

LIFE
AND
PONTIFICATE
OF
LEO THE TENTH.

VOL. III.

THE
L I F E
AND
PONTIFICATE
OF
LEO THE TENTH.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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———Nunc aurea conditur ætas,
Mars silet, et positis belli Tritonia signis
Exercet calamos, sopitaque tempore longo
Excitat ingenia ad certamina docta sororum.

And. Fulvii præf. ad Leon. X. de antiquitatibus Urbis.

CHAP. XIII.

1515—1516.

FRANCIS I. assumes the title of duke of Milan—Forms an alliance with the archduke Charles—With Henry VIII.—And with the Venetian state—Leo X. wishes to remain neuter—Marriage of Giuliano de' Medici with Filiberta of Savoy—Confidential letter to him from the cardinal da Bibbiena—Leo X. compelled to take a decisive part—Accedes to the league against France—Revolt of Fregoso at Genoa—He attempts to justify his conduct to the pope—Preparations of Francis I. for attacking the Milanese—Forces of the allies—The league proclaimed—Genoa surrenders to the French fleet—Prospero Colonna surprised and made prisoner—The pope relaxes in his opposition to Francis I.—The Swiss resolve to oppose the French—Francis I. summons the city of Milan to surrender—Endeavours without effect to form an alliance with the Swiss—Rapid march of D'Alviano—Inactivity of the Spanish and papal troops—Battle of Marignano—Francis I. knighted by the chevalier Bayard—surrender of the Milanese—Leo X. forms an alliance with Francis I.—Embassy from the Venetians to the French king—Death of D'Alviano—Wolsey raised to the rank of cardinal—Leo X. visits Florence—Rejoicings and exhibitions on that occasion—Procession of the pope—He visits the tomb of his father—Arrives at Bologna—His interview with Francis I.—Particular occurrences on that occasion—Abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction and establishment of the Concordat—Leo X. returns to Florence—Raffaello Petrucci obtains the chief authority in Siena—Death of Giuliano de' Medici—Escape of the pope from barbarian corsairs at Civita Lavinia.

THE LIFE
OF
LEO THE TENTH.



CHAPTER XIII.

ALTHOUGH the death of Louis XII. had for the present relieved the Roman pontiff from the apprehensions which he had entertained for the repose of Italy, yet that event was by no means favourable to his views. By the united efforts of his spiritual arms, and his temporal allies, Leo had not only repressed the ambitious designs of the French monarch, but had acquired an ascendancy over him which might have been converted to very important purposes : and if he could not induce the king to relinquish his designs upon Milan, yet he had made such arrangements as to be prepared for whatever might be the event of that expedition. By the death of this monarch he therefore lost in a great degree the result of his labours ; and this he had the more reason to regret, as the duke of Angouleme, who succeeded to the crown at the age of twenty-two years, by the name of Francis I. was of a vigorous constitution, an active disposition, and courageous even to a romantic extreme. On

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Francis I.
assumes the
title of duke
of Milan.

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assuming the title of king of France, he forgot not to add that of duke of Milan; but although the salique law had preferred him to the two daughters of Louis XII. as the successor of that monarch, the sovereignty of Milan was considered, under the imperial investiture, as the absolute inheritance of the late king, and liable to be disposed of at his own pleasure. Preparatory to the negotiation which had taken place for the marriage of Renée, youngest daughter of Louis XII. with the archduke Charles, her father had made a grant to her of the duchy of Milan, and the county of Pavia, with a limitation, in case of her dying without offspring, to his eldest daughter Claudia, the queen of Francis I. (a) Soon after the accession of Francis, the queen, therefore, by a solemn diploma, transferred to the king her rights to the duchy of Milan and its dependent states; in consideration, as it appears, of a grant previously made to her of the duchies of Aragon and Angouleme, and the stipulation on the part of Francis of providing a suitable match for the princess Renée. (b)

Forms an
alliance
with the
archduke
Charles.

The character of Francis I. was a sufficient pledge that the title which he had thus assumed would not long be suffered to remain merely nominal. From his infancy he had been accustomed to hear of the achievements of his countrymen in Italy. The glory of Gaston de Foix seemed to obscure his own reputation, and at the recital of the battles of Brescia and of Ravenna, he is said to

(a) There was also a further limitation to Francis, in case the two princesses died without children. The grant is preserved in *Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique*, tom. iv. par. i. p. 177.

