not worth while to bring it up again now.

I stated to Messer Giulio your Lordships' favorable disposition towards him, on account of the good services which he has rendered, etc. He thanks your Lordships, and entreats you again to expedite his business. He has never himself written to your Lordships, but has always made every occurrence of interest here promptly known to his particular friends in Florence.

Since his Majesty's arrival here a number of high personages have come here, amongst them Monseigneur de Ligny, Monseigneur de la Tremouille, the Prince of Orange, etc., but not a word has been said about German affairs; nevertheless, there are great apprehensions upon that point; and so soon as the Ogni Santi (All Saints) is over, the court will at once move from here to Lyons.

The ambassadors from Naples are supposed to have arrived at Lyons, and the marriage between the Princess, daughter of King Frederick, and Monsignor della Roccia, is regarded as definitely arranged. The Cardinale di San Severino is expected here.* Beyond this I have nothing to write, but to recommend myself to the good graces of your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

From NANTES IN BRITTANY, 25 October, 1500.

P. S. — I was just about to seal this despatch when Ugolino Martelli received a letter from Lyons, informing him, amongst other things, that the thirty-five scudi, which he had to pay for expediting my despatch of the 3d September from Melun, had not yet been refunded to him; and that Giovanni Martelli had written that he had as much as given it up. He complains very much to me about it, and I can only say in reply, that he is entirely right, and that I would write to your Lordships about it. I entreat you, therefore, so to arrange this matter that I may not have to pay it myself; and that, should occasion arise, I may not be compelled to do as it happened to me once at Blois, where I was obliged to send an important despatch by the king's post as far as Lyons. *Valete!*

* Federigo di San Severino of Milan, with the title of Cardinale di San Teodore.

LETTER XXIV.

MAGNIFICENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNORI, ETC., ETC.: —

Although I hardly think it necessary to ask your Lordships for my leave, firmly believing that you will have sent it to me by the ambassador, as my remaining here after his arrival would be superfluous; nevertheless the necessity for my being at Florence is so urgent that, in case my leave should not have been sent, I do not wish to be wanting to myself, and therefore entreat your Lordships with the utmost respect to be pleased to grant me that favor. For, as you are aware, my father died a month before my departure, and since then I have lost a sister; and my private affairs are so unsettled and without order, that my property is in every way actually going to waste. I hope, therefore, that your Lordships will kindly grant my request, so that I may in some measure restore order to my own affairs. I should want to remain in Florence only one month, after which I am willing either to come back to France, or to go to any other place where it may please your Lordships to send me. I recommend myself most humbly to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

NANTES, 25 October, 1500.

LETTER XXV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Since writing my last of the 27th ultimo, I have received your Lordships' letter of the 21st, which refers to some particulars of a despatch of the 10th which has not yet come to hand. I am therefore at a loss how to execute your Lordships' orders. I have determined, nevertheless, to speak to the king and the Cardinal about your Lordships' apprehensions on account of the rumors that have reached you from many quarters as to the evil disposition of the army of the Duke Valentino towards your Lordships; and how seriously this matter disturbs you, being without any organized force of men-at-arms.

I therefore relied altogether upon his Majesty, and entreated him to be pleased to aid you with such means as he might deem necessary; and that on your part you would not fail to do everything in your power to save your liberty; and that if you were assailed by the Orsini and the Vitelli, you would seek to defend yourselves. His Majesty, being at the moment very much occupied, made no reply except that I should speak to the Cardinal d'Amboise about it. I therefore went immediately to see his Eminence, and spoke to him in the same sense as I had done to his Majesty; adding such further remarks in favor of your cause as the time permitted. He replied that he did not believe that the Pope would attempt to engage in any enterprise in Italy, without first conferring with his Majesty the king on the subject; and as he had not done so, he did not think the Pope would make any such attempt. But should he yet consult his Majesty, or attempt such an attack independently, then in the first case his Majesty would not give his consent, and in the latter he would lend you his assistance, provided you maintained your friendly relations with his Majesty. And then he began to complain again of the delay in the coming of your ambassadors, etc., etc. And as to the part of the Colonnesi, he reflected a moment, and then said, "Pre-"serve the friendship of the king, and then you will not need "his assistance; but if you lose his good graces, all the help "will not suffice you."

I replied in a becoming manner; but respecting the Lucchese it seemed to me best neither to touch upon that subject nor to make any further reply, for I did not want to irritate them more than what they are already until the arrival of your ambassador, hoping that his instructions may be satisfactory to the king, and that then we may be able to discuss the point in question more freely, particularly as, according to the time of his departure from Florence, the ambassador ought shortly to be here.

Afterwards, on All Souls' Day, came your Lordships' letter of the 10th ultimo, and, after carefully studying its contents, I returned again to the Cardinal, and explained to him briefly the causes of your apprehensions; and that it would be easy for the Duke Valentino, after once having taken Faenza, to make an attack upon Florence, and, having one of your rebels with him, it would not be difficult for him to make a hostile attempt against your liberties. Such an act would prove an injury to your Lordships and a dishonor to his Majesty. And we being his Majesty's most devoted and trusted friends, it would be very proper for his Eminence to write to the Pope and to the Duke Valentino that whatever they might attempt against your Lordships would be the same as if they attempted it against his Majesty.

Thereupon his Eminence took me by the hand and led me to the Grand Chancellor and the Marquis of Rothelin, who were near by, and then began again, as he had done several times before, to speak of all the trouble he had taken for your Lordships' benefit, and of the dishonor to which the king had been subjected from his affection for you; but that you had broken the treaties by refusing to pay the money due by you to the Swiss, etc.; and that now, being afraid of the Pope, you claimed the aid and support of the king, which his Majesty, however, would not grant unless it was clearly understood whether or not you intended to remain his friends. For to write anything in your favor would be acting adversely to the people of Lucca, Sienna, and your other enemies, whom his Majesty did not want to become his enemies when your Lordships ceased to be his friends.

I replied to the first point the same as I had already done several times; and as to the others, I said that there was no reason to have any doubts as to your Lordships' friendship, any more than there was for having any particular consideration for either the Lucchese or the Siennese, when the question was as to his Majesty's giving you his aid and support; for that I could not recall either the one or the other having rendered his Majesty any special service. Nor did I know what they had been able to do in time of peace or in war, nor what service could be hoped for from them now. But that I well knew what your Lordships had done for the present king, as well as for his predecessor; and that in their time of adversity, when the fidelity of friends is put to the test, you alone of all the Italian powers had remained faithful; that you did not deserve to be treated thus, and that a Most Christian King ought not to allow your Lordships to be subjected to it. The Cardinal replied to me merely in the following words: "Write to your ambassador to come at once, or to send his "instructions to you, so that we may know the intentions of

"your government. After that we shall not fail on our part to "do all that ought to be done for your Signoria." I told him of the Pope's envoy that had been sent to Pisa on the 12th, to which he answered in an excited manner, that that was nothing, and that I had better do what he had recommended, etc.

The day after, which was yesterday, Robertet came to meet me, saying, "I have special orders from his Majesty and from "the Cardinal to write to Monseigneur d'Aubigny at Milan, and "to our ambassador at Rome, and to charge the one to signify "to the Pope, and the other to the Duke Valentino, how dis- "pleased his Majesty was to learn that there was talk in the "army which was at present in the Romagna of going with "rebels and other enemies to attack the Florentines, which his "Majesty would not in any way permit." In short, he told me that he was instructed to write as strongly as possible in favor of your Lordships. I asked him to give me that letter, but he said that he had no instructions to that effect, and that he thought it was better so, as otherwise it might appear as though we had begged for such action.

This is all I have to communicate to your Lordships in reply to your last letter, nor is there anything else new here, except that his Majesty the king leaves to-day for Tours, where he is to give an audience to the ambassadors from Germany.

Bene valete!

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary.

NANTES, 4 November, 1500.

LETTER XXVI.*

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

On the 4th instant I wrote to our illustrious Signoria in reply to two of their despatches of the 11th and 21st ultimo. His Majesty the king having since then left Nantes for Tours, I resolved not to separate myself from the court (although they went by cross-roads); thinking that your Lordships' answer to the propositions which Odoardo Bugliotto had gone to

* This letter is directed to "The Ten of Liberty and Peace," who had been re-established, as stated elsewhere.

submit on the part of his Majesty to our illustrious Signoria might arrive during this time. And this happened just as I had supposed; for just as his Majesty reached Champagne, a small village about ten leagues from Tours, the letters from your Lordships arrived, with the answer given by our illustrious Signoria to Odoardo. But as I arrived on the 18th at about two o'clock in the night, I put off until morning to ask for an audience and to speak in accordance with your Lordships' instructions. The next morning I went to court, and by chance found his Eminence the Cardinal d'Amboise alone and unoccupied. I deemed it best to seize this opportunity, notwithstanding my intention to speak first to his Majesty the king, and approaching his Eminence I told him that I had received letters from your Lordships, with a copy of the answer given to Odoardo; but that it was hardly worth while to repeat it to him, as his Majesty had been fully informed of it by Odoardo himself. I added that your Lordships felt persuaded that their answer and resolution would not be entirely satisfactory to his Majesty, considering the necessities to which circumstances had exposed him. But considering, on the other hand, the anxieties which your Lordships had experienced, and to which you were still exposed, and the heavy expenses which your Lordships had borne, and were still compelled to bear from not being able to recover your possessions, and from your desire to sustain the name and fame of France in Italy, you could not believe but what his Most Christian Majesty would accept their resolution, and would be satisfied to bear for a short time the delay in the payment of a portion of the amount claimed, in recognition of the services which our republic had rendered to him. And if to this were added the restitution of Pietrasanta, which would be no more than reasonable, and which your Lordships' fidelity had so well merited, and to which a strict observance of the treaty stipulations and the malevolence of the Lucchese fairly entitled you, it would completely resuscitate our republic, and would encourage the Florentine people to devote their substance and their blood to the service of his Most Christian Majesty; and would so restore their credit and reputation, that neither the Pope nor the Venetians would venture to assail their state or their liberties, as they are now presuming to do. I enlarged upon these points as much as the subject and the patience of the Cardinal

would permit. His Eminence replied that it was true that, by your answer to Odoardo, your Lordships confessed your indebtedness to his Majesty, and had ordered an immediate payment of ten thousand ducats at Milan; but that this did not satisfy his Majesty, who had suffered great inconvenience from having disbursed this money for your account; and that it would be of no use to argue in favor of your Lordships, unless the whole amount had actually been paid; and that myself, as well as the ambassador, whenever he should arrive, must expect an unfavorable answer from the king. As his Eminence afforded me the time to do so, I replied by showing him at length that his Majesty's displeasure, if real, was nevertheless very unreasonable; not because he wanted to have back what belonged to him, but in failing to look at it in the way a father should towards his sons, which would be to accept their acts, not according to his wishes, but according to their ability. I enlarged upon this view of the matter with such arguments as the nature of the case suggested; but could obtain no other conclusion from his Eminence than that this money was required by his Majesty to pay the men-at-arms which he had in Lombardy; still, if your Lordships wanted a little time on a portion of this money, they would have to come to an understanding about it with Monseigneurs d'Aubigny and de Chaumont, governors at Milan; and if they were willing to wait a few months, his Majesty would also be satisfied. I observed that this was not the answer which I had anticipated, and which our republic had confidently counted upon. And as I knew that it would only humiliate and discourage your Lordships, I was not willing to communicate it; for I felt persuaded that your Lordships, deprived of all hope of achieving any good, would give yourselves up to despair; and believing that such an answer would neither be of advantage to his Majesty nor to your Lordships, I was not willing to write it; but would rather wait in the hope of a different response, such as your Lordships merited for your good faith, as well as for the actual services rendered to his Most Christian Majesty. Unable to obtain anything else from his Eminence, I took my leave, and the same morning saw his Majesty the king, and spoke to him in the same spirit; and in the most earnest and effective language that I could command, I pointed out to his Majesty how faithful your Lordships had ever been to him, and how sincere your

desire was to satisfy him; and how easy it was for his Majesty to show his affection for your Lordships. I also explained the reasons that made the immediate payment of the amount due to his Majesty quite impossible at this moment, etc. But not to weary your Lordships by repeating the same thing over and over again, I will merely state that I omitted to say nothing that I thought would be of service for his Majesty to hear on this subject. But I could obtain nothing from him except the usual complaints as to the money paid out by him, and the dishonor to his arms by our fault. And although I replied in a becoming manner to all these complaints, yet I failed to convince his Majesty upon any one point, nor did I succeed in gaining any other fruit from this interview.

After that we came on to Tours on the same day, and there had a conversation with a friend from whom I have been in the habit of obtaining secret information about the Pope, and more particularly as to the negotiations now going on between the Pope and the Venetians. He confided to me that the ambassador of his Majesty of France at present at Venice, suborned by the Pope's ambassador, had stated in the Venetian Senate that he had learned from various sources, all worthy of faith, that the Florentines, the Bolognese, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantua had formed a close league amongst themselves, under the pretext of mutual defence of their states, but in reality for the purpose of turning their combined arms against his Majesty of France, whenever the Emperor of Germany should make an attack upon Lombardy. And that your illustrious Signoria ought to be very careful to inform his Majesty of this, from a feeling of obligation to him for all the benefits received, etc., etc. My friend told me furthermore, that, when the French ambassador made this statement to the Senate, they replied, that this was very probable, for the parties named were all armed, and pretended to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the French; that the Senate would write to their ambassador, and that he also ought to write to the king about it.

This friend of mine told me, moreover, that the Pope's ambassador here had express instructions to persuade the king of the truth of this statement, and to suggest that he could easily avert this trouble by putting Piero de' Medici in power again in Florence, and in that way establish a government there that would be entirely devoted to his Majesty. That by doing this

he would deprive Ferrara, Mantua, and Bologna of their head, and thus prevent them from carrying on their machinations against the king. Adding to all this, that inasmuch as the Cardinal de' Medici was a churchman, it was the duty of his Holiness to act thus, particularly as this Cardinal had supplicated the Pope to aid him in his efforts to re-enter his own country and home; and that his Holiness, moved by just such prayers, had been compelled to consent to grant him such aid. But that his Holiness asked no other help from his Majesty the king than to preserve a strict neutrality; and that by consenting to this, and showing that he had abandoned your friendship, and withdrawn the protection hitherto extended to the other princes, he would add to the Pope's credit and reputation to that degree, that in a short time he should feel encouraged with his own forces, and such as the Venetians would furnish him, to deprive Giovanni Bentivogli of his state, and to compel your Lordships to re-establish Piero de' Medici in Florence; and that thus he would make Ferrara and Mantua come to him with the halter around their necks. And by way of giving still more credit to this enterprise and to his desire, the Pope begged his Majesty, besides granting his consent, also to send a few hundred lances to the borders of the Bolognese territory, whilst the Venetians would send theirs where they would be of most use.

My friend tells me, furthermore, that all these things are already done, and that they urge, beg, and importune his Majesty the king to give his sanction to it all; and that it was for no other purpose that they had brought Piero de' Medici from France to Pisa, but to have him near at hand for the execution of their designs.

Upon hearing all this, which seemed to me a plot worthy of our Most Holy Father the Pope, I resolved to say something to his Eminence of Amboise on the subject; and seizing the first suitable moment, I complained to his Eminence of the malignity of your Lordships' enemies, but spoke only in general terms, without mentioning either the Pope or the Venetians; saying that they persuaded themselves they could make his Majesty the king believe that your Lordships wanted to alienate themselves from him; that I did not want, for the purpose of opposing these rash and infamous calumnies, to allege either our good faith in the past, nor the present proofs of it, but wished merely to show how unreasonable it was that your Lordships

should hope for help from the Emperor, who had not even been able to help or defend Milan, which was regarded as belonging to him; and that knowing this you should be willing to make an enemy of a king whom your Lordships imagined they had laid under obligations to them, by so many perils and expenditures which they had borne and incurred for his sake. Nor could I comprehend how the Bolognese or the Ferrarese could place their hopes on any one else but his Majesty of France, being by the very position of their states obliged, under all circumstances, to follow the fortunes of whoever possessed Milan; the one from fear of the Pope, and the other from dread of the Venetians. But that his Majesty ought to be well on his guard against those who sought the destruction of his friends, for no other purpose than their own aggrandizement, and to enable them the more easily to wrench Italy from his hands. That his Majesty ought to prevent all this by adopting the practice of sovereigns who wish to establish their power in a foreign province; namely, to weaken the powerful, conciliate the subjected, sustain their friends, and to beware of associates, that is to say, of such as want to exercise an equal share of power with them in that province. And if his Majesty would look around and see who were the parties that desired to be his associates and share his power in Italy, he would find that it was not your Lordships, nor Ferrara, nor Bologna, but those who in the past had always sought to dominate the country.

His Eminence heard me patiently, and then replied, that the king was in the highest degree prudent; that his ears were long, but his belief short; that he listened to everything, but put faith only in what he could touch with his hands and prove true. And that besides having written to Rome and Milan some time ago, when I had first spoken to him on the subject, he had only three days since written again, of his own motion, and in the most earnest manner, in commendation of your interests. And that although Monseigneur d'Allegri had been allowed to go with a hundred lances into the Romagna to aid the Duke Valentino, yet it was with the express injunction in every way to favor your interests; and that your Lordships would see, when your ambassador arrived, that his Majesty would not be wanting in his duty, if you did not fail on your part, and offered more acceptable terms as to the payment of the money due him. Since then Robertet has spoken to me in the same

spirit, assuring me that his Majesty would not himself do anything wrong towards you, nor would he permit others to do so, if only the Florentines would not harm themselves by their disunion and by harboring within their walls persons who had little love for the liberties of the republic; to which, he said, your Lordships ought to look carefully. In replying to his Eminence I had no difficulty in justifying your Lordships upon this matter of disunion, the idea of which it is above all things important to remove from their minds, for the mere belief of it would produce as bad consequences here as the reality would with you in Florence.

I have nothing further of interest to communicate, for no one speaks of the propositions which the German ambassadors have brought. Those who visit them are observed and noted, as well as those who talk about them with too much curiosity.

Whilst writing I received a letter from Pier Francesco Tosinghi, in answer to several of mine, which I addressed to him at a venture. I learn from this letter that his Magnificence arrived at Lyons on the 2d instant, and was to have left there on the 15th on his way here. I expect him with impatience, and may God grant him better fortune than what those have had who have hitherto been charged with this mission.

I recommend myself to the good graces of your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary.

TOURS, 21 November, 1500.

LETTER XXVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

On the 21st instant I replied to your Lordships' letter, and informed you fully of what his Majesty and the Cardinal d'Amboise had told me about the answer given by the Illustrious Signoria of Florence to Odoardo. I also wrote you about the intrigues set on foot by the Pope and the Venetians for the purpose of making your Lordships suspected to his Majesty, and what D'Amboise had said to me on the subject. Although I have nothing of special interest to say, yet I will not lose the

opportunity of some one's going to Italy to inform your Lordships of what has occurred here since my last.

Not being altogether satisfied with the answer made me by the resolution which your Lordships have recently taken with regard to the sum claimed by his Majesty; and news having reached here that the Duke Valentino had seized the Val di Lamona, and that he counted upon obtaining possession of Faenza erelong, and then hearing that Piero de' Medici was at Pisa, and moreover that a new ambassador had arrived from Lucca, with instructions, it is said, to pay at once ten thousand ducats to his Majesty on condition that Pietrasanta should be given up to them; and in addition to all this that Messrs. de la Palisse and de Chatillon had been sent by the queen to Pisa as governors;—in view of all this, I say, I determined to present myself once more before his Majesty. I pointed out to him again, that if the answer given by our illustrious Signoria to Odoardo was not exactly according to his Majesty's wishes, it was owing to the absolute impossibility of doing better, in consequence of the heavy expenses to which you had been and continued to be subjected, having the victorious army of the Duke Valentino on your borders, who constantly threatened to assail your Lordships, not so much with his own forces as with those of his Majesty, and who constantly boasts of being thus supported, which is calculated to produce very bad effects unless his Majesty promptly put a stop to it. To all this his Majesty replied at once: "Why, we have written in "duplicate to our lieutenants in Italy, that, if the Duke Val- "entino should attempt anything against the Florentines or "the Bolognese, they should instantly march against the Duke "Valentino, so that upon this point you may rest in perfect "security."

And then his Majesty began his usual complaints; and as to the other matters that I had touched upon, namely, the queen's having sent governors to Pisa, and the proposition of the Lucchese with regard to Pietrasanta, his Majesty replied, in general terms, that we had broken our agreements with him in not having at the very first made payment of the money due him, and that even now we were not willing to do so in a way that he might avail himself of. And to all I could say or allege, (and I talked to him so long that I feared to abuse his patience,) I could obtain no further reply. And when I finally

said to him that your ambassador would be here within two days, he answered, "Perhaps he may come too late."

Thereupon I left his Majesty and went to seek Robertet, and in discussing with him all I have written above, he told me there was no truth in the story of Monseigneur de la Palisse having been sent to Pisa; and that if Piero de' Medici was really at Pisa, he was not there by order of the king, but because he had been called there by the Duke Valentino, to see whether his presence there could in any way advance the Duke's projects. And that it was perfectly true that his Majesty had written three times, or even oftener, to his lieutenants in favor of your Lordships and of the Bolognese; adding, under a pledge of secrecy, "That the success of the Duke Valentino had be-"come very distasteful to his Majesty." And as to the Lucchese, he told me that they were making every possible effort to get Pietrasanta back again, offering ten thousand ducats, and even more, for it, and that there was danger of their success owing to the king's dissatisfaction with your tardiness in paying his claims. And when I had replied to all this in a becoming manner, he stated as his general conclusion, that according to his own judgment, as well as what he had heard others say to his Majesty the king and to the Cardinal d'Amboise respecting your Lordships' interests, it seemed to him certain that, if your Lordships would endeavor not to injure yourselves, when it came to the proof, you need never apprehend anything that was not for your advantage. And with this assurance I took my leave of his Lordship. I now await the arrival of the ambassador with the greatest impatience, so as to see what turn your affairs will take, and to be able to judge of them more correctly.

I will only now remind your Lordships, with the utmost respect, of a matter that we wrote about very fully on our first coming here, but which we have not touched upon since, partly because we did not wish to appear presumptuous, and also because you have in Florence some extremely prudent citizens, who are much more experienced than ourselves in the ways of this court; namely, that your Lordships should arrange to have some one here who will act as your friend, and who will defend and protect your interests, the same as is done by all others who have any business with this court; and indeed I cannot but think that the ambassador who is coming here is

fully prepared upon this point. And I can assure your Lordships that, if your ambassador cannot at least give some proofs of gratitude to Robertet, he will find himself completely at a loss here, to such an extent and degree that he will hardly be able to expedite an ordinary letter.

The embassy from Germany, which consists of a M. Philip de Nanso (Nassau) and two other gentlemen, had yesterday its first audience of his Majesty the king. There were present the Cardinal d'Amboise, Monseigneurs de la Tremouille and d'Aubigny, the Grand Chancellor, the Maréchal de Gié, the Prince of Orange, the Marquis de Rothelin, and Monseigneur de Clary, together with the ambassadors of the Pope, of Spain, and of Venice, and three or four Italian gentlemen. The address of the ambassadors was in ordinary and general terms, to the effect that the Empire deemed it necessary that all Christendom should arm for the purpose of putting a stop to the violence of the infidels; and that, unless this were done, the Christian republic would with difficulty be able to maintain itself against the daily spoliations of the Turk. And as it was impossible for all Christendom to arm, unless peace prevailed between the Empire and his most Christian Majesty, as chiefs of Christendom, they had been sent here for no other purpose than to promote such a peace. The ambassador touched upon no other point in his address, and employed only such words and phrases as are customary on similar ceremonious occasions. After the audience his Majesty appointed four commissioners to negotiate this treaty of peace. This commission consists of his Eminence the Cardinal, the Grand Chancellor, Monseigneur de Bourbon, and the Maréchal de Gié; and the whole is to be completed this week, after which, it is said, his Majesty will leave for Blois; and nothing more is said about Lyons.

I recommend myself to the good graces of your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary.

TOURS, 24 November, 1500.

LETTER XXVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Having received several letters from the Magistracy of the Ten, in reply to several of my despatches addressed to your Lordships, and having in turn informed the said Magistracy of all that relates to the interests of our republic, I deem it superfluous to repeat the same things to your most excellent Lordships. The only thing that induces me to write now is to present my homage to your Lordships, and to recommend myself most humbly to your good graces. I am furthermore moved to write by the affection I bear to Messer Giulio Scurcigliati of Naples; not for any particular service that he has rendered to me personally, but because of his warm, fruitful, constant, and affectionate labors in favor of the liberties of our republic. And therefore I beg most earnestly to recommend this gentleman to your Lordships; and humbly to ask that, if you desire to have him continue your friend and defender here, and if your Lordships do not wish to be charged with ingratitude by the whole court here at seeing all Messer Giulio's services unrecognized, you will be pleased to aid him with your sovereign hand, and to favor him by looking into the litigation in which he is involved with the heirs of Pierantonio Bandini. For I assure your Lordships that when he received the news, some three days ago, that a decision in the matter had not been rendered because of the inhibition, etc., etc., he became so furious at the wrong which he conceived had been done him, that, if I had not been present, he would have rushed to the court to cry out and complain of the injury, etc.

He complains of several things: firstly, that your Lordships had remitted his case to the ordinary tribunal, whilst it ought to have been summarily adjudged by your Lordships yourselves; secondly, that this ordinary tribunal had so protracted the matter that it afforded time to his adversaries to obtain an order of inhibition; thirdly, that the woman has been relieved from banishment; and fourthly, that the person who is charged with watching his interests at Florence has deprived him of all hope of being able to obtain his rights by these proceedings; and finally, that in the inhibition his adversaries had called him "merchant and usurer." He claims that he asks no more than his own capital, and is willing to forego all accrued interest.

So far as I am concerned, Magnificent Signori, I know nothing of Scurcigliati's case, but I do know that so long as your relations with his Majesty are so uncertain, and as it were in the air, few persons can be of service to you, whilst it is in every one's power to injure you; and therefore I have thought it not amiss, but rather necessary on the whole, to manage this man and temporize with him. And if you do not, he will, at the receipt of the first letter from Florence, rush like lightning through the court, and the evil he will say of you will be more readily believed than all the good he has said before. For he is a man of some influence and credit here, — a fluent talker, most audacious, importunate, and terrible, and of uncontrollable passions, — and therefore apt to carry through whatever he undertakes. I have enlarged upon this matter solely from my devotion to my country; and my belief that it was for her good has made me write as I have done. Your most excellent Lordships will, I trust, hold me excused, and will act in the whole matter with your wonted goodness and wisdom.

I recommend myself most humbly to your Lordships.

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

TOURS, 24 November, 1500.

THE MAGISTRACY OF THE TEN TO FRANCESCO DELLA CASA AND NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

SPECTABILES VIRI, ETC.: —

As we have promised you several times that upon the arrival of our ambassador at court we would give you leave to return here, we have this day passed a resolution to that effect, inasmuch as two days since we had letters from our said ambassador, dated the last day of November, announcing his arrival. And having replied to him and instructed him

upon all points that occurred to us, we have nothing to communicate to you except to instruct you to return here as soon as you can, which we do herewith. Before leaving, you will give full information to the ambassador of all that you have done during your stay at court.

Bene valete!

Ex Palatio Florentino, 12 December, 1500.

MISSION TO THE DUKE OF VALENTINOIS.

October 5, 1502.

Cesare Borgia, second son of Pope Alexander VI., was originally intended for the Church, and had been made Cardinal of Valence by his father. But after the assassination of his elder brother, the Duke of Gandia, charged by all the writers of the day upon Cesare, he doffed the cardinal's hat and eagerly seized the sword as more congenial to him. His father, the Pope, granted him a bull of secularization, and sent him with letters of credence and strong recommendations to King Louis XII. of France, as bearer of the Pope's bull dissolving the marriage of the King with the Queen Jeanne, thus enabling Louis XII. to marry Anne of Brittany, widow of King Charles VIII., of whom he had been enamored whilst yet Duke of Orleans. At the same time Cesare Borgia was bearer of the cardinal's hat for Georges d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen and prime minister of Louis XII. In recognition of these services the king, who had already made Cesare Duke of Valentinois, gave him for wife Carlotta d'Albret, daughter of the Sieur d'Albret; and from Cardinal d'Amboise he obtained the promise of aid and support in the establishment of a state for himself in the Romagna, which had been given him by his father, Pope Alexander VI., together with the command of the papal forces. The Romagna, however, was at that time occupied by a number of petty lords and despots, some of whom were employed by the Duke of Valentinois as captains of his troops. These fearing lest the Duke would dispossess them, met in secret at Magione, in the Perugian territory, to devise measures for thwarting the Duke's projects. Immediately after his return from France, however, the Duke pushed his military movements with extraordinary energy and skill, and very quickly made himself master of Faenza, Urbino, etc. Feeling the importance of having the support and alliance of the Florentine republic, whose territory adjoined the Romagna, Cesare requested the Signoria of Florence to send an ambassador to him with whom he could treat of these matters. The Signoria accordingly sent Francesco Soderini, Cardinal of Volterra, and Niccolo Machiavelli to him at Urbino; but the demands of the Duke for an alliance and a change in the government of Florence, by which he hoped to facilitate his future plans of conquest in Tuscany, were such as the envoys could not accede to. The Duke gave them four days for a final reply, during which Machiavelli returned to Florence for the purpose of consulting the government; the result

of which was that the Signoria wrote to Soderini to inform the Duke of the impossibility of their complying with his demands.

Meantime, however, the Florentine government became still more alarmed by the disturbances in the Val di Chiano and Arezzo, which had been stirred up by some of the Duke's captains, especially Vitellozzo Vitelli. Although these disturbances were quieted and Arezzo restored to the Florentines by the intervention of the French, yet they had produced such an impression upon the Florentine government that they resolved on the 5th of October, 1502, to despatch Machiavelli on a special mission to the Duke of Valentinois and to remain near him and watch his movements. This is the mission that gave rise to the following despatches from Machiavelli to the Signoria, which are of the highest interest, especially as they contain an authentic account of the proceedings of the Duke of Valentinois at Sinigaglia in killing Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, and the Signor Paolo and the Duke Gravina Orsini.

COMMISSION

GIVEN TO NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI, 5TH OCTOBER, 1502.

NICCOLO, — We send you to his Excellency the Duke Valentino at Imola, with letters of credence, and you will proceed thither as speedily as possible. At your first interview you will explain to his Excellency that we have learnt within the last few days that, after his return to Romagna, the Orsini have become alienated and detached from his Excellency; that they have appointed a meeting with their adherents at Magione, in the Perugian territory, and that according to current report the Duke of Urbino and the Signor Bartolommeo del Viano are also to be there for the purpose of negotiating and adopting some project against his Excellency, which we regard as equally directed against his Most Christian Majesty the king of France. Also, that we have been cunningly invited to send a deputy there, with the view to coming to some understanding with them. But that we continue the same as ever disposed and resolved to remain good friends with the Sovereign Pontiff and his Excellency, and firmly resolved not to separate ourselves from them, nor from our devotion to the king of France, on whose friendship and protection our republic depends. And that therefore, when his interests are in question, or those of his allies or their adherents, we cannot do otherwise than to make known to him what is going on and what we hear, and

to do our duty towards him as good friends. And that for these reasons we have sent you promptly to his Excellency, as the importance of the matter seemed to demand it, to assure him anew that, in the midst of these movements of our neighbors, we are resolved to have due regard for what concerns him, and to continue our good will towards him the same as ever. For we regard all the friends of France as our friends, and whenever their interests are concerned ours are equally involved. This seems to us sufficient for your first audience, in which you will in every way show his Excellency that we place every degree of hope and confidence in him. You may enlarge upon all this as the occasion may prompt you, amplifying your remarks with all the circumstances that bear upon the subject, and which we need not specify as you are fully informed upon this whole matter. But we desire you not to go outside of it, nor to touch upon any other subject. And should his Excellency question you beyond this, you will reserve to yourself to communicate with us and await our reply. After this first *exposé*, either at the same audience or at a subsequent one, you will state to his Excellency that you have been particularly instructed to thank him most cordially for the service which he has rendered to our merchants in ordering the restoration of those cloths that had been retained at Urbino for several months, and which, according to the news in our markets to-day, have been restored to the agents of those merchants in a most friendly and courteous manner; and you will say to his Excellency that we regard this service as having been done to ourselves personally, as well as to our republic. And after that, when a favorable opportunity presents itself, you will ask his Excellency in our name to grant security and safe conduct to the goods of our merchants on their passage through his states and territories on their way to and from the Levant. As this is an object of the greatest importance to us, commerce being as it were the vital part of our republic, you will use your best efforts to achieve the success we so much desire.

LETTER I.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.:—

Finding myself not well on horseback at my departure from Florence, and believing that my commission required all speed, I took the post at Scarperia and came here without loss of time, arriving to-day at about the eighteenth hour. Having left my horses and servants behind, I presented myself at once, in my travelling costume, to his Excellency, who received me most graciously. After presenting my credentials, I explained to his Excellency the object of my coming, beginning by thanking him for the restitution of the cloths. I then spoke of the defection of the Orsini, of their meeting with their adherents, how they had cunningly endeavored to induce your Lordships to unite with them, and of your disposition in regard to your friendship with the king of France and your devotion to the Church, amplifying in the best manner I could the reasons that bind you in friendship to these two powers, and caused you to avoid any alliance with their adversaries. I assured him that under all circumstances your Lordships would have every consideration for the interests of his Excellency consistent with your friendship for the king of France and your ancient devotion to the Church, as well as the affection which you had ever borne to his Excellency, regarding as you do all the friends of France as your allies and particular friends.

His Excellency made no reply to what I said respecting the restitution of the merchandise, but, passing to the other matters, he thanked your Lordships for your offers and obliging demonstrations. After that he said that he had always desired your friendship, and that, if he had failed to obtain it, it was owing more to the malice of others than to any fault of his own,—adding that he wished to relate to me what he had never before told any one respecting his coming to Florence with his army. And then he told me that ever since the taking of Faenza, and his attempt upon Bologna, the Orsini and the Vitelli had been after him trying to persuade him to return to Rome by way of Florence, which he had refused, because the Pope, by a special brief, had instructed him differently. That thereupon Vitellozzo had thrown himself at his feet, weeping, and begging him to come that way, and promising him that no harm of any

kind should be done either to the country or the city. But that, still refusing to consent, they had so beset him with prayers to that effect, that he finally yielded, but under a pledge on their part that no damage should be done to the country, and that the subject of the Medici should not be mentioned.

Wishing, however, to derive some benefit from his coming to Florence, he had thought of availing of the opportunity to form a friendship with your Lordships, which is proved by the fact that he had engaged in no negotiations, or had hardly said one word respecting the Medici, a fact well known by the commissioner who had treated with him, and that he never allowed Piero de' Medici to come to his camp. And that whilst they were at Campi the Orsini and the Vitelli had repeatedly asked permission of him to present themselves at Florence or at Pistoja, showing him how they could strike some successful blows; but that so far from consenting, he had made them understand by a thousand protests that he would rather fight them himself. That afterwards, when the treaty was concluded, the Orsini and the Vitelli, on pretence that he had consulted only his own interests and not theirs, and that his coming to Florence had been solely for his benefit and to their injury, had tried by dishonest means to break the treaty; and had committed all sorts of outrages for the purpose of giving offence to your Lordships, and to disturb the good understanding between yourselves and him. Nor had it been possible for him to remedy these outrages, because he could not be in all places at once; and also because your Lordships had not paid him the subsidies stipulated and provided for. Thus matters had remained until the month of June past, when the revolt of Arezzo occurred, respecting which he told me, the same as he had previously told the Bishop of Volterra, that he had not heard anything until then. Still he was pleased that it had occurred, for he thought the occasion might be used to render your Lordships a service that would merit your acknowledgments. But that even then nothing was done, either because of the ill-luck of both parties, or because our republic was not disposed to treat and conclude an arrangement that would have been mutually advantageous, which, however, had not caused him much uneasiness. But being disposed to render you a service, and knowing the wishes of the king, he had

written and at once had sent messengers to Vitellozzo to withdraw from Arezzo. And not content with this, he had himself gone with his troops to Citta di Castello, and could easily have deprived Vitellozzo of his state, for the principal inhabitants had come to offer themselves to him; and this, he said, was the cause of Vitellozzo's ill-will and dissatisfaction. As to the Orsini, he said that he really knew not what had given rise to their indignation and their departure from the court of Rome without leave of the Pope. Subsequently, when they saw that his Majesty the king had treated him better than the Cardinal of their name, and had bestowed great honors upon him, to which came furthermore certain reports that had been spread that he intended to deprive them of their possessions, then the Orsini abandoned him, and joined that gathering of bankrupts at Magione. And although he had received several messages from Signor Giulio Orsino, protesting that they had no intention of opposing him, etc., etc., yet he knew full well that the reason why they did not wish to declare themselves openly against him was that they had received his money. But if ever they did so declare themselves, he would look upon them as greater fools than he had ever supposed them to be, for not knowing how to choose a better moment for injuring him than the present, when the king of France was in Italy, and his Holiness the Pope still alive; two circumstances that had kindled such a fire in his favor as all the water the Orsini could command would not quench. Nor did he care much about their stirring up the duchy of Urbino, for he had not yet forgotten the way to reconquer it, in case he should lose it.

His Excellency then added, that now was the moment to oblige him, if your Lordships really wished to be his friends, for he could now form an alliance with you regardless of the Orsini, which he had never before been able to do. But if your Lordships were to defer it, and he in the mean time should make up with the Orsini, which they sought by all means to bring about, then he would be bound again by the same considerations as before. And as no arrangement would satisfy the Orsini that did not re-establish the Medici, your Lordships would be exposed to the same difficulties and jealousies as before. He therefore thought that your Lordships should anyhow declare yourselves at once either his friends or theirs, as delay might bring about an agreement between him and the Orsini, that

would be prejudicial to you. For in the case of victory of either party, the successful one would either remain your enemy, or would anyhow be under no obligations to your Lordships. And his Excellency says that when you come to decide upon this matter, which of necessity you will have to do, he does not see how you can take a different course from that in which his Majesty the king of France and his Holiness the Pope concur; adding, at the same time, that it would be most agreeable to him, in case that Vitellozzo or any other should make an attempt upon any of his states, that you should cause whatever troops you have to advance either towards the Borgo or to the frontiers of his states, for the purpose of sustaining his cause.

I listened with the utmost attention to the above remarks of his Excellency, and have given you in full, not only their substance, but his very words, so that your Lordships may be able to form a better judgment of it all. Not deeming it important, I shall not relate what I answered, but I was careful not to go outside of my instructions. In relation to the subject of the troops I made no reply at all, but merely said that I would report to your Lordships his excellent disposition, which I had no doubt would give you signal pleasure. And although, as you will perceive, his Excellency manifested a great desire that a treaty between yourselves and him should be promptly concluded, yet notwithstanding my efforts to get at his real thoughts, he always avoided the subject, so that I did not succeed in getting more from him than what I have written.

But having heard on my arrival here that there had been some disturbances in the duchy of Urbino, and his Excellency having said in the course of his remarks that he did not attach any importance to the troubles in that duchy, it seemed to me not amiss, in the course of my reply, to ask him how this matter had occurred. To this his Excellency made answer: — "My clemency and disregard of these things have done me "harm. You are aware that I took that duchy in three days "without hurting a hair of any one's head, with the exception "of Messer Dolce and two others, who had made open opposi- "tion to his Holiness the Pope. And what is more, I had even "confided the public offices of that state to many of its princi- "pal citizens, and had placed one of them in charge of a certain

"wall which I had ordered to be built in the citadel of San Leo. "A couple of days ago, under pretence of raising a beam, this "individual concerted a plot with certain peasants, that enabled "him to obtain possession of that citadel by force, and thus I "lost it. Some say that they raised the cry of St. Mark, others "say that of the Vitelli or the Orsini; but up to the present, "neither one nor the other have openly declared themselves. "Now, although I give up that duchy for lost, it being a weak "and feeble state, and its inhabitants dissatisfied in conse- "quence of my having burdened them heavily with my troops, "yet I hope to put all this matter right again. And you must "write to your Signori to look well to their own affairs, and to "let us hear from them promptly; for if the Duke of Urbino "returns to his duchy from Venice, it will not be for their ad- "vantage, and still less for ours; and this should cause us to "have more confidence in each other."

This is all I am at present able to communicate to your Lordships; and although my duty would require me to write you how many troops the Duke has, and where they are stationed, as well as many other particulars respecting the state of things here, yet, having arrived only to-day, it is impossible for me to ascertain the exact truth, and I therefore reserve all that for another time, and recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

7th October, 1502.

P. S.—I have kept this letter until the sixteenth hour of this morning, because my courier had no horse and was not able to find one until now. I have to add, that, in the course of conversation last evening, his Excellency told me that Pandolfo Petrucci had sent a disguised messenger to him on the previous evening to assure him that he would not countenance any one that opposed his Excellency, and that he had given him the most positive assurances to that effect. On my way here yesterday, I met Messer Agapito * about two miles from here with some seven or eight cavaliers; and, recognizing me, he asked where I was going, and who it was that sent me. He gave me a cordial welcome, but after having gone on his way

* Messer Agapito de' Gherardi da Amelia, several times mentioned in these despatches, was one of the principal secretaries of the Duke Valentino.

a short distance he turned back. This morning I have learnt that said Messer Agapito was on his way to Florence, being sent on a mission to your Lordships by his Excellency the Duke, and that my coming caused him to return.

Iterum valete!

8th October, 1502.—I have given the bearer of this two ducats, so that he might be at Florence by to-morrow, the 9th, before daylight. I beg you will have that sum reimbursed to Ser Agostini Vespucci.

LETTER II.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote to your Lordships yesterday, and sent my letter by Campriano, who was to reach Florence this morning before day, for which I paid him two ducats, which I beg you will reimburse to Messer Agostino Vespucci. The courier Ardingo arrived here this morning with letters for several private persons; and as he brought none for me from your Lordships, I fear they were either left at Florence or lost on the road, and I remain in doubt as to how this has occurred.

As this courier is to return to Florence, I have concluded to write you by him what has taken place here since my first despatch. Being at court to day at about the twentieth hour, the Duke sent for me and told me that he wished to communicate some news he had received, so that I might give the information to your Lordships. He showed me a letter from Monseigneur d'Arles, the Pope's ambassador in France, dated the 4th instant, in which he writes that the king and the Cardinal d'Amboise were well disposed to do what might be agreeable to him; and that so soon as they heard of his desire to have troops for his attempt upon Bologna, they had sent word to M. de Chaumont at Milan to send without delay M. de Lanques with three hundred lances to the Duke; and that if his Excellency should require it, he was to go with three hundred more lances towards Parma. He had sent to his Excellency a copy of the letter which the king had written to the said Chaumont, which the Duke read to me aloud, and wanted me to see the signature of

M. d'Arles, as well as the letter written to him. I recognized the handwriting, having seen it often in France and at Florence. In fact, according to that copy, it would be impossible to give more explicit orders for the moving of these troops.

After having read these letters his Excellency said to me: "You see now, Secretary, that letter was written in reply to my "request for an attack upon Bologna, and you will note how "very positive it is. You may imagine, then, what I could ob- "tain for the purpose of defending myself against those, the "greater part of whom his Majesty looks upon as his worst "enemies; for they have always sought to cause him some "check in Italy. Believe me that this is a great thing for me, "and the Vitelli and Orsini could not have declared against me "at a time when they could have harmed me less. Nor could "I have desired anything more advantageous for the consolida- "tion of my states, for I shall know now against whom I shall "have to be on my guard, and who are my real friends. And "even if under these circumstances the Venetians were to de- "clare against me, which I do not believe they will do, neither "myself nor the king of France could desire anything better. "I give you this information, and will make known to you from "time to time what takes place, so that you may communicate "it to your Signori, and so that they may see that I am far from "abandoning my own case, and that I am not lacking in friends, "amongst whom I should be glad to count your Signori, pro- "vided they promptly give me so to understand. And if they "do not do so now, I shall leave them aside, and though I had "the water up to my throat I should nevermore talk about "friendship with them; though I should always regret having "a neighbor to whom I could not render friendly service nor "receive any from him."

Thereupon the Duke asked me when I thought an answer would come to the letter I wrote yesterday to your Lordships; to which I replied, that I thought it ought not to be later than Wednesday. I then thanked his Excellency for having communicated to me those letters, and for his desire to entertain relations of friendship with our republic, expressing myself in such terms as I knew would be satisfactory to his Excellency, whilst at the same time I kept strictly within your Lordships' instructions. His Excellency said also that he had forgotten, when I had spoken to him on a previous occasion, to reply to

Smt HANSA MEHTA LIBRARY

that part of my remarks in which I expressed your Lordships' thanks for the restitution of the cloths, saying that he had done it most cheerfully and would always act in the same way whenever an opportunity occurred to render you a service; and that he had had more trouble to defend these cloths against the Orsini than any other business had ever caused him; that it had been from the first his intention to restore these cloths of his own accord, and without the intercession of any one, as that was his way of rendering a service. I thereupon asked the Duke for a general safe-conduct for all our citizens, which he promptly agreed to give, saying, however, that he did not understand such matters, and that I must speak with Messer Alessandro Spannochi about it, and prepare it with him, which I shall not fail to do. His Excellency having thus referred me in this matter to Messer Alessandro, I shall have to shape my course to suit his views; and although I have reason to believe, from the experience of the past, that he is well disposed towards us, yet I think it would be well if some of our merchants who stand well with him were to write to him and dispose him still more favorably; although I deem it well to caution those merchants not to venture too far in this matter, for in these days of change a country often belongs one day to one master and the next day to another.

His Excellency has talked to me again about the affair of San Leo, much to the same effect as I wrote you in my last; but says that only two small castles in the neighborhood of San Leo have revolted, whilst all the other places are still undecided, and that neither the Orsini nor the Vitelli have as yet made any open demonstrations against him. He told me also that three days since a certain Chevalier Orsino, one of the gentlemen of his suite, had gone to see the Orsini and the Vitelli, and that he looked momentarily for his return; and that Pandolfo continued to write him frequently and to send him messages to the effect that he had no intention of doing anything adverse to him.

On taking my leave of his Excellency he reminded me again to recall to your Lordships that if you remained undecided you would certainly lose, whilst by uniting with him you might be victorious.

I cannot express in writing with what demonstrations of affection the Duke spoke, and what efforts he made to justify

the past, in all of which the chief persons of his court concur. Although I tell your Lordships all this, yet it is not likely that the Duke will long remain in this mood; his object is to know clearly your intentions, if not by your first, then by your second answer. I wish to make this known to your Lordships, for if you judge that the course which I have suggested is a good one, you must not persuade yourselves that you will always be in time to adopt it; for the Duke told me at the first interview that, although for the moment he was not obliged to have any considerations for the Orsini, yet such would be the case if he should become reconciled with them. This manifests itself in many ways that are easier to understand than to explain in writing. I beg your Lordships, therefore, to come to some decision, and to write me how I am to bear myself in this matter; also not to fail to instruct me what answer I am to make to the Duke's request, that in case of any movement on the part of the Vitelli you should direct your troops towards the Borgo. Whatever instructions your Lordships may have to give me, I beg you will be pleased to write them, so that I may the more readily obtain an audience and more easily gain time. And should you really wish to conclude anything essential, then the more importance you give yourselves in the negotiation, the better and the more advantageously will you be able to carry it through. Thus it would be very much to the purpose if you were to reinforce me by sending some one here in the capacity of ambassador or otherwise.

I must now give your Lordships some particulars of the situation of things here. So soon as the Duke heard of the loss of San Leo, he caused the duchy of Urbino to be evacuated, and resolved to concentrate all his efforts on maintaining his power in Romagna with what troops he had, until he should have strengthened himself sufficiently to be able to attack those who had molested him. For this purpose he sent at once Messer Ramiro to scour the whole country, and to visit all the fortresses and put them in condition for defence. He wrote to Don Hugo di Cardona, one of his Spanish captains, who was with his troops on the borders of Urbino, to withdraw towards Rimini; and sent Don Michele Coreglia with money to collect some thousand of infantry, with which to join the other troops; and to-day he has distributed money to some eight hundred infantry from the Val di Lamona and sent them forward in the

same direction. At the present the Duke has altogether not over twenty-five hundred paid infantry, and out of all his men-at-arms he has only about one hundred lances left to him, and these are composed mainly of his own gentlemen, who can put about four hundred horses into the field for service. Besides these he has three companies of fifty lances each under three Spanish captains; these, however, have been considerably diminished in number, from having been a long time without pay. The infantry and mounted men which he is now trying to raise, and the auxiliaries upon which he counts, are as follows. He has sent Rafaello dei Pazzi to Milan to form a company of five hundred Gascons out of the adventurers that are in Lombardy; a man of experience has been sent to the Swiss to engage fifteen hundred of them; and five days ago he mustered six thousand infantry into his service from his own states, and which he can have together in two days. As to men-at-arms and light cavalry, he has caused it to be published that he will take into his pay all such as are within his own states, and they are at once to report themselves to him. He has as much artillery, and in good condition, as almost all the rest of Italy together. He despatches frequent letters and special messengers to Rome, to France, and to Ferrara, and is hopeful of receiving from everywhere whatever he asks for. With regard to Rome there can be no doubt; as to France your Lordships know what I have above written on that subject; but what he asks from Ferrara I know not.

As regards your Lordships his Excellency counts upon having you as friends, on account of France and the character of his enemies, or that you will remain neutral. On the other hand, we see all his enemies armed and ready at any moment to light a general conflagration; and yet the people are at heart all for Romagna, but they have been badly treated by the Duke, who has always favored his soldiers more than the inhabitants.

It is feared that the Venetians have a hand in all these movements, and that according as the affair succeeds it may also have the support of Spain and Germany, and of all those who are jealous of the power of France. But if all be true that his Excellency has told me, none of the Vitelli or the Orsini have as yet stirred since the events of Urbino, except Messer Giovanni Bentivogli, who has sent three of them to

Castel San Piero, a few miles from here, and four detachments of infantry under the command of Ramazotto and Del Mancino; but has caused them to return home again, according to what his Excellency told me to-day. From the side of the Venetians we hear nothing, except that they have some troops at Ravenna, who have been there for some time; but this also comes to me from a source that is not authentic.

I have thought that my duty required me to inform your Lordships fully of the condition in which matters are here, and how I regard them; and I have done so with the same fidelity which is at once my duty and my habit. I leave it now to your Lordships to judge of them according to your wisdom, and recommend myself to you.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 9 October, 1502.

P. S. — Messer Alessandro Spannochi told me yesterday evening, just as I was about to despatch Ardingo, that the Duke wanted to send some one this morning to Rome by way of Florence, and desired me to delay the departure of my courier. I could not, therefore, send him off until now at the twenty-second hour, and on the 10th of the month. Having spoken with Messer Alessandro about a general safe-conduct for all our people, he told me to wait a couple of days, and that then he would try and do what would be agreeable to me. I shall not fail to do my best in this matter.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

Iterum valete!

LETTER III.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Yesterday I wrote to your Lordships by the courier Ardingo, giving an account of all that had occurred here; and not wishing to omit informing your Lordships each day of what I hear, I must now tell you as the news of to-day that the Signoria of Venice, so soon as they heard of the revolt of the citadel of San Leo, sent for the Bishop of Tivoli, the Pope's ambassador, and informed him of the revolt, manifesting great displeasure,

and complaining that the cry of St. Mark had been raised in that citadel; and assuring him that they had no intention of abandoning either the cause of France or that of the Holy Father, nor the protection which they enjoyed at the hands of his Excellency the Duke, and that they had no idea of supporting the Duke of Urbino in any way. And having sent for the latter, they declared their intentions to him in presence of the said Bishop.

This news has greatly encouraged the whole court, satisfying them that the origin of these troubles is not as has been presumed. His Excellency the Duke, by way of manifesting his satisfaction, immediately sent his secretary, Messer Romolino to the Venetian Signoria, to thank them for their good disposition and for their offers. It is reported here, moreover, that a certain Don Hugo, a Spaniard, and captain of the Duke's men-at-arms, and Don Michele, captain of his infantry, whom the Duke in consequence of these troubles had ordered to fall back in the direction of Rimini, have altogether transgressed their orders and gone to the assistance of the governors of La Pergola and Fossombrone; that they have taken both these places and given them up to pillage, killing nearly all the inhabitants. Thus we see that events are taking a favorable turn for the Duke rather than otherwise.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 11 October, 1502.

LETTER IV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Your Lordships will learn from the enclosed the news which I heard yesterday at court. Since then, at about the fifth hour of the night, your courier Baccino arrived with your Lordships' letters of the 10th, in reply to mine of the 8th. Having thoroughly examined them and informed myself of their contents, I went at the Duke's audience time, which is about the twenty-second hour, and presented myself before his Excellency, who said to me, "We have good news from all quarters." And then he related to me the offers made to him by the Vene-

tians, precisely as I have written to your Lordships, and also what Don Hugo and Don Michele have done in Pergola and Fossombrone, saying gayly, "An evil star reigns this year for those who rebel." After that he told me that he had news from Perugia through the Pope's envoy, who on his arrival there found Vitellozzo ill with fever, and the Signor Paolo Orsino covered with scurvy; and that no sooner had he arrived than the Orsini threw themselves into his arms, saying they were soldiers of the Church and did not wish to deviate in the least from the will of the Sovereign Pontiff; and that their leaving Rome was caused solely by their being short of provisions; and that they had implored his Holiness to be pleased to receive them again and afford them quarters as he had formerly done, as they could no longer exist where they were. Of Vitellozzo his Excellency did not tell me anything more; but I have learnt from another source that he had sent word to the Duke that, if he could be assured of his safety, he would come to his Excellency; but if not, then he would go away to a distance, and would thus show him that he was still devoted to him.

After some conversation about the professions of the Orsini, I communicated to his Excellency what your Lordships reply in your letter of the 10th, which I explained to him paragraph by paragraph, as also the reasons that would have caused you to withhold the assistance in case his Excellency should at this time have need of it; and also those considerations that prevented you from being able at the present moment to declare yourselves his friends; making him understand that, as you had written to France on the subject, you would necessarily have to await an answer from there. After that I informed him of the engagement of the Marquis of Mantua, adding, as a suggestion of my own, that I was persuaded his Majesty the king of France had caused your Lordships to do it; for having given a prominent position to one of his friends, for such the Marquis had now become, and wishing at the same time to furnish our republic, which had ever been his most faithful ally, with a reliable armed force, of which both they and their friends might avail themselves, and as it was at the same time the interest of Florence to keep an instrument of such importance from those who were jealous of his Excellency's power, his Majesty had thought that he could not make your

Lordships do a wiser and more advantageous thing than to engage the Marquis of Mantua, at which his Excellency the Duke would also have reason to rejoice. I did not fail on this point, as well as upon many others, to impress his Excellency with your friendly disposition, as requested in your letter. He answered me most graciously as to the first part, showing that he believed in reality what your Lordships say with regard to the troops and the alliance; nor did he insist much upon these points, or solicit them as he had formerly done. He spoke of the Marquis of Mantua in an honorable manner, saying that he was an honest man and his friend, and that he would show me letters from him in which he had quite recently offered to come to him with troops to aid him in any of his undertakings; and that he was very glad to have him in his neighborhood; to all which I replied in a suitable manner. Afterwards, in fulfilment of your instructions, I brought the conversation back to the subject of the Vitelli and the Orsini, of whom the Duke showed that he had a bad opinion, confessing freely that he could not trust them, but would bide his time, etc., etc.

I suggested that in their despair they might perhaps make incursions into our territory, and, although we had no fear as to any of our towns, yet it would tend to disturb the country. I asked what his Excellency would do if such a thing were to occur before the troops which your Lordship had organized could be on the spot. His Excellency replied, that he could not for the world believe that they would attempt anything of the kind, and gave some reasons for it; but if they should, nevertheless, make any movement, and he should know in what direction they were and what troops they had, he certainly would not fail in his duty as a good friend to do all he could in case you should need help. More than that I could not get from his Excellency in this conversation. On taking my leave I asked him again for a general safe-conduct for all our people, which he again promised most freely, telling me to speak with Messer Alessandro about it. I told him that I had done so, but that Messer Alessandro had put me off for two or three days. To this the Duke replied that this delay was caused by Messer Alessandro's manifold occupations just at this moment; but that I must speak to him again on the subject. This I have done since, and he has again given me fair

words, but as yet without any result; the reason of which I do not know.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 12 October, 1502.

LETTER V.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I have deferred until this evening to send Baccino back with the two enclosed letters, so as to be able to give your Lordships fuller information about matters here; and more particularly to satisfy the desire you express to know the Duke's disposition, and what he designs doing in regard to yourselves. But not having been able to get anything more out of his Excellency than what I have written, and there being at this moment a secretary of the Duke of Ferrara here, recently sent to his Excellency in relation to late events, I took occasion to talk with him. And going from one subject to another, he told me of his own accord that he had a special commission from his master to advise the Duke to form the talked of alliance with your Lordships; adding, as a suggestion of his own, that it seemed as though such an alliance had been too long thought about ever to be really concluded; and that he was resolved the first time that he should talk with the Duke to see whether he could not bring him to some definite conclusion which might afterwards be proposed to you by the Duke of Ferrara, and that he would talk further to me on the subject before his departure. I showed myself neither anxious to avoid nor to accept this offer, but rather thanked the secretary in a general way. He has since then had an interview with the Duke, and, meeting me again, he entered upon that subject, and told me that he had found his Excellency most favorably disposed; and that having finally told him that if he wished to conclude anything definite it would be necessary to specify particulars, and if he desired that the Duke of Ferrara should take some steps in the matter, etc., etc., his Excellency replied, "Not yet, but that he "would let him know in time." But as this did not satisfy me, I took occasion to have a long conversation to-day with

Messer Agapito, the Duke's first secretary; and having discussed this matter as between two secretaries who say to each other frankly what each thinks best for the common interest, he spoke to me in the following lengthy argument: —

"See now how well it would be if our two governments could "form an alliance together. The friends of your Signoria are "equally the best friends of my Duke, and those who are hos- "tile to my Duke are likewise the bitterest enemies of your "Signoria. The Venetians are regarded with suspicion by both "of us since the Duke has wrested Romagna from their hands. "There was no occasion for your Signoria to take the Marquis "of Mantua into their pay at this time; they could not be at- "tacked, for the Duke can never more trust the Orsini and the "Vitelli, for they have deceived him ever so often. But he "thinks that your Signoria have lost a fine opportunity, par- "ticularly in giving the position that would have suited the "Duke so well to some one else; and he does not know what "arguments could now be presented to your Signoria, the Duke "being covered with glory, most fortunate, and accustomed to "conquer, and his power having increased whilst yours has "diminished since the engagement of the Marquis of Mantua. "And that it was reasonable that in any arrangement with you "the Duke's rank and honor should be augmented rather than "diminished."

After having spoken of the Duke's good fortune apart from his successful enterprises, Messer Agapito spoke of recent events, and said that his Excellency could not ask for anything that suited his purpose better; for their result had been, that where the Orsini hoped to stir up all the world against his Excellency, everybody, on the contrary, had declared in his favor; that your Lordships had sent an embassy to him, that the Venetians had written him congratulatory letters, and that his Majesty the king of France had sent him troops; adding, that some account ought to be made of such signal good fortune.

In the course of his conversation, which was by no means a short one, Messer Agapito touched twice upon the subject of the engagement of the Duke as commander of your troops, saying that, unless the past could be undone, there was no chance of doing anything in that way for the future. I will not weary your Lordships by telling you what I replied, but can assure

you that I omitted little that can be said to the purpose. But in the end I could not get anything more out of Messer Agapito, except that the Duke still had his eyes upon such an appointment.

I must not omit mentioning to your Lordships that the secretary from Ferrara, in talking with me as to the causes that could make the Duke so reluctant to move, said that he believed his Excellency had written to the Pope on the subject, and that he desired to proceed in the matter according to the Pope's wishes. I believe, however, that there may be two other reasons; namely, either he does not want to forego the chance of that appointment now, since his affairs here wear a brighter aspect, and therefore he temporizes, etc., etc.; or he wants to wait, before the matter goes any further, until the next Gonfalonier shall have been installed in his palace; for this new order of things has raised the credit of the city of Florence to a degree that no one could have believed.*

I cannot and must not, Magnificent Signori, judge of these matters differently, but will continue from time to time to give you simply information as to the condition in which they are; up to the present hour, you are informed of the changes that have occurred. The more favorable the weather, the more difficult will it be to work the soil here; that is to say, the more favorable the condition of the Duke's affairs, the more difficulty will you have in dealing with him.

Only one thing more I wish to say to your Lordships, and I do so with the utmost respect; namely, if you make the Marquis of Mantua march promptly, you will at once bring back to reason all those who have strayed from it.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, at the 4th hour of night,
13 October, 1502.

* This refers to the election of Pietro Soderini as perpetual Gonfalonier, which took place on the 20th of September, 1502.

LETTER VI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Your Lordships will have learnt from my letters of the 11th, 12th, and 13th, which I sent by the courier Baccino, all that has taken place here until now. I have therefore but little to communicate by the present; still, having the opportunity of sending by Spinelli, who arrived here to-day from Bologna, and will return by post to Florence, I will write to your Lordships what little has occurred here since my last.

In my previous letter I informed your Lordships that the Duke had sent a certain Chevalier Orsino to the other Orsini at their meeting with their adherents at Magione, to ascertain their real intentions, and to see whether there be any way of bringing them back. The said Chevalier returned yesterday, but I have not been able to learn precisely the result of his mission. All I have heard is that Paolo Orsino has offered to come here, and that the Chevalier has returned to obtain the consent of the Duke, and that he was sent back yesterday afternoon with instructions that the said Paolo may come here in all safety, and that accordingly he is expected here within two or three days.

The above-named Spinelli has told me many things which your Lordships can learn from him direct. I will only mention specially what he says he has heard at Bologna; namely, that at the Magione meeting it was decided that the said Paolo Orsino might come here and make terms with his Excellency the Duke, provided that whatever arrangement might be made, all attempts against Bologna should be excluded therefrom.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 14 October, 1502.

LETTER VII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

To-day at about the twentieth hour, whilst I was at court, your Lordships' courier arrived with your letters of the 13th. As they contain much the same with regard to the negotiations,

etc., as your previous one of the 10th, to which I have replied at length by mine of the 11th, 12th, and 13th, and as their general tenor was of no special importance, I should not have cared to bring them to the notice of his Excellency the Duke but for the information they contain from Borgo about the movement of the artillery and infantry. That seemed to me of importance, and, knowing that it would be greatly appreciated by the Duke, I sought to obtain an audience from him. But his Excellency was extremely occupied in reviewing some detachments of infantry, which defiled in succession before his palace to be mustered into service. I gave a copy of the article of Giovanni Ridolfi to one of the Duke's secretaries, so that he might present it to him as a matter of importance. So soon as the Duke had read it, he had me called in, and said to me, "What think you of the news?" After having read it, I replied, that if I had to judge of it by the place whence it was written, and by the character of the man who had written it, I could not but affirm that it was true. For the Borgo was only five miles from Castello, and Giovanni is a most prudent man, and as highly esteemed as any one in that city. Whereupon the Duke said: "I can guess how this matter is. You "see that Vitellozzo has only started the infantry and the de- "tached lances, but not the men-at-arms, so that he may be "able to excuse himself from the charge of treason against me, "which would probably be brought against him if he had con- "travened me with the troops whom I have paid. This move- "ment of the artillery may also be merely a feint on the part "of Vitellozzo, for he has certain pieces of artillery belonging "to me, which I sent to demand of him only a few days ago. "He may therefore make my troops believe that he is sending "those pieces back to me under escort, so that they may not "be seized by the people of Agobbio; and to the people of "Agobbio he may pretend that he is coming to their assist- "ance. But we shall soon see the upshot of all this, and I "wait with the utmost impatience for them to declare them- "selves openly; although I do not believe that the Orsini will "do so because of certain negotiations that are going on; and "besides, my troops ought to present themselves before Urbino "this day."

After conversing for some time with the Duke upon this subject, I availed of the occasion to let him know how openly

your Lordships had favored Grechetto and Bianchino, and how cheerfully you had given leave of absence to Maglianes; and that although these were but small things, yet that out of small things great ones grow; and that the intentions of men could be judged of even in the smallest things. I then told him in a few words, according to your Lordships' instructions, of your favorable disposition in all other matters, looking always to what was reasonable and possible, and provided that he showed your Lordships all due and suitable respect. At the same time I thanked him for the favorable answers he had given me about the safe-conducts, and that your Lordships would be pleased to have them soon forthcoming in fact. His Excellency thanked your Lordships upon the first point, saying that he regarded the smallest service rendered him by your Lordships as of the greatest magnitude to him; and closed his remarks with general expressions, but in most obliging and friendly language. As to the safe-conducts, he called Messer Alessandro Spannochi, and said to him, "Arrange yourself "here with the secretary, and try to put this safe-conduct into "shape." And thus I left his Excellency after some further conversation, in which he told me particularly of the disposition of the king of France to be agreeable to him, and that the day before Odoardo Baglio had been here to confirm to him orally what the king of France had several times written to him, and that he would soon see the practical evidences of his Majesty's friendly disposition.

In my letter of the 9th, which I retained here until the 10th, I wrote so fully to your Lordships respecting the forces which the Duke has, and the assistance which he expects, that it seems superfluous to write more. The condition of his affairs is greatly improved since it is understood that the Venetians are resolved not to attack him, and since it is seen that he has the upper hand again in the duchy of Urbino, which he had looked upon as lost. To this must be added the fact, if indeed it be true, that the Orsini have submitted or are about to submit themselves to him. But of this we have not heard anything more, notwithstanding that the Signor Paolo Orsino is about to come here, as I have stated in one of my letters of yesterday.

His Excellency has, moreover, taken the Signor Lodovico della Mirandola into his pay, with sixty men-at-arms and sixty light-horse. Besides this, he has ordered the son of the gen-

eral of Milan, who was formerly the general of Savoy, and who had been sent to enlist those fifteen hundred Swiss infantry, to collect one hundred and fifty men-at-arms in Lombardy, of which the Duke is going to give him the command. Thus the men-at-arms which he expects to have together here in the course of a month are as follows. First, those of his own gentlemen and the three companies under the Spanish captains, which I have mentioned in one of my letters, and those which he is collecting in his possessions in Romagna; — all these taken together will make about 500 men-at-arms. Then there is the Signor Lodovico, and the son of the general of Milan, who will bring about 210; and he counts upon having as many light-horse as he has men-at-arms. As to infantry, I estimate that he will find in Sienna and in the duchy of Urbino about 2,500; and he will have just as many more as he has money wherewith to pay them. Thus you see that he is collecting them from all quarters.

As to what your Lordships say in your postscript, that I should temporize and make no definite engagements, and endeavor to find out the Duke's real intentions, I think I have thus far done the first two, and have tried my best to do the third, of which my letter of the 13th gives ample evidence; and therefore it would be superfluous to repeat it again now. I believe truly that, besides the other reasons which I have mentioned why the Duke remains undecided, there may be another, and that is that he wishes you to be governed in these matters by the king of France, since you show that you are waiting for his consent.

As I have already mentioned above, Odoardo Baglio was here yesterday; I called upon him, but had no opportunity to learn anything from him, which matters little, as he tells me that he has instructions to go to Florence to your Lordships. Having returned to the palace, Messer Alessandro Spannochi told me that he had again spoken to the Duke about the safe-conduct, but that to make it general would rather be a disadvantage for the Duke than otherwise. And when I wanted to reply to this objection, he said, "I shall have occasion to-"morrow to be with Messer Agapito, and we will then see what "can be done." I can say nothing more on this subject except that it would be very much to the purpose if some friend of Messer Agapito were to write to him on the subject. We hear

nothing whatever either from Bologna or from the direction of Urbino.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 15 October, 1502.

LETTER VIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Your Lordships will see from the enclosed, that since the receipt of yours of the 13th I have had an interview with his Excellency the Duke; also what I have to say respecting the state of things here, which I have deemed proper to communicate to your Lordships in a confidential letter.

Upon receiving the information from Giovanni Ridolfi as to the movement of the artillery and of the troops of Vitellozzo, his Excellency the Duke used, if I remember well, the following words: "Two considerations have prevented your Signoria "from sending some troops to the confines of Vitellozzo's pos-"sessions. The one was the desire to await the orders of the "king of France, and to know what course to take in regard to "the disturbances here; and the other is the small number "of troops they have, and the many places they have to guard. "And as I could have desired much to gain time, and that "your Signoria should show me some favor, I explain these "two considerations in the following manner. As to the first, "touching the king, you may assure your Signoria that I "am more sure than of death itself, that his Majesty would "like to have the whole Florentine people come in person to "support my interests, and upon this point you will shortly "receive a definite reply. As to the other consideration, "namely, the having but a small number of troops, you must "write to your Signoria, that, by way of preventing any incon-"venience arising from the sending of some of their troops "from the places where they are, I am ready to go in person "to their assistance, and to bear myself the entire burden of "the war. In truth, I do not want them to do anything more "than send to those places near Castello some fifty or sixty "horse and some three hundred to four hundred regular troops,

"to have two pieces of artillery taken there, and to levy there "one man for each house; to order reviews to be held there, "and to make other demonstrations of that kind. And I "charge you to urge these things upon your Signoria with all "possible energy."

Such were almost his very words. I did not fail to point out to his Excellency our lack of troops, and the apprehensions which their being sent away would naturally excite. He insisted, nevertheless, that I should write to you anyhow and make the request. I deemed it proper to promise it, but I do so in a separate and confidential letter, so that your Lordships may, if you judge it advisable to comply with the Duke's request, do it without making it publicly known, and without compromising yourselves. In that case you ought to send some regular troops towards the Borgo and Anghiari, hold reviews, and do what else the Duke asks, either in whole or in part, pretending that you fear an attack from that direction. And, on the other hand, you could raise yourselves still more in the Duke's estimation by representing the number double what they really are; for the Duke will not be able to get reliable information.

I beg your Lordships will not ascribe these suggestions either to presumption on my part, or to a desire to obtrude my advice; but rather to that natural affection which every man ought to feel for his country. Awaiting your prompt reply to all this, I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

16 October, 1502.

LETTER IX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

By my last, which I sent yesterday with the courier, your Lordships will have been informed of the state of things here, and of what I had to say in reply to yours of the 13th, to which I expect your answer. By the present I have to inform you that to-day at about the eighteenth hour his Excellency the Duke sent for me, and on my arrival said: "I desire to carry out my

"intention of communicating to you whatever I hear concern- "ing the interests of your Signori, or our common interests. "To-day I have received this letter from Sienna from an agent "of mine whom I have sent there." And then he read me a passage from that letter, saying, "that the Orsini had marched "their troops in the direction of Cagli; not as enemies, but "under pretence that the Chevalier Orsino had told them on "the part of the Duke that, if they would withdraw with their "troops towards the duchy of Urbino, the Duke would look "upon them as his friends. Moreover, that the Florentines "had sought their alliance, and had offered them honorable "conditions." After that the writer of the letter added, "that "the Orsini would really be good friends of his Excellency pro- "vided he would give up his attempt upon Bologna, and enter "either into the states of Florence or of Venice." After reading to me that passage from the letter, his Excellency said: "You see that I act in good faith towards you, believing that "your Signoria will cheerfully come to be my friends, and will "not deceive me. And really they ought to have more confi- "dence in me now than ever; nor shall I for my part fail to "do my duty."

I thanked the Duke first on behalf of your Lordships, for his frankness in communicating to me that letter, and then said to him that, if I had to speak to him according to the instructions given me by your Lordships on leaving Florence, and according to the letters received since, I could not but bear witness to the excellent disposition of your Lordships towards him. And I enlarged upon this subject as far as I thought proper in accordance with your Lordships' instructions. After that, whilst conversing together about the Orsini, as to their whereabouts with their troops, and as to their intentions, the Duke told me that he had information from another source that they were at Cagli, and that upon their arrival there the people of Cagli wanted to attack the citadel, but that the Orsini would not agree to it. And when the people of Cagli had asked the Orsini whether they intended to injure them, they replied, "No, but that they had not come to defend them either." And thus they go on temporizing in the matter.

Such was my interview with the Duke, and to judge by what he said, and the general tenor of his remarks, which it would be too long to write, I found him to-day even more desirous

of closing an alliance with your Lordships than he was the last time that I spoke to him.

I must not omit communicating to your Lordships what one of the Duke's principal officers told me, whose name I will not mention, having been specially requested by him to that effect. Having conversed with him about the affairs of the day, he began to censure the tardiness of both your Lordships and the Duke in coming to an understanding; and whilst upon this point he said to me: "Only two days ago I told the Duke the "same thing that I tell you now, that it is high time to finish "the matter, which seems to me easy enough, for both the "Florentines and his Excellency the Duke are equally well dis- "posed for it. Both one and the other have enemies, and each "has to maintain an armed force to defend themselves, and "therefore it is the easiest thing in the world to agree upon all "points." To which the Duke had replied: "Why then do "these Signori put off so long making me some proposition? "Nothing else makes me doubtful of them except the fact that "they do not declare or explain themselves. The only reason "why I desire that the first proposition should come from "them is to give greater stability to whatever may be con- "cluded between us." It is not worth while to tell you what I said in reply; I merely wanted to give your Lordships this information, so that you may the better understand the Duke's intentions, or rather be better able to conjecture them.

I have forgotten to write to your Lordships that in my conversation with his Excellency this morning he said to me: "That agent of mine who writes me from Sienna says that "your Signori have sent an envoy there to negotiate the con- "clusion of some sort of truce." I replied that it was altogether news to me that there were any negotiations pending between your Lordships and the people of Sienna; nor did I know what truce there could be in question, unless it be the one which was made in 1498 for five years, and which would expire in six or eight months; and that they possibly might wish to renew it. He then asked me what the conditions of that truce were, to which I replied, they were simply that the parties should not injure one another, nor give support to any hostile force that might attempt to assail the territory of either; which the Duke seemed to believe.

We have news from the direction of Urbino, that the Duke's army which had orders to approach that town have not passed Fossombrone; some say on account of the weather, and others say that it was because a company of Vitellozzo's infantry had entered into Urbino; or perhaps because of the arrival of the Orsini at Cagli, which I have mentioned above.

There are one thousand infantry here, who are in the Duke's pay; and I believe this has prevented him from raising more. However, a large sum of money is expected from Rome by way of Florence. The execution of the orders which I have mentioned to you for the French troops, and for the raising of both mounted men and infantry, are urgently pressed forward, and all day messengers are arriving and departing for Lombardy.

The Chevalier Orsino, whom I have mentioned before, returned yesterday evening from Perugia. What news he brings I know not; I conjecture, the same as what the Duke's agent has written from Sienna, of which I informed you above. I have nothing more to write to your Lordships, unless it be that, if I were asked for my opinion of all these movements, I should answer, with your permission, that so long as the present Pope lives, and so long as the Duke preserves the friendship of the king of France, he will not be abandoned by that good fortune which until now has steadily increased. For those who have given indications of being hostile to him are too late to do him much harm, and will be still more unable to-morrow than they are to-day.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 17 October, 1502.