(b) This act is given by Lunig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*, i. 522. Also by Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 211.

have expressed all those emotions of impatient regret which Cæsar felt on contemplating the statue of Alexander. He was, however, sufficiently aware, that before he engaged in an enterprise of such importance as the conquest of Milan, it would be necessary not only to confirm his alliances with those powers who were in amity with France, but also to obviate, as far as possible, the opposition of such as might be hostile to his views. His first overtures were therefore directed to the young archduke Charles, who, although then only fifteen years of age, had assumed the government of the Netherlands, which he inherited in right of his grandmother Mary, daughter of Charles, last duke of Burgundy. The situation of the archduke rendered such an alliance highly expedient to him; and the conditions were speedily concluded on. By this treaty the contracting parties promised to aid each other in the defence of the dominions which they then respectively held, or which they might thereafter possess; and that if either of them should undertake any just conquest, the other should, upon a proper representation, afford his assistance, in such a manner as might be agreed upon. Many regulations were also introduced respecting the territories held by the archduke as fiefs from the crown of France, and the contract for the marriage of the archduke with the princess Renée was again revived under certain stipulations, which it would be superfluous to enumerate, as the marriage never took place. (a)

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A. P. ut. III.

(a) The author of the *Ligue de Cambray* informs us, that by this treaty the French monarch undertook to assist the archduke in recovering the dominions of his maternal ancestors on the death

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And with
Hen. VIII.

The friendship of Henry VIII. was not less an object of importance to the French monarch than that of the archduke, and he therefore sent instructions to the president of Rouen, his ambassador in England, to propose a renewal of the treaty made with Louis XII. which, upon Francis entering into a new obligation for the payment of the million of crowns for which Louis had engaged himself, was willingly assented to, and the treaty was signed at Westminster on the fourth day of April, 1515. Leo X. is named therein, with other sovereigns, as the ally of both the contracting parties; but it is particularly specified that this nomination shall have no reference to the states of Milan, which the French king claims as his right; (a) and through the whole treaty he has cautiously affixed to his other titles those of duke of Milan and lord of Genoa. (b)

The negotiations of Francis with Ferdinand of Aragon, and the emperor elect Maximilian, were

of his grandfather, the king of Aragon; in return for which the archduke agreed not to oppose the king in his attempt on Milan. *Ligue de Cambr.* vol. ii. p. 397. It would have been very indecorous, and indeed very impolitic in Charles, to have introduced a clause of this nature, which would have had a direct tendency to throw doubts upon his title to his hereditary dominions in Spain; nor are any such specific stipulations contained in the treaty, which is couched only in general terms. v. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 199.

(a) These rights were founded on his descent from Valentina, only sister of the last duke of Milan, of the Visconti family, and grandmother of Francis I. v. *Rossi, Ital. Ed.* vol. v. p. 173.

(b) *Du Mont, Corps Diplomat.* vol. iv. par. i. p. 204. *Rymer, Fœdera*, vol. vii. par. i. p. 98. The great attention paid by the pope to Henry VIII. at this period, sufficiently appears by a letter from him to that monarch, respecting the appointment of the

not however attended with the expected success. To the former he proposed the renewal of the treaty which had subsisted between him and Louis XII. omitting only the article which guaranteed the tranquillity of Milan ; but as this held out to Ferdinand no adequate advantages for a concession which might prove eventually dangerous to his Italian possessions, it is not surprising that he rejected the proposition ; and the emperor elect, who at this time regarded Ferdinand as an oracle of political wisdom, was easily prevailed upon to join his irresolute and feeble aid in opposing the designs of the French monarch. Whilst these negotiations were depending, Francis had forborne to treat with the Venetians, who still remained firmly attached to the cause of the French ; but no sooner were his propositions to the two sovereigns rejected, than he agreed with the senate to renew the treaty of Blois, by which Louis XII. had promised to assist them in recovering the possessions of which they had been deprived by the emperor elect in Lombardy. At the same time he assured the Venetian ambassador, that before the expiration of four months, he would unite his arms with those of the republic on the banks of the Adda. (a)

The Swiss, whom the breach of the treaty of Dijon had rendered irreconcilable enemies of France, still continued to breathe from their mountains defiance and revenge. A herald, whom Fran-

archbishop of St. Andrews to the office of pontifical legate, in which he assures the king that he esteems him before all the sovereigns of the time, and is ready to do all in his power for his gratification. v. App. No. CXXI.