LETTER X.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Yesterday about the twentieth hour I received by the courier Baccino your Lordships' letter of the 17th, with copies of the letters sent from Perugia. Immediately after their receipt I presented myself before his Excellency the Duke, and after communicating to him what your Lordships write touching the advices you expect from France, and your expressions of good feeling towards him, as also the object of your sending a special

courier to me, I read to him the copies of those letters from Perugia. Having listened to them, his Excellency thanked your Lordships very much for the marks of friendship you give him on every occasion, enlarging upon that point in the most amiable manner, and promising you proof of his gratitude whenever occasion should present itself. After that he said that those six hundred men-at-arms of which his adversaries boasted might on review turn out less in number, and added laughingly: "They do "well to write men-at-arms in blank, which means to say none. "I do not mean to boast, but I intend the results shall prove "what they are, and what we are. The more I know them, the "less account I make of them and their troops. And as to this "Vitellozzo, to whom they have given so great a reputation, I "cannot say that I have ever seen him do a single thing that "showed him to be a man of courage. His constant excuse was "the French disease. All he is fit for is to devastate a defence-"less country, to rob those who dare not face him, and to prac-"tise treason. And he has shown this very clearly now in this "affair of Pisa, so that no one can any longer doubt it; for he has "betrayed me, being in my pay and having accepted my money." He enlarged very much upon this matter, speaking, however, very calmly and without manifesting any anger. I replied to his Excellency in the way I thought proper, and did not omit in this interview, which did not terminate very speedily, to do my best to confirm him in the opinion that he could not and ought not to trust them any longer; bringing clearly to his attention many instances of the past, when, whilst making show of friendship, they were to the extent of their ability scheming and plotting treason against him. I continue to do my utmost to win his Excellency's confidence, and to be allowed to talk familiarly with him, in which I am aided by circumstances as well as by the friendly demonstrations which your Lordships have until now made towards him. But up to the present time I have not been able to learn anything more from him.

As his Excellency did not himself broach the subject of the affairs of Urbino, I did not touch upon it lest it might offend him; and besides, I can learn about it in great part by other means.

There is an admirable secrecy observed at this court, and no one speaks of things respecting which silence is to be observed; it is quite possible, therefore, that your Lordships may have

heard more accurately at Florence than I have here, that the Orsini, the Vitelli, and their other confederates, have all declared themselves openly, and no longer dissimulate their intentions. His Excellency had already told me of it, and accordingly I mentioned it in my letter of the 17th. Three days ago they routed after a fashion Don Michele, Don Hugo, and Messer Ramiro, and drove them into Fossombrone. Some say that Don Hugo has been taken, Don Michele wounded, and that Messer Ramiro has retreated to Fano with the greater part of the troops. Others say that they have abandoned Fossombrone entirely, and others again assert that they left there some three hundred infantry. Be that as it may, the details are of little importance; enough to know that the Duke's forces have retreated, after receiving some hard knocks. Since then we hear of no further encounters.

As to the Duke Guido, we got an inkling here a few days ago that he had left Venice to enter into the duchy of Urbino; and for that reason his Excellency has promptly sent a large force to try and bar him the way; it is not known yet at what place he has arrived. Some say he is at Urbino, others in San Leo, and others again maintain that he has not yet passed the frontier. I can only write you what I learn, and can only learn what I hear. No one stirs from the direction of Bologna, and there seems to be no apprehension from that quarter. The measures taken by his Excellency are being urged from all sides, as I have several times mentioned in my letters; and he has spent since I have been here as much money for couriers and special messengers as any one else would have spent in two years. He does not cease day or night to send off messengers, and yesterday evening he sent off two of his gentlemen, and with them Guglielmo di P. di Buonaccorso, who had been in his service at one time, and who speaks French well, to meet the French lances that are on the way, and which, according to what his Excellency tells me, might at this moment be on this side of Modena.

I hope to be able to send you to-day the general safe-conduct for our people. In speaking yesterday with his Excellency on the subject, he was very angry that it had not yet been sent; and in speaking of the matter he said, "Would it not be proper "that I should have some security for my people in your terri-"tory?" To which I replied, that he might see from the facts

that there was no need of it; still, if his Excellency desired to have a safe-conduct for those in his service and for his subjects, it would most assuredly not be refused.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 20 October, 1502.

LETTER XI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Yesterday, before receiving your Lordships' letter of the 17th, to which this is a reply, his Excellency the Duke sent for me, and told me that he had letters from France from Monseigneur d'Arles, containing the information that your Lordships' ambassador had presented himself on your part to his Majesty the king, and had related to him the doings of the Orsini, the meetings held by them, as well as the other movements against his Holiness the Pope; that he had pointed out to his Majesty the consequences that might result therefrom, and had advised him to take the matter in hand himself; and that, in conclusion, he had told him that your Lordships were ready to do whatever you could in support of the Pope and the Duke whenever his Majesty should deem proper. That his Majesty had expressed himself in reply very warmly in favor of the Duke, and extremely pleased at the assurances of the ambassador, saying that the more vigorous the support, the more agreeable would it be to him, and that the Florentine Signoria ought to render such aid by their armed forces and by all other means. When our ambassador replied that your Lordships were short of troops, the king said that he would grant you permission to raise troops in all his states for the benefit of the Church. After having communicated to me this information, his Excellency added: "You must write to your "Signoria to send ten squadrons of cavalry to my assistance; "and tell them that I am ready to conclude a firm and indis- "soluble alliance with them, from which they will derive all "the advantages that can be hoped for from my support and "my fortune." Adding that, "since his Majesty the king has "manifested that disposition, of which your Lordships must

"now be fully informed, he would wish that that matter should "be carried into effect" about which I wrote you on the 16th, which letter was sent by our courier Giovanni de Domenico, and which I will not repeat here. Moreover, the Duke would wish that your Lordships, under color of some excuse, should give the Orsini and their partisan chiefs to understand, either verbally or by letter as you may deem best, that you are obliged to obey the commands or suggestions of his Majesty the king; and that if his Majesty should require you to give your support to his Holiness the Pope, no matter against whom, you would be obliged to give it. And here the Duke protested to me that your Lordships would thus render him a very great service, and desired me to write you immediately.

After that he touched upon various other subjects, to all of which I replied as I thought my duty demanded, but being of no particular importance, I deem it superfluous to give you an account of them; and will only mention this, that in speaking of Pandolfo Petrucci he said, "This man sends me every "day letters or special messengers to assure me of his great "friendship for me, but I know him." He then told me that he had been written to from various places that your Lordships counselled the Bolognese to declare war against him, and that those who had so written him said that you had done so either because you desired his ruin, or for the purpose of making a more advantageous treaty with him. But the Duke said that he did not believe it, from all the evidence he had, and especially from the information he had received from France.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 20 October, 1502.

LETTER XII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote to your Lordships yesterday by the courier Baccino, in reply to yours of the 17th. In the beginning of my letter I told you that I expected at last to obtain the safe-conduct; and for that purpose I went to see Messer Agapito, who told me it was ready, but that he wanted from your Lordships a

corresponding safe-conduct for all the subjects of the Duke. He gave me a copy of the one he had prepared, which I send you herewith, so that if you think fit you may have a similar one prepared and send it to me; and I will then immediately get the one from here, and will try to effect the exchange without any expense, provided your Lordships approve of this arrangement.

Nothing new has occurred here since my last, unless it be that Messer Antonio da Venafro, one of Pandolfo Petrucci's men, arrived here yesterday evening, being sent by the Orsini; he left again to-day, but I do not know the object of his mission. I shall make every effort, however, to find it out, and will then communicate it to your Lordships, to whom I recommend myself.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

21 October, 1502.

Copy of the Safe-conduct.

Cesare Borgia of France, by the grace of God Duke of Romagna and of Valentino, Prince of Adria and Venafro, Lord of Piombino, etc., etc., Gonfalonier and Captain-General of the Holy Church of Rome: —

To all the captains, condottieri, chiefs of squadrons, constables, soldiers, and others in our pay, composing our army; and to the respected President and Auditors of our Council, lieutenants, commissaries, podestas, officers ordinary and special, directly or indirectly subject to our authority, to whom these presents may come: — Be it known and made manifest that we, being desirous that the illustrious Signoria, community, and people of Florence experience, for the convenience of their citizens and subjects, the proofs and demonstrations of our good will, in conformity with the close and fraternal affection which we bear to the said Signoria, — therefore we have ordered that the aforesaid citizens and subjects may with entire liberty and security contract and maintain friendly intercourse with all our subjects, and may travel unmolested in person and with their goods throughout our states and dominions.

And we command and enjoin all the aforementioned officers and persons, generally and individually, not to permit any impediment, real or personal, to any citizen or subject of the

aforementioned republic anywhere, and most particularly in the cities, towns, castles, or other places in our dominion of Romagna, or other states; but to let them pass freely with their merchandise or goods of any kind belonging to them, for the purpose of trade or traffic, giving them safe passage, friendly reception, and good treatment everywhere; and to afford them friendly assistance, and whatever protection they may call for.

And let no one act contrary to these presents, on pain of incurring the full weight of our resentment and indignation.

Given at Imola, on the 19th of October, 1502, the second year of our Duchy of Romagna.

LETTER XIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

To-day, at about the twenty-fourth hour, I received through Francesco del Magno three letters from your Lordships, one of the 19th and two of the 21st; and after having read and examined them carefully, I went to his Excellency the Duke to communicate to him your reply to his demands respecting which I wrote in my letter of the 16th. I told him of the arrival at Florence of Messer Guasparre by order of the Pope, and of his demands. To the first two, respecting the hundred lances and the Marquis of Mantua, he replied by declaring the one impossible, and that he had nothing to do with the Marquis, not wishing to begin his engagement before the month of March. As to the third, touching the alliance, etc., I related to him the determination you had come to, promptly to send an ambassador to the Pope, so as to learn his wishes more fully, and to treat of all matters of common interest. I did not in any way make known to the Duke your particular instructions, as suggested to me by you at the end of your last letter; and did not fail to try earnestly to convince him of your desire to be of service to him, and how far you were from having an understanding with any of his adversaries. And as it seemed to me to the purpose, I communicated to him that portion of your letter which refers to that matter.

His Excellency listened to me most graciously, as he always does; and then, having gone to a table upon which lay some letters, he said to me: "Before otherwise replying to you, I wish "to show you a letter which his Majesty King Louis XII. has "written to the Venetians, and of which Monseigneur d'Arles "has sent me a copy in French. And for the better under- "standing of it, you must know that these Venetians, under pre- "text of friendship, have sent word to the king by their envoys, "that their love for his Majesty made them apprehensive lest he "should meet with some damage to his renown in Italy; that as "his most devoted friends they felt themselves obliged to ap- "prise him of the current rumors, and of the harm resulting to "him from the protection which he had accorded and continued "to accord to the Pope and the Duke of Valentinois, who with- "out provocation usurped the possessions of others, wasted the "provinces by war, and committed endless damage and dis- "orders, discreditable to his Majesty who permitted it. That "the wrongs of the past were as nothing compared to those "lately done at Bologna, which his Majesty had undertaken to "protect. The king, after hearing these things, replied to them "by letter, so that the Venetians might keep it before their "eyes, and thus more clearly understand his intentions." After that the Duke read me that letter at length, which in effect justified all these calumnies, and concluded by an expression of his determination to reduce all the States of the Church to obedience, and that, if the Venetians were to oppose the attempts of the Pope, his Majesty would treat them as enemies.

Having finished reading that letter, his Excellency added: "I have told you several times, and repeat it to you again now, "that I shall not lack support. The French lances will be "here shortly; and thus the Pope will not permit me to want "for money, nor the king of France to want for troops. Nor "will I boast either by act or word, but I think my enemies "are likely to have occasion to regret their treachery to me." And then, turning the conversation upon the Orsini, he said: "That they had lately been guilty of the greatest treachery "against him that had ever been committed. You know," he said, "that I told you within the last few days that they were "about to enter the duchy of Urbino in my stead, and accord- "ing to my orders, which had been communicated to them by

"the Chevalier Orsino. Believing this, as they had raised the "siege of the castle of Cagli, as I have told you, I wrote to Don "Hugo di Cardona to march with his troops to Urbino, as the "Orsini were coming to my support from the other side. He "did so; but had it not been that he stopped on his way to de- "molish two small castles, my troops would have been all cut "to pieces. For when they were about to advance, they were "assailed by a great number of the people of the country, and "were on the point of being surrounded by the Orsini, who "ought to have been my friends. They have now made a "descent into the territory of Fano, where, however, they take "only what is necessary for their subsistence, pretending all "the while to be my friends. Giampaolo Baglioni, another "friend of the same sort, wanted to enter Fano, but did not "succeed. You see now how they conduct themselves; they "keep up friendly negotiations with me, and write me fine "letters. To-day Signor Pagolo is to come here to see me, "and to-morrow the Cardinal Orsino is to come, and thus they "mock me in their fashion; but I temporize, listen to all I hear, "and bide my time. By way of answer to what you told me on "behalf of your Signoria, I readily accept their excuses, know- "ing that they are founded in truth. Nor could I be better "satisfied with them than what I am, and with what they write "me of having gone purposely to Sienna; and therefore I wish "you to offer them, on my part, all the service I have it in my "power to render them. I did not upon your arrival open my- "self so entirely to you, because my states were at that time in a "very critical condition. Urbino had rebelled, and I knew not "whom to rely upon. I found everything in disorder in these "new states, and did not want your Signoria to believe that "great fears had made me prodigal of promises. But now "that my fears are less, I promise you more, and if necessary "shall add thereto my deeds, when my apprehensions shall "have been entirely dissipated."

Having made a suitable reply to his Excellency's remarks, and having returned to the subject of the Orsini and the negotiations, I thought it proper to say to him as coming from myself: "Your Excellency sees how frankly my noble Signoria "is in accord with you; for at the very height of your peril "they have sent me to assure you of their friendly disposition "and their devotion. Regardless of reproaches for increasing

"your reputation and lowering that of your enemies, they have "broken off all negotiations with them, and have opened to your "Excellency a free passage through their territories, which acts "merit recognition and should not be forgotten. I beg, there- "fore, to remind and urge upon your Excellency, that, if you "should come to treat with the Orsini or any of the others, "you will remember our devotion to you, and will therefore not "conclude any arrangement contrary to the constant profes- "sions of friendship on the part of your Excellency for my "Signoria."

To this the Duke answered that he entertained no such thought, adding: "You know that Antonio da Venafro has "been to see me in the name of the Orsini, and, amongst much "other news which he has given me, he brought forward a "proposition to change the government of Florence. I replied, "that the Florentine government was the friend of the king of "France, to whom I am devoted, and that it had never offended "me; and what was still more, I was on the point of forming an "alliance with it. To this Antonio replied by urging me on no "account to conclude such an alliance, but to let him return "and effect a good arrangement between us. Whereupon I said "to him, with the view of not giving him any encouragement in "that direction: 'We have gone so far that I cannot now go "back; nevertheless, I repeat to you that I am willing to listen "to you and to continue negotiations with you, but will never "conclude any arrangement adverse to the interests of Flor- "ence, unless that republic should give me special occasion for "so doing.' And in case Messer Antonio should return, rest "assured," continued the Duke to me, "that I will tell you all "he may say to me concerning your affairs; this I shall do any- "how." And thus terminated this conversation with the Duke on this and many other subjects, which it is not worth while to report; whereupon I took my leave of his Excellency.

Your Lordships are informed now of the language held by the Duke, of which I have not written the half; and you will now weigh the matter with your usual sagacity, having due regard to the individual who uttered it. As to the situation of things here I would observe that ever since my being here the government of the Duke has been maintained exclusively by his good fortune, which is founded upon the confident opinion that the king of France will furnish him troops, and that the

Pope will supply him with money. Another matter which has operated no less in his favor is the tardiness of his enemies in pressing him; and in my judgment they are no longer able to do him any harm, for he has provided all the important places with garrisons, and the fortresses with ample means of defence. These precautions have so cooled the spirits of his enemies that the Duke can now securely await the arrival of fresh forces. As all these places are commanded by citadels within, they know that, if they were to commit any folly, the Duke on his arrival would let the French troops upon them; and thus the mere apprehension has kept them quiet, if not all, at least the greater part of them.

The city of Pesaro being most suspected by the Duke, he has sent Don Michele Coraglia there with such troops as were left to him; and feeling more sure of Fano, he has left that city to the care of its own inhabitants. But as Rimini has and continues to cause him anxiety, he has thrown a strong garrison into that city. Of Cesena, Faenza, and Furli he has no apprehensions, the inhabitants of the latter city being hostile to the Lady Catharine Sforza, and the other two having no lords. The Duke himself is here at Imola, and can repress any movement on the part of the Bolognese. Having organized things in this wise, he only awaits the arrival of the French to take the field; and according to the report of Rafaello de' Pazzi they must anyhow be by this time in the duchy of Ferrara. He also reports having left eight hundred Gascons at . . . . . some thirty miles from here. The six hundred Ferrarese infantry which the Duke had ordered to be raised there have just arrived here. To-day he has expedited the Chancellor of the Signor of Mirandola with money and instructions to have him raise troops; and this captain promises to be here with his troops within ten days. On the other hand, the enemy have partly surrounded Fano, and it is reported to-day that they have opened the siege in regular form. Moreover the Bolognese are in force at Castel San Piero, and for two days have scoured and wasted the country, and are reported this evening to be in the neighborhood of Doccia, three miles from here.

Your Lordships will judge of these matters as may seem fit in your wisdom. As you have sent an ambassador to Rome, my longer stay here will be superfluous. I beg therefore that your Lordships will consent to my recall; for my private inter-

ests at home are going to ruin, and I have expended all the money you have given me, as is well known to those who serve me here.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 23 October, 1502.

P. S. — To day is the 24th, and it is announced that the Signor Paolo Orsino will be at Cesena to-night, and that he will be here to-morrow to confer with the Duke.

LETTER XIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

By mine of the 23d, which I retained until the 24th, I have replied to yours of the 21st. Yesterday, the 25th, Signor Paolo Orsino arrived here and presented himself to the Duke, dressed like a courier, and stated that the Cardinal Borgia had placed himself as a hostage for his security in the hands of the Orsini. The coming of Signor Paolo is in great part due to that gentleman, at whose request he has come here to excuse and justify what has occurred, and to learn more nearly the intentions of his Excellency; and to communicate them to the others. He has to-day despatched a courier to them in the neighborhood of Fano to learn their final resolution. I have not been able to learn any particulars of the interview between Signor Paolo and the Duke, nor do I believe that I shall be able to obtain any, as that gentleman is very reticent, and talks with but few persons. At one time an arrangement was under consideration, and Messer Giovanni Bentivogli has sent several messengers to the Bishop of Euna; but now, since the arrival of Messer Paolo, he often receives a chancellor sent by Messer Annibale Bentivogli, who is at Castel San Piero. All the booty taken by the Bolognese three days ago is being restored. The Orsini have not laid siege to Fano, as had been reported, nor are the Bentivogli before Doccia, which I wrote you yesterday had been currently reported here. And thus nobody stirs; and we now see that the negotiations for an arrangement are favorable to the Duke, and that he entertains them willingly; but I will not pretend to judge what his real intentions are.

To-day is the 27th, and yesterday evening at the fourth hour I received your Lordships' letter of the 25th. So soon as his Excellency the Duke had arisen this morning I went to see him, and as it seemed to me proper to communicate your despatch to him, I read him the greater part of it. He thanked your Lordships according to his wont for your firm disposition, and for the communication made to him through the mission of Messer Gino di Rossi. He assured me that he could not but believe you, as your words and your letters agreed so entirely. Then, referring to the arrival of Signor Paolo and the proposed treaty, he said: "These men merely want that I should secure "them, and it only remains to find the way of doing it, which "must be according to fixed stipulations, for which they look "to the Cardinal Orsino." And without giving me a chance to say a word, he added: "It is enough for you to know in "general that I shall never conclude anything contrary to "the interests of your Signoria; I will not permit them to "be wronged to the extent of a single hair." He seemed pleased that an envoy had been sent to Rome, and yet he did not refer to that matter, but passed it over. I did not fail to recommend to him Salvestro di Buosi in the terms suggested to me by your Lordships. His Excellency replied: "Your "Signoria desires that I should set Salvestro at liberty, he "being their friend. To which I reply, that all my subjects are "their friends and servants; and your Signoria should rather "interest itself for the great number of my subjects, who "would suffer by the liberation of Salvestro, than for him "alone. Suffice it for the present that no harm shall come "to him, and so soon as I can set him free without irritating "my people, I will comply most cheerfully with the request of "your Signoria."

Your Lordships desire me to give them a fresh account of the condition of things as I find them here, having already done so in my last, which I presume was received by you on the 24th; I therefore do not repeat it. Matters are very much as when I wrote you, excepting that the booty taken by the Bolognese is being restored, and neither Fano nor Doccia is besieged, as had been reported. It is true, we have the news to-day that the Vittelleschi have taken the castle of Fossombrone, which held to the Duke. Paolo Orsino expressed his dissatisfaction at it, and spoke very severely of those who

caused it to be done. As to the terms of any arrangement that may be concluded between them, they are not sufficiently known; but one may augur favorably regarding it. If we examine the characters of both the one and the other party, we shall find in the Duke a daring and fortunate man, full of hope, favored by a Pope and a king, and who finds himself assailed by the others, not only in a state that he wishes to acquire, but also in one that he has already acquired. The other party will be seen to fear for their own states, and to have been afraid of the Duke before they provoked him. Having done so now, their fears are increased, and it is impossible to see how the latter can pardon the offence, or how the former can dismiss their apprehensions; and consequently how either the one can yield in his attempt against Bologna, or the others in theirs upon the duchy of Urbino. It is argued that an amicable arrangement between them would be possible only if they could unite their joint forces against some third party, in which case neither the Duke nor the confederates need reduce their forces, and both would rather gain in renown and in real advantages.

However, if such an arrangement could be brought about, there would be no other power for them to turn against except Florence or Venice. An attack upon Florence is judged to be the easier of the two, so far as Florence itself is concerned, but more difficult on account of the king of France; whilst an attempt upon Venice would be easier so far as the king of France is concerned, but more difficult as regards Venice itself. The latter would be the most agreeable to the Duke, and the former more acceptable to the confederates. Still it is not believed that either one or the other will be undertaken, although spoken of as a possible thing. And thus I can find no one who can definitely suggest a way for an agreement between the two. But such as nevertheless form some definite idea to themselves on the subject believe that the Duke will succeed in causing a division amongst the confederates, and having thus broken up their alliance he will have nothing more to fear from them, and may then pursue his own enterprises. I am rather disposed to believe this from some mutterings that have fallen from the lips of his ministers; and moreover I have evidence that the Bentivogli are quite uneasy on account of the coming here of Paolo Orsino. The league,

however, is so recent, that it is difficult to believe in its being broken up.

Your Lordships, having now been apprised of the various reports current here, will, with your greater wisdom and experience, form a better judgment of the state of things here, respecting which I have thought it my duty to write all I have heard.

A considerable part of the Gascons have arrived at Castello in the Bolognese territory, and the quartermasters of the French troops are expected here from day to day.

I entreat your Lordships again to accord me my recall, for the public weal requires no further temporizing; and if anything definite is to be concluded, then it will be necessary to send some one of greater authority. My own affairs at home are falling into the greatest disorder, and moreover I cannot remain here any longer without money, which it is necessary to spend here.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 27 October, 1502.

LETTER XV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

In my last of the 27th, I communicated to you what I had learned of the state of things here. Since then Signor Paolo Orsino has been to Bologna, whence he returned this evening. It is openly said that a treaty has been concluded between the confederates and the Duke Valentino, and that they are only waiting for the consent of the Cardinal Orsino before ratifying it.

I have not been able to learn anything satisfactory as to the particular conditions of that treaty; but it is said that all the old compacts that existed between the Duke and Messer Giovanni and the Vitelli and the Orsini are renewed by this treaty; that the Duke is to be reinstated in the duchy of Urbino, and that the Duke of Ferrara becomes surety for both parties. Other things are talked about, but I do not mention them, as they seem less credible than the above. Whether

such a treaty has really been concluded, and whether its conditions are such as I have mentioned above, I dare not affirm. But besides all these negotiations about the treaty, I see the Duke expending large sums in warlike preparations; it was only yesterday that he despatched a Messer Arcolano into Lombardy with several thousand ducats, to hasten the departure of the remainder of the French troops that are expected, and the other mounted men, whom he caused to be collected under the command of the son of the General of Milan, which I mentioned in one of my letters a few days ago. I hear, moreover, the Duke's principal officers speak in secret very ill of the Orsini, and call them traitors; and in conversing this morning with Messer Agapito about this treaty, he laughed at it, saying that it was a mere trick to gain time. The Duke's own remarks have always made me conclude that he was anxious thus to temporize, until he should have completed all his preparations. Nor can I believe that the others should not be aware of this, so that I am really perplexed; and being unable to learn anything from his ministers, I would ere this have addressed myself to the Duke himself, but have not had an opportunity since then. To-morrow, however, unless I should receive letters from you, I shall endeavor to speak to him, and see how he expresses himself with regard to this treaty. For when I think whether they may not have concluded some arrangement prejudicial to our republic, I become uneasy at the secrecy in which this matter is involved; for the Duke's secretaries have become almost rude to me, rather than otherwise, and even the Duke of Ferrara's envoy, who used to take pleasure in conversing with me actually avoids me now. This evening, after supper, Messer Alessandro Spannochi made use of certain expressions that did not please me, hinting that your Lordships had had the opportunity of treating with his Excellency the Duke, but that the chance was now lost. I have thought proper to mention all these indications and goings on to your Lordships, as they came under my observation, so that you may yourselves judge of their meaning, and take such measures as may prevent any one from successfully plotting against you.

It is now the sixth hour of the night, and some one has just come in to tell me that the Duke had at that moment received the news of the revolt of Camerino. We shall know better to-

morrow morning whether this be true, and if so, it may render the conclusion of the treaty more difficult, unless the Duke of his own accord makes greater concessions to the confederates, for fear of worse.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 29 October, 1502.

P. S. — To-day is the 30th, and Zerino has just arrived with your letters of the 28th, respecting which I shall speak with the Duke, and will then write you fully this evening concerning matters here. I send this letter by Branchino, who is just about to leave, it being now the twentieth hour; he goes to Florence to buy horses, etc., etc. Respecting affairs at Camerino, which I mentioned above, nothing is openly said at court this morning, but the individual who told me of it yesterday evening confirms the news, and says he has seen letters on the subject directed to Signor Paolo Orsino; but that the Duke has requested him not to make the information public. I mention this just as I have heard it, and recommend myself again to your Lordships.

Memorandum of the Troops of the Duke Valentino.

Infantry.

Don Michele	600
Dionigi di Naldo	500
Comandatore	500
Maestro di Sala	500
Don Romolino	400
Lo Sgallo da Sienna	300
Grechetto	200
Salzato, the Spaniard	300
Don Limolo	200
Giambattista Martino	400
Marc Antonio di Fano	500
Giannetto di Siviglia	150
Mangiares	200
Gascons and Germans	600

These Gascons and Germans are here; all the others are scattered throughout the neighboring places, as far as Fano, and the greater part of them have already consumed their pay for four or six days. The Swiss that are expected are said to number three thousand lances.

Men-at-arms.

Don Hugo, the Spaniard	50
Monsignore d' Allegri, a Spaniard	50
Don Giovanni di Cardona	50

These three companies had already been reduced in numbers before the rout of Fossombrone, and, having since then received another check, must be still less in number.

Gathered from the Duke's own states	50
Conte Lodovico della Mirandola is said to have 60, but I have heard since that he has only about	40

The latter is with his company at present about six miles from here. The son of the General of Milan is reported to have orders to raise one hundred men-at-arms; he is still in Lombardy, and I know positively that twelve days ago a large sum of money was sent to him. Messer Galeazzo Pallavicini is said to have orders to raise fifty men-at-arms; he too is still in Lombardy.

One hundred men-at-arms, composed of the Duke's household, are here. Fifty French lances are in the territory of Faenza. Others are said to be on the way, and are expected here from day to day.

Cavalry.

Don Michele	100
Maestro Francesco da Luna	50
Messer Rinieri della Sassetta and Gio. Paolo da Toppa, crossbowmen	100
Conte Lodovico della Mirandola	40

Besides the other men-at-arms there are:—

Guido Guaini	40
Detached lances	40
Giovanni da Sassatello	40

Messer Baldassara da Sienna has been sent to Florence to enlist others.

Deserters from the Bentivogli, crossbowmen	40

The Fracassa is here, having been taken into the Duke's pay, as also his men-at-arms.

LETTER XVI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

In my preceding letter I wrote you all that I had been able to learn up to that morning of the state of things here. Since then I have been obliged to wait until the twenty-fourth hour before I could have an audience of the Duke, which has never happened to me before, even if his Excellency was prevented by some good reason. Having presented myself before him, I told him, in accordance with your Lordships' instructions, of your continued friendly disposition towards him, and that you were awaiting the return of the envoys sent to Rome, etc., etc. I then spoke of the treaty reported to have been concluded, and his Excellency told me that the terms had been fully agreed upon. When I asked him the particulars, he replied: "In the "first instance, the Pope generously grants them a free pardon. "Next, I renew to the Orsini and the Vitelli their military en- "gagements, but neither his Holiness nor myself give them any "security. On the contrary, they are to place their children "and nephews or others as hostages in my hands, according to "the choice of the Pope. They further obligate themselves to "aid me in the recovery of the duchy of Urbino, and of any "other state that has revolted, or that may hereafter revolt."

To my question whether there was anything in the treaty touching Florence, he replied, "No." And then he said in relation to the affairs of Bologna, that "these would be left to "the arbitration of himself and the Cardinal Orsino and Pan- "dolfo Petrucci." He reiterated to me that there was no mention of Florence in the treaty, and promised to give me a copy of it; which I shall endeavor to obtain anyhow by to-morrow, provided he keeps his word. To the assurances of friendship and good will on your part, with which your Lordships have charged me, his Excellency replied in few but kindly words, and passed it over lightly.

Before seeing the Duke I had a conversation with an individual who habitually professes an affectionate regard for your Lordships, and who is in a position to be well informed. As I pressed him upon every point, he gave me the same statement that the Duke had done. Another person, who is also to a considerable extent in the Duke's secrets, confirmed these state-

ments. And without my having manifested any doubt upon the subject, all have attested to me that the Duke had always taken the part of your Lordships whenever there was a question relating to our republic. Your Lordships will now in your wisdom judge of the offences and of the agreement, respecting which I could learn no more. I shall do my utmost promptly to send you the articles of the agreement, if I obtain the promised copy. Your Lordships will understand that, if there be anything in the treaty adverse to you, I could not be informed of it, as it is not reasonable to suppose that it would come to light so quickly; your own good judgment must determine whether there be any such thing or not.

This evening the quartermasters of the French lances arrived, and they will be here themselves by to-morrow. The Duke does not cease to press the starting of all the other forces which he expects from Lombardy; namely, the Signor della Mirandola, and the son or nephew of the Milanese General, who have been joined by the Signor Fracassa and one of the Pallavicini whom he has enlisted in his pay; and it is said here that the Duke has sent them money so as to enable them to arm and mount every one of their men. Large sums of money have been received here by way of Venice, the greater part of which has been sent into Lombardy. Moreover, all the malcontents of Perugia, Castello, and Sienna are here, together with one of the Savelli. Yesterday one of them told me that they had asked to be allowed to depart when they heard of the treaty, but that the Duke had refused to release them, and will not permit any of their leaders to leave the place; but Signor Paolo Orsino left this evening, and has gone in the direction of Urbino.

Apart from the negotiations with the whole body of the confederates, Messer Giovanni Bentivogli has carried on one in particular with the Duke through the intervention of Tommaso Spinelli, who has repeatedly gone to and fro between them. According to what the latter has told me, Messer Giovanni would be willing to abandon the Orsini entirely, should opportunity present itself, if he could be assured by the Duke of his safety; but he wants also the guaranty of his Majesty the king of France. Amongst other points of the negotiations it is said that the Protonotario Bentivogli would readily leave the Church, and marry a sister of the Cardinal Borgia. For the

purpose of facilitating these negotiations the said Spinelli came here eight days ago to obtain a safe-conduct for the Protonotario Bentivogli; but as it had expired, he returned here yesterday morning for another, with which he departed this evening. If these things are really so, we may judge of the good faith between them, and of their former differences, and their subsequent agreement.

I have no further news at present, unless it be the confirmation of the revolt of Camerino, of which I have already advised your Lordships by your own courier, who will anyhow be at Florence to-morrow. I understand that you complain that my letters are not frequent enough, which I regret, and the more as I do not think I can do better, having written you on the 7th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 20th, 23d, 27th, and the present, which is of the 29th and 30th.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

October 30, 1502.

P. S. — I have forgotten to tell your Lordships that, whilst conversing with Messer Alessandro, I sought to obtain from him the words he had made use of, and which I mentioned in my last. He replied that he did not intend to say anything more than that you had missed the opportunity of settling matters in your own way with his Excellency the Duke; because, the Orsini having by this treaty become his friends again, he is now obliged to have some regard to them, which before then he would not have had to do; and that further delay only made matters worse. More than this I was not able to obtain from him. I beg your Lordships most respectfully to have some consideration for the party who made these communications to me, so that it may not come to their ears that I have written them to you.

Iterum valete!

LETTER XVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

By my last of the 29th and 30th, which I sent by Zerino, your courier, you will have learned what I had to say in reply to yours of the 28th, and what I have learned from the Duke as well as from others respecting the movements of Paolo Orsino, and of the terms of the agreement concluded between his Excellency the Duke and the confederates. And as the Duke had promised to have me furnished with a copy of the same, I went to-day to ask his secretary, Messer Agapito, for it, who finally said to me: "I will tell you the truth, this treaty "has not yet been definitely settled. A draft of it has been "prepared, which has been approved by the Duke and Signor "Paolo, who has taken it away with him to submit it to the "confederates; and if they approve of it also, then he is au- "thorized by the Duke to ratify it on his behalf. But no "sooner had Signor Paolo gone than the Duke, on more care- "fully examining the articles of agreement, thought that a "clause was wanting in it referring to the crown and honor "of France. An additional article to that effect was immedi- "ately drawn up, and the Duke sent me in all haste with it "after Signor Paolo, with instructions to explain to him that "without that additional article nothing would be concluded. "When I had overtaken Signor Paolo, he refused to accept it, "but after a while said that he would submit it to the confed- "erates, but did not believe that they would agree to it. In "consequence of this the Duke does not wish any copies of "the treaty to be given, and neither the Chancellor of Ferrara "nor any one else has received one." Messer Agapito after- wards added: "This supplementary clause will either be ac- "cepted or rejected; if it is accepted, a window will be opened "for the Duke to get out of the obligations of this treaty at "his pleasure. If it be rejected, then it will open the door wide "for him. But even the children must laugh at such a treaty, "which is so injurious and dangerous for the Duke, and wholly "the result of violence." Messer Agapito spoke with much warmth upon the matter. All this has been confided to me in secret. I have nevertheless deemed it my duty to communi- cate it to your Lordships; and putting this together with what

I wrote yesterday, you will in your wisdom draw a suitable conclusion from it. I will only add that Messer Agapito is a Colonnese, and much devoted to that party.

Your Lordships point out to me in your postscript to your letter of the 28th, that the succor which the Duke expects is small in numbers, and slow in coming; and therefore you apprehend that his Excellency, finding himself weak and closely pressed by his enemies, may conclude some arrangement with them disadvantageous to himself and prejudicial to his neighbors. I believe your Lordships have reliable advices from Milan, and from France, respecting the men of the other side; nevertheless I will tell you what I hear here, so that your Lordships may be able the better to weigh and judge the matter. Yesterday evening there returned here Guglielmo di Buonaccorso, a citizen of Florence, whom I have mentioned to you as having gone to accompany the French lances that have come into Italy, and all of which the Duke has ordered into the territory of Faenza. Guglielmo tells me that these lances consist of five companies, namely those of Montison, Miolens, Foix, Dunois, and the Marquis of Saluces; and that when he saw them all together, only seven were missing out of the whole complement. But he believes that by this time these will have been more than made up by the accession of volunteers; so, as I have already said, these lances are here in reality. Yesterday, also, there returned here a Spaniard named Piero Guardarbo, who had been sent by the Duke into France. Guglielmo told me that he had a long conversation with this Piero on the road, who had told him that it had been arranged with his Majesty the king of France that he is to send three additional companies; and that when he left Milan, one under command of Monseigneur de Ligny had already started, but that Monseigneur de Chaumont had not yet decided as to the other two that are to come.

In one of my letters of the 9th to your Lordships, you will remember my having mentioned that amongst other preparations which the Duke had made, in consequence of the defection of the Orsini, he had sent the son of the General of Milan into Lombardy, with orders to raise fifteen hundred Swiss, and, moreover, to re-enlist fifty or one hundred mounted men, the pick of those that had already been in the service of the Duke of Milan, and to bring them here under his own command.

And it is said that the expense of raising them will be borne by the General of Milan himself, in the hope of thereby having one of his sons made a cardinal. This same Guglielmo also told me that he had heard that the Swiss were already at Pavia, and that the mounted men were merely waiting orders to march. It is said, moreover, that the son of Monseigneur d'Albret has come again into Italy with one hundred lances, in support of his brother-in-law; which, if true, although rather late, yet is of some importance. This Guglielmo, from whom I have this information, seems to me, from what I have seen of him, a sensible and reliable man. As regards the Italian troops, the engagement of the Conte della Mirandola is true, and he received his pay some days ago. It is also said that he has received money to furnish men-at-arms to Fracassa and to one of the Pallavicini, a gentleman in his service; in fact, he enlists all the scattered men that present themselves. Two days ago there came a certain Piero Balzano, a deserter from Giovanni Bentivogli, with forty mounted crossbowmen, and money was paid to him immediately on his arrival.

I cannot at this moment give your Lordships any more information, for since the revolt of Camerino we have no news either from there or from the neighborhood of Bologna. The Protonotario Bentivogli has not come back either, as was expected, and as I had written to your Lordships.

Two words will explain the state of things here: on the one hand they talk of a treaty of amity, and on the other hand they make preparations for war. Your Lordships, having information from all parts, will be able to form a better judgment as to what the Duke will or can do, and whether he will have to yield to the confederates or not, than he who sees only the one side. I have kept your Lordships fully advised up to the 31st. To-day is the 1st of November, and being very desirous of sending you the articles of agreement, and to verify the accounts given me by that friend of mine, I have since writing to you conferred with another individual who is also in the Duke's secrets; and what he tells me fully confirms what my friend had reported to me. But I have not been able to learn anything from him respecting the supplementary clause, except that it relates to the honor of France; but this person assured me again that no reference is made in it to Florence. It is true, he told me, that there is one clause in

the agreement that the Orsini and Vitellozzo were not obliged to serve the Duke simultaneously, but only one at a time. "You see," said he, laughing, "what sort of an agreement this is." I shall not leave this matter without trying to learn something more on the subject; and so as not to keep your Lordships in suspense, I send this by a courier named Giovanni Antonio da Milano, who has promised me to deliver it by to-morrow; and your Lordships will please have him paid the sum of one florin gold.

P. S. — At the moment of closing this letter, Tommaso Spinelli arrives and tells me that he left the Protonotario Bentivogli at Castel San Piero, and that he will be here to-morrow.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, November 1, 1502.

LETTER XVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

In my last letters of the 30th ultimo and the 1st instant, I informed you of what I had been able to learn respecting the terms of the treaty, and of the reasons why I had not been able to obtain a copy of it. To-day I had a long conversation with one of the Duke's first secretaries, who confirmed all I had written you. "The return of the Chevalier Orsino is expected," said he to me, "and according to his report they will "either give the treaty to the public or not." And he has promised me that no one shall have a copy of it without my having one also. In this matter I am obliged to depend upon others; and yet I have heard nothing that makes me suspect that it contains anything contrary to the interests of your Lordships; I have only heard you blamed for having missed the opportunity of concluding an alliance with the Duke. I have written you at length, and without reserve, all I have learned in relation to matters here; and as nothing new has occurred, I have nothing to write except to repeat that, if words and negotiations indicate an agreement, the orders given and the preparations are manifest indications of war. In accordance

with what I have already written, five companies of French lances were quartered four days ago in the territory of Faenza, and their captains came here yesterday to visit the Duke and remained quite a while conferring with him. After they had gone I called in your Lordships' name on Monseigneur de Montison, the commander-in-chief of the whole. He was pleased to see me, and seemed favorably disposed towards your Lordships; and desired me to remind him, when occasion should offer, of whatever he could do in favor of our republic. I also called upon the Baron di Biera, Monseigneur Le Grafis, and Monseigneur de Borsu, lieutenants of Messieurs de Foix, Miolens, and Dunois. I made myself known to them, and they recognized me as having on a former occasion had some negotiations with them. All seemed pleased to see me, and all offered me their services; and so far as I have been able to judge, they are all your friends, and praised your Lordships highly, which is no trifle. If there be anything special that I can do with these gentlemen, I beg your Lordships to instruct me. About three hundred Gascons arrived here to-day; the Swiss are expected within the next few days, and on their arrival it is believed that active operations will be begun.

I told your Lordships in my last, of the 1st instant, that the Protonotario Bentivogli was to arrive here with a safe-conduct, and in fact he did come at the nineteenth hour. He breakfasted with the Duke, and remained afterwards about half an hour with his Excellency, and then left in the direction of Bologna. I have not been able to learn anything of their conversation, because the person that is in the habit of informing me on these sort of intrigues has gone off with him. True, I have learned from one who is familiar with the affairs of the Duke, that the Protonotario is to return here very soon; and that the Duke is willing to make peace with Giovanni Bentivogli and give him ample security, provided he will obligate himself to sustain the Duke against the Orsini and the Vitelli. And when I remarked to him how the Duke could do so with regard to the other confederates, he replied, that his Excellency would arrange it so that he should be ordered to do it by the king of France. And speaking of the advantages that would result from such an arrangement to the Duke, to the republic of Florence, and to Messer Giovanni Bentivogli, supposing that it could be accomplished, he added, that the Duke desired it

very much, as it had been demonstrated to him that it would give more stability to his state to sustain Messer Giovanni, and to have him for a friend, than to drive him out of Bologna and take possession of a place which he could not hold, and which in the end would prove the chief cause of his ruin. And then he went on to say that the Duke of Ferrara had always refused to promise any assistance to his Excellency, and would not do so now unless the Duke first made peace with Bologna.

I endeavored to confirm this individual in that opinion by all the arguments that presented themselves to me. It seems to me certain that such a negotiation is going on, and that both his Excellency and the Duke of Ferrara are desirous of concluding it, of which I deem it proper to advise your Lordships, because it would be so desirable. Although this ought to be communicated to you in cipher, yet as I send it by your own courier I thought I would save myself as well as your Lordships that trouble, and hope you will be satisfied and give me credit therefor.

A person who was formerly master of the horse in your Lordships' service, and who is now one of the Duke's bodyguard, told me that, happening to be yesterday evening at the fifth hour at the quarters of the Count Alessandro da Marciano, brother to the Count Rinuccio, the Duke, who was passing by there at the time, had the Count Alessandro called out, and kept him for an hour in conversation. After the Count returned he told this person that the Duke had talked with him about many things, all of which, taken together, indicated on the part of the Duke a desire of revenge rather against those who had imperilled his state than a desire or disposition for peace.

Nothing beyond what I have written above occurs to me in reply to your Lordships' letter of the 1st; nor have I tried to see the Duke, having nothing new to communicate to him, it being tiresome for him always to hear the same things. I should moreover observe to your Lordships that his Excellency is not accessible except to two or three of his ministers, and to such strangers as may have important business to transact with him. And he never passes out of his antechamber until about the fifth or sixth hour in the evening, and for that reason there is no chance to speak to him except at a specially appointed audience, which he does not grant to any one whom

he knows to have nothing but words to offer. I mention this to your Lordships so that you may not be surprised by my resolve not to speak to the Duke, so as not to be obliged hereafter to communicate to you that I have not been able to obtain an audience.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 3 November, 1502.

LETTER XIX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Messer Baldassare Scipione, a gentleman from Sienna, already favorably known to your Lordships by his merits, has recently entered the service of his Excellency the Duke, as captain of a corps of lances formed by him. He is sent by his Excellency to Florence on some business of special interest to the Duke. His Excellency's treasurer, Messer Alessandro, has begged me to recommend Messer Baldassare to your Lordships, and to solicit, in the name of his Excellency and in his own, your aid and good offices for Messer Baldassare, for which the Duke and himself will ever remain under obligations to you. I beg to add my own humble prayer to that effect, and commend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 3 November, 1502.

LETTER XX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Your Lordships will have learned from my letter of the 5th that the Duke had gone to Salarolo to confer with those French gentlemen. During his absence I received yours of the 5th. His Excellency returned late yesterday evening, and to-day, after having reviewed the Swiss, who begin to arrive, he could not give me an audience until the first hour of the night. I informed him of the mission of Monsignore Volterra to France,

and enlarged as far as was suitable upon the favorable character of the instructions given him as regards his Excellency and his states. And then I added that your Lordships had written me that you had been informed by your envoy at Rome that his Holiness the Pope manifested the same favorable disposition towards the Florentine republic as his Excellency; but that your Lordships nevertheless desired his influence with his Holiness whenever there might be occasion for it. Thereupon his Excellency asked me "what possible occasion could occur." To which I answered, that "it might be in reference to the re-"mission of some tithes." He replied that he would do what was necessary, and desired me to thank your Lordships for the instructions given to your envoy to France, the Bishop of Volterra. He also asked me whether the Marquis of Mantua had accepted his military engagement, to which I answered that your Lordships had written me a few days ago that the matter was still in doubt. Thereupon his Excellency asked me, "And "what military engagement does your government propose to "offer me?" My reply was, that "I did not know your Lord-"ships' intentions, but that up to that moment I had been under "the impression that his Excellency intended rather to take "others into his service and pay." To which the Duke answered, "Being by profession a soldier, and being a friend of "your Signoria, would it be honorable for me not to be engaged "by them? Nor do I believe that I deceive myself in thinking "that I would serve them as well as any other captain."

He then asked me how many men-at-arms your Lordships intended to keep on foot? To which I made answer, that I did not know your Lordships' views upon that point, but I believed that you intended to keep at least four hundred. Thereupon he asked me how many the Marquis of Mantua had actually of his own, and how many our republic; and when I told him, he arose, saying, "That is no place for me then," and withdrew to speak to a French gentleman, whereupon I took my leave. Before entering upon this discussion respecting his being engaged by your Lordships, and the number of men-at-arms, etc., etc., his Excellency said to me, speaking of the Orsini, that the ratification of the treaty had not yet been received, either because those who had to sign it were at some distance from each other, or because some of them were reluctant to sign, in consequence of Giovanni Bentivogli being vexed at being made of

so little account as to have his interests referred to arbitration. But the Duke added that these difficulties caused him less embarrassment than they would have done at a former period, as he was better prepared now. He further observed to me, that it would be well in the mean time if your Lordships were to make some special arrangement with him, so that he might not be entirely dependent upon the other parties; assuring me at the same time that, if he should finally conclude the treaty with the Orsini, it would be done in good faith. And then he added, "Secretary, I beg you to tell me whether your Signoria will go "further in sustaining me than by a mere general friendship?" And when I replied to him in accordance with your letters, he said, "I asked you this because, if such a general friendship "suffices them, I shall be content with it also, and would not "like to indulge the hope of any special engagement, which, if it "be afterwards not concluded, would give rise to irritation be-"tween us. I desire to be dealt with in entire frankness, etc., "etc." It was after this that he entered upon the discussion which I have related above.

About two hours after this conversation with the Duke an agent of the Bentivogli came to me and told me that he had just had an audience from the Duke, and that shortly after my leaving the court the ratification of the treaty arrived; but that the Duke was nevertheless anxious to conclude a separate treaty with Bologna, and that he had commissioned him at once to send a messenger to the Protonotario to have him come here immediately. He has not yet arrived, having injured one of his toes. Moreover it is reported to-day that the castle of Pergola had surrendered to the troops of the Orsini, which things agitate the minds of a good many persons, but I cannot write differently to your Lordships from what I hear. It is said that the Swiss and the remainder of the French lances will reach here in the course of this week. Conversing with one of the Duke's secretaries about the coming of these French, he told me that his Excellency had given orders for a part of them to stop at Parma, and not to approach any nearer here. Whereupon I said to him, "The Duke then does not wish to protect himself "against his enemies?" He answered, "You are the cause of "this, because your Signoria did not seize the opportunity to "secure the Duke and themselves." To which I observed, "that the means of so doing had not been indicated to us;

"but that your Lordships had never failed to do your utmost "in behalf of your friends."

I have spoken to the Duke about the Gaddi affair, and he told me to make his secretary remind him of it. For the present I think of nothing more, but shall go to court to-morrow to see whether I can learn anything respecting the articles of the treaty, and will advise your Lordships of whatever I may hear.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 8 November, 1502.

LETTER XXI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Apart from what I have written in the enclosed, I must communicate to your Lordships a conversation I had with that friend of mine, who, as I have mentioned to you, told me within the past few days that it was not well for you to remain on general good terms with the Duke; and that it would be an easy matter for you to form a close alliance with him, each desiring it and having both the same enemies. That individual, having appointed an interview with me yesterday evening, said to me: "Secretary, I have on a former occasion "intimated to you that for your Signoria to remain on mere "general good terms with the Duke was of little advantage to "him, and still less to you; for this reason, that the Duke, "seeing that all remains in uncertainty with regard to your "Signoria, will form an alliance with others. I wish to talk "this over with you at length this evening, and although I "speak only for myself, yet I have good grounds for what I "am about to say to you. The Duke knows very well that the "Pope may die any day, and that, if he desires to preserve the "states which he has, it behooves him to think of basing his "power upon some other foundation before the death of the "Pope. His first reliance will be upon the king of France, the "next upon his own armed forces; and we see that he has "already brought together nearly five hundred men-at-arms, "and as many light cavalry, which will be in effective condi-"tion within a few days. But as he foresees that in time these

"two reliances might not suffice him, he thinks of making his "neighbors his allies and friends; and those who of necessity "must defend him, if they wish to defend themselves, are the "Florentines, the Bolognese, and Mantua and Ferrara. To "begin with the last, you see what an alliance he has formed "with Ferrara; for besides the marriage of his sister with so "large a dowry, he has already bestowed and continues to "shower favors upon the Ferrarese Cardinal.* With Mantua "the Duke is negotiating two matters; the one is a cardinal's "hat for the brother of the Marquis, and the other a marriage "between the Duke's daughter and the son of the Marquis. "As compensation for the hat, the Marquis and his brother "are to deposit forty thousand ducats, which sum is after- "wards to constitute the dowry of the Duke's daughter. These "things are to be carried into effect anyhow, and are obliga- "tions calculated to preserve friendships. With Bologna he "is also negotiating some arrangement separate from the other "confederates; and so far as I see, it is in a fair way of accom- "plishment, for the Duke of Ferrara desires it very much. His "Excellency Duke Valentino is well disposed for it and the "terms are favorable for the Bentivogli. And in fact the "Duke was never as anxious for the possession of Bologna as "he has been to assure himself of Romagna, and whenever he "succeeds in that he will be satisfied. Thus, if those four "states which adjoin each other become united and well "armed, they are not to be disregarded. And the king of "France, knowing that he can rely upon them, is disposed "even to increase their power. As to your Florentine Sig- "noria, it is less than three days since that I heard the Duke "argue that he wished they would make free use of his terri- "tory, as he would of theirs, they being both friends of the

* This refers to the Cardinal Hippolite d'Este. The following trait is related of him by Guicciardini in his History of Italy, and illustrates the manners of the times: "This Prelate passionately loved one of his female relatives, who with "an equal passion loved Don Giulio, the Cardinal's natural brother. The lady, "by way of ridding herself of the Cardinal's importunities, avowed to him her "love for Giulio, and that it was his beautiful eyes that had fascinated her. "Hippolite, infuriated by this confession, availed himself of the opportunity "whilst his brother was hunting to have him surrounded by his followers; and "forcing him to dismount from his horse, he had his eyes torn out of his head, "as being the cause of the love he had inspired."

This is the same Cardinal Hippolite d'Este to whom Ariosto dedicated his "Orlando Furioso."

"king of France and himself; and that he had no intention "of acting adversely to them in any way, even if no definite "treaty were concluded between them; but should it really "come to such a treaty, then they would find out the difference "between his friendship and that of others. But to come back "to the main point, I tell you that to remain on mere general "good terms would be a greater disadvantage for your Signoria "than for the Duke; for his Excellency having the good will "of the king and of the aforementioned princes, whilst your "Signoria have no other support than that of the king, they "will find that they have more need of the Duke than the "Duke of them. However, I do not by any means wish to say "that the Duke is not disposed to render them any service; "but should it happen that they really have need of him, and "he being under no obligations to them, he would be free to "aid them or not, as might seem good to him. Now were you "to ask me what they ought to do, and that I should specify "some particulars, I would reply, that you for your part have "two sores, which, if you do not heal them, will enfeeble you "and perhaps cause your death. The one is Pisa, and the "other is Vitellozzo. If now you were to recover the former, "and if the latter were crushed, would not that be a great ad- "vantage for your republic? And so far as the Duke is con- "cerned, I tell you that his Excellency would be satisfied with "the honor of having his former engagement renewed by your "Signoria, which he would value more than money or anything "else; so that if you were to find means for bringing this "about, everything would be satisfactorily settled. And if you "were to tell me with regard to Vitellozzo, that the Duke has "made a compact with him and the Orsini, I should reply that "the ratification of it has not yet been received, and that the "Duke would give the best town he possesses that that ratifica- "tion should not come; or that such a compact had never been "talked about. Still, if the ratification should come, I would "say, 'Where there are men there are means'; and it is better "to come to an understanding, and that orally rather than by "writing. You must understand, furthermore, that it is neces- "sary for the Duke to save a portion of the Orsini; for in case "of the Pope's death it is important for the Duke to have some "friends in Rome. But he cannot bear to hear the name of "Vitellozzo as much as mentioned; for he regards him as a

"venomous serpent, and as a firebrand for Tuscany and for all "Italy, who has done and continues to do all he can to prevent "the Orsini from ratifying the treaty, as they ought to do. I "desire, therefore, that you should write to the Gonfalonier, "or to the Ten, what I have said to you, although it comes "altogether from me. Remind them also of another thing, "namely, that it might easily happen that the king of France "should direct your Signoria to maintain the engagement of "the Duke, and to place their troops at his service, which they "would in that case be obliged to do without receiving any "credit for it. And therefore you should remind your Signoria "that, when a service has to be rendered, it is better to perform "it of one's own free will, and so as to have it appreciated "rather than otherwise."

And finally he begged me to treat with the utmost discretion what he had said against Vitellozzo, as well as other important matters. The argument of this friend of mine was quite lengthy, and of a character that will be appreciated by your Lordships. I replied briefly, and only to those points that seemed specially to require it. In the first instance, I told him that his Excellency the Duke had acted wisely in arming himself and in securing allies; and secondly, I confessed to him that it was our earnest desire to recover Pisa, and to secure ourselves against Vitellozzo, although we did not regard him as of much account. Thirdly, with regard to the engagement of the Duke I told him, speaking all the while, however, only for myself, that the power of his Excellency the Duke was not to be measured in the same way as that of the other lords, who so far as their states were concerned had nothing to show but simply their carriages, whilst the Duke must be looked upon as a new power in Italy, with which it was better to conclude a friendship and alliance rather than a military engagement. And I added, that, as alliances between princes are maintained only by arms, inasmuch as the power of arms alone could enforce their observance, your Lordships would not be able to see what security they could have for their part when three fourths or three fifths of their troops were under the control of the Duke. But I wanted him to know that I did not say this because I doubted the good faith of the Duke, but because I knew your Lordships to be prudent men; that it was the duty of governments to be circumspect,

and never to expose themselves by their acts to be deceived. As to what he had said with regard to the possibility of the king of France's commanding your Lordships to do certain things, I said that there was not a doubt but what his Majesty might dispose of the Florentine republic as of his own property; but neither the king nor any one else could make your Lordships do what was not possible. My friend replied only to that part of my remarks which related to the Duke's engagement, saying that I had spoken frankly and loyally, which was very gratifying to him; suggesting at the same time that the three hundred men might really be reduced to two hundred, whilst nominally the number of three hundred might be maintained; and to facilitate this, one tenth of the difference might be conceded to your Lordships, or two thirds to the priests. As my friend could not continue the conversation any longer, owing to his other important occupations, he left me, urging me, however, to make the substance of his argument known in the proper place; but with an injunction of secrecy. This I have done herewith, as your Lordships will observe.

I cannot say whether these suggestions were inspired by the Duke, or whether they originate with my friend; all I can tell you is, that the latter is one of the Duke's chief ministers; and if all this is merely the result of his own imagination, it is quite possible that he deceives himself, for he is a man of the best and most benevolent disposition. I beg your Lordships will examine the whole subject, and let me have your reply.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 8 November, 1502.

LETTER XXII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I replied to your Lordships' letters of the 3d and 5th by mine of the 8th, which I sent by the son of Francesco Totti, and hope it has reached you safely, for I deem it of some importance, and await your reply. By this I desire to inform your Lordships that the Protonotario Bentivogli arrived here to-day. I had a conversation with him before he saw the Duke, and found him entirely devoted to your Lordships. The object

of his coming here is, as I have stated in a former letter, to conclude a treaty of amity between Bologna and his Excellency the Duke, and to avoid the arbitration provided for in the articles of agreement with the confederates.

It is believed that matters will be arranged between them in some way, for the Duke desires it, and it would be advantageous for the Bentivogli. Those who doubt it on account of the league between the Bentivogli and the Orsini must bear in mind that the former consider themselves unfairly treated in the agreement concluded with the Signor Paolo, because their differences are referred to an arbitration.

To enable your Lordships the better to understand these intrigues, I stated in my last communication that after my last conversation with the Duke the ratification of the treaty had arrived. It has indeed been ratified by all the confederates except Messer Giovanni Bentivogli, who did not feel himself secure whilst his affairs were subject to an arbitration, and therefore protested from the first against the terms of the treaty. There is another matter which your Lordships must know, namely, that the validity of this treaty also requires the ratification of it by the Sovereign Pontiff, who, as will be seen from a brief address to Signor Trocces, of which I send a copy, consents that Trocces should ratify it in his name, provided the same shall have first been ratified by the Cardinal Orsino, Pandolfo Petrucci, and Messer Giovanni Bentivogli. Two things are therefore wanting to give effect to this treaty; one, the ratification by the Pope, and the other, that of Messer Giovanni. The refusal of the latter necessarily involves that of the Pontiff, and it is believed that Alexander VI. has given his power to ratify the treaty in his name with the above condition, knowing that Messer Giovanni will save himself by forming a close alliance with the Duke, and that his Excellency the Duke will afterwards make sure of a good part of his adversaries. In reading attentively the articles of this treaty, of which I enclose copy herewith, your Lordships will see that they are full of mistrusts and suspicions; and if you will at the same time bear in mind what is thought of it here, your habitual wisdom will enable you to judge what may be expected from it. I have not obtained the copy of said treaty and brief of the Pope from the Duke's chancelry, as had been promised me, but have it from another source.

I have nothing further to communicate to your Lordships at present, except that two things only are wanting before marching the army towards Pesaro; namely, the arrival of the remainder of the French lances and of the Swiss, and the conclusion of this treaty with Messer Giovanni; and both are expected very shortly.

I commend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 10 November, 1502.

Copy of the Treaty between the Duke of Valentinois of the one part, and the Orsini and their adherents of the other, sent by Niccolo Machiavelli to the Decemvirs of Liberty of the Republic of Florence.

Be it made known and manifest to the parties hereto subscribing, and to all others to whom these presents shall come, that inasmuch as there have arisen between the most illustrious Duke of Romagna and the Orsini and their confederates certain controversies, enmities, misunderstandings, and suspicions, and both parties being desirous to allay these suspicions and animosities, and to terminate all their differences, they hereby conclude:—

1. A true and perpetual peace, concord, and union, with a complete remission of all claims for damages or injuries mutually done up to the present day, and on account of which they promise each other to bear no resentment. And in conformity with such peace and union, the aforesaid most illustrious Duke of Romagna receives into his confederation, league, and perpetual alliance all the aforementioned Signori, and each one of them, and promises to defend their states collectively and separately against whatever power attempts to molest or attack them, for any cause whatever. Excepting, nevertheless, always his Holiness Pope Alexander VI. and his Most Christian Majesty King Louis XII. of France. And on the other hand the aforementioned Signori promise in the same manner to aid in the defence of the person and of the states of his Excellency, as well as of the illustrious Signori Don Zofre Borgia, Prince of Squillaci, Don Roderigo Borgia, Duke of Sermoneta and Biselli, and Don Giovanni Borgia,

Duke of Camerino and Neppe, brothers and nephews of the most illustrious Duke of Romagna; and each and all of the aforementioned Signori will aid and contribute to that effect.

Item. Inasmuch as during the existence of the aforementioned differences, controversies, and dissensions, the rebellion and occupation of the states of Urbino and Camerino have occurred, therefore the aforementioned confederates jointly and each one separately obligate themselves to assist with all their forces in the recovery of the above-named states, cities, and other places that may have rebelled or may have been occupied.

Item. The aforementioned most illustrious Duke of Romagna agrees to continue to the Orsini and the Vitelli their former military engagements and compensation.

Item. His Excellency aforesaid wills and promises that the aforementioned Condottieri shall not be obliged to render personal service to his Excellency in camp, except one at a time, and that according to their own pleasure.

Item. The aforesaid illustrious Duke promises also to have the present articles of agreement ratified and confirmed by the Sovereign Pontiff, who will not oblige his Eminence the Signor Cardinal Orsino to go and remain in Rome, excepting so far as it may be the pleasure of his Eminence.

Item. Inasmuch as certain differences exist between his Holiness the Pope and Messer Giovanni Bentivogli, the aforementioned confederate Signori agree that all these differences shall be referred to his Eminence the Cardinal Orsino, his Excellency the Duke of Romagna, and the Magnificent Pandolfo Petrucci, from whose judgment there shall be no recourse or appeal.

Item. The aforementioned Signori collectively, and each of them separately, obligate themselves and promise, whenever required by his Excellency the Duke of Romagna, to place in his hands as hostages one of the legitimate sons of each of them, at such time and in such place as it may please his Excellency the Duke to indicate.

Item. The aforementioned confederate Signori obligate themselves collectively and separately, whenever any plot or machination against any one of them shall come to their knowledge, immediately to inform the one against whom it is intended of the same, as well as all the others reciprocally.

Item. It is agreed between the aforesaid Duke of Romagna and the above-mentioned Signori to regard and treat as a common enemy whoever fails to observe the stipulations of this agreement; and all to unite in the destruction of the state of the party that fails to conform to these presents.

Given at Imola, 28 October, 1502.

CESARE. I, PAOLO ORSINO, have subscribed.
AGAPITO.

Copy of a Brief from the Pope to Messer Troccio.

To our beloved son, Francesco Troccio, our Protonatorio and Camerino, greeting and Apostolic benediction!

We have taken cognizance of the treaty concluded and confirmed between our beloved son, Don Cesare Borgia, Duke of Romagna, and our beloved son, Paolo Orsino, of the house and family of the Orsini and their confederates, whereof thou hast sent me a copy with thy letters. And considering that the articles of agreement made and concluded have been made regularly, and believing them to have been made with good intentions, and that the parties thereto will observe them resolutely and honestly: —

Therefore, having particular confidence in thy fidelity and prudence, we order and enjoin thee, by the tenor of these presents, that after the said treaty shall have been accepted and ratified by our beloved son, the Cardinal Orsino, and Pandolfo Petrucci of Sienna, and Giovanni Bentivogli of Bologna in the name of the other confederates, thou approve and confirm the same in our name; to which end we give thee full and entire authority.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, 4 November, 1502, and in the eleventh year of our Pontificate.

LETTER XXIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Humbly commending myself to your Lordships, I beg to say that, if you are surprised at not having received any letters from me, I regret it exceedingly for my part, but it has been from no fault of mine. Instead of Tommaso Totti, there came here a man on foot, who with very little practical knowledge of the country was but little accustomed to walking. On the 8th I gave him my letters in reply to yours, which were of as much importance as any that I have written since my being here. I would send your Lordships a duplicate of them if your courier had not told me that before leaving Florence he had met the bearer of my first despatches of the 5th. Although I happened to write privately to the Gonfaloniere upon public events, which was not much, I wrote nevertheless to your Lordships first on the 3d instant; and my last was of the 10th, which I sent you by the hands of Jacopo, a carrier of Monticelli, together with a copy of the treaty, and all the news from here, which letter ought to reach you to-day. I therefore beg your Lordships to hold me excused, and to bear in mind that matters here cannot be guessed at. And you must understand that we have to do here with a prince who governs by himself. To avoid writing mere fancies and reveries, one must study matters well, and in so doing time passes, and I endeavor to spend mine advantageously, and not to throw it away.

I shall not repeat what I have written in mine of the 8th and 10th, hoping that they are safely in your hands, although somewhat late. Your Lordships will have seen from those letters the turn that matters are taking here; and you will also have learned from them, at least in part, the disposition of the Duke, as well as what he told me in the conversations I had with him and with that friend of mine, who insists every day that he who temporizes seeks for better bread than can be made of wheat, and misses the opportunity when it presents itself. To which I reply that the delay is owing, first, to the desire of learning the wishes of the king of France; and next, by that of sending to Rome to ascertain the views of the Pope, which now depends on the going of the Bishop of Volterra to France, and upon the coming of the Archdeacon of Celon here, all which is construed into intentional delay.

People are not wanting here who say that it is the custom of your Lordships to act thus, and I am reproached every day that ever since 1499 your Lordships, from not having taken sides with the French or the Duke, were first badly served by the Duke, and afterwards crushed by the king of France. I defend and maintain the honor of the republic as best I can, adducing all the arguments in my power, and they are plenty, but they are not admitted. I did not wish to write all this to your Lordships until to-day, lest I should be accused of presumption. However, seeing things go as I had anticipated, I prefer to complain of misrepresentations, rather than repent later of not having informed you of what is passing here. Your Lordships ask many explanations of me, and I believe that up to the present you will find that I have complied with your requirements, provided that all my letters have been read. In the first instance, your Lordships desire to hear whether people here believe in peace rather than in war. To this I have replied that they talk of peace and make preparations for war. And as regards peace I have written what has been done here by the Signor Paolo Orsino, and since then I have sent you a copy of the articles of agreement with my letter of the 10th, and pointed out the difficulties that have arisen because Messer Giovanni Bentivogli had refused to ratify that agreement, and because of the instructions from the Pope to Trocces. So that pending the ratification of Messer Giovanni and of the Pope, the treaty itself remains in suspense. On the 30th of the last month, I informed you of the conjectures made here as to the manner in which this peace might be effected, and of the difficulties that stand in the way. In view of the character of the Duke and that of the others, it was deemed impossible that any agreement could be brought about between them; but that most likely the Duke would be able to detach some of the confederates from their league. We now see things going that way because, as I have written before, the Protonotario Bentivogli is here, and is negotiating a separate convention with the Duke, which is as good as concluded. The Bentivogli may be able to justify this course to the other confederates, because in the general treaty the affairs of Bologna have been left to arbitration, whilst their security is the

guaranty of the king of France of the observance of that treaty. And this evening whilst conversing with the Protonotario, he asked me whether your Lordships would also guarantee this treaty to both parties, the same as the king of France? To which I replied that your Lordships would not hesitate to unite in any engagement with his Majesty the king of France. Of the conditions of this treaty I can say nothing, not having heard anything on the subject satisfactory to myself. Should it be argued that it may be difficult for the Duke to give up the idea of not taking Bologna, then I reply the same as I have written before, that it has been demonstrated to him that it will be better to establish a durable friendship than to take a city which he would not be able to hold. However, the Orsini and the Vitelli have given him cause for acting with prudence, and have shown him that it behooves him to think more of what he has acquired than to strive to acquire more. And the means of so preferring his state is to be armed with troops of his own, to treat his subjects kindly, and to make his neighbors his friends. This it seems it is his intention to do, according to what my friend tells me, and as I have stated to your Lordships in my letter of the 8th.

As to the treaty with the confederates, the ratification of which came as I have written you, his Excellency has sent some one to the Orsini to try and settle the difficulty made by Messer Giovanni, and thus he gains time. The Orsini, meanwhile, remain in the territory of Fano, without moving a step forwards or backwards; and thus this part of the general peace remains in uncertainty. The party that knows best how to impose upon the others will carry the day; and he will best impose upon the others who is strongest in troops and in allies. So much for the question of peace or of war.

I have already advised your Lordships of the preparations making here; these are steadily continued and urged, although they are later than what it was thought they should have been made. For the better information of your Lordships as to the troops and mounted men here now, and what are expected, I enclose a list of the same, made up from what I have gathered from several persons; not having actually seen them myself, I am obliged to depend for my information upon others. The Duke is here, and will not leave until after the arrival of the Swiss, who are looked for this week; and the remainder of

the French lances are expected daily. The Duke, as I have mentioned several times, receives all the enemies of Pandolfo, Gianpaolo, Vitellozzo, and of the Orsini.

I have nothing else of interest to communicate at this time, but beg your Lordships to excuse me if my communications are not satisfactory; and commend myself most humbly.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 13 November, 1502.

LETTER XXIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

After writing you on the 13th by the courier Carlo, in reply to yours of the 11th, there arrived here on the same day the Conte Lodovico della Mirandola with his troops. I can now give you an exact account of these forces, having myself counted thirty-four men-at-arms and seventy light-horse; they are quartered at Doccia, three miles from here, in the direction of Bologna. I also wrote to your Lordships in my last as well as in previous letters, that the negotiations with the Bentivogli were being much pressed; and that the Protonotario was here, and was receiving the most friendly attentions at the hands of the Duke. Yesterday morning I conversed quite a while with his Reverence; he spoke of the great advantage which the Duke's friendship would be for them, if they could rely upon it, and how much the Duke, if well advised, ought to desire their good will. In short, I gathered from what the Protonotario said, that the treaty between them would have been already concluded, but for the fact that the Duke wanted the Pope to be a principal party to the agreement; it having always been the ambition of the Pope to bring Bologna back to her obedience to the Church, which other pontiffs had not succeeded in doing. And therefore the Duke wanted the Pope to make this treaty, for which purpose Messer Romolino, his Excellency's secretary, has been sent on horseback to Rome. I learn that the convention between them contains two principal items. First, an alliance between the Bishop of Euna or the Cardinal Borgia and these Bentivogli, which is to be effected in one of two ways: either the Protonotario quits the Church, and marries

the sister of the Cardinal, or Messer Hermes Bentivogli marries her, after having first broken off his engagement with one of the ladies of the Orsino family. The other is, that the Bentivogli are bound to sustain the Duke with a certain number of men-at-arms against whoever may attack him. It is said that some differences have arisen in consequence of the Duke's claiming to have that service performed by the Bentivogli without any compensation to them, whilst they demand to be paid for it in full, or at least in part. There are also some old accounts to be settled by this treaty; and something is said about a Cardinal's hat for the Protonotario, in case he does not leave the Church. Of all this I have no particulars, nor can I vouch for all I have written above.

Messer Romolino started this morning, and went in company with the Protonotario in the direction of Bologna, for the purpose of conferring with Messer Giovanni about the treaty. Messer Romolino will continue on from there towards Rome. I therefore write you this so that, inasmuch as he does not travel by post, your Lordships may show him some honor when he reaches Florence, and learn something from him concerning these matters. It is said at court that the Duke will leave here on Tuesday, and will go to Cesena, where he will halt with his troops. As the messenger that was sent a few days ago by his Excellency to the Orsini has not yet returned, we are without news from Fano; but I was told to-day that a difference had arisen between Vitellozzo and Gianpaolo in relation to the conditions of the treaty, with which the former is exceedingly dissatisfied.

Of the Swiss and the men-at-arms that are yet to arrive here, I know nothing more than what I have written in my last. Money is expected from Florence to enable the troops here to take the field; and eight days ago the same Guglielmo Buonaccorsi whom I have mentioned in former letters was sent there. To return to the treaty with the confederates, the opinion here is that they will never be able to make it general, so as to embrace every one, unless they should agree amongst themselves to attack some third party; and therefore let those who fear this think of it betimes, and take the necessary steps to prevent such an arrangement.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 14 November, 1502.

P. S. The messenger that brings this is to leave here tomorrow at noon; I was obliged to employ one of my own servants for this purpose, as there was no other opportunity of sending it. Your Lordships will please pay him six lire.

N. M.

LETTER XXV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Yesterday morning I sent to your Lordships, by my servant Antonio, my letter of the 14th, which must have been received by this time. I write now to communicate what I have learned since then respecting the condition of the treaty that has been so long in course of negotiation between the confederates and the Duke; which amounts in fact to this, that the Signor Paolo left here with a draft of the treaty, which was afterwards retouched in some particulars by the other parties, and reduced to what I sent a copy of to your Lordships. They then sent it back to the Duke signed and ratified by them. But having been retouched, as I said, his Excellency thought proper also to add some things and strike out others, according to his own views; and then he sent it by one of his men to the other parties, with instructions to let them understand that, if they would accept it thus, it was well; if not, he would go no further in the matter. His messenger left here on the 8th or 9th, and yesterday evening one of the Duke's secretaries showed me a letter which that messenger had written to his Excellency, dated the 13th instant, from Sienna. It ran thus: — "I found "Signor Paolo Orsino here; he expresses surprise that your "Excellency has sent him neither answer nor instructions in "relation to the matter submitted to you by him in the name "of the other confederates. And in fact, after explaining to "him and to Pandolfo Petrucci the instructions of your illus- "trious Lordship, after some discussion, everything was con- "cluded in good shape and settled in accordance with your "Excellency's orders. Signor Paolo and Pandolfo have duly "ratified the agreement. Messer Antonio Venafro has ratified "it for the Cardinal Orsino, who had given him full powers to "that effect. There being no one here who had power to sign

"for Vitellozzo nor for Gianpaolo and Messer Liverotto, Pan-
"dolfo and Signor Paolo have pledged themselves that they
"shall ratify it, as you will learn more particularly from said
"Signor Paolo, who is coming to see your Excellency." These are in substance the words of that letter. Signor Paolo is expected here this evening, and should I learn any further particulars in relation to this matter, you shall be duly advised.

The Duke of Urbino sent here two days ago to request a safe-conduct from his Excellency for a citizen of Urbino, through whom he desired to communicate some matters to his Excellency. The safe-conduct was sent in blank; and when this individual arrives, I will endeavor to find out the object of his coming, and advise your Lordships of it.

Yesterday, according to report, orders were given to provide quarters for one hundred and fifty French lances; these come from Tosignano, Fontana, and Condriono, which places are at the foot of the mountains on the Bolognese borders. Of the Swiss I have heard nothing more; nor have we any intelligence from the direction of Fano, except that a certain Giovan Battista Mancino, captain of four hundred infantry who are in cantonments near Montefeltro, some eight miles from Rimini, was robbed by some citizens of Montefeltro, and arrived here to-day with nothing but his doublet on. In relation to Bolognese matters we are waiting to hear what will be done at Rome by Messer Romolino, who left Bologna yesterday morning. The Duke's departure from here seems postponed until probably Sunday, and other matters remain as I wrote you last.

The price of grain here is forty soldi a bushel of our measure; and a certain Messer Jacopo of Borgo, governor of the place, told me that it was found that every city is short of grain, some one and some two months' supply. The presence of the foreign troops will increase this deficiency, and evidently this country cannot offer very comfortable quarters for them, notwithstanding that the Duke draws supplies from elsewhere. I bring this to your Lordships' notice, so that none may be drawn from the Florentine territory.

There is a Messer Gabriello of Bergamo here, who brings money from Venice, and does much business here. He showed me a letter yesterday that came from Venice, and gives the news that four caravels had returned from Calcutta to Portugal laden with spices; which has caused a great decline in

the price of spices at Venice, and does great injury to that city.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 16 November, 1502.

The bearer of this leaves at the twenty-second hour, and has promised to be at Florence to-morrow evening, for which I have promised him a gold florin; which your Lordships will kindly have paid to him.

LETTER XXVI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Your Lordships have seen from my letters of the 8th, 10th, and 13th, how I have gathered from different persons the intentions of his Excellency the Duke; and although all point very much in the same direction, yet his Excellency has not fully explained himself, nor has he entered into the many particulars given me by my friend. But neither my friend nor the Duke has furnished me those rather questionable examples which another person has given me, with whom I have had occasion to talk upon this subject. Although in your letter of the 15th your Lordships reply only in a general manner to what I have written, nevertheless I know that I have done my duty in replying to each according to his communications. I did this the more readily as your Lordships had recommended to me to conduct myself in this matter with as much reserve as I might deem suitable. Yesterday evening I had a long interview with the Duke, and began my remarks by referring to the mistrust which his Excellency had manifested with regard to your Lordships in asking me, at our last interview, whether I really believed that your Lordships intended to contract a close alliance with him, or not. I told his Excellency that I had informed your Lordships of this mistrust, and that it had caused you much regret and displeasure. And then, in conformity with the suggestions made by you at the beginning of your letter, I enlarged upon the many proofs which you had given, without reserve or fear, of your good will towards him. Having touched upon

this sufficiently, I came to the question of his engagement, and observed to him that this matter had caused you much pain, partly because it was an impossible thing for you to do, and partly also because it had seemed to me that, in his first conversation upon this point, he had manifested more regard for his private interests than for the common benefit; and that your Lordships could not see any way in which they could with propriety meet his wishes; for an engagement of importance they could not contract with him, and an inconsiderable one they dared not offer him. And finally I made him understand that provided these difficulties could be removed, and if his Excellency would limit himself to what was possible and safe for your Lordships, having, however, always due regard to the king of France, you were disposed from the present moment to form the closest alliance with him. I enlarged very much upon this point, keeping, however, always two important considerations in view: the one, not to deviate from your Lordships' instructions, and the other, not to make use of any words or expressions that could wound his Excellency. The Duke seemed to listen to me with pleasure, and gave no sign of dissatisfaction, and on closing my remarks he said to me: "See now, all this "amounts to nothing, and, as I told you the last time, the ques- "tion between us is either of a general friendship or a special "alliance. If we are to remain on terms of a mere general "friendship, then there is nothing more to be said on the sub- "ject; for I have always told you, and shall be as good as my "word, that I shall not permit a single hair of your Signoria to "be touched, that I shall ever be ready to render them any "service in my power, and that the citizens of your republic "shall enjoy every convenience within my dominions. But if "the question be as to a special alliance, and your Signoria re- "fuse me the engagement, then there is nothing more for me to "do, because they reject the very foundation of such a special "alliance."

I did not fail to reply to all this, saying that mere general friendships impose no obligations, and are readily changed by time, that good and ill fortune do not remain always on the same side, that every day alliances are contracted where there is no question of an engagement, and that the most durable friendships are those in which each party finds its advantage. I added many other reflections, which at the time seemed to me

to the purpose, but which it would be superfluous to repeat here. It will suffice for your Lordships' intelligence to know that the Duke remarked, in conclusion, that if your Lordships were content with a general friendship, so was he; adding, with many obliging words, that if at any time you wished to draw the friendship closer, you were now in possession of his views and intentions in the matter.

More than this I could not by any further remarks of mine obtain from him. After this discussion the Duke spoke to me of the events taking place here; that he looked upon the Bologna matter as settled; and respecting the Orsini and the Vitelli he said that he was expecting the Signor Paolo here. I on my part spoke of the safe-conduct which we had obtained, and of the circumstances that had given rise to it. Of Vitellozzo and Gianpaolo he spoke in the most sinister manner; whereupon I said to him that I had always felt convinced that he would be victorious, and that if on the first day of my arrival I had written down my view of these matters, and he were to read it now, it would seem to him like prophecy; and that one of the reasons that had made me think thus was that he was alone, and had to deal with a combination of several adversaries; but that it was easy for him to break the ties that united them. To which the Duke replied, that virtually he had already broken them, and that he had already disembarrassed himself of more than four of them. In speaking of Gianpaolo he said that he had boasted of being on such good terms with your Lordships; in answer to which I said that Gianpaolo had formerly been our friend, having been in our pay, and that he was a man of courage; but that in his late transactions he had rendered us a very bad service. Thereupon the Duke said: "I "want to tell you this, which your Signoria do not know as yet. "Before Gianpaolo left Perugia to join Vitellozzo he wrote me a "letter, saying, 'You know how thoroughly I detest Vitellozzo, "and yet I want to unite with him for the purpose of re-estab- "lishing the Medici in Florence; but I do not wish to have it "appear as though I was doing it for the love of Vitellozzo, "and therefore I beg you will write me a letter ordering me to "undertake this enterprise.' And I did write him such a letter, "but do not know now whether he has not made use of it to "do me an injury." To which I replied that I had never heard of this.

Afterwards coming back again to the case of Vitellozzo, the Duke said to me, among other things: "I will tell you of "another act of perfidy on his part, which he attempted to "practise against me, and which has come to my knowledge "within the last few days. You will remember when we first "entered upon the Florentine territory with our troops; well, "Vitellozzo, seeing that he did not succeed in what he aimed at, "and supposing that I would never suspect him, thought, with-"out my knowing anything about it, to make terms with the "Orsini, to take Prato by surprise during the night, and to "leave me defenceless in the midst of your country. He com-"municated his project to some one, who told me of it only two "days ago; and when this individual asked Vitellozzo upon "what basis he had founded his scheme, and how he would "maintain himself in Prato, he answered, that all things re-"quired at the beginning an impulse to be given them, but that "then the middle and the end would follow of necessity. This, "however, did not happen in his case; for having gone to re-"connoitre Prato, he found the walls higher and better guarded "than he had supposed." The Duke added, "And now his "only talent is to plot treason; and every day proves that the "Florentines proceeded justly against his brother." * I made a suitable reply, but from all the Duke's conversation I have only gained the conviction of his deep hatred of Vitellozzo, without being able to gather how he is going to proceed against him.

Since then I have had a conversation with my friend, and according to your Lordships' instructions I put the Duke's engagement entirely aside, and with regard to Pisa and Vitellozzo I employed almost the very words which your Lordships have written; adding such other observations as would bear upon the proposed alliance. Respecting Vitellozzo I could learn nothing except that the Duke is animated by a most bitter hatred against him. As to Pisa he said: "At first the "Duke's forces will move towards Urbino; after that they may "go further, towards Perugia, Castello, and Sienna; and once "in that neighborhood it will be easy suddenly to throw them "upon Pisa; and if they find that city unprepared, it would be

* This refers to Paolo Vitelli, Captain-General of the Florentines, who at the siege of Pisa became suspected of treason, and was taken to Florence and beheaded. Buonaccorsi, p. 25.

"an easy matter to take it. But it will be necessary to manage "it with great secrecy; I do not know whether this can be done "at present, since the creation of this perpetual Gonfalonier, and "whether your Signoria will be able to dispose of some twenty-"five or thirty thousand ducats which will be needed, without "being obliged to render an account of them to any one."

I shall not repeat what I answered, as I do not wish to weary your Lordships; all I will say is, that I have endeavored to do my duty. Respecting the engagement of the Duke, this friend said that the honor of the Duke did not require that this matter should not be spoken of. And after a little reflection he added, that the engagement might be changed into a subsidy, and that your Lordships ought to give it to him. I replied, that that would be changing the name, but not the thing itself; and that if it was desired that I should enter into communication with your Lordships in reference to such a subsidy, it would be necessary that I should be able to point out to you the reciprocal advantages of it, and that such advantage must be clear and immediate. All this I said as coming only from myself. My friend said that he would think of the matter, and thus the conversation ended. I have nothing else to write to your Lordships in answer to your letter of the 15th. As for those others who talk to me every day of these matters, I always have answered and shall continue to answer them as seems to me proper.

The remainder of the French that were expected here have arrived; they are lodged where I have before mentioned to your Lordships that quarters had been ordered for them; and according to what I was told by a certain Messer Federigo, a confidential person of the Cardinal San Giorgio, who came here two days ago, all the French that left Parma to come here to the support of the Duke, counting in those who came first as well as those last arrived, amount to four hundred and fifty lances. I do not know whether this is the exact truth, but it accords with what they say themselves; and this Messer Federigo comes direct from Parma, where he has been for many days.

The Swiss have not yet come, nor have I heard where they are; but their arrival here will not be long delayed.

The conclusion of the agreement on the part of the Orsini awaits the arrival of Signor Paolo, who has not yet made his

appearance; and on the part of the Bentivogli it depends on Messer Romolino, who, as I have already written, has gone to Rome; but we hear of no movement on his part.

His Excellency the Duke is still here, and when I asked Messer Alessandro the treasurer, yesterday, when he would leave, he said that they were waiting for a reply from a certain Messer Ercolano, who had been sent to Milan several days ago. No one knows what to think of the warlike preparations of the Duke in the midst of all these peace negotiations, particularly in view of his good faith, which may be relied upon. Messer Giovanni is full of apprehensions, notwithstanding all the honors shown to his Protonotario, and the earnestness with which the agreements are being urged forward. For he sees the Duke's forces constantly increasing; and that so far from leaving, the Duke remains here to the great discomfort of the inhabitants of the place, as well as his own. Moreover, he sees the Conte Lodovico della Mirandola arrive and go into quarters at Doccia; and the French that have lately come here by way of Ferrara, and who were to go from here to Rimini by way of Faenza, have been made to retrace their steps by the Duke's orders, and are quartered in three small castles, which, as I have lately written to your Lordships, are situated on the confines of the Bolognese territory in the direction of Piancaldoli, where they are not only uncomfortable, but entirely away from their route. Some companies of infantry are also returning here, being a portion of those who have lately been sent in the direction of this city; which has given rise to various conjectures. Nevertheless, it is not believed that he will fail of his word where he has once given it.

The Venetians seeing the clouds gathering here, have sent the Conte di Pitigliano with one thousand horse to Ravenna, so as not to be taken unawares. They feel no apprehensions for your Lordships, as the main forces of the Duke consist of French troops, who it is supposed will not be inclined to attack or injure you; were it otherwise, then nobody would answer for your safety. As to what the Vitelli and the Orsini have to fear, your Lordships are better able to discern it than can be done from here; in fact, there is no head sufficiently secure to dare to form any definite idea upon that point.

About twenty Pisan cavaliers have come here in search of an engagement for pay; I do not know whether they will be

accepted, and have taken no steps either in their favor or against them, for I really know not which would be best.

There was a report here this morning that Bologna had risen in revolt, under the apprehension that had gained ground there that Messer Giovanni was about to sell the city to the Duke. It is believed that these are mere popular lies, for they lack all confirmation.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

20 November, 1502, 20th hour.

P. S. — At last I have obtained the safe-conduct conformable to that of your Lordships, and send it herewith enclosed. I have had much difficulty in obtaining it without paying the chancelry, for they are not all like that of your Lordships. It is pretended that yours has been obtained *gratis*. Nevertheless it has been agreed . . . . . Messer Alessandro Spannochi. If he decides that we ought to pay something, then the merchants of Florence must provide the means.

Iterum valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LETTER XXVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote at length to your Lordships on the 20th, by the courier Carlo, in reply to yours of the 15th; and as matters here continue very much the same as when I last wrote, I shall be very brief in my present. The sum and substance of it is that the Duke is still here, and no one knows precisely when he is to leave. The troops are not marching towards Faenza, but there is no lack of the usual warlike preparations. The Swiss troops have not yet arrived, nor has the Signor Paolo Orsino made his appearance, and it is said that he is not coming by way of Florence, because he has not received the safe-conduct which he has asked for twenty-five crossbowmen. The treaty with Bologna has also not yet been definitely concluded, although Messer Giovanni here thought that it was. There always remains the difference of the old treaty, accord-

ing to which the said Messer Giovanni is obliged to pay annually the sum of nine thousand ducats to the Duke. Messer Giovanni believed that this obligation had been cancelled by the new treaty, but the Duke claims to understand that the clause remains in force; and thus the matter has been in suspense for three days past. Messer Giovanni Mino di Rossi arrived here this evening for the purpose of concluding the treaty according to the views of the Duke, if he cannot do so according to his own; how it will end I know not.

To-day I received your Lordships' letter of the 19th in reply to mine of the 14th and 16th; I understand all you say respecting the obligation, etc., etc. I shall wait until I am spoken to on the subject, and will then advise you fully; nor have I sought another audience of the Duke, to explain to him again the reasons why your Lordships cannot entertain the idea of engaging him. For as I think that I know his character pretty well, I do not wish to weary him with a subject which he seems to understand, and which is calculated to exasperate rather than soothe him. And therefore I shall wait until I am spoken to in relation to these matters, which will be according as time may shape events, which are judged of here from day to day as they occur, rather than in any other way. I do not know yet whether it will be easy for me to obtain audience of the Duke, for he lives only to advance his own interests, or what seem to him such, and without placing confidence in any one else. I shall not therefore attempt to force matters unless I am obliged to do so; and after trying once or twice, I shall not try again. And although up to the present I have had no cause to complain, yet I do not wish to have occasion for doing so. Thus, taking all things into account, I desire much that your Lordships would recall me; for apart from my seeing that I can be of no use to our republic here, my bodily health has suffered very much. For two days I had a violent fever, and feel altogether very unwell. Moreover I have no one to look after my affairs at home, so that I lose on all sides. Thus taking everything into consideration I trust your Lordships will not refuse my request. A messenger from the Duke of Urbino has arrived here; it is said that he has come to ask for terms, but no one knows particulars.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 22 November, 1502.

LETTER XXVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

My last of the 22d was sent by Ugolino Martelli, having previously written you on the 20th in reply to your Lordships' letter of the 15th. Since then I have nothing of interest to communicate, matters here remaining very much in the same condition as when I last wrote. For the Duke is still here, the Signor Paolo has not yet arrived, and various opinions prevail as to his coming. The treaty with Messer Giovanni Bentivogli is not yet concluded, owing to the difficulty about the old account of nine thousand ducats which Messer Giovanni was to pay the Duke within a given time. His Excellency wanted to convert this into a perpetual obligation, or into one single payment of forty thousand ducats, to be made within a few months. But Messer Giovanni will not listen to such a proposition, and wishes to terminate the annual payments in six or eight years. This dispute has been going on for four days, Messer Mino de Rossi being here as representative of Messer Giovanni, and I think from what I have heard this evening the Protonotario is expected here to-morrow. Some say that all this delay is caused by the Duke, who wishes to await the reply of Messer Romolino, whom he had sent to Rome with instructions to act in this matter only in accordance with the will of the Pope. Others give a much more sinister interpretation to the matter, notwithstanding that the most amicable relations seem to prevail between his Excellency the Duke and the Bolognese, and that there is a constant interchange of presents between them.

Many reasons are assigned for the delay in the Duke's departure; some say that he does not wish to leave until he has concluded the agreement with the Bentivogli; others say that he is utterly without means, and is waiting for money from Rome. Others again say that it is because the Swiss have not yet arrived; although three days ago it was reported that they had passed Ferrara. But nothing certain is publicly known, though there are persons who claim to be well informed and who maintain that the Duke wants to be perfectly clear whether in going forward it will be either as the friend or the enemy of the Orsini, which, however, cannot be known until after the arrival of the Signor Paolo. Nor are there wanting

persons who say that the Duke leaves for the reasons which I have indicated to your Lordships in one of my previous letters.

I have informed your Lordships that an application has been made to the Duke for a safe-conduct for one of the Duke of Urbino's confidential persons to come here. This personage arrived here four days ago, and has suddenly left again. It is publicly reported that the object of his coming was to negotiate the exchange of certain prisoners, which is all I have heard on the subject. A couple of days since an individual returned here from Urbino, who had been made prisoner at the time when that city was in revolt, and who left there on the 19th instant. This person reports that there is a good deal of alarm felt by the people of Urbino, notwithstanding their obstiuacy; and that the cause of their alarm is the treaty now being negotiated between the Duke and the Orsini. He relates, that, two days prior to his leaving Urbino, the Duke Guidobaldi called together first the citizens and afterwards the troops, of which there were not more than some four hundred infantry under the command of Giovanni di Rossetto and two other constables; that the Duke Guidobaldi had spoken to each of them in a different manner, although the same in substance, telling them that the treaty between the Orsini and the Duke Valentino was a sure thing, and that the negotiations between that Duke and Vitellozzo were also being urged forward, and that he feared a treaty would be concluded between them, upon which matters he wanted their advice. The citizens replied that they would die with him; the soldiers, after having examined what forces the Duke of Urbino could muster, assured him that they would hold Urbino and San Leo for him during the entire winter, even though the whole world should be against them. An order was accordingly published for the evacuation of all the castles and places in the duchy; and for all the garrisons to withdraw into the cities of Urbino and San Leo. Giovanni di Rossetto had sent one of his brothers with his wife and children to San Leo. The same person from Urbino spoke also of the readiness with which the Vitelleschi had declared themselves at first against the Duke Valentino, and how much harm they would have done him if the Signor Paolo Orsino had not held them back; and how six hundred of Vitellozzo's infantry had routed the Duke's forces at Fossombrone,

which forces consisted of one hundred men-at-arms and two hundred light cavalry, who all took to flight without having as much as put a lance in rest;—and that during the many days that they were in camp they had never seen a single penny in circulation. His Excellency the Duke has spent since the calends of October until now more than sixty thousand ducats, according to what his treasurer Alessandro has assured me not more than two days since. I take pleasure in writing this to your Lordships, so that you may see that, when others are in trouble, they spend no less than you do, nor are they any better served by their soldiers than what your Lordships are; whilst, on the contrary, he who is well armed with troops of his own will always have the same advantages whichever way things may turn.

That friend of mine whom I have mentioned before has said nothing to me touching the treaty that is about to be concluded between your Lordships and the Duke. I believe they are waiting to know the character of the instructions with which Messer Giovanni Vittorio proceeds to Rome; or rather they are awaiting the time when you shall have more need of them than at present; which I am sure your Lordships will make every effort to avoid.

I continue to pretend not to see anything, both because I have fulfilled your commission in opening the road you desired to follow, and because, not having any new propositions to make to them on your part, without which it would be difficult to accomplish anything here or at Rome. For having once made known their intentions, to which your Lordships did not agree, there is no way of making these people recede from them, except by presenting some new proposition to them; for to decline and then to remain silent would not suit men of this kind.

Your Lordships, I trust, will not charge me with presumption for having given you my opinion, seeing that in your letter of the 15th you inform me of your intention to contract an alliance with the Duke without delay. For had I not given you my views of matters as I understand them, particularly with my knowledge of the Duke's character, I should feel that I had not done my duty.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 26 November, 1502.

LETTER XXIX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

My last of the 26th was sent by a messenger whom the Guglianos despatched for their private account. I had previously written on the 22d, and sent the letter by Ugolino Martelli, who was returning to Florence. Supposing that both these letters reached you safely, I shall not repeat their contents. By the present I desire to inform you that the Signor Paolo Orsino arrived here yesterday; and from what I hear he brought the treaty ratified and signed by Vitellozzo and the other confederates. He endeavors all he can to persuade the Duke that they are greatly indebted and entirely faithful to him, and willing to serve him in any enterprise on the same footing as any one else. His Excellency in return shows himself satisfied with it. Vitellozzo particularly has addressed most submissive letters to him, full of thanks and excuses and offers of service, saying that, if ever he has the chance of speaking to him face to face, he feels confident of being able to justify himself entirely, and to prove to him that what had occurred had never been done for the purpose of offending him, etc., etc.

His Excellency seems to accept it all, but no one knows what course he is going to take, for it is difficult to penetrate his designs and to know him. If we are to judge by the facts themselves, and by what the Duke himself or his first minister says, we cannot but augur ill for his adversaries; for the wrong done him has been great, and his language as well as that of others is full of indignation against the said Vitellozzo. It was only yesterday, whilst conversing on this subject with the first personage of the Duke's court, this person said to me, "This traitor has given us a stab, and now thinks to heal the "wound with words." And as I was going on trying to find out which way the Duke inclined in this matter, and questioning this individual about it, who, as I have said, is one of the first personages of the court, he said to me: "We shall "first march with this army towards Urbino, where we shall, "however, not remain long, for we are fully persuaded that "that city will put itself into our hands. Nor shall we go to "Rimini, but shall move either to Perugia or Castello, according as may seem best. We shall demand quarters for our "troops in that city, the Duke being Gonfalonier of the Holy "Church, and the city belonging to the Church; for the treaty "does not specify that we are not to lodge with the army of "the Pope wherever the Duke may choose. We shall then see "what answer they will make to our demand, and govern our-"selves accordingly." Giving me to understand that upon this point an opportunity will not be wanting to judge that neither Vitellozzo nor Gianpaolo is to be trusted, these being the persons against whom the Duke is more incensed than against all the others.

Two days ago there came here the President of the chief court of judicature which the Duke has established in this state. His name is Messer Antonio del Monte a San Savino, and he is a most learned and virtuous man; his residence is at Cesena. On his arrival it was said that the Duke had caused him to come here for the purpose of sending him to Urbino as representative of the Holy Father to offer a pardon to the inhabitants of that city, and of all the other places, which is quite likely; for to-day his Excellency the Duke, the Signor Paolo, the said Messer Antonio, and Messer Agapito have been in conference together during the greater part of the day, for the purpose, it is said, of preparing the patents and the instructions according to which Messer Antonio is to proceed.

The Signor Paolo is to accompany him, for the purpose of withdrawing the men-at-arms that are in the territory of Fano, and to direct them towards Urbino. It is confidently expected that this reoccupation will be effected without the necessity of drawing a sword; it is moreover believed that Jacopo di Rossetto, who commands in San Leo, as I have mentioned in a former letter to your Lordships, and who, as everybody knows, is wholly devoted to Vitellozzo, has been placed there by the latter for no other purpose than to reconcile the Duke to him by the surrender of the place to his Excellency. It is furthermore said, that separate negotiations are being carried on with the Duke Guidobaldi to induce him to accept a cardinal's hat, or some other equivalent compensation. The Signor Paolo demands money for himself, and for the other confederates, in consideration of the removal of the troops from Fano, and has been promised five thousand ducats within eight days from now.

The recovery of Camerino during the winter is considered, not as difficult, but as impossible. Nor is it believed that any time will be wasted in attempting it, if it cannot be effected by negotiation. And as with all these agreements and hopes, or rather certainties, of recovering these states without recourse to arms, none of the French troops are seen to return whence they came, but as it seems to be rather the Duke's intention to go forward with the entire body of his troops as far as Rome, it is believed that the Duke's object is either to settle a good many matters on the way, of which I have some corroborative proof, or perhaps that these French troops intend to pass into the kingdom of Naples to support their countrymen there. And although this idea has prevailed ever since the French have come here, yet it is regarded much more probable now, since it has become known that the Spaniards have received considerable reinforcements by way of Sicily. Upon this point, however, your Lordships will be able to have more certain information from Rome.

Yesterday the Duke concluded an arrangement with Bologna; the annual payment of nine thousand ducats, which was the cause of difference, has been reduced to five years; and the agreement would have been signed at once, but that the Bolognese had not the authority to do it. This authorization, however, has come this morning; but nothing has been done owing to the Duke's being occupied with Signor Paolo and Messer Antonio del Monte in the matter mentioned above. I have been told that, after the arrival of Messer Romolino at Rome, the Pope had written to the Duke urging him to conclude the treaty with Bologna, with which he professed to be well pleased and satisfied. I will endeavor, so soon as it shall have been perfected, to have a copy of it, which I will send to your Lordships.

Those blessed Swiss that were to have been here have not yet made their appearance, which is all I have to tell your Lordships; though I must not omit mentioning that it is understood here, that if the Duke marches to Rome with his army, as it is supposed he will do, in such case he will follow his old practice of making the towns belonging to the Church that fall into his hands pay all his expenses; and that, amongst others, Ancona is particularly aimed at. It is said that the Florentine merchants have a large amount of goods

there; and as I do not know at what moment this army may appear before that city, which it is feared may be given up to pillage when the army does come, and be exposed to all sorts of other ills, I deem it my duty to bring this at once to your Lordships' notice. I had a long conversation this morning on that subject with Messer Alessandro; and on asking him how we might secure any goods that our merchants may have in Ancona, he replied, that the only way would be to embark them at once and send them to Cesena or Rimini, and that when once the goods were in either of those places he would himself be responsible for their safety.

I have nothing more to say except to recommend myself ever so often to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 28 November, 1502.

Morning of the 29th. — A servant of the courier Carlo has just arrived, with your Lordships' letter of the 26th. I note what you say respecting the ambassador who is to leave for Rome, and that I am to remain here; and the hopes which your Lordships entertain that the Duke will abandon his fixed views respecting his engagement. In relation to all these matters I shall conform strictly to your Lordships' views; still it seems to me that, as I have nothing new to communicate to his Excellency, it would be better not to seek another audience of him, but to try and mature the matter with some of the influential persons around him, and to persuade and make them understand that they may in all respects rely upon your Lordships, provided they do not go beyond what is possible and reasonable. I shall wait, therefore, until some new proposition is made to me by them, and am firmly resolved not to act otherwise in this matter, unless your Lordships should give me special orders on this point. I note, moreover, what your Lordships tell me that you hear from Rome relative to the passage of the Duke into the kingdom of Naples. To this I reply, that I never heard that the Duke was to go in person, although a good deal has been said about the French going there, as I have stated in my preceding letter. For I endeavor as far as possible to learn the truth, and to inform your Lordships accordingly. I will detain your messenger no longer, so as not to keep your Lordships in suspense as to information

from here. But in my next you shall know all; in fact, I would write you every day, were it not for the difficulty of passing the mountains in consequence of the bad weather. On the other hand, unless some change takes place in the state of things, it would seem to me superfluous to incur an expense merely for the purpose of repeating the same thing to your Lordships.

It is now the eighteenth hour, and the Signor Paolo Orsini has just left with Messer Antonio del Monte, for the purpose which I have mentioned above. The Signor Paolo has received thirty-six hundred ducats.

Valete iterum, etc.

Respecting the Duke's departure from here, it is said that he will leave some time this week, as I have before stated, and that he will go to Furli.

LETTER XXX.

Magnificent Signori: —

I wrote you yesterday by a son of your courier Carlo, and although I have not much to say now, yet having the opportunity of sending by a son of Messer Alessandro, treasurer, I would not miss this chance of giving you information of what is occurring here. Your Lordships will have learned from my letter of yesterday that Signor Paolo Orsino and Messer Antonio del Monte went yesterday to Urbino; but as yet we have no news of them, and are awaiting the results of their efforts. Those nearest the Duke say that he will not move from here until he shall know how to act with regard to Urbino; that is to say, whether he shall be obliged to employ force or not. All I know on this subject is that the Bishop of Cagli some days ago applied for a safe-conduct to come here. It was refused at first; but two days later it was granted, and he is expected here shortly.

I told your Lordships in my last that the treaty between Bologna and the Duke had been concluded, and that his Excellency was to receive a subsidy of nine thousand ducats for five years; and that nothing now was wanting but an order to the Bolognese. But since then letters have come from Rome,

brought by some one in the service of the Bentivogli, informing the Duke that it had been agreed between the Pope and the representative of Messer Giovanni Bentivogli, that the subvention was to continue for eight years, and was to be ten thousand ducats per annum.

It is said now that the Duke, seeing that the Pope had made a more advantageous arrangement both as to time and money, insists upon the terms made by the Pope, whilst Messer Giovanni claims to adhere to the terms made directly between him and the Duke. And thus matters become embroiled and delayed. No one knows whether this is accidental or intentional; all we can do is to wait and judge by the result; although the Bentivogli seem to think that matters are taking their natural course, and they are satisfied. I have in various ways endeavored to find out whether the Duke has any intention of going with his troops into the kingdom of Naples; but have not been able to learn anything certain on the subject. The opinion at court, however, has been, ever since the arrival of the French, that they would go to Naples after having finished matters here. I shall continue my efforts to ascertain the truth, and will keep you advised. All other matters here remain the same as when I last wrote; I have therefore nothing more to say, but recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Niccolo Machiavelli.

Imola, 30 November, 1502.

LETTER XXXI.

Magnificent Signori: —

My last was of the 30th ultimo, and before that I had written on the 28th and 29th. I have now to communicate to your Lordships that the articles of agreement between his Excellency the Duke and Messer Giovanni Bentivogli were, with the help of God, finally settled and concluded. I send this intelligence by an express messenger, believing it to be of great interest to your Lordships. For besides the other advantages which our republic will derive from it, there is one that is not to be esteemed lightly; namely, that the Duke be-

gins to show himself less disposed to follow his own caprices, and recognizes that everything will not yield to his good fortune. This will dispose him to listen more readily to any proposals your Lordships may choose to make to him. Although it was my duty to have sent you a copy of this treaty, yet it was impossible to obtain it this evening; and I therefore preferred to send you this information at once, rather than delay by waiting for a copy of the treaty. Various opinions prevail here as to the course which the Duke will now pursue in his affairs. For the matter with Bologna as well as that with the Orsini being settled, and there being hope also of terminating the Urbino business favorably, as we shall know by to-morrow what the Signor Paolo has effected by his visit there, nothing now remains in uncertainty except what the Duke is going to do with all the troops he has collected here; and whether the French in whole or in part will have to return to Lombardy or go to Naples; or indeed whether his Excellency, despite of all treaties, will have to keep them here for his security, especially against the Vitelli and the Baglioni. Upon this latter point I have never learned anything more than what I have several times written to your Lordships; namely, that on the one hand the Duke manifests an evil disposition towards them, and on the other hand I have heard from that same friend of mine, that, if the Duke were to go to Rome and remain there, he would find out the difference between the Jews and the Samaritans, as I have written you more in detail in my last.

As to the other point, whether the French are to go to Naples either with or without the Duke, I have done my utmost to find out something, but can learn nothing positive. From what I have heard, however, I am more inclined to say not than otherwise; for on my speaking to-day on that subject with the friend to whom I have several times referred, he told me that one of these Frenchmen had shown him a letter from Naples, from which it appears that the French have the upper hand there, and that consequently the presence of these troops was not needed there. Drawing that letter from his pocket, he gave it to me, and your Lordships will find a copy of it herewith enclosed. I can say nothing further on this subject; but by Tuesday we shall see which way this water will run, and which conjecture may prove to be the most correct; for I judge from many indications that the Duke will leave here with all his troops within three or four days.

It is said that the first halt will be at Furli, and that then they will advance promptly from there. You will be better able to judge of this than from the reports that are now circulating here. And by way of giving your Lordships a better idea of the spirit that animates the Duke towards his late enemies, you must know that for the last eight days there has been a messenger here from Pandolfo Petrucci, and one from Gianpaolo Baglione, but neither of them has been able to obtain an audience from his Excellency, or has really any hope of it. A friend of mine told me that he had heard one of these gentlemen allege in justification of their case against the Duke, that they had wanted to make him king of Tuscany, but that he had not only declined the offer, but went and denounced it to his Majesty the king of France; and that this is the only thing that Vitellozzo complains of on the part of his Excellency.

I have again to inform your Lordships that there is no news from Urbino since the departure of the Signor Paolo Orsino and Messer Antonio del Monte; but by to-morrow something is expected from there, as I have already advised you. To-day it is reported at court that the people of Camerino have destroyed a castle in their neighborhood, belonging to the Church, and called San Severino.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 2 December, 1502.

Please pay the bearer of this six lire. This letter should reach you at least by the 4th instant.

Copy of a letter from the Duc de Nemours to M. de Chaumont, dated 19 *November*, 1502, *from the Kingdom of Naples, six leagues from Barletta.*

MY LORD GRAND MASTER:—

I desire to inform you hereby that we are here within six leagues from Barletta, and that our friends have withdrawn compactly into the city, where they are fortifying themselves

without any seeming intention of leaving it. Know further that Alfonso da San Severo with one hundred men-at-arms which he had in the city in the service of Monsignore Gonsalvo Ferrante, has come and surrendered to us with his whole troop. It is true that the army of the king of Spain has effected a landing in Calabria, and has joined the other Spanish forces.

With all this our friends have not yet lost a single place or town that they had once taken. I have sent them fifty lances and six hundred infantry, and doubt not that when these reinforcements shall have joined them the enemy will retreat. I hope our king will appreciate how well his rights here have been guarded and defended by us, and that he will shortly see things go from good to better. You may communicate this good news to all subjects and servants of the king, and may God guard you, my Lord Grand Master, etc., etc.

LETTER XXXII.

Magnificent Signori: —

Since the information given in my accompanying letter, I have learned some particulars of the treaty concluded between the Bentivogli and his Excellency, which I think proper to communicate to you privately, having been so requested. The individual from whom I have them was willing that I should read the treaty, but would not allow me to take a copy. I can therefore give your Lordships only what I have been able to retain in my memory. Your Lordships know from my previous letters that one agreement was concluded here and another at Rome, which latter was more advantageous for the Duke than the other. The Roman agreement contains the following clauses, viz.: —

Between his Excellency the Duke of Romagna, Prince of Squillacci and Biselli, of the one part, and the magnificent Regency of Bologna and Messer Giovanni Bentivogli and his sons of the other part, there has been concluded a true and perpetual peace. The contracting parties to have the same friends and the same enemies; and both parties obligate themselves mutually to sustain each other with arms and with all

the powers of their respective states, against all other powers, excepting the Pope Alexander VI. and the king of France.

Item. Messer Giovanni Bentivogli obligates himself to serve his Excellency the Duke of Romagna with one hundred men-at-arms and one hundred mounted bowmen for a term of six months within the year, to commence from the date of the final conclusion of this agreement, in such enterprises as the Duke may choose to engage in.

Item. The oldest son of Messer Annibale Bentivogli shall take for his wife the sister of the Bishop of Euna.

Item. The Pope promises to confirm to the city of Bologna and to Messer Giovanni Bentivogli all the conditions and privileges that have heretofore been granted to them by any of his predecessors.

Item. The Pope and the Duke promise that his Majesty the king of France, the Magnificent Signoria of Florence, and his Excellency the Duke of Ferrara, will guarantee the execution of this agreement on the part of the Duke of Romagna.

Item. The aforesaid Duke of Romagna engages to serve the city of Bologna with one hundred men-at-arms for a period of eight years consecutively, for which he is to be paid annually the sum of twelve thousand gold florins.

Such are in substance the conditions of this treaty, so far as I have been able to remember them from a single reading.

The terms agreed upon this evening conform in all respects to these, except that the pay for the one hundred men-at-arms for the period of eight years has been reduced by them to five years. The amount of pay for the other three years is to constitute the dowry of the Bishop of Euna's sister; and Messer Giovanni hypothecates as security for this dowry all his possessions, in which the Duke insisted that his possessions in the Florentine states should be comprised. There is one article in that treaty which I had forgotten, namely, that the treaty itself should be kept entirely secret during the next three months, on account of the affairs of Urbino and Camerino. This is the reason why I could not have a copy of it, and why I write you this privately, in accordance with the request of him who showed it to me.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Niccolo Machiavelli.

Imola, 2 December, 1502.

LETTER XXXIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Day before yesterday I received a letter from your Lordships in reply to several of mine. Having in my last, of the 2d, given your Lordships full account of the state of things here, and nothing new having occurred here since then, I have really nothing to write about. Nevertheless, so as not to keep your Lordships in suspense for want of letters, I deem it well to write the present. Having been ten days without attempting to speak with his Excellency the Duke, and the treaty between him and the Bentivogli having been concluded, I thought it well yesterday to seek an occasion to see the Duke, who promptly granted me an audience. Before I could say a word to his Excellency, he said to me: "I had the desire to speak to "you some five or six days ago, for during his last visit here "the Signor Paolo Orsino told me that your Signoria had sent "two envoys to him at Urbino, to propose to him that, if he or "his son would engage to serve the republic of Florence, they "would make terms with him, provided he should accomplish "some results to their advantage in the affair of Pisa. But "that he had declined the proposition, although there was "nothing to hinder him from accepting your Lordships' offer "of an engagement even to acting against his Excellency."

I asked him whether the Signor Paolo had given him the names of the two envoys, and whether he had not shown him their letters of credence; or whether the said Signor Paolo had never in the past told him any lies. His Excellency replied that the letters had not been shown him, nor had the Signor Paolo told him who the two were; but as to lies, Signor Paolo had told him plenty. And thus the matter ended in a laugh, although at first the Duke spoke in an angry manner, showing that he believed what Signor Paolo had told him, and regretted it. It seems to me that it would not be amiss if your Lordships were to write me something on the subject, so that I might show it to his Excellency. We conversed afterwards for a full hour on various matters, which it would be superfluous to report to you, as they were of no importance. I will only mention that I infer in substance from what his Excellency said, that he is still of the same mind as to contracting an alliance with your

Lordships and maintaining it; and that he would never himself do anything adverse to you, nor permit others to do so. For he regarded any weakness or diminution of your power the same as a diminution of his own. At the same time, he intimated to me that he was disposed to a certain extent to accept your propositions, if you declined to agree to his. He did not say this clearly in so many words, but I thought I could gather as much from his remarks. And although I tried to find out his real sentiments, yet I did not succeed, as I could not answer him except in general terms. We then spoke of the conduct of the Venetians, and how they had kept up intelligence with Rimini through a citizen of Venice, who lived there, and whom he had caused to be hanged to save their honor. He told me of the fears they had conceived on seeing his army collected there, and of the honors they had shown to an agent of his whom he had sent to Venice to buy some guns, honors such as were entirely unusual on their part, and undeserved on the part of the agent. He then spoke of the affairs of Pisa, and of the vigorous attack which your Lordships had made upon that city, and he expressed the opinion that its capture would be the most glorious achievement that any captain could accomplish. From that the Duke suddenly turned the conversation upon Lucca, saying that it was a rich city, and a fine morsel for a gormand; and thus we passed considerable time with similar conversation.

His Excellency said, furthermore, that he had been very glad to conclude the treaty with the Bentivogli; that he wanted to act towards them as a brother, and that God himself had had a hand in bringing about that treaty; for at the beginning he had entered upon that negotiation not at all as a serious matter, but that afterwards all at once the Pope had disposed him favorably to it, and that he then consented to it with as much satisfaction as possible. He added, that if your Lordships, Ferrara, and Bologna, and himself, were to go together, then he would have nothing to fear from anybody: first, because the king of France is the common friend of all the parties, and so long as he remained in Italy he would protect them or increase their power; and secondly, because even if the king should experience some reverses, his alliance with them would afford him such support at all times that no one would presume to raise a hand against it.

The Duke told me that the stipulations of the treaty provided that his Majesty the king, your Lordships, and the Duke of Ferrara guaranteed the faithful observance of the treaty by each of the contracting parties; and that he believed your Lordships would not refuse. I replied, that I could not speak positively, but I believed that, whenever it was a question of peace and tranquillity, your Lordships would always lend your ready concurrence; and more especially when associated in the matter with the king of France.

I asked his Excellency whether there was anything new from Urbino, and what he intended to do with his army, and whether it was his purpose to dismiss the French lances. He replied, that he had letters yesterday informing him that the Signor Paolo and Messer Antonio del Monte were at a castle about five miles from Urbino, and had requested the Duke Guido to join them there; which, however, he had not done as yet, having been prevented by an attack of gout, and that they had therefore resolved to go to him; also, that the inhabitants of Penna a San Marino had sent a deputation to the said Signor Paolo to make terms with him; and that as regards himself he contemplated withdrawing within three days from here, and moving as far as Cesena with all his army, and he would then act as circumstances might require. He said further, that for the present he would not dismiss a single Frenchman; but that when once he had settled his affairs he would retain no more than two hundred to two hundred and fifty lances, for these troops were really insupportable and destructive to the country; adding, that where he had intended to have only about four hundred and fifty French lances, he had more than six hundred, because all those that Monseigneur de Chaumont had with him at Parma had come to him in small detachments, having understood, as they said, that here "we lived by the grace of God." After some further conversation of this sort I took my leave of his Excellency, and have really nothing further to write to your Lordships about the state of things here; for, as I said at the beginning of my letter, matters remain here much as when I last wrote you. We have the same troops here, and still expect to start from one day to another; and your Lordships see what the Duke himself has told me as to the course he intends to pursue. I hear nothing different from private sources, and to guess is difficult.

Not knowing when the goods of our merchants are to leave Ancona, or where they are to go, I can think of no way of facilitating the matter. I recommend myself to your Lordships, and beg you will grant my recall, and thus at the same time save the public treasury the expense, and myself the discomforts which I experience. For since the last twelve days I find myself really sick; and if I go on thus, I fear I shall be brought home in my coffin.

Have the goodness to direct the bearer of this to be paid one gold scudo, for he has promised to be in Florence to-morrow before three o'clock.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 6 December, 1502.

LETTER XXXIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Since writing you at length, the Duke's master of horse came to me and complained very much that a number of horses belonging to the Duke had been stolen in the mountains of San Benedetto. I cannot tell you how much, he said, the Duke felt aggrieved at this, which has incensed him more than if he had lost one of his towns. He has requested me to write to your Lordships to take measures to have these horses restored to him, and to ask you to send some one into these mountains to make a demonstration against those who committed this wrong. I have done my best to excuse this affair, but cannot placate the Duke, it being a matter to which he attaches much importance. I therefore beg your Lordships again to take measures for the prompt restitution of these horses, and to endeavor to justify the whole, so that your merchants may not have to suffer in consequence, even if no other damage should result from it.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, etc., etc.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 6 December, 1502.

LETTER XXXV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

My last letters were of the 2d and 6th, sent per post at a charge of one florin for each; and although I have as yet no reply, still I cannot doubt but they have safely reached you. By the present I am enabled to inform your Lordships that we had the news yesterday evening that Paolo Orsino had settled the Urbino business, and that the entire duchy had placed itself voluntarily in the hands of his Excellency the Duke. Also that the Duke Guido had gone to Castello, and was trying to have some allowance made to him by his Excellency. For this reason San Leo has not yet come to terms, but remains waiting at the instance of the said Duke Guido. I understand that they want him to renounce the marriage and accept a cardinal's hat instead, which he declines, saying that he will be satisfied with a pension that will enable him to live. A number of troops have left this morning and have gone in the direction of Furli, and to-morrow, it is said, the Duke will set out, taking with him all the French and his other troops. We shall see what will happen.

The same friend to whom I have several times referred in my letters has repeatedly expressed his surprise to me, within the past few days, that your Lordships do not come to some arrangement with the Duke, the present being as favorable a moment for it perhaps as you could possibly desire. I told him in reply that I was myself better disposed to do so now than I had been, for it had seemed to me that at the last conversation I had with the Duke he was less determined with regard to a military engagement by our republic; and that if this be really so and he was disposed to have as much regard for the interests of Florence as for his own, he would always be met half-way by your Lordships, as I had already told his Excellency ever so often. To this my friend answered, "I have told you on former occa-
"sions that in such an engagement there was both honor and
"profit for the Duke; yet that he cared nothing for the profit,
"but attached much importance to the honor of it; and that,
"if you could gratify him on that point, an arrangement could
"very readily be concluded." He told me furthermore that an envoy had arrived from Pisa and had sought to have an audience of the Duke, who at first determined not to grant it, but that, upon reflection, he had concluded that there could be no harm in hearing this envoy, and that he would inform me of the result. It is three days now since my friend told me this, and although I have asked him several times on the subject, he has always answered that he had not yet spoken to the Duke, and that his occupations had prevented him from finding out what this envoy wanted of the Duke. I asked him again this evening, and he said that the envoy had been sent back without having spoken to the Duke. From another source, however, I learn that this envoy was Lorenzo d' Acconcio, that he has had two interviews with his Excellency, and that the object of his mission was to inform the Duke that the king of Spain had sent a messenger to offer his assistance to the Pisans, and that these were disposed to accept the offer unless they could find a defender nearer by, as they could no longer remain in the position in which they were, and that therefore they had offered themselves to the Duke; that his Excellency replied to this proposition in general terms, and told the Pisan envoy to follow him to Cesena, etc., etc.

Now I do not know which of these two stories to believe, and submit the matter to your Lordships' own good judgment. This much I do know, that both one and the other of the persons from whom I have this information are in a position most easily to know the truth. It is reported here that Cascina has been taken from you by surprise some ten days ago; and yesterday I was told by one of my friends that when this news was received at the house of Bianchino of Pisa, where the Pisans generally congregate, one of them immediately said that he believed it to be true, because orders had been given one day to the Pisan horse to show themselves near Cascina. And when the garrison of the place made a sortie to encounter the Pisan horse, there being but a feeble guard left within, the peasants and their women had risen and taken the place. I mention this to your Lordships, so that even if it were true you might advise the commissary of it.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

December 9, 1502.

LETTER XXXVI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote the accompanying yesterday, and being anxious to send it off to your Lordships I offered a reward of two ducats, but could find no one to take it owing to the extremely bad weather. For the last four days it has snowed incessantly, and for that reason no one can be found willing to attempt to cross the Apennines. I beg your Lordships therefore to hold me excused, for despite of my unremitting efforts I cannot find any one to carry these letters. It remains for me to inform your Lordships that the Duke set out this morning with all his forces, and has taken the direction of Furli. He will stop this evening at Oriolo Secco, and to-morrow night at Cesena. What the Duke will do after that is not known, nor does any one here venture to guess at it; for the Urbino business is settled, and the agreement between the Orsini and the Bentivogli concluded. And yet the Duke does not dismiss a single French lance, but they all march with him in the direction I have indicated to your Lordships.

Large sums of money arrived here yesterday from Milan, having been sent by the king to pay the French lances. I do not know the amount, but they say there are six loads of silver coin. Francesco della Casa will be able to give your Lordships more correct accounts. Besides this, his Excellency expects twelve thousand ducats from Florence, ten thousand from Bologna, and three thousand from Venice. And a certain Messer Gabriello of Bergamo, who is here, tells me that he has orders to pay the Duke in addition ten thousand ducats within ten days. I leave these matters for the interpretation of your Lordships, who, having information from all parts, will be able to form the best judgment.

I purpose leaving here to-morrow to follow his Excellency's court, but I do not go with a good will, for I am by no means well, and, apart from my indisposition, I have but seven ducats left in my purse; and when I shall have expended these, then I shall be reduced to necessity. I have received in all from your Lordships fifty-five ducats, and have already expended sixty-two; I therefore beg your Lordships to supply me with funds.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

IMOLA, 10 December, 1502.

LETTER XXXVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I left Imola on the morning of the 11th, and passed the night at Castrocaro, where I remained the whole of the 12th. The next morning I left there, and arrived here at Cesena the same evening, thinking it best to delay one day joining the court, so as to have a better chance for lodgings. Although I have nothing new to communicate by the present letter, having written on the 9th and 10th, yet I thought it best to write, so as not to keep your Lordships in suspense as to matters here. In my last I informed you that the entire duchy of Urbino, with the exception of San Leo, had placed itself voluntarily in the hands of the Duke. The Duke Guido, who retains San Leo, has gone to Citta di Castello, in the expectation of being able in this way to obtain better terms for himself from his Excellency. I have heard nothing further on the subject, but negotiations are going on in relation to it; but how and on what terms matters will be settled, I know not, but shall endeavor to find out, and will then fully advise your Lordships. Negotiations for an arrangement with the people of Camerino are also being carried on, and I hear from a good source that an understanding has been arrived at.

His Excellency the Duke, as I have said, is here with all the French troops and his own, excepting those who have been the whole year at Pesaro, and who have not moved from there. The Duke and the troops are lodged in the city and its vicinity, and live at discretion; that is to say, according to their own pleasure, and not according to that of the persons who lodge them. Your Lordships may imagine how things go on here, and how they went on at Imola, where the court remained three months, and the whole army two months, and where they consumed everything to the very stones. Certainly that city and the whole country have given proof of their patience, and of how much they are able to bear. I mention this to your Lordships, so that you may know that the French as well as the other troops do not act any differently in Romagna from what they did in Tuscany; and that there is neither more order nor less confusion here than there has been wherever these troops have been, etc.

As I have written before to your Lordships, all those who reason on the subject know not what to think of the Duke's intentions, he having come here with his troops, and, notwithstanding all the treaties of peace and the recovery of his possessions, not having dismissed a single one of the French troops. After looking at the matter from all sides, they come to the conclusion that the Duke can have no other object than to make sure of those who have subjected him to these wrongs, and who have come within a hair of depriving him of his states. And although the treaties of peace would seem to oppose this conclusion, yet the example of the past would make those of less consequence. I am myself much inclined to this opinion, from the evidence which I have constantly had, and which your Lordships will remember in my letters. And this is still further corroborated by what I wrote you in my letter of the 10th respecting the Savelli.

Nevertheless, there are some who say the Duke is going to Ravenna or Cervia. The Venetians are in great apprehension on that account, and those who come from there say that the Rectors personally visit the guards at night, which are posted the same as if an enemy were at the very gates. With all this, no one believes it, judging that the Duke would not attempt anything against the Venetians unless the king of France were at the same time to attack them in Lombardy; and as no orders of that kind have been heard of there, the other is not believed. And thus, after indulging in a variety of speculations, people here have generally concluded to leave the development of the matter to time, rather than weary themselves with idle conjectures.

I have written to your Lordships what is said on the subject of the Duke's taking his troops to the kingdom of Naples or otherwise, and I repeat now that the matter is no longer much talked about here. It is true the Duke's courtiers say that, when he shall have re-established order in Urbino and in Camerino, he intends going to Rome; and that he will start from here after Christmas. But those who are of the opinion that he means anyhow to assure himself of his enemies say that it is very likely that he will start for Rome, but stop on the way to settle matters in his own fashion. We shall see what will come of it. Meantime I shall do my duty in keeping your Lordships advised whilst I remain here, which, however,

I do not believe will be much longer; first, because I have only four ducats left in my purse, as my steward knows, who is bearer of this letter, and will give your Lordships full account of my condition and my expenditures; and secondly, because my remaining here is of no further use. And I beg to tell your Lordships, in the same spirit of loyalty with which I have ever served you, that it will be much more advantageous for the conclusion of whatever arrangement you may have to make with the Duke, to send some one of distinguished reputation here rather than to Rome. The reason is this. In the proposed alliance you have to satisfy the Duke, and not the Pope; for whatever terms might be concluded with the latter may be rejected by the former. But whatever may be concluded with the Duke will never be refused by the Pope, unless the Duke himself should see that some advantage could be gained by it; as in the case of the Bolognese treaty. And as it is hazardous to negotiate on the same subject in two places at once, it will be better to have this matter negotiated here rather than at Rome.

I have neither been charged with that mission, nor am I well qualified for it. It should be a man of more eloquence and greater reputation, and one who understands the world better than I do. And therefore I have always been of the opinion that it would be well to send an ambassador here, which would have more influence with the Duke in all matters that have to be negotiated with him than any other means that could be employed. Everybody here is of the same opinion. It is true he should not come here with incomplete notions, but rather with resolute views upon certain points; and thus matters would doubtless be arranged, and that promptly. I have until now ever done my duty to the utmost of my ability, and shall not fail to continue to do so; for even if much time has been wasted in the past, yet all is not lost.

Your Lordships, I trust, will receive this in the spirit in which I write it, and I beg most humbly that you will provide me with funds, and grant my recall.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CESENA, 14 December, 1502.

P. S. — One of the first gentlemen of the Duke's court has requested me, on behalf of his Excellency, to recommend to

your Lordships Messer Bartolommeo Marcelli of the Borgo San Sepolcro, who is one of those who, by summons of the Five Deputies, were to appear before them from the 1st to the 10th instant. He says that he received the notification only on the 8th. He is a man of seventy-two years of age, and being here would have had to make seventy miles in two days, which it was impossible for him to do, the mountains being covered with snow, and with daylight only during seven hours; and therefore he claims indulgence. He is ready to obey the summons and prove his innocence if time be allowed him. I have been requested, therefore, to solicit your Lordships to grant him a delay, and to give him at least five or six days' notice to appear, and he will promptly obey. I add my prayers to your Lordships, who are most urgently requested to that effect by his Excellency the Duke; and believing it proper to bring this matter to your notice, I hope for a favorable reply.

Your Lordships will please have the bearer of this paid one gold florin for his trouble.

LETTER XXXVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I write to acknowledge your three letters of the 8th, 10th, and 13th instant, although I have not much to say in reply, your Lordships' letters having been mainly replies to several of mine. But as your letters contain an explanation of what I had written you that Paolo Orsino had said to his Excellency the Duke, and as you manifest therein your good intentions of forming a closer alliance with his Excellency, and tell at the same time how much the Pope was pleased at your having sent an embassy to him; and as you moreover enter into some particulars, etc., etc.; it seemed to me well to ask for an audience of his Excellency, which, however, I could not obtain until yesterday evening at the fourth hour.

Deeming it advisable to communicate to his Excellency a portion of your letters, I read to him all those parts that relate to the above-named subjects. His Excellency listened very cheerfully to it all, and then expressed himself in the highest degree satisfied with what your Lordships write respecting

Paolo Orsino. And upon the other points he repeated what he had already told me several times; namely, that he was anxious for an alliance with your Lordships, and that the closer it was, the more importance he attached to it, and the more agreeable would it be to him; and that he was the more ready to treat with you as he saw that his Holiness the Pope was most favorably disposed towards your Lordships; saying that he had lately had letters from his Holiness, in which he manifested not only a great desire to have the matter closed, but also such an affection for your Lordships that you could not wish it greater yourselves. His Excellency added, that he was more than ever pleased at this, for he saw in it the means for giving the strongest possible foundation to his power; and that with such a union between your Lordships, himself, and Ferrara, Mantua, and Bologna, neither himself nor any of the others would or could have anything to fear. That he entered into such a union with the more readiness, as it seemed to him to be his own act; and that he did it with all the frankness and sincerity that could be asked of a royal prince. That he remembered having told me that, when he was able to do but little, he had neither boasted nor promised anything, but had reserved his action until his state should be securely established; and that then he had made large offers to your Lordships. And that now since he had recovered Urbino, and that Camerino was at his disposal, and that without the Vitelli and the Orsini he found himself with ten thousand horse at his orders, he thought he could afford to promise largely; that therefore he placed all his forces at your service in case it should happen that you were assailed, and that he should not wait to be called, but would then prove by his acts what he to-day promised in words.

I fear, O Magnificent Signori, lest your Lordships may think that I put these words into the mouth of the Duke; for I myself, who heard him, and noted his very words and the terms which his Excellency employed in saying these things, and observed the gesticulations with which he accompanied them, can scarcely believe it. But I deem it my duty to write these things to your Lordships, as it is yours to judge of them and to think it well that I should tell you of it, but that it will be still better not to have occasion to put him to the proof. I thanked his Excellency on behalf of your Lordships in such terms as

seemed to me proper, telling him how much importance your Lordships attached to his friendship and to his offers, etc., etc.

Turning suddenly to another subject, the Duke said to me: "You are not aware that a citizen of Pisa has arrived here, "and has for several days past solicited an audience of me, "which I have not yet granted him. In my endeavors to find "out what he wants, I learn that he has come to inform me that "the king of Spain had offered them his assistance, and that "they were for accepting it, unless others were willing to aid "them. I purpose giving this emissary an audience now, and "he is for that purpose in the adjoining room. I do not want "you to leave, for so soon as I shall have heard what he has to "say, I will report it all to you." After thanking his Excellency I withdrew, and thereupon the Pisan entered, and remained with the Duke about a quarter of an hour. When the Duke had dismissed him, he called me back and told me that "the Pisan had informed him that he had come on behalf of "'The Ancients' of Pisa; that the king of Spain had sent "them word that he was ready to supply them whatever quan- "tity of grain they might want, and as much infantry and "cavalry as they might need for their defence, on condition "that they would promise to place themselves at his disposal "and be his friends; that they would be obliged to accept "these conditions unless they could be assured that help would "come to them from some other quarter. And therefore they "had sent him to his Excellency to make their excuse to him "for whatever course they might take." The Duke told me that he had replied by advising them to consider well what they did, and upon what course they entered. For they must see that the Italians were all French in sentiment; that the king of France was all powerful in Italy, and an enemy of the king of Spain; so that, if they were to ally themselves with Spain, they would find that they made enemies of all those who until now had sustained them. That all at once they would have the knife at their throat; for one of these fine mornings the king of France and his adherents would be under their walls, and that he himself would fly to besiege them, at the slightest word from the king. And therefore he advised them as a friend to remain as they were, and to preserve the friendship of the king of France, and to conform to his will, as he was the only one from whom they had anything to hope.

The Duke said that the Pisan envoy remained confounded, and could make no answer, except that they could exist no longer in the condition in which they were. His Excellency told me further, that he had replied to the Pisan envoy in the manner he did because he thought it would be believed by the Pisans, and would be of advantage to your Lordships. For in advising them to rely upon France, which was your friend, it was the same thing as advising them to rely upon you, without naming you, so as not to exasperate them still more. Moreover, he thought it would be beneficial to you to remove from your vicinity a war such as this might become. And in fact he thought that he ought to do anything to prevent the Pisans from committing such a folly, although he had some doubts whether he should succeed, seeing the state of desperation the Pisans were in. To all this the Duke added, that for the present he had answered them in this wise, but that in future he would shape his replies according to your Lordships' instructions. I thanked his Excellency for this communication, saying that his reply to the Pisans seemed to me in all respects most prudent and well considered; that it was not for me to tell his Excellency how to act in this matter, for he well knew how much your Lordships had Pisa at heart; and that he knew also the condition of the other Italian affairs, which he would have to weigh in all his replies and in the negotiations which his Excellency might have occasion to have with the Pisans. I also told the Duke that I would write to your Lordships, and in case of my receiving any instructions on the subject I would at once communicate them to him.

Your Lordships will remember my having told you in a former letter that I had received different accounts of this negotiation, and how according to the one version the Pisan envoy had not yet spoken to the Duke, whilst according to the other he had had two interviews with him. For this reason I wished, before closing this letter, to speak again with both the parties who had made these statements to me, so as to see what I could learn from one and the other. I have, however, not yet been able to do so, but will endeavor to supply this deficiency in my next.

The affairs of Urbino remain in the same condition as when I last wrote; and of Camerino I know nothing but what the Duke told me, and which I have already mentioned to you; and

which amounts to this, that the city is at the Duke's disposal. His Excellency has sent orders for the artillery, which is at Furli, to be brought here. He gives money freely to the infantry and to the men-at-arms; and it is said that within a week he will break up his camp here and move by slow marches to Sinigaglia. Four days ago it was reported here that the French had experienced a complete rout in the kingdom of Naples; but the Duke told me yesterday that it had been merely an unimportant affair. Your Lordships are in a position to have more reliable intelligence.

I have endeavored to ascertain how the obligation should be drawn which your Lordships have to execute to the king of France and the Duke of Ferrara with regard to the treaty concluded with Bologna. A certain Messer Giovanpaolo, secretary of the Bentivogli, has told me that the treaty provided that his Excellency the Duke obligates himself, within two months after the ratification of the treaty, to bring about that his Majesty the king of France, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Illustrious Signoria of Florence shall guarantee the strict observance of the peace. And it seems that, as the Duke has to ask for this guaranty, the obligation has to be given for the Duke only. The above-named secretary seems to be of the same opinion; still, if the words of the treaty are as above stated, then they are liable to a different interpretation. But as yet the demand has not been made upon your Lordships; for since the ratification of the treaty, the question as to the dowry which the sister of Monseigneur d'Euna is to have has not yet been settled; this matter, however, is to be taken in hand to-day.

By your letter of the 8th your Lordships recommend to me again the case of Salvetto di Buosi, and I mentioned it to the Duke yesterday evening. After a good deal of discussion he came to the conclusion that he would save Salvetto's life, contrary to the will of the Naldi family; but that he will not liberate him in opposition to them, for it did not seem to him wise for the benefit of one person to offend four; and that it would be a great satisfaction to him if Dionisio would content himself with that, as he could not do any more.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, and beg again that you will furnish me the means of support; I have here at my charge three servants and three horses, and cannot live upon

promises. I began yesterday to run into debt; having spent seventy ducats up to the present time. You may ask the bailiff Niccolo Grillo about it, as he has been here with me. I might have my expenses paid by the court here, and may still have it done, but I do not wish that; and have not availed myself of that privilege hitherto, for it seemed to me for your Lordships' honor and my own not to do it. But your Lordships must know whether I can with a good will go about asking for three ducats here, and for four of some one else.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CESENA, 18 December, 1502.

P. S. — Your Lordships know that when I obtained the safe-conduct from his Excellency, a few weeks ago, I had to promise to give to the Chancelry whatever Messer Alessandro Spannochi might deem proper; and it is certainly no pleasure for me to allege anything against the fulfilment of that promise. Now the clerks of the Chancelry are every day at my heels, and I owe them yet sixteen yards of damask. I beg your Lordships will have this provided for me through the merchants; for if I do not satisfy these clerks of the Chancelry, I shall nevermore be able to expedite anything through them, and especially confidential matters; for they manage all these things without any reference to the Duke. And, moreover, by sending this damask, your Lordships will relieve me of an obligation which I have contracted here. And thus I recommend myself specially in this matter to your Lordships.

Iterum valete!

LETTER XXXIX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Yesterday, whilst conversing with his Excellency the Duke, Messer Agapito, his first secretary, came up to me and begged me to write to your Lordships, and ask you to be pleased to bring it about that Messer Lodovico Archilegio da Amelia should be chosen as judge of the wool guild. His Excellency the Duke added that your doing so would give him particular

pleasure; that, however, he did not wish to write you specially about it, but relied entirely upon me; and that if the election had already been made, then he could wish that at the next election the choice might fall upon Messer Lodovico. I could not tell your Lordships with what warmth I have been urged in this matter both by the Duke and his secretary. I await your reply.

The Baron de Bierra, at his departure from here, has recommended to me the father of Camillo del Borgo, who is one of the number that have been summoned to appear before the five magistrates, saying that he will appear, provided they will allow him the time necessary to come, seeing that he is seventy-two years old and is here at Cesena. The said Baron has written the enclosed to your Lordships in relation to this matter, and I recommend him on his behalf to your Lordships, and myself likewise.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CESENA, 19 December, 1502.

LETTER XL.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote to your Lordships day before yesterday, and sent it by a servant of Antonio da Sesto. By the present I desire to inform you that, whilst at court this evening, I saw all the French captains come in a body to his Excellency the Duke. Before entering, they held a council amongst themselves; and in observing their movements and gesticulations, they seemed to me to be much excited. And thinking that there might possibly be some news of importance, I went, so soon as they had left, to the Baron de Bierra for the purpose of learning the facts; pretending that I came to see him on behalf of your Lordships, and saying that I had received particular instructions to do so. After thanking me, the Baron drew me aside and said: "We are to leave here in two or three days to return to the duchy of Milan, having received orders to that effect to-day." And when I asked him for what object, he said, "That he did not know, but that all the French had to leave, and had to retrace their steps; and that they would

"certainly start on the day after to-morrow." I then asked him whether Monseigneur de Vanne, son of Monseigneur de Lebret,* would also leave with his troops. To which he replied, "That he did not know what this gentleman would do, "but that all the others with all their companies would leave "without fail." He told me that I might communicate this to your Lordships as positive, and also that sufficient money had been received at Milan to pay the fifteen thousand infantry that would be collected there within a month's time. This unexpected order, so far as I could judge by their gesticulations, has turned the heads of all the court. When it shall become publicly known, I shall be able to write you more in detail as to what is going on here; but at present, knowing neither the cause nor the origin of the movement, I am not able to form a correct judgment of it. Your Lordships, however, will have obtained information from other sources, and will therefore be better able to appreciate it. And although I believe that your Lordships will have heard from Lombardy, yet I deem it well to send you this by an express, who will, however, not start until to-morrow morning, owing to the insecurity of the country, but has promised to be at Florence by day after to-morrow.

Monseigneur de Bierra told me in a conversation I had with him, that he and the other captains of the French mounted forces had resolved not to march anywhere unless they have the infantry with them, as otherwise it would not be safe for them to go. The reason for this, I think, is that they have received some offence from the people of the country, which they have not been able to resent as they could have wished. I would not omit mentioning this to your Lordships, as Monseigneur de Bierra's remark seemed to me worthy of notice.

The artillery, which previous to this news had been ordered to Fano, has all been brought here. I know not what may happen next, for this new move will necessarily give rise to new plans. Since these troops have come here certain castles of the Bishop of Ravenna have been sacked; in all temporal matters, however, these castles are subject to Cesena. This act has been attributed to the fact that the Bishop had encouraged the revolt of Urbino.

* Or rather d'Alibret (d'Abret). This Monseigneur de Vanne was brother-in-law to the Duke Valentino, who had married one of his sisters.

I have nothing else to write, except to recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CESENA, 20 December, 1502, at the 4th hour of night.

Please have the bearer of this paid one gold florin.

LETTER XLI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Yesterday morning I received your last letter of the 17th by way of Bagno, and fully comprehend your instructions. There seems to me to be no reason for apprehending injury to either one or the other place belonging to Florence on account of those who have taken refuge there; for in my opinion it would require causes of greater gravity to warrant an attack on our territory. I should regard it, nevertheless, as an act of prudence that these people should withdraw further into the interior of our dominions, and have written to that effect to the captain. Should anything come to my knowledge that would cause me any doubts upon that point, I shall advise your Lordships, but more than that I do not believe I can do.

I presume your Lordships to have received all the letters I have written since coming to Cesena; the first was of the 14th, sent by the courier Grillo; the other, of the 18th, I sent by a son of Antonio d' Assetto, who was returning to Florence; and the last, of the 20th, was sent express by one of the shoemakers' guild. By the first two I wrote to your Lordships what I had learned of the condition of things here; also, the conversation I had with the Duke, chiefly in relation to Pisan affairs. In mine of the 20th, I informed you of the unexpected departure of the French. They left yesterday in the direction of Bologna, halting about three miles from here, and passing the night at Castello Bolognese, so as to reach the Bolognese territory the next evening. There are in all about 450 lances. This sudden and unexpected departure has been the subject of general conversation, and every one forms his own conjectures about it. I have done my best to find out the truth of the

matter, but it is impossible to obtain any correct information. I have written you what the Baron de Bierra told me; and since then have conversed with M. de Montison, who told me that the French troops had left out of regard for the country and the Duke, who had no further occasion for them; and that the country was becoming hostile to him on account of being overburdened by so many troops. The principal personages of the court tell me that the Duke could no longer support these troops, and that the further retaining them would cause him more annoyance from his friends than from his enemies; and that even without them the Duke would still have troops enough to enable him to undertake anything he might be disposed to.

Not wishing to leave anything undone to obtain correct information, I went to see that friend of mine, whom I have several times mentioned to your Lordships, so soon as the news of the departure of the French became known. I told him that, having heard of that departure, which seemed to me very sudden, and not knowing whether it was by order of the Duke or contrary to his wishes, I deemed it my duty to let his Excellency understand that I was ready to conform to his desires as to the manner in which he might wish me to present this matter to your Lordships. He replied that he would very cheerfully undertake that commission. When I saw him again, he told me that he had spoken to the Duke about the matter, and that he was much pleased at my having suggested this to him, and that, after a few moments of reflection, his Excellency had said to him: "Tell the secretary we thank him, but that "for the present there is no occasion for his doing anything "in the matter; but whenever there is, we will send for him." And thus I lost the desired opportunity of speaking with his Excellency, and learning from him something more positive in relation to this matter. And this is all I am able to tell you. I am sure your Lordships' wisdom, and the advices you have from other sources of which I am ignorant, will enable you to form a correct judgment of this affair. Those who speak of it here say, that the departure of the French troops is due to one of two causes; namely, either because the king of France has need of them himself in Lombardy, or because his Majesty is dissatisfied with the Pope, as some cloud has arisen between them. Be this as it may, the French troops have gone from

here, neither well satisfied nor well disposed towards the Duke; but in view of their character, this is of little consequence.

What the Duke may now intend or be able to do, no one knows; but thus far there is no change in his plans. The artillery has gone in advance, and yesterday there arrived here six hundred infantry from the Val di Lamona, and one thousand Swiss, part of those that have been so long expected, are at Faenza. Previous to this the Duke had already fifteen hundred Swiss, Germans, and Gascons in all.

It is still said that after the holidays he will start for Pisa. On the other hand, he has lost more than half of his forces and two thirds of his reputation; and the opinion prevails that he will not be able to do much of what he at first boasted he would do, and which it was believed he could accomplish. San Leo is in the hands of the Duke Guido, and the other fortresses in the duchy of Urbino are razed to the ground. Camerino, which the Duke said was at his disposal, will change its purpose when it hears this news. A secretary of the Cardinal Farnese, who is Legate of La Marca, and who arrived here yesterday, assured me that Camerino was very obstinate in its opposition to the Duke. Your Lordships will judge now what course matters may take, and will not fail to bear in mind that the straits in which the Duke may be placed may cause him to throw himself into the arms of your natural enemies, against which your Lordships will know how to provide, with your habitual wisdom.

I have not heard since of the Pisan negotiations, which I have mentioned to your Lordships as a matter of great moment. In speaking on the subject with such persons as I have referred to in former letters, one of them evaded my questions and referred me to what the Duke had told me; and the other told me that Lorenzo d' Acconcio had left for the purpose of arranging the sending here of three Pisan deputies, two from the city and one from the country; and that the Duke is disposed to see whether by way of agreement he might accomplish something particularly agreeable to your Lordships, and that his first effort will be to get Tarlatino out of the hands of the Pisans, and to induce them to break off their friendly relations with Vitellozzo. Next, he hopes to win the confidence of the Pisans by giving money to their soldiers, and by taking them into his pay. And having thus gained their friendship,

he will endeavor, through the intervention of the king of France, to bring about some arrangement between them and your Lordships which he will offer to guarantee. He pretends to be able to succeed easily in this; but if he fails, it will be because the Pisans are obstinate, and simply because they have no confidence that the promises made to them will be fulfilled. Now whether all this is true or not, I do not know; I give it to you as I have it from an individual who is in the way of knowing the truth of the matter. I beg your Lordships will on all accounts make careful use of it, which I suggest with all due deference.

Messer Ramiro, one of the Duke's first officers, returned yesterday from Pesaro, and was immediately confined at the bottom of the tower by order of his Excellency. It is feared that he will be sacrificed to the populace, who are very desirous that he should be.

I beg your Lordships with all my heart to be pleased to send me wherewith to live; for if I have to follow the Duke, I shall not know how to do it without money. I shall remain here or return to Castrocaro until your Lordships shall have decided with regard to myself.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

23 December, 1502.

P. S. — It is said for certain that the Duke will leave here on Monday, and will go to Rimini. I shall await your Lordships' reply, and shall not leave without orders; and beg your Lordships to excuse me, for I can go no further.

LETTER XLII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote your Lordships last on the 23d by way of Bagno, and as I then gave you full account of the departure of the French troops, and what is said here about it, I have nothing else of importance to report on that subject.

The son of the courier Ardingo arrived here yesterday, and brought me two of your Lordships' letters, of the 20th and 22d; and although I have made every effort since their receipt to

have an audience of the Duke, yet I have not succeeded. Yesterday, when I expected to have seen his Excellency, he was occupied in reviewing his infantry, and in his Christmas pleasures, so that it was impossible for me to see him; and this morning he left at an early hour with his whole army for San Arcangelo, fifteen miles from here, and five miles from Rimini. To-morrow I shall start for the latter place, for I cannot go nearer to the court on account of the difficulty of finding lodgings; although they say that the Duke is not going to stay here, but will move by long marches towards Pesaro. No one knows what he is going to do; some think that he will make an attack upon Sinigaglia, others say Ancona. As regards his forces, he has, besides the troops of which I sent you a list not long since, about thirty newly enlisted Albanese Stradiotes; then he has some twenty-five hundred infantry from the other side of the mountains, and about as many other Italians whom he passed in review yesterday and the day before. And you may count for every thousand infantry about fifty mounted men. The artillery, with a full supply of ammunition, has taken the same route. Upon how many troops the Orsini and the Vitelli may count is not known; but we shall be better informed upon that point when they shall be nearer to each other. As I have mentioned to you before, the Duke is so secret in all he does that he never communicates his designs to any one. His first secretaries have repeatedly assured me that he never makes his plans until the moment of his giving orders for their execution, and he gives these orders only when forced by necessity, and on the spur of the moment, and never otherwise.

I beg your Lordships therefore to excuse me, and not to impute it to negligence on my part, if my information is not satisfactory to you, for I am not satisfied with it myself. We hear nothing more of San Leo and the negotiations with the Duke Guido.

On a former occasion I wrote to your Lordships what the Duke had told me of Camerino, which remained at his disposal; and I wrote you subsequently what I had learned from the secretary of the Cardinal Farnese, who told me that he had but little hope, especially in consequence of the departure of the French troops. The Bishop of Euna told me yesterday that the affair was as good as arranged. Meanwhile we must wait events, so as not to be led into more errors.

Messer Ramiro was found to-day cut into two pieces in the public square, and his body still remains there, so that the whole population has been able to see it. The cause of his death is not precisely known, other than that it was the pleasure of his Excellency thus to show that he has the power to make and unmake men at his will, and according to their merits.

Your above-named courier brought me twenty-five gold ducats and sixteen yards of black damask, for both of which I thank your Lordships very much. As the court is about to break up, they have not yet sent for the three mares which your Lordships inform me are at Poppi. I have only been told to request you to direct them to be well cared for until orders shall have been given to bring them here.

Messer Bartolommeo Marcelli of Borgo, on whose account the Baron de Bierra wrote lately to your Lordships, asks merely that time may be allowed for him to appear until he shall be able to come to Florence. He has himself written to Piero di Braccio, who manages his case; and I beg now to recommend him to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CESENA, 26 December, 1502, 22d hour.

LETTER XLIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Day before yesterday I wrote to your Lordships from Pesaro* what I had heard from Sinigaglia. Yesterday I went to Fano, and at an early hour this morning his Excellency the Duke started with his entire army and came here to Sinigaglia, where all the Orsini and Vitellozzo are, who, as I have already informed you, had won this city for him. They met his Excellency on his arrival, and escorted him; but so soon as he had entered the place with them at his side, he suddenly turned to his guard and ordered them to seize these men; and having thus made them all prisoners, the place was given up to pillage.

It is now the 23d hour, and the greatest turmoil prevails, so that I really do not know whether I shall be able to despatch

* This letter, here referred to as having been written from Pesaro on the 29th of December, is missing, the original probably being lost.

this letter, having no one whom I can send. I shall write more fully in my next, but according to my judgment the prisoners will not be alive to-morrow.

SINIGAGLIA, this last day of December.

P. S. — All the troops of the Orsini and Vitellozzo are also taken, and the manifestoes that are published everywhere say that "The traitors are captured," etc., etc. I have paid the bearer of this three ducats, and your Lordships will please pay him three more, and reimburse those which I have paid to Biagio.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LETTER XLIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote you two letters yesterday in relation to the events that have taken place here since the Duke's arrival in Sinigaglia; how he had Signor Paolo and the Duke di Gravina Orsini, and Vitellozzo, and Oliverotto, arrested. In my first I simply announced the event, but in the second I gave you all the particular details, and moreover what the Duke had said to me, and the opinion expressed here as to the Duke's proceedings. I should repeat all this at length, if I did not suppose that these letters have reached you safely. Having sent these two despatches by express messengers, the first by a Florentine at an expense of six ducats, and the other by a man from Urbino at a cost of three ducats, I feel confident of their arrival. Yet by way of extra care I will summarily repeat the whole. His Excellency left Fano yesterday morning with his entire army for Sinigaglia, which town with the exception of the citadel had been occupied by the Orsini and Messer Oliverotto da Fermo. Vitellozzo had arrived there the evening before from Castello. One after the other these persons came out to meet the Duke, and then accompanied him into the town and into his house. As they entered his apartment, the Duke had them seized as prisoners; he then had their infantry disarmed, which was in the suburbs outside of the city; and the Duke sent half of his forces to disarm also

the men-at-arms who were quartered in certain castles some six or seven miles from Sinigaglia. At two o'clock in the night the Duke had me called, and with the most serene air in the world expressed to me his delight at his success; saying that he had spoken to me of this matter the day before, but had not then told me the whole. He then spoke in a most suitable and affectionate manner as to his conduct towards our republic, adducing all the motives that made him desire your friendship, provided these feelings were reciprocated by your Lordships, so that I was quite astonished. I do not repeat all he said, having already written it in my letter of yesterday evening.