(a) *Ligue de Cambray*, liv. iv. tom. ii. p. 402.

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A. Pont. III.

And with
the Venetian
state.

C H A P. cis sent to demand passports for his ambassadors,
XIII. instead of obtaining the object of his mission, was
A. D. 1515. ordered to return and inform his sovereign that he
A. Æt. 40. might soon expect another visit from them, unless
A. Pont. III. he speedily fulfilled the treaty. In one respect this
 avowed hostility was, however, serviceable to the
 king, as it enabled him, under the pretext of op-
 posing the Swiss, to carry on, without exciting the
 jealousy of surrounding states, those formidable
 preparations which he intended to direct towards
 another quarter.

Leo X.
 wishes to
 remain neu-
 ter.

Under this alarming aspect of public affairs, which evidently portended new calamities to Europe, Leo availed himself of the friendly terms which he had cautiously maintained with the contending powers, to decline taking an active part in favour of any of them, whilst he continued as the chief of christendom to administer his advice to all. In this conduct, which was no less consistent with the dignity of his office than with his own private interest, he was for some time encouraged to persevere, by the open sanction or the tacit assent of all parties. Francis I. instead of pressing him to favour an enterprize, towards the success of which he well knew the pope was decidedly adverse, contented himself with sending an embassy to request that he would not enter into any engagements which might prevent those friendly connexions that would probably take place between them, in case his expedition against Milan should prove successful; (a) and to assure him that there

(a) Leo had written to Francis I. soon after his accession, congratulating him on that event, and assuring him of his perfect confidence in his good intentions towards the holy see; at the

was no one who esteemed more highly the favour of the holy see, or who would make greater sacrifices for the service of the pontiff and the honour of his family, than himself. (a) This communication, which in fact left the pope at full liberty to preserve his neutrality until the event of the contest was known, induced him to decline the offers which were made to him about the same period, by the emperor elect, the king of Aragon, and the Helvetic states, to enter into the league which they had lately concluded for the defence of the Milanese, and in which a power had been reserved for the pope to accede to it within a limited time. By this treaty it had been agreed that the Swiss should send a powerful body of troops to the defence of Milan, and should at the same time march an army into the duchy of Burgundy, for the purpose of occupying the French monarch in the defence of his own dominions; for which services they were to receive a monthly subsidy of forty thousand crowns. Ferdinand, on his part, undertook to attack the dominions of Francis on the side of Perpignan and Fontarabia; whilst Maximilian on this as on other occasions, seemed to consider the imperial sanction as a sufficient contribution, in lieu both of money and troops. (b)

In determining the pope to the neutrality which he manifested on this occasion, other reasons of no inconsiderable importance concurred. Early in the month of February, 1515, the matrimonial same time requesting him to confer on the cardinal Giulio de' Medici the archbishopric of Narbonne, with which the king complied. App. No. CXXII.

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A. Æt. 40.
A. Pont. 111.

Marriage
of Giuliano
de' Medici
with Fil-
berta of Sa-
voy.

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 84.

(b) *Ligue de Cambray*, liv. iv. tom. ii. p. 405.

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A. Æt. 40.
A. Pont. III.

engagement which had been entered into at the close of the preceding year between Giuliano de' Medici and Filiberta of Savoy, sister of Louisa, duchess of Angouleme, the mother of Francis I. was carried into effect; on which occasion Giuliano paid a visit to the French court, where he so far obtained the favourable opinion of Francis, that he declared he esteemed the connexion as highly as if it had been formed with the most powerful sovereign. Besides the revenues of Parma and Piacenza, which Leo had already conferred on his brother, and which amounted to the clear annual sum of twenty-eight thousand ducats, he assigned to him the income to arise from the city of Modena, which was supposed to amount to about twenty thousand more. He also conferred on him the title of captain general of the church, to the exclusion of the duke of Urbino, to which he added a monthly salary of four hundred and eight ducats, whilst a separate revenue of three hundred ducats per month was granted to the bride for her own use, although in respect of her high alliances she had been received without a portion. (a) Other considerable sums were disbursed in preparing a suitable residence for Giuliano and his bride at Rome, where it was intended they should maintain a secular court; and in the rejoicings which took place in that city on their arrival, the pope is said to have incurred the enormous expense of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. (b) Extraordinary festivals were also cele-

(a) *Lettera del Card. da Bibbiena a Giuliano de' Med. Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 15.