Finally he concluded by requesting me to write to your Lordships upon three points. The first, that you rejoice with him at his having destroyed the chief enemies of the king of France, of himself, and of the republic of Florence; and at his having thus removed all seeds of trouble and dissension calculated to ruin Italy, for which your Lordships ought to be under great obligations to him. The next is, that I should request and beg your Lordships on his behalf to be pleased to give to the whole world a proof of your friendship for him, by ordering your cavalry towards Borgo, and to collect infantry there, so that they might march together with his forces upon Castello or Perugia, as might be required; saying that he intended at once to take that route, and that he would have started the evening before, if he had not feared that his departure would have exposed Sinigaglia to being sacked. His Excellency then reiterated to me his request that I should write and ask you to make every demonstration of friendship for him, saying that at present there was no occasion for your being restrained by any fear or mistrust of him, seeing that he was well provided with troops, and that your enemies were prisoners. And, lastly, he begged me to write to your Lordships that it was his particular desire that you should have the Duke Guido, who is at Castello, arrested, in case he should take refuge on Florentine territory upon learning that Vitellozzo was prisoner. Upon my replying to him that it would not comport with the dignity of our republic to deliver the Duke Guido to him, and that you would never do it, he answered, that "he approved of my remarks, and that it would "suffice that you should detain the Duke Guido, and not set

"him at liberty without his consent." I promised to write you all this, and his Excellency awaits your reply.

In my letter of yesterday I wrote you also that a certain number of well-informed persons and friends of our republic have suggested to me that the present is a most favorable opportunity for your Lordships to do something for the readjustment of the affairs of Florence. They all think that you can rely upon France, and that it would be most opportune to send here one of your most distinguished citizens as an ambassador on the occasion of this event, and that you should not delay in doing so. For if a personage of high position were to come here with orders to establish friendly relations with the Duke, he would he met half-way. This has been suggested to me again and again by those who are well-wishers to our republic; and I communicate it to your Lordships in the same spirit of devotion with which I have ever served you. This is in brief what I wrote you more fully in my despatch of yesterday. Since then the Duke has had Vitellozzo and Oliverotto da Fermo put to death at the tenth hour of the night. The others are still alive; and it is supposed that the Duke is only waiting to know whether the Pope has the Cardinal Orsino, and the others who were in Rome, safely in his hands, and that, if so, he will dispose of the whole band at the same time.*

The citadel of Sinigaglia surrendered to the Duke at an

* The capture and death of these corresponds with what Machiavelli himself states in his description of the proceedings adopted by the Duke Valentino in putting to death of Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, the Signor Paolo and the Duca di Gravina Orsini. Burchard in his well-known Diary says: "The Duke Valentino had written to the Pope to hold the Cardinal Orsino. When Adriano Castellense da Corneto, the Pope's secretary and treasurer, had read this letter of the Duke Valentino to the Pope, he would not leave the Pope's chamber that night, lest he should be inculpated if ever the Cardinal Orsino should get a hint of it. The Pope thereupon had the Cardinal Orsino and Jacopo da S. Croce informed that the Duke had taken the castle of Sinigaglia. That Cardinal thereupon rode, on the 3d of January, 1503, to the pontifical palace to congratulate the Pope. With him was the Governor, who feigned to accompany him by chance. When the Cardinal had dismounted and had entered the palace, his horses and mules were taken to the Papal stables. The Cardinal had scarcely entered the chamber of the Parrot, when he found himself surrounded by armed men and became alarmed. He was conducted to prison, and after him the Protonotario Orsino, Jacopo da S. Croce, and Bernardino, Abbot of Alviano, where they were all confined."

At the same time the Duke Valentino had Vitellozzo Vitelli, Paolo and the Duca di Gravina Orsini, and Oliverotto da Fermo made prisoners; and afterwards he had Vitellozzo and Liverotto strangled, and the others were kept in custody.

early hour this morning, and is now in his possession. His Excellency left there this same morning, and has come here with his army. It is certain that they will go in the direction of Perugia and Castello, and possibly to Sienna. The Duke will then move to Rome, and according to popular opinion will settle the Orsini castles there. He also intends taking Bracciano by force, and then all the rest will be as easy as to burn straw. We shall remain here all to-morrow and next day, and then go into quarters at Sassoferrato, the season being as unfavorable for war as can possibly be imagined. You would not believe it were I to describe the condition of the army and its followers; for a man who has the chance of sleeping under cover is deemed fortunate.

Messer Goro da Pistoja, a rebel and enemy of our republic, was with Vitellozzo, and is now prisoner here in the hands of certain Spaniards. I believe that, with a couple of hundred ducats, should your Lordships feel disposed to spend that much, it could be managed that he should be delivered to one of your Rectors. Be pleased to think of this matter, and advise me whether you think it worth while to do anything in the matter.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CONRINALDO, 1 January, 1503.

LETTER XLV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote the enclosed to your Lordships yesterday and repeated what I had communicated in my two letters of the day before, and dated at Sinigaglia, and which I sent by express, hoping that they have come safely and in time to your hands. I am sure that, if your Lordships consider the place in which I am, and the confusion existing here, you will excuse the delay if my letters are behind time. For the peasants conceal themselves; no soldier is willing to absent himself, not wishing to forego his chances of plunder; and my own domestics are unwilling to separate themselves from me for fear of being robbed. All these things cause such difficulties that since my first two despatches, which I sent through the influence of

friends and by the promise of large rewards, deeming the news of great importance, I cannot find any one willing to go. And thus it comes that the letter which I wrote yesterday evening is still in my hands, and I know not what day I may be able to send it. But I have not much news to communicate to-day. His Excellency the Duke is still here in Conrinaldo; he attended to-day to paying his infantry, which is about three miles from here, and organizing his artillery, which he has directed to move towards Agobbio by way of Fossombrone, and from there it is to go towards Castello or Perugia, as may seem best to him.

I had a long conversation to-day with one of the Duke's first officers, and he tells me much the same as what the Duke had told me of his good disposition towards your Lordships. And in conversing with him as to the course which his Excellency intended to pursue, he said that having caused Vitellozzo and Oliverotto to be put to death as tyrants, assassins, and traitors, the Duke intended to carry Signor Paolo and the Duca di Gravina to Rome, confidently hoping that by this time the Cardinal Orsino and Signor Julio were in the hands of the Pope; and that he would then commence legal proceedings against them, and have them condemned by process of law. He told me furthermore that his Excellency intended to free all the states of the Church from factions and tyrants, and restore them to the Pope, keeping for himself only Romagna; and that he expected thereby to place the new Pope under obligations, who would no longer be the slave of the Orsini or the Colonna, as all his predecessors hitherto had been. And this same gentleman assured me anew that the Duke had never had any other thought but to tranquillize Romagna and Tuscany; and that he believed he had now accomplished it by the capture and death of those who had been the chief cause of all the troubles; and that he regarded the rest but as a spark of fire that could be quenched by a single drop of water. And, finally, he told me that your Lordships could now settle their own matters by sending an ambassador to the Duke, with some proposition that would be alike honorable and advantageous for both sides; and who should also give his Excellency every assurance of friendship on your part, leaving aside all formalities and temporizing.

I have deemed it proper to communicate this conversation

just as it occurred, and your Lordships will draw your own conclusions from it.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CONRINALDO, 2 January, 1503.

LETTER XLVI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

It was with difficulty that I found the bearer of this, whose name is Tornese da Santa Maria Imprunta; and to whom I have paid a gold ducat, and promised him that your Lordships will pay him two more ducats.

The ducat which I have paid him you will please reimburse to Biagio, as also the other four which I have paid for my two previous despatches.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CONRINALDO, 2 January, 1503.

When paid, please give the Captain a certificate of it.

LETTER XLVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Day before yesterday I wrote my last to your Lordships, which was, as it were, a repetition of what I had written in my two other letters of the last day of the past month, which should have been received by this time; so that your Lordships will have been informed of the taking of Paolo and the Duca di Gravina Orsini, and of the death of Vitellozzo and Messer Oliverotto; as also of what his Excellency told me, and commissioned me to write to your Lordships, and to which I await your reply. Since then there is nothing new, for we left Conrinaldo yesterday morning and came here to Sassoferrato, where we are still at this time. But to-morrow the Duke will go to Gualdo, to take such measures against his enemies as the occasion will permit. That portion of his forces which he sent in pursuit of the cavalry of the Orsini and the Vitelli

returned to-day, having failed to overtake them, as they had all fled in the direction of Perugia. They lost, however, a good many horses, owing to the bad condition of the roads, and because they travelled in great haste. I have nothing more of interest to communicate at present; besides, your Lordships can judge best of the state of things here, being better informed as to the present condition of Perugia and Castello, upon which all matters here depend. This evening I received yours of the 28th ultimo, and understand your instructions as to the course which I am to follow in the matter of Pisa, as also what your Lordships say in relation to the Duke's mares; and what you learn from France; and how I am to thank his Excellency therefor, which I shall do on the first occasion.

I thank your Lordships especially for the advices from France, and recommend myself most humbly. *Valete!*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

SASSOFERRATO, 4 January, 1503.

LETTER XLVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote you on the 4th from Sassoferrato, and by a postscript * informed your Lordships of the news from Castello, of the arrival of the ambassador, and of the flight of the Bishop of the place, and of all the Vitelli. On our subsequent arrival here in Gualdo yesterday, and where we still are for the purpose of giving the army some rest, we found deputies from Castello who have come to offer the place to the Duke, and to express their satisfaction, etc., etc.

The Duke accepted the place as Gonfalonier of the Church, and not otherwise, and immediately directed the deputies to despatch some one to Castello to have the artillery of the place put in order. At the same time he ordered his own artillery, which he had directed to advance towards Agobbio, to halt and proceed no further, deeming the guns that are in Castello sufficient for his further enterprises. Some one arrived yesterday evening at the fourth hour to inform the Duke

* This postscript has never been found.

that Gianpaolo Baglioni, with the Orsini and the Vitelli, and all their men-at-arms, and such as had taken refuge with them, had left Perugia and gone towards Sienna; and that immediately after their departure the population had arisen and shouted for the Duke. Two deputies from Perugia have also arrived this morning, and have confirmed this news; but up to the present moment these deputies have not had an interview with the Duke. The principal officers of the Duke say that he neither wants Perugia nor Castello for himself, but that he merely wishes to deliver them from their tyrants, and to restore them to the possession of the Church; the same as I have already written your Lordships from Conrinaldo. His Excellency will leave here to-morrow with his army for the purpose of establishing a government there according to his own views. Upon the point whether Pandolfo Petrucci, together with the troops that have taken refuge there, will await the Duke's coming or not, opinions differ. Messer Baldassare Scipione of Sienna, who commands the detached lances here, and whose sagacity is well known to your Lordships, is of opinion that they will wait for the Duke's arrival; many others think differently, and each give their reasons for their belief. We shall soon know. I have not spoken with his Excellency once since he asked me to request your Lordships to send your troops towards the Borgo. But there is no longer any occasion for your doing so, as both Perugia and Castello have surrendered. I believe you will now be requested to send them to Sienna. It will be well for your Lordships to think of this, so that either your support shall be welcome to the Duke, or that your excuse may be a good one. I have nothing else to write to your Lordships, for your own wisdom will best enable you to appreciate the circumstances and the course which it will be best for you to adopt.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

GUALDO, 6 January, 1503.

LETTER XLIX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote last from Gualdo on the 6th, having previously written from Sassoferrato on the 4th, and on the 2d from Conrinaldo, besides two letters from Sinigaglia on the last of December, and one from Pesaro on the 28th; and I look anxiously for your acknowledgment of them all. People here wonder that you have not written, or in some way sent your congratulations to the Duke upon what he has lately done for your advantage; for he is persuaded that our whole republic should feel under great obligations to him. He says that the killing of Vitellozzo and the destruction of the power of the Orsini would have cost you two hundred thousand ducats, and, moreover, that you would never have done it so effectually yourselves as it was done by him.

Since my last letter little of importance has taken place, but what you will have heard of much sooner from another quarter. Now that Castello and Perugia have made their submission, there remains nothing for the Duke except his enterprise against Sienna. The Duke did not accept those places for himself, nor will he make terms with them, but has referred them to Rome, saying that all he aimed at was to have them return to their obedience to the Church, and to suppress the factions in those places, and to deliver them from their tyrants. And to give more color to these professions, he has refused until now permission to the banished to return to Perugia. It seems even that he has promised to the deputies who came to him from Perugia that the banished shall not return there, telling them that his intention had not been to deliver them from one tyrant for the purpose of replacing him by ten others.

Yesterday evening we reached Ascesi, and remain here today; and to-morrow morning the army, without baggage trains, for so it is ordered, is to march to Torsiano, seven miles from here. This being but a small place, those who cannot be lodged within will be quartered in the vicinity. After that, it is said, the next halt will be at Chiusi in the Siennese territory, provided he can first cross the Chiana, and then enter the town, which it seems he intends doing either by consent or by

force. Yesterday evening the city of Sienna sent deputies here, who had a long interview with the Duke. I understand the object of their mission is to learn the reasons that have induced his Excellency to threaten that city with war, as it is publicly said that he has the intention of doing. The deputies say they are prepared to justify the conduct of the city of Sienna, etc.

The Duke is reported to have replied to them, that he has ever regarded the city of Sienna as his good friend, and does so still; that it never was his intention to make war upon her, but that he has an intense hatred against Pandolfo Petrucci, who is his mortal enemy since he conspired to drive him from his states. That whenever the city of Sienna shall take ways and means to expel Pandolfo, peace would instantly be made; but in the contrary case, he had come with his army for the purpose of doing it. The Duke added, that he should be sorry to be obliged to injure others, but he felt that he would be excused by God and by men, and even by the Siennese themselves, as being forced to it by necessity and a just anger against a man who, not content to tyrannize over one of the finest cities of Italy, wanted to ruin others, for the sake of dictating laws to all his neighbors. And without any other conclusion, as I understand, the interview was broken off; the ambassadors agreeing to write to their government.

Thus matters remain undecided, and no one can venture to foretell the result. For on the one hand there is the Duke with his unheard of good fortune, with a courage and confidence almost superhuman, and believing himself capable of accomplishing whatever he undertakes; and on the other hand there is a man at the head of a state of great reputation, which he governs with great sagacity, and without an enemy either foreign or domestic, having either conciliated or put them to death, and having plenty of good troops, — if it is true, as reported, that Gianpaolo Baglioni has withdrawn and joined him in Sienna. And even if for the moment they are without any hope of help, yet time is apt to bring it. There is nothing else to be done but to wait and see the end, which cannot be delayed many days. Should this matter lead to open hostilities, then your Lordships will assuredly be called on by the Duke for assistance, and he will demand that you attack from your side. Indeed, I wonder that he has not already done so, but I believe the reason is

that the Duke hopes that this affair of Sienna will take the same course as those of Castello and Perugia, and therefore he is not disposed to place himself under obligations to your Lordships.

I have nothing more to write respecting matters here, and must refer your Lordships to my former letters, both as regards the Duke's forces and his disposition. But to sum up the whole in two words, as to his forces he has some five hundred men-at-arms, eight hundred light cavalry, and about six thousand infantry. As to his disposition and intentions towards your Lordships, his language always has been and continues to be full of affection, as I have written you several times; and he spoke on the subject so reasonably, and with so much animation, that, if one could believe him to be sincere, we might rest assured without any uneasiness. But the experience of others makes one fear for one's self; and the manner in which he acted towards your Lordships when there was a question of an arrangement with you deserves serious consideration. For it is evident that his Excellency had the desire to renew his former engagement with our republic; and when he found there was no chance for that, he avoided the subject, and passed it over lightly, saying that a general alliance was sufficient for him, as though he saw clearly that he could not force you to it now, and wanted to bide his time, when he should be able to do so. He seemed to think that he could temporize with perfect convenience, it being quite clear to him that your Lordships would do nothing against him out of regard for France, and in view of the character of his enemies, as well as of your own weakness; and thus he sees only advantage in delay. What I infer from all this, and wish to call specially to your Lordships' attention, is that when the Duke shall have carried his enterprise against Sienna to a successful conclusion, the time for which is drawing near, he will think that the opportunity which he has planned and expected has at last come. And I submit humbly to your Lordships, that, if I judge this matter wrongly, it is owing partly to my want of experience and partly to the fact that I see only the things that are passing here, and from these I can form no other conclusions than those given above. And now I leave the whole to the wisdom of your Lordships, to whom I recommend myself.

I have learned this evening that certain plenipotentiaries have come here secretly; I shall try to find out further particulars, which I will communicate to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ASCESI, 8 January, 1503.

P. S. — I have already mentioned to your Lordships that Messer Goro of Pistoja is prisoner here, and that he might be redeemed for two hundred ducats, or even less, and delivered into your hands. I await your Lordships' reply in relation to this matter.

LETTER L.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

My last was of the 8th, from Ascesi. Yesterday we came here to Torsiano, a place about four miles from Perugia, but shall leave to-morrow and go to Spedaletto, twelve miles from here, on the road to Sienna. Having written you in my last all I had of interest to communicate, and having received no reply to my many letters since the 28th ultimo, I should not have written you now but that the Duke sent for me to-day and asked me whether I had received any letters from your Lordships. When I told him that I had not, he expressed great surprise, whereupon, of course, I made all reasonable excuses for this delay. Then, leaving this subject, the Duke said to me: "You know, secretary, how well I am disposed towards your "government, which I look upon as one of the principal sup- "ports of my power in Italy; and for that reason my acts and "proceedings with regard to internal as well as external affairs "must not be concealed from your Signoria. You see how I "stand with those who were the common enemies of your gov- "ernment and of mine: some of them are dead, some prisoners, "and some are fugitives, or are besieged in their homes; such "as Pandolfo Petrucci, to destroy whom will be the last effort I "shall have to make for our mutual security. It is absolutely "necessary to drive him from Sienna; for his well-known "ability, the amount of money he has at his command, and the "strength of the place where he is, would, if he were allowed "to remain there, have to be feared like a spark that may

"cause a great conflagration. So far from going to sleep over "this matter, we shall have to attack him with all our power. "I should not find it difficult to drive him out of Sienna, but I "want to have him in my hands. For this reason the Pope "tries to lull him into security with briefs, persuading him that "it will be enough for him to show himself the enemy of the "Pope's enemies; and meantime I advance upon him with my "army. But it is well to deceive those who themselves have "been masters in treachery. The deputies from Sienna who "came to me in the name of their government have promised "me well, and I have made it clear to them that I have no de- "sire of depriving the people of Sienna of their liberties, but "that all I ask of them is that they shall expel Pandolfo. I "have written a letter to the municipality of Sienna, explaining "to them my intentions, of the honesty of which they have am- "ple proof in the case of Perugia and Castello, which I handed "over to the Church, not wishing to keep them for myself. "Moreover, our common master, the king of France, would not "be satisfied were I to take Sienna for myself; and I am not "sufficiently reckless to attempt anything of the kind. The "people of Sienna therefore should believe my assurances that "I want nothing more of them than the expulsion of Pandolfo. "And I desire that your masters should publish and testify that "I have no other intentions than to make sure of this tyrant "Petruccio; and I trust that the government of Sienna will be- "lieve me. But if not, then I am resolved to advance upon their "city and plant my artillery before its gates, and shall do my "utmost to drive Petruccio from there. I wished to communi- "cate this to you so that your masters may be fully informed "of my intentions; and so that, if they should hear that the "Pope has written a brief to Pandolfo, they may know for "what purpose he has done so. For after having taken their "arms from my enemies I am resolved also to deprive them of "their brains, which consist in Pandolfo and his intrigues. I "would moreover entreat that in case I should require any as- "sistance in this matter, you should ask your masters to furnish "it to me in my efforts against the said Pandolfo. And I truly "believe that, if any one had promised to your Signoria a year "ago to kill Vitellozzo and Oliverotto, to destroy the Orsini, and "to expel Gianpaolo and Pandolfo, and had asked them one "hundred thousand ducats for doing it, they would have rushed

"to give it to him. But now, since all this has been so thor- "oughly done without any expense, or effort, or care, on the "part of your government, it seems to me that, although there "was no written obligation, yet there is a tacit one. And there- "fore it is well that they should begin to pay it, so that it may "not seem to me, nor to others, that the republic of Florence is "beyond her custom and character ungrateful. And should the "Signoria object on account of the protection of France, you "must write to them that the king gives his protection to Si- "enna, and not to Pandolfo Petrucci. And even if Pandolfo did "enjoy that protection, which he does not, he has forfeited it "by leaguing himself with others against myself and against "his Majesty. Your government therefore will have no excuse, "if it fails to come with alacrity to share in this enterprise. And "your Signoria ought to come the more gladly, as it will be an "advantage to them, as well as a satisfaction to their revenge, "and a benefit to the king of France. The advantage will be "the destruction of the eternal enemy of their republic, the "prompter of all their enemies, and the resort of all those who "desire to injure you. And their revenge will be gratified, be- "cause Pandolfo has been the head and front of all the ills "which their republic has had to bear for the past year; for it "was he who furnished the money and the assistance, as well "as the plans for assailing them. And in what? In their en- "tire dominions as well as in their own liberty. And whoever "does not desire to revenge such things, and does not avail "himself of an occasion like the present one, shows himself "insensible to everything, and deserves the insults of everybody. "Wherein it would be an advantage to the king of France is "manifest to every one; for Pandolfo once crushed, I and your "Signoria are freed from all apprehensions for our states, and "can go with our troops into the kingdom of Naples, or into "Lombardy, or wherever the king of France may have need of "us. But so long as Pandolfo remains in Sienna, we can never "feel secure of our states. All these things are well known "and understood by the king of France, and therefore will the "destruction of Pandolfo give him great pleasure, and he will "feel under obligations to whoever has been instrumental in it. "And if I knew that my own interests only were to be ad- "vanced by it, I would make greater efforts to persuade your "Signoria, but as it is for our mutual interest, let what I have

"said suffice. Neither have I said all this because I doubt my "ability to accomplish it alone, but because I desire that all Italy "shall be assured of our alliance, which will add to the reputa- "tion of each of us."

Thereupon the Duke charged me to write to your Lordships on the subject, and to request a prompt reply, and for that reason have I communicated to you as it were his own words.

In speaking of the affairs of the kingdom of Naples the Duke told me that the Spaniards had killed some thirty French men-at-arms in an ambuscade, which was however a matter of little importance; and that there was no sign of any movement from the direction of Germany. Also, that the king had been much dissatisfied with M. de Chaumont for having recalled his troops; and he repeated that it had been the result of a private resentment on the part of M. de Chaumont against his Excellency.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

TORSIANO, 10 January, 1503.

P. S. — Your Lordships will please pay the bearer of this ten lire; also, to reimburse Biagio the five ducats which I have paid for my three despatches of last month, provided it has not already been done.

Don Michele, a Spanish captain in the Duke's service, was as angry as a devil with me to-day, saying that the letter which he had written at Piombino, as well as those that had been directed to him, had been opened; and that the customs officials at the gates of Florence had taken some small change from certain of his foot-soldiers who were going to Piombino. I beg your Lordships to relieve me of these reclamations by remedying the one and justifying the other.

P. S. — I had forgotten to mention to your Lordships that with my second letter of the 31st of December I sent you a letter written by his Excellency announcing, and at the same time justifying, the event that had taken place. I think it would be well for your Lordships to reply to that letter, whether it has made its appearance or not.

LETTER LI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Having lodged last night at Spedale, I was joined on the road this morning by one of the bowmen of Antonio Giacomino, who handed me a letter from your Lordships of the 5th, from which I learned with much regret that you have not received any of my reports upon the events that have taken place. After arriving at this place, Labbro Tesso brought letters from your Lordships that filled me with equal regret, for they inform me that you have received but two of my letters of the 1st and 2d instant. It would really seem as though my efforts failed at the very moment when they were most needed, and when they ought to have procured me your greater esteem. And yet wise men like yourselves know that it is not enough for a man to do his duty, but that he must also have good luck. I would gladly send your Lordships copies of all the letters I have written, if I had them near me; but not having them, owing to the circumstances and places in which I have been, I will briefly recapitulate their contents.

On the 1st of December I wrote you two letters; one a short one, at the twenty-third hour of the night, containing an account of the arrest of the Vitelli and the Orsini; the other a long one, giving full details of the event, and the conversations I had with the Duke, in which he manifested such an affection for our republic, and expressed himself with so much kindness and discretion that I could not have wished for anything more. He showed that he well knew how necessary it was that our republic should be free and powerful, to enable the surrounding states to preserve their power; and that he was ready to undertake anything for that purpose, provided he could count upon your support. He then wanted me to urge your Lordships to aid him with your troops in his attempt against Castello and Perugia, and to take and keep the Duke of Urbino prisoner, in case he should take refuge on Florentine soil; but he said he should be satisfied to have the Duke of Urbino remain in your hands. I wrote you next on the 2d instant from Conrinaldo, reiterating the same details, and adding an account of what had subsequently occurred, as your Lordships will have seen, for that letter was received by you, according to what

you write. After that I wrote you from Sassoferrato on the 4th, and from Gualdo on the 6th, giving an account of the surrender of Castello and Perugia; also about the deputation that had come to the Duke from Sienna. On the 8th I wrote you from Ascesi respecting that deputation, and what I had heard in relation to it. And my last was from Torsiano, on the 10th, in which I reported what the Duke has said to me respecting his intentions with regard to Sienna; namely, that he counted chiefly upon our republic as the principal support of his power, and that for that reason he wished to communicate to me all his intentions, both with regard to internal and external affairs. That after having had Oliverotto and Vitellozzo put to death, crushed the Orsini and driven out Gianpaolo, there remained but one more obstacle in the way of insuring his own and your Lordships' tranquillity, and that was Pandolfo Petrucci, whom he intended to expel from Sienna. And as he thought that this would be for your advantage as well as for his own, he deemed it necessary that your Lordships should lend a hand in doing it; for if Pandolfo remained there, it was to be feared from the character of the man and from the amount of money he had at command, and from the nature of the place in which he was, lest he should erelong light a conflagration that might destroy more than one place; and that he would ever serve as a refuge for all those violent lords who know no restraints. And as such a state of things would prove more injurious to you than to others, he judged that you ought to feel more interested in it. That there were also various other reasons that should influence you to move in the matter; namely, first, to recognize the advantages derived by your Lordships from the death of Vitellozzo, etc., etc.; secondly, your own special interests: and thirdly, the wishes of the king of France. And as regards the recognition of your obligations to him, if a year ago any one had proposed to your Lordships to kill Vitellozzo and overthrow the Orsini and their adherents, you would readily have obligated yourselves to pay one hundred thousand ducats. But that inasmuch as all this had been done without any expense, labor, or charge to you, your Lordships were under a tacit obligation to him, even if there was no written one; and that it would be well, therefore, if your Lordships would begin to acquit yourselves of that obligation, and not to manifest an ingratitude so contrary to your habits. As

to the advantage which you would derive from it, that was great; for if Pandolfo remained in Sienna he would prove a refuge and a support for all your enemies. As for the pleasure of revenge, he said that Pandolfo had instigated the war against your Lordships during the past summer in the affair of Arezzo, both by his talents and with his money, and that it was in the nature of things that you should seek an opportunity to revenge yourselves upon him on that account; and that if you allowed the occasion to pass without resenting it, you would deserve similar injuries at all times. And as to the advantage that would result from it to his Majesty the king of France, it consisted in this: that Pandolfo once expelled from Sienna, he, the Duke, would be relieved from all apprehensions, and could then hasten freely with all his troops to the support of the king, either in Lombardy or in the kingdom of Naples. His Excellency said, furthermore, that your Lordships ought not to hesitate on account of the protection which France had promised to Sienna, because that was to the city, and not to Pandolfo; and that he was making war upon Pandolfo, and not upon the city of Sienna. That he had so given the people of Sienna to understand, and had requested me to write to the same effect to your Lordships, so that you might publish it and testify to all the world that, if the city of Sienna expelled Pandolfo, he, the Duke, would not set foot upon Siennese territory; but that if they refused to do so, then he would direct his artillery against their walls; and he requested me anew to write to your Lordships, and to beg you to assist him with your troops in this undertaking. The substance of all this was contained in my letter of the 10th, from Torsiano, which I have now repeated, fearing that letter may not have reached your Lordships' hands, as well as my others. I hope your Lordships will decide this matter soon, by a reply to this.

After receipt of yours of the 9th, I called upon the Duke and made known to him that your Lordships were ready to send your troops towards Castello whenever it should be necessary. I also told him of the satisfaction which your Lordships felt at this late event, and of the appointment of Jacopo Salviati as a special ambassador to him, who would shortly be here. The Duke was greatly pleased at all this, saying that he felt convinced that your Lordships would not fail in their duty to aid

him in his attempt against Pandolfo; and begged me anew to urge your Lordships to that effect. He expressed pleasure at the selection of Salviati, whose arrival he looked forward to with impatience. We then conversed upon many points touching this undertaking against Pandolfo, which he declared himself resolved to prosecute anyhow, and in relation to which he manifests the utmost earnestness, saying that he will not want for either money or support. On the other hand Messer Romolino left yesterday per post for Rome, and I learn from good authority that the object of this mission is to consult the Pope upon this enterprise, and to ask him whether, in case it were possible to treat with Pandolfo on advantageous terms, it might not be well to do so. For the Duke seems to think that it might be too much for him if he had at the same time to take care of Sienna and the Orsini business; whilst by disposing of the one first, the other would be much easier, and he might afterwards take up the first again at a suitable moment. It is possible that my information may not be correct; nevertheless the thing is not unreasonable, although it is quite contrary to the Duke's own words; for he protested to me that he would carry out his enterprise against Pandolfo at all hazards, and that if the Pope negotiated with Pandolfo, it was for the purpose of getting him into his own hands, and that the hopes which such negotiations held out to Pandolfo would prevent his taking to flight. I think it well to hear all things, and then to await the result.

The whole of this day has been devoted to making scaling-ladders, for the first siege works will be thrown up on the other side of the Chiana on Siennese territory, but the precise spot is not known.

The Duke has given a most gracious reception to a secretary of the Bentivogli who has arrived here, and has assured him of his friendly disposition towards his master. He has ordered that the treaty of peace concluded between himself and the said Bentivogli shall be published in all his dominions, as well as in his camp here, so that it may be known to everybody. His Excellency has demanded from the Bentivogli one hundred men-at-arms, and two hundred light cavalry, which they are bound to furnish him. And he has this day requested me to write to your Lordships, and to beg you in his name to accord free passage and provisions, at their own expense, to these

troops of Messer Giovanni Bentivogli, who are coming to his support.

Of the Duke of Urbino not a word has been said either by his Excellency or myself, for it did not seem proper for me to open that subject. The Duke being here in Castello della Pieve it seemed to me opportune to recommend to him Messer Bandino, who is in your Lordships' pay, having heard that certain of his enemies had returned here. His Excellency replied to me that he held Messer Bandino in great esteem, and felt a great interest in his affair, especially as he was in your service; and he assured me that no harm shall be done either to his person or his property.

With this there will be a letter for Piombino, which has been recommended to me by Messer Alessandro Spannochi. I have promised him that your Lordships will have it forwarded by express, and I beg that it may be done.

I have expended five ducats for the sending of my first three despatches after the events at Sinigaglia, and I beg your Lordships to have them reimbursed to me, and that they may be paid for my account to Biagio Buonaccorsi, provided it seems fit to your Lordships that I shall not suffer where I have not been at fault.

I recommend myself most humbly.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

CASTELLO DELLA PIEVE, 12 January, 1503.

LETTER LII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Yesterday I left the ambassador Jacopo Salviati to return to Florence, for the reasons which your Lordships will learn from the ambassador's letter herewith enclosed. Before my departure it was said at court that an arrangement had been concluded between the Duke and the Siennese. Having been obliged by the state of the river Chiana to return to Castello della Pieve for the night, I found here Don Hugo, one of the Duke's Spanish captains, who is here with his troops. He had received a letter this evening ordering him to break up in the morning and march towards Orvieto, as the Duke was also

going to take that direction with all his forces. And as I was about mounting my horse this morning, the said Don Hugo and his troops were also just about to start;* and he told me that the treaty with Sienna was really concluded, and that Pandolfo was to have left Sienna with a safe-conduct from the Duke;† but further particulars I did not get. Having brought this news here with me, I thought it well to anticipate my return and to send it to you by an express. For further details I must refer you to what the ambassador will write you; but knowing that his letter will reach you with difficulty, I would not miss giving your Lordships this brief notice, and recommend myself most humbly.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

21 January, 1503, at the 3d hour of the night.
CASTIGLIONE ARETINO.

I have promised the bearer of this three lire.

* "On the 23d of January it was said that within the past few days the Duke "had taken the cities of Chiusi and Pienza; also Sarteano, Castel della Pieve, "and San Quirico, where he found only two old men and nine old women. "These were hung up by their arms with fire under their feet, so as to force "them to confess where the treasure was concealed. These people, either un- "willing to confess, or really not knowing where the money could be found, all "died under this torture. The Duke's troops also sacked Acquapendente, Monte- "fiascone, and other places." — *Memoirs of Burchard.*

† "On the last day of January it was said that Pandolfo Petrucci was to "have left Sienna on Friday night, the 23d, to go to Lucca, or wherever he "might choose to go; and that the Duke was to return to Rome." — *Memoirs of Burchard.*

Pandolfo in fact left Sienna and went to take refuge in Lucca, having special letters of recommendation from the Duke Valentino, who however, a few days afterwards, sent fifty horsemen after Pandolfo to kill him. This attempt failed because these men were detained some days by the Florentine commissioner at Cascina. Pandolfo Petrucci, having escaped this danger, arranged his affairs, and through the intervention of the king of France, as also with the consent of the Florentines, re-entered Sienna on the 29th of March, 1503, having obligated himself to restore Montepulciano to the Florentine republic. All this will serve to explain the several missions of Machiavelli to Sienna.

MISSION TO SIENNA.

COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS

TO NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI, SENT TO SIENNA BY THE TEN OF LIBERTY AND PEACE.

RESOLVED 26 APRIL, 1503.

NICCOLO, — You will proceed by post to Sienna with all possible speed, and before anything else you will present yourself to the Magnificent Pandolfo, for whom you will have letters of credence. And after the customary and necessary formalities due to the friendship existing between us, and respecting which we need not give you any special instructions, you will make known to his Magnificence that the object of your mission is to inform him of what is taking place, and mainly of those matters that are of importance to him; and that it is proper at present to let him know that for some time past we have been urged by his Holiness the Pope and the Duke Valentino to conclude an alliance with them, and to form a league with all the other members of the house of Borgia; and that they are pressing it at this moment with more warmth and urgency than ever. As it may happen therefore that such an alliance is concluded, inasmuch as his Majesty the king of France has some interest in the matter, it seems necessary to us that his Magnificence should be informed of it, so that he may in return communicate to us his views with regard to it; and that it is for that purpose that we have sent you to perform this office of good friends.

You will also have letters of credence to the Balia of the city of Sienna, which you will present or not according as may seem fit to the Magnificent Pandolfo; and in all matters connected with this mission you will act in such manner as he may deem best. You will likewise have a letter for Messer Francesco da Narni, to whom you will explain the object of your mission.

You will tell him of the confidence which we have in his Lordship, and of our hopes of obtaining through him the object respecting which we have spoken with him. You will urge him to do all he can, and to lose no opportunity of doing it; and you will communicate to him all the preparations and provisions we have made, and you will tell him of our relations with France and with Rome, so far as may seem to you to be advisable. The conditions of the league which it has been proposed to form with the above-named parties for the common defence of the states which they have in Italy, are the following, viz.: — That we are to keep five hundred men-at-arms, and they six hundred men; but until we shall have recovered the places which we have lost we shall not have to furnish more than three hundred men-at-arms, and they likewise, so that the obligation shall be equal on both sides. But after recovering what we have lost, both parties will have to furnish their full quota. The friends and enemies of both shall be common friends and enemies, without in any way derogating from any other special treaties which any of the parties may have with his Majesty the king of France. And if any of the contracting parties acts adversely to his Majesty, then the league becomes thereby null and void. Within the period of one month, the parties must make known their adherents and clients; but neither party can protect rebels or banish persons. And any difficulties that may arise shall be subject to the decision of the king, whose consent to the treaty is an indispensable condition.

And so soon as you shall have executed and carried into effect the above instructions, you will immediately return, unless there should be some special reason why you should write to us and await our answer.*

From the Florentine Palace on the day and date above written.

Seal of the Magistrates of the Ten of Liberty and Peace.

Decem Viri Libertatis et Baliæ Republ. Florent.

Marcellus.

* Machiavelli returned immediately to Florence, without writing any letters from Sienna.

MISSION TO THE COURT OF ROME.

October 24, 1503.

The object of this mission of Machiavelli to Rome was nominally to present to the Florentine Ambassador at Rome, Francesco Soderini, Cardinale di Volterra, certain modifications in the engagement of Gianpaolo Baglioni to serve the king of France in his contest with the Spaniards under the famous Captain Gonsalvo de Cordova in the kingdom of Naples. This engagement of Baglioni had been negotiated by the Cardinal Volterra, and was to be paid for by the Florentine government, and was to be credited to the Florentines on their indebtedness to the king of France, and at the same time was to secure to the Florentines the aid and support of King Louis XII. against the aggressions of the Venetians. If the proposed modifications were accepted, then Machiavelli was to ratify the agreement; but if not, then he was to leave the agreement unratified, etc.; in all of which, however, he was to be governed by the advice of the Cardinal Volterra. At the same time Machiavelli was specially instructed to keep the Signoria of Florence diligently informed from day to day of all that occurred worthy of note. The events then transpiring at Rome were of the utmost interest and importance. After the death of Pius III., who had occupied the Papal chair but twenty-six days, Giuliano della Rovere, Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincola, was elected Pope. Cesare Borgia had supported the candidacy of Giuliano della Rovere, and induced his friends the Spanish cardinals to vote for him in the conclave, expecting that in return the new Pope would not only support his claims to the Romagna, but would also give him the appointment of Captain-General of the Papal forces, which he claimed to have been promised to him by Giuliano prior to his election. As we have seen in Machiavelli's despatches during his mission to the Duke of Valentinois, the military successes and the rapid rise of Cesare Borgia, so we see in his despatches during this mission to Rome the equally rapid decline of the Borgia's fortune. He had come to Rome to aid in the election of Julius II., not thinking that he thereby placed himself in the power of a man of greater duplicity and craftiness than himself. For besides his implacable enmity and personal hatred of Cesare Borgia, Julius II. considered the Romagna as the legitimate property of the Church, which he was resolved to recover for the Church at any cost; and therefore he not only disregarded the promises made to Cesare Borgia before his elevation to the pontificate, but actually had him arrested and imprisoned in the Castel San Angelo because Cesare Borgia refused to give up the

passwords for entering into the several strongholds which he still held in the Romagna, and which the Pope had demanded of him. Meantime the Venetians, ever eager to extend their dominion over the Romagna, took advantage of the absence of the Duke of Valentinois to seize Faenza and some other smaller towns in the Romagna, and at the same time threatened the adjoining possessions of the Florentine republic. It was one of the objects of Machiavelli's mission to endeavor through the Cardinal d'Amboise, then at Rome, to obtain the aid and support of the king of France in their efforts to resist the aggressions of the Venetians; and at the same time, in conjunction with the Florentine Ambassador, the Cardinal Volterra, to urge the Pope to active measures against the Venetians.

COMMISSION AND INSTRUCTIONS

GIVEN TO NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI, SENT TO ROME BY THE TEN OF LIBERTY, ETC., 24 OCTOBER, 1503.*

NICCOLO, — You will proceed with all diligence to Rome, bearing with you our several letters of credence to those most reverend Cardinals whose good will it is most important to conciliate, such as Rouen, San Giorgio, Santo Severino, Ascanio, San Pietro in Vincola, and Santa Prassede.† You will

* Pope Alexander VI. died August 18th, 1503, and on the 22d of September of the same year Francesco Piccolomini was chosen his successor, who took the name of Pius III. He died on the 18th of October, after having held the Pontificate only twenty-six days. On the 1st of November of the same year Giuliano della Rovere, Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincola, was elected Pope, taking the name of Julius II. In the interval whilst the Papal chair was vacant in consequence of the death of Pius III., Machiavelli was sent to Rome, chiefly to the Cardinal Francesco Soderini, to whom he presented the following credentials, in the original on parchment: —

"Reverendissime in Christo Pater, etc. Reddet Reverendiss: D. V. literas has "nostras, Nicolaus Machiavellus, civis et secretarius noster: sub fide quarum "nonnulla explicabit quæ nos illi mandavimus. Precamur ob id Reverendissi- "mam D. V. fidem illi habere certissimam in omnibus quæ nostro nomine referet. "Quæ felicissime valeat.

"EX PALATIO NOSTRO die 23 Octobris MDIII.

"PRIORES LIBERTATIS
"ET VEXILLIFER IUSTITIÆ POPULI FLORENTINI.

"MARCELLUS."

† The Cardinal Rouen was Georges d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen; the Cardinal San Giorgio was Raffaello Riario di Savona; San Severino was the Cardinal Federigo San Severino of Milan, with the title of San Teodoro; the Cardinal Ascanio was Maria Sforza, son of the Duke of Milan, with the

present yourself to these Cardinals in our name, and make known to each of them, that we had within the last few days appointed ambassadors,* who were all ready to start when we heard of the death of Pope Pius III., which greatly afflicted our whole city. And that although these ambassadors will not go now, yet we did not wish to fail in our duty, and have sent you to express to them our deep grief at this event, and our desire that they may give to the late Pontiff a successor such as the needs of Christendom and of Italy require; and that, knowing such to be also their desire, we offer them all the assistance in our power to that end.

You will regulate your language as you may deem best to suit each of these Cardinals, and according to the information which you will receive from our most reverend Cardinal,† with whom you will confer before anything else, and according to whose suggestions you will regulate your conduct. You will take with you also a copy of the military engagement of the Baglioni, concluded within the past few days in our name by his Eminence; and a minute of our declaration, which we desire to be added to it. In all this you will observe the following order; namely, you will first confer on the subject with our said most reverend Cardinal, and you will make him understand our wishes that he should explain, in accordance with that minute, that clause of the engagement relative to our being relieved of the expenses and the damages, etc., etc., and that we shall have the right, whenever we may have need of them, to claim the services of the four hundred lances provided for in the engagement. And that his Eminence will speak of it to the Cardinal d'Amboise, either in your presence or in private, and in such manner as he may deem best, so that the latter may understand it the same as we do; which should present no difficulty, as it appears plainly in the written instrument. And if our declaration is agreed to according to the said minute, then you will ratify the same, for which pur-

title of Cardinale dei SS. Tito e Modesto Martiri; Cardinale Giuliano della Rovere had the title of San Pietro in Vincola; Antonio Pallavicini of Genoa was Cardinale di Santa Prassede.

* The ambassadors appointed on the election of Pius III. were Messer Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop of Arezzo; Messer Antonio Maligonella, Messer Francesco Pepi, Matteo di Lorenzo Strozzi, and Tommaso Paolo Antonio Soderini.

† This was the Cardinal Francesco Soderini of Florence, Bishop of Volterra, with the title of Santa Susanna.

pose we have given you our power; and you will bring back with you an authenticated copy of that ratification.

Should his Eminence Cardinal d'Amboise, however, make any difficulty on the subject, then you will not ratify the engagement, but will write to us immediately and await our further instructions. And in case difficulty is made, then it will be your business to terminate this affair in accordance with the terms of our declaration. Should it be objected that perhaps we will not pay, and that thus the king would not be served, you will reply that, if the agreement is not concluded within a certain number of days, we would be willing, Gianpaolo also consenting, to fall back upon the old agreement, in so far as we may have failed to fulfil our obligations. It being understood, nevertheless, that one payment to the king or to Gianpaolo shall be deemed sufficient.

In the same way, should either the Cardinal d'Amboise or Gianpaolo make any difficulty, and object to a mere oral ratification in that form, you may offer and promise them a ratification by your government in due form, which would be sent as required, after our first having received notice from you to that effect.

Beyond this we have no further particular instructions to give you, save that during your stay in Rome you will keep us diligently informed from day to day of all that may occur worthy of notice.

LETTER I.

Magnificent Signori: —

I wrote yesterday to inform your Lordships of my arrival here.* By the present I desire to communicate to you what has been done in relation to the first part of your instructions, and what I have since learned of the state of things here. Your Lordships will bear in mind that, after having decided that the engagement of Gianpaolo Baglioni should be ratified with suitable reserves, you so notified the Cardinal Volterra. His Eminence fully comprehended your intentions as communicated to him by your letter; but as the time for ratifying

* This first despatch is missing.

the convention was passing, and the Cardinal being ignorant of the fact that I was about to be sent here for that purpose, he prepared a letter which he intended the Cardinal d'Amboise should send you signed with his own hand. This letter in substance contained no more than the form of the declaration which your Lordships had given me, and to which I was to conform in my proceedings.

His Eminence was occupied with this matter when I arrived and submitted to him my commission. He was pleased to find that your views corresponded with his own, and, ceasing further efforts to have the aforesaid letter signed by the Cardinal d'Amboise, he informed him and the President, who was charged with this matter, that an envoy had been sent by your Lordships for the express purpose of ratifying the agreement. His Eminence afterwards directed me to confer with the Cardinal d'Amboise, but owing to his many occupations I could not see him until this evening at the fourth hour. In view of the times and circumstances, our Cardinal had directed me to say to the Cardinal d'Amboise, in substance, that your Lordships felt no less solicitude for the interests of the king than for your own; and as, much to their regret, they had heard many things unfavorable to his Majesty, they felt it to be their duty as faithful friends to mention them to him with all respect, so that he might give them such attention as they deserved. I thereupon told the Cardinal d'Amboise that it was reported in Florence that the French army had turned back, that the troops that were in Lombardy had in great part returned to France, and that the Venetians were in force in Romagna, and intended to make themselves masters of that province. Also that it was feared the Germans, either of their own accord or at the instigation of others, were about to make an incursion into Lombardy; and that all these things caused the greatest uneasiness to your Lordships, who desired to suggest to his Eminence that it was time to increase the French forces in Italy, and rather to abandon other enterprises, etc., etc. I told him, furthermore, that I had been sent to ratify the engagement of Gianpaolo Baglioni, with full authority for that purpose, whenever the agreement was so drawn that the republic of Florence should be at no greater charges and should have no less advantages than under the convention made with his Majesty. To all of which the Cardinal d'Amboise replied,

that he thanked your Lordships for the suggestions; that he had seriously thought of it all, and was here for no other purpose, etc., etc.; and that as to the engagement of Gianpaolo Baglioni, he would co-operate with the Cardinal Volterra, and that everything should be settled in due form.

I then reported to our Cardinal all that D'Amboise had said in reply to the one and the other point; and in relation to the engagement of Baglioni we came to the conclusion that, having done our duty on our part, we would wait for the others to do theirs, and thus we shall act.

I think this letter will be brought to you by M. de Mellon, who is sent by the Cardinal d'Amboise to your Lordships at Florence, and then to Bologna and Ferrara; and afterwards to Urbino, to complain of the damage done to the Duke Valentino in his state of Romagna. The entrance of Ordelaffo into Furli, which everybody here lays to your charge, has filled the Cardinal San Giorgio with indignation on account of his nephews, and has also to some extent angered the Cardinal d'Amboise on account of the Duke Valentino. This morning M. de Trans and the President expressed their displeasure about this affair to his Eminence of Volterra. The latter had me called to him, and I justified your Lordships in regard to all these proceedings in Romagna, of which, as your Lordships know, I am thoroughly informed. And then, by way of pacifying the Duke and making him some reparation, it was decided to send M. Mellon or some one else to him. His Excellency is at this moment at Castello, and is more confident than ever of accomplishing his great projects, in the expectation that the election of the new Pope will be in accordance with the desires of his partisans. As the obsequies of Pius III. will terminate to-day, the Cardinals should go into conclave to-morrow; but it is said that they will not do so until Bartolommeo d' Alviano and the Orsini shall have withdrawn from Rome; they being here, the one, as some say, with three hundred men-at-arms, and the other with two hundred, or a less number as is said by some. They have had money wherewith to raise one thousand infantry, but we have no evidence of their having put many on foot.

Gianpaolo is in quarters in the suburbs; his friends say that he has one hundred men-at-arms, and he has already received five thousand ducats on account of his engagement, and three

thousand ducats for every one thousand infantry, but which no one has as yet seen. I have not yet been able to speak with him, and in truth I have spoken with but few others, excepting our Cardinal, so that I am not able to give you such information about matters here as I would like. But I shall use all diligence and make every effort to do my duty.

All I have learned respecting the French army is that they presented themselves before San Germano, and offered battle to the Spanish commander Gonsalvo de Cordova, who declined it. And as the French doubted their ability to take the place, they concluded to return and to attempt a passage somewhere else. It is said that they are at Ponte Coneo, and that they are marching in the direction of Gaeta for the purpose of passing the Garigliano.

Opinions differ as to the election of the new Pope, and yet I can only say to your Lordships that it is supposed that San Pietro in Vincola will not have more than thirty-two votes, and Santa Prassede twenty-two.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 28 October, 1503.

LETTER II.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Yesterday I had a discussion with the President, to whom the Cardinal d'Amboise has committed the negotiations respecting the matter of Gianpaolo Baglioni. Taking all the arguments together, I do not see that we shall be able to obtain from the Cardinal d'Amboise any declaration in accordance with the instructions which you have given me, until he shall have come out of the conclave; for the election of the Pope keeps him so much occupied that he has real grounds for being excused. And as the Cardinals insist that the foreign troops shall leave Rome upon their going into conclave, and as on the other hand Gianpaolo will not leave until he has the remainder of his pay, I believe it will have to come to this, that the Cardinal d'Amboise will give to your Lordships an acquittance for six thousand ducats, which sum you will pay to Gianpaolo for the

remainder of his pay, and which will be credited to you on account of the ten thousand ducats which you have to pay to his Majesty on All Saints' Day. And according to what Domenico Martello tells me, you will have all the month of November to settle it in. Thus I believe that the affair of Gianpaolo can best be arranged for the present, and in truth, seeing how overwhelmed the Cardinal d'Amboise is with his many occupations, we cannot expect anything more.

According to report, Bartolommeo Alviano leaves to-morrow to rejoin the Spaniards. Gianpaolo tells me that he has not more than two hundred men-at-arms and three hundred infantry. In examining well the object of these new engagements made by the Spaniards as well as the French, it is evident that the object is more to increase their reputation than the number of their troops; for in consequence of the great enmities which these Condottieri have stirred up in the different Roman towns, they are looked upon more as brigands than as soldiers. And being entirely controlled by their own passions, they cannot well serve a third party; and the treaties of peace which they conclude amongst themselves only last until a fresh occasion presents itself for injuring each other. Whoever is here on the spot has the daily experience of this; and those who know them only temporize with them until they can do without them.

Gianpaolo is to take the route through Tuscany; for he wanted to do so, saying that he must form his company at home; and altogether the Cardinal d'Amboise cares little about it. I believe, as I have mentioned above, that he will come with an order upon your Lordships for his pay, which payment will go on account of what we owe the king, according to the authentic acquittances.

To-day whilst in the apartment of the Cardinal Volterra, the President and M. de Trans called there, and showed the Cardinal a letter which M. d'Allegri had written to the Marquis of Mantua, dated at Trani on the 24th instant; saying that he was there with three hundred men-at-arms and two thousand infantry, and that he had sent for the Viceroy to come and join him with three thousand infantry and with the artillery; and that so soon as the Viceroy should have arrived he would promptly cross the Garigliano, which presented no difficulty; and therefore he urged the Marquis to join him with all the

remainder of his army. He informed him also that he had just received news of the fleet; that it had gone to Naples, which city had revolted against the Spaniards, and had opened its gates to the king's troops. This letter, as I have said, was written by M. d'Allegri to the Marquis of Mantua, who sent the original to the Cardinal d'Amboise, and wrote him on the 25th that he would start the following day with the army to join M. d'Allegri. I communicate this news to your Lordships as I have heard it read, and you will judge of it as it deserves, and wait for its confirmation.

Having received this morning your Lordships' letter of the 24th, containing the excuses which I am to make to the Cardinal San Giorgio on account of the entrance of Ordelaffo into Furli, I called at once upon his Eminence, and after some preliminary remarks I read him your Lordships' letter, which seemed to cover the ground and calculated to produce a good effect. His Eminence observed to me that in all matters men looked more to the result than to the means; and that the result of this affair was that Ordelaffo had entered Furli, and that his own nephews found themselves driven out of it; that he readily believed that your Lordships could not have acted otherwise in this matter, for the reasons which you alleged, and which he was willing to admit. Still he assured your Lordships that, since you had been constrained by force not to sustain his nephews, they had been obliged in their turn to throw themselves into the arms of the Venetians, and seek support wherever they could find it for the protection of their interests. But with all this, he makes the most liberal offers of service to your Lordships.

The Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola seems to be so generally supported for the Papacy, that according to the opinion of every one that speaks on the subject, assuming that we may accept this universal opinion, one is bound to believe that he will be chosen. But as most frequently the Cardinals are of an entirely different opinion when they are outside of the conclave than when they are shut up, it is said by those who best understand matters here, that it is quite impossible to form any reliable judgment, and therefore we must patiently abide the result.

Having written to your Lordships yesterday evening a full account of the conversation which I had with the Cardinal

d'Amboise, I can think at present of nothing else of interest to communicate. I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ feliciter valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 29 October, 1503.

LETTER III.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote to your Lordships on the 28th, by M. de Mellon, and yesterday again I wrote at length and gave the letter to Giovanni Pandolfini, so that he might send it by the first opportunity. It remains for me now to inform your Lordships by the present that the Cardinals, having determined to go into conclave to-morrow, have compelled the troops that are here for account of Spain and France to leave Rome. Bartolommeo d' Alviano left this morning, and will halt this evening about twelve miles from here on the road to Naples. It is not positively known whether he will go any farther; his whole force, including that of the other Orsini, does not exceed two hundred men-at-arms. The Savelli have withdrawn into their own places, and Giovanpaolo will lodge to-night at Ruosi, a place about fifteen miles from here on the road to Tuscany; his entire force, not counting the company of Messer Brandino, does not amount to more than sixty men-at-arms. True he says that he intends completing his company when he shall have received his pay. I believe that he will go into cantonments in the Perugian territory; for he has expressed that intention, and the authorities of Perugia will permit him to do so, unless something unforeseen should occur. As to the ratification of the engagement I can tell you nothing more than what I wrote yesterday, for the Cardinal d'Amboise is so exceedingly occupied with going into the conclave that he cannot give that matter any attention now. But I believe that to-morrow, before entering into the conclave, those who are acting here for Giovanpaolo will endeavor to obtain a letter from the Cardinal drawn up in the way which I mentioned in my despatch of yesterday, according to which your Lordships will be authorized, out of the ten thousand ducats which we owe to the king of France, to pay six thousand to Giovanpaolo for his compensation in full; the Cardinal d'Amboise guaranteeing by his letter that such payment shall be accounted the same as though made by you to the king direct. When Giovanpaolo shall have received this sum of six thousand ducats, he will have been paid somewhat in advance of what is due him; and if he goes to Tuscany, as it seems likely he will, your Lordships may perhaps have occasion to avail of his services there. I have talked at length with him upon this point, and found him so well disposed, and even eager to render you any service, that it is more than could have been expected of him, even had he been a native Florentine. Your Lordships will bear this in mind, so that in case of need you may claim his services, if you see that it will be of advantage for the internal affairs of Florence.

The Cardinals, as I have said before, will go into conclave to-morrow, unless something unexpected should occur; and the opinion that the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola will be elected has gained ground to that extent that there are persons here who admit that he will have sixty per cent of the votes. And in truth he is largely supported, and knows how to win the Cardinals by all the means that can be employed for that purpose. The Duke Valentino is made much of by those who are anxious to be elected to the Papacy, on account of the Spanish Cardinals, who are in his interest, and many Cardinals call upon him daily at the castle, so that it is generally thought that whoever may be elected Pope will be under great obligations to the Duke; whilst he lives in the hope of being in turn supported by the new Pope.

The Cardinal d'Amboise is very active in the matter, and the greater part of the Cardinals that come to the palace confer much with him. But it is not known whether he favors the election of the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola; if he does, then there can be no question as to his success; but we must patiently await the result. The news I wrote you yesterday respecting Naples, and that the French were about to cross the Garigliano, has not been confirmed since then. It is true we have no accounts to the contrary, and, as the roads between the camp and here are destroyed, letters reach here only with the greatest difficulty. By way of not omitting anything to obtain information, I have written in duplicate to Luca Savello, requesting him to keep me informed from time to time as to

the state of things there. It is reported that the Italian men-at-arms that were with the French have in great part deserted. Some ascribe it to the dangers to which they were exposed; others, to the treatment they had experienced; others again attribute it to their natural cowardice. I have myself seen some twenty men-at-arms arrive here who had been with the Duke Valentino, and whom he had sent into the kingdom of Naples to serve the king of France. They have taken quarters here in Rome, some say at the instance of the Sacred College; others maintain that they have stopped by order of the Duke himself, in the hope of availing of their services after the election of the Pope.

I have written and shall continue to write daily, and shall send my letters to Giovanni Pandolfini to forward them to your Lordships; for having no instructions from you on this point I have no other means of sending my letters. If your Lordships desire immediate news of the result of the election of the new Pope, you must advise me, and give me authority to incur the necessary expenses; and if not, then I must endeavor to send my letters by other opportunities, which, however, are not to be relied upon. And so I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 30 October, 1503.

P. S. — It is now the third hour of the night, and after having written all the above I receive your letter of the 26th, informing me of the loss of Faenza to the Duke. Having returned to my lodgings, and it not being safe for me to be out at night, I have sent the information to the Cardinal Volterra by a simple note, and shall talk the matter over with him to-morrow in person. I can really say nothing on this subject unless that, with regard to the dangers which your Lordships indicate, I see no remedy here; for the French, at whose hands help was expected, have quite enough to occupy them. The only hope that remains is that the Duke may succeed in obtaining the support of the new Pope, as it is generally believed that he will; and that the governor of the citadel may hold out until the Duke can come to his assistance.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LETTER IV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

My last was of the 30th of October, and was sent through the Del Bene; amongst other things, I wrote you what the general opinion here is respecting the new Pope, and that the Cardinals were to go into conclave on the following day. The belief that San Pietro in Vincola will be chosen has grown to that degree, that before the closing of the conclave they conceded to him ninety per cent of the votes; for it had become known that his two most influential opponents, who were likely to prevent his election, had become reconciled to him. These were the Cardinal d'Amboise and the Spanish Cardinals, friends of the Duke, who have all changed in his favor. The reason why the Cardinal d'Amboise has thus changed is said to be that his suspicions were excited against the Cardinal Ascanio, and because it had been demonstrated to him that they could not make a Pope who would more effectually deprive Ascanio of all influence than San Pietro in Vincola, who had always looked upon Ascanio as an enemy. But as to the Spanish Cardinals and the Duke Valentino, it is easy to conjecture the influences to which they have yielded; which are that the latter needs to be re-established, and the former want to be enriched. If this has really been the way, then we shall know it better in the course of the day. In short, San Pietro in Vincola will have known how to employ the means of persuasion better than the others, if he should be made Pope, which may now be looked upon as certain. For at this very moment, it being the eighth hour of the night, at the very turn of the 1st of November, a servant of the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola comes into my chamber, just from the palace, and tells me that the conclavist of that Cardinal had received five notes, one after the other, from the Cardinal San Pietro, informing him of the unanimity of the Cardinals to make him Pope; notwithstanding that at the beginning it was understood that there were seven Cardinals in favor of Santa Prassede, and that foremost amongst these was Ascanio. He told me further that the last of these notes directed him to despatch this news to Savona and to Sinigaglia, and that the new Pope had taken the name of Julius II., and that couriers had been despatched with the news. These events,

and many others that succeed each other from one moment to another, well merit being communicated to you by express; but I have no orders to that effect from your Lordships, nor am I authorized to incur such an expense; and during the night I can neither send nor go myself to inquire whether any one else is despatching a courier to Florence, for it is not safe to venture out at night here. The individual that came here from the palace was escorted by twenty armed men. I shall therefore wait for daylight, and if I then find any one who will take my letter I shall send it, and shall then also be able to give you more certain information. And by way of excusing myself once for all, I would say that your Lordships will observe that I write daily; but as to sending off my letters, I must avail myself of such opportunities as others afford me.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, at the 8th hour of night, between the last day of October and the first day of November.

LETTER V.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Under favor of God, I inform your Lordships that the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola was this morning proclaimed Pope. May Heaven make him a useful pastor for all Christendom!

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 1 November, 1503.

LETTER VI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote to your Lordships last night, and repeated this morning, the news of the election of the new Pope in the person of the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola, who has taken the name of Julius II. I write the present with the view of sending it by another opportunity, as I was not in time to send

it with the courier whom the Del Bene despatched this morning at one o'clock. The creation and proclamation of this new Pope has really been quite extraordinary, for the election took place in open conclave. So soon as the Cardinals came together, which was about midnight, they caused it to be published abroad; and it was upon this publication that the letters were written; and although we are now at the fifteenth hour, yet the customary formalities for the publication of the election have not yet been complied with. When we reflect well upon the support which the new Pope received in his election, we cannot but look upon it as almost miraculous; for the many parties into which the Sacred College is divided have all given him their support. The king of France as well as the king of Spain had written to the College in his favor, and even the barons of the opposite faction had given him their support. San Giorgio favored him, and so did the Duke Valentino, to that extent that he was enabled to attain this exalted post. Our countrymen were greatly delighted at it, and found great hopes upon his election, both on their own account as well as on account of the public. And yesterday morning a person in high position told me that if Pietro in Vincola succeeded in being chosen Pope, we might hope great advantages from it for our republic, for he has already made greater promises than customary.

This is all I have at present to communicate, excepting to recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 1 November, 1503.

LETTER VII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

This is the fourth letter I have written to your Lordships on the election of the Cardinal San Pietro in Vincola to the new Pontificate under the name of Julius II. I should not have written the present one were it not that in conversing to-day, after the conclusion of the ceremonies, with his Eminence the Cardinal Volterra, he told me that "they had to-night, after "the election of the new Pope, distributed by lot the charge of

"the different fortresses belonging to the Church. That San "Giorgio had drawn Citerna, and that he, Volterra, had drawn "certain others; and that in his opinion, unless some measures "were taken, you would not be able to retain Citerna. And "therefore he advised your Lordships that with your approval "he would endeavor to effect an exchange with San Giorgio; "so that he would keep Citerna and give to San Giorgio one "of the fortresses that had fallen to his lot. That in this way "the matter would be facilitated, as in fact it would not then "be looked at so closely." His Eminence charged me to write to you on the subject, and to solicit a prompt reply.

I have nothing further to communicate to your Lordships respecting matters here, having sent you a long letter this morning about the election of Giuliano della Rovere to the Pontificate. He will have enough to do to fulfil all the promises he has made, for many of them are contradictory; but he is Pope now, and we shall soon see what course he is going to take, and which are the parties to whom he has promised in good earnest. At any rate it is evident that he has had very zealous friends in the College, which is attributed to the fact that he himself has always been a true and devoted friend, and that therefore he found good friends when he needed them. Our countrymen are all rejoiced at his election, for there are many Florentines here who are very intimate with him; and his Eminence of Volterra told me to-day that there had not been a Pope for many years from whom our republic had reason to hope so much as from Julius II., provided they knew how to accommodate themselves to the times. A number of Florentines have begged me to write to you that the appointing of only five deputies to congratulate Pius III. on his election had caused everybody to believe that Florence was not well pleased at his election to the Pontificate; and therefore they suggested most humbly to your Lordships to revise the appointment and to send six, as in the case of Alexander VI. and Sixtus IV.

From the French camp and from the Spaniards nothing more has been heard than what I have written to your Lordships; and as the camp is broken up, we shall have no further advices from there. Giovanpaolo and Bartolommeo d' Alviano must be a little beyond where they were to have passed the first night after leaving Rome. Nothing further has been done with regard to the engagement of Giovanpaolo; nor was that

letter of exchange ever drawn upon your Lordships which his friends wanted for his payment. From which I draw the favorable inference that the Cardinal d'Amboise no longer fears Giovanpaolo as much as when he engaged him.

It is thought that the Orsini will cause your Archbishop to be made Cardinal, and that his archbishopric will fall into the hands of some Florentine prelate. I have heard more than one name suggested, and therefore do not mention any. I recommend myself to your Lordships, and think it would be apropos that you should with the utmost promptitude cause a letter to be sent to the newly elected Pontiff, so that I may present myself to him with due ceremony; and that, if such a letter is sent, I may be furnished with a copy, so that my address to him may correspond with your letter.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 1 November, 1503.

LETTER VIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

My last letters were of the 1st, on which day I wrote four letters to your Lordships and sent them by the Martelli and the Del Bene, and therefore assume their safe arrival. Since then nothing new of any moment has occurred; and yet, as Carlo Martelli is going by post to Florence, I would not have him go without sending you this letter by him. Since the creation of the new Pope everything has been very quiet in this city; the troops of the Orsini have left, although we have not yet heard of their having passed Monte Ritondo, where they were to make their first halt; nor are they very numerous. In the same way, Gianpaolo Baglioni had also gone; it was in fact these troops who it was feared might sack the city. As I have already stated in my previous letters to your Lordships, the election of this Pope was almost unanimous; for with the exception of three or four Cardinals who themselves aspired to the Papacy, all the others supported him, and D'Amboise favored him without stint. It is said that the reason of this general support was that he had promised to each whatever they asked, and consequently it is thought that

the difficulty will be in the fulfilling of these promises. To the Duke Valentino, who has been of more service than any one else, it is said, he has promised to reinstate him in all his possessions in Romagna, and that he has given him Ostia as security, where the Duke keeps Mottino with two vessels of war. The Duke is lodged in that part of the papal palace called "the new rooms," where he has some fifty of his retainers with him; it is not known whether he will depart or remain. Some say that he will go to Genoa, where he has most friends, and that from there he will go into Lombardy to raise troops, and that then he will move to Romagna. And this is very probable, for he has some two hundred thousand ducats or more in the hands of the Genoese merchants. Others say that he has no intentions of leaving Rome, and will await the coronation of the Pope, so as to be made Gonfalonier of the Church, in accordance with the promises made to him by Julius II.; and that by means of the reputation which this will give him he hopes to recover his states. Others again, who are no less sagacious, think that, inasmuch as the Pontiff had need of the Duke in his election, and having made him great promises therefor, he finds it advisable now to feed the Duke on hope; and they fear that, if the latter should not decide upon any other course than to remain in Rome, he may be kept there longer than may be agreeable to him; for the Pope's innate hatred of him is notorious. And it is not to be supposed that Julius II. will so quickly have forgotten the ten years of exile which he had to endure under Pope Alexander VI. The Duke meantime allows himself to be carried away by his sanguine confidence, believing that the word of others is more to be relied upon than his own; and that the promise of a family alliance ought to be of some avail, for it is said that the marriage of Fabio Orsino with the sister of Borgia is definitely agreed upon; and also that the Duke's daughter is to be married to the Little Prefect.*

* This "Little Prefect" (Prefettino) was Maria della Rovere, son of Giovanni, Duke of Urbino, and Joanna Montefeltro. Immediately on his father's death at Sinigaglia, in 1501, he succeeded at the age of eleven years, under the guardianship of his mother and his uncles, the then Cardinal Giuliano (now Pope Julius II.) and the Duke Guido, not only to the lordship of Sinigaglia and to that of other states, but also to the Prefecture of Rome. He married Eleanor, the daughter of the Marquis Francesco Gonzaga; he was general in the service of the Church, of the Florentines, and of the Venetians, and died in the year 1558.

I cannot tell your Lordships anything more of the Duke's affairs, nor can I make up my mind to any definite conclusions in relation to them; we must bide the time, which is the father of truth. I shall not attempt to tell your Lordships of all the engagements and promises made to the barons and cardinals, for they are just what each one asked for. Romolino is to have the Chancellorship of Justice, and Borgia that of Prisons; but it is not yet known whether they will really take possession of these offices. And as I have said above, it seems as though the Pope would be obliged to temporize with them all; but he cannot delay much longer to declare and make known whose friend he really means to be. Gianpaolo, as I anticipated from the first, is taking the route to Perugia with the consent of the Cardinal d'Amboise, and will ask permission of your Lordships to quarter a portion of his forces at Cortona; and the Cardinal d'Amboise has requested me to write to your Lordships to be pleased to grant the request. Up to the present moment the agreement with Gianpaolo is not ratified, as it has been impossible to transact any business with the Cardinal d'Amboise. By way of enabling him to pay the remainder of his obligation to Gianpaolo, that Cardinal has written a letter to your Lordships, asking you to pay him, and promising that the amount shall be credited you on your indebtedness to the king of France. D'Amboise justifies his course at length in that letter, which is signed and sealed by his own hand. Should your Lordships deem it prudent to make this payment to Baglioni, then you will be able to avail of his services, even if his engagement should not be concluded, which is quite possible, as he will have received six months' pay at the expense of others; but we do not by any means despair of concluding his engagement.

The French troops are all encamped on the upper side of the Garigliano, and although they have captured certain towers in that direction held for the Spaniards, they are now occupied in constructing a bridge over the river. And although the enemy is on the opposite side of the river, yet they say that with the aid of their fleet they cannot be prevented from crossing the river. The letter that brings this news is of the 30th ultimo, and says that the French talk very confidently. Certain Pisan envoys have arrived here for the purpose of felicitating the new Pope upon his election; and his Eminence

of Volterra has arranged with the Pope that, when these envoys present themselves to address him, his Holiness is to say to them that it is his office to pacify Italy, and that inasmuch as Pisa by its revolt was the cause of the war, so he intends now to make her the means of peace by uniting her with Florence; and the Pope has promised to say this.

In my previous letter I wrote to your Lordships in relation to Citerna, and that the Cardinal Volterra had proposed that you should allow him to arrange with the Cardinal San Giorgio to obtain Citerna from him, so as to conceal in some way your possession of that fortress. I await your reply to that proposition. I think I shall present myself to his Holiness either to-day, or at the latest by to-morrow, and will inform your Lordships of the result.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 4 November, 1503.

LETTER IX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I sent my last of the 4th to your Lordships by Carlo Martelli, and, believing that it must have reached you safely, I did not write again by the courier. Having informed you in that letter of all that has been done with regard to the engagement of Gianpaolo, and that the Cardinal d'Amboise had written a letter to your Lordships requesting you to pay the remainder of his obligation to Baglioni, I shall say no more on that subject, as nothing new has occurred since; and I shall wait here until called upon, when I shall reply in accordance with your instructions. I have now to inform your Lordships that I presented myself yesterday at the feet of the Pontiff and expressed to him in your name the pleasure which his promotion to the Pontificate had given you; and having explained the reasons of this satisfaction on your part, I offered to his Holiness all that the power of your republic could do for the glory and prosperity of his Pontificate. His Holiness seemed pleased at this offer, and showed himself most grateful for all that I had said to him; saying in reply, that he had always counted upon our republic, but now that his power and authority had been

so much increased, he desired to show his affection for her in every possible way, especially as being under the greatest obligations to his Eminence of Volterra, who had been in great measure instrumental in his election to the exalted dignity of the Pontificate. And thus after these customary ceremonies I took my leave. After that I received your Lordships' letter of the 2d instant, in which you state that you have received the news of the election of the new Pope, and express surprise at not having had any letters from me. I think that you must have received immediately after writing to me four of my letters. It is not my fault that they have not reached you sooner, for the Del Bene gave me no notice of their despatching a courier on the night of the election. And I do not blame them, for they told me the next morning that they were under the impression that the letters which I had previously given them to forward contained the result of the election. Be that as it may, I think that your Lordships will be satisfied with my subsequent letters.

As yours of the 2d gave an account of the ruin of Romagna and of the disposition of the Venetians, as well as of the condition of things generally in that direction, his Eminence of Volterra was of the opinion that I ought immediately to communicate this information to the Pope, and the Cardinal d'Amboise was of the same opinion when he heard it. I therefore went to his Holiness and read him your letter. He said that Dionisio di Naldo, chief of the Valle di Lamona, rather supported the cause of the Duke Valentino than that of the Venetians, and that these matters would take a different shape when once his election to the Papacy was known; and that they had gone on thus because they had been ignorant of his election; but that he would speak to D'Amboise on the subject. After leaving his Holiness I spoke to their Eminences Ascanio, San Giorgio, and San Severino about it, and reminded them that it was not a question of the liberty of Tuscany, but of that of the Church; and that, if the Venetians were permitted to increase their power beyond what it was already, the Pope would end by being nothing more than the chaplain of the Venetians; and that it was their business to look to this matter, inasmuch as they might become heirs to the papal dignity; that we on our part had called their attention to it in time, and offered them what little assistance it was in our power to render.

These Cardinals showed that they felt the importance of the matter, and promised to do all that was possible. I also spoke to the Duke, and communicated the news to him, which seemed to me proper for the purpose of finding out how he felt on the subject, and whether there was anything to fear or to hope from him. When he heard of the affair of the Castellan of Imola and the attack of the Venetians upon Faenza, he became greatly excited and began to complain bitterly of your Lordships, saying that you had always been his enemies, and that it was of you and not of the Venetians that he had cause to complain. For with a hundred men you might have secured those states, but that you did not want to do it; but that he would manage so that you should be the first to repent of it. And now that Imola was lost to him, he would raise no more troops, nor risk losing what he had left for the sake of trying to recover what he had lost. That he would no longer be deluded by you, but would with his own hands turn over all that was left to him to the Venetians; and he believed that he would very soon see our republic ruined, and that then it would be his turn to laugh. As to the French, they would either lose the kingdom of Naples, or they would have their hands so full that they would not be able to render you any assistance. And then he went on speaking with great animosity and vehemence. I lacked neither matter nor words to answer him, and yet I thought it best to soothe him, and managed as adroitly as I could to break off the interview, which seemed to me to have lasted a thousand years.

I went again to see the Cardinals Volterra and Amboise, who were at table, and as they had been expecting me with the answer, I related to them precisely everything as it had occurred. D'Amboise was incensed at the language used by the Duke, and said: "God has never yet allowed any sin to go "unpunished, and he certainly will not allow those of Cesar "Borgia to pass." In my letter of the 4th I mentioned to your Lordships the whereabouts of the Duke at the time, and the conjectures that were being made with regard to him. Since then we have seen that he has been gathering troops; and such of his ministers as I am acquainted with tell me that he intends going to Romagna at any rate, with all the troops he can collect. Now that the fortress of Imola is lost, and having seen the consequent anger of the Duke, I cannot say

whether he may not change his purpose; at any rate, I can give your Lordships no further information respecting him. His Eminence of Amboise and the other Cardinals who watch the affairs of Italy think that with regard to Romagna one of two things will have to be done; namely, either to restore that province to the Church, or to hand it over to the king of France. Whether or not they will succeed in this I cannot tell, but I believe they will leave nothing undone to bring it about; and I really see no other remedy myself.