(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* vol. x. p. 110.

brated at Turin, where Giuliano and his wife resided for a month after their marriage; and again at Florence, where all the inhabitants, either through affection or through fear, were anxious to shew their respect to the family of the Medici. But in case the king proved successful in his enterprise against Milan, the territory from which Giuliano derived a great part of his revenues lay at the mercy of that monarch, and it would therefore have been not only indecorous but imprudent in the pope, at such a juncture, to have espoused the cause of his adversaries, and blighted the expectations which Giuliano might reasonably form from the continuance of his favour.

During the absence of Giuliano de' Medici from Rome, he received frequent information respecting the critical state of public affairs, and the dispositions and views of the European powers, as well from Lodovico Canossa, the pontifical legate at the court of France, as from the cardinal da Bibbiena at Rome. The letters from Canossa on this occasion contain the fullest assurances of the kind dispositions, as well of the king as of his mother Louisa, towards the family of the Medici; and the strongest exhortations to him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of cementing, by a stricter alliance, a connexion so happily begun. (a) But the letters of the cardinal da Bibbiena, who was at this period intrusted with the most secret intentions of the Roman court, are of a much more curious nature, and throw such light on the state of public affairs, the situation of the different members of the Medici fa-

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A. Pont. III.

Confidential letter to him from the cardinal da Bibbiena.

(a) Appendix, No. CXXIII.

CHAP. mily, and the ambitious designs which were formed
 XIII. by them, as might render a specimen of them
 not uninteresting, even if it were not written by
 A. D. 1515. the lively pen of the author of the *Calandra*.
 A. Æt. 40.
 A. Pont. III.

*To the Magnificent Giuliano de' Medici, Captain
 of the Church. (a)*

“ His holiness has expressed great surprise and dissatisfaction at having heard nothing respecting you during so many days, and complains grievously of your attendants, who have been so negligent, that since your arrival at Nice, no intelligence has been received of your proceedings. The blame of this is chiefly attributed, both by his holiness and myself, to M. Latino, (b) whose province it was to have written. It is no excuse to say, that from the remote situation of the place he knew not how to forward his letters, because the expense would have been well laid out in sending a special messenger, who might at any time have proceeded either to Genoa or Piacenza, to inform the pope of that which is dearer to him than any other object—the state of your own health and person, If you therefore wish to relieve his holiness from this anxiety, and afford him real consolation, take care that he may in future be more particularly apprized of your welfare.

“ Not only the pope, and your own family, your brother, nephew, and sister, (c) but the whole

(a) For the letter in the original, v. Appendix, No. CXXIV.

(b) Latino Juvenale, one of the Secretaries of Leo X. and frequently employed by him as an envoy to foreign states.

(c) Francesco Cibò, Lorenzo de' Medici, and his mother Alfonsina Orsino.

court, are in the most earnest expectation of receiving news from you and your illustrious consort; nor do I think that the arrival of any person in any place was ever expected with an impatience equal to that which she has excited at Rome, as well from her own accomplishments, on which account every one is desirous to see and to honour her, as from the great favour with which you are yourself regarded here. You will therefore inform us, with all possible speed and accuracy, what time will be employed in your journey, and when you purpose to arrive at Rome, that every thing may be prepared for your reception. I shall say no more on this head, expecting to hear fully from you on the subject.

“As I know that M. Pietro Ardinghelli has continually apprized you of the most important occurrences, I have not for the last ten days troubled you with my letters. I had before written two long letters to you by way of Piacenza, which I flatter myself came safe to your hands. I there mentioned that Tomaso, (*a*) on going from home, had left your Baccio (*b*) to expedite many affairs of importance. With Ghingerli, (*c*) and with him who wished to be related to Leonardo, (*d*) an intimate friendship and good understanding has been concluded; they being fully inclined to do the same as the rest whom Leonardo knows, if that

(*a*) Leo X.