Of the French and Spanish troops I have at this moment nothing else to tell you but what I have already said in my letter of the 4th, no further news having been received here in relation to them. The French here are very hopeful that their army has passed the Garigliano, for the river being narrow their artillery is able to damage the enemy on the opposite shore, and having command of the sea they would be able to send some armed vessels up the river, so that the Spaniards will not be able to show themselves and prevent the French from crossing to the other side; and once having accomplished the passage of the river, they think that all else will be easy for them. This seems to me quite probable, for Gonsalvo has always kept himself behind his intrenchments, and has never shown himself in the open field. More than this I cannot write to your Lordships, but the end will show all. For once the French are not in want of money, for the Del Bene tell me that they have still fifty thousand ducats in sacks in their house, and there is no other money in circulation here but ducats.

The Pope will assume the tiara on Sunday, the 8th; that is, two weeks from to-day.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LETTER X.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote the enclosed to your Lordships yesterday, but the post to Ferrara was despatched this morning without any notice to me, which I could not foresee. I shall remind these

merchants again that they must perform their duty; I shall certainly not fail in mine. After my interview with the Duke yesterday, when I left him in the state of excitement of which I have given an account to your Lordships, he sent for his Eminence of Volterra; and to-day he sent for him again, and in both interviews, and more particularly in the last, the Duke told him, after the usual complaints, that he had letters of the 4th according to which the Castellan of Imola had not been killed, but was prisoner, and that the citadel and the place still held out for him; that the Signor Ottaviano (da Campo Fregoso) had appeared before Imola with a large force, but had been repulsed. He said further that Dionisio di Naldo sustained his party, and that the Venetians had no troops of any account. His Eminence seemed to think that this news had somewhat revived the hopes of the Duke that he might yet be able to recover his states. He complains of the French and of everybody else, and yet he expects to be made General of the forces of the Church, and believes that he will be so nominated by the consistory that is to be held to-morrow. His Eminence told him that despair was idle, as it most frequently turns to the disadvantage of him who yields to it; and on the other hand he encouraged him and made him fair promises on the part of your Lordships. We must wait now and see what the consistory will do to-morrow, and whether the Duke will succeed in getting that command, and if not, what his next plans will be; of all which your Lordships shall be duly informed. I should be glad to be instructed how I am to bear myself towards the Duke in any event, and whether I am to keep him in hopes, and how. There is no other news stirring here.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 7 November, 1503.

LETTER XI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

My last, under cover to Rucellai, were of the 6th and 7th, and were forwarded by a courier despatched by the Bolognese. I gave you therein full account of the condition of the Duke's

affairs, and of his expectations to be named General of the Holy Church at the first meeting of the consistory. This meeting took place yesterday, but according to what I hear, the subject of the Duke's affairs was not touched, and the consistory confined itself exclusively to ecclesiastical affairs, and to the regulations that are usually made at the beginning of every new Pontificate. The war between France and Spain was also discussed, and the advantage which it would be for all Christendom if they could settle their differences; and it appears that the new Pope is disposed to aid in bringing about such a settlement, if he has it in his power. The Duke's concerns therefore remain in the same uncertainty, and wise persons augur most unfavorably lest he should come to a bad end, although the new Pope has always been regarded as a man of entire good faith. The Duke has been raising men-at-arms here, and according to what some people have told me he has also sent into Lombardy to raise infantry, hoping to recover his states by means of these troops, and by the help of the reputation which he would derive from being Gonfalonier and General of the Holy Church. But having been disappointed in his hopes of being made Gonfalonier at the first consistory, I do not know whether he will change his plans, or whether he will persist in his efforts to obtain that appointment anyhow. I desire much to receive instructions from your Lordships as to what course I shall pursue with regard to the Duke. Here it is thought advisable to induce him to go to Florence, and to give him some guaranties for that purpose; but I know not whether your Lordships are of the same opinion.

His Eminence of Volterra and several other Cardinals have spoken to his Holiness in relation to the affairs of Romagna, and they think the Pope well disposed to prevent that province from falling into the hands of the Venetians; for after a good deal of discussion he said to them: "I have ever been the "friend of the Venetians, and am so still, provided they make "no unjust pretensions. But if they attempt to take what "belongs to the Church I shall do the utmost in my power to "prevent them, and will stir up all the princes of Christendom "against them." Our Cardinal thus feels assured that, so far as it depends on his Holiness, matters will go no further.

Letters from the French army inform the Cardinal d'Amboise that, having thrown a bridge over the Garigliano, a portion of

their forces crossed the river under protection of the artillery which they had on the bank of the river and on board of their vessels, and that the enemy had retreated with a portion of his artillery. The French intend now throwing two more bridges over the river, so as to secure their communications more effectually, by having both sides of the river occupied by the French. Sandricourt was the first to pass, and the Bailli d'Occan followed in the evening. Gonsalvo is about a mile distant, where he has thrown up some intrenchments. The French are resolved to fight and conquer, or to pursue him in case he should attempt to retreat. There is great rejoicing here amongst the French at this news; they seem to think that victory is theirs already. May God so direct things that all will be for the best!

Messer Bartolommeo d' Alviano and the Orsini are at Alagna, and it is said that they are busy completing their companies there. The Cardinal d'Amboise, on receiving the news of the passage of the Garigliano, has requested his Eminence of Volterra to write to Gianpaolo Baglioni to start immediately with what forces he may have, and to proceed in the direction of the Abruzzi. He has ordered the Savelli to do the same; and has begged our Cardinal to write to your Lordships to have the remainder of the sum due to Baglioni ready, so that he may not be delayed on that account.

A messenger has arrived here from Messer Ambrogio di Landriano, saying that the great expenses of the camp have entirely exhausted his means, and although the time for further payments has not yet arrived, yet he demands money. We have given him fair words, but await your instructions as to what course we are to follow with regard to him. He represents the army to be thoroughly united and in the best spirits, and that they have twice offered battle to the Spaniards, who each time declined it. In addition to the other measures which the Cardinal d'Amboise has taken on the receipt of the above news, he has written to the commanders to make publicly known to those Sicilian lords who adhere to the Spanish side, that they will be pardoned if even now they will join the French.

D'Amboise has news this morning that several places in the Abruzzi have revolted, which makes him the more anxious that the Savelli and Baglioni should go there; and he renews

his request that I should write to your Lordships to take such measures that there shall be no delay on account of the non-payment of the remainder of what is due to Gianpaolo. I believe that the ratification of his engagement, which should have been concluded ere this, will be promptly attended to. Nothing else of any interest.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 10 November, 1503.

LETTER XII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote to your Lordships this morning, and sent the letter under cover of his Eminence of Volterra; and it is quite possible that the bearer of this may also bring my previous one. I shall not repeat what I have written respecting the news from the Garigliano, nor shall I say anything touching the Duke, unless it be that I have understood from his people that he is much in earnest with his preparations to go to Romagna. It is quite possible he may take the route through Florence; and whilst I was making a visit to our Cardinal this evening, one of the Duke's men came to ask his Eminence for a letter in his favor to your Lordships, so as to permit him to pass securely through Florence. We shall be on the lookout, and you shall be advised of his movements. To-day, at noon, I received your Lordships' letters of the 3d, 4th, and 6th, the latter being the most important, as it contains the latest news respecting the condition of things in Romagna. I went immediately to the palace and found that his Eminence of Volterra was with the Pope; but as that letter seemed to me altogether such as might be communicated, and calculated to produce an impression, I sent it to the Cardinal by the hands of Messer Francesco del Castel del Rio, one of the Pope's chief officers. After a little while the Cardinal came out and told me that the news had greatly moved the Pope, who would anyhow send a deputy to the Venetians; and desired me to speak with his Holiness to-morrow morning to the same effect. Having returned to my lodgings about the twenty-fourth hour, I received your letter per express of the

8th, which contained the particulars respecting Faenza. It was too late to go to the Pope, and the Cardinal did not deem it well to speak to his Holiness so many times on the same day of the same thing. But we shall present ourselves early to-morrow morning before his Holiness to execute the commission with which your letter charges me, and to find out as far as possible his intentions; which, so far as we can judge, make us believe that he is so far from favoring the Venetians that they will have to desist from their attempt if the authority of the Pope or of those who represent him can suffice for the purpose. But which of the lords who have possessions in that province he will favor, it is believed, he has not yet determined upon; and that he is somewhat undecided in his own mind upon this point, for the reasons which I have on a former occasion explained to your Lordships; particularly as the Pope is said to be a man who at the beginning of his Pontificate would think more of making a great display at his coronation than of taking any extraordinary trouble about other matters. Nevertheless, we shall not fail to sound him in every possible way; both for the purpose of arousing him against the usurpers of other people's possessions, and also for the purpose of more fully understanding his designs, so that your Lordships may the better know what course to adopt in the events that may occur.

I commend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 10 November, 1530.

LETTER XIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

By my two letters of to-day I have informed your Lordships that the Duke is putting his troops in order for his departure to Romagna; and how he has obtained letters from his Eminence the Cardinal Volterra, from the Cardinal d'Amboise, and from the Pope, in his favor, and directed to your Lordships. I write the present at the suggestion of the Duke, to let your Lordships know that he has sent one of his own officers to you for the purpose of obtaining a safe-conduct from your Lordships, in accordance with the form herewith enclosed. I have been

requested to recommend this matter to your Lordships, and to beg you to expedite it promptly. The person who has spoken in the Duke's name says that his Excellency is in good spirits, and hopes, provided your Lordships do not become discouraged, very soon to recover his places from the hands of the Venetians, and to prevent them from executing their designs; as he has still a considerable amount of money left.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary.

ROME, 10 November, 1503.

LETTER XIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

By my last of yesterday I notified your Lordships of the receipt of your letter of the 8th, per express, and stated the reasons why I had delayed until this morning to communicate it to the Pope. His Holiness being indisposed, it was with difficulty that I could explain everything to him; nevertheless, he manifested great displeasure at the conduct of the Venetians, and if he had at this moment a strong force at his command, he would perhaps take things differently; for the present, he intends sending a deputy to Venice. His Holiness will not decide upon the matter by himself, nor will he consult the whole College, but only a few of the Cardinals of each order; for he considers such a decision as a grave matter, because of the consequences that may result from it. He says he will have to deliberate upon this through to-morrow. But so far as seemed to him well, he would now make show to believe that the Venetians in their conduct have been actuated by hatred of the Duke, or by some other special reason, and not by a desire to seize upon the states of the Church, of which his Holiness, as their immediate lord, intends always to keep the control in his own hands, so that he may dispose of them according to his judgment and the dictates of justice. And if such be the case, then it will be well indeed; but if not, then his Holiness will resort to the strongest measures, and will call upon all the other princes for aid against them, for he is determined not to let this matter pass lightly. His Holiness

says that he intends also to write to Ferrara and Bologna, and will here speak with the Cardinal of Este and the Protonotario Bentivogli on the subject. And by way of an immediate remedy for the state of things made known to him by your letter of the 6th, he has despatched a brother of Messer Francesco da Castel del Rio, and a Messer Baldassare Biascia, who are to seek Dionisio di Naldo, and are to endeavor, by even the largest promises, to bring him back to his allegiance to the Church. They are also to try and influence the other populations of that province to place themselves in the hands of the Pope, if they wish to escape from imminent perils, and put an end to all factions. And having been informed that the mere credit of his election had saved Fano, it seemed to him that he had already done not a little, and was therefore the more hopeful as to the rest. He told me also that the Venetians had already sent troops and banners into Fano, although they pretended that their object was to preserve it for the Church.

The Pope, moreover, urges your Lordships to do your utmost to save these states from falling into any other hands, no matter whose; and to advise and to labor to induce them to submit themselves to the Sovereign Pontiff, so that he may dispose of them according to the will of God and justice. It has been represented to his Holiness what you have already done up to the present time, and how honestly and frankly you have acted; but that the condition of your republic would not permit you to do more, and that it was necessary for his Holiness himself to oppose the attempts of the Venetians, etc., etc. This was the only conclusion we could arrive at.

I shall endeavor to urge the sending of this deputy to Venice, and we shall then see what results have been achieved by the mission to Dionisio di Naldo. No efforts are spared here to try and stir up his Holiness against the Venetians, in accordance with your Lordships' views, "and his Eminence of Vol-"terra does his duty to his country without reserve," * and does not cease to press D'Amboise and all the other Cardinals who have any influence with his Holiness; they all yield readily to his requests, both with an eye to their own interests and to those of the Church. The Cardinal d'Amboise particularly is most zealous, but promises for the present neither men nor

* This passage, and others in the subsequent letters included within quotation marks, are supposed to have been written in cipher.

any other assistance except letters. He hopes for the success of the French, or that possibly some arrangement may be effected with the Emperor and the Archduke, that may shape matters according to his views, and more especially this affair of Venice.

Your Lordships will see from the above what effect has been produced by the information given in your letters of the 6th and 8th, and repeated afterwards on the 9th, of which I received the copy to-day. And to enable your Lordships the better to understand what course the Pope is likely to take, or what assistance you may count upon receiving from him against the projects of the Venetians, I will repeat what I have already written in several previous despatches to your Lordships. Whoever examines the present state of things at Rome will find that all the important affairs of the day centre here. The first and most important of these is the difference between France and Spain; the second is the affair of Romagna; after that come those of the factions of the Roman barons, and of the Duke Valentino. The Pope finds himself in the midst of these broils, and although he was elected to this dignity by great favor and by his reputation, yet as he has occupied the papal chair but for a short time, and having as yet neither troops nor money, and being under obligations to everybody for his election and for the general support he has received, he cannot as yet take a decided part in anything; and therefore he is obliged rather to pretend neutrality until the changes of time and things oblige him to declare himself, or until he is so firm in his seat that he may favor one or the other party, and engage in any enterprise he may please.

The facts prove the truth of this; for to begin with the most important affair, his Holiness passes for being French by natural affection, yet in his dealings with Spain he bears himself in such wise that they have no reason to complain of him. Still he does not go so far in this that France could take umbrage at it, and circumstances cause both parties to excuse him. In the affair of Romagna, the Venetians on the one hand aggravate him, and on the other hand you cry out; so that it is natural that his Holiness should be harassed by it, for he is a man of spirit, who desires that the Church shall increase and not diminish under his Pontificate. And yet your Lordships have seen above how he controls himself, and how on the one

hand he accepts the excuses of the Venetians, feigning to believe that they are influenced in their conduct by their hatred of the Duke, and not by any desire to injure the Church, whilst on the other hand he manifests to your Lordships his dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Venetians, and takes all the precautions and measures which in reality he is able to do at present. As to the barons, it is easy for the Pope to manage them, as the chiefs of the factions are not here; the Orsini being represented here by the Archbishop of Florence and by the Signor Giulio, and the Colonnese by their own Cardinal and certain individuals of no importance. There only remains then the Duke Valentino, for whom it is believed that his Holiness has a natural aversion; and yet he manages him for two reasons. The first, because he wishes to keep his word with him, of which it is claimed that the Pope is the most tenacious observer; and because of his obligations to him on account of his election, which he owes in great part to the Duke. The other is because, the Pope being still without troops, the Duke is better able than any one else to offer resistance to the Venetians; and for that reason the Pope urges his departure, and has addressed briefs to your Lordships, soliciting free passage and safe-conduct for the Duke, and also favors his cause in other ways. Although I have indicated all this in my previous despatches, yet it seems to me necessary to explain it more fully at this time, for I feel the importance that you should know the Pope's intentions, and what he would and could do, and what he desires that you should do; so that your Lordships may fully understand him, and not hope for anything more from here. And that it behooves your Lordships to bethink yourselves of other means, either by supporting the Duke, or by such measures as you may have in your power. You may assume that the Pope will have to be satisfied with things as they are, and with whatever course the affairs of Romagna may take, provided that that promise does not slip from the hands of the Church or its vicars.

The Duke sent for me to-day, and I found him in a very different mood from what he was the last time, as I wrote you in my letters of the 6th and 7th. He said many things to me, which being reduced to one amount to this: that we must think no more of the past, but only of the common good, and

strive to prevent the Venetians from making themselves masters of Romagna. He told me that the Pope had promised to aid him, and had written briefs for that purpose; and that your Lordships should also think of giving him your support, and that you might in return count upon him for anything. I answered in a general way, and assured him that he might rely upon your Lordships.

After that I had a long conversation with Messer Alessandro di Francia, who told me that they would probably despatch a courier to-night, with the Pope's brief and other letters that have been written by the Cardinal Volterra and myself to your Lordships in relation to the safe-conduct, which they were confident of obtaining. He told me further that the Duke hesitated as to the course he should take, and did not know whether he should go by land with his troops, which number about four hundred horse and about as many infantry, or whether he should let his troops go by land whilst he would go by sea to Livorno, and then join his troops on Florentine territory, where he could meet some of your citizens and conclude his arrangements with you; but that he did not want to be delayed, and therefore desired to find the articles of agreement all duly prepared, so that he might have nothing to do but merely to sign them. He desired that you should write to Livorno, so as to insure him a proper reception in case he should take that route. I replied that I would write to your Lordships, and gave him good hope. Your Lordships can now think of all this, and consult and resolve and prepare yourselves as to the manner in which you will act with regard to the Duke. Messer Alessandro told me that the Duke would send some one to Florence to digest and draw up the agreement with you, and that he would not like to send any one of little authority; at the same time he could not with safety send a personage of great authority, but so soon as he should be in position to do so, he would send such a person.

The letters which your Lordships have sent for the Pope have been presented to him, and he offers his thanks, etc., etc. I again beg to refer to my despatch of yesterday.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 11 November, 1503.

LETTER XV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

The enclosed was written yesterday, but not having up to the present moment found an opportunity of sending it by the extra courier, I deem it proper, by way of not keeping your Lordships waiting any longer for a reply to yours of the 8th, and because it contains many things of importance respecting the Duke, to send this express by the hands of Giovanni Pandolfini. Your Lordships will please pay him the usual price, as I have so promised him.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 12 November, 1503.

LETTER XVI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Yesterday I wrote to your Lordships per express, and despatched it with my letter of the 11th through the hands of the Pandolfini, in reply to yours of the 8th, which came also per express. You will have seen from mine the determination of the Pope on the subject of the affairs of Romagna, and all that can be said of his Holiness at this moment. You will also have learned from it the projects of the Duke, who is occupied meanwhile in raising both infantry and cavalry with which to pursue his march into Romagna; and I believe that he delays in great part for the purpose of knowing your decision. For here we can neither treat with him nor do anything else, because we do not know what your Lordships' disposition or determination in the matter may be. I have several times asked you for your views, but being still without any reply we are completely at a loss what to do.

As I have explained in former letters to your Lordships, the Pope for the moment favors the Duke, for he feels himself bound by the promises which he has made to him, and also from his desire not to let those places fall into the hands of the Venetians. His Holiness seems resolved to do everything in his power to prevent them from being swallowed up by the

Venetians. I believe he is conferring to-day with some eight or ten of those Cardinals who have the honor of the Church most at heart, to determine about sending an envoy to Venice, to which I have referred in my letter of the 11th. It seems that his Holiness has no doubts as to getting those places back that have been taken by the Venetians, who, he thinks, will consent to anything. His advisers urge him by all means to try and get possession of them, demonstrating to him that he can afterwards dispose of them according to the demands of honesty and justice, etc., etc.

I have conferred to-day with his Eminence of Volterra respecting your Lordships' reply on the subject of Citerna. He is constantly after San Giorgio, trying to bring the matter to a conclusion; our Cardinal thought that he would be able to effect an even exchange with San Giorgio, by giving him one of his fortresses for Citerna, but San Giorgio declines such an exchange, and demands two hundred ducats, saying that he has such an offer from some one else. Our Cardinal would not like that such an expense should be incurred, and yet he does not know how it can be avoided, if it is really desired by your Lordships to have Citerna, for we may lose the chance altogether. San Giorgio has given him to understand that, unless we decide to-day or to-morrow to take it on those terms, he will go to the feet of his Holiness, and make known to him that Citerna, which fell to him by lot, has been occupied by the Florentines, and make this a subject of complaint. The negotiations are therefore continued, and we shall take such a course as his Eminence may deem best so as to quiet the matter. For, having to reprove others for attempting to take what does not belong to them, it behooves us to avoid all occasions for incurring reproof for the same thing in our turn.

Yesterday evening, Pope Julius II. took formal possession of the Castel San Angelo with all due solemnity, and has appointed the Bishop of Sinigaglia as his Castellan. The former Castellan has left according to report, with the promise of being made Cardinal.

By my letter of the 10th, I informed your Lordships of the report of the passage of the Garigliano by the French; but since then we have no particulars. True, letters were received last night by some of the Colonnese here, that some four thousand French had crossed the river, and that Gonsalvo, who

was about a mile distant with his army, could not prevent them, owing to the swollen state of certain water-courses between himself and the French. But that, the waters having subsided, Gonsalvo charged upon the French, who, having no cavalry, were dislodged from a bastion which they had constructed, and were completely routed. A portion of them were killed, and a portion driven into the river and drowned. This news was spread by the Colonnese, and although it is now the twenty-third hour, yet up to the present it is not confirmed. The French here do not believe it, and say that their infantry which had crossed the Garigliano was protected by their artillery, which they had placed on the river-bank and on board of vessels, so that the Spaniards could not attack them. We must wait for time to clear up this matter, and when the truth is known your Lordships shall be advised.

It is now one o'clock at night, and up to this moment the above news has neither been confirmed nor contradicted. The Cardinals did not meet with the Pope to-day to discuss the affairs of Romagna, but I believe they will do so to-morrow. I send this through the hands of P. del Bene, who tells me that he may possibly despatch a courier to night.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 13 November, 1503.

LETTER XVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I reported to you yesterday all that had taken place here up to that time, and sent my letter this morning through the hands of P. del Bene. I must now inform your Lordships "that yesterday and to-day the Pope has conferred with the Cardinals "Amboise and Volterra, the Spanish Cardinals, the Cardinal of "Ferrara, and the Duke Valentino, in relation to the departure of the last. It was definitely concluded that he is to go "in two or three days by water to Porto Venere or to Spezzia, "and from there by the Garfagnana to Ferrara; and that his "troops, which are said to amount to three hundred light cavalry, one hundred men-at-arms, and four hundred infantry,

"are to go by land to Romagna through Tuscany. They are to "unite at Imola, which place, it is said, still holds for the Duke, "and where he will join them; and then the Duke will attempt "from there to recover his states by means of his own troops, "and those which he counts upon receiving from your Lordships, from the Cardinal d'Amboise, from Ferrara, and from "the Pope. And speaking of these auxiliaries, the Cardinal "Volterra told me that the Pope supplied the Duke with briefs "and patents at discretion, but with nothing more. The Cardinal d'Amboise has promised that Montison shall come to "him with at least fifty lances; it is, however, not yet known "whether they are of those who have already been in the Duke's "service. The Cardinal of Este says that he believes that the "Duke's father will not fail him." Volterra says that he would have been glad to have been informed of your views and intentions as regards this matter, and wonders that you have never written to him how he is to bear himself towards the Duke.

Being obliged to say something in the name of your Lordships, he represented that you were ready to do anything in your power to prevent those cities from falling into the hands of the Venetians, and that, if you were of opinion that the way to do so would be to help the Duke, he had not the least doubt that you would lend him every assistance. But that, before coming to that point, it was necessary for them to see whether the aid of your Lordships added to the Duke's forces would suffice for the desired object; and that therefore it would be well for the Duke to send some one to Florence for the purpose of explaining these things, and to have a full understanding. "What causes the Cardinal Volterra to be in doubt as to the "affairs of the Duke, besides not knowing the views of your "Lordships, is, that he is not clear himself whether it would be "desirable for our republic to have the Duke for a neighbor, "and master of those three or four cities. For if we could "always be sure of him as a friend, and not have reason to "doubt and mistrust him, it might be of the greatest advantage "to reinstate him in his possessions. But knowing the Duke's "dangerous character, he doubted much whether you would be "able to keep him your friend, which would expose us to the "same risk of having the Venetians become masters of those "cities. His Eminence, moreover, sees that your Lordships are

"under some obligations to those who hold those places, and "that their populations have declared themselves the enemies "of the Duke, so that there is reason to fear lest by supporting "the Duke the Venetians may be enabled the sooner to attain "the object of their desires. All these things keep the Cardinal "Volterra in a state of indecision." It has seemed to me proper to report the substance of this conversation to your Lordships, so that you may appreciate the merits of the case with your habitual sagacity. "At the conference between the Pope and "the Cardinals there was no one to represent the Bentivogli of "Bologna; but the Duke confidently expects every assistance "from them. The conference separated with the understand-"ing that the Duke should take the route indicated, that the "Cardinal Este should write to Ferrara to solicit aid, that "the Cardinal d'Amboise should write to Montison in accord-"ance with the above decision, and that the Cardinal Volterra "should explain everything to your Lordships. Thus the mat-"ter rests, and according to the above understanding the Duke "is to leave immediately. But already Volterra begins to doubt "whether the Duke will start, for he seems to have perceived a "change in him, and seems to think him irresolute, suspicious, "and unstable in all his conclusions." This may be the result of his natural character, or because the blows of fortune, which he is not accustomed to bear, have stunned and confounded him. Two evenings ago, whilst in that part of the palace where the Duke Valentino is lodged, the deputies from Bologna arrived, and with them the Protonotario Bentivogli. They all went into the Duke's apartment, where they remained more than an hour.

Thinking that they might possibly have formed some agreement together, I went to-day to see the Protonotario Bentivogli under pretence of making him a visit; and having, after some general conversation, broached the subject of the Duke's affairs, he said to me that they had come to see the Duke at his special request, who had told them that he would relieve them of the obligations they had entered into with him the year before. Having come to that point, and having called a notary to draw up the agreement, the Duke asked in return for the cancelling of these obligations certain specified assistance in his affairs of Romagna. The Bolognese deputies would not agree to this, having no authority to that effect, whereupon the Duke also

declined to annul their obligations, and thus the matter remained in suspense.

The Protonotario added, that the Duke had not acted fairly in the matter, and that, instead of standing upon his rights, he should have shown himself liberal in cancelling these obligations, on account of which he would anyhow never receive a single penny from them. He told me furthermore that, having conversed with the Cardinal Herina on the subject, the latter had said to him that the Duke seemed to him to have lost his wits, for he appeared not to know himself what he wanted, and that he was confused and irresolute. To my question whether he would sustain the Duke in any way, the Protonotario answered, that the entrance of the Venetians into Romagna was of such importance, that, if the only way of preventing it was to support the Duke, he believed that his father and his government would give him their support, and do whatever else they could in the matter. More than this I did not learn from him, but I have deemed it not amiss to communicate this conversation to your Lordships.

From the armies we hear that the Spaniards in full force attacked such of the French as had crossed the river, but that the latter under protection of their artillery defended themselves bravely, and that although both sides had lost a good many men, yet the French remained masters of their position and of the entire river; that they were busy constructing two more bridges, so as to pass the river with the bulk of their forces, under God's favor.

There is nothing else of interest to communicate from here, unless it be that the Pope will assume the tiara next Sunday in St. Peter's, and on the following Sunday in St. John Lateran, and that it will be a triumphant solemnity.

With all this the plague is on the increase, for the weather and the neglect of all precautions favor its development, so that Rome has become a most melancholy residence.

I recommend myself to God and to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 14 November, 1503.

LETTER XVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

The enclosed was written yesterday, but as no courier has been despatched since then, I could not send it, nor do I know now when it will go, as there is no regular postal service. I have to inform your Lordships that it was not until to-day that the Pope assembled the Cardinals of Naples, Amboise, Capaccio, Lisbon, Aragon, San Giorgio, Volterra, and three or four others of the oldest Cardinals, who have the honor of the Church and ecclesiastical liberty most at heart. They deliberated a long while on the affairs of Romagna, and resolved to depute some one to Venice. Their choice fell upon Angelo Leonino, Bishop of Tivoli, who will leave immediately with instructions to induce the government of Venice to disarm, and to restore to the hands of the Pope what they have wrongfully taken from him. They have decided also to send another deputy into Romagna, who should be some person of distinction. They wanted to appoint the Bishop of Ragusa to this mission, but, as they could not agree about it, the appointment was conferred on the Cardinal Volterra. He has gone this evening to have another conference with his Holiness; but it is too late for me to wait and learn the result. His instructions will be to do all he can to quiet these disturbances, to try to restore tranquillity, and to re-establish things as far as possible for the advantage of the Church. Everything tends to show that Julius II. is most anxious to save these states for the Church, and there is no lack of persons here who encourage him incessantly in this desire. His Eminence of Volterra is wide awake on this subject, as well as on all other matters that concern the general welfare of our republic. He does not cease being at the feet of his Holiness to maintain and dispose him still more favorably to Florence, to which he is already well inclined. He also solicits the other Cardinals, pointing out to them the ambition of the Venetians, the dangers to which their own liberties are exposed, and in fact he does all that your Lordships could suggest or ask of him. I deem it but right to bear witness to this, so that your Lordships may know how zealous and distinguished an advocate you have at this court, and that you may appreciate deservingly the great

virtues of his Eminence, and his love and entire devotion to his country.

I must not omit to inform your Lordships that I have understood that the Pope complained bitterly to the Venetian ambassador of the proceedings of his government, telling him that he never could have believed that they had so little regard for the affection which he had always shown their country as to seek to dishonor and dismember the Church under his Pontificate; and that, if they persevered in that conduct, he would break all bonds of friendship, and submit to general ruin rather than suffer the Church to be dishonored and dismembered, and that he would arouse the whole world against them. To all which, it is said, the Venetian ambassador replied in the mildest manner, etc., etc.

I learn from Monsignor di Bentivogli, who says that he has it direct from the Venetian envoy, that the Senate had appointed eight ambassadors who were to come here and make their submission to his Holiness. He thinks the Venetian Senate did this, knowing that such incense and demonstrations of honor are an article greatly prized by Julius II., which they ought not to omit to employ. I have deemed it well to mention this to your Lordships, so that, if true, you may not allow yourselves to be outdone in these sort of demonstrations. And the sooner you send such ambassadors the more welcome will they be, and the more advantages you will derive from it; for his Eminence of Volterra cannot play two parts at once, except at the cost of one or the other, and therefore it will be well to anticipate the others.

The news from the French camp is that they are entirely masters of the Garigliano, and have no fears of being driven from their positions; but they have not advanced beyond that, owing to the inundations that extend over many miles of country. Gonsalvo is said to have retreated to a position between Sessa and Capua.

Gianpaolo Baglioni writes that he cannot start with his troops because he has not yet received the money from Florence, and says that he has sent some one to you on that account. It is said that the Cardinal d'Amboise is a little vexed at this, and that it has caused him to change the destination of Baglioni, whom he intends now to send into camp, and not to the Abruzzi, as had been decided the other day. It

is also said that, inasmuch as Bartolommeo di Alviano was to have joined the Spaniards, the French also desire to have the credit of receiving fresh troops; although according to report Bartolommeo and the Orsini have taken but few troops there, and are enlisting men all the time. I learn that the said Bartolommeo has twenty-five men-at-arms at Viterbo, who are waiting for money before moving forward. And thus on both sides the attack and the defence proceed but slowly.

Of the Duke Valentino I have nothing more to report, except that his troops are still here, nor has he started himself, and thus the matter remains just as it was two days ago; but they still give out that they will start in two or three days. The report has been spread throughout all Rome that the Duke is going to Florence to be your general. Similar stories are constantly put in circulation here.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 16 November, 1503.

P. S. — I have forgotten to say that the last letters I have from your Lordships are of the 8th. The plague is doing its duty well, and spares neither the houses of the Cardinals nor any others where it can find victims, and yet no one here makes any account of it. *Iterum valete!*

LETTER XIX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Not having been able to send the two enclosures of the 14th and 16th sooner, they will now go at same time with this. I cannot oblige the merchants to do other than what they please, and cannot therefore promise you more regular advices from here; but whenever there is any danger of my letters being delayed too long, I shall do as in the present case, and send them in some other way by paying for them. Yesterday at an early hour came your Lordships' letters of the 13th and 14th; those of the 10th and 11th having reached me some four hours sooner. The last two require no reply, having been written when your Lordships were still uncertain as to an answer to

yours of the 8th; and in response to the other two, I have also but little to say, as you have received mine of the 12th, per express, which fully informs you of the state of things here, and what you may hope for in the way of assistance. I refer again to that letter, and more especially to what I have written in the enclosed. His Eminence of Volterra is nevertheless of opinion that I should present myself again at the feet of the Pope, and read to him your instructions, so as to learn what his Holiness may now have to say; and also to communicate to him your views in relation to the Duke's affairs, and to sound him as regards his opinion of the whole business.

Efforts were made to procure me an audience, which, however, I did not get until three o'clock yesterday evening, when I read to the Holy Father those parts of your letters which it was proper he should know. When I came to that part where you say that Messer Ottaviano da Campo Fregoso had taken the field with cavalry and infantry sent by the Duke of Urbino, his Holiness became very angry, and said, "The Duke will be here "in a couple of days, when I will shut him up in the Castel "San Angelo." He then listened with great attention to the remainder of your letter; and after having heard it all he said that he felt obliged to your Lordships for reminding him of what was for the honor of the Church, and for your efforts, etc., etc.; and that for his part he had done and would continue to do his utmost, as was well known to his Eminence of Volterra; that he had sent some one to Venice to let them know his intentions, and that he would also send some one of distinction to Romagna to reanimate the lords and the people of that province, and to induce those who had strayed from their allegiance to him to return. I replied to his Holiness in what I thought suitable terms, but obtained no further information from him; it is evident, however, that he does all he can, as I have mentioned in my previous letters. I then touched upon the affairs of the Duke Valentino, "and explained "to his Holiness why your Lordships had not granted the de- "sired safe-conduct to the Duke; to which he replied that it "was well, and that he agreed with you entirely," and lifted up his head in a very significant manner. From this it will be seen what before may have been doubted, that his Holiness thought it an eternity before he could get rid of the Duke; and yet he wanted him to go away satisfied, and so as not to

afford him grounds for complaining of the non-observance of the pledges on the part of the Pope; as it might still happen that he might wish to avail himself of the Duke for his own purposes in the affairs of Romagna; and thus he would not close the door to his being able to make use of the Duke. But that he cared nothing about what you or any third party might do against the Duke.

"Looking now at all the Pope's actions as I have explained "to your Lordships in previous letters, we see that he intends "getting those cities into his hands, and that by sending an "envoy to the Venetians he hopes to obtain their consent, "etc., etc. And if that plan does not succeed, he will try and "get possession of them through some one else, who will hold "them for the time. And perhaps he thinks that the Duke, "upon finding himself abandoned by you, will cede to him that "part of Romagna which he still retains; and that, once hav-"ing possession of those towns, the others will easily follow." Such I believe to be the Pontiff's conduct and intentions, as your Lordships will see; and whatever resistance you make to the Venetians will naturally be most welcome to his Holiness.

Your Lordships will learn from the enclosed of the 14th what has been decided upon by the Pope and the Duke, and those other Cardinals; all of which was agreed upon and arranged, as the result has shown since then, "to feed the Duke "with hopes and to urge his departure, which the Pope evi-"dently desires."

When the Duke learned through letters from Florence that your Lordships had not granted the desired safe-conduct for him, he sent for me; and after my audience with the Pope I went to him. His Excellency complained of your refusing him the safe-conduct, and said that he had already sent his cavalry, supposing that they would be admitted on Florentine territory, and that he intended to start himself in the expectation that the safe-conduct would be sent to him anyhow, as he could not have anticipated a refusal, and could not understand your fearing on the one hand lest those towns should fall into the hands of the Venetians, and on the other hand your closing the way to all succor; that perchance he might take a different course, which might be injurious to your Lordships; and that although he was aware of the danger of his coming to an arrangement with the Venetians, yet the force of circumstances might cause

him to do so; for he would obtain great advantages from them, which he was disposed to accept to some extent, and which would be a mortal injury to you. I replied to the Duke, that the safe-conduct was not absolutely refused, and that he had been given to understand that your Lordships wanted to know on what footing you really were with him, and to settle that point first, and then to establish such relations of friendship as should properly exist between two states that desire to be on good terms and to act in good faith towards each other; that your Lordships were not in the habit of rashly or hastily entering into anything, and did not intend to begin doing so now, and therefore it would be well for him to send some experienced person, who was fully informed as to his intentions, to Florence, and I doubted not that your Lordships would do what was for the advantage of our republic and her friends. The Duke replied that he had sent his troops forward, and was himself on the point of going by water, and that he had wished before his departure to have a clear understanding of what he might hope for from your Lordships. To which I answered, that I would at once write to your Lordships this morning and give you notice of his Excellency's having started his troops, and of his having sent an envoy to you to ask you to admit his troops on Florentine territory; that this envoy would meantime arrive in Florence, and would negotiate direct with your Lordships; and that I had not a doubt but that some satisfactory arrangement would be effected, of which his envoy might advise his Excellency wherever he might be. The Duke seemed in a measure satisfied, but answered that if your Lordships hesitated or dealt unfairly with him, which would become manifest within four or five days, the time necessary for his envoy to come to Florence and write, he would make terms with the Venetians and with the Devil himself; or he would go and join the Pisans, and would devote all his money, his power, and what allies remained to him to injure our republic. The person whom the Duke has selected for the mission to your Lordships is a certain Messer Vanno, the Duke's foster-brother, who was to have started this morning; but it is now the eighteenth hour, and I have not yet heard of his departure; it is possible that the Duke may have changed his purpose. His Excellency agreed also with the Cardinal d'Amboise to leave this morning for Spezzia, according to the original plan.

He intended to take with him on board, and in vessels of his own, some five hundred men selected from amongst his gentlemen followers and his infantry; but up to the present moment nothing has been heard of his departure. Possibly he may wish to wait until he is in some measure assured of your Lordships' intentions.

"Your Lordships will observe that my answers to the Duke "were only intended to give some little encouragement to his "hopes, so that he might have no excuse for remaining here "any longer, and so that the Pope, in his desire to get rid of "him, might not oblige you to give the Duke the asked for "safe-conduct. When the Duke's envoy arrives in Florence, "your Lordships need not pay much attention to him, and may "act in the matter as may seem best to you; reflecting whether "it be more important to break off or to conclude the negotia-"tion. The Duke's cavalry that have gone towards Florence, "under command of Carlo Baglioni, number one hundred men-"at-arms and two hundred and fifty light-horse. Your Lord-"ships will take measures to find out their whereabouts, and "should you deem it well that they should in a measure be "disarmed, you can do so whenever you think proper; and "when informed of your Lordships' intentions, I shall act to-"wards the Duke accordingly. I beg your Lordships will not "fail to write me in case anything else should occur."

Your letters are communicated to the Cardinal d'Amboise and the other Cardinals; and his Eminence of Volterra does all that is possible to stir up everybody, and to keep them on the lookout, as I have already mentioned in my enclosure of the 16th. And if everything here does not go on as you could wish, it will be the fault of circumstances, and not because the thing is not thought of or not urged.

"Respecting the security demanded by the Duke, D'Amboise "says that you must act as best suits yourselves"; in relation to other matters, he complains much and shrugs his shoulders. Your Lordships' letter of the 15th was received this morning, in reply to which nothing else occurs to me. The Citerna business is still delayed, for the reasons given in my letter of the 13th. I will endeavor to bring it to a speedy termination, and with the greatest possible advantage. Of the French army we have no further news, nor can we expect any so long as this weather continues. In consequence of the inundations around

the Garigliano, the Spaniards cannot attack the French, and the latter cannot advance.

The assumption of the tiara by the Pope is postponed until Sunday week. Pagolo Rucellai has given me to understand that the privilege of extracting saltpetre is within his control, and that if your Lordships desire any particular conditions in this matter, which he will be able to manage, he desires to be informed.

We are now at the twenty-first hour, and an hour and a half since I received your letter of the 15th, in which your Lordships point out to me the extremely difficult condition of the affairs of Romagna. But as I had a long interview with his Holiness on that subject yesterday, and as his Eminence of Volterra saw him also to-day, it has seemed to me best to defer until to-morrow to communicate to him the contents of your letter, so as not to weary his Holiness with that subject; the more so, as we do not believe that we shall obtain anything more from him. The Pope can do no more than to write and send agents, and all this he has done. I believe the Bishop of Ragusa will be sent to Romagna, and that he will start immediately.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 18 November, 1503.

P. S.—I send this by the hands of Giovanni Pandolfini, who leaves at the twenty-second hour. Your Lordships will please pay him the customary compensation.

LETTER XX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote yesterday and sent my letter per express, together with my others of the 14th and 16th, which will have informed your Lordships of all that has occurred here in connection with the Duke, who left here this evening. He has gone to Ostia to embark if the weather permits. It promises fair this morning, and may serve him as well as the French, who have been kept on the Garigliano only by the high water. These inundations

have obliged their army, as well as that of the Spaniards, to disperse and seek shelter in the neighboring hamlets and villages, leaving only guards in certain bastions which they have on the boundary of the territory occupied by them respectively. And if the weather clears, as it promises this morning, both sides will be able to take the field and pursue their object, — the one to try to advance, and the other to resist; of all of which your Lordships will be duly advised when we receive the news.

But to return to the Duke Valentino. He is really gone, by the help of God, and to the great satisfaction of the whole country. He has gone to Ostia, as I have said above, having started his troops by land towards Florence, some two or three days ago. According to the Duke's own account, these forces consist of about seven hundred horse; and when the weather suits he will embark with four hundred or five hundred more for Spezzia, as was agreed upon here, intending from there to follow the route indicated in my letter of the 14th. It is to be feared lest, being offended with your Lordships, the Duke may throw himself with his troops into Pisa, as he threatened to do at our last interview, of which I gave an account in my letter of yesterday. And what makes me apprehensive of this is, that the individual whom it was understood he was to send to Florence has never said one word to me about his passport for his safety, which I was to give him according to our understanding. And thence I fear that the Duke contemplates not to co-operate with your Lordships any longer. I shall try and find out the truth of the matter, and will then advise you.

I informed your Lordships yesterday of the receipt of yours of the 15th, per express; and to-day I have received the copies forwarded on the 16th. With all my best efforts, however, it was not possible for me to see the Pope to-day; to-morrow, however, shall not pass without my seeing him anyhow; and I shall do what I can for the advantage of our republic, as well as for that of the Church, which is equally interested in the matter. Your Lordships' letter was read to the Cardinal d'Amboise, and I noticed that these things afflict him very much. Nevertheless, he shrugs his shoulders and excuses himself, saying that there is no help for it at present. He promises, however, whether the result be peace or victory, and he counts confidently upon one or the other, to restore things to their former condition, and that your interests shall under all circumstances be secured; more than this we cannot hope for from him. He understands the affairs of Romagna so well himself, that it offends him if any one attempts to recall them to his mind. And yet two days ago M. de Chaumont, Governor of Lombardy, sent him a letter which the French envoy at Venice had written to inform him of the disposition of the Venetians, and of their preparations against Romagna, and of their plans, which aimed at nothing less than, after having seized Romagna, to attack Florence, under pretence of recovering the one hundred and eighty thousand florins which they claim to be due them. By this aggression they hope to weaken and diminish the reputation of the king of France, by depriving him of the men and money which you supply him, and at the same time to humble Tuscany and increase their own territory. The Cardinal d'Amboise sent this letter to his Eminence of Volterra, who seemed pleased to have it, and appeared to take the matter seriously; but the only conclusion arrived at was, that we must wait to see what their fleet will do, upon which they count so largely, if the weather and the state of the sea do not hinder its advance.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 19 November, 1503.

LETTER XXI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I shall write briefly to-day what has occurred since my despatch of the 18th, reserving further details for my next. And I do this so that your Lordships may, on the arrival of Messer Ennio, the Duke's envoy and bearer of this, be more immediately informed of the state of things here. The Duke, as I have already informed you, left here yesterday morning for Ostia, and will embark there with some four or five hundred men for Spezzia. As the weather has improved, I believe he will sail to-night. His cavalry, consisting, according to his own account, of about seven hundred horse, he sent forward three days ago on the road to Tuscany. Now having done all this without any definite reply from your Lordships for our instruc-

tion, on account of which I wrote you on the 18th, the Duke has sent the bearer of this, Messer Ennio, to your Lordships, who also brings a letter to you from the Cardinal Volterra "merely for the purpose of satisfying the Duke; for both the "Pope and the Cardinal d'Amboise would take it ill if you "were really to concede a safe-conduct to the Duke." According to what they say, and the hints which they have thrown out, your Lordships may, if it suits you, act in accordance with their intentions and spirit, and may do so without any hesitation. And if circumstances have caused you to change your decision "the coming of the Duke's envoy will afford you "an excellent opportunity, of which your Lordships will avail "with your habitual sagacity." Your letter of the 15th and a similar one to the Pope of the 16th were submitted to his Holiness this morning. He was greatly affected by them, and said in a few words that, inasmuch as he had occupied the papal chair but a short time, he could not regulate this matter as he would desire; that for the present he would do what he could, but that hereafter he hoped to do a great deal more; that he would start the Bishop of Tivoli for Venice to-morrow, and within a couple of days he would send the Bishop of Ragusa to Romagna, who should take the route through Florence, with instructions to confer with your Lordships. Although his Holiness had resolved to await the answer of the Bishop, yet he intended to send an envoy to Venice before taking any other steps against them; but seeing their insolence now, he had resolved to convoke the ambassadors of all the nations, and to arouse them to the facts, and make his sentiments known to them, and lay before them his complaints of the outrages of the Venetians. And, in short, that he would leave nothing undone, and therefore he hoped your Lordships would continue your preparations for defence, and meantime he thanked you for what you had done thus far. His Eminence of Volterra replied with his habitual prudence, and I added such remarks as seemed to me proper; but more than the above we did not get from him. We shall not fail, as we have done hitherto, to remind his Holiness and the Cardinals of this business, as our duty demands, and shall continue to keep your Lordships fully advised of whatever takes place.

The Duke of Urbino came to Rome to-day. From the French army we have no further news; it is to be hoped that the

weather may continue clear, as it has begun yesterday and to-day, so that the army may continue its operations with greater ease.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 20 November, 1503.

LETTER XXII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

By the enclosed of yesterday I informed your Lordships of what had taken place here since my last of the 18th, and that I could not possibly present myself at the feet of his Holiness yesterday to communicate to him your confidential letter of the 15th, received on the 16th. I did so, however, this morning, in the presence of his Eminence of Volterra, and read your letter to his Holiness. After that the Cardinal added what he deemed proper, and by order of his Eminence I also said what the occasion required. His Holiness manifested great displeasure at the state of things, saying that he would leave nothing undone for the honor of the Church; that he had already sent a deputy to Romagna, but that he would send another of still higher authority, and had designated the Bishop of Ragusa to go there, and the Bishop of Tivoli to Venice, and that he would urge their prompt departure; and that although he had determined before going further to await the reply of the Venetians, so as to be more fully justified in his proceedings and more clearly informed as to their intentions, yet with the information which your Lordships' letter gave him he felt justified in going somewhat further, and would address a circular to the princes and protest to their ambassadors here, and would no longer stand upon ceremonies with the Venetians. He then called his Eminence of Volterra, who was present, to witness as to his intentions, and charged me to encourage your Lordships by telling you that his Holiness would leave nothing undone for the liberty of the Church and the security of her friends, and of such as desired to live righteously; and that he ought to be excused if, in the beginning of his Pontificate, he did not show himself more active, but that it was because he was constrained

by necessity to act contrary to his nature, having neither troops nor money. He said further, that the Duke of Urbino would arrive in Rome this evening, and that he would take measures that the Venetians should not avail themselves of either his person or his name, nor of his territory or his troops.

We replied to his Holiness in a becoming manner, but obtained nothing more from him; nor can we hope for anything else at present, no matter what may occur. There is but one thing upon which any hopes can be founded, and that is the Pope's choleric temper and his honorable character; for whilst the one will inflame him, the other will impel him to act against whoever attempts anything adverse to the honor of the Church under his Pontificate. Thus we see that the Venetians, knowing him, think to deceive him with fine promises, and to satisfy his natural character by pretending to desire to be faithful children to the Church; and that they want not only Romagna, but all their own dominions, to show obedience to the Holy Father. For we see that they have appointed eight ambassadors to present their submission to the Pontiff, which is a new thing for the Venetians to do, and which they have done from no other motive than the above. We see also that they were delighted at the election of Julius II., and that the embassy had been appointed to do him honor, and that they desire to have him for their father, protector, and defender. In this way the Venetians endeavor to soothe him and to incline him favorably to their purpose; and are not ashamed to make demonstrations as though they were really the very slaves of the Pope, so as to be able afterwards to command all the others. It is thus these things are judged of here; and I desire to acquaint your Lordships with it, so that you may provide what remedies you can against all eventualities; and that you may consider whether it might not be well for you not to allow yourselves to be outdone in humility and politeness, since in material force you cannot keep pace with these Venetians.

Messer Agapito and Messer Romolino, formerly officers of the Duke Valentino, but who have remained here, being unwilling to share the Duke's ill fortune, have informed me that on his departure from Rome for Ostia the Duke directed Messer Ennio, Bishop of Veroli, and entirely devoted to the Duke, to proceed to Florence and to negotiate and conclude some favorable arrangement with your Lordships, in accordance with

the conversation which he had lately with me; and that for the security of Messer Ennio he wanted letters from me and a passport from the Cardinal Volterra. Having failed to find me yesterday, they wanted me now to see his Eminence, and to prepare such letters and passport as, when received, would permit Messer Ennio to start.

I called upon our Cardinal accordingly, and as it seemed desirable to us that this envoy should go to Florence, for the reasons given in my letter of the 18th, his Eminence wrote a letter to your Lordships,* and gave a passport to Messer Ennio addressed to all the subjects and allies of your Lordships. And I also gave him a letter for you, containing in brief the same that I had said in my former letter and in this one, so that in case Messer Ennio should arrive before this reaches you, your Lordships may know how things are here; and may deliberate on the matter fully informed by what I have said in this as well as in my letter of the 18th. "All the favors that "have been shown to the Duke by the Pope, the Cardinal "d'Amboise, and by others here, had no other object than "to have him go from here with God, and the sooner the "better."

Thus your Lordships are entirely free to decide, without regard, whatever may suit you best. And I repeat again, that if your Lordships should judge from some fresh reasons that it would be well to favor the Duke, etc., you may take that course, although the Pope would rather that you should give him a

* The following is the letter of recommendation addressed by the Cardinal Soderini in favor of Messer Ennio to the Illustrious Signoria of the Republic of Florence: —

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

The bearer of this is Messer Ennio, Bishop of Veroli, and ambassador of his Excellency the Duke Valentino, who sends him to you to negotiate and conclude an arrangement with your Lordships, for which purpose he has been furnished with the most ample powers. I have deemed it my duty to give him this letter, not only because of his own personal qualities, but also because his Excellency the Duke has again requested me to beg you to concede free passage through your territory for his men-at-arms, who have started three days ago on the road to Florence; and that your Lordships will also send a safe-conduct for his Excellency's own person. The Duke is at this moment at Ostia, but as the weather is favorable this morning, it is possible that he may have sailed for Spezzia; but Messer Ennio will be able to give you more particular information upon this point.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

ROME, 20 November, 1503.

F. DE SODERINI,
Cardinal of Volterra.

kick. In short, the Duke's situation is this. The disposition of the people here towards him is as I have just explained; he is himself at Ostia, waiting for suitable wind and weather to sail for Spezzia; he will have five vessels, and take some five hundred persons with him; and if he has not already left, he will probably leave to-night, wind and weather permitting. He has sent his troops by land towards Florence, but from the Siennese and Gianpaolo Baglioni he has no more pledges than he has from your Lordships, so that everybody here laughs at him. We shall see whither the winds will carry him, and where his troops will bring up, and then we shall also know what your Lordships will decide upon. The Duke of Urbino entered Rome this evening in great state; the Pope's household and all the Cardinals went out to meet him; some persons here say that he will be made General of the forces of the Holy Church.

Of the French army I have nothing to report, but refer your Lordships to the enclosed letters; and as the weather still continues fair, it is believed that they will advance, and that they will not be checked in their progress.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 20 November, 1503.

LETTER XXIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

The accompanying letters of yesterday and the day before will inform your Lordships of all that has occurred here since my last of the 18th, sent to you per express through the Pandolfini. I repeated the whole briefly in a letter which I have given to Messer Ennio, envoy of the Duke Valentino, who has sent him to your Lordships for the reasons given in mine of the 18th. I sent that letter by Messer Ennio, so that, in case he should arrive in Florence before the present letter, your Lordships may fully understand how matters are here, and may be able the better to decide the questions in relation to which he comes. Yesterday, at the twenty-second hour, I received your letter of the 17th, from which we learn that Faenza

is at the last extremity. And not to fail of his duty, his Eminence of Volterra sent your letters to the Pope, who was greatly agitated by the intelligence, according to what the Secretary of his Holiness reports. So soon as day dawned this morning, the Pope sent for his Eminence; and, complaining to him of the conduct of the Venetians, asked what remedies he could suggest. His Eminence replied, that, seeing these evils steadily progressing, it seemed to him that the remedies contemplated by his Holiness were insufficient, and that it was necessary to resort to stronger measures; that he ought immediately to make the Legato della Marca move forward with his cavalry, and that he must appoint another Legate in Romagna, who ought to be a cardinal, and a man of good character and reputation, who has the honor of the Church at heart, and whose duty it should be to keep those in obedience who are faithful to the Church, and bring back to their obedience, by force if necessary, those who have strayed from it; and that then he ought to call together the ambassadors of all the nations, amongst whom there should be the Venetian envoy, and that in his presence he ought to complain of the wrongs done to the Church, and ask for counsel and assistance; and that, moreover, he ought to send briefs everywhere, conforming to the language he had held to the assembled ambassadors. His Eminence reminded his Holiness that Pope Clement V. had rescued Ferrara from the hands of the Venetians, who had seized that town; and that Pope Sixtus IV., his predecessor and father, had stirred up all Italy against them. He added, that, notwithstanding these new measures, he thought his Holiness should not neglect the old ones, and should start the Bishops of Tivoli and of Ragusa to hold and maintain the other towns, supposing that Faenza was lost.

The Pope approved the suggestions of his Eminence as good and true; nevertheless he would not decide to avail of them as yet, saying that the circumstances seemed to him not to warrant the employment of measures that would at once irritate the Venetians; and that he preferred to carry out his first idea of sending the Bishops of Tivoli and of Ragusa, to see whether the Venetians would not by agreement restore to his hands what they had taken from him by violence. His Holiness seemed not altogether far from believing that the Venetians would do so, and that there was good reason to hope for it; although it

was only yesterday that he declared that he would call all the ambassadors together, and protest to them against the acts of the Venetians. Now his Holiness wants to wait for an answer from the deputies whom he has sent to Dionisio di Naldo, from whom as yet nothing has been heard. His Eminence could not induce the Pope to any other course; and whilst his Holiness seems to him, on the one hand, dissatisfied and disposed to remedy the evil when, in his opinion, the proper time shall have come, he finds him on the other hand more circumspect and lukewarm in the measures he proposes than what he ought to be; and therefore he could not induce him to come to any other conclusion.

Later, at the seventeenth hour, the Pope sent again for his Eminence, and told him that he had not been able to sleep on account of the state of things at Faenza and in Romagna, and that he had thought it might be well to sound the Duke Valentino again in regard to placing in the hands of his Holiness the castle of Furli and the other fortresses or places which he still held in Romagna, with the promise to restore them again to the Duke at a later moment, deeming it preferable that the Duke should occupy them rather than the Venetians. He therefore begged his Eminence of Volterra to take the trouble of going as far as Ostia to see the Duke, and try to conclude such an arrangement with him. His Eminence agreed to do whatever might be agreeable to his Holiness, who in return promised to let him know if he should finally decide upon this course; charging him, meanwhile, to confer with the Cardinal d'Amboise, and to find out how he was disposed in this matter. This plan, that the Duke Valentino should hand these places over to the Pope, with the understanding that they shall be restored to him later, was proposed some days ago. The Duke consented to it, but then the Pope objected, saying that he did not want to break faith with any one; and being unwilling that any one should be master there, he refused to entertain the proposition. Now, however, he is willing to adopt this plan, unless he changes his mind again, being constrained by that necessity of which you are aware. He thinks that this is the most efficacious and excusable proceeding that he can adopt towards the Venetians, deeming it well not as yet to declare himself openly their enemy.

At dinner-time his Eminence was again sent for by the Pope,

who made him stay to dinner and detained him until near the twenty-fourth hour. His Eminence informed me that the Pope had sent to Ostia to ascertain whether the Duke had left, and if not, to make him delay his departure; as in that case the Cardinal will go early to-morrow to see him, and on the Cardinal's return we shall know what conclusion has been arrived at. But if the Duke has left, then it would be useless to entertain the project any further. His Eminence told me also that they had talked of the mission of the Bishop of Ragusa, who has been named Governor of Bologna and of the entire Romagna, with instructions to do all he possibly can to rescue those places from the hands of the Venetians, and bring them back to their obedience to the Holy Church. This Bishop has orders to stop at Florence and thank your Lordships on behalf of the Pope for the efforts you have made thus far, and to confer with you as to whether it be best to go to Faenza or Furli, or to enter Romagna from some other direction. He is to act according to your suggestions, and to avail himself in all other respects of your Lordships' good offices. He will leave to-morrow or next day.

"As to Citerna and the two hundred ducats, etc., about "which I have written, your Lordships wish to know the "grounds for such a payment, and the advantages that would "result from it. In explanation of this I reply that these "fortresses are distributed amongst the Cardinals by lot, and "whoever receives one of them has to keep twenty men there "as a garrison, for which he is paid by the treasury. But in-"stead of twenty men they keep only ten, and the difference is "their profit. These gains enable the Cardinals to find per-"sons who purchase these fortresses from them; and as San "Giorgio has found some one who offers him two hundred "ducats for Citerna, he will not part with it for less to any one "else, and I believe we shall have to pay him that sum if we "wish to effect the proposed exchange. As to the advantages "to be gained thereby, it seems to me necessary that, inasmuch "as we claim to be the defenders of the Church, we should not "prove ourselves her despoilers. Nor is there any other more "suitable way; for if San Giorgio is content, the matter will "remain quiet for at least one year, and within that period we "shall find some other expedient. This is the plan proposed "here, and we shall endeavor to carry it through, although San

"Giorgio has drawn back and will not explain himself. But "I shall not cease to keep an eye on him, and beg your Lord-"ships meantime to reply upon this point."

Your Lordships desire further information as to how matters are going on here, and what the opinions and conjectures in relation to them are. I imagined that up to the present time I had written in such manner that, if your Lordships take my letters in hand, you will find in them a complete history of all that has taken place here. To recapitulate them briefly I must, as regards the Pope, refer again to what I have written about him in my letter of the 11th; for his Holiness seems to me still bound by the same obligations and considerations which I then communicated. As to the Duke Valentino, you will have seen what I wrote subsequently, and more especially what I said in my three letters on the subject of his affairs; from which your Lordships, with your habitual sagacity, will be able to judge how his affairs will probably terminate, and what his own end is likely to be. Respecting Romagna I cannot yet tell your Lordships more than I have already done in my previous letters as to what is generally said here on the subject. From these your Lordships will also have learnt the attitude of the Pope and of the Cardinal d'Amboise, and the doings of the Venetians, real as well as pretended; how fate prevents the French from being able to resent them, and how the Pope finds it convenient to feign to believe them. Thus your Lordships cannot in this state of things hope that either the French or the Pope will aid you against the Venetians with either men or money; and that you will have to rely upon anything else rather than upon the men and money of others.

As regards the Spanish and French armies, the latter have so entirely obtained the control of the Garigliano, that the Spaniards could not prevent their crossing the river, nor afterwards drive them from the positions which they hold there. As to their respective forces, I can but repeat what I have said before on that point, and what is generally admitted; namely, that the Spaniards, being inferior in numbers, cannot venture to give battle, and therefore withdraw behind difficult passes and strong places; as was seen first at San Germano and now on the Garigliano, where, having been driven from the river-bank, they have retreated about a mile, and by means of

intrenchments and redoubts present fresh obstacles to the advance of the French. The bad weather also hinders the French from moving forward; for the country being low and swampy and the rain incessant, both French and Spaniards are obliged to confine their operations to guarding the redoubts which they have thrown up in front of each other, leaving the rest of their armies to disperse and seek shelter in the neighboring hamlets and places, being mutually protected against each other by the water and the weather. Yesterday the sky cleared a little, but to-day it rains again, and it is feared that the wet weather may continue for some time yet. Both armies suffer from want of forage and provisions; but the French suffer most, as the country around their camp is wasted to a greater degree. This exposes them to some disaster unless they can advance; on the other hand, the power of money, of which the French have abundance, may give them the best of the game, and may cause the Spaniards, who are short of money, to lose. It is believed that Bartolommeo d' Alviano has joined the Spaniards, but only with a small force. The Cardinal d'Amboise, on the other hand, sent the Savelli and the troops of Giovan Giordano to the French army, who consider themselves as having been badly served by Gianpaolo Baglioni in not having moved with his cavalry when he was ordered, and when they urged him to march. Taking all things together, I am really at a loss what conclusion to come to as to the possible issue. Your Lordships can form your own conclusions better than any one else. I will only say this, that the general opinion is that, considering all things, the French have more money and better troops, but the Spaniards have more good fortune and a better commander.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 21 November, 1503.

LETTER XXIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

This morning, at the twentieth hour, his Eminence of Volterra left for Ostia for the purpose explained in the accompanying letter. The Cardinal Romolino has gone with him,

and they will not return until to-morrow evening. Your Lordships will be promptly informed of the result of their mission. I shall endeavor to send this by an express that is to leave; but should I not be able to do so, I will send it anyhow by a special messenger.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 22 November, 1503.

LETTER XXV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I write these few lines for the purpose of recommending myself especially to your Lordships, knowing that I may do so with entire confidence. On leaving Florence I received thirty-three ducats, of which I have expended about thirteen for postage as per account sent to your colleague Niccolo d'Alessandro Machiavelli. Eighteen ducats I had to pay for a mule, and for a velvet suit eighteen more. For a Spanish cloak I paid eleven ducats, and for an overcoat ten, making in all seventy ducats. I am living at an hostelry which costs daily for myself and two servants and the mule ten carlini. True, your Lordships have given me the salary I asked for; and I asked for what I supposed would be sufficient, not knowing how dear everything is here. I have therefore to thank your Lordships, and to complain only of myself. But having learned to know the cost of living here better, I would now beg your Lordships to remedy the matter, if it can be done. If my salary cannot be increased, at least have me reimbursed for the postage expenses, as has always been done to every envoy. Niccolo d'Alessandro Machiavelli knows my circumstances, and can tell you whether I am able to bear such a loss; and even if I could, your Lordships know that in this age men labor to get ahead, and not to go behindhand.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ feliciter valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 22 November, 1503.

LETTER XXVI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Yesterday I sent to your Lordships through Giovanni Pandolfini, and free of charge, four letters of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d. The last informs you of the departure of the Cardinal Volterra for Ostia, for the purpose explained to your Lordships in mine of the 21st. Since then I received last night yours of the 20th, giving the news of the loss of Faenza. So soon as it was light this morning I went to the chamber of Messer Francesco di Castel del Rio, the person nearest to the Pope, and read him your Lordships' letter. He told me that his Holiness had nothing so much at heart as the affairs of Romagna, and for that reason the news would be most painful to him. Still, as it was necessary that his Holiness should know it, he thought it best to avail of some favorable occasion to communicate it to him, and made me leave the letter, which I did most willingly, for it seemed to me in all respects proper that the Pope should know the facts. Deeming it well also to give the news to those Cardinals who have shown themselves most devoted to the Church in this matter, I spoke to Ascanio and Capaccio. Ascanio told me that he had also received the news, and that he was for doing everything possible for the good of the Church, etc., etc. Capaccio expressed himself in the most acceptable manner towards your Lordships, but added that he thought you had made a mistake in this Romagna business, in having supported those lords who have taken possession of these places again; that you ought to have abstained from interfering, or, if you wanted to do it, you should have done so in the name and under cover of the Church, and not in the name of any one else. Thus you would not have afforded the Venetians an occasion to oppose you, and to take to arms. These Venetians excuse themselves to the Pope on no other ground than this, and pretend to have taken arms against the cities of the Church, not for the purpose of holding them, but merely to prevent the Florentines from taking possession of them under cover of the Church.

Your Lordships know that I have ample ground for justifying your conduct in this matter, having been personally present at all the discussions and decisions come to by your Lordships

on the subject, all of which I explained very fully to his Eminence the Cardinal Capaccio. He seemed satisfied, but remarked nevertheless that it would have been well not to have afforded the Venetians such a pretext. Under the circumstances, however, he said it was necessary to think of the remedies; and so far as he was concerned, he was for leaving nothing undone, and he thought that his Holiness was animated by the same feelings; and then he told me of the steps taken in sending the Bishops of Tivoli and Ragusa, etc., etc. After that I had a conversation with the Cardinal d'Amboise, who told me that I ought to communicate the news to the Pope; and that as for himself he would do all that was possible for the security of your Lordships and for the liberty and honor of the Church. At that moment Castel del Rio sent for me and informed me that he had shown your letter to the Pope, who was as much grieved at the events as could be imagined, and was resolved to leave nothing undone, as was well known to his Eminence of Volterra, who had gone on horseback to Ostia for no other purpose, and that on his return he would decide whether some more effective measures could not be taken, and that then all would be done. I did what I thought my duty with Castel del Rio, as well as with the other Cardinals; still I judge that my offices are the less needed in this matter, as the Cardinal Volterra neglects nothing that ought to be said or done by any one who has the welfare of his country and the general good at heart, as I have already written several times to your Lordships. And if the measures and remedies do not conform to his suggestions, and are not such as the necessities of the occasion demand, or as your Lordships might desire, you must only blame the malignity of the times and the ill fortune of the feeble. We must then await the return of our Cardinal from Ostia, and see what arrangements he may have concluded, and whether thereupon the Pope or the Cardinal d'Amboise will decide upon moving more promptly.

It is now the twenty-fourth hour, and, as his Eminence has not yet returned, I judge that he will not come back until to-morrow. I must not omit to tell your Lordships that it is publicly said here, (and I write it because I have heard it from a man of serious character, and who is in a position readily to know the truth,) that early this morning a messenger came to his Holiness from those Cardinals who went to Ostia to see

the Duke Valentino, signifying that the Duke refused to place the fortresses of Romagna in the hands of the Pope; and that his Holiness, enraged at this news, has sent orders to have the Duke arrested, and that he is now held as prisoner. And further, that the Pope has immediately written to Sienna and Perugia, ordering such of the Duke's troops as might come there to be immediately disarmed.

I do not know whether all this be true, but shall inform myself on the subject the moment our Cardinal returns, and will then at once write to your Lordships,—*quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 23 November, 1503.

LETTER XXVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

By my enclosed of yesterday, in reply to your Lordships' letter of the 20th, you will be informed of the events of that day. Since then I have received yours of the 21st, with a copy of the convention concluded between the people of Faenza and the Venetians. Having at the same time heard of the return of his Eminence of Volterra, I called upon him immediately and read him the letters and the articles of the convention. After carefully noting their contents, and particularly the postscript where your Lordships show that you had foreseen that the attack of the Venetians upon Romagna was made "with "the consent of the Pope, he told me that he had conferred "several times with the Cardinal d'Amboise about it, and that "he had also had his suspicions on the subject, seeing the tar-"diness of the Pope's measures," but that having afterwards talked with his Holiness, and seeing how keenly he felt the conduct of the Venetians, he could no longer believe it. And thus with regard to the information which you give respecting those who had gone to Imola, our Cardinal said that your Lordships were either misinformed, or that the Pope had been deceived by his envoys, as they had no authority to speak for any one but for the Church. We shall nevertheless watch these things closely, and if we learn anything of moment your Lordships shall be promptly advised. Your letter was subsequently

read to the Cardinal d'Amboise, and the articles of the convention were also shown him; and as the ambassador of the Emperor of Germany, who has repeatedly visited the Cardinal within the past few days, happened to be in his chamber at the time, the Cardinal called him to listen to the letter and the articles of the convention. Both the Cardinal and the ambassador manifested much resentment, and expressed themselves in the gravest and bitterest manner against the Venetians, intimating that this act of theirs might easily prove their ruin. In truth, there is such a general hatred manifested here against the Venetians, that we may hope that, if an occasion were to present itself, some harm would be done to them; for everybody cries out against them, not only those who hold their states from them, but all those lords and gentlemen of Lombardy who are subjects to the king of France (and these are not a few) cry into the ears of the Cardinal d'Amboise. And if he has not yet taken any action against them in the matter, it arises from the considerations which your Lordships understand, and which may cease either in consequence of a peace or a truce, or some other means, by which their condition would be improved. In short, the general opinion is that this attack of the Venetians upon Faenza will serve them as a door that will either open all Italy to them, or that will lead to their own ruin.

His Eminence of Volterra, with that prudence which he manifests on all occasions, enlarged upon the dangers to which our republic is exposed, and the inconvenience which she suffered from not having her troops within reach; and that the well-known ambition of the Venetians might easily give rise to a state of things that would not only make our own troops necessary, but also those of the king, to defend us against that inordinate desire for conquest of the Venetians, which, whilst it made them usurp the possessions of the Church, at the same time threatened those of Florence. D'Amboise became terribly excited at these words, and swore by God and on his soul, that if the Venetians committed such an outrage the king of France would leave all his other occupations, no matter how important, to come to our defence, and that upon that point your Lordships might be of good cheer, etc., etc. His Eminence of Volterra did not deem it proper to say anything more, judging that it was enough for the present to have

warned D'Amboise of what might happen. I went afterwards to present myself at the feet of the Holy Father, where I found his Eminence of Volterra, and read your Lordships' letter to him, as also the articles of the convention, his Eminence adding what he thought to the purpose. His Holiness repeated what he had already said to me on another occasion, that he was fully resolved not to suffer such a wrong done to the Church; and that, besides having sent the Bishop of Tivoli, he would also send the Bishop of Ragusa to make his intentions known in Romagna and to the Venetians; that he had caused the Duke of Urbino to withdraw his troops, and had written to order Vitelli to do the same. He said further, that, for the purpose of depriving the Venetians of every excuse for this attempt, which they pretended to be against the Duke Valentino and the Florentines, he had written to your Lordships, requesting you to withdraw your troops, and had ordered the Venetians to do the same; "and that with regard to the Duke "Valentino he had taken measures that were known to Vol-"terra;" that he would wait now to see what the Venetians would do after all this, and if they did not desist from their attempt, and did not make restitution of what they had taken, he would unite with France and the Emperor for no other purpose than the destruction of the Venetians, for which these sovereigns were well disposed. When his Eminence of Volterra replied that the Venetians said that they intended to hold those places and pay the same dues as the other lords, which they thought his Holiness would readily agree to, the Pope replied that he had no such intentions, for he wanted those cities in the hands of men of whom he could dispose at his pleasure.

Your Lordships will judge of the intentions of the Pope by what he says, and by the measures he has taken, and what is likely to be the result of this affair. You will also have received the Pope's brief directing you to withdraw your troops from these places; for he has written to the Venetians to the same effect, for the reasons above explained. What the Venetians will do on receipt of this brief is not known; but your Lordships can watch them, and govern your actions according to your habitual prudence. And to conclude, as regards the intentions of his Holiness, your Lordships will see, as I have several times said, that he wants to keep all those places in his

own hands and under his own control, and it is for this purpose that he has sent those Cardinals to Ostia, "the result of "which was that, as the Duke refused to give up those places "which he still held, the Pope had him arrested, as I have "related in the enclosed. It seems to be the Pope's determi-"nation to have those places, and to assure himself of the "Duke's person, who is actually now in the Pope's power, "being on board of one of the king's galleys, under command "of Mottino. It is not supposed that he will do him any other "harm for the moment; nor is it known for certain that the "Pope has ordered such of the Duke's troops to be disarmed "as have gone by land. But it is believed that this will natu-"rally be done, as they come without a safe-conduct from any "one."

His Holiness will assume the tiara on Sunday next. Your Lordships can therefore start the ambassadors at your entire convenience; but his Eminence of Volterra suggests that the sooner the better, considering the Pope's character, for he says that his Holiness seems to desire their coming, and would not be displeased at their arrival before the Genoese ambassadors, and that the first come will be the first despatched. His Eminence has charged me to advise your Lordships to urge their departure, for by doing so you will greatly advance yourselves in the Pope's good graces without any inconvenience to yourselves.

From the camp I have nothing else to tell you but what I have already said in my letter of the 21st, for the weather continues most unfavorable, and, if this goes on so, the troops will be obliged to retire into quarters somewhere. Perhaps they may be able by means of some agreement to withdraw from each other's front, for which the six months' truce concluded at Perpignan gives some hopes. Your Lordships will be kept fully advised in relation to all this.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 24 November, 1503.

LETTER XXVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

To prevent your Lordships from having to wait for my letters, and at the same time to keep you informed of the various phases through which the Duke Valentino's affairs have passed, and of their present condition, I hasten to send you the enclosed through the agency of Giovanni Pandolfini, who, seeing how irregularly the service of the couriers is performed, has resolved to send a messenger of his own. He is to leave at the twenty-second hour, and your Lordships will please pay him according to the advice of Giovanni.

Having written every day, or at least once every two days, I regret that, despite of many discomforts and dangers and my utmost diligence, as well as heavy expense, which neither the salary allowed me by your Lordships nor my own means can afford, I should be blamed for negligence. Henceforth, therefore, no three days shall pass, unless something extraordinary occurs, without my despatching a special courier to your Lordships; although the wretched roads and the fatigues of the couriers cause others to be served quite as badly as your Lordships. There is nothing new here but what I have already written. The Pope assumes the tiara to-morrow morning, as I have already mentioned.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 25 November, 1503.

LETTER XXIX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Through the agency of Giovanni Pandolfini, who despatched an express, I sent yesterday three letters to your Lordships of the 23d, 24th, and 25th, which contained full report of all that had occurred here during those three days, and of what we learn here in relation to matters at present in preparation here. I have told you "that the Duke has finished his *rôle* here for-"ever, that he is at the Pope's mercy, who wants by all means

"to obtain possession of those fortresses that are still held by "the Duke, and at the same time wants to assure himself "of the Duke's person. It is not exactly known whether the "Duke is still on board of a vessel at Ostia, or whether he "has been brought here. Different rumors are current here "on the subject to-day; in truth, some one has told me that "yesterday at the second hour, whilst in the Pope's chamber, "two persons arrived from Ostia, whereupon every one was im- "mediately requested to leave the chamber. But having re- "mained in the adjoining room this individual overheard that "these persons brought the news that the Duke had been "thrown into the Tiber by order of the Pope. I can neither "confirm nor deny this statement, but I believe that, even if it "be not true now, it certainly will be erelong. And we now "see how honorably this Pope begins to pay his debts, and "how he wipes them out as with a sponge. Nevertheless every- "body blesses his hands, and will do so still more the more de- "cidedly he goes ahead. But since the Duke is taken, whether "dead or alive, we can now act regardless of him. So soon as "I learn anything positive about it, your Lordships shall be "informed."