(*b*) The cardinal da Bibbiena, writer of the letter.

(*c*) The king of Spain.

(*d*) By the person who wished to be related to Leonardo, is probably meant the emperor elect Maximilian, and by Leonardo, certainly the Magnificent Giuliano, to whom the letter is addressed.

CHAP. which Tomaso wishes for Leonardo be granted,
 XIII. which it is hoped will be done. (a) By his letters
 A. D. 1515. of the third day of this month, Ghingerli has
 A. Æt. 40. informed Tomaso that he is willing, besides the
 A. Pont. III. other recompense which I mentioned to you, to
 relinquish the place at which my Leonardo was
 formerly so much indisposed, to the person you
 know. (b) It remains therefore, that he who is to
 receive this recompense, (c) and his defenders in
 the vicinity, (d) should satisfy themselves on this
 head; it being expected that they will approve of
 it. (e) The person whom count Hercole resem-
 bles (f) has sent a message to his master to this
 effect, and has requested Ghingerli that he will
 wholly give up the other two places which are to
 belong to Tomaso, or, to speak more accurately,
 to Leonardo, (g) and it is thought there will not
 be the slightest difficulty. Tomaso is well dispos-
 ed to this arrangement, and told me this morning
 repeatedly, that Leonardo should also have all the
 other places of which he had formerly spoken, (h)

(a) From this it is to be understood, that the king of Spain, and the emperor, were willing that the pope should retain the possessions which he held in Lombardy.

(b) Undoubtedly the duchy of Urbino, where Giuliano had passed a great portion of his time during his exile.

(c) Meaning Giuliano himself.

(d) The Roman see.

(e) This seems intended to discover the sentiments of Giuliano respecting the attempt upon Urbino, of which, from principles of justice and gratitude, he always disapproved.

(f) The Spanish ambassador, who probably bore some resemblance in his person to the count Ercole Rangone, a nobleman of the court of Leo X.

(g) The cities of Parma and Piacenza.

(h) Alluding, in all probability, to the duchy of Ferrara, and its dependent states.

making, however, as you know, a due recompense to those by whose means these favours are received.

“ Bartolommeo, who has the cypher, is not at home. I must therefore express myself without it ; particularly as this will be sent by our own messengers.

“ Our most reverend cardinal, and the magnificent Lorenzo, recommend themselves to you as fully as can be expressed. I hope you will not omit to write to them, and especially to his holiness, whom I ought to have mentioned first. In this I trust you will not fail, as the reverence due to his holiness, and the love which they bear you, require it. The cardinal has received the *placet* of his most christian majesty for the cathedral of Narbonne, and wholly through the means of the duchess of Angouleme, (a) on which account your excellency may return thanks in the name of his holiness to the duke and his consort. The business was concluded in the consistory the day before yesterday, and the bull despatched to France, as I believe Ardinghelli informed you, as well as with the alliance which the Swiss have made with the emperor, the catholic king, and the duke of Milan. The substance of this treaty Ardinghelli must have transmitted to you, as I gave him a copy of the heads of it. To this his holiness is not, for many reasons, disposed to assent ; it appearing to him to be proper, that when a league is agreed upon, in which he is to be included, it should be negotiated

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(a) The mother of Francis I. and sister to the wife of Giuliano de' Medici.

CHAP. and stipulated with him, as the head of the league,
XIII. and of all christendom.

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“ Tomaso says, that he expects they should accept and agree to what he proposes, and not that he should have to accept what is done by others. (a)

“ We hear, by way of France, that the king of England intends to give his sister to the duke of Suffolk, to which she is not averse. This is not much believed, and yet the intelligence is pretty authentic.

“ It is thought his most christian majesty will not this year make his attempt against Lombardy.

“ The king of England is resolved that his sister shall on no account remain in France.