To-day, with the help of God, our Holy Father, Pope Julius II., assumed the tiara, and gave his benediction to the people in the most edifying manner, and great festivity prevailed throughout all Rome. On Thursday, God willing, he will go to St. John Lateran; but should the weather not be favorable, then he will postpone it until the first fair day. The Bishop of Ragusa, who was to have gone to Romagna, wanted to witness the coronation; but it is not known whether he will delay his departure so as to enable him also to assist at this other solemnity. As to urging his departure, your Lordships may be assured, as I have before written, that nothing will be left undone upon that point, and that, as you are aware, by a personage of higher authority than myself.

The French and the Spaniards remain in the same condition as stated in my letter to your Lordships of the 21st, and we have the same hopes now as then; for the bad weather having continued, they could do nothing. True, yesterday a man arrived here from the camp who had left there two days before, having been sent by the French commander to inform the Cardinal d'Amboise that they intended anyhow to advance

within eight days, and to have a battle or ravage the country, even if they had to wade through mud and water up to their throats. They are very hopeful of victory, and I understand that Cardinal d'Amboise has given them free rein and commended them to God. We shall see what will come of it, and will pray God to grant victory to those who shall bring peace and welfare to Christendom and to our republic. The opinion prevails that this attempt will result unfavorably for the French; for they are weak in infantry, and if the mud is not dried by the north wind, or any other winds that may blow, their cavalry, in which they are strongest, will not be able to manœuvre, and thus the best part of their forces will be embarrassed, whilst the infantry of the Spaniards, in which they are strongest, will be able to act freely. Still we must suppose that so many men of ability as are on the side of the French value their lives and know what they are about.

This morning the duplicates of your letters of the 20th and 21st came to hand, and this evening I received those of the 22d and 24th. D'Amboise shall be informed of the payment made to Gianpaolo Baglioni; I will also communicate to him your letters touching the affairs of Romagna. But this cannot be done until to-morrow; to-day being a holiday, it would seem to me not proper to trouble him with business matters. I am really astonished that on the 24th your Lordships had not yet received my letters of the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d, which I sent on the 22d by a courier who was despatched to France; but I think that by this time he must have arrived at Florence anyhow. By the series of letters which I have written from the 16th until to-day, your Lordships will understand what steps the Pope and the Cardinal d'Amboise are taking with regard to the proceedings of the Venetians. And in fact the Pope believes that he will be able to recover those places from them in an amicable way; and D'Amboise hopes to be able to check their insolence with briefs. But up to the present we do not see that either of them is for expending anything but admonitions and menaces, either by letter or by word of mouth, and your Lordships know with what energy they dispense these. I have told your Lordships, in my letter of the 24th, what his Eminence of Volterra said to me about the suggestion of your Lordships, "whether the Pope might not have consented to "the acts of the Venetians; that he had several times talked

"with the Cardinal d'Amboise about it, and had concluded "that it could not be; and that this conclusion was based u[illegible] "the language held by the Pope whenever he had spoken to "him on the subject. And not believing the Pope to be a man "of double dealing, but rather abrupt and impetuous, they had "no misgivings upon that point. His Eminence of Volterra has "since then told me again, that one day, the same as on other "occasions, the Cardinal d'Amboise had pressed the Pope upon "this point, showing him that he desired to understand his in- "tentions, so as to know what course the king of France would "have to take, and that thereupon the Pope became greatly ex- "cited, and affirmed with the gravest oaths that the acts of the "Venetians were entirely contrary to his will; that everybody "understood this fully, and that he wanted to remedy the mat- "ter, etc., etc.; and that the Pope's language was such that he "could not have shown himself more dissatisfied. These two "cardinals seem to believe him in part, and feel themselves in "great measure secure, notwithstanding that there are others "of equally high position who doubt whether amongst other "promises for the purpose of gaining the Papacy, Julius II. "may not have promised this to the Venetians," etc., etc.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 26 November, 1503.

LETTER XXX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote the enclosed yesterday, giving an account of what had occurred here during the day. It remains for me to inform your Lordships that your letters of the 24th were communicated to his Holiness through Castel del Rio; but that on the whole nothing can be drawn from the Pope except that he is firmly resolved to have things restored to their places, and that he is busily occupied trying to get the fortresses which the Duke still holds out of his hands. Respecting the Duke I cannot confirm altogether what I had written in the accompanying; the only thing positive is that he is at Ostia in the power of the Pope. But I was told yesterday that Messer

Gabriello had returned from Fano, and Messer Romolino from Ostia, and that they had arranged matters with the Duke; that is to say, he places the fortresses by agreement in the hands of the Pope, for which his Holiness gives him certain compensation; also that Romolino had prostrated himself at the feet of his Holiness, and with tears in his eyes had recommended the Duke to his consideration. We shall know erelong what will come of all this. The Pope thinks that, once in possession of those fortresses, he will be better able to face the Venetians, and that the population of Romagna will be more disposed to adhere to him when once they see the standard of the Church floating from those fortresses. Of the French army I can report only what I have said in the enclosed; the weather seems settled, but we cannot know whether it will last.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 27 November, 1503.

LETTER XXXI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote to your Lordships yesterday and the day previous, and both letters were sent through Giovanni Pandolfini free of charge. It remains for me now to inform your Lordships that last night the whole of the Pope's guard went to Ostia to bring the Duke Valentino here, according to the report of some, whilst others say that it is not only to bring him here, but also to make more sure of his person. For yesterday evening the Pope received information that the Duke had withdrawn with his followers on board of one of his own galleys, and that he would escape unless sufficient force were sent down at once to prevent it. The guard was consequently ordered down, and early this morning Castel del Rio also went down to Ostia; but up to the present twenty-fourth hour they have not returned. It was rumored this morning that the Duke had fled; but this evening it is stated that they have him in hand. However this may be, we shall know better by to-morrow; and we see now that the Pope is going to make a clean business of it with the Duke, and perhaps all I wrote in my letter of the 26th may in

every respect be verified. We see now that the Duke's sins have little by little brought him to expiation. May God guide things for the best!

The Cardinal Ragusa left here yesterday and will pass through Florence, as I have already informed you, "and in fact "he will govern his conduct according as you may direct him; "his instructions were drawn up by the Cardinal Volterra. "The Pope particularly recommended him to conduct himself "in Florence with such prudence that he may not give cause to "the Venetians to suspect him of being in your interest." I have deemed it well to mention this to your Lordships, so that you may use due caution and prudence in dealing with him. One of the persons whom the Pope in the beginning sent into Romagna returned here yesterday, and reports that the Church has but few adherents amongst the inhabitants of Imola and Furli; because the latter fear that they may not again be placed under the government of the Countess of Furli, whilst those of Imola desire the return of the Duke. He also states that the Castellan of Furli is resolved upon making a vigorous resistance, and to remain faithful to the Duke so long as he knows him to be alive. This report displeases the Pope very much; still he relies upon the mission of the Bishop of Ragusa, and will await the result.

Nothing more from the camp than what I have lately written. Gianpaolo Baglioni is expected here within a week.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 28 November, 1503.

LETTER XXXII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

"Volterra communicated to me to-day, that yesterday, whilst "conversing with D'Amboise about the things that are going on "here, he touched upon the treaty that is on foot between the "three sovereigns of France, Germany, and Spain. D'Amboise "seemed very anxious that it should be carried into effect, "because France has been much exhausted during the past "year; and he hoped that with a little repose she would soon

"be in condition to engage in any important enterprise. He "spoke so earnestly on the subject, as to make one believe that "he would be in favor of accepting such a peace, even if it were "disadvantageous for France. His Eminence told me further, "that D'Amboise had given him to understand that in the "event of such a peace the Emperor would come any way into "Italy. Volterra having observed, in reply to him, that, as on "the occasion of similar treaties and descents of the Emperor "into Italy, it would be necessary for France to remember her "allies and to protect them, D'Amboise answered that this "would under any circumstances be the first thing to be "done, as they would on no account allow Tuscany to be dis-"membered. True, the Emperor being poor, and wishing to "travel in a becoming manner, it would be necessary for Flor-"ence to contribute and serve him with a sum of money, which "however need not be considerable; but that it was important "for your Lordships not to fail in doing this. In the course of "the conversation D'Amboise allowed it to escape from his "lips that the aforesaid three sovereigns intended under the "treaty to divide Italy amongst themselves; but he affirmed at "the same time that under the protection of France Florence "would be saved and her situation even improved. During "this conversation Volterra never lost sight of the duties of "his office; in short, he obtained from D'Amboise all the above "information, and if this treaty is concluded, it will not be "until after D'Amboise shall have conferred with the Emperor "on his way back to France. It has seemed to me proper to "communicate to your Lordships all the information I have "had on the subject, so that when D'Amboise passes through "Florence, as he will, you may place some citizen near him "who will advocate your interests and will know on what sub-"jects to sound him.

"You must also know that the Emperor's ambassador was "this morning with Volterra, and told him that the Vene-"tian ambassador had been to see him the day before, and "had endeavored to persuade him on the part of his govern-"ment of their devotion to the Emperor, and how anxious they "were that he should come into Italy, so that they might to-"gether with him settle the affairs of Italy, which were in "such a bad condition; that the Venetian ambassador touched "several times upon the affairs of Romagna, in the hope that

"the Emperor's ambassador would enter upon a discussion of "that subject; but as he did not, the Venetian himself opened "the matter, and began about the disorders in Italy, showing "that Romagna had been devastated for two centuries on ac- "count of the Popes, who wanted to establish first one and "then another as master of that province; so that its popula- "tion was wearied, and in their desire for repose had thrown "itself into the arms of the Venetians, who had received them, "but that henceforth they wished to pay to the Church the "revenues due to her. And as to the other lords, they were "ready to submit themselves to their sense of justice. The "German ambassador said that he had replied in a suitable "manner, and, without noticing the arguments of the Venetian, "he began again to say that the Emperor would without fail "come into Italy very soon, and that his intentions with regard "to Pisa were twofold; first, to give possession of that city "to whoever gave him the most money for it; and secondly, "that under all circumstances he wanted an annual revenue "from it, as though it were his own property bestowed upon "some one as his feudatory. To all this Volterra replied "in a suitable manner, whereupon the German ambassador "left. I write all this to your Lordships for the reason above "stated, and confidently, so that this information may not "reach any party where it might give rise to unfavorable re- "flections, etc., etc."

Idem NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME.

"By your letter of the 25th I have your instructions respect- "ing Citerna, and shall follow the matter up with all possible "economy; but the Cardinal San Giorgio says that he has a "secret offer. Still the negotiation will not be given up, and "your Lordships shall be advised of the result.

"*Die quo in literis.*"

Idem NICCOLO.

LETTER XXXIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

The enclosed will inform your Lordships of what occurred here yesterday. Since then your letter of the 25th has arrived, and although there was a consistory to-day, nevertheless measures were taken early this morning to communicate the news contained in your letter to the Pope. Yours of the 24th was communicated to him at the same time, giving an account of the preparations of the Venetians for the purpose of making themselves masters of the remainder of Romagna. In short, his Holiness was reassured by the course of French affairs, and takes hope from the treaty between the two kings referred to in my letter of the 25th. But he was greatly irritated against the Venetians, so that, if any reliance can be placed upon words, gesticulations, and other indications, we must believe that these things really vex him, and that they have been done without his consent. Nevertheless, we do not see that he contemplates taking any other measures than such as he has ordered up to the present; but he seems altogether resolved to wait and see the result of the missions he has sent into Romagna and to Venice. Nothing is left undone to stir up the zeal of his Holiness, for in truth, besides his Eminence of Volterra, who acts in the matter with courage and and earnestness, and regardless of all other considerations, there are other Cardinals who give his Holiness no rest, and D'Amboise is one of those who promise him troops and all other aid, in case he should take fresh measures for resenting the acts of the Venetians. And that things are tending that way is proved by the language which his Holiness held this morning at the consistory before all the Cardinals. For when he came to declare the four Cardinals whom he created to-day, his Holiness said that one of the reasons that influenced him in the creation of those Cardinals was to give the Church more supporters for her defence against those who sought to usurp what belonged to her, and so as to be able the easier to recover from the hands of the Venetians the places which they had wrongfully seized; notwithstanding which he believed that they wished to act like faithful children of the Church, and were willing to restore those places to her, as he had been repeatedly assured by their ambassadors. In

saying this his Holiness softened his language; although the first part of his address was such as I have stated above.

The guard returned from Ostia to-day at the twenty-second hour, and the Duke Valentino was brought at the same time on a galley to San Paolo (fuori le Mura), about two miles from here; and it is believed that he will be brought up to Rome to-night. What will be done with him after that will be known erelong. For the present your Lordships need not trouble yourselves as to where the Duke may possibly disembark. The infantry which he had taken into his pay come straggling back, and the gentlemen whom he had taken with him will have to return to their homes; and Don Michele with the other troops who are coming to Florence will not get much good by it. For the present I know nothing more of them; but your Lordships will have better information on the subject from Perugia or the neighboring places. Of the French and the Spaniards we hear nothing new; they retain their former positions, where they are kept by the same causes that I have mentioned in previous letters. Nor is it known what determination the French have come to with regard to their intended advance under any circumstances, as they had given us to understand. Perhaps they have been stopped by the same considerations which I have mentioned in a former letter. Anyhow it is said that both the armies cannot well be in worse positions, nor in greater want. The weather does not improve; although it was fair for two days, yet to-day it has begun to rain again without cessation, and thus the poor soldiers have to contend against the waters of the earth and of the heavens.

The newly created Cardinals are the following: —

1. The Archbishop of Narbonne, nephew of D'Amboise.
2. The Bishop of Lucca.
3. The Bishop of Mende, in France.
4. The Bishop of Sibilia.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Rome, 29 November, 1503.

P. S. — I had omitted to tell your Lordships that the Pope does not go to St. John Lateran to-morrow, for fear of the weather. The solemnity has been postponed until Sunday.

Niccolo Machiavelli.

LETTER XXXIV.

Magnificent Signori: —

The enclosed letters of yesterday and the day before will inform your Lordships of what has taken place here since my letters of the 26th and 27th. This morning his Eminence of Volterra told me that he had again been with the Pope, and that, in speaking of the affairs of Romagna, his Holiness said: "This Venetian ambassador makes a great outcry about what "I said in the consistory, and goes about complaining to the "whole world on the subject." His Eminence replied that his Holiness ought to learn from this how much noise these Venetians made about his words, whilst they themselves were unwilling to be reproached for their acts. And that his Holiness ought to be the more incensed by their acts, as they were committed against the Church, etc., etc. The Pope having thereupon asked him whether he had any new measures to suggest, his Eminence replied, that it seemed to him that his Holiness ought to request the Cardinal d'Amboise, before leaving Rome, to order some lances into the province of Parma; and moreover he ought to leave Gianpaolo in Tuscany, so that he could readily be sent to the frontiers of Romagna, and could be made use of either in reality or by way of demonstration, according to circumstances. These two things he thought would not be difficult for D'Amboise to do, for the troops would anyhow have to go into winter quarters, and therefore it ought to be immaterial to him whether they were at Parma or elsewhere. That Gianpaolo was not needed in camp, as there was already too much cavalry there, and that perchance, if a truce were concluded, as was hoped for, he would also have to go into winter quarters. His Eminence of Volterra furthermore reminded his Holiness that he ought promptly to engage those Condottieri whom he intended to take into his pay, in addition to the Duke of Urbino, who seemed disposed to take some of the Colonnese into his own pay. He related to him also, that there had been some negotiations during the past year, through the intervention of the king of France, to effect a union between your Lordships and the cities of Sienna, Bologna, and Ferrara, but that Pope Alexander VI. in his unlimited desire for domination had always opposed it, lest such an alliance might be

directed against him; that it would be well, however, for his Holiness to resume these negotiations, and that, if he were to take them in hand, he would doubtless succeed, and that very soon. His Eminence pointed out to the Pope what good would result from it, and how such an alliance would insure peace and quiet to all those states as well as to the Church, and add greatly to the consideration of his Holiness. His Eminence told me that the Pope listened quietly, and with seeming pleasure, to all his arguments, and said that he would endeavor to have D'Amboise do what his Eminence had suggested, and that he would engage the Condottieri as soon as possible. His Holiness said, moreover, that the proposed alliance pleased him much, and that he would promote it to the extent of his power; in fact, that, so far as he was concerned, he was ready to do anything to bring it about. After that they talked of the Duke Valentino, from which it appeared that the Pope does not yet treat the Duke as a prisoner for life. He has sent him to Magliana, seven miles from here, where he is guarded; and in this way the Pope is trying to make him pliable, and to get his countersign from him by agreement, so that it may not be said of him that he had obtained it by force, lest the governors of those fortresses, under such an impression, should undo the whole by giving those places into the hands of some one else instead of the Pope; and therefore he wanted the Duke's countersign by agreement, as I have said. The agreement will certainly contain the conditions that the Pope is to have those fortresses, and that then the Duke will be allowed to go free. Perhaps there may be a question as to some compensation, or it may even contain a promise of their being restored after a while to the Duke. What the result of all this will be, I cannot say; nor is it easy to form a judgment in the matter, for the Duke's affairs have undergone a thousand mutations since I have been here, though in truth these changes have always been downward.

To-day at dinner-time I received your letter of the 27th, in reply to mine of the 25th, and announcing the arrival of Messer Ennio, together with the news of Imola, etc., etc. I applied immediately for an audience of his Holiness, and, presenting myself at his feet, I communicated to him the contents of your letters. In reply his Holiness referred, the same as on former occasions, to his intentions against the Venetians; and as to

Messer Ennio, the Pope expressed himself pleased to have the information and the particulars of the way in which the affair had passed off; adding merely that your Lordships should take care to withdraw your troops. To which I replied, that your Lordships had thought of all this, and would act in such manner as not to set a bad example to the Venetians; and that, on the other hand, you would do your utmost to prevent any inconvenience arising from it. His Holiness told me that he had heard of the news from Tosignano, which he regretted greatly, and thanked your Lordships for your offer.

For information respecting the French and Spanish armies I must refer you to what I have said in my previous letters on the subject. The Cardinal d'Amboise will leave here without fail next week. In conversing three or four days since with the most Reverend Monsignore Capaccio, he told me that he had received a benefice in Mugello, and was about to send the Bull and his executive letters; and he requested me to write to your Lordships to be pleased promptly to expedite them; reminding me that he had never asked for anything of you, but had on every occasion served you like a good Florentine. I replied to him in a suitable way.

His Eminence of Volterra, as I have repeatedly observed in my letters, never fails to do his duty to his country; but he would wish to avoid committing any error, and would not like that his too great desire to do what is right and good should mislead him. It would be very agreeable to him, therefore, if, besides your instructions with regard to Romagna, you would indicate to him what, in your Lordships' judgment, would be the best thing for the Pope to do, so that his Eminence may act with less hesitation and more wisdom.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 30 November, 1503.

The present letters are sent by a confidential express, for which your Lordships will pay to Giovanni Pandolfini the usual price. This express will leave at the fourth hour of the night.

LETTER XXXV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

After having despatched per confidential express my letters of the 28th, 29th, and 30th, I received your Lordships' letter of the 28th per express. I presented myself this morning at the feet of the Holy Father, and read to him your Lordships' letters in the presence of his Eminence of Volterra. His Holiness listened as usual, and manifested the greatest displeasure at the news; he repeated to me that he would not rest nor leave anything undone that was in his power to do for the honor of the Church and the security of her friends; that until now he had done the greater part of what your Lordships had required him to do, that the briefs to the Venetians had been written and sent, and that the Bishop of Ragusa ought by this time to be at Sienna. Moreover, that as he had no troops he would ask the Cardinal d'Amboise to consent to his employing Gianpaolo Baglioni himself, and that he would to some extent endeavor to raise troops, and that thus he would do as much as he possibly could, and with such good will that nobody in reason could ask more of him. I replied to all this as seemed to me proper, and Cardinal Volterra did his duty, as ever is his wont, for he remained to-day, as on many previous occasions, to dine with his Holiness; and made it a point to remind and urge him to take the necessary steps for our security and for the honor of the Church. The Pope seemed to his Eminence in great agitation, for whilst on the one hand he is anxious to act, he feels on the other hand that he lacks the power. There is no doubt that, if the Pope can be kept in this mood, he will in course of time put those who now attempt to dishonor the Church in great peril. His Eminence also seems to think that your Lordships should urge the departure of the ambassadors, and that you should be liberal in those things that cost nothing, and bestow and distribute them according to circumstances.

When his Holiness was informed, according to what you write, that Ramazotto had entered the castle of Imola, he said that this captain was devoted to him, but that, if the report was true, it must have been done by order of the Cardinal San Giorgio, and that we could learn from him whether he knew

anything about it. More than this I have not been able to get from his Holiness; but your Lordships will be able to judge and decide from these conclusions and resolutions what ought to be done. For, as has been said a thousand times, for the present there is nothing to be hoped for from here in the way of aid either of troops or of money, unless D'Amboise should consent that the Pope should engage the services of Gianpaolo, and every effort will be made to induce him to do so. There is no indication that those who influence his Holiness have had the least idea that the acts of aggression of the Venetians have been done with his consent, for they do not believe him capable of such duplicity, having never before known him such, and looking upon him rather as an impulsive man who acts regardless of all considerations. His Holiness says that his briefs have been sent off in duplicate to the Venetians; and as none have been presented to your Lordships, it is natural to conclude that he has abstained from sending you any, for the reason which he himself intimated to me yesterday evening when I spoke to him on the subject, as I wrote your Lordships in my letter of yesterday.

Whilst at the feet of his Holiness news came that Don Michele was taken prisoner, and that his company had been stripped by Gianpaolo Baglioni on the frontier between Tuscany and Perugia. His Holiness manifested great satisfaction at this, as the affair seemed to have succeeded entirely according to his wishes. His Eminence of Volterra remained with his Holiness, and went with him to dine in the Belvedere; whence he returned in the evening at about the twenty-fourth hour, and related to me that after my having left the Pope the Duke of Urbino sent him a letter, which Gianpaolo Baglioni had written to some one in his confidence, to the effect that the inhabitants of Castiglione and Cortona, aided by his troops, had stripped the men under Don Michele, and that he himself and Carlo Baglioni were prisoners at Castiglione Aretino, in the hands of your Lordships' rectors. This news delighted the Pope in the highest degree, for it seemed to him as if the capture of this individual would afford the opportunity for discovering all the cruel robberies, murders, sacrilege, and endless other crimes that had been committed during the past eleven years in Rome, against God and mankind. And his Holiness said to Cardinal Volterra that he hoped that, since your Lord-

ships had done so well in allowing your subjects to assist in stripping Don Michele and his troops, you would also render him the further service of delivering Don Michele into his hands. He immediately directed a brief to be written to your Lordships, demanding the said Don Michele, which brief will be forwarded at same time with this letter. His Eminence encouraged the Pope to hope that it would be done, and he counsels your Lordships most earnestly to surrender this individual, as being an enemy and despoiler of the Church. You will thus give his Holiness a proof of your devotion, which will be greatly prized by him, and will cost you nothing. His Eminence also told me that the condition of Romagna had formed the principal topic of their conversation all day, and that he had recognized in the Pope an earnest desire and great eagerness to remedy that state of things; that he intended to take troops into his pay, and to do all other things to enable him to show his teeth to everybody. And if these things are not immediately carried into effect it will be owing to the causes which I have explained in my letter of the 11th of last month, which keep him embarrassed; besides these he naturally perplexes himself a little, which another, who had more resources, would not do. But his great mind and the love of honor which his Holiness has always manifested will overcome all this.

The Bishop of Ragusa ought by this time to have arrived in Florence, and according to what the Cardinal Volterra tells me the Pope's brief will be presented by him to your Lordships, unless it should have been previously sent to you; he also tells me that the Pope has written twice to Venice. So far as I am aware, there is nothing new from the French camp.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 1 December, 1503.

P. S. — I had forgotten to tell your Lordships that the Duke Valentino is at the palace, where he was brought this morning, and is lodged in the chamber of the treasurer. I must also inform you that the Pope wishes your Lordships to send Don Michele under a strong guard as far as Acquapendente, where his Holiness will have ordered that he shall be received. His Eminence of Volterra seems to think that, if your Lordships wish to avoid the expense of sending him so far, you might

have him taken to Perugia, and send immediate information of it here, so that the Pope may make arrangements to have him sent for there.

LETTER XXXVI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote you yesterday all that had occurred here; perchance that letter may reach you at the same time with this one. I must now inform your Lordships that one of Signor Luca Savello's men-at-arms called this morning upon his Eminence of Volterra and myself, having been sent expressly to the Cardinal to tell him that it was impossible for Signor Luca to subsist any longer without money, and that he desired a small payment on account, and that if this were not promptly made he would be constrained to disband his company and return home, which for the honor of your Lordships and his own he would not wish to be obliged to do. His Eminence gave him fair words, and promised him that your Lordships should be written to on the subject; and he directed me to write and reassure Signor Luca, and also to bring the matter to your notice, so that you may reply and provide the means. This messenger left the camp four days ago; he reported also that the greater part of the army was on the Garigliano, where the bridge had been thrown over the river, and that the rest were dispersed in the vicinity within ten miles. He reported many disorders and much difficulty in crossing the river; he also stated that it was reported in camp that Gonsalvo had a number of boats brought by land, which he intended to place upon the river for the purpose of crossing to the other side, for the arrival of the Orsini made him suppose himself superior in number to the French. We asked the messenger what the French intended to do under the circumstances; but he could not tell, nor was he able to give any explanations upon many other points. I can say nothing more on this subject; we must await the issue, and pray God that it may be favorable.

"San Giorgio does not wish that any one should receive the "appointment of constable who is a Florentine, or a subject of "that republic; and therefore you might name any one to that

"office whom you thought suitable, and the sooner the better, "so that we may get this matter off our hands. But it will "not cost you less than two hundred ducats, for it is the money "he wants, and not the exchange."

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 2 December, 1503.

LETTER XXXVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

After having written you the enclosed I left the palace with the intention of seeing San Giorgio, for the object known to your Lordships. Having waited a long while without being able to see him, because of his occupations, I returned to the palace where I found his Eminence of Volterra, who had been with the Pope in relation to the affairs of the Duke Valentino. His Holiness had obtained the countersign for the fortresses from the Duke, and had ordered that Messer Pietro d' Oviedo, as the Duke's representative, and some other person as representing his Holiness, should leave this evening or early to-morrow for Florence on their way to Romagna. And as his Eminence had written a letter to your Lordships in my absence, which these commissioners should present to you, I must refer to that letter for all that has been agreed upon with the Pope, and for all that his Eminence thinks your Lordships ought to do in this matter. I will only say, by direction of his Eminence, that nothing should be left undone by your Lordships to enable the Pope to succeed in obtaining possession of these fortresses; and to reassure their castellans by becoming surety for the Pope's promises, and even to expend some of your own money for that purpose; and altogether to act in such manner as to assure and dispose their inhabitants favorably, and to inspire them with the hope that the Pope will deal with those lords that have returned to him in the way they could wish; and in fact to employ all your skill to carry the matter through. For if the Pope succeeds in getting possession of the castles of Furli and Cesena, apart from the advantage that would result to Florence from such an impediment

being placed in the way of the Venetians, his Holiness would also acknowledge himself under the greatest obligations to your Lordships.

The Duke Valentino has been removed from the apartment of the treasurer, and is now lodged in that of the Cardinal d'Amboise; he is trying to accompany that Cardinal to Florence, where he will go immediately after the coronation in St. John Lateran.

"D'Amboise received the Duke most unwillingly in his "apartment, and is still more reluctant to take him with him. "In the matter of receiving the Duke in his apartment, the "Cardinal submitted for the sake of gratifying the Pope; but "as to taking him with him to Florence, the Cardinal may per- "haps not agree to that. And then if the Pope wants posses- "sion of those fortresses before the Duke leaves Rome, they "could not be turned over to him in time, inasmuch as D'Am- "boise is on the point of starting. It is not easy therefore to "form an opinion as to what the end of the Duke may be; but "many conjecture that it will be a bad one."

The Cardinal d'Amboise will leave immediately after the Pope shall have gone to St. John Lateran, which is to be on Monday or Tuesday next. The Emperor of Germany's ambassador will accompany D'Amboise, who will endeavor to have an interview with the Emperor before proceeding on to France, in the hope of bringing about an agreement between those two sovereigns. His Eminence of Volterra thinks it would be well that your Lordships should at once send some one of experience and position as your representative to go with the Cardinal d'Amboise, who should meet him this side of Sienna, so that in passing through that city he might see whether some good arrangement might not be effected with Pandolfo. Our Cardinal seems to think it desirable that your Lordships should send some one with the Cardinal d'Amboise, who should be present at the interview with the Emperor, so as to remind him of the interests of our republic, and to find out whether anything is proposed to its detriment, and if so, to counteract it as far as possible, and promptly to advise your Lordships of it. Such a person should be a man of experience, and agreeable to the Cardinal d'Amboise, as well as devoted to our republic. When his Eminence of Volterra related to the Cardinal d'Amboise the message he had received that morning

from Messer Luca Savello, which I have mentioned in the enclosed, D'Amboise shook his head and said that the fellow must be a fool; assuring his Eminence of Volterra, at the same time, that he had letters of the 29th of November, saying that the enemy was much worse off than the French, for they were up to their middle in water, and were less sheltered and suffered more from want, having less money to spend. And that the French were still of the same mind as heretofore with regard to an advance, if only the waters of heaven and earth would let them. Since then I have conversed this evening with a citizen of Florence who had talked with Salvalago of Pistoja, who came a couple of days ago from the camp, and relates that he has been several times within the past three weeks in the French and Spanish camps for the purpose of receiving certain prisoners, and that the statements of this Salvalago correspond more with what the Cardinal d'Amboise says than with the reports brought by the messenger from Savello. The end will explain all, and we must abide it in patience.

The Marquis of Mantua left here yesterday for Florence; he is ill of a quartan ague.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 2 December, 1503.

P. S. — After having written the above, and whilst in the act of sealing it, your letter per express arrived, informing me of the capture of Don Michele. We had this news already yesterday morning, and I wrote you yesterday evening at length what the Pope wanted done in the matter, as you will also learn from the brief of his Holiness, which was sent with our letters. And as Giovanni Pandolfini has told me that they were safely sent last night, I do not repeat it now. And although your Lordships' instructions had been fulfilled, I nevertheless sent the letters to his Eminence of Volterra at the palace; for it being now the third hour of night, persons in my position cannot with safety pass through the streets of Rome.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

LETTER XXXVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

I wrote two letters to your Lordships yesterday, which will be brought to you by the same courier, whose departure has been delayed until this evening, and who, according to what I hear, will not start for Florence until the third hour of night. I acknowledged in my last the receipt of your private despatch per express, containing the news of the capture of Don Michele. But as this news had already reached the Pope, as mentioned in my letter, and as his Holiness had already written to you, there was no occasion to do anything more in the matter. Nevertheless your Lordships' letter was communicated to the Pope, and produced the same effect as mentioned in my letter of the 1st; that is to say, his Holiness manifested much pleasure, and then demanded with great earnestness to have Don Michele delivered to him. And he seemed confident that this request would not be refused, and to-day he said, smiling, that he wanted to talk with Don Michele and to learn some tricks from him, so as to enable him the better to govern the Church.

I have told your Lordships in my last of yesterday, that Pietro d' Oviedo, together with an envoy of the Pope, was to have left this morning for Florence with the countersigns of the fortresses. Your Lordships must know that they have not yet started, for the reason that, as the Pope was negotiating for the amicable transfer of these fortresses, the Duke held back and wanted guarantees, and stood upon other trifles, and at the same time the Pope did not yet want to force him. The guarantees demanded by the Duke are that the Cardinal d'Amboise shall pledge himself in his own handwriting that all the Pope's promises shall be carried out; in other words, that D'Amboise shall become surety for the good faith of the Pope. The Cardinal d'Amboise has until now refused to do this, and no one believes that he will be induced to consent to it in any way or at any price. And thus this matter has been discussed all day, and the final impression is that without any other pledges on the part of the Cardinal d'Amboise, Messer Pietro d' Oviedo will start to-morrow morning with the countersigns, "and thus "the Duke is little by little slipping into his grave."

Certain young Roman gentlemen, followers of the Duke,

came to-day to his Eminence of Volterra and complained that, whilst the Florentine merchants were well received at Rome, their own men and their effects that were with Don Michele had been seized and taken from them, in consequence of which they made these complaints, and even threats. His Eminence answered them sharply, saying that the Florentine merchants came to Rome unarmed and for a useful purpose, and not with the intent to do harm to any one; and that, if their men and things had been seized and spoliated, it was because of the injuries which they had in the past inflicted upon the inhabitants of the country, and because they had now come amongst them again without any guaranty or assurance not to do them fresh harm. These young men finally went away as they had come. His Eminence thinks, nevertheless, it would be well for you to gather all the facts and proofs of the case, and proceed the same as others who have been despoiled by the Duke. These have made public declaration of their grievances, and have proceeded against the Duke in the regular legal way, and their petitions have already been filed. Amongst these figure the Duke of Urbino, who claims two hundred thousand ducats, and the Cardinal San Giorgio, who claims fifty thousand ducats for account of his nephews. By adopting the same course yourselves, you would always be able to justify this late incident by proving the damages which you have suffered at the hands of the Duke.

The engagement of Gianpaolo Baglioni remains suspended, so far as your Lordships are concerned, for the reasons mentioned before, that the Cardinal d'Amboise is dissatisfied with him; for after having given Gianpaolo permission to go to Perugia, he ordered him to do several things, none of which he has done; and also because, despite of all the letters written and all the money paid him, he has never yet come here. His Eminence fears that, unless measures be taken to remedy this in some way, all the money paid by the king of France and D'Amboise to enable Baglioni to mount his troops may after all have been expended only for the benefit of some one else. And his Eminence of Volterra sees no other remedy than to have this business ratified by your guaranty, — which he thinks can be concluded here if Gianpaolo arrives here with his company before the departure of the Cardinal d'Amboise, so that he may talk and demonstrate to him that everything is

in order. His Eminence furthermore is of the opinion, that, if D'Amboise should have left before Gianpaolo arrives here, you should do your utmost to bring this matter to a conclusion before the Cardinal shall have left Tuscany; otherwise he fears the result may be such as has been indicated above.

Valete!

Rome, 3 December, 1503. Niccolo Machiavelli.

LETTER XXXIX.

Magnificent Signori: —

I write to-day more for the sake of keeping up my habit of writing to your Lordships daily, than from necessity; and for news I must refer you to my letters of yesterday and the day before, which were sent by a courier from Lyons, who was despatched this evening. The only thing of interest here is that a public consistory was held yesterday, and the names of those Cardinals were published whose nominations had been contemplated, as I had communicated to your Lordships in a previous letter. I must also inform you that the French have received intelligence through a man sent here on purpose, and who arrived two hours since, that the Spaniards had some boats that had been brought by land, and which they placed upon the Garigliano, intending to run them against the bridge constructed by the French, and some of these barges were filled with combustibles and lighted, so as to try and burn the bridge. At a given signal these barges were launched upon the river, and at the same moment a land attack was made upon the redoubt which is held by the French on the other side of the river. Both these assaults were gallantly repulsed by the French, some three hundred Spaniards were killed, and the barges were captured and sunk. Thus the story is related by a Frenchman.

His Holiness goes to-morrow to St. John Lateran; a splendid solemnity has been arranged for the occasion, and unless the weather interferes it will be a brilliant festivity.

It is now the eighteenth hour, and should anything else occur to-day, it will be communicated to you to-morrow.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

Niccolo Machiavelli.

Rome, 14 December, 1503.

LETTER XL.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

My last to your Lordships was of day before yesterday, in which I gave you the news up to that time. But I had scarcely written it when Pietro d' Oviedo left, together with the Pope's representatives, and having the countersigns, etc., etc. As they were to travel by post, they ought to be in Florence by this time, and your Lordships will have seen them in person. The Bishop of Ragusa must also have arrived, and you will likewise have spoken with him, and agreed with him as to the nature of the assistance which he is to furnish you, according as circumstances shall require. Since then nothing is thought of here but festivities.

The Pope went yesterday with great solemnity to St. John Lateran, whence he did not return until the fourth hour of night. On Sunday he goes to San Paolo, and he has ordered that the tabernacles, the triumphal arches, and the temples that have been erected in the streets shall remain, for he wants to show himself on Sunday with the same pomp. I have received a letter from your Lordships of the 2d, and although the news of the arrival of the Count Pittigliano in Romagna would have been of interest, yet all the above circumstances have prevented me from doing anything in the matter. The Pope and all Rome look forward to the arrival of Don Michele as a great occasion, and would like to have it happen on Sunday, so that they might make use of him in the triumphal procession; but the Pope will be glad to have him whenever he may come.

We have no further news from the French and the Spaniards. The Cardinal d'Amboise and the Spanish ambassador have commenced their conferences. It is said that the Pope has sent a commissioner to Gonsalvo to try and bring about a truce between them, and there is fair prospect of success unless some mishap occurs meantime.

In a previous letter I informed your Lordships that his Eminence of Amboise was dissatisfied with Gianpaolo, and that it was to be feared that, after having mounted his company by means of French money, some one else might have the benefit of it. There seems to be no way of preventing this except to

induce Gianpaolo to have an interview with the Cardinal d'Amboise, either here in Rome or somewhere on the road, and to make him protest to the Cardinal that he wished to serve him, and declare himself ready to obey his orders; and that then you should endeavor to complete his engagement, from which you would derive great advantages. But if Gianpaolo should not have such an interview with D'Amboise, the difficulty could not be remedied, for the Cardinal has become terribly embittered against Gianpaolo, and has repeatedly sworn as a soldier, that, if Gianpaolo does not return him his money, he would, if he could not injure him in any other way, hand him over as a prey to any one with whom he could come to an understanding about it, no matter whether Italian or Ultramontane. The Cardinal d'Amboise says that he has heard that Baglioni has pledged himself to Bartolommeo d' Alviano never to enter the kingdom of Naples against the Spaniards; and certain indications which he has noted since make the Cardinal believe that this is undoubtedly true. To prevent such an evil, his Eminence of Volterra and myself have written this evening to Gianpaolo, each one separately, in plain language, enjoining him to endeavor to have an interview with the Cardinal d'Amboise on the road, if he desired to avoid being blamed as an enemy of France, and no friend of your Lordships. I have given you this information so that you may know how the matter stands, and that you may reflect upon it and take such steps as you may judge to be most conducive to the common interest. The Cardinal d'Amboise leaves, as I have said, either on Friday or Saturday next, and the Imperial ambassador will accompany him. D'Amboise has been confirmed Legate of France.

His Eminence of Volterra desires to remind your Lordships to send two or three deputies to meet him at least one day's journey this side of Sienna, so as to be able to confer with him in relation to the interests of our republic, and especially about Montepulciano and Pisa. He also suggests that you should send some one to accompany him, and who should be present at his interview with the Emperor. His Eminence thinks that this would in every respect be most useful.

The Duke Valentino remains in the apartment of the Cardinal d'Amboise, but is treated very ceremoniously. Yesterday, on account of the festivities, he was placed under the guard

and surveillance of Castel del Rio, who took him to dine at the Belvedere, and treated him with great respect all day. It is believed that after the departure of D'Amboise the Duke will be confined for good in the Castel San Angelo.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ felices valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 6 December, 1503.

LETTER XLI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

Your Lordships will bear in mind what I wrote you on the 28th ultimo. The Imperial ambassador has again been with the Cardinal Volterra, and said to him: "Your Eminence does "not seem to think of what I have told you several times, nor "have you ever given me an answer. And yet it would be "well to think of it and answer me. And I tell you again now "that the Emperor will come into Italy, and intends to ob- "tain two advantages from Pisa; namely, a certain amount of "money at once, and a regular revenue for the future; and that "he will give the possession of that city to whoever makes him "the highest offer for it." Our Cardinal replied that he could not give him an answer upon these points; but as he was going himself with the Cardinal d'Amboise to Florence, he could there confer with your Lordships and get an answer from you direct. The ambassador agreed to wait until then; and in speaking afterwards of the proposed treaty between the Emperor and the king of France, he said that treaty would certainly be concluded in the course of a month, and that amongst other conditions it would contain one to the effect that the parties would protect the interests of each other's allies, except in cases where either of the sovereigns had special claims, even though adverse to the ally of the other. The ambassador added, that the Venetians sought to make such a treaty a ground for claiming to be allowed to keep what they had taken. Cardinal Volterra replied, that such a proceeding would deprive the Emperor Maximilian and King Louis XII. of a most favorable opportunity for increasing their power in Italy, and to hold their own states securely, as it would make a formidable

state like Venice still more powerful, and would make a feeble state like Florence weaker than before. And therefore he could not help saying, even though his words were insufficient to prove it, that it was evident to him that your Lordships were disposed to come to an arrangement with the Venetians before any one else had thought of it. And that you would only look to the interests of Florence at the least suspicion that your republic was to be dismembered and left to the mercy of others.

His Eminence of Volterra seemed to think that these words checked the ambassador in some measure, and caused him to reflect, and that he went away in a less arrogant mood.

The ambassador will pass through Florence with D'Amboise, and meanwhile your Lordships will have reflected as to how to treat him in relation to the interests of our republic, etc., etc.*

LETTER XLII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNOR: —

I have received your letter of the 21st, and although I could not make out the signature I thought I recognized the handwriting and the style. But even if I were mistaken, the reply which I address to you will neither be out of place nor from the purpose. You point out the danger to which the rest of Romagna is exposed by the loss of Faenza, and you intimate that the Florentines have need to think of their own interests, because others who could and should do so pay no attention to them. You fear lest the Pope had given his consent to the proceedings of the Venetians, and you make yourself illusions as to the final result of French affairs, and urge me to renew my instances and solicitations. Although all this had already been officially written to me, and although I have replied to it as fully as you could possibly desire, and so that you could have formed a definite opinion on reading my letters, yet I will not fail in my duty to you; and in accordance with your re-

* The above letter and the following one were taken from a manuscript of Giuliano de' Ricci, who says that he copied them thus imperfectly because they were written on a piece of paper that was all torn and spoiled. The next letter, No. XLII., was directed to one of the principal citizens of Florence, probably the Gonfaloniere Pietro Soderini.

quest I will answer your questions in very plain language, if my communications to the government have been too diplomatic, which, however, I do not believe to be the case.

You express the wish that for once the Pope and the Cardinal d'Amboise should, in the Romagna business, employ other means than mere words, which you deem insufficient remedies for what the Venetians have done and continue to do; and you have caused both Pope and Cardinal to be solicited upon that point in a way that you know. The results of this have been those resolutions which have been communicated to you; for the Pope hopes that the Venetians will have to act in a manner that will be satisfactory to him; and the Cardinal d'Amboise believes that he will still be in time to remedy matters, either by a peace, a truce, or a victory. And both Pope and Cardinal are so fixed in their opinions, that they will not listen to any one who suggests anything different from their own views. We may conclude, therefore, that you need not expect either troops or money from here, but only briefs, letters, or monitory embassies, which may be more or less vigorous according to the considerations which the Pope and the king of France may have to observe. And what these may or should be you will be best able to judge yourselves, keeping in view the condition of Italy, and then in thinking of your own interests after having seen and examined what may be done by others for your security, and after having seen and examined what you may expect from here. As to what may be hoped for from this latter point, I cannot write more fully than what I have done already. I will add merely, that if the Cardinal d'Amboise asks for anything else, such as the services of Gianpaolo, or for your troops, you must let him know that you cannot spare either, as you want them yourselves for the defence of your republic. . . . . But you cannot reason with him on this subject without his getting as mad as the devil, and calling God and men to witness that he would take up arms himself if any one but touched a hair of your head, or that he would lend his help, so that Romagna should not be exposed to greater dangers; and for this he thinks he will always be in time, as has been said. This is the substance of what I am able to write respecting the state of things here; and I do not believe that any one could write you anything else, if he wished to tell you the truth.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LETTER XLIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote the enclosed yesterday, and by the present I desire to inform your Lordships that the Cardinal d'Amboise leaves to-morrow without fail, and will pass to-morrow night at Bracciano. All the other Cardinals of this court have called upon him to-day, and he is really in great favor with everybody; for he has always been found easy of access and more affable than what was anticipated, he being a grand seigneur and a Frenchman. According to what I have been told confidentially, the Duke Valentino will remain here, although it is publicly said that he will accompany the Cardinal. I would remind your Lordships once more to send some one to meet him, for the reasons given in a previous letter.

I have spoken with Antonio Segni about the case of Mottino, and he said to me this evening that by to-morrow he would have something to tell me. I beg to remind your Lordships about the plundering of Don Michele, so that those Roman gentlemen may not act as Paolo Orsino has done. In a former letter I have written to your Lordships as to what should be done in this matter, and I refer to it again now.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 7 December, 1503.

LETTER XLIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Yesterday I received your letters of the 4th and 7th; as they contain nothing but the acknowledgment of my many letters up to that day, and the arrival of Messer Pietro d' Oviedo and the Bishop of Ragusa, and a reference to what you intend to write in other letters, I have nothing to say in reply. I write the present for the sake of keeping up the habit of writing, and, as it will contain nothing of special importance, I shall send it by the regular courier. I have already written, on the 6th and 7th, respecting the departure of the Cardinal d'Amboise; and

as those letters were sent by a courier from Lyons, despatched in haste by the Del Bene, I doubt not but what they have reached you by this time.

The Cardinal d'Amboise did leave yesterday, but did not go as far as Bracciano; in point of fact, he went no farther than about two miles from here. He will lodge at Bracciano to-night, and will then go on to Florence to proceed from there into Lombardy. I do not repeat what I have several times written, about sending some one with him into Germany, assuming that your Lordships have already decided these matters.

The Duke Valentino continues to occupy a portion of the apartment which the Cardinal d'Amboise had in the palace, and was guarded to-night by some of the Pope's men. It is believed that, for the purpose of avoiding this inconvenience, the Pope will have him shut up in the castle, although many things are rumored amongst the people, such as that the Pope has promised the Cardinal d'Amboise to release the Duke so soon as he shall have obtained those fortresses from him; and that the Duke's daughter is to marry the Little Prefect, and that she is to have Romagna for her dower, etc., etc.

Your Lordships charge me to write you what the French and the Spaniards are doing, and what their condition, where they are, and what is said and believed about them. In reply, I say that I wrote fully on this subject on the 21st ultimo, and that both armies are in the same condition as then, only worse in proportion, as they have been suffering from want so much longer. To sum up the whole, I say, that several weeks ago the French threw a bridge over the Garigliano which enabled them to make themselves masters of the opposite side of the river, where they threw up a redoubt, which they still hold. But there are no more French on that side of the river than those who guard the redoubt, which amount to about two hundred men. All the rest of the French army is on this side of the Garigliano; about one fourth is near the bridge, the other three fourths are scattered in quarters, some five, six, and ten miles off. The Spaniards are on the other side of the Garigliano, where they have cut a trench about a mile's distance from the French redoubt, and above this trench they have thrown up two bastions, which are provided with a guard. A good part of their army is near by, the rest is dispersed in quarters. Such is the relative position of the two armies; they can neither attack

nor force each other, being prevented by the river, and the rain that has fallen and continues to fall. Both are suffering the greatest discomforts, and it is believed that the one that can endure it longest will be victorious; but which of the two is likely to endure it longest is impossible to say at this moment, for here, as well as elsewhere, people are influenced in what they say by their passions only. And even those who come from the camp vary in their opinions, so that we can do nothing but quietly await the result. It is true that within the past few days the Spanish have made several attempts to destroy the bridge and drive the French out of their redoubt, but thus far they have not succeeded. Such is the state of things with regard to the armies; and so I wrote you on the 21st, since which the aspect of matters has not changed, and I should not know how to describe it differently to your Lordships. Should any change occur I will advise you of it, but if there is no change I should not know what to write you, wishing to tell you the truth about the matter.

In one of my previous letters I informed your Lordships that, in accordance with your instructions, I had spoken with Antonio Segni. To-day the said Antonio called to see me, and told me that he had spoken with Mottino, and learned from him, in substance, that his engagement with the French had expired on the last day of San Andrea, and that he would not renew it at any price. True, he says that he is not able to get his discharge from them, although he has been constantly after San Severino to obtain it. He expresses himself well disposed to serve your Lordships, but says that he is in no hurry. He has two galleys, but will not serve with only one, wishing to have both engaged, for which he would be satisfied to receive nine hundred ducats per month, and would give any security that your Lordships might require. He says furthermore, that, besides his own galleys, a brother of his has three brigantines, and that for three hundred florins per month he would immediately enter your Lordships' service with all three. Your Lordships will now consider what is best to be done in the matter, and send a reply.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 9 December, 1503.

LETTER XLV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

My last of the 9th, which I sent by the regular courier, will reach you probably at the same time with this one, which will go by an extra courier that is to be despatched this evening. I informed you in my last of the departure of the Cardinal d'Amboise, and of what I had learnt from Antonio Segni with regard to Mottino's disposition. Since then I have received your last of the 8th, and have conferred with Castel del Rio respecting what you write about the Bishop of Ragusa and the two envoys with the countersigns. He showed himself fully informed on these subjects, and said that the Pope could not be better satisfied with your Lordships than he was. San Giorgio, to whom I also communicated your advices, assured me of the same thing. It is evident therefore that the Bishop of Ragusa has written favorably to the Pope, and given him an account of what your Lordships have done. Both Castel del Rio and San Giorgio showed that they knew the coming of the deputies from Furli; and when they arrive, his Eminence of Volterra or myself will carry out your Lordships' instructions. Not having heard anything further of Don Michele, I have nothing to tell your Lordships respecting him; but should anything come to my knowledge, I will at once advise you of it. I would most respectfully remind your Lordships to reply to the Pope's brief, and in such manner as will tend to confirm his Holiness still more in his benevolent disposition towards our republic.

I note what you write touching Citerna, and his Eminence tells me that in places of that kind it is usual to send only a Castellan to guard and take care of them. Your Lordships should therefore decide upon this matter, and send the name of the Castellan, provided you conclude to take that course; and let us know at the same time where we are to obtain the money for the expenses.

As to your grievances against the Duke Valentino, it is necessary that whoever may be charged by your Lordships to attend to this matter should have a power of attorney from you for that purpose. You should therefore appoint some one here to attend to the matter, or perhaps it would be still better if

you were to place it in the hands of one of the ambassadors whom you are going to send here.

The Duke Valentino remains in the same place where he was when I wrote you on the 9th, and we are waiting to see what the states of Romagna will do with regard to him. We have no further news from the French than what I have given you in my former letters; it is believed that, if the weather continues as at present, the two armies may be able one way or another to attempt some movement against each other.

Your Lordships direct me to leave with the Cardinal d'Amboise for Florence, and in case he should have left already, that I should come per post so as to arrive before him. Your letter came only yesterday, and D'Amboise left on Saturday, so that I should have to come by post, which would be painful and difficult for me, being afflicted with a malady that is very prevalent here at Rome, namely, cough and catarrh, which affect the head and the chest, so that the violent jolting of the diligence would do me serious injury. Anxious always to obey your Lordships' orders, I should nevertheless have taken the risk, but his Eminence of Volterra would not consent to my leaving; for it seemed to him that, inasmuch as your ambassadors will not be here before twenty days, according to what you write, it would be very onerous for his Eminence, and injurious to the interests of Florence, if he had to remain here without some one of whose services he might avail in public matters. His Eminence was so decided upon this point, that, in the hope that your Lordships may not disapprove of it, I yielded readily to the authority of his Eminence, and influenced by his devotion to our republic, and by the confidence which all Florence reposes in him, and which he so deservedly enjoys. Nevertheless I shall conform strictly to your Lordships' further orders.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 12 December, 1503.

P. S.—I have forgotten to tell you that certain Roman gentlemen have handed the enclosed list of things which they have lost to the Cardinal Volterra, who promised them that this list shall be forwarded to your Lordships, and their case commended to you. Your Lordships will please send us what reply you may think proper.

LETTER XLVI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

As this courier leaves unexpectedly I write in all haste to inform you of the latest events here. Yesterday evening news came to the French that the infantry of Gonsalvo, unable any longer to endure the privations they are suffering, mainly in consequence of want of money, have suddenly broken up their camp; so that Gonsalvo with his cavalry was obliged to withdraw to Sessa, where there is much sickness. This retreat was effected with so much noise and confusion that the French heard it, and sent a body of some twenty horse across the river to reconnoitre. These found that the Spaniards had broken up their camp, and had abandoned all their heavy baggage and things of little value. This detachment of French cavalry attacked the Spanish rear, and captured the baggage of Signor Prospero Colonna. This is the account which the French give of this affair, and they have exhibited letters to that effect. It is supposed that if this be true, and the weather permits, the French will be able to advance. Your Lordships shall be advised of whatever happens. I have some few other matters to mention, which I will do in my next, as this courier can wait no longer.

Valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

14 December, 1503.

LETTER XLVII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

I wrote your Lordships briefly to-day, and sent the letter by a courier despatched by the French here, which did not afford me the time to write more fully. Still I informed you of the news which the French here had from their army on the Garigliano; namely, that the Spaniards' infantry, from want of necessaries, and not being regularly paid, broke up their camp contrary to the will of Gonsalvo, who was in consequence obliged also to retreat with his cavalry to Sessa, where a great

many of his troops are reported to be dying. It is also stated that the French, on hearing the noise of this retreat, sent some twenty horse to reconnoitre, who found the Spanish camp broken up as though in flight, and much of their heavy baggage, especially their cooking utensils, abandoned; and that these twenty horsemen had captured a portion of Signor Prospero Colonna's baggage. This is all I have heard; should I learn anything more, I will report it to your Lordships. I have heard from Paolo Rucellai, who is on very friendly terms with the Orsini, that they have not yet received their quarter's pay, according to promise, and that they had announced to Gonsalvo their intention to withdraw. We hear from all sides that there is great scarcity of money amongst the Spanish forces.

In a former letter I made known to your Lordships that the Signor Luca Savello had sent one of his men here to recommend himself, and to declare that he could no longer submit to the privations he was experiencing for want of money. Your Lordships have not yet replied to this, and Signor Luca's messenger is in despair, and I know not what to say to him. Besides this Messer Ambrogio da Landriano came here yesterday in person with a letter of credit from the Bailli to the Cardinal, and complained bitterly to his Eminence and myself of the privations and misery which himself and his company are suffering; and he protests that, if the French had not supplied him with money, they would have died of hunger; and as he could not ask them for any more, he would be obliged to leave with his company, to the great discredit of your Lordships. That he was most unwilling to do this, having until now maintained his company as well as any other captain; and that out of his five hundred men, there were forty mounted and ten crossbowmen. He wants pay for at least one quarter and a half, besides the one hundred ducats due him on his former engagement.

I have promised him to write and recommend his case to your Lordships, which I do herewith, and beg you will send an answer which is so eagerly looked for. Messer Ambrogio left the camp eight days ago, and reports great scarcity of forage, bread, and shelter, and that there are not nine hundred good men-at-arms and only six thousand infantry left in camp, whilst the Spanish have received reinforcements of infantry. Never-

theless he thinks that the news of the retreat of the Spanish forces, which he learned here, is most likely to be true; for he affirms that they were not able to pay for provisions, and that for several weeks they had forced the people of the country to bring them supplies. But as they probably cannot force them any more, they have themselves been compelled to go and seek supplies wherever they can be had. He reports three causes that until now have prevented the French from being victorious. The first and most important is, that they have lost so much time under the walls of Rome,—the very time that would have been most suitable for advancing without being impeded either by the river or by rain, for Gonsalvo was not then prepared to encounter them. The second cause was, that they had not sufficient horses for their artillery, which prevented them from making more than two miles per day. And the third was the severe winter, which still continues; and Messer Ambrogio affirms that whenever they had attempted any movement the weather had become twice as bad as before.

With all this he avers that, even if Gonsalvo had not beaten a retreat, he would not have ventured to attack the French, on account of their being in a very strong position and ready to give battle to whoever might attack them. When asked as to the chances of an advance, he said, that although Gonsalvo had retreated, yet if the ground did not dry up, and when dry, if they were not provided with more oxen, buffaloes, or cart-horses, it would be impossible for them to move their artillery. He reports that the Bailli d'Occan is greatly dissatisfied at not being paid; and his Eminence of Volterra suggests that, if your Lordships think that you can relieve yourselves of that expense, you should lose no time in doing it.

Your Lordships' letters of the 10th and 11th, directed to his Eminence of Volterra, under the supposition that I was on the road to Florence, were received to-day. The reason of my not having left was explained in my previous letter; it was that the Cardinal deemed my presence here necessary, and objected to my departure. We learn from your letters the reason why we have no news from Pietro, or Messer Carlo, or from the Bishop of Perugia. It will all be explained in the quarter where it is required; and the same with regard to what you say respecting Don Michele and the news from France. All this will be most gratifying to his Holiness, and particularly

the news of Don Michele; and we shall see to it that he is sent for at such place as your Lordships may indicate as most convenient to yourselves.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 14 December, 1503.

P. S.—I must not omit to tell your Lordships that some days ago a former secretary of the Cardinal San Angelo has been arrested for the purpose of learning the particulars of the death of that Cardinal.* And it is reported that he confessed two days since that he had poisoned him by order of Pope Alexander VI., and that he will be publicly burnt, and that the Cardinal's cook and one of his butlers have fled. They are beginning here to take these matters up again. The Duke Valentino remains in the same situation which I have explained several times before. I beg to remind your Lordships that if you intend to proceed against him you must send a mandate to whomever you think proper, with power to substitute a procurator, etc., etc.

LETTER XLVIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

My last despatches were of the 14th; the first, together with a short letter, was sent by a courier despatched by the French here; and the second I intrusted to Giovanni Pandolfini, who told me he had sent it by the Ferrara post. This Giovanni complains that he has not been reimbursed for the expense of sending it, and has begged me to remind your Lordships of the fact. I do so now constrained by necessity, for if anything were to occur of which it would be important to give you immediate information, I should be without the means of doing so unless the claims of Giovanni had been satisfied. He also tells me that some one has written him, that, apart from the

* This Cardinal was Giovanni Michele, from Venice, nephew of Paul II. It was said that Pope Alexander VI. had him poisoned by his cook, Ezzelino da Furli.

other matter, his services in forwarding despatches are not appreciated, which has increased his dissatisfaction.

In my last letter I wrote you what I had learned about the Spaniards, and what had been told me by Messer Ambrogio da Landriano, who sends one of his men to Florence with letters from the Cardinal Volterra and myself, recommending him to your Lordships. I have nothing else to say of Messer Ambrogio, except that I await your reply with impatience, so that I may know what to say to him. The news respecting the Spaniards is confirmed, as you will see from the tenor of an extract from a letter written at Gaeta which I enclose.* We are waiting to see what will come next; there are many who think that this affair will facilitate the conclusion of peace, unless some greater disaster should follow. Your Lordships will be promptly advised of whatever happens. Your last letters of the 11th, directed to Cardinal Volterra, have been communicated by him to the Pope, who was in the highest degree pleased at the surrender to him of Don Michele. It has not yet been decided when and how he is to be brought here. Our Cardinal thinks it will all be settled to-morrow. His Holiness was also much pleased with the news from France, but regretted that his envoys had been delayed by the snow; he bears it patiently, however, as the cause of it is a power higher than himself, and thus he remains in suspense as to the results of the mission of his

* The following is the letter referred to: —

Copy of an extract from a letter dated at Gaeta, 10 December, 1503, and written by Vincenzo di Laudato to Piero Cavalcanti at Rome.

The nature of things has produced its effects. You must know that the Spanish camp which was established on the Garigliano has been broken up; the troops being unable any longer to endure the privations they were suffering, and because their number had been greatly reduced by want. It is said that the troops have gone into quarters at Trani, Sessa, Carinola, and Capua. This has induced our forces to advance to Sessa. I trust they may meet with no difficulties, for those who were on the other side have entirely disappeared, and it would be a mere chance if they could bring more than eight Zarli together. This province will now be able to breathe freely, and it really seems as though we were released from prison. You must know that Louis d'Ars has behaved like a valiant captain; with his army, composed of about three thousand infantry and six hundred Stradiote cavalry and two hundred men-at-arms, he has reduced all the towns of Puglia to submission, and finally, has taken Troja and Sansovero, and may now, if he chooses, go as far as Tripalda. I think the enemy in finding himself thus between two armies, must suffer much anxiety, and what is worse for him, he has not one cursed carline, whilst here gold is flung about in abundance. May God put an end to so many afflictions!

envoys. The Venetian ambassador is trying to placate his Holiness, but as yet he has not found the way of doing it. He is most assiduous in paying court to San Giorgio. Some persons here fear that he is endeavoring by his intervention to induce the Pope to acquiesce in the Venetians retaining Faenza and Rimini, and that in return they will favor the restoration of Furli and Imola to the nephews of San Giorgio. It is believed, however, that the Pope will not consent to this, nor are there wanting persons who are endeavoring to find out and thwart this intrigue. We are awaiting your final decision respecting Citerna, and your mandate in the matter of the Duke Valentino.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

ROME, 16 December, 1503.

LETTER XLIX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

The bearer of this is one of the men of Messer Ambrogio da Landriano, who sends him to Florence to remind your Lordships of his necessities; and as I wrote you at length on the 14th upon this subject, I shall not enlarge upon it any further now; but refer to what I then said, and which will be fully explained by the present messenger to your Lordships, to whom I recommend him and Messer Ambrogio, as well as myself.

Bene valete!

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.*

ROME, 16 December, 1503.

* After this letter, Machiavelli returned to Florence, as appears from the following letter from the Cardinal of Volterra, Soderini: —

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI: —

My last was of the 15th, and to-day I have yours of the 14th, which demands but a brief reply, seeing that I have attended to all that your Lordships have directed me to do.

You will also have the verbal report of Niccolo Machiavelli, who goes to Florence per post, in obedience to your orders, anxious to do his utmost, notwithstanding his indisposition, and contrary to my wishes. For, as I have several

times written to your Lordships, I was desirous that there should be some accredited agent here, there being many matters here which it is not suitable for me to attend to or to speak about; nor can I go to many places where a minister can go with entire propriety. I beg your Lordships therefore to provide for this, as it is greatly needed in this place.

Niccolo will report particularly upon all other matters; and your Lordships ought to hold him very dear, for his fidelity, zeal, and prudence leave nothing to wish for in him. You will hear fully about Citerna matters, and about the business of those Roman gentlemen, which ought to be attended to and provided for. They are of importance now, and may be much more so hereafter, as similar instances have proved. *Et bene valete DD. VV. quibus me commendo,*

V. tanquam F. F. DE SODERINIS
Cardinalis Vulterranus.

SECOND MISSION TO THE COURT OF FRANCE.

COMMISSION

GIVEN TO NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI, ENVOY TO HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY THE KING OF FRANCE (LOUIS XII.)

RESOLVED UPON, 14 JANUARY, 1504.*

NICCOLO,—You will proceed per post, via Milan, to Lyons, or wherever you may learn that his most Christian Majesty is to be found, and you will take with you two letters of credence, one to his Majesty, and the other to the Cardinal d'Amboise; also two letters without any address, which you will make use of where it may be most necessary; and another for our ambassador there, Niccolo Valori, to whom you will explain on your arrival all the instructions we have given you. You will communicate everything to him, so that he may fully understand the object of your mission, and that he may in turn inform you of all that has taken place, and what he may have learned of the affairs of France since your departure from here. After that you will present yourselves together before his Majesty, and make known to him all the points herein specified, which we desire particularly that his Majesty should fully

* Niccolo Machiavelli was sent to France, where Niccolo Valori was the ambassador of the Florentine republic, in consequence of the apprehensions conceived by the Florentine government lest Gonsalvo de Cordova, after having defeated the French on the Garigliano, and captured Gaeta, and after having assured to his Catholic Majesty of Spain the possession of the kingdom of Naples, should move upon Florence for the purpose of changing its government, re-establish the Sforzas in Milan, and thus utterly destroy the power of the French in Italy. The result of this mission was the assurance that Florence should be withdrawn from the treaty existing between France and Spain, in which the Florentines were specially named and comprised by the king of France as his allies and adherents. *See* the Diary of Buonaccorsi, p. 35, and Guicciardini, Lib. VI.

understand, together with all the circumstances connected therewith; taking care not to omit any part, so as to make him see clearly to what condition our affairs here have been brought, and how they may yet be recovered; and that to save ourselves from destruction it has become necessary for us to see and understand clearly all his Majesty's thoughts and designs.

One of the objects of your mission is that you may see with your own eyes what preparations they are making, and report to us immediately; giving us at the same time your own judgment and conjectures respecting them. And if these preparations are of such a character that we cannot depend upon them, either from their being too insignificant, uncertain, or too slow, then you must make his Majesty fully understand that it is quite impossible for us to provide forces enough to suffice for our safety; and that it would not be prudent for us to wait and place our reliance upon assistance that is not considerable, prompt, and real. Nor must you confine yourself to this only, but you must demonstrate to them the urgent necessity for us to seek our safety wherever we can find it; for the preservation of our state is before every other consideration, as that is the only small remnant of our liberties left to us, and which it behooves us to save by every effort in our power. And to arrive at this conclusion, it will be necessary for you to explain to his Majesty, as time and place may suit, the dangers with which we are threatened, on the one hand from the Venetians, and on the other hand from the Spaniards, who are acting in concert with each other. And you must make his Majesty comprehend the condition of our affairs; how on the one hand we are involved in war with Pisa, and how on the other the Venetians with an army are threatening our very borders; and how all our other neighbors, who ordinarily are badly disposed towards us, and more particularly so since the late defeat of the French, have already made terms with the Spaniards, or are upon the point of doing so; that we have but few troops, and these in great part scattered in different places, and the other part defeated in the kingdom of Naples whilst in his Majesty's service; upon which points it is not necessary to give you any particular instructions, because during your stay here you had the opportunity of knowing it all yourself. The same with regard to the events in the Romagna, and what has

been learned from Rome respecting the determination of the Spaniards, and what little we may hope for from the Pope. And should you lack information upon any of these points, you will be able to get it from Niccolo Valori, to whom everything has been written, and to whom copies of all documents and despatches have been sent, which he has most probably all with him. In stating the dangers to which we are exposed, and the evil intentions of our enemies, you may also mention the coming of our banished to Castello and to Sienna. After having related all these things, together with the circumstances connected therewith, which you must do in the most effective manner, you will conclude by telling his Majesty that in consequence of these things we have sent you to him to learn his intentions, and to know what provisions he is making to maintain what remains to him yet of possessions and friends here. You will also show to his Majesty that Lombardy is in no small danger, unless he remedies it actively, and shows to the whole world that he will and can save both states; and finally, that we desire his Majesty's counsel and help to save us and our state.

We believe that the answer will be vigorous, and that a variety of projects will be proposed; but our intention is that you should say, and we charge you particularly to reply, that such plans and resolutions will not suffice us, but that it is essential that they should send help at once, and of such a character that his Majesty's enemies, and those of his friends, will have to desist from molesting his and their states; and that unless the assistance rendered us be of that character, we shall risk being attacked, which we desire to avoid; and that we do not wish to be compelled to seek our safety by other means; the same as in the contrary case we are resolved never to abandon his Majesty's friendship, but to share his fortunes, whatever they may be, provided we see the way clear for our preservation.

You will explain to Valori that the principal cause that has induced us to send you on this mission has been a letter received yesterday from Alessandro, informing us that the engagement of Baglioni had been broken,* and that we are consequently to provide for the payment of ten thousand scudi

* This was the military engagement (condotta) of Giovanpaolo Baglioni, made by the Florentines in their name, but for account of King Louis XII. of France, of which mention is made in the preceding Mission to Rome.

at the period of every fair; and that our letters have been retained. All this seems to us an indication that they have cut loose entirely from our interests, and think only of their own; and that they abandon their friends, who have suffered so much for their sake, and leave them a prey to their enemies; and that they have no memory either for our fidelity or for the services we have rendered them. And as these are matters of much importance, it seems to us that, having to speak of them, it will be proper to make them understand that we deem it necessary to conclude Baglioni's engagement, for the reasons of which you are fully cognizant yourself, and in accordance with which we have several times written to Valori. And as to the payment of the ten thousand scudi, you can say that we have no wish to fail either in our good faith or in our obligations, but that it is quite impossible for us to burden ourselves with any new expenditures; and as Baglioni's engagement was for the benefit of their cause, and was made at their request, we cannot assume either the one or the other responsibility, and that they must acquit us of the obligation.

And should it be said in reply that we had never ratified the engagement, you may answer, that it was nevertheless concluded, and that we had the Cardinal's pledge for it, which we do not hold in so little respect but what we deem it necessary for our honor to have that engagement definitely concluded. And moreover, we think matters ought to be so arranged that we may be able to keep our faith and comply with our engagements; for to be obliged to suffer, and to be assailed at the same time without seeing any refuge, would be more than we are able to bear. You will furthermore demonstrate to his Majesty, that neither the conclusion of an engagement with Baglioni, nor the release from all other obligations, will suffice in all the dangers that surround us; but that it is necessary for his Majesty to rouse himself and provide such help as we have indicated above. Upon all these points you will confer also with the most reverend Legate, with Nemours, and with all such others as may be able to aid in this matter with his Majesty the king. We desire you to use the utmost diligence in all this, and write us the result as soon as possible. And when you have executed our commission, and obtained all the information possible, you will return to your post here, unless the ambassador should think otherwise.

In passing through Milan you will call upon the most illustrious lieutenant, and explain to him also all the same matters, in such manner as may be most suitable; and above all you will endeavor to make him sensible of the dangers to which that state is exposed from the neighboring Venetians, and from the spirit that animates them; as also from the Spaniards, who, it is understood, are gathering their troops for the purpose of an advance; and that one of the most effective remedies against all this would be to sustain Tuscany, and to preserve her life until she shall have recovered her former strength. You will urge him to write to his Majesty upon all the points upon which you will have spoken to him; for experience has shown that few counsels have greater effect in moving his Majesty than those of his own officers.

We have explained to you, Niccolo, our necessities in a general way, and have commissioned you to ask of his Majesty of France aid and counsel as to what to do in the midst of so many dangers; and we judge it unnecessary to say anything more, unless it should be specially asked for. In case it be said to you that his Majesty is willing to make provision in our favor, but that we must say what remedies we think necessary, you may reply, that in our judgment the first thing to do would be for his Majesty to pass the Alps and to come to Milan, and to send fresh troops there; and that these, as well as those already there, should be so organized, and quartered in such places, as not to be exposed to any danger; that his Majesty, by virtue of his authority, should reunite all the states of Tuscany, take into his pay either the Colonna or the Orsini and add to their strength, and if not all, then at least a part of them, such for instance as the Baglioni, by means of whom he could make sure of Sienna, a matter very necessary to be thought of; that he ought to keep his fleet in our waters; and that he should endeavor to have the Pope openly declare himself for him; and in addition, as we have already written on a former occasion, to assure himself of the Swiss and of others, upon which point the Ambassador will be able to inform you, to whom we have written every day, keeping him fully advised of all that has occurred, and of all our views.

I, Marcellus Virgilius.

From our Palace, on the day above written.

LETTER I.

MAGNIFICENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNORI, ETC.: —

I arrived here this morning at about the twenty-second hour, and have had an interview with Monseigneur de Chaumont. I explained to him the object of my mission to the king, and that I had come by way of Milan, so that his Lordship might hear from me direct what I had to communicate to the king, and that he might write to his Majesty, and recommend to him the interests of his friends and of his own states, and point out to him the dangers with which they are threatened, and the remedies that should be employed. After that I communicated to him all I was instructed to say, and endeavored to make him sensible of the necessity that we should have assistance; but that such assistance should be real, as indeed the dangers were that threatened us. For if your Lordships should be abandoned, you would inevitably expect to see your city pillaged, and witness her total ruin; or you would have to make terms with those who aim to force you to do so, even if the conditions were anything but good. I spoke of the Venetians according to my instructions, as also of your Lordships' neighbors, and of the confusion into which they had been thrown, and how necessary it was for the king to preserve them as friends, as well as to win back again those whom he had lost. In fact, I did my best not to omit saying anything that was essential for him to know in relation to this matter, without transgressing your Lordships' instructions.

Respecting the dangers with which you are threatened, and the remedies to be applied, his Lordship answered in a general way, first, that he did not believe that Gonsalvo intended to advance, and then that, even if he should, the king would take good care of his friends, as well as of his own states; and that you need have no apprehensions on that score, as his Majesty would not fail in his promises. And when I observed that these assurances did not suffice for those who had the enemy, so to say, on their backs, and related to him the evidence which we had of Gonsalvo's intention to follow up his enterprise, his Lordship said, "When Gonsalvo "sees his Majesty's fleet increased to double its strength, and "learns that there is a large force in Lombardy, he certainly

"will not advance." I replied, that neither the fleet nor the troops in Lombardy could defend Tuscany. To which he rejoined that the Pope would be a good Frenchman, and that Giovanpaolo was in their pay, and that the Siennese would be able to make a stout resistance. I answered him by saying that both the Pope and the Siennese would want to see with their own eyes the assistance promised by the king, as neither of them had any forces of their own; that it was a good thing to have Gianpaolo Baglioni in one's pay, but that his engagement ought to be definitely concluded. And I demonstrated to him how necessary it was to close this engagement, and not only to have Baglioni in their pay, but to bind him to serve the state.

I did my best to convince Monseigneur de Chaumont that there was no city in that part of Italy more suitable for being made a point of resistance than Perugia, by quartering there some four or five thousand infantry and four or five hundred men-at-arms; that its situation was one of the strongest, and that with such a number of troops it would be truly impregnable, and could not with safety be left in the rear. I persuaded him, so far as I was able, of the importance for them to preserve that city, and thus to acquire other Italian troops. After that we touched upon the subject of the alliances that should be concluded between your Lordships and the scattered little states of Italy, but to effect which would require the interposition of the king's authority. His Lordship concluded to write to the king on that subject, as well as about the other matters which we had discussed. I begged him to send one of his own men to come with me, to which he replied that he would cause the post to run, and advised me to lose no time in finding the king, who, he believed, would give me a reply that would reassure your Lordships. And as I took my leave, he said in a voice loud enough for all around to hear, "Ne doutez de rien." I have forgotten to tell your Lordships that the Lieutenant said nothing respecting the Venetians, except that he would make them attend to their fishing, and that they were sure of the Swiss.

This is all I have been able to get out of Monseigneur de Chaumont, and I have endeavored to give you his very words. Since then I have talked with one who is a friend of our city, and who recognized me, having been at court when I was there before; and having drawn me aside, he said to me, with great

show of regret, that he augured ill of the king's affairs, for he knew that he could not raise any more money; that he had but few men-at-arms here, who were dispersed in different places, that he had no infantry, and that it would require a long time to provide both, but that there were no indications of their taking any steps about it; that on the other hand the enemy were ready in their saddles, fresh, and with all the prestige of victory and good fortune; so that he really knew not what help there was, not alone for his Majesty's friends, but for his own states even. All this my friend said to me lamentingly, like one who feared these things, but not desired them. At another time I will give you the name of this individual, when I can do so without danger to him in case my letter should miscarry. Beyond the above, I can say nothing to your Lordships about matters here, not having been able in so short a time to learn more. I leave to-morrow about noon for Lyons; and recommend myself to your Lordships.