“ The emperor and the catholic king are using all their efforts to have her married to the archduke. This is what we hear from our nuncios in Germany and in Spain. (b) I recollect nothing further that can be new to you. I leave the festivities of this carnival to be narrated by others. I shall only mention, that on Monday the Magnificent Lorenzo will have the *Pœnulus* (c) represented in your theatre, and will give a supper in your *salon* to the Marchesana. And on Sunday, in Testaccio, he and the most reverend cardinal Cibò will exhibit a magnificent *gala*, with twenty

(a) These passages afford a presumptive proof that the pope had not at this time determined to enter into the league against Francis I.

(b) It is not improbable that the attachment of the widow of Louis XII. to the duke of Suffolk, and the sudden celebration of their marriage, terminated a negotiation which might have had such important consequences to these kingdoms and to Europe.

(c) Of Plautus.

persons, dressed in brocade and velvet, at the expense of his holiness. It will be a fine sight.

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“ You have never yet informed us whether you have excused yourself to the duke of Milan ; whether you have sent to the Swiss and the cardinal of Sion, as was spoken of and advised : or whether you have had any communication with his most Christian majesty. Respecting all these matters it is requisite that his holiness should be fully informed.

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A. A. t. 40.
A. Pont. III.

“ Remember, that next to his holiness, every one regards you as the person in whom all the thoughts, the expectations, and the designs of the pope are concentrated. I must also remind you, that all your actions are not less noted and considered than those of his holiness ; and I therefore entreat you, by the great affection which I bear you, that you will daily if possible manifest such a course of conduct as may be worthy of your character.

“ THE CARDINAL DA BIBBIENA.

“ *From Rome, the 16th Feb. 1515.*”

Could the French monarch have remained satisfied with the neutrality of the pontiff, the motives which had led to its adoption were sufficient to have induced Leo to persevere in it ; but as the contest approached, Francis became more desirous of engaging the pope to take a decided part in his favour. Such, however, was the aversion which Leo entertained to the establishment of the French in Italy, that even the solicitations of his brother to favour their cause were of no avail. As far as expressions of respect and paternal admonitions

Leo X. compelled to take a decisive part, accedes to the league against France.

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A. Et. 40.
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could appease the king, Leo spared nothing that might be likely to conciliate his favour; but the more Francis pressed him to a decision, the more apparent became his inclination to the cause of the allies. In order, however, to ascertain his intentions, Francis despatched, as his ambassador to Rome, the celebrated Budæus, who is deservedly considered by Guicciardini, as "perhaps one of the most learned men of the age both in Greek and Roman literature." (a) He was shortly afterwards succeeded by Anton-Maria Pallavicini, a Milanese nobleman, who was supposed to possess great influence with the pope; (b) but the endeavours of the king to obtain a positive sanction to his enterprise were still ineffectual. Sometimes Leo appeared to have serious intentions of entering into a treaty, and required, as a preliminary, that the states of Parma and Piacenza should be guaranteed to the church, the refusal of which he conceived would afford him a sufficient apology for joining the cause of the allies. At other times he is said to have made propositions, couched in such ambiguous terms, as, when assented to, always required further explanations, and which left the negotiations in the same state of suspense as when the treaty begun. The French and Italian writers are agreed in considering the conduct of the pontiff on this occasion as the result of artifice and disingenuousness; (c) but they appear not suffi-

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 86.

(b) *Ligue de Cambr.* liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 410.

(c) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 87. *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 107. *Ligue de Cambray*, liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 411.

ciently to have attended to the difficulties of his situation, or at least not to have made sufficient allowance for them. As head of the church, and both by his disposition and office, the acknowledged arbiter and mediator of Europe, he ought not perhaps to have been solicited to take a decided part in the threatened hostilities; and as a prince whose temporal authority was supported rather by public opinion, and the favour of surrounding states, than by his own forces, it was evident that he could not, without endangering his own safety, accede to the propositions of the king. If therefore the reiterated efforts of the French monarch to engage the pope in his interests, were not followed by the consequences which he wished, they were followed by such as he might reasonably have expected, and instead of inducing the pope to unite the power of the Roman and Florentine states with the arms of France, compelled him, in conformity with his former maxims, to embrace the cause of the allies. In the month of June he issued a monitory, subjecting, in general terms, all those who should again disturb the states of the church, and in particular Parma and Piacenza, to the penalties of excommunication; (a) and in July, he openly acceded to the general league expressly formed for the defence of Milan. Nor, if a decision could no longer be delayed, can it be denied, that in making this election, he chose the part that did the most credit to his character, or that an opposite conduct would have rendered him deservedly liable to the suspicion of having

CHAP.
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(a) This document is preserved in Lunig, *Cod. Diplom. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 802.