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,

MILAN, 22 January, 1504. *Secretary.*

LETTER II.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: *—

Yesterday at about the twenty-second hour, Niccolo Machiavelli arrived here, and having heard from his own lips the reason of his coming, and having read his commission, and it being already late, we thought it well to defer until this morning all attempts to present him to the king. Accordingly we went to court this morning for that purpose, and, having endeavored to obtain an audience, I was told that it would be impossible to see his Majesty that day, as he was suffering somewhat from dysentery; but that, if the matter was pressing,

* Nearly all the letters of this Legation were written by Niccolo Valori, who was Florentine Ambassador at the Court of France. It has been supposed, nevertheless, that it would be acceptable to the reader to have them printed, partly because they throw much light upon the state of things at the Court of France at that time, and partly because they were in substance concerted with Machiavelli and written (perhaps?) jointly with him; although in point of style they lack the terseness and lucid compactness of Machiavelli's despatches.

we should speak to the Cardinal d'Amboise. I believe the excuse was true, for the king had refused to see some men sent by the Marquis of Mantua to present him some birds, for which he had asked the Marquis, and which he was very anxious to possess. Being thus precluded from seeing the king, we decided it would be well to see D'Amboise, and accordingly went to his lodgings. When I made known to him the arrival of the Secretary, he withdrew apart, where, after a few customary and suitable words on my part, Machiavelli presented his letters of credence to the Cardinal, and stated to him, so far as the time and the nature of the audience permitted, the object of his mission, which was in fact to point out the dangers by which our republic is threatened on the part of Gonsalvo and on that of the Venetians; as also from your being surrounded by a number of other enemies, some of whom have already declared themselves either for the Spaniards or the Venetians, and others were ready at any moment to do the same; and also because you have lost your troops in the kingdom of Naples, and find yourselves at the same time with the Pisans on your back, who were resorting to all the tricks of the infernal regions to injure you. He then showed that in all these threatening dangers you had but one confident hope, and that was in the assistance and arms of the king; but that inasmuch as the injuries were real, it was necessary that the help should also be real, and that he had been sent expressly to learn what assistance his Majesty intended to render us; and that it was earnestly desired that it should be of such character that our city might confidently rest her hopes upon them. All this Machiavelli said, with that animation which the subject demanded. Afterwards he added, that if his Majesty declined to grant us assistance, and such as the circumstances required, there would be nothing left for you but to make terms with those who were trying in every way to subjugate you.

His Eminence remained to listen to Machiavelli with evident displeasure, and showing himself to be much irritated; in his reply he complained much of these constant lamentations of your Lordships, who, being wise, should not in these times, and in the difficulties in which they are, use such language. He referred again to those points which I have already mentioned to your Lordships; saying that it was expected that the truce between Spain and themselves would be ratified, and that

in less than a week they would be fully informed upon that point; and that his Majesty would not fail, in any way or point, to protect his allies or his own states; and that if your Lordships wished to take another course, they could not prevent you, but that you ought to think well before acting. To this I promptly replied, that there was not a man in all Florence who thought that you would have to take such a step, for every one confidently believed that the king would not let us want for help; and that what had been said on the subject was merely to show to what point our city might be driven, in case the support of his Majesty should fail us. Thereupon Machiavelli, with his wonted sagacity and adroitness, added, with the view of soothing his Eminence and to come to something definite, and also to have occasion to speak of Giovanpaolo, that it should be borne in mind, that the way to save Tuscany would be to save her walls; and that these walls on the side towards Gonsalvo were the Pope, Sienna, and Perugia. His Eminence did not let Machiavelli say anything more, but quickly answered that they were sure of the Pope and of Sienna, and that, as Perugia was a city belonging to the Church, she would do whatever the Pope wanted; and thereupon he rose and left us abruptly. I must not omit to tell your Lordships that, in complaining of your lamentations, and in attempting to show us that the king was doing all he could, his Eminence said that those troops that had come from Gaeta into Lombardy, as it were in nothing but their shirts, were not willing to stop south of the Alps, and that a great part of them were no longer there, notwithstanding the orders given to stop them, and the sending of Monseigneur de Guiche to reorganize them, as I have already reported in previous despatches. And when I expressed to the Cardinal my desire that the king should hear from the Secretary himself the same that he had heard, he said that it would have no other result than to cause fresh troubles to his Majesty, if to the difficulties with his troops there were added complaints from his friends. After this, we could not induce his Eminence to remain or to enter upon any other subject.

When the Cardinal had left us, Machiavelli and myself concluded that it would be well to have this matter made known in every possible way; and therefore Machiavelli together with Ugolino went to see Robertet, whom until now I had not

visited, nor had he called upon me, as I had understood that he preferred that neither your Lordships' ambassadors nor those from other states should be on such intimate terms with him, although in public they show him every mark of esteem and affection. When Machiavelli returned, he reported to me that Robertet, so soon as he saw him, said: "Do not talk to "me now on any subject, for the Cardinal Legate has told me "everything that you could possibly wish to say; and I repeat "to you on his behalf that the truce with the Spaniard will, "without fail, be ratified; and that whatever the terms may "be, your safety will be provided for; and in case the truce "should not be ratified, it will be known within a very few "days. And I assure you that the king will defend Tuscany "the same as Lombardy, for he has the safety of both equally "at heart; and we must wait and see what issue the ratification of the truce will have." The above is the substance of what we have been able to learn from these two personages, and your Lordships can now conjecture what you may have to hope for. Despite of Machiavelli's tact, we did not succeed in touching upon the subject of Giovanpaolo, and we did not regret to defer it until another day, so as to avoid the appearance that Machiavelli had come here mainly on that account, which seemed to us the received impression here; for the abrupt breaking off of the interview by the Cardinal d'Amboise had apparently no other motive than to avoid a discussion of that matter. For after having told us that they had the best expectations for their cause from Pandolfo, and having briefly said of Perugia what we have above reported, he left us to go over to join Nemours and the other persons who were waiting for him. And notwithstanding that your Lordships had written to me to obtain the consent of the Cardinal to conclude the engagement of Giovanpaolo, the matter was in a measure left in suspense. But we shall do our utmost to bring it to a conclusion satisfactory to your Lordships; and if we fail, it will not be for want of efforts and diligence on our part.

I had written thus far on the 27th; it is now the 28th, and although both yesterday and to-day we endeavored to obtain an audience of the king, yet we did not succeed, owing to his Majesty's indisposition both of mind and body, of which I have made mention in a previous despatch; for those who have

charge of his health strive to keep him from seeing or hearing anything that might cause him displeasure. To-day, almost immediately after dinner, I received a message from his Eminence the Cardinal Legate to come to him; I therefore went at once to his house accompanied by Machiavelli. Being admitted to where he was, we found him in council, where there were present the Grandmaster of Rhodes, Nemours, Robertet, and eight or ten other personages of the long robe. His Eminence then said to me, within hearing of all present, that he had me call because he could not, on the arrival of your secretary two days since, tell me his whole mind, partly because he had not had the opportunity of communicating with the gentlemen of the Council on the subject, and partly for want of time; but he wished now to do his duty, so that I might write to your Lordships, and keep you in good heart. He then added, almost in the same words, what he had said to me on a previous occasion; namely, that there would have to be either peace or war; and whether it would be the one or the other would be definitely known anyhow within the present week. If it be peace, as they believed it would be, then your Lordships, being the king's allies and confederates, might rest in security; and if it be war, then you would find that your interests and those of his Majesty would be regarded as identical, and that nothing would be left undone to secure your safety. That orders had been given to assemble twelve hundred lances in the duchy of Milan, and that your Lordships ought also to do what you could, and take care, if possible, to prevent any troops from entering into Pisa. Also that they intended, so soon as they received the answer from Spain, to despatch an envoy to your Lordships to reassure you, and to apprise you fully of their plans and intentions. And in the course of his remarks the Cardinal said, that the king well knew that he had not in all Italy more faithful friends than your Lordships and the Duke of Ferrara, and that his Majesty meant to keep you such. His Eminence was so much more cheerful than I had yet seen him, that this very cheerfulness, and the fact of his having sent to have me called for no other purpose than to repeat to me what he had already told me, left me in doubt as to what all this could signify. I replied for the moment, that, seeing his Eminence and the Council in such good spirits, I could but rejoice and augur favorably from it; and that I was quite sure that, in the event of peace or of a

truce, your Lordships would have that position and that security which was due to your fidelity; but that in the event of war, your Lordships could do but little or nothing by yourselves; and that the twelve hundred lances would be a partial remedy if they were actually now in Lombardy, or would not have to lose time in getting there. And then I added such further remarks as seemed to me calculated to stimulate them to furnish you the needed help in case peace should not be had. I recalled to them the conduct of the Venetians, and the means and efforts employed by them to disturb and disorganize the duchy of Milan, and the states of the king. All I said was listened to with great attention; and Machiavelli, who was present as I have said, added that he would delay his departure until the decision of Spain should be received, so as to enable him to carry with him the good news of the agreement, or such resolve on the part of his Majesty respecting aid as would permit your Lordships to rely upon it with confidence; — to which D'Amboise replied that this was well. As the Council was more than usually numerous, I drew Machiavelli and Ugolino aside with me, and then reminded the Council, in any composition or agreement that might be arrived at, on no account to disparage our authority over Pisa; for if the Pisans were named by the Spaniards in any treaty of peace or truce, it would be looked upon as an evidence of their independence. Whereupon D'Amboise replied that such a thing would not be thought of, as they had the matter of Pisa much at heart. And referring again to our good faith, he spoke of the Venetians in a detrimental manner rather than otherwise, and spoke of Pandolfo in such terms as made me judge that they were not very sure of him, notwithstanding what he had previously said of Sienna, and which I have mentioned above; of Giovanni Bentivogli he said that he was an adherent of the Sforzas.

Your Lordships will see from all I have written what we have been able to learn, since the arrival of Machiavelli, of the situation of things here; and although his commission comprises, besides pointing out to the king and the Cardinal the dangers, the duty of seeing with his own eyes what assistance they are preparing to render us, and to learn their thoughts and designs, and then to report to you his own conclusions and conjectures as to the state of things here, nevertheless I do not deem it superfluous, or out of place, for my own satisfaction, to repeat to your Lord-

ships what I have already written you on a former occasion. His Majesty the king, and Cardinal d'Amboise, as well as all the gentlemen and nobles here, are, in consequence of the events until now, more disposed for peace than for war. They are carrying on negotiations for such a peace both with Spain and with the Emperor of Germany; the negotiations with Spain are at the same point which I mentioned in a former despatch, and the ratification of the truce is expected to arrive here during this week. Everybody here at court speaks of it and confidently believes it, and the Spanish ambassadors themselves express that opinion, and regard its arrival as certain. As for myself, I cannot judge of this matter differently from what others do; although I think, according to the experience of the past, it may or may not be, and that the earnest affirmations of the ambassadors may merely be intended to lull the king asleep as to measures necessary to be taken. All this we shall know very soon, as the time is fixed for the answer to arrive; and then we shall see the result.

As to the peace which they are trying to bring about with the Emperor of Germany, nothing definite has as yet been done; true, day before yesterday an ambassador of the Emperor's arrived here, who is the secretary of that sovereign and greatly esteemed by him. They went to meet him outside of the city, and received him with great honors; but it is said that he has no commission other than to establish relations with his Majesty the king, until the arrival of his colleague, who has gone to the Archduke for the purpose of conferring with him before coming here; but no opinion can be formed as yet whether a peace will be concluded or not. We must wait for time to form a judgment upon this matter; but after the arrival of the other ambassador I shall not fail to watch their movements, and to advise you fully; and so for the present I shall say no more about it, as it is not yet of as much importance for your Lordships as the matter of Spain; which, if concluded and the truce ratified, as is hoped here, will render your Lordships safe from Gonsalvo and his troops. The Venetians will then also take care not to wrong or injure you. But if the truce should not be ratified, to which all the French hold so much, then I should not know what to say of their thoughts and intentions, and what provisions will then have to be made other than what I had written to your Lordships before, and what I write now, and of

which you will form such judgment as your wisdom will suggest. And if it so turns out that we shall have war, you can more immediately demand assistance through us, and they will no longer be able to take refuge in their hopes of peace, as they do now; for they must then show their hands, or satisfy your Lordships. As yet nothing has been said to me respecting the money due by your Lordships to the king at the time of the next fair; should they say anything to me about it, I shall reply in accordance with the instructions which Niccolo Machiavelli has brought with him.

I have omitted to tell your Lordships that, before leaving the Cardinal d'Amboise to-day, I asked him whether he thought that I ought to call upon the newly arrived ambassador of the Emperor of Germany, since it was at his suggestion that I called, on my arrival, upon Monseigneur Philibert; I also asked him whether in his opinion I ought to call upon the Spanish ambassadors. He replied that I ought certainly to call upon both the one and the other, and spoke of them in the most amiable and honorable manner on the part of his Majesty of France. And accordingly I shall call upon both of them to-morrow, and should I learn anything of moment I will promptly advise your Lordships, *quæ feliciter valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 29 January, 1504.

LETTER III.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

I arrived here last Friday about the twenty-second hour, and thus fulfilled the promise made to your Lordships to be here within six days or sooner, deducting the time occupied in going to Milan. I have nothing to report as to my proceedings here, but confirm fully all that the Ambassador has written you at length. I am waiting for the expected ratification of the truce with Spain, after which I shall return, and bring with me either perfect security for our republic by means of the peace, or I shall bring instructions to prepare for war. And whether this will or will not result in safety for your Lordships I am not able

to say; but I know well that it would be impossible to change the minds of the people here.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LYONS, 30 January, 1504.

N. B. — The individual whom I mentioned in my letter from Milan as having expressed to me so gloomy a judgment of the condition of the French there, is the Count Piccino da Novara. I write this so that your Lordships may attach more importance to his opinion, for he is well known by all who have been ambassadors to France.

LETTER IV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

By the enclosed of the 27th, which has been retained until the 29th, your Lordships will have been informed of all that has taken place since the arrival of Machiavelli. That letter was not sent for want of the convenience of a courier, and from my desire to forward it free of expense. But as some one leaves this evening for Florence, I will not miss the opportunity of writing to your Lordships what I heard from the king, before whom I presented myself to-day immediately after dinner, accompanied by Machiavelli and Ugolino Martelli. We spoke to his Majesty conformably to what we had already twice said to the Cardinal d'Amboise, as reported in the enclosed. Nor did the king's replies vary in general from what the Cardinal had said; but he added specially that he was organizing a new corps of fourteen hundred lances and twenty thousand infantry, and had given orders that very day that a cousin of D'Aubigny's should be placed in charge of the citadel of Milan with one hundred Scottish lances, which he has collected for the purpose of reducing that stronghold to subjection; and that besides these he would send there some two or three hundred lances, of certain detached bands, which he would unite and send into that duchy. We did not fail to encourage him to this, and even to greater preparations, and to point out to

him that it would be highly advantageous for him to re-engage as many Italian troops as possible, showing him the course pursued in that respect by his adversaries. His Majesty replied that he would do so, but that it was necessary that your Lordships should take into your pay as many as you possibly could; adding, that the Pope had written him that he was forming a corps of four hundred men-at-arms, and that although he had given the captaincy to the Duke of Urbino, wishing thus to honor the Prefect, yet that this was merely a matter of courtesy; and that he should give orders that these troops should be commanded by able men, and such as were experienced in the profession of arms. His Majesty affirmed most energetically, and showed by his manner, that he felt sure of the Pope; respecting Spanish affairs and the ratification of the truce, he expressed the same opinion as the Cardinal Legate, which I have communicated to you in the enclosed, and he said that by Friday the answer ought to be here, and that then your secretary could return to Florence, either with the news of the definite conclusion of the truce and peace, or of war. Here we did not fail to remind his Majesty, in the event of war being the result, of the measures necessary to be taken for the protection of his own interests as well as those of his allies; the most important of which measures were to have a large fleet at sea, and to strengthen Tuscany with good troops.

It remains for me to inform your Lordships that, before our interview with his Majesty, the envoy of the Marquis of Mantua, and another individual who came here by post, sent by that prince, had an audience of the king. I could learn nothing of the object of their coming, except what his Majesty told me so soon as I presented myself; namely, that these gentlemen had been sent by the Marquis of Mantua for no other purpose than to urge him to attack the Venetians; and that he, on his part, would not fail to furnish what troops and men-at-arms he could possibly raise for that purpose. His Majesty added, that the envoy from Ferrara had made him similar offers; to all which I replied in a becoming manner, urging his Majesty to take that course.

To-day the ambassadors of the Emperor of Germany dined with the Cardinal Legate; they have as yet not had an audience of the king, and it is believed that the reason is that his Majesty wishes first to know what propositions they bring,

so as to prepare himself to manage the business with the more credit to himself. The ambassador from Genoa gave us to understand, this morning, that by order of his Majesty and his own government all their vessels that were in port were to be stopped, as he wished to arm them for his service; from the same source we learn the death of the Marquis of Saluzzo. We hear furthermore, from various quarters, that the king has sequestered all the revenues of Monsignor Ascanio; and that he has sent for a number of Milanese gentlemen, noted as being of the Sforza party, and has banished them to different places, fixing the time when they must report themselves there.

After writing thus far, I went to make my visit to the Spanish ambassador, as agreed with the Cardinal Legate yesterday. I conversed with him on general matters, having due regard to the honor of both sovereigns, as well as that of your Lordships. He replied to me most graciously, and in the course of his remarks assured me that the ratification of the truce would unquestionably come, and would not be delayed beyond this week, and might even reach here this very night.

I mention this to your Lordships, so that you may know what I have learned from that ambassador; beyond which I have nothing to report.

I recommend myself humbly to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 30 January, 1504.

LETTER V.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.:—

We wrote to your Lordships yesterday, since which it happened that, whilst the Cardinal d'Amboise was at chapel this morning, we approached his Eminence, who had been conversing for a considerable time with Monseigneur Philibert, and not without some discussion between them. After some general remarks and other observations, such as we have mentioned before, the Cardinal said that it seemed to him noteworthy that Gonsalvo was doing all he could to interrupt the peace negotiations, although he hoped that Gonsalvo would be constrained to obey; and even if he were not, that your Lordships, with the aid and favor of his Majesty of France, would not only be able to defend yourselves, but even to keep Gonsalvo in check. To all this we replied in such manner as we thought to the point, and which we will not weary your Lordships with repeating, having written the same thing before. A friend of your Lordships reported to me the same thing, with the further statement that there was an indication that, in the expected ratification of the agreement, there might be something that would delay its final conclusion until their Catholic Majesties should first be informed of Gonsalvo's opinion upon it; but that nevertheless the ratification was regarded as certain. I should, however, feel that I had failed in my duty and my office, were I not to report to you daily what we hear.

Nothing else has occurred here worthy of your Lordships' notice. To-day or to-morrow the other Imperial ambassador is expected here; he is called the Count Gaspar de Verespony, and comes accompanied by one of the Archduke's confidential men. It was by the Emperor's orders that these ambassadors went to the Archduke, so that their mission here might be conformable to the views of both father and son. According to what we hear, the ambassador who is already here is a man of high consideration, and bears the title of Chancellor of the Province, but he is not to have an audience of the king until after the arrival of his colleague. We have an excellent opportunity of finding out the designs of these ambassadors through one of their countrymen, who is in our interest. So far as we have been able to learn, they are greatly incensed against the Venetians, and inclined to make terms with the king here, intimating, however, that the Archduke will not yield any of the conditions for the protection of his property that had been subjects of discussion under the former treaty; and he particularly claims the kingdom of Naples as a dowry, as had already been a subject of negotiation. I write these statements such as they are to your Lordships, inasmuch as they are secrets reserved for but a few. Some of the suspected Milanese who have been recalled are beginning to make their appearance here.

I have nothing further of interest to communicate at present,

having written you yesterday at length; and nothing has occurred here but what I have stated above. I will only observe that we neither see nor hear anything as to preparations for war beyond the fact that everybody's thoughts are directed to the providing of money. A good deal is said about laying a tax of ten per cent upon the priests, and about resorting to all possible measures for collecting this revenue, which, according to their opinion, will produce large sums. Beyond this I think of nothing else to mention. *Bene valeant DD. VV.*, to whom I humbly recommend myself.

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,

LYONS, this last day of January, 1504. *Ambassador.*

LETTER VI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.:—

Should it seem to your Lordships that I have deferred too long since my arrival to write, it is owing solely to the want of facilities for sending my letters without involving you in expense. But we have not and shall not neglect to make every effort, by all the means at our command, to move and favorably dispose the king and the Cardinal Legate towards our republic; nor do we omit to do everything in our power to influence those who surround his Majesty to induce him to think of the security of your Lordships. It is this probably that has caused my receiving a visit at my lodgings to-day from Messer Claudio, who is much employed nowadays by the Cardinal Legate, and is the Datary * in place of Narbonne. He told me, on behalf of his Eminence, how well they were disposed, and how they gave their continuous thoughts to the means for relieving their own condition, and for the security of their friends, and that he had come again to ask me what I could suggest upon that point; adding, that it seemed to them that Pisa was in the greatest danger, and most exposed to the power and will of the enemy, who would, if they came there, cause more ruinous effects than anything else that could at

* *Datary*, an officer of the Chancery at Rome, who affixes the "datum Romæ," etc. to the Pope's Bulls.

present be thought of; and that, if it were possible to open some communication with the authorities of that city to encourage them not to despair and throw themselves into the arms of the Spaniards or the Venetians, it was believed that it would be most opportune, and for the common security and benefit; but that they would do nothing without the consent and participation of your Lordships; adding that, whenever it was in the power of his Majesty, there would not be wanting ways and means within a few years to satisfy your Lordships. I replied that your Lordships had brought the necessary remedies most urgently to the notice of his Majesty and of the Cardinal Legate, as well as to that of the Council when his Majesty himself was present; and that they must have seen from your letters, as also from your having so recently sent your secretary here by post, that your Lordships have not failed in your duty. But that I believed that it was our ill fortune that the consideration shown to us should have been so unequal to that which another potentate of Italy had received, who, through their coming into Italy, and by his having so often deceived them, had acquired so great a state in Lombardy and in the Romagna; whilst we, after such strict observance of our engagements, our constant fidelity, and the loss of one third of our state, had to make such efforts to persuade them, with so little satisfaction to ourselves as well as to them, to what was no less for the advantage of his Majesty the king, than for that of your Lordships. And if ours was but "a mere song," as his Eminence the Cardinal Legate had been several times pleased to call it, we should leave it to others to sing it, were it not that we should be the first to suffer. But that if his Majesty wished to maintain his states in Italy, as well as his friends, then he ought to put faith in the Italians; and that it was of the first necessity for your Lordships, as the most effective remedy for your difficulties, that his Majesty should place at least eight hundred to one thousand men-at-arms in Lombardy, secure the Swiss by all means, and carefully watch matters in Genoa by keeping his fleet there; as also to draw towards himself as many friends in Italy as possible, and that mainly from amongst the military men. That his Majesty should bear in mind that neither the Pope nor your Lordships could or should be constrained by force, and that he ought to have confidence in us, whom, after so much experience, he

ought to trust as he would his own subjects. And that if Gonsalvo, through the Cardinal Santa Croce or others, influenced the Pope adversely, no means should be left unemployed to show his Holiness that his Majesty, so far from abandoning his interests in Italy, has these as well as those of his friends constantly in his thoughts. That as to what preparations ought to be made in France, in view either of peace or of a mere truce, I could not venture to give any advice, although I would repeat the words of King Louis, who used to say that "it was always during the negotiations "that he made greater and better preparations than during "peace." As regards Pisan affairs, I said that his Majesty knew well that it was the duty of an ambassador to hear all that was proposed, and then to communicate it to his government, and that I intended so to act. That I was well aware of the importance for Italy to be well armed, so that she might employ her force whenever necessary; for if powerful princes used words without arms to enforce them, it only served to compromise their dignity. I was answered, that this matter would present no difficulties, for they knew that the company of the Venetians was far from agreeable to the Pisans, and that they were more inclined to trust the French than the Spaniards; that if these negotiations with the Pisans succeeded, then both themselves and your Lordships would be relieved of great dangers; and if they did not succeed, your Lordships as well as his Majesty the king would better understand the Pisans, and that then by common accord better remedies could be devised; and that even if these negotiations with the Pisans were protracted for some length of time, your Lordships should not at once be discouraged.

I made my usual reply, that I would write to your Lordships, as you required me to do, for without special orders or instructions I could not venture to say anything on the subject. Your Lordships must know that all these arguments have been repeated by them several times, and that they evidently have this matter much at heart; for yesterday morning, at the Celestines, the Pope's ambassador spoke to me about it, adding however that Pisa might be placed in the hands of the Pope, to which the French would perhaps consent. Nemours said the same thing afterwards to the ambassador from Ferrara, and urged him to persuade me to write at once to your Lordships about it. Your Lordships must now instruct me precisely what I am to answer, and how I shall conduct myself, and I shall keep strictly within your mandate and instructions.

The Imperial ambassadors together with the Archduke's agent had an audience of his Majesty to-day; the impression is, that at this first interview only general matters were discussed. I have not yet called upon these ambassadors, for I was waiting until after they should have had their first audience. I shall speak again to the Cardinal Legate about it, and follow his suggestions, as I have had no instructions from your Lordships upon this point; his Eminence had approved my manner, as well as the remarks which I made to the Spaniards, which seemed to have been very agreeable to him. Through our German friend we learn, from what he has found out by pretty sure means from the Emperor's ambassadors, and especially the younger one, that his Imperial Majesty is resolved, come what may, to make a descent into Italy this summer, with a large force of his own troops; but that his coming will not be very agreeable to King Frederic, for he knows that the Archduke wants the kingdom of Naples as a portion for his son. In the same way I learn that the ambassador who is called the Chancellor of the Province has frequent conferences with the Spanish ambassadors, and shows them marks of esteem and confidence, and that that ambassador bears the same relations to the Emperor as the Cardinal Legate does to the king of France. On the other hand, these Spaniards aver that their Catholic Majesties, by way of easing their minds and conscience, desire to re-establish the son of King Frederic upon the throne of Naples, by giving him their niece for wife. These diverse accounts would seem to indicate some difficulty in the peace negotiations. And although it would appear reasonable that the Emperor will not make a descent into Italy without the good pleasure of these two sovereigns, and without having concluded a peace with his Most Christian Majesty, yet it is said that he is collecting troops, and has asked the Swiss for five thousand Vj.^{as} (?). These people are reported to be well inclined for such a descent, and particularly those of the three Cantons nearest to the confines of the duchy of Milan.

About four days ago a man from that country was brought before his Majesty and reported to him the above-mentioned

order from the Emperor, and the favorable disposition of the Swiss for such an enterprise, together with some particulars as to their demand for a cession of Como and other places; but his Majesty showed that he did not attach much importance to this report, feeling quite sure of the Swiss.

Now I wished to inform your Lordships of all I could find out in relation to these matters, so that, in your wisdom, you may form your own judgment upon them; particularly seeing the delay in the arrival of the ratification of the agreement, and that the truce with Spain will soon expire, and that they are not doing much here in the way of preparations, but continue to affirm that they regard the ratification as certain. We must form our judgment therefore from one day to another, as events may occur; but we shall continue to be watchful, so as to keep your Lordships better informed if possible, and to be able the more promptly to solicit assistance, in case the ratification should after all not come. Niccolo Machiavelli will remain here a few days longer.

Yesterday a cousin of the Bailli d'Occan came to me, and told me he had not yet had his pay for six months' service, and wanted us to provide for it. I answered him that I believed they did not keep their accounts well, but that I would write to your Lordships for instructions upon the matter; although things had come to that pass that it was necessary for you to think of spending no money except in defence of your own interests, which were closely united and bound up with the defence of the states of his Majesty. It was with some difficulty that I got rid of this man, who kept saying to me that he intended anyhow to speak to his Majesty and the Cardinal Legate about it. I beg your Lordships will instruct me in relation to this matter, for this man is a perfect wasp; they are all starved and ruined, and I wish very much you would write me whether I shall do anything to make it known that the engagement of Baglioni is terminated, for this cousin of his demands it. And although I told him in so many words that death settled everything, and that such was your Lordships' understanding of the matter, yet I wish you would instruct me whether you think that I ought to go any further.

The generals have sent to claim from Ugolino the payment of ten thousand ducats due at the last fair, as had been agreed, and to ask at the same time whether the ten thousand

ducats due at the present fair were ready, together with what was due on the past. Ugolino told me that he had replied that he would speak to me about it; but that this did not satisfy them, and that they wanted to speak to me themselves, as also to the king and the Cardinal Legate, inasmuch as this money had been assigned to them. When they come to talk to me about it, I shall reply in accordance with your Lordships' instructions. I have nothing else of interest to communicate to your Lordships, to whom I recommend myself, *quæ feliciter valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 2 February, 1504.

LETTER VII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

I have to-day received your Lordships' letters of the 26th, 28th, 29th, and 31st ultimo, and of the 1st instant, for which I had been truly anxious, for it had seemed to me a very long time to be without news from Florence. Your Lordships must have received my several letters which I have sent since the arrival of Machiavelli, written on the 27th, 29th, 30th, and 31st ultimo, and from which you will have learned all that we have been able to do since then, and what hopes and conjectures we have formed as to help from here for ourselves and the other allies and states which his Majesty has in Italy. Your Lordships will also have noticed what I wrote more especially in regard to Pisan affairs in my enclosed despatch of the 2d instant, which was not sent sooner because no couriers have been sent to Italy since then. And so as not to fail in anything that could possibly be done to promote your interests, and to arouse their feelings in our favor, we went immediately on receipt of your letters to his Majesty the king, whom I found still in bed, where he has been confined for more than a week. He seemed to me to look better than usual, and, according to what his Majesty himself said, he was in the best way of getting over his ailment. I communicated to him the advices I had from your Lordships, also those from the Romagna, as well as those from Rome which I had re-

ceived from his Eminence of Volterra, who never fails to keep me fully posted by every courier upon every point which the interests of our republic make it necessary for me to know. I spoke again to his Majesty of the dangers that threaten, first his friends, and then his own states in Italy, and what measures were necessary to avert them. Although our conversation was fragmentary, as seems to be the way in which all business matters are treated here, yet I was careful to touch again upon all the points embraced in your Lordships' instructions for the advantage of Italy. And as I surmised that the Venetians are carrying on some secret negotiations with his Majesty, I advised him well to watch their proceedings, as they would certainly deceive him underhandedly; and I demonstrated to him that they had no real intention of making terms with him, but that it was a mere pretext for obtaining better terms in the arrangements they were negotiating with the Emperor of Germany and with Spain. Upon this point his Majesty replied to me to be of good cheer, that he would never make terms with the Venetians, and that the Milanese had offered him one hundred thousand ducats if he would make war upon Venice; and that he would in any event enter into an arrangement with the princes of the Empire and with the Emperor himself, and that conjointly with the Emperor they would beat Venice and Spain together, in case Spain did not consent to peace or to a truce. On the one hand his Majesty seemed to apprehend lest Gonsalvo should disturb the proposed peace, and on the other hand he spoke confidently of concluding an arrangement, unless the king of Spain should demand conditions that were not acceptable to him.

The hostile disposition of the king towards the Venetians manifests itself in many other ways besides his own words; for this very day, after the audience, I met the ambassador from Ferrara, who told me that he had also spoken with the king this morning, and that his Majesty had said to him that he wished that his Duke would, for the love of him, once more put on his armor against the Venetians, and that before dying he wanted anyhow to recover the states which they had taken from him. His Majesty entered fully into the reasons which I suggested to him relative to the affairs of Pisa, showing that he believed that it was from that quarter that your Lordships were more exposed to attack than from any

other; and for that reason, he said, he had caused M. de Ravenstein to open certain secret negotiations with the Pisans, so that they might not throw themselves into the arms of Gonsalvo, or of any one else; adding, "that if two or three "thousand infantry entered Pisa, they could disturb your Lord-"ships' state very much, and that in such case it would be "very difficult to take the town by force." His Majesty came back several times to this argument, so that it is evident that he had the matter much at heart, as I have explained to your Lordships at length in the enclosed despatch. And yet it is affirmed here that there is no intention to make any arrangement with Pisa without your consent and participation; it is necessary, therefore, that your Lordships should write me your views upon this point, and how I am to manage this matter if pressed to something definite. Respecting the provisions to be made for his own safety, and for that of his allies, his Majesty held the same views which I have before communicated to your Lordships; and although we have reminded him of the importance of taking Italian troops into his pay, yet it does not appear that he responds in a manner to give any hope for it; and what makes me believe that he is in no way disposed to do it is that the envoy of the Marquis of Mantua told me, that the said Marquis had sent a man expressly to ask the king's permission to raise fifty Italian men-at-arms in place of the fifty French lances which he has engaged from his Majesty, but his request was not granted, which fact, in every respect, deserves your consideration. We did not omit to urge upon the king again to remember his friends in the agreement which is being negotiated, and to save them, which he has promised to do. After taking my leave of his Majesty, I thought it proper to call with Machiavelli upon the Grand Chancellor, whom, for good reasons, I had not seen since the arrival of Machiavelli. I was more particularly induced to do this, as I had not been able to speak to the Cardinal Legate; and accordingly we went to see the Chancellor, and said to him all we could under the circumstances respecting his Majesty's affairs, as well as our own and those of the rest of Italy. His Lordship received us very cheerfully, and seemed to listen to my remarks with great interest; he spoke himself of passing events, and what he thought of them, and of his hopes for a favorable issue; and said, in substance, that the king, for

his part, had not the least fear, for that whoever should attempt to assail the king in his proper states of France would find out their mistake. And here he gave us an account of the king's forces, and referred to the example of the past, etc., etc. And as regards the duchy of Milan, they would anyhow within two months have a thousand French lances there, and could send there at any moment six thousand infantry; but that his Majesty did have some fears for his friends who were more open to attack. But looking at it on the other hand, that he held the duchy of Milan, which forms a considerable part of Italy, and that the Pope and all Tuscany were his friends, it seemed to him that he had more than a mere party in Italy, and that if they did their duty, sustained by the power and good will of the king, they would be well able to defend themselves. He came back several times to this point, saying that your Lordships ought to show some vigor and take good care of Livorno, pointing out its importance and its convenience for the French fleet, as well as for your defence.

I remained a long time with the Chancellor, and did not fail to reply to that part of his remarks which seemed most suitable; telling him that it was well for him to say that we ought to take vigorous measures, but that the difficulty was the lack of power to do so, giving him the reasons; and that therefore it was necessary that the king should make such display of vigor, and pointed out to him that there were two ways of his doing so. The one was to bring about a union between the Pope and all Tuscany, Bologna, Ferrara, and Mantua, so that these different members should become one body, and that their united power might act with greater effect; and to bring this about, it was necessary to send some sagacious man, charged with this object, to the several parties. The other way was for the king to take into his pay as many Italian captains as he possibly could, adding that there were not so many military men in Italy but what he could in a very short time engage the greater part of them, provided he was willing to spend his money for that purpose. And as an example we cited our own republic, which in former times, when she was not torn to pieces as now, had many times, with nothing but her money, taken their arms from her enemies. We also cited the example of Gonsalvo, who achieved victory with Italian troops. These arguments satisfied him, and he promised his

efforts to bring about either one or the other. Upon the point of employing Italian troops, however, he stated that out of the one thousand lances which they were going to send into Lombardy, as stated above, there would be more than four hundred Italians; and he seemed to wish to infer that, so far as to the taking of Italians into their pay, they had done their part, and that it was for their friends now to do the rest.

Thus, not having been able to see the Cardinal Legate to-day, we have not gathered any further information than what we have above written. Your Lordships will now form such judgment of it as your wisdom will suggest, and see what hopes it will be safe to build upon it. And as there is as yet no solution of the Spanish business, no answer having been received from there, although there is some talk at court that it has come, I have not permitted Machiavelli to leave here, because our intention is to make his departure the occasion for pressing them here a little more, and to see whether we cannot get something more out of them, although I doubt it; and many persons begin to doubt whether this Spanish business has not been protracted on purpose, and that the French have been deceived. It is said that an agreement has been concluded with the Swiss, who promise to serve the king within the duchy of Milan and in France, but nowhere else. If this be true, then it is very opportune. The German ambassadors have to-day received an express from his Imperial Majesty, who is at Olemberg; this messenger made the trip in five days, and after his arrival Robertet passed full two hours or more with the ambassadors, and has written much. It is believed that they are drawing up the articles of agreement. Another envoy of the Archduke is expected here, who is said to hold a high position near that prince. It is evident now that the king mistrusts the treaty with Spain, and has entirely turned towards the Germans; and it is suspected that he is disposed to dissuade the Emperor from his purpose of coming into Italy, and thus save the Italians from seeing every day new faces. There is one indication that I have noticed which makes me believe that these things may well be so, for the Germans no longer exert themselves as much as they did, nor do they see the Spanish ambassadors as often as they used to do, and as I have mentioned in one of my letters. From all these facts your Lordships will form such conjectures as your wisdom will

suggest; and if I have the opportunity of speaking with the Cardinal Legate to-morrow, as I think I shall, I will write to your Lordships what I learn from him, and will send it by the first messenger that is despatched for Italy. I have nothing further to say, except to recommend myself humbly to your Lordships, *quæ felicissime valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLÒ VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 7 February, 1504.

LETTER VIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

Your Lordships will have seen from the enclosed of the 7th what has been done since the receipt of your last letters. Despite of all my efforts yesterday to speak to the Cardinal Legate I did not succeed, for he is suffering, it is said, from a violent catarrh, and neither dines nor sups in public, as is his wont. Being thus unable to do anything else, and feeling that we ought not to neglect anything we could possibly do, we went to see Robertet and pointed out to him very fully where the difficulty and complication of the matter really lies; and as he has better opportunities for communicating with the Legate, we left him certain extracts from the letters received, which briefly give the substance of all we have heard from Florence; and by way of spurring them up, we said to Robertet that Machiavelli was determined to return even without concluding anything. Robertet, showing that he was startled by this, said that Machiavelli ought to stay a few days longer, at least until the Spanish business was either closed or broken off, so that he might return with something definite. As mentioned in a former despatch, Robertet had from the first approved of your having sent Machiavelli here. I have seen the Pope's ambassador, and, in talking over with him the events of the day, we agreed to call together this morning on the Cardinal Legate, to see whether we two could not bring matters to a better conclusion than what until now I had been able to do, having due regard to the information respecting the state of things in the Romagna contained in your Lordships' letters; and to see

whether we could not induce the Legate to take steps for bringing about that league of the Italian states which we had suggested. Also to know clearly whether they intended to engage Italian troops for the defence of the Church and their other friends, although I have great doubts upon this point, for the reasons which your Lordships will have noted in my enclosed despatch. We went accordingly this morning to call upon D'Amboise, but did not succeed in obtaining an interview, and have appointed another hour of the day for that purpose. As, however, this courier leaves, I would not miss the opportunity of writing to your Lordships what has been done up to the present. It is true that Robertet and the Chancellor have been with D'Amboise this morning, and, as they remained a long while with him, I believe they must have talked over among them the subject on which we have said so much to them. We have done all that can be done, and have not neglected trying to know all and do all in our power. I will not omit to inform your Lordships what I have learned from a friend who had a conversation with the Spanish ambassadors, who, upon his remarking as to the delay in the answer from Spain, said to him, that he must not be much surprised at that, for they doubted whether the king of Spain would settle anything until after having first freed the entire kingdom of Naples of the French; and that the king of Spain well knew what it meant to make a truce whilst Louis d'Ars was in Venosa, or in any other place within the kingdom of Naples. Every day some of the French, who come back from there, die; quite recently Sandricourt and the Bailli de la Montagne died. This is all that occurs to me to say. *Bene valeant DD. VV., quibus me commendo.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 9 February, 1504.

LETTER IX.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

My last letters were of the 2d, 7th, and 9th instant, and were sent by a courier despatched by Neri Masi; they will have informed your Lordships of the state of things here, and what we

have been able to do here since receiving your last letters. Although I endeavored to see the Cardinal Legate yesterday, as already stated in my last, yet I failed to obtain an interview, as he is still confined to his chamber, and no one has been admitted except the Chancellor, Nemours, and Robertet; and so far as I can learn, they have been occupied with orders and despatches for the regulation of matters in the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan. Being however at the Legate's lodgings this morning, I succeeded, after some little effort, in obtaining an interview with him. In reminding him of our affairs, I mentioned to him what the Spanish ambassadors were reported to have said about the delay of the ratification of the truce, of which I informed your Lordships in my last of the 9th; to which he immediately replied, although having listened attentively to all that had been said, that the Spanish ambassadors had notified him that the ratification had been received,* and that they intended to call upon him that evening in relation to that matter, and that he would then inform me of the result. I expressed my pleasure at this on account of the general good; and without any further remarks, seeing that he was very much occupied, I took my leave. Anxious to learn something more upon this important subject, I called at the king's lodgings, thinking that from his frank way of speaking I might get a little more at the bottom of this matter. I was finally admitted to his Majesty, who was still at table, and at a convenient moment I broached in a suitable manner the subject of the news which I had heard from D'Amboise. His Majesty promptly replied that the ratification had come, but that he was not satisfied with it, and could have wished rather that it had not come; affirming, with an oath, that he would give a great deal not to have promised the Spaniards what he had done; but having given his word, he would keep it, for he would sooner die than break his pledge, affirming again that, if he were now called upon to make such a promise, he would certainly not do it; for that he had made entirely sure of the Swiss, and was upon the point of making terms with the Germans, from which he hoped great good; so that he was now in condition to chastise those who had offended him.

* The truce between the Spanish and the French was concluded for three years, with the agreement that each party was to name their friends and adherents within the space of three months. The Florentines were named by the French.

And here he mentioned the Venetians by name, adding that, cost what it may, they must be destroyed; and that he felt sure that for such a purpose you would give your men-at-arms, and do all that was in your power. He said, furthermore, that he would very soon have one thousand men-at-arms in Lombardy, and that there was money enough ready to pay at once eight thousand Swiss, and make them descend into Italy whenever it might be necessary, either for his defence, or for that of his friends, or for attacking his enemies; and that he should not want for either men or money. Also, that he had issued a new order in France, besides the regular troops of the line, to organize and keep ready for service a corps of eighteen hundred nobles, each of whom was to have three horses for service. And he spoke again of the twenty thousand infantry which he kept ready, and said, with much animation, that he intended neither to abandon his own interests nor those of his friends, that he was in better health than he had been for ten years, and that his illness had been caused by nothing but his displeasure at the base conduct and wickedness of his troops; but that it was necessary for him to have patience, and to reorganize his forces, which he should not fail to do, leaving nothing undone in that respect. He also said, that we might consider the peace with the Emperor of Germany as assured, and that we ought to be of good cheer, as he should not fail in anything that was due to our republic, and would allow no one to touch a hair of your head; and that to be wanting to you now would in fact be wanting to himself; that he esteemed Florence as much as he did Milan or any other of his own states. And that if the Emperor passed through Italy to go to Rome, by whatever route he went, he would hold him in check by having him accompanied by a good portion of his own, and by some of your Lordships' troops, so that the Emperor should not be able to do anything without the will and consent of others. That possibly it might happen that he would himself come into Italy; but that under any circumstances it would be proper to treat the Emperor well, to be liberal towards him in all outward ceremonies, and to show him all the customary honors due to so great a prince; and in case of any disaster befalling him on the road, we might aid him with some men and some money. And then his Majesty said: "I "assure you that the Emperor is ill disposed towards those "Venetians, and I know that you feel even worse towards them;

"and as for myself, I feel worse towards them than either of "you." After that his Majesty suddenly turned to Pisan affairs, and charged me to advise your Lordships to think of them, and that it would be well anyhow to have some stores and provisions sent into the town, saying that he had letters from there to the effect that they would gladly place themselves in his hands, but that he would not accept the proposition unless it was your Lordships' wish that he should; and that he said this so that if any difficulty resulted from it that caused you dissatisfaction, he wished to be in a position of having done his duty towards you; and that he would not fail to remember your Lordships' interests and necessities.

Your Lordships will observe that I have placed all his Majesty's remarks together, without interrupting them by the replies which I made in the course of this interview, in which I did not fail to remind his Majesty in proper terms of those things that are essential for our republic. I have done this so that your Lordships, having all the remarks of his Majesty together before your eyes, may be the better able to weigh them, and to form such judgment of them as your wisdom may suggest, and then to instruct me how I am to conduct myself in relation to the events that may occur from day to day. I again venture, with all due respect, to call your Lordships' attention to this Pisan business, and to ask you to instruct me whether I am to cut short their arguments or to continue to listen to them. Your Lordships moreover have heard that the ratification of the truce has really come, but with all my efforts to learn some of the particulars of it I have not succeeded. All I have learned, and that is neither from the king nor from the Cardinal Legate, but from some one who says that he has heard it from both, is that both parties are to have three months' time within which they are to name their allies and adherents, that the truce is to last three years both on land and on the sea, and that the French and the Spaniards are both free to transport their merchandise from any one place to another. More than this I have not learned, and it is very possible that it contains but few other articles; for in the opinion of many with whom I have conversed, this truce is to serve merely as a suspension of arms; and it is believed that one of the advantages from it will be that the friends of the king in Italy will remain more secure. So far as I can learn, nothing is said of Don Federigo, or of any of

the barons of the kingdom of Naples. There remains still this German matter, which deserves to be watched and carefully considered by every Italian, particularly if the Emperor comes into Italy, as seems to be decided, so soon as the treaty shall have been definitely concluded. And you will observe from the remarks of the king that the Emperor will not be able to attempt this passage by himself, but will have to be aided in it by others. It seems reasonable that the king will endeavor to relieve himself of as much expense as he can, and that he will aid the Emperor to procure for himself subventions of men and money from others. All this your Lordships will take into consideration with your habitual prudence.

In compliance with his Majesty's suggestion I have called upon the German ambassadors. Certainly the Chancellor must be a man of great ability; he spoke of our republic in the name of his sovereign in the most honorable manner, and has promised also to do, both here and at home, all he can to serve the interests of your Lordships.

The arrival of this ratification from Spain has made these people here very anxious to collect the money which they claim that we have to pay them at the time of the present fair for their pretended protection; and their generals have already spoken three times to-day to Ugolino on the subject. And Monsignore di Ravel has a man here for the express purpose of soliciting for him, and he acts like all men who have but one thing to attend to, so that I have him all day at my ears. This illustrious Signore has written me a letter on the subject, which is herewith enclosed; and I beg your Lordships will be pleased to write me what I am to reply upon both the one and the other of these subjects; for the Cardinal Legate is so dissatisfied and displeased with Giovanpaolo Baglioni, that you cannot speak to him about it.

His Majesty will leave here on Sunday or Monday, unless something special should occur to prevent him; and I shall follow him in two or three days after; and Machiavelli will return by short stages to Italy, if nothing occurs meantime that will require him to make greater speed. I can think of nothing else to write except to recommend myself most humbly to your Lordships, *quæ felicissime valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,

Ambassador.

LYONS, 11 February, 1504.

LETTER X.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

By the enclosed of the 11th instant, your Lordships will have been informed of all that has occurred up to that day. I have since then been with the Legate this morning, who, so soon as he perceived me enter his room, called me to him and said to me that things were going on well, and that he hoped they would be going on still better; and that the Venetian ambassador had been with him, and had made numerous offers on the part of his Signoria, showing how anxious they were to please his Most Christian Majesty. Whereupon the Legate told me that he said to him, that, if the Venetians wished to be friends of the king, they ought to show proper regard for his friends in Italy, and especially mentioned your Lordships to him; for that if you were wronged, it was the same as if his Majesty himself had been injured directly. To which, he said, the ambassador replied, with an oath, that his Signoria had never so much as thought of wronging anybody, and that he might make himself easy on that score, for they had no intention of injuring any one, neither the Florentines nor any other friends of his Majesty.

I thanked his Eminence for what he had done, but showed him that that did not suffice, as it was only a temporary relief; and that it was necessary to think of means of placing the Venetians in such a position that they should not be able at their pleasure to assail any one, so that at no time either the king or his friends should be at their discretion. I think that the Legate told me the above of the Venetians for the purpose of allaying all suspicions which have been manifested here of late; for they have always had two great fears, the one of Gonsalvo, and the other of the Venetians. And as they seem to think that by means of this truce they have secured you against the Spaniards, so they wished to show that you had equally nothing to fear from the Venetians. His Eminence continued his remarks, and urged earnestly that you should look to the matter of Pisa, and that you ought to give it your attention now, whilst there is still time, so as to prevent the occurrence of anything that would be unsatisfactory to the king and your Lordships. And here he added, that his cousin

Monseigneur de Bayeux, who had some influence in Pisa, had initiated certain negotiations, and drawn up certain articles to which the Pisans would consent, and which he would send to me, charging me to forward them to your Lordships, so that you might carefully consider them; and if these articles met your approval, then they would serve to put an end to those evils which for so long a time had kept Tuscany and all Italy feeble. I replied to all this the same as I had done before; namely, that I would communicate it all to your Lordships, and then await your instructions, without which I could not discuss the matter. I shall wait and see what these proposed articles amount to, and so soon as received I will forward them to your Lordships, and you will judge of them with your habitual wisdom. I have no further particulars of the truce to communicate to your Lordships, but am waiting to get a copy of it, which I certainly shall have so soon as it is published and proclaimed, and will then send it at once to your Lordships.

After leaving the Cardinal Legate, and knowing that Monseigneur de Trans had returned here from his embassy to Rome, and was confined at home by a slight indisposition, I went to call upon him, so as to learn something from him about the Pope and the affairs of Italy, as also to show him a courtesy which I did not think ought to be omitted. He seemed delighted at my visit, and talked to me much and for a long time of the affairs of Italy; and his remarks were in my opinion very judicious. He observed that things were at this moment in such condition that every one could revenge himself on the Venetians, and assure himself of them; but if the present opportunity were allowed to pass, and some prince should happen to die, there would be danger of being obliged to submit to their domination. After that he observed how reasonable [illegible]s, and how easily it could be done. And first he said, that Spain, having declined to have the king of France as copartner in the possession of the kingdom of Naples, would still less want the Venetians there; and that the Pope would naturally wish to recover his own, and to avenge the Church of the old wrongs done to her, as well as of the recent ones. And in the same way the Emperor ought to desire to put his foot into Italy on their territory, and to recover the possessions which the Venetians had taken from the empire. And that the king of France ought also gladly to concur in all this,

not so much for the sake of restoring to the duchy of Milan what the Venetians had taken possession of, as for the purpose of securing himself against their power and malevolence. And if he were not stirred by these two motives, he ought to be moved by the satisfaction which it would give to his entire realm, and by the desire of every lord and every subject to make war upon the Venetians. But for the accomplishment of all this it was necessary to do everything that possibly could be done to prevent the Venetians from being named in the truce by either of the kings as allies or adherents.* And believing it certain that they would not be named under any circumstances by the king of France, all efforts should be made to prevent their being named by the king of Spain; and that for this purpose he saw no surer means than the intervention of the Pope. He told me that he purposed writing very fully on the subject, and that he had held the same language to the Cardinal Legate D'Amboise, who had seemed pleased at it; and that he intended also to speak to the king about it so soon as he should be able to go out. He spoke on this subject with a degree of vivacity and earnestness which I cannot possibly describe to your Lordships. And as the mode of proceeding urged by him seemed to me quite in your interest, I encouraged him with all the arguments of which I was master. He told me furthermore, that he should also write to his Eminence the Cardinal Volterra about it, so that he might remind his Holiness of what ought to be done, and to urge him to do it; and requested me to write also in the same sense to his Eminence. I did not think it amiss to do so, but in my letter I have been careful to speak as it were by the mouth of Monseigneur de Trans.

I write all these particulars to your Lordships so that, should you deem it advisable to urge this matter, you can instruct your ambassador at Rome accordingly, for his Eminence of Volterra can do a great deal towards it; and the consequence will be that either the king of Spain will abstain from naming the Venetians in the truce from fear of offending the Pope, or, if he persists in doing it, the French here will make greater efforts to win his Holiness over to their side, and perhaps, seeing the king of Spain's disposition in the matter, they may

* The Venetians were proposed by the king of Spain, but the French refused to accept them, because of their hostility to the Church; and thus they were not named.

resort to measures other than the truce. For his Majesty of France has said, with his own mouth, that if the king of Spain were not satisfied with what was reasonable, the Emperor and the Archduke would in less than three months be more hostile to him than he was himself; intimating thereby that to comprise the Venetians within the terms of the truce, or in any way to tie the hands of the Emperor, would be food for fresh quarrels, inasmuch as the Empire could not otherwise be satisfied.

This morning, whilst at church, I was assailed by those generals on account of the money of which your Lordships know; they told me that it must be provided anyhow. Since then the Cardinal Legate has twice sent to me for the same purpose, and was with difficulty put off, although I replied sharply, and alleged all the reasons and justifications that occurred to me at the moment. They say that this does not satisfy them; and that, as they are preparing for the defence of the duchy of Milan, we may rest perfectly secure on all sides; and therefore they press me for the money in such manner that it becomes necessary for me to have instructions as to what I am to do in the matter. I have omitted to tell your Lordships that the Cardinal Legate and Robertet request that the negotiations with Pisa may be kept secret, and the king desires the same of me as regards his frank remarks touching the Venetians.

It is said that at the farthest within a couple of days the other envoy of the Archduke, Monseigneur de Veri by name, will be here; and that on his arrival the treaty between his Majesty the king and the Emperor and the Archduke will be concluded, the conditions having been all agreed upon. This is all I have to communicate, except humbly to recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ felicissime valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 13 February, 1504.

LETTER XI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

On the 11th and 13th instant I wrote to your Lordships through the agency of Neri Masi, and another letter, also of the 13th, I sent under cover of Tommaso del Bene, by one of the Duke Valentino's men. In these I wrote particularly, and as nearly as possible in their very words, what the king and D'Amboise had told me, leaving it to your Lordships to form your own judgment therefrom, as regards your own as well as his Majesty's interests. As Turpin, the treasurer, never fails when he meets me to remind me of the money which he claims to have been assigned to him, and the want of which impedes all other affairs, I did not wish to afford him the opportunity to speak to me on the subject in presence of either the king or the Cardinal Legate, lest I should answer him impatiently; and therefore I have been but rarely to call upon either one or the other. And not having consequently anything to communicate to your Lordships that I had heard directly from them, nor having been charged by them with any special commission, it seems to me not amiss to give you such information as I have been able to gather from persons who have good facilities for knowing all that goes on here. This may appear to your Lordships to differ from what I have written in several of my letters, but experience has shown that matters are often conducted here very differently from what men generally presume, and from what would seem reasonable.

I have been told that the king of Spain will name the Venetians as his friends and confederates. The French are said to be disposed to do the same, without reflecting what a reputation it would give to these Venetians, by letting the world see that each of these kings is anxious to have them with him. I made a friend of your Lordships ask the Cardinal Legate about it, as a matter that was of no less importance to his master than to others, and he replied, "We certainly have no intention "of doing so; but as I see that you have been talking with "the Spanish ambassadors, I would like to know what their "king is going to do." This reply does not seem to me to differ much from what has been told me by another friend, who is constantly near the king from pure loyalty, and who hears

much, and who, speaking to me on the subject, remarked: "His Majesty of France is tired of war, and evidently anxious "for peace; and he would not like to have it appear, in case "of new complications, that he would have to avail himself of "the reputation and credit of the Venetians, who, more easily "than any one else, could molest the duchy of Milan. And a "proof that the king is afraid of this is, that, so soon as he "found himself obliged to fall back, he wanted to secure him-"self on that side, and sent an envoy exclusively for that pur-"pose to Venice." He added: "The possessions which the "Venetians have at the foot of the mountains on the side of "Germany are a barrier and a palisade that protects Lombardy "against the Swiss as well as the Germans, which he would "not like to have thrown down; although at present he is on "good terms with the Emperor, and although in words that "sovereign would be permitted to pass into Italy, yet in fact "and reality he would never be allowed to do so." My friend assured me, at the same time, that it was positively certain that by an arrangement of the king of France the offer would be made to the Emperor to send him the imperial crown on the part of his Holiness by a Legate.

I believe that this may well happen, for my authority is very reliable. It may also be that they may wish to stand upon both feet, and first to try and bring about that which they desire most, which may easily be gathered from many indications and from various conversations, although somewhat general, with the king and the Cardinal Legate; namely, that by means of this agreement made with the Emperor and the Archduke they can in some way make Spain understand that there is mistrust between them, because they will not allow the father to retrieve the affairs of the Empire, nor the son to refuse to keep the agreement which he has made, or to take the kingdom of Naples from them. And on the other hand, if a way be found to make them come to a good understanding, and to have it well confirmed between them, and if his Holiness (who plays the principal part in this game) takes it well to heart, it might easily be that the result would tend to insure the security of Italy and their own for a long time. The Cardinal Legate has recently written to the Pope with his own hand; and I have been told that if they see that he goes resolutely with them, and looks to the security of Italy, they will not

fail to support him. But if otherwise, and they do not find that support in the Emperor and the Archduke which they had wished and hoped for, they will assuredly take the second part. And therefore to support the affair as much as possible at Rome would be to insure success rather more effectually than in any other way. And here we shall not fail to act in such manner as we shall think best calculated to satisfy your Lordships; and if I overstep the bounds of my duty, or write too freely, I beg your Lordships to believe that it arises simply from my devotion and zeal.

In a conversation which Ugolino had with Robertet, the latter told him that it was not necessary at present to think of uniting Italy, and that it was advisable rather not to let the intention become known. Although he went no further, yet I think it may be that they do not wish to give Spain the occasion of having to name the Venetians, etc., and that they want first clearly to know the Pope's intentions. Certain it is, that if the Cardinal Legate does not take them under his protection, either because he believes that it would be of advantage to France, or for any other reason, they could not be in worse estimation, either with the king or with the general mass of the French. This matter sometimes disturbs the judgment of the Cardinal Legate, for, notwithstanding what he has said as to what the Venetians intend to do, and how he has spoken of them, the words which his Eminence used when he spoke of them the last time to us were not without some symptoms of justification, and were somewhat more friendly than usual. I must also mention to your Lordships, in connection with this subject, that when the king told the ambassador from Ferrara to write to his Duke that a month should not pass before he would have the Polesine restored to him, he charged the ambassador expressly not to have the matter talked about.

I place all these things before your Lordships just as I hear them, so that you may in your wisdom form a proper judgment of them. The treaty negotiations with Germany are being followed up; and although the French say that they are as good as concluded, yet I hear from a very reliable source that there is a great dispute about the investiture, and that the ambassadors of his Imperial Majesty say that they have no instructions upon that point; and I believe that the last messenger, whom they have despatched only a few days since, has been sent for no

other purpose. I understand, and from different quarters, that it is the intention to put a part of these barons from the kingdom of Naples upon the Pope and upon your Lordships; and that they have also made some promises to the Marquis of Mantua in connection with this matter. They may perhaps have done this, because, not wishing to comply with the demands which he had made, they yet wished to show him that they had not lost sight of his case; or perhaps they think of satisfying him at the expense of others. Whatever they may do with regard to the Marquis, their intentions touching these barons are positively fixed; so that if anything is said to me on the subject, I know that I could only say in reply that I would write to your Lordships about it; yet if you would give me some instructions, I might shape my answer so as to meet their views to some little extent. Nothing further occurs to me to write, except to recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ felicissime valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 17 February, 1504.

LETTER XII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

Not having had an opportunity of sending mine of the 17th sooner, it will be enclosed with this; at the same time I send your Lordships a copy of the articles of the truce, which were published here yesterday. I believe this publication has been hastened by the very great desire which the king has to get away from here; for it is said that he is so disgusted with this place that it will be a long time before he returns to it. On the occasion of this publication it seemed to me proper to call upon the Spanish ambassadors, and I learned from them, what seemed to me to be said for some special purpose, that it had been well considered to have the truce published on a fixed day, and that they had taken so much time for it, in order that during the interval Gonsalvo might make himself master of all that remained of the kingdom of Naples; so that there should not be the smallest place left, nor the least spark that could

rekindle a great conflagration, which would never take place with the consent of their Catholic Majesties, who were both most anxious for peace. And that matters here would not be impeded by them, as they should remain content with Spanish and Sicilian affairs, leaving those of Italy to whom they belonged, namely, Don Federigo. It may be that such is really their intention, but (to continue, with all due respect, my habit of writing to your Lordships without any reserve) I know not whether they may not have spoken to me thus because they knew that certain charges were made against them here; or they may have heard some remarks by the Archduke, and wished to justify themselves in anticipation, and at the same time delay and protract some other business. Although I had resolved on account of those unfortunate men of the Bailli, who are really starving and constantly after me, not to frequent the court, yet on the publication of the truce, and because of certain rumors that had come to my ears respecting Piombino, I was unwilling to miss presenting myself before his Most Christian Majesty; and being promptly admitted, I again expressed my pleasure at this publication of the truce, and asked whether I should have to write to your Lordships anything but good news on the part of his Majesty; after which I endeavored adroitly to learn from him whether he had heard anything of those rumors that were being circulated about Piombino, and about the treaty with the Emperor, always recommending to his Majesty the interests of our republic.

In answer to my first remarks about the truce, the king came back to what he had told me before,—that, were it not for his determination to keep his faith, etc., he did not know how things would go on, and that we should soon see or hear of something,—showing both by his language and gestures that he was not much pleased with the business. If I am not mistaken, they are following the same track that I mentioned to your Lordships in my enclosed despatch. You will be better able to judge than myself whether matters will go on well or otherwise. One thing is very clear, and I have it from very good authority, namely, that the Pope's support is of great importance to both parties, whether it be to make them observe the truce, or whether it be to make the Spaniards disclose their purpose, and to alienate them from the Venetians. Respecting

Piombino, his Majesty said, "The Genoese ambassador has "been to confer with me on the subject, but from my own "people I have heard nothing." And as that ambassador had told him that the people of Piombino had cried, "Marzocco and "St. George!" I asked his Majesty whether he would have been pleased if the movement had succeeded; to which he replied, "Yes," that it would have given him pleasure. Beyond all doubt it is well with these people to be of the country that is spoken of. His Majesty then touched upon Pisan matters, with which I have already wearied your Lordships; and although I tried twice to interrupt him, yet he invariably returned to the same subject, but dealt always in generalities, referring us first to the Cardinal Legate and then to Robertet. There are evidently points in the negotiations that do not suit his Majesty very well, for he said that they were engaged in trying to modify them with Monseigneur de Bayeux, the protector of the Pisans; after which he would give me a copy for your Lordships.

As to the treaty with the Emperor, his Majesty said that the negotiations were not yet concluded, although they had reached a point that left him no doubt but what it would be concluded anyhow; and then he made me such large promises that your Lordships' interests should be treated exactly as his own, that, if ever faith can be put in the promises of a king, we must believe in these. Upon this subject I have also caused the Chancellor of the Province and Monseigneur Philibert adroitly to be sounded, but found nothing but what was satisfactory. This Chancellor is evidently a man of importance; he speaks of our republic with great affection, and from his familiar conversation, which at times reveals his real thoughts, it appears that his sovereign is resolved anyhow to make this voyage into Italy; and several times has asked some of our Florentines how his master would be received and honored in Florence, adding, that unless such preparations are made as are suitable for such an occasion, (which is very doubtful for the reasons before written you,) it will be another generation before Italy will see an Emperor face to face.

The Archduke has sent M. de Veri here, and, from what I hear, he was not much pleased to find that the ratification had arrived. He is daily with the Imperial ambassadors, and they have long conferences with the people of the government

here, the particulars of which it is difficult to ascertain. They have positively declared that they do not intend to follow the court; but I hear that they have since then changed their minds, and if the king leaves to-morrow, as it is said he will, they will follow him, for it is believed that they have not yet concluded their treaty.

It is necessary that your Lordships should instruct me what to do about this money of Ravel's and of the Bailli's men, for the manner in which they go on about us is not very creditable to our republic. The Cardinal Legate has offered to lend me some money wherewith to satisfy them, and this might perhaps be done now more easily than at some other time. I apprehend that I shall have to give something to each man, so as to relieve myself of their importunities; for it is most unpleasant to have to do with such people. Machiavelli will be able to tell you whether I have resisted their claims or not. Nevertheless there are things that are more difficult to carry through than one thinks at first; I therefore beg your Lordships to favor me with a prompt reply. I must not omit to tell your Lordships that I am informed that Monseigneur de Ravenstein has designs of his own in connection with the affairs of Piombino.

Monseigneur d'Aubigny * has arrived, and of all who have returned from the kingdom of Naples, none have been received by his Majesty with more pleasure than he. I made it a point to call upon him in your name, and found him most friendlily disposed towards our republic, and thoroughly versed in Italian affairs. But every one holds his judgment in suspense, fearing to run counter to the designs of the Cardinal Legate. I also called on Madame de Bourbon, whom the queen had called here at the time of the king's indisposition; this lady showed herself well disposed to your Lordships, to whom I recommend myself.

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,

Ambassador.

LYONS, 18 February, 1504.

* Monseigneur d'Aubigny had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards in Calabria, but was released on the surrender of Gaeta.

LETTER XIII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC. : —

The want of couriers is the cause of the delay in the arrival of my despatches, and compels me to allow my letters to your Lordships to accumulate here, which would be much more disagreeable to me still, were it not that I see that you are constrained to do the same; for it is only to-day that I have received yours of the 2d, 3d, 5th, 8th, 10th, and 12th instant, with copies of advices from Rome and the Romagna, which are very full and to the point. We called immediately with your letters upon his Majesty, informing him of the conduct of the Venetians, which is so contrary to their pledges; mentioning at the same time all such other matters as seemed to us proper; and we begged his Majesty that, inasmuch as the Secretary has to return to Florence, to be pleased to enable him to carry some good resolution back with him to your Lordships. I also availed myself of the occasion to tell and repeat to his Majesty all those matters with which your Lordships have charged me; which was not a difficult task, as his Majesty allows every one to speak to him at length. It would be well if it were so with the Cardinal Legate, where things are discussed drop by drop, and then decided. His Majesty replied, that, if this treaty with the Emperor should be concluded, it would surround you with a beautiful garland; and that we ought to wait, and we should soon hear of a matter that would please us greatly; and that he intended to send an envoy to Florence and to Rome, through whom your Lordships would be informed of certain orders and measures that were intended to be beneficial to your Lordships and to all Italy, referring us at the same time for particulars to the Cardinal Legate.

In relation to the treaty with the Emperor, his Majesty said that it was near its conclusion; but what gave him particular pleasure was that he had the signature of the Swiss in his hands, by which they bound themselves to furnish him upon his requisition twelve to sixteen thousand men, and that he felt perfectly sure of them. And here he enlarged considerably upon your Lordships' matters, not omitting the orders given and provisions made for his kingdom and for the duchy of Milan, which are the same that I have communicated

to your Lordships in former despatches. We did not omit to urge him again to take into his pay also some Italian captain, pointing out to him the good effects that would result from it, asking him at the same time, with proper tact, which one he judged to be the best. Upon this point his Majesty replied that he certainly intended to take some one of the Italian captains into his pay, but that it was necessary that the Pope and your Lordships should first make the beginning. And as he said nothing as to any preference, I resumed the subject, saying that your Lordships purposed doing so, for seeing what turn matters were taking you could not remain unarmed; and that it seemed to you of advantage, both for the sake of securing their good will, as well as for the purpose of taking them from others, to try and secure some of the best captains, either of the house of Colonna, or of the Orsini, or even Gianpaolo Baglioni. His Majesty urged us by all means to speak to the Cardinal Legate about it. For the purpose, therefore, of seeing whether I could learn anything special from him, I called upon the Cardinal Legate, and having first informed him of the news I had from your Lordships, and of the recent doings of the Venetians, and of the present state of things in the Romagna, which until now was safe rather by the providence of God, seeing the death of the Signor . . . . . etc., than by the help of man, I told his Eminence that the king had referred us to him. He replied that there were at this moment too many witnesses present to enter upon a discussion of these matters, but that he would at another time give me a long audience, on which occasion he would like to have the Marquis de Final present; and then he called Monseigneur de Trans and the aforesaid Marquis, and in presence of all the government officials who were there, he said: "You see that Imola and Furli are not lost, as Monseigneur de Trans has stated." And when I repeated to him that, in view of these events, your Lordships felt constrained to arm yourselves; and that there was no more effective way of depriving the enemy of his arms than to try and engage one of the best captains, either of the house of Orsini or Colonna, or Gianpaolo, and that his Majesty the king ought to do the same; his Eminence replied that these men were all impostors, but that if we would be governed by his advice all would go well; and thereupon, seeing the number of persons present, our interview terminated.

Before seeing the Cardinal Legate again it seemed to me advisable to see the Pope's ambassador; and having called at his house, I informed him of the arrival of Messer Pietro Paolo at Florence, and of your Lordships' instructions, using such terms as I judged best for facilitating my object, which was to learn from him as far as possible the intentions of the court of Rome, before seeing the Cardinal Legate again. His Lordship made me read a number of letters which he had received from Rome, amongst others one from Capaccio, full of wisdom, and really very much to the point as regards Italian affairs. He suggests to him many things in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff, and advises the ambassador to urge the French to take such measures against the Venetians that the Church may not fall a prey to them, as all that has been done hitherto has been ineffectual; adding that his Majesty's ambassador at Venice goes so far as to inform the Venetians by simulated letters of all that is to happen, so that, under a dissembled ignorance, they may openly engage in their various enterprises. Thus your Lordships see how these French people act; for although they know that the Venetians have won over their ambassador, as I have before written to your Lordships, yet they do not attempt to remedy it. Afterwards he communicated to me that he hoped to induce his Majesty to write to the Venetian Senate that, if they did not desist from troubling the possessions of the Church, he would have to give them proofs of his displeasure; and that, in consequence of the conduct of the present French ambassador at Venice, another would probably be sent, and who would be furnished with special letters from his Majesty. Two or three persons are spoken of for that post, but I cannot tell your Lordships anything positive about this. The individual likely to be sent to urge the union of all Tuscany will, I think, be Messer Francesco da Narni, with whom, seeing the disposition of the people here, I have done my best to place myself on a friendly footing; but according to what Robertet tells me, it is uncertain whether he will leave here soon; the envoy to Venice, however, will start within a day or two.

I learn that the Spanish ambassadors have told the ambassador of the Pope that if the aforesaid Venetians are named by their most Catholic king, it will be with the condition that they shall give satisfaction to his Holiness the Pope; and in

that case they would also be named by the French. This matter depends now entirely upon the agreement with the Emperor; for if these people here do not arrange this difference after their experience with the Spaniards, it is not likely that they would want also to embroil themselves with the Venetians. When this treaty is concluded, in the way they desire here, I shall certainly hope for some good results from it; and as all this has to be judged of by the actions of the Legate, I have his movements as carefully watched as I can with the means at my disposal. The late news from Furli has disconcerted him very much, and your Lordships may believe me if I tell you that, if the Pope does what he can, there is still some hope that we may get well out of the affair.

I have arranged with the Pope's ambassador that he shall remain present at my appointed audience with the Cardinal Legate, which I would gladly have deferred longer, for I believe I shall not be able to learn anything more from him, unless it be that he would press me again in relation to his wish that your Lordships should engage some of those Neapolitan barons, in reference to which I would like to have some light and instructions from your Lordships. As already stated in one of my previous letters, Turpin has undertaken to send to your Lordships for the money due to the king. I neither advised him to take this course nor did I dissuade him; as to myself personally they cannot cause me the least annoyance, no matter what sinister measures they may employ; but I would not have them make the slightest demonstration that might be discreditable to our city, which I believe these men of the Bailli's capable of, for they are desperate and utterly ruined; and it is a bad thing to have to do with men of that sort. One of the first men of the government has complained that the king speaks so freely of the Venetians, which has produced a bad effect, and we come in for a share of the blame. The Venetian ambassador attends to nothing else but trying to justify himself, and to think of means for giving effect to his protestations. I continue under all circumstances to write you freely all I hear, and for which you will make such allowance as your Lordships' wisdom may suggest.

I recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 19 February, 1504.

P. S. — Monseigneur de Nemours * was also much pleased at the good news of the truce, and begs to remind you of his David, which he is very desirous to have, and wishes it could be sent to Livorno. Your Lordships will I hope deign to instruct me what I am to say to him on the subject.

LETTER XIV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

I informed your Lordships by my preceding letter, which, for want of a courier, I send at the same time with this one, that I had arranged an audience with the Cardinal Legate; but the affairs of Germany and the departure of his Majesty unavoidably delayed it until yesterday morning. I repeated to his Eminence the advices received from your Lordships, and the measures suggested by you, begging him constantly that in their treaties they might for once recognize such signal fidelity and loyalty as yours. He replied that we should presently have occasion to be better satisfied than we had been for a long time past; and that I should write to your Lordships and to the Gonfaloniere, to be patient and of good cheer, and that you would very soon see that the results would correspond with the promises. And as his Eminence seemed to be in a favorable mood, I added that for once I would like to leave vague generalities, and participate in the good spirits which his countenance indicated. He said to me: "We send Messer "Francesco da Narni to Florence and to Rome, and he will "carry news that will be most welcome to you, and the union "of all Tuscany, which you have desired so much, will be car- "ried into effect. The convention with the Emperor was con- "cluded yesterday, and the German ambassadors carry it with "them, to return here with the ratification before Easter, and "your interests are as well protected by it as our own." Wishing to press him still further, especially as to the position in

* This was Pierre de Rohan, Maréchal di Gié, to whom the Florentine Signoria had promised a bronze statue of David, which had been ordered of Michel Angelo, 12th August, 1502. The Maréchal, however, having fallen into disgrace with the king, the David was sent as a present to the treasurer, Florimonde de Robertet, who placed it in the court-yard of his palace at Blois. The palace still exists, but the bronze David is no longer there.

which Pisa would remain, and whether we ought to do anything in the matter, he replied that he would say no more about it until after the arrival of the ratification, lest it might do harm. His Eminence, nevertheless, let fall the following words, which seemed to me worth noting: "Keep yourselves "well prepared and provided, and leave us to think and do the "rest." I did not want to enter upon the subject of the engagement of any Italian captain, for besides the intention which I knew him to have of giving you some of these Neapolitan barons, that cousin of the Bailli's had told me that he would demand the confirmation of the engagement of fifty lances; and therefore I took my leave of his Eminence, who leaves here this forenoon. Your Lordships will doubtless have concluded an engagement with some one whom you consider suitable; for when the thing is once done, there will be much less difficulty in defending it here. Machiavelli has taken leave of his Eminence, and departs from him in a day or two. Robertet, in company with whom I walked on returning from the Cardinal Legate's house as far as the church, confirmed the assurances of the Cardinal Legate; so that if this time your Lordships' interests are not properly cared for, we may forever despair of their promises, seeing the manner in which they have spoken to us as well as to others. Upon asking the aforesaid Robertet as to the position in which the convention left the matter of Pisa, I could get nothing out of him, but he said: "Messer "Francesco, as you know, goes to Florence, and by order of the "Cardinal Legate I am to prepare special instructions for him; "for the person who is here in the interest of Pisa is a man of "extravagant views, and Messer Francesco is much better suited "to the task." Although Robertet did not answer my question, yet it seems to me proper to let you know what I did gather from him; for they either want to lull us into security, or they have not conceded Pisa to the Emperor, as some have supposed.

As it seemed to me that the sending of an envoy to Venice, which has been as good as decided upon, was a matter that concerned the Pope's ambassador more than myself, I resolved to seek an interview with him before Robertet or the Cardinal Legate should see him on the subject. After having communicated to him the substance of the conversations I had had with them, I expressed my surprise that they had not said one word

in relation to that decision; for I really thought it more to the purpose and more important than anything else, that the Venetians should for once understand the king's intentions with regard to the affairs of his master. He replied: "Everything "goes well, and it has been deemed best to defer saying any-"thing because I have letters from the Bishop of Ragusa, to "the effect that Messer Pietro Paolo will be in time at the "castle of Furli. Rely upon it, your interests are more thought "of than you believe. It would not be well further to disclose "our purposes with regard to the Venetians, in case the ratifi-"cation by his Imperial Majesty of the convention concluded "by those ambassadors should not arrive; for such premature "disclosures would only increase their pretensions. But be of "good cheer, for his Holiness has no intention of remaining "quiet. This union with and the support of the king will add "to our credit and reputation, and will give others something "to think about. His Holiness is anyhow resolved to arm, "and if he, jointly with your Signoria, could raise one thousand "men-at-arms, what with the other allies and the credit of the "duchy of Milan, provided she remains as she is, the Venetians "will have to think well of what they venture to undertake." I did not delay in replying, "that we were fed with words, and "they with facts." As he wanted either to close the conversation, or give himself some importance, he said to me: "I have "under the secret of a confession, and *in articulo conscien-*"*tiæ*, what, if I could reveal it to you, would convince you that "I am not speaking at hazard." It is difficult to draw from the lips of men what they are not willing to tell; and I must leave it to your Lordships to form your own conclusion from such information as I have been able to gather.