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A. Pont. III.

Revolt of
Fregoso at
Genoa.

sacrificed his principles and his country to the favour of the French monarch, and the aggrandizement of his own family.

The first decisive indications of approaching hostilities appeared in Genoa, where Ottaviano Fregoso, who held the chief authority in that city, which he had obtained by the favour and preserved by the assistance of the pope, (a) unexpectedly relinquished his title of doge, and assumed that of governor for the king of France. That so bold a measure could not be adopted without the participation and encouragement of the king, was apparent; but the event proved that the eagerness of Fregoso to avail himself of the honours and emoluments that were to be the rewards of his defection, had prematurely led him to this treacherous attempt. The Adorni and the Fieschi, the ancient enemies of the Fregosi, were vigilant in grasping at any opportunity that might effect his ruin. Uniting their arms with those of Prospero Colonna, who commanded the forces of the duke of Milan, and being joined by six thousand Swiss, who had already arrived in Italy, they proceeded towards Genoa. Fregoso had assembled for his defence about five thousand men; but conceiving that

(a) Leo in one of his letters thus addresses Fregoso and the magistrates of Genoa: "Egimus cum Florentinorum magistratibus, Laurentioque Mediceo, fratris nostri filio, mandarent iis equitibus, qui Pisis sunt, ut ad vos tuendos defendendosque contenderent, vobisque præsto essent, quo tempore, quo loco jussissetis. Quod si vobis opus erit majore auxilio, Florentinorum Equites militesque quotquot habent, et nostræ copiæ omnes, ad vos, statumque vestrum et dignitatem retinendam, atque oppidum conservandum et confirmandum celeriter trajicientur." *Ap. Fabr. in vita Leon.* X. p. 88.

they would be unable to support so powerful an attack, and despairing of obtaining timely aid from France, he was reduced to the humiliating necessity of having recourse to the pope, to protect him from the chastisement which his treachery had so justly merited. Whether Leo believed Fregoso to be sincere in his contrition, or whether, as is much more probable, he was unwilling to exasperate the French monarch, certain it is, that on this occasion he exerted his authority with Colonna to prevent the intended attack, and a negotiation was entered into, by which Fregoso was allowed to retain his authority as doge, on his engaging not to favour the cause of the French, and paying to the Swiss a considerable sum of money as an indemnification for their expenses. (a)

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In order to exculpate himself from the disgrace which he had incurred by this transaction, Fregoso is said to have addressed a letter to Leo X. in which, after having particularized all the motives of his conduct, and alleged all the excuses in his power, he finally endeavours to vindicate the steps which he had taken by the example of the pontiff himself; assuring him, "that he well knew it would be difficult to apologize for his conduct, if he were addressing himself to a private individual, or to a prince who considered matters of state by those rules of morality which are applicable to private life. But that in addressing himself to a sovereign, who was inferior in talents to no one of the age, and whose penetration must have discovered that the measures which he had adopted

Fregoso attempts to vindicate himself to the pope.

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 87. *Murat. Annali*, vol. x. p. 111.

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were such as appeared necessary for the preservation of his authority, any further excuse must appear superfluous ; it being well understood that it was allowable, or at least customary, for a sovereign to resort to expedients of an extraordinary nature, not only for the preservation, but even for the extension and increase of his dominions." On this production, in which Fregoso is supposed to have satirically alluded to the conduct of the pope, in his negotiations with the king of France, and which has been considered as the manifesto of that monarch against Leo X. (a) it may be remarked, that if it was written to prevail upon Leo to interpose his authority for the protection of Fregoso, it was ill calculated to effect its purpose; if it was addressed to the pontiff afterwards, it was an ungrateful return for a magnanimous and unmerited favour; and that at whatever time it was produced (if indeed such a document ever existed) its application was equally insolent and absurd; the connexion between Leo X. and Francis I. bearing no similarity to that which subsisted between Fregoso and the pontiff, who had invested him with that very authority which he had endeavoured to pervert to purposes the most opposite