Afterwards I called upon the Chancellor of the Province, who leaves to-morrow, well pleased with the attentions shown him, and with the results achieved; they have presented him with money and shown him all honor. I have again expressed to him the good will and devotion of your Lordships to his sovereign, and the hopes which you build upon him in all your necessities, of which he would always have proof whenever occasion should present itself. The Chancellor showed himself much pleased at all this, and assured me that his sovereign would undoubtedly come into Italy; and he promised me to make known to the Emperor these demonstrations of good will

which I had made in your Lordships' name. And he affirmed this intended voyage of the Emperors so positively, that it will either take place, or he will be completely dishonored; for it is said that he has the entire confidence of his sovereign, and that whatever he decides is invariably done. I am resolved to see him again, for Robertet told Ugolino, within the last few days, that, if their negotiations with Pisa did not succeed, this Chancellor would be apt to have that city restored to your Lordships; for that he was a man who gladly took a part in affairs where he saw a profit. If this seems different from what they told me on other occasions, it is because of their nature and habits always to have more than one plan; thus your Lordships will not blame me, but rather hold me excused for writing all I hear.

I shall see the Grand Chancellor again before his departure, which will not be until next Monday. Since the return of the Legate he has almost invariably intervened in all the negotiations that have been going on; should I not learn anything more from him I will so inform your Lordships. But if matters are treated more openly, as some think will be the case, then it may perhaps be easier to learn something more. Everything, however, has its counterpoise, for if that should be the case, then the Admiral will have to take a more active part in them; and so far as I hear, he has never been well inclined to the interests of Italy. But I will write more fully to your Lordships respecting this movement, if I find that there is any foundation for it. Your Lordships will hold me excused if, as I think, you will receive no letters from me for a month to come; for the king, tired of being confined so long to one place, wishes to stop in every town, and it will be very difficult to follow him there. And when the court is not fixed in any one place, nothing can be done, nor can any information be obtained. Added to this comes another inconvenience: Ugolino is sick, and it is the beginning of a long illness, although there is no danger; but, in truth, his knowledge of the language and the usages of the country make him most useful to me. God willing, I shall follow the court on Monday or Tuesday.

The Cardinal Legate has caused one hundred ducats to be paid to the Bailli's men, and tells me that he has done it to save me from some insult, for which there would be no remedy because of the agreement which the Bailli holds. The Legate

says that your Lordships may expect to receive this account, and hopes you will pay it, for the men-at-arms insisted on being paid; and truly, if the Legate had not taken this course, I should have had these men around me by dozens wherever I went. Very little is heard of the terms of the treaty that is being negotiated, but it is said that both parties bind each other by many oaths; and that the Emperor concedes the duchy of Milan to the king of France, who is to pay him a sum of money and to furnish him men for the passage into Italy. As to the Signor Lodovico (Il Moro) it is said that the German ambassadors wanted to relieve themselves of that responsibility, but that nevertheless at the meeting of the two sovereigns they will decide about him; and that his Most Christian Majesty has pledged himself to liberate him, and to give him the means of living in France. Of Don Federigo both Spaniards and French speak most honorably; in a former letter I told your Lordships all I had heard on the subject, and of the intentions of the Spaniards, who affirm most positively that their Catholic Majesties intend to restore him to the throne, and to make his son marry the dowager queen of Naples, that is to say, the one who was the wife of King Ferdinand. The secretary of King Federigo tells me that the French wanted to give to the Prince Germaine de Foix, niece of the king and queen of France; and that he has lately pressed both the king and the Cardinal Legate very hard to make the Spaniards declare whether they really mean what they say, or whether, for some selfish purpose, they merely feign this promise to reinstate Don Federigo, etc. But, as he says, they declined to do so, although it would have been much more to their honor than the truce which they have just concluded; and that it must be either that they intend to blind these Catholic kings, or that they fear that, if their plans were to become known to the Archduke, it might lead to results directly contrary to what these French aim at.

Your Lordships will judge of this as well as of the other matters with your habitual wisdom. I recommend myself and beg you will excuse me, for I must follow the court, and so long as it keeps moving I shall not be able to do anything; and so I will say no more at present. *Bene valeant DD. VV.*

Servitor

NICCOLO VALORI,
Ambassador.

LYONS, 22 February, 1504.

LETTER XV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI:—

Since the arrival of the ratification of the truce by Spain I have been, as it were, constantly with one foot in the stirrup to return to Florence; but his Magnificence the Ambassador thought that I ought not to leave here until after the departure of Messer Francesco da Narni, who has been deputed to Florence for reasons which your Lordships will have learned from the Ambassador. It had been at first determined that I should leave at the same time with Messer Francesco; but upon more careful reflection it was deemed best that I should not accompany him, lest it should detract from the importance of his mission, and make it appear as though it had been solicited by your Lordships. Thus it is that I find myself still here, my only business now being to wait for a companion; but I shall start without fail on Friday next, when the Ambassador will also leave here to follow the king. I recommend myself a thousand times to your Lordships, and refer for all important matters to what your Ambassador writes and has written, for he is most sagacious, zealous, and devoted to his country. *Bene valete!*

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LYONS, 25 February, 1504.

MISSION TO GIANPAOLO BAGLIONI.*

INSTRUCTIONS TO NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

SENT TO PERUGIA, BY RESOLUTION OF 8TH APRIL, 1504.

NICCOLO,—You will proceed with all despatch to find Gianpaolo Baglioni, wherever you may learn that he is. The cause of our sending you to him is the letter which he has written to Messer Vincenzio, which the latter communicated to us yesterday; and as you have already full knowledge of that letter, we deem it unnecessary to say anything to you of its contents. In your address to Baglioni, you will first refer to that letter, and then express to him the astonishment and displeasure which it has caused us in his own interest, which is ours; having always thought that whatever affected the state of Perugia, touched us equally. You will next tell him that our not being able to

* Buonaccorsi, p. 100 of his Journal, gives the following account of the circumstances that occasioned this mission: "It was decided to collect all the men-at-arms, and to send them to the camp before Pisa. To accomplish this, their pay was sent to each, and all who were subject to being called upon to fulfil their annual engagement were required to do so. Amongst these was Gianpaolo Baglioni, who had accepted and ratified his engagement; but when his pay was sent to him, the same as to the others, he declined to accept it, alleging that he could not leave his home on account of his enemies, who, he said, were planning to attack his possessions. And as his engagement, together with that of his son, was for 135 men-at-arms, which in fact constituted the bulk of the men-at-arms of the republic, his refusal was regarded as a most important matter, etc. The Signoria could not believe that Gianpaolo would break his faith in so gross a manner, and therefore sent a confidential agent to him, who however made the same report; namely, that Gianpaolo refused, being unable to leave home on account of his enemies, but that in all other respects he professed to be a faithful servant of the republic. This agent, however, found out during his brief stay at Perugia that there was an understanding between Gianpaolo and the house of Orsini, Pandolpho Petrucci, Gonsalvo Fernando, Bartolommeo d'Alviano, and all the rest of their faction. He had intended to remain longer, so as to find out a little more as to Baglioni's real intentions; but when his pay was sent him, he was obliged either to accept it and serve, or openly declare his intention not to do so, as in fact he did."

avail ourselves of his engagement causes us as much danger and trouble as anything that has occurred for a long time; and that we are no less grieved at his Lordship's not having made known to us anything of his apprehensions and dangers, for knowing our affection for him personally, and the interest we have in the preservation of his state, it seemed to us most natural that he should have advised us of all this, and that he should have looked upon us as such friends that we would have aided him with our counsels and in every other way.

You will shape your remarks to him in such wise as to make it appear that this is the only object of your mission, and that we do not see in his determination not to fulfil his engagement anything more than what he himself would have us believe. His replies must govern your subsequent proceedings, which you must manage so as to let him feel that we are much dissatisfied with his Lordship, and to stir him up in some way by pointing out to him the blame that will fall upon him in consequence. As to the ingratitude that may be imputed to him for all the benefits he has received in the past, and his want of faith as a soldier, the two essential and fundamental points that men look to, you must endeavor to remove the apprehensions which he pretends to have, and answer him upon every particular, which, with your perfect knowledge of the state of things, it will be easy for you to do. And you must try to bring him to the point of revealing to you the real motive for his determination; which seems to us to have no other foundation than that he has either very sorrowful support, or that he seeks thereby to obtain better terms for his engagement. It is upon this latter point that you must lay most stress, so as to draw from him all you possibly can, which is the main object of your mission. During your stay near Gianpaolo you will diligently endeavor to find out the number of men he has, and their whereabouts.

In passing through Cortona, which it seems to us desirable you should do, you must find out from the commandant of the place whether he has any information in relation to these matters; and so soon as you have had an interview with the aforesaid Gianpaolo, you will inform us of all you have learned from him.

EGO MARCELLUS VIRGILIUS,
Decemv. Lib. et Bal. Reip. Flor.

EX PALATIO FLORENTIÆ, 8 April, 1505.

LETTER.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

I arrived yesterday evening at the fort of Cortona and learned that Pietro Bartelino had returned from Gianpaolo and was above. It being too late to reach Castiglione by daylight, and having, moreover, instructions from your Lordships to confer with Antonio, I went up to pass the night with him. I had a full conversation with him, and learned from Pietro how his business had turned out, respecting which he told me that he had just written to your Lordships. Early this morning, in good time, I was with Gianpaolo, and both before and after dinner I talked with him for over three hours, during which time I had ample opportunity to execute your Lordships' commission, the three main points of which were, first, whether he would serve or not; second, in case of his refusal to serve, then to ascertain what his real motives are, — whether he merely wants to obtain better terms, or whether he has more important reasons; and finally, not to break with him, lest it should give him occasion, etc., etc.

For the purpose of treating all three of these points, I opened the conversation in accordance with your Lordships' instructions, telling Baglioni that your Lordships complained of the obstacles which he alleged, and wondered that you had not heard of them before; offering him at the same time every assistance for the security of his state, for which offers he thanked your Lordships most kindly. He said that the reason of his not having informed you sooner was that he himself had not been aware of his situation before; but that he knew now the impending dangers and the machinations of the Colonnas and of his other enemies, and the intrigues which they had been carrying on, even within Perugia itself; and that so soon as he discovered these, he saw that it would be impossible for him to accept any obligations to others without manifest danger of losing his own state, and that it was much better for him now to have taken care of his own interests than to have accepted your money, and then have been obliged to leave perhaps in the midst of his duty. From this argument he passed abruptly to the manner in which you had acted towards him last year, and how, whilst he remained in camp, although written to daily by his people to

come home, you had refused to give him leave; and that, so as not to break with you, he had engaged the Signor Bartolommeo to come to Perugia, which had excited such suspicion in your minds that he had to send him away again; that he did not intend to expose himself to the same thing this year, but believed that he would be able to settle his affairs and secure himself in such manner this year as to be able to serve your Lordships next year, adding that he was sure of being then your servant more than ever. And when I met these doubts of his with such arguments as I could offer, justifying your Lordships' conduct of last year, he replied that he could not be satisfied, nor could he rely upon you, inasmuch as you had always, and even within the past few days, carried on negotiations with Fabrizio Colonna to engage him in your service; and that, although nothing definite had been done, yet you could hammer at this matter so long that it would be concluded, so that when it was done he would find himself in the midst of his enemies. And then he went on enlarging upon this matter, expressing his detestation of your engagement of the Savelli and the Colonnas, and blaming you for neglecting the Guelfs; adding that, if you had leaned upon them, and formed him and Bartolommeo d'Alviano and Vitelli into one body, things would have been better for them and for you; for then the Colonnas, who are their enemies, would have been kept down, and Pandolfo and the Lucchese, who are also your enemies, would have remained quiet, and Pisa would have fallen of itself. I replied to all this as well as I could, but he remained firm in maintaining that it would have been best for Florence to have formed all the above Orsini into one body; and then it escaped his lips that it was now too late for you to do this. He complained of the Perugian rebels who reside in Cortona, adding that, if he were accused of having broken his faith, and that it became necessary for him to justify himself, he was ready to do so; that he had submitted his argument to a number of learned Perugians who all decided that he was not bound by it. Respecting the Perugian rebels who are at Cortona, I told him that, knowing the character of those who had occasionally resided there, his Lordship ought not as much as mention the matter, and that I should be ashamed to reply to him upon that point. But as to his being able to justify his treating his engagement as not binding, I observed that, inasmuch as he had afforded me ample scope to

discuss the value and importance of good faith, I was not conscious of having omitted anything that could be said under the circumstances. And then I gave my remarks such a turn as to show him that your Lordships' displeasure at his resolution was more on his than on your own account. For even if you were at this moment unexpectedly deprived of one hundred and thirty men-at-arms, there were so many unemployed horses in Italy just now that there was no danger of your being obliged to remain on foot, or to be compelled to abandon any of your plans, and that thus your difficulties would be easily remedied; but that such was not the case with his. For even if you had never to complain of his want of good faith, assuming that his apprehensions were well founded and really obliged him to remain at home, yet every one knew the obligation under which he was to your Lordships, and was cognizant of his engagement as it stands, of the payments that had been regularly made, of the conveniences afforded him, of the engagement that had been made by him, and at his special request, for his son, and that his entire pay had been brought to him at his own house, and would therefore never excuse him, but would charge him with ingratitude and bad faith, and would regard him as a stumbling horse which nobody would ride for fear of getting his neck broken; that matters of this kind were not to be judged by learned doctors, but by gentlemen; and that whoever attached any value to wearing armor, and desired to win honor by his arms, could lose nothing that was prized so much as the reputation for good faith, and that it seemed to me that in this case he staked his very lightly. And as he persisted in saying that he could justify his conduct, I answered that men ought to do everything in their power never to be obliged to justify themselves, for justification presupposes error or the suspicion of error; that last year he had to justify himself with regard to the French, and in fact he had to justify himself too often. And thus I pricked him right and left, speaking to him as a friend, and as though merely coming from me; and although I noticed several times that he changed countenance, yet he gave no indication that could make me hope he would change his determination.

This is all I can report to your Lordships of our long conversation. Our subsequent rather confused and desultory discussion tended all to the same effect, for he firmly held to his

resolve to remain at home this year and not to serve any one; telling me also that within a few days he would cause four persons to be executed in Perugia who were his enemies; and that we must not take umbrage at him if he should collect troops, which he should do only to enable him to resist his enemies, and to dislodge some of them from certain castles which they occupied. He said that you could do this year without taking any men-at-arms into your pay, for he did not see that you were in condition to attack Pisa; but if nevertheless you did make an engagement with any one, you ought to avoid the Colonnas, and take either the Marquis of Mantua or some others who were not of the Colonna faction. In the course of his argumentation he let the remark escape him that he could tide over this year with such resources as he could procure from elsewhere. I did not fail to reply to these arguments in such manner as seemed to me suitable and to the point. But to justify himself to your Lordships and relieve them of all doubt as to his good faith he offered, in case you should decide upon a movement against Pisa, to come in person with some forty or fifty of his men; but that he should come merely as a friend, voluntarily, and not as being under any obligation to do so; and that he would be satisfied even if your Lordships employed him only as a pioneer.

Your Lordships will see from what I have written thus far that Gianpaolo is positively determined not to serve you; as also the reasons which he assigns for it, and which, he avers, have reference purely to his own interests. But here is what I learn from others, and I have it from two Florentines who are in his pay, one of whom is more skilful in intrigue than in action. Both tell me that this is all a concerted affair between Gianpaolo and Pandolfo, the Lucchese, and the Orsini faction. They do not know whether any others are implicated, but they do know there is a good deal going on; for Gianpaolo receives nightly some individual who is a courier, or seems like one. Messer Goro da Pistoja, they tell me, is very busy moving to and fro; at this moment he is absent, but they know not where. On Sunday Gianpaolo had a meeting with Pandolfo in the direction of Chiusi, under pretence of hunting. Their designs unquestionably are to take Pisa from you, and to do even worse if they can; their final object being to reduce you to the same condition as themselves, so that those who are well armed

may fare well, whilst the others may look to their security as well as they can. They have made Gianpaolo trifle with you, so that you might have less time for making your preparations; nor would he as yet have made known his intentions if you had not sent him his pay; but upon learning that it was on the way, he wished to anticipate you, and so wrote that letter to Messer Vincenzio. I learn furthermore from these men, that in place of that letter Gianpaolo wished to have sent Ser Valerio to you, but that he did not want to come, saying that you would hang him for bringing such news to you. Those who influence Gianpaolo in all this have made him take this means of saying that he would not serve you, and that he wanted to remain at home, because they and he knew that you would be vexed by this wrong and would be apt to do something adverse to him, either by taking the Colonnas into your pay, or by some other means to guard yourselves against him, and thereby afford him the occasion for saying that he was justified in declaring openly against Florence; and therefore he advises you in the most friendly manner to remain without men-at-arms rather than engage the Colonnas. Those who have given me these particulars tell me that, unless you give Gianpaolo occasion, he will not declare against you, but will arrange to place all his troops under Bartolommeo d' Alviano, or any one else, as may seem best to him. They also tell me that he has advised his soldiers to remain quiet and of good cheer, for that if he receives no money from the Florentines, he will have it from some one else; and he intimated as much to me himself in the conversation I had with him, which I reported above. They say furthermore, that he thinks you will not be able to raise troops, and that, if nevertheless you engage the Colonnas, he will cut off their roads for coming into Tuscany, and will not permit them to pass in any way. They also report that for the past two months Gianpaolo has been completely absorbed in his thoughts, as it were, and has never laughed with right good will. This I have noticed myself, for when I told him at our interview to reflect well upon the course he was going to take, which was of more importance for him than for Perugia, he replied, "Believe me, I have "thought of it well, and have crossed myself more than half "a dozen times, and have prayed God to direct me wisely."

I leave your Lordships now to form your own judgment upon all this. You advised me verbally to be careful not to break

with Gianpaolo; and therefore, when he argued with me, and endeavored to show by the most earnest protestations how entirely devoted he was to our republic, as you would find out more and more every day, and that if you took umbrage at his present decision, he would send his son Malatesta Baglioni to you as a hostage, I asked him why he had not ratified his engagement. He replied at once, and without reflecting, that he would do so most cheerfully whenever your Lordships wished it. I answered him, that I had no instructions upon that point, and that your Lordships had not said anything to me about it; but that he could let your Lordships know, so as to ascertain your wishes in the matter. Whereupon he promptly sent a messenger to Perugia to ask Ser Valerio to come to him, saying that he would immediately despatch him to your Lordships with that commission, and I saw nothing improper in my approving of this. In conclusion, when I took my leave of him, he said to me, "that this year he would not serve your "Lordships on any account nor at any price; but that, if you "decided upon renewing the siege of Pisa, he would come as a "friend with forty or fifty men; and that I should assure "your Lordships that he had no intention of wronging you, "nor of allying himself with any one who intended to injure "you, and that it was only the necessity of being obliged to "remain at home, and nothing else, that had caused him to "decide as he had done; but that, if you wished, he would "willingly give you his son."

I have entered fully upon all the above details, so that your Lordships may judge of them with your habitual prudence; nor have I hesitated in writing so much at length, contrary to my disposition, but the subject seemed to me of such importance that I thought I could not err in communicating to you all I had heard and seen here. As to the number of men-at-arms * which Gianpaolo Baglioni has, and their whereabouts, I have learned that about twenty of the old are wanting, but that within the past few days he has taken twenty-eight men-

* *Gente d' Arme.* Men-at-arms were gentlemen who fought on horseback. Every *man-at-arms* had with him five persons; namely, three archers, one equerry, and a page or varlet. When Charles VII. began to organize the French nobility into a regular body of cavalry, he formed them into fifteen companies, called *Compagnies d'Ordonnance;* and as each man-at-arms had five other men in his suite, each company consisted of six hundred men. There were besides a great number of volunteers who followed these companies at their own expense, in the hope of being admitted as a man-at-arms. See Artaud, *Machiavel*, Tom. I. pp. 127.

at-arms into his pay from the Prefect and the Duke of Urbino. These are quartered throughout his entire state, and here in Cortona he has but three men-at-arms. According to public report he will have altogether within a month one hundred men-at-arms and one hundred light-horse.*

I did not stop longer at Castiglione, as it seemed to me that I had obtained all the information I was instructed to gather in relation to these matters, and moreover I could not have written you from that place the half of what I have written. And had I remained there one day longer, I should have been taken for a spy and should have been detained there with little satisfaction or credit to your Lordships; and therefore I concluded to come away, thinking that it would be a greater error to remain than to be obliged to return there. This evening I shall stop at Cortona, and to-morrow I shall speak to the commandant of Arezzo, and the following day, God willing, I hope to be back in Florence. I recommend myself to your Lordships.

11 April, 1505.

I have given two ducats to the courier Carlo who leaves to-day at the twenty-third hour; he has promised to reach Florence before your Lordships go home, and if he fails in this he is to return the two ducats.

Servitor,
NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

* In a collection of original letters addressed to Niccolo Machiavelli and belonging to a Florentine patrician family, there is one from Boscherino, captain of a squadron of Gianpaolo's, dated April 16, 1505, from which can be inferred what relations Machiavelli had with this captain in connection with this mission; and as it throws some light upon this business, the letter is here given.

NOBILIS VIR, ET MI OBSERVANDISS., ETC.: —

When you left, it was agreed that, in case the Lord Gianpaolo did not accept the engagement, your Nobility would inform me, or that you would procure me a position with some other Condottiere, equal to what I hold here. And as I am extremely anxious not to remain without employment, I make bold to trouble you in this matter; but feel assured that your humanity will excuse me, and that you will try to satisfy my earnest wishes in the manner I desire, and as agreed between us. And although I am not able in whole or in part to compensate your Nobility, yet the Almighty and your humanity will supply my insufficiency, and to these I cease not to recommend myself, which is all I have to say excepting ever to recommend myself, etc., etc.

Your servant,
BOSCHERINO,
Captain of Squadron of the Lord Giovanpaolo Baglioni.

into their pay, whom they engaged with three hundred men-at-arms and the title of Captain-General. Before the final ratification of the agreement difficulties arose, the principal one of which had its origin in an article demanded by the Marquis, that the whole should be subject to the decision of the king of France. The Florentines were unwilling to concede this to its full extent, and Machiavelli was sent to Mantua to conclude and ratify the agreement on suitable conditions. This ratification, however, was not effected, owing to new difficulties that were constantly interposed on account of the above article. *Vide* Buonaccorsi's Journal, p. 103.

SECOND MISSION TO SIENNA.

INSTRUCTIONS

GIVEN TO NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI, SENT TO PANDOLFO PETRUCCI AT SIENNA.

RESOLVED, 16 JULY, 1505.

NICCOLO, — You will proceed on horseback to Sienna, so as to arrive there to-morrow morning at business hours, and you will immediately call upon the Magnificent Pandolfo, for whom you have our letters of credence. You will express to him the pleasure we have derived from his having sent a confidential agent to communicate to us the information he had received of Bartolommeo d' Alviano's intention to proceed immediately to Piombino. You will thank Pandolfo for the offers he has made to us, and add at once that we have sent you to him for the purpose of learning from his Lordship what he thinks ought to be done so as to prevent any further disorders; enlarging upon the subject as you may judge necessary for the purpose of more effectually finding out the truth. You will treat the subject in all its bearings, for which purpose you will have to take counsel of yourself, and govern your conduct with your habitual prudence.*

* This mission to Sienna has reference to the attempt made by Bartolommeo d' Alviano, a Condottiere in the service of Spain, to assail the Florentine dominions and to furnish help to the Pisans. Pandolfo Petrucci, who was in secret understanding with D' Alviano, had advised the Florentine government of this movement, for the purpose of deceiving them, and with the view of getting some military engagement from them. No such engagement, however, was made with him, as his duplicity and hostility to the republic were well known. Bartolommeo d' Alviano was subsequently defeated at Torre di S. Vincenzio in the Maremma, on the 17th of August, by the Florentines, under command of Antonio Giacomini. *Vide* Buonaccorsi's Journal, pp. 107–115, where he gives all the details of this affair.

LETTER I.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

I had an interview this morning with Pandolfo, so soon as he had risen, for I arrived here before even the city gates were opened. When I communicated to him the instructions which I had from your Lordships, he did not allow me to enter into any explanations, but said: "I will tell you how this matter "stands. The Signor Renzo da Ceri had seized on my terri- "tory some five hundred head of cattle, whereupon I sent "Cornelio Galanti to Bartolommeo d' Alviano to complain of "this robbery, with orders, if he did not obtain satisfactory "redress, to proceed to Rome, there to lodge a complaint with "his Holiness the Pope. Cornelio went, and I believe some "arrangement is likely to be effected between Renzo and the "owners of the cattle. Cornelio wrote me furthermore, that "Bartolommeo had given him to understand that he could no "longer supply provisions for his soldiers, and had decided at "any rate to break up on the following Thursday, which hap- "pens to be this very morning, and to move to Campiglia, "there to take up his quarters, and then to act as fortune "might dictate. I was surprised and displeased at this, and "at once sent a mounted messenger to inform your Gonfalo- "niere of this, writing at the same time again to Cornelio to "see the Signor Bartolommeo again, and to advise him, on my "part, to desist altogether from such an enterprise, which, "without adequate support, was downright madness, and that "I could see no chance of his having any reliable support. "And to tell him furthermore, that in our territory he could "have only what he could steal, and nothing more; adding, "that he would certainly have a reply to that letter to-day, "and therefore it would be well for me to await its arrival "before writing to your Lordships; and that for the moment "he could tell me nothing but what he had already written to "you, namely, that he was ready to do all that he and his city "were able to do, and that he would send for me so soon as "the answer came." And therefore, as I was to see him again, I did not care to enter into any further particulars with him at that moment. After dinner, at about the seventeenth hour, Pandolfo sent for me, and according to what I had heard he

had invited some five or six of the chief citizens to dinner, during which he had some little conversation with them about my mission, and these were still with him when I arrived at his house. Having seated myself amongst them, Pandolfo told me that he had received an answer from Cornelio, who informed him that he had tried by a long argument, on behalf of Pandolfo, to dissuade D' Alviano from advancing towards Sienna, but that it had produced no effect, and that D' Alviano was to break up that very morning and move his camp to the mill of Vetrella, and that the next day he was to proceed to San Giovanni di Selva, between Montefiascone and Viterbo, where he was to receive some money; but that he did not know how much nor from whom; and that D' Alviano said that he had large resources of money, infantry, and artillery, but left us to guess from whom. It was clear, however, that it must be Gonsalvo who supplied him with infantry from Piombino, as well as with artillery which he has there, and also that it might easily be that such of the Spanish infantry as were at Gaeta, and which it was said were to embark for Sicily, would go back to Piombino to join D' Alviano.

This information seemed to make it clear to Pandolfo that he would have to mount, and for this purpose he has already taken such measures as are within his means. He has written to Cornelio not to return, but to follow D' Alviano's army, and to advise him of its movements from point to point. He has also written to Gianpaolo Baglioni promptly to mount, and move with all his men across the Chiane into the Maremma; and he advises you to send all your forces to Campiglia in the Maremma. Pandolfo added, that although himself and all these citizens were disposed to do all they could to prevent this movement of D'Alviano's, yet they did not know how they could, nor how their own security would be thereby insured, as it would expose them to drawing a war upon themselves, not having yet concluded any definite engagement with you. And therefore it seemed to him that an agreement should first be concluded with you, and that, if his views had not heretofore been fully understood, he thought the state of Sienna would be satisfied to agree upon the following basis, viz.: — First, prolong the truce of '98 as it stands for another five years; and should it contain any article not suited to the present state of things, or likely to give rise to disputes, it might be struck out;

and to add merely that the Siennese shall be obliged during the entire term of five years to keep fifty men-at-arms at the service of the Florentine republic. That although at first one hundred had been spoken of, yet he had thought that it would matter little to you if the number were reduced to only fifty; for inasmuch as they would have to remain always armed, even at home, it would involve them in an expense that would become insupportable; and that their giving you fifty men-at-arms for your service was intended more as an evidence of their friendship than for anything else. Second, in the event of Pisa being recovered by your Lordships within the five years, then Montepulciano is to remain free to the Siennese; but the Pisan territory as well as the fifty men-at-arms to be subject to your will and pleasure. If, however, Pisa is not recovered within the five years, then they do not give up their claims to Montepulciano, which in that case remain the same as before the conclusion of the agreement, which however is to hold good anyhow until it is formally abrogated.

I replied to all this, that I had no instructions to discuss this subject, but could write to Florence about it; still, if I were to express my opinion, it was that I did not see how such an agreement would relieve his apprehensions; and that there was always much time lost in such negotiations, whilst Bartolommeo was already in the saddle. To which Pandolfo observed that there were but two articles to be agreed upon, which could be done within four days, and that no time need be lost on that account; but that you could push your men on to Campiglia, whilst he would send his into the Maremma; and that other expedients might also be tried, which would be the most effective way perhaps of putting down D' Alviano, namely, to take the Vitelli away from him, who had sixty men-at-arms. And here he swore that he would be hanged if D' Alviano moved forward, if deprived of the Vitelli; and that other Condottieri besides the Vitelli might also be detached from him. And if all this should involve your Lordships in some expense, it would nevertheless be money well laid out, as it would be the means of securing you against D' Alviano, not only for the present, but for all time; for he was a man to be feared by all who had possessions, whilst he had none, and was always armed. And being, moreover, of a ferocious and reckless disposition, and Italy being full of thieves, accustomed to live upon what they

could take from others, these all flocked to him to share in his plunder.

I did not fail to say in reply to Pandolfo, that inasmuch as he knew D' Alviano best, so it behooved him more than any one else to oppose his schemes, and that he ought not to wait for others to do everything; and that he ought promptly to apply those measures which he constantly urged upon others to take. I also reminded him that we lacked neither troops nor favors, which were always at the service of others when they were ready to accept and employ them for the common advantage; but if not, and if Tuscany had to undergo fresh troubles, we knew well that these very troubles would cause some to succumb, whilst others escaped; but that it was the most feeble who would succumb. Here he resumed his remarks, and attempted by a long argument to justify the past, and concluded by asking me to write to your Lordships, and saying that it would be agreeable to him to have me remain until your answer came as to what you had resolved to do, and so that he might inform me verbally of the progress of D' Alviano. But he requested me to ask your Lordships not to mention his name in case you should publish your intentions; and he complained that his name had been mentioned by the individual whom he had sent to you with the information that had caused your Lordships to send me here.

I must not omit mentioning to your Lordships that Pandolfo told me that, by way of anticipating, he had already ordered letters to be written to the Vitelli to endeavor to detach them from D' Alviano. He said also that he believed that he would be able to keep the said Signor Bartolommeo in suspense for six or eight days on pretence of intending to send him money; but that he would not do so unless he had first come to an agreement with your Lordships. And he added, that, if the two states came to terms, they would not lack means for restraining D' Alviano, and that you ought to remember that he had held him in check in 1489, when he was in the service of the Venetians.

I have thus far written only what I have from Pandolfo's own lips. I might have written you the various replies I made to his remarks, but omit them, so as not to weary your Lordships. Nor can I form an opinion whether he is to be believed or not, for I have seen nothing here that would enable me to form a

better judgment upon this point than what your Lordships can do yourselves. I will only tell you that you have nothing to expect from here, for Pandolfo has no fear of D'Alviano for the moment; and if what he says be the truth, it is not present fear that will make him act, but that of the future.

I have had a call from a Siennese who professes to be very friendly to our republic, and he told me that you must not rely upon anything that Pandolfo promises or says; and that he knows for certain that the Venetians are spending money here, and are mixed up in this complication; that a few days since Guido Orlandi returned from Venice, where he went some weeks ago with Messer Petruccio, who has remained there; that this Guido was brought here in a cart, having injured one of his legs on the road, whilst carrying despatches; and so soon as he arrived here, Pandolfo visited him, and then immediately despatched Cornelio Galanti to D'Alviano to urge him to move forward, and to inform him that he had already sent some persons to the Siennese frontier to receive his men, and provide quarters for them; that Pandolfo's design is to destroy our present Gonfaloniere, who seems indisposed to enter into close relations with him, whilst the others would readily come to terms with him, each having an interest in doing so. This Siennese thinks that there are great intrigues going on here, and promises to inform me of many other things whilst I am here. This man has quite good manners and seems very intelligent, but shows himself so violent against him who governs here that it destroys my faith in him. Nevertheless I write you what he has told me, and shall continue to do so if he tells me anything more; and your Lordships will make such use of the information as will prevent all harm.

The present courier leaves at the twenty-second hour. Your Lordships will please have the expense reimbursed to Francesco di Luzio. *Valete!*

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

SIENNA, 17 July, 1505.

LETTER II.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

I wrote to your Lordships at length yesterday and sent it by an express who should have arrived at the second hour of the night. I look for a reply at latest by to-morrow, so as to permit my return. This morning at the Duomo I was addressed by one Ser Paolo di Pietri di Paolo, who lived at Florence while banished from here. He began by telling me of his deep obligation to our city for having served him more than once as a refuge and shield in his adversity, and for the great kindness and benevolence shown him by our citizens. Amongst many other matters he mentioned Messer Francesco Gualterotti; at first he said that he did not wish to speak of public affairs, as he could not open his heart to me as he should desire, but he offered me his services for any personal or private matter. Nevertheless I led him on indirectly, so that after a good deal of talk we came to discuss the events of the day; and he assured me that D'Alviano had actually started for Campiglia, and that Gonsalvo was to aid him with infantry, and perhaps even with the troops that were now at Piombino; and that the Venetians were to supply him with money, and that Sienna would permit him to force a passage through her territory, without, however, furnishing him troops, or giving him any other open support. But when I asked what D'Alviano wanted to do at Campiglia, this Ser Paolo said: "Take that "place, give the Pisans more room, and then act according to "his success; but that he ought to remember that on a former "occasion he came to the very gates, and that perhaps he might "try the same thing now, and leave Campiglia aside." And then he added, that he wondered much that our city had not been willing to make sure of him who governed here, by coming to some arrangement with him respecting Montepulciano, as had been several times proposed; and that it seemed to him that by such an arrangement you would be "selling the sun in July" * to the Siennese; for that when once masters of Pisa, not only Pandolfo, but Montepulciano, Sienna, and all the rest of Tuscany, would be at your discretion. I remarked to him

* An Italian proverb, which means to sell to any one what belongs to everybody.

that the fault was theirs if no agreement had been concluded, for Florence had ever been disposed to do all that was reasonable; but that now it seemed to me that matters had come to that point that it was useless to talk of any agreement since Pandolfo had combined with Bartolommeo and his adherents. Whereupon he answered quickly, that I ought not to say so, for in his judgment the present moment was most favorable for you to effect an arrangement; but that no time was to be lost, as the negotiations between Pandolfo and the others amounted only to conferences and words, and that it would not cause Pandolfo much pain to deceive the Venetians, although they had already spent a good deal of money; and then he intimated to me that this money was paid through his hands. And in the same way, he said, Pandolfo would not mind deceiving Gonsalvo, for that both the Venetians and Gonsalvo were governed in this matter by the advice of Pandolfo, who had gained such influence with both that they believed and confided entirely in his intelligence. And that he believed that Pandolfo would gladly make an arrangement with you so as not to lose altogether the advantages of these movements, and fearing lest the whole responsibility should fall upon him as on a former occasion, and that thus an arrangement with you would be the safest thing for him.

To all this I replied that it was difficult on the one hand to believe that all these movements were of so much importance, and on the other, that Pandolfo could stop them at his pleasure; and therefore I imagined that Pandolfo would either not come to any agreement, or that, if he did, all these preparations had no other object than to alarm, but not injure us. That we were in condition not to fear even the most vigorous attacks, and much less any feeble ones; and then I told him the state of our forces and that of our allies. He answered, that the more secure you were, the better pleased was he; that he did not know whether this contemplated movement was great or little, but this much he knew, that whether great or little it depended altogether upon Pandolfo, whose brains had originated it all. And here he enlarged upon Pandolfo's ability, referring again to the great credit which he had acquired everywhere, and that he had his foot, so to say, in a thousand stirrups, but so that he could withdraw it from them at his pleasure. And here he left me, having concluded by

saying that an arrangement with Pandolfo seemed to him of the greatest advantage for us.

As I wrote yesterday to your Lordships the substance of the conversation I had with that other friend, so I have deemed it proper to give you a full account of this one also. Both showed themselves in the beginning of their conversation dissatisfied with Pandolfo, but, as you will have observed, their conclusion was very different. I did not mention the name of the one yesterday, so as not to compromise him; but I gave you the name of the first one, for it seemed to me that his communications were less likely to expose him to danger, and so that your Lordships, knowing who it was, might be able to judge better what confidence to put in his statements. I have nothing else to write unless it be that I have omitted to inform your Lordships, in my letter of yesterday, that when Pandolfo told me, in my last conversation with him, that he would do all in his power to oppose D'Alviano, I replied that I believed it, having seen that he had sent to Florence to enlist infantry; in answer to which he said that the men enlisted at Florence were not for that purpose, but that one of his lately created captains of police had engaged thirty men, which statement I have since found to be true.

Since writing yesterday Pandolfo has sent to inform me that one Bastiano of Cortona, for a long while his barber, having gone to Cortona a few days since to assist at the marriage of his sister, has been detained by the commandant on suspicion of his being engaged in some conspiracy against the state. Pandolfo thinks that the truth must have been found out by this time, and desires that you would make him a present of this man, and release him. He requests me to ask this of your Lordships in his name, which I do herewith, and recommend myself to your Lordships, *quæ bene valeant.*

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,

SIENNA, 18 July, at the 15th hour. *Secretary.*

LETTER III.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.:—

The enclosed I wrote to your Lordships yesterday, so that you might make such use of the information contained therein as may be of advantage; I shall continue in the same way to write what I see and hear. This morning came your Lordships' letter in answer to mine; I went immediately to Pandolfo, and communicated to him your Lordships' reply. Respecting the proposed truce or league he said, that difficult things should be left alone, and that very often the wisdom of men did not suffice to oppose the will of Heaven, which chooses to conceal its designs as it has done hitherto. As to the Vitelli and the other Condottieri, he says that that was an idea and plan of his own, as he thought that there would be no more effectual way to repress the audacity of D'Alviano; but he could not say on what terms and conditions they could be engaged, unless he should hear from them, as he had written them for the purpose with the view of sounding them; and that he should have a reply from them to-day, which he would immediately communicate to me; and that he believed he would be able to get them, unless they had formed some fresh engagement with D'Alviano, of which he said he knew nothing. As to the others, he had not approached them, fearing lest Bartolommeo should find it out; for he was very reluctant to offend him, unless he had first closed an arrangement with you, as he did not want to make an enemy for himself without at the same time gaining a friend. And having opened himself freely and told you his mind frankly respecting the truce, and being willing to agree to everything that was reasonable, it ought to be an easy matter to come to an agreement, if you really wished it; but if you did not wish it, then indeed everything became difficult. And if the question was now as to fifty men, it arose from the fact that Montepulciano was not conceded to them entirely free, as was the case when they consented to one hundred men-at-arms. And here he enlarged much upon this point, showing that we must look to such an agreement as the true means for securing the tranquillity of Tuscany; but if your Lordships would frankly declare that under no circumstances would you make such a treaty, and

that you regarded it for the common good not to light a new conflagration, he would be much better satisfied than to keep matters in uncertain suspense as at present. And as in all my replies to his arguments I insisted mainly upon the shortness of the time, as in fact I had done from the beginning, and as your Lordships advise in your letter, he answered that to conclude such an agreement would require only hours, and not days; and that possibly Bartolommeo might remain some days in the place where he now is, as he had written to Gianpaolo to the effect that he wished to confer with him at Graffignano, and that the latter must now be on his way there; that perchance the money with which Bartolommeo intended to pay his men at Selva might not have arrived; and therefore, he said, that to avoid having him unexpectedly upon his back he had sent the Podestas into their several Podesterias on the confines of the Maremma, to have the harvest brought into the towns and places, and to make provision of flour; but that he believed he would most likely have to wait awhile, and that thus there would be abundance of time. He added, that he did not know what Bartolommeo could want from Gianpaolo.

Not wishing to weary your Lordships, I do not repeat the answers I made to Pandolfo's arguments, but shall only report his conclusions, which are as follows. By making an arrangement with him you secure yourselves by such expedients as you together may employ, one of which is to dismember the forces of Bartolommeo. But if no agreement is concluded then, he says, he will not be able to exert himself in a manner that would be manifestly hostile to Bartolommeo. But nevertheless he would oppose him, and do all in his power to that effect.

Your Lordships must judge now from all I have written what Pandolfo's object really is, for there is little or nothing to be gained from being face to face with him. He professes not to know what this enterprise of Bartolommeo's is founded upon, but that it may nevertheless have very solid foundations; and he swears that Bartolommeo shall have neither the troops nor the subjects of this state at his disposal. He says that he does not believe that Gianpaolo will support him with his infantry, nor does he know whether the Vitelli will serve him with theirs: but that he will know of it if they do; for he keeps a confidential person near Bartolommeo, who informs him of all his movements, which he is thus enabled to make known

to us. He also tells me that he has written to Rome to ascertain what this whole affair is really based upon, and that he will inform you so soon as he has a reply. I am told that on hearing of the death of the Cardinal Ascanio, Pandolfo was quite gloomy for a while, but that he is now quite cheerful again and full of hope. One sees no great preparations going on here. In a long conversation which I had yesterday with Messer Antonio da Venafro, who is as it were the very soul of Pandolfo, and without equal amongst the other men here, he talked of nothing else but this agreement, which, he said, ought to be made for mutual safety, as then it would be easy to destroy any support that D' Alviano might have. And one of the first steps which he suggested was to disarm Bartolommeo, but that for this the agreement ought first to be concluded. Your Lordships will now take all I have written into consideration, and will in your high wisdom decide what course will be the best.

Pandolfo has asked me several times whether the Marquis of Mantua has received his pay; I have invariably answered, that at the time of my departure from Florence it was about to be sent to him. And this morning he told me that he had heard from Lombardy that this engagement would not be carried out, because the Marquis saw that difficulties were being made, and he had not received any money. I replied the same as before, but felt inclined to tell him that I had news from your Lordships that you had paid him; but that you had to keep it secret, so as to enable you to lay a new impost, under the general impression that this money had yet to be paid. I did not say it, however, not knowing whether it would be proper. It will be time enough, however, whenever your Lordships wish it to be known.

Were it not that I am aware of your Lordships' anxiety to have my letters, I should have waited until evening to despatch this, so that I might have given you whatever news Pandolfo may receive from D' Alviano's camp. But not to keep your Lordships in suspense, I send this now, it being the seventeenth hour, and you will please have Francesco del Nero reimbursed fifteen carlini.

That Bastiano of Cortona, Pandolfo's barber, whom I have recommended to your Lordships by the enclosed, has returned here, having most probably made his escape. Pandolfo tells

me that he fears lest proceedings may be taken against this man's property, and begs me to ask your Lordships to prevent it, offering to have him appear whenever you may require it. I urge this matter on Pandolfo's behalf, and beg you will favor me with a reply that I may show him.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

19 July, 1505, at the 17th hour.

I have forgotten to tell your Lordships that Pandolfo has begged me a great many times to request you not to mention him in connection with the information which he gives respecting Bartolommeo d' Alviano, as he should be obliged to deny it; and therefore he wishes you to keep all his dealings with your Lordships secret.

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

LETTER IV.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

By my despatches of yesterday your Lordships will have learned what is passing here. Respecting the plan of detaching the Vitelli from D' Alviano, which Pandolfo proposes as the best and really necessary means for getting rid of D' Alviano, he says that he has given me only his own opinion without knowing what the Vitelli may intend; and therefore he must wait for a reply to the letter which he wrote them on my arrival here, in which he sounded them in a general way as to whether they were disposed to leave D' Alviano. Since then the Chancellor of the Balia came to me yesterday evening at the second hour of night, and told me that Pandolfo had received letters in relation to that matter from Cornelio Galanti and from the Vitelli; and although they contained nothing that could not be deferred until to-morrow, nevertheless in compliance with his promise to let me know immediately what he might hear from the camp, he informed me that he had been advised that, according to orders, the troops had reached Selva, and that Bartolommeo intended going as far as Alviano, and that his resolve to advance was fixed and absolutely irrevocable; that he was waiting for the receipt of certain moneys to move, but

did not know exactly when. He said moreover with regard to Gianliso and Vitello Vitelli that they were ready to do whatever his Magnificence wished, although they would first have to write to Messer Giulio, their uncle, and to their other brother, who were at Castello, for they were accustomed to do nothing without mutual consent. He said also that he had heard from Rome that the Abate d'Alviano had gone to Naples, after having first conferred with the Pope. After this communication the Chancellor left me, with the request that I would call in the morning upon Pandolfo. Accordingly, I was with him this morning, and he repeated to me the same that he had sent the Chancellor to tell me yesterday evening; and furthermore, that the army would move on Tuesday next, and would advance in this direction by short marches, so that he believed that within three days they would enter the Siennese territory; and that Bartolommeo had sent him word that when he should come within his dominions he would publish an order that no one should touch anything provided that he could purchase with his money whatever he might need, and that he ought now to make up his mind whether he would have him pass as a friend or as an enemy.

Respecting the Vitelli he told me that he had received a general reply from them, as he had written to them in the same general way to know whether they were disposed to leave Bartolommeo in case he should want them himself, and that he had not mentioned the Florentines nor any one else. And although they placed themselves entirely in his hands, yet as he did not altogether know their views, he did not know what to say. Still, to enable me to write something definite, he would say that he thought the Vitelli would be satisfied with an engagement for sixty men-at-arms, which is the number they have with Signor Bartolommeo; and that an engagement for one year, with the usual pay and provisions, would probably content them; and that he would manage to have the state of Sienna contribute one third of the pay. After that he started a doubt, saying that he did not know whether the Vitelli would be willing to serve within your territory; still he believed that the difficulty might be solved by stipulating in the engagement that, if you should require them to serve in any enterprise specially your own, you should not be able to compel them to serve you in person, but that in such case it should

suffice that they should supply only forty men-at-arms under some other captain; and that this would be the best plan for you to adopt. Pandolfo added however, afterwards, that such an engagement could not be made with the Vitelli without first concluding an arrangement with him, for the reasons which he had already explained to me; for he did not want to make an enemy of Bartolommeo without securing at the same time your friendship. I said that your Lordships were well satisfied with his having pointed out the evil, but not so with the remedies; for if the danger was so near, as he had repeatedly declared, and likely to injure him as well as yourselves, as he professed to fear, then it behooved himself as much as you not to stand upon difficulties in obviating it. And if the best remedy was to detach the Vitelli from Bartolommeo, then it should be done in a shorter and more direct way than that he was taking, and should not be managed like discussing an engagement in January that was to go into effect the following May. And that it seemed to me that fortune had now placed before him an opportunity for recovering your Lordships' confidence, which he had lost by his former conduct; and that if he succeeded, by whatever means he could, in inducing the Vitelli to leave D'Alviano, thus giving you a proof of his friendly disposition, he would not fail in concluding an agreement with you, either for a Condotta or anything else he might desire that was consistent with honor. To which he replied, that by acting thus he would at once make D'Alviano his enemy, and that you might afterwards abandon him, and therefore he would not act differently from what he proposed. He did not believe, however, that there would be a lack of time, if you should be willing, because he did not think Bartolommeo would move as promptly as he had said, owing to the Abate's having gone to Naples for the purpose probably of obtaining the money which Bartolommeo wants to pay out. He added, that he thought the Pope urged Bartolommeo to this movement, so as to give occasion for the French to come into Tuscany and thus produce some disturbances; for he feared lest this Pope should some day become another Alexander VI. I told him that this was an additional reason for promptly crushing out this spark, and whenever I have spoken to him I have urged him to think well of the consequences which this movement of D'Alviano's might produce, and that your Lordships were ready to take any course and to

employ all your power to save your state, as well as to take vengeance upon any one who attempted to injure it. But all I said seemed of no use, and I believe that his resolution is definitely taken. It would indeed be a good thing if we could get at the real truth of this affair.

Your Lordships will observe that all the information I have respecting Bartolommeo comes from Pandolfo, and whenever he tells me anything he conjures me to request your Lordships never to quote him; he also desires that the negotiations with the Vitelli may be kept secret. He declined to write them again to-day, or to go any further with them at present, hoping to have some reply from you upon which to base further negotiations with them.

To come back again to the information I have obtained respecting D' Alviano, I would say that your Lordships should not rely upon it more than necessary, and that it would be well to try and obtain some information about him from some other quarter. Thus you could learn from Borgo and from Cortona whether any infantry are being raised at Castello or Perugia, and also whether Gianpaolo has passed the Chiane with his troops; for although Pandolfo says that he may arrive at any moment, yet we do not hear that he has really started. And this morning Pandolfo informed me that Gianpaolo would not go to meet Bartolommeo at Graffignani, as he had told me yesterday, because he had sent Ser Pepo to look for him at Alviano, where Bartolommeo was reported to have gone.

I must not omit to repeat to your Lordships that Pandolfo has affirmed to me a thousand times that without the Vitelli D'Alviano would have to abandon his enterprise, as he could not move one step forward without them. The reasons which he alleges for this are, that the force of the Vitelli is large, and that if they were to leave him they would turn against him; and such a sudden defection would disconcert the other troops, so as to produce the results which he predicts. Your Lordships will now form your own judgment of these matters.

I recommend myself, etc.

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

20 July, at the 15th hour of the day.

Your Lordships will please reimburse Francesco del Nero fifteen carlini for the present express.

LETTER V.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC. —

Immediately on receipt of your Lordships' letter of yesterday, dated at the sixteenth hour, I called again on Pandolfo, and had a long conversation with him, so far as seemed to me proper, on the subject contained in your Lordships' letter. His Magnificence found no difficulty in replying, having clearly in his mind all that he had said to me in answer to your first letter, and assuring me again that this movement was altogether displeasing to him, in proof of which he said that he had opposed it whenever he could, by informing you of it, and at the same time dissuading D' Alviano. And moreover, that for the purpose of getting at the truth of the matter, and the better to understand the condition of this whole business, he said that he had written to his agent at Rome, directing him to see the Cardinal Santa Croce, and ascertain whether Bartolommeo had undertaken this movement by order of Spain; for if he had done so at the suggestion of that king, he would have to adopt a different course from that which he would have to follow if done without such direction; that he had received a reply to that inquiry this morning, from which it appeared that Santa Croce had said that he knew nothing about it, but believed that Bartolommeo did not have the approval of Spain. To make quite sure, however, he would write to Gonsalvo, and communicate to him the reply he might receive; but that he believed that Gonsalvo had ordered D'Alviano to desist altogether from this attempt. It is thus that Pandolfo pretends to have done all that was possible for him, both by way of negotiation and stratagem. But that if it should become necessary to act openly and employ force, then he would need your Lordships' concurrence and support, which he could not rely upon without a full understanding, and therefore he had always told me that it was necessary to conclude an agreement, and then to provide more powerful remedies. And that it had never been true that in this affair he had both the bridle and the spurs; that as to the spurs he had never had any, but as to the bridle he drew that as much as he could. But as he doubted his own ability to do all that was necessary, he asked the co-operation of your Lordships, but wanted it in such wise as would prove of advantage to each party, and not to one only.

I have endeavored to give to your Lordships the exact words of Pandolfo, so that you may the better judge of his intentions, and decide what course it will be best to follow for the interests of our republic. I do not write all the replies I made to Pandolfo, not wishing to consume your Lordships' time; but I said all that my experience and judgment suggested; although it was of but little avail, for Pandolfo is a man who has all his plans definitely made, and is resolved to carry through whatever he desires. And therefore I said to him, in one of my answers, that I did not understand how Gonsalvo could order Bartolommeo not to march, as his Condotta expired on the 20th of this month; to which he replied, that it was himself who had stated that Bartolommeo's engagement with the Spaniards ran only to July 20, because the last time that he was with Bartolommeo, and when speaking to him about engaging with the French or with you in consequence of the negotiations opened by Rucellaio, Bartolommeo said that he should be free to do so after July 20; whence he had concluded that Bartolommeo's engagement with the Spaniards terminated on that day. But that he had understood since then that it continued in force till the end of October, which was most likely to be true, for it had commenced in October, and such engagements are usually made for an entire year; it might possibly, however, contain a clause that permitted D'Alviano to engage two or three months in advance with some other party. Pandolfo told me furthermore, that he had heard from Rome that the Pope was urging Bartolommeo to leave the territory of the Church, and that, for fear lest he should attack and plunder his troops who are at Otri, he had sent there such infantry and horse as he had at Rome. I observed further to Pandolfo, that inasmuch as Gonsalvo was not in accord with Bartolommeo, the latter could not avail himself of the infantry from Piombino, or of such as might come there. He replied to this that I was correct, but that he believed D' Alviano would obtain infantry from elsewhere, and that it was for this reason that Bartolommeo had sought an interview with Gianpaolo to ask him for his infantry, and that Gianpaolo had gone to meet him, as he had previously told me, and had not sent Ser Pepo there, as he had subsequently stated. But that he did not believe that Gianpaolo would aid him, and that he would so advise him; and that he had given orders to Cornelio to intervene in their negotiations so as to know all about it, and that so soon as he should hear in reply he would inform me.

After all this long discussion and dispute about this whole business, I said to Pandolfo, so that he might see that others understood all these natural or accidental subterfuges and evasions, that all these intrigues confused me to that degree that I feared it would turn my head before I could return home; for at one moment I was told that Bartolommeo was advancing with infantry and money furnished him by Spain, and then again that he was without either, and that Gonsalvo would order him to remain quiet; and again I hear that he will move in two or three days, which would show that he had received all the assistance he needs; and now I am told that he has been begging for infantry from Gianpaolo. One day I hear that the Pope depends greatly upon him, and the next that he is afraid of him. At one moment it is said that there is the best possible understanding between him and the state of Sienna, and the next moment that his soldiers are plundering the Siennese; and therefore I begged his Magnificence to explain to me all these contradictions. Pandolfo replied: "I will answer you "as King Frederick answered a similar question asked by one "of my envoys; namely, that to avoid falling into error we "must shape our course according to events from day to day, "and must judge of things from one hour to another, for time "and circumstances are more powerful than human intelli- "gence." He said also that the present times were influenced by the spirit of D' Alviano, a man who at the same moment inspired his neighbors with hope and fear whilst he was thus armed. Thereupon I told him of the measures which your Lordships have taken with regard to Mantua and Milan, so that others may the less look to them for support.

Nothing more was said about the Vitelli, as Pandolfo had not yet received a reply to the letter which he wrote yesterday, in which he enlarged a little more upon this affair. Nor has it been possible as yet for me to have a reply from your Lordships to what I wrote you about in my despatch of yesterday. No further news from the camp of D' Alviano.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary.

SIENNA, 21 July, 1505, at the 19th hour.

Pandolfo has again spoken to me about his man from Cortona, and offers to have him appear before your Lordships if any unfavorable report is made respecting him.

LETTER VI.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

Your Lordships' last letter of the 21st reached me the same day at the twenty-second hour. Having noted what your Lordships write respecting the proposition of Messer Michele de' Ricci, I called on Pandolfo and executed your Lordships' commission in such manner as seemed to me proper. Pandolfo replied that he had not had any conversation with Messer Michele on the subject; and that, if the latter had made that proposition, it was done doubtlessly because he desired that an agreement should be concluded, and because it probably seemed to him the best thing to be done. And when I asked him what he thought of it, he said that he would have to confer with some of his citizens on the subject; but if he had to give his individual opinion about it, without further reflection, he would say that he saw no security in it for the people of Sienna. We discussed this matter for a while, and although I thought I perceived clearly what his sentiments were, yet it seemed to me well not to write immediately to your Lordships, for I imagined that possibly, on further reflection, Pandolfo might assent in part to the proposition. Nor could I yet write differently to your Lordships yesterday, not having had any further answer from Pandolfo, who has been occupied with the citizens of Sienna in a solemn festivity in honor of the return of the Nine. He excused himself on this ground, and deferred his reply until this morning.

Having gone therefore at a suitable hour to the Duomo, I found Pandolfo there with four of his leading citizens; and having joined them, Pandolfo said to me in few words that he would leave me with Messer Antonio da Venafro, who would inform me of their conclusion. Being thus left alone with Messer Antonio, he said to me that he saw no security for the Siennese in this proposition of Messer Michele, for he noticed that it exposed them to two dangers; the one, in case the king for some reason should or could not decide; and the other, that if he did he might adjudge Montepulciano to your Lordships. And although it was believed here that your Lordships would cheerfully accede to a relinquishment of it, in case the king, after having restored Pisa to you, were also to adjudge Montepulciano to you; yet as but one of two results is possible, they would be left in doubt, and would therefore never consent, unless means should first be found to dissipate that uncertainty; and for this he knew of no better way than to do as had been proposed in the beginning. For to try and have the king do some act to reassure the people of Sienna would be a protracted affair, whilst there is hardly time to make suitable preparations for resisting those who desire to destroy Tuscany.

And thus Messer Antonio talked much more at length than what I have written. In reply I said all that seemed to me proper for the justification of your Lordships' course, whilst he with his utmost ability neglected nothing to prove how much Pandolfo desired this agreement with your Lordships, and as he wished to conclude it with a good will, so he purposed to execute it even with a better will. Antonio added, that it would be so manifestly for your advantage that, knowing your wisdom, he was astonished at the difficulties made in deciding to conclude it; and that he could not comprehend whence this reluctance arose. And as he went so far in this matter I could not help pointing out to him that the difficulty lay more with others than with your Lordships, and was more particularly caused by those who wanted to take a greater share of things than what belonged to them; and that the impediments in the way of such a treaty were not so much the separation of Montepulciano, although that involved both loss of honor and advantage, as the proceedings of certain private persons here, which had caused a mistrust in the minds of many persons, and made them doubt whether even the cession of Montepulciano would be of any use; for they seem to think that others wish to subject them to their will both by insults and violence. The reason for their believing this was, amongst other things of the past which I will not now repeat, the rupture of the agreement with Lucca, and the breaking of the engagement of Giovanpaolo, and the present movement of

Bartolommeo d' Alviano, with which we are threatened at the same time that we are solicited to favor it. He knew well that enmities were engendered by injuries, and friendships by benefits; and that it was a great error to attempt to make any one a friend by beginning with injuring him; and that therefore I had said several times to Pandolfo, to him, and to many other citizens, that to conclude this agreement easily it would be necessary for them to remove this mistrust that had sprung up, and to do this the greatest efforts must be made by those who were most to blame for its existence; and that it was the business of the Siennese to show themselves ready and united, and with a single purpose to resist Bartolommeo. That such a proof of good will would promptly produce friendship, and would assuredly put an end to all mistrust; otherwise, there being no time to build up such a friendship, I feared we should see the whole business get into such confusion as to fill every one with fear, and that within a short time here I had seen many people who would laugh in the summer but cry in the winter. That I had said on former occasions, and would now again remind him, that it was generally the feeble who had most to fear and least to gain from disorders.

Messer Antonio nevertheless maintained his case, and lacked neither words nor reasons to demonstrate to me that, Sienna not having any agreement with Florence, you could not reasonably desire nor expect any benefits at their hands; and that this had been the cause of the rupture of the agreement with Lucca, and of the breaking of Gianpaolo's engagement, and of their doing nothing to remedy the present evil. For unless you became their shield, they could not draw the sword against others. But if a treaty were once concluded between you, you would at once become masters of Tuscany. And then he enlarged anew upon the great advantages that would result to you in consequence, saying to me several times, "Believe me, "Niccolo, he who blames Pandolfo may give you many reasons, "but will not tell you all that he has in his heart." I combated him the best I could, but could get nothing else out of him.

Pandolfo tells me that he has no news from D' Alviano's camp, and presumes, from the fact that Cornelio has not written him, that the army did not move yesterday as he had written. He promises to let me know so soon as he hears anything.

This rests entirely with him, as I have no means of obtaining information on the subject from any other source.

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI.

SIENNA, 23 July, 1505.

Your Lordships will please have Francesco del Nero reimbursed fifteen carlini for despatching this letter at the seventeenth hour.

LETTER VII.

MAGNIFICENT SIGNORI, ETC.: —

By my last, dated yesterday at the seventeenth hour, I communicated to your Lordships the replies made to me by Pandolfo, and afterwards in his name by Messer Antonio da Venafro, to the proposition made by Messer Michele Ricci, as stated in your Lordships' letter of the 21st. You will have seen from my letter that we have to give up this negotiation for an agreement, or to conclude it in the manner suggested in my first letter to your Lordships. Yesterday evening at about the twenty-fourth hour Pandolfo had me called, and informed me that he had received letters from Rome of the 22d, and from the camp of the same date. He read me the letter from Rome written in cipher, which, however, had been deciphered between the lines as is customary. The agent whom he keeps in that city informs him that the Cardinal Santa Croce had received a reply from Naples to the inquiry which he had made of Gonsalvo, as to whether Bartolommeo had started this movement with his knowledge or not; and that this reply stated that it was contrary to the wishes of Gonsalvo; and that he had sent a special messenger to Bartolommeo ordering him not to interfere in the affairs of either Tuscany or Pisa; and that the Cardinal de' Medici had received the same information from the agent whom he keeps near Gonsalvo. Of the letter from the camp Pandolfo read me only that portion which referred to the Vitelli; and which says that an answer had been received from Messer Giulio and their brother Giovanni, who are both entirely satisfied to comply with Pandolfo's wishes, offer-

ing at the same time to do whatever may seem best to him, and expressing in the most ample and earnest terms their anxious desire to do whatever may be agreeable to him. He told me furthermore, that this letter informed him that the troops had not yet started from Selva, as had been lately reported; but that they were to start this morning for Capo di Monte by the road of the Maremma, and that Gianpaolo had met Bartolommeo, who had asked his support, which the former, however, had neither promised nor refused.

I thanked Pandolfo for this information, but passed over that part relating to the Vitelli, not having as yet a reply from your Lordships to what I had written upon that point; it seemed to me, moreover, best to do so, as Pandolfo himself said nothing more about it, except what he had read from the letter. I told him that I was not pleased with the conduct of Gianpaolo; that it would have been more proper for him to refuse Bartolommeo absolutely; and that he, Pandolfo, ought to do everything in his power to make Gianpaolo refuse his support to Bartolommeo, which I believed would be easy for him to do, inasmuch as Gianpaolo had all confidence in him, and was in fact in his pay. He replied, that he had ordered him on returning towards Perugia to approach as near as he could to this place, so that he might go to meet him; or to come even as far as Sienna, as he wished to confer with him in person upon this business. I asked him what he believed of Bartolommeo, and whether he thought that he would advance notwithstanding Gonsalvo's orders to the contrary, supposing the information from Rome to be true. He replied, that he could not judge; but that reason should counsel D' Alviano not to advance in opposition to Gonsalvo's will, he being in his service until October, but that he was not yet clear upon this point; although it would seem to him clear enough, if it were true that the Abate d' Alviano had gone to Naples for money, as had been written to him. But that, nevertheless, even if reason counselled D' Alviano not to advance, desperation might cause him to do so; and for that reason he advised your Lordships not to fail in making suitable preparations. And that although three out of four who act from desperation generally end badly, yet it would be well not to allow Bartolommeo to be thus driven on by desperation, as we cannot move any one thing without stirring a thousand others, and events are very uncertain. And

then he enlarged again upon the point that it behooved your Lordships to put your foot upon this first spark of a conflagration, and that you could become masters of Tuscany by uniting it; and that this union would combine such forces that it could defend itself against whoever might attempt to assail it, and would be respected by everybody. And that if you suspected the Orsini, you could detach the Vitelli and the Baglioni from their faction, which it would be easy to do, inasmuch as they would feel themselves more secure under the protection of united Tuscany than under that of the Orsini; that in truth this matter seemed to him so easy, and offered such security, that he really believed the only reason why it was not done was because it was God's will that this fair province of Italy should be ruined. In the course of his remarks he said that there was another means by which Bartolommeo could be rendered harmless, and that was to make him suspect to the Pisans, which might be done in a thousand ways. He did not want to enter into particulars upon this point; but respecting the other matters he said many things, to which I replied fully; but I abstain from writing them all to your Lordships, so as not to weary you fruitlessly.

I shall send this letter to the post so that it will be forwarded by the first courier that leaves; I would have sent it by an express, but that would leave me only one single scudo, and I am indebted at my hostelry. I beg your Lordships will either recall me, which would be most agreeable to me, or that you will provide me with the necessary means.

I recommend myself to your Lordships.

Servitor

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI,
Secretary.

SECOND MISSION TO THE ARMY BEFORE PISA.*

I.

TO ANTONIO GIACOMINI, COMMISSIONER AT THE CAMP.

19 August, 1505.

Yesterday, on receipt of your letter, and upon the arrival of Luca Cavalcante, we wrote you what had taken place since we received the news of the rout of Bartolommeo, and directed you to move camp, and proceed towards Pisa; so that we presume that by the time this reaches you the army will have started and gone in the direction indicated in our instructions. By the present we desire to inform you that, having heard the opinion of the governor that it would be well not to lose the present favorable moment and opportunity to recover possession of Pisa, and to avenge some of the wrongs we have suffered at the hands of our neighbors, we have become most desirous to follow his counsels. And having this morning had the sum of one hundred thousand ducats accorded to us by the Council General, we deem it well, at all hazards, to make this attempt upon Pisa. And to enable us the better to decide upon this matter we wish you at once to see his Lordship the Governor, and agree with him respecting all things necessary

* After the defeat of Bartolommeo d' Alviano, mentioned in the note to the preceding Mission, the Florentines imagined that they ought to take advantage of the ardor created by that victory, and attempt the conquest of Pisa. Great preparations were made for this purpose, and pressing orders were sent to Antonio Giacomini, the Commissioner at the camp, to lead the army immediately before the walls of that city. Machiavelli was sent to the camp to concert with Giacomini all necessary preparations and provisions for this enterprise, which, however, proved a failure, in consequence of the cowardice of the troops, as related by Buonaccorsi, p. 115. We give some of the letters that speak of the measures taken by the republic of Florence, and of the orders given; as also of the mission of Machiavelli.

for such an attack, omitting nothing, and beginning from the smallest up to the greatest, and to send us at once a full list of the same. And as the providing of the necessary things will require some days, we do not wish that time to be lost, but desire that it may be employed to the utmost possible advantage.

The first thing to do, therefore, is to show yourself with the army as near as possible before Pisa, at such a point as may seem best to you, and then to employ such means, be it either force or stratagem, as you may deem suitable for sounding the disposition of the Pisans since the news of our late victory, and see whether you cannot stir up some disturbance within the city itself; and in this way use every means of trying whether fortune may not have prepared some advantage for us without our being obliged to make greater efforts. And if after that the Pisans remain as obstinate as before, then move the army at once upon the Pisan territory, but in such a position that you may be able suddenly to fall upon the Lucchese; for it is under all circumstances our wish that, before attempting an actual assault upon Pisa, you should attack the dominion of Lucca, and plunder, waste, and ravage it with fire and sword in the most hostile manner, leaving nothing undone that can damage them; and above all, level Viareggio with the ground, as well as every other place of any importance. And so as to carry this out the more effectually, we desire that at the same moment of your entering with the army upon their territory, it shall also be assailed by the men of Pistoja, of Borghiniani, of Pescia, of Lunigiana, and in fact by all our other subjects who live upon the territory adjoining that of Lucca. And inasmuch as secrecy is of the utmost importance in this business, so that the Lucchese may not be aware of their being about to be assailed until they hear the sound of our trumpets, we shall not write to our different subjects what they have to do until a day or two before the attack is to be begun. If you think, however, that it would be better for you to write to them from the camp, then let us know, and we will simply direct them implicitly to obey your orders. If, on the other hand, you deem it best that we should write to them from here, then you will indicate to us the orders which we must give them; also the way in which you think this whole affair ought to be carried out.

To conclude now respecting all we desire to be done, and to reduce the whole to a few words, we want you to let us know at once all that you may need for the capture of Pisa, and for making a demonstration with the army before the town, so as to sound the disposition of its inhabitants; and in case this should produce no effect, what you may then need for moving the camp to a point from which you can suddenly strike the Lucchese in the above indicated manner. You are to advise us as to the orders to be sent to the people living near the confines of the Lucchese territory; and of whatever may occur to you as being necessary to give vigor to this attack upon the Lucchese; so that, after receiving your reply to this, we may understand how this affair is to be managed, and the time when it is to be begun, and how we can make sure that, having carried this matter through, we may proceed to the assault upon Pisa; so that the Lucchese, having to take care of their own wounds, may not attempt to try and heal those of others, and that they may know the fruits of war after having rejected those of peace. And so that our neighbors, seeing how, contrary to their expectations, we avenge bitterly any attempt to injure us, may themselves be more careful than they have been hitherto before planning any unjust designs against our state.

But in all this you must act with the utmost promptness, and before our army shall have forgotten how to conquer, or our enemies how to be beaten, and before unforeseen circumstances can arise from any quarter that could tend to chill the ardor of our troops.

We do not recommend what changes to make in the post according to the route you may take, confident that you have given all necessary orders upon that point.

If amongst the prisoners taken, there should be any secretary or agent of Lucca, or of Pandolfo or D' Alviano, or of any other of the Orsini faction, you will send them to us here; and the same with any Pisan, or any other person notably our enemy.

Vale!

II.

TO ANTONIO TEBALDUCCIO (GIACOMINI TEBALDUCCIO).

21 August, 1505.

Having seen from your last letter that you desire to have Niccolo Machiavelli with you, so as to be able to confer with him about all matters relating to our enterprise, we have sent him to you early this morning, with full instructions upon all points that are likely to present themselves. Our illustrious Signoria, desiring to act in this business with all deliberation and the approval of the mass of our citizens, although the money already voted for the purpose may be taken as an assurance that it is both approved and desired, have this morning anew submitted to the General Council the question whether the enterprise is to be carried out or not. The question was received with the greatest favor, and with the greatest unanimity it was approved, and decided that it should be undertaken at all hazards. The matter is therefore reduced to that point, that, God willing, we are bound to attempt it, and so it will be done. And as amongst the first preparations the raising of infantry is most important and necessary, and requires the utmost promptness, therefore it is one of the first matters to which we have turned our attention. And for this purpose we send you herewith a list of such constables as are with the army now, and a statement of the number of infantry that we have assigned to each. Have them come to you and ask them how soon they can fill up their number, and supposing that they will act with all promptness, let them send their agents here for money, which will be sent them without delay, so that they may proceed at once to recruit the necessary number of men.

We have nothing further to say at present, whilst awaiting the return of Machiavelli. You will take the same course with the other constables who are not with you in camp, but in the neighborhood, such as at Livorno, Rassignano, and such other places; having a clear understanding with them as to the time they may deem necessary for getting in order. And you will arrange with them to send their agents here for money,

and to make their levies with all possible despatch. And if you think that the pay of the infantry can be reduced to fourteen lire and seventeen soldi, you must so inform us, as in that case we may increase the number in proportion.

P. S. — You know perfectly the number of pieces of artillery we have, but we do not know how many artillerists are necessary for their service, and how many you have now with you. Consult with the Governor, and remind him of this matter, as well as of anything else that it may occur to you we should provide from here, and inform us of it without delay.

III.

TO ANTONIO TEBALDUCCIO.

24 August, 1505.

Niccolo Machiavelli returned here yesterday evening, and having heard his verbal report, and read the list of articles which you require for your undertaking, we have decided to confine the same to Pisa, leaving all else aside for the present. And from last night until this evening we have attended to nothing else than to expediting to you as promptly as possible all the artillery and ammunition that you have called for, which we hope will reach you anyhow before the end of the present month. As to the infantry, which is of the most importance, and which it will require a longer time to bring together, we have noted the reduction which you have made in the list, and which we approve of. We have also noted whence you propose to obtain the rest of the infantry, and in accordance with your directions have this day expedited the Bolognese constables with money for a levy of one thousand infantry, and have ordered that the Marquis Galeotto Malespina shall raise four hundred of these; three hundred under his own command, and one hundred under that of his son. We leave it to you now to solicit the Marquis of Panzano and the Marquis of Massa. We have furnished funds to Gianotto da Carda and Giannesino da Serrezano for two hundred infantry; the Count Carpigna we purpose leaving aside, and in his stead

have taken the Marquis Carlo del Monte, with four hundred stipendiaries.

We have had here the Governor's Almoner, and the Chancellor of the Count Niccolo da Bagno, who has raised a doubt whether that gentleman can serve, owing to certain difficulties that have arisen at Cesena. We have ordered a messenger to be sent to him in all haste, and await his reply. Guido Vaini has been furnished with money for four hundred stipendiaries; money has also been sent to Messer Martino del Borgo and Bernardino da Carrara for three hundred and fifty men between the two. The twelve hundred ducats you ask for, for the purpose of forming a corps of two hundred men in your own way, will be sent to you, and we approve of your doing so. To Messer Pier Bernardo, brother of Messer Vittorio da Canale we have sent two hundred ducats for levying two hundred men: the money has been sent in letters of exchange on Fuligno, in accordance with your request. To Cecotto Tosinghi and Messer Criaco we have sent money to add one hundred men to each of their corps, and the same to the agent of Zitolo for increasing his corps two hundred men. It is necessary now that you should urge the rest of those who have to augment their Condotta, but they must not send their agents here to levy their increase, for Signor Piero has not yet sent here for his. You must also let us know how you think we ought to manage about the payment of the companies that are with you, and when you think that we ought to send the money for their pay. As Machiavelli has recommended to us that it would be well to publish in camp, and in the country around, that whoever wants money need only to come for it, so as to deprive such as may wish to raise troops in aid of the Pisans of all chance of doing so, we have concluded to have such publication made; but it will be proper to delay this until the money is actually there, or until you are sure that it will be there within a couple of days.

Machiavelli has also suggested to us that it would be well to send some one from here to Lucca to ascertain the real disposition of the inhabitants. After examining this suggestion, we deem it better that you should send some one from there, with such instructions as may seem to you proper, to try and see whether he cannot make sure of having their support in this enterprise.

We intend that the five hundred pioneers which you have asked for the siege works, as also the other five hundred for the camp service, shall be drawn from Cascine, from Lari, and from the mountains and other places in the neighborhood. We wish to pay them with our money and settle with them every evening, and will send you the order to do so. Meantime you will instruct the Rectors as to what they will have to do to find a sufficient number of men for this service. The young men for the service of the pioneers, and for yours, are already selected, and will be promptly expedited; and you must let us know if amongst those intended for your service there may be any that suit you better than the others. This is all we have to say on this subject. As the sailors of the galleys and brigantines have to be paid in September, we desire that out of the moneys you may have in hand you would send four hundred and fifty ducats gold to the commissary of Livorno, Zanobi Ridolfi; and you will write him that this sum is sent expressly for the pay of the equipages of the said galleys and brigantines; and we wish you to send this sum so that it shall be received on the 28th instant.

END OF VOL. III.

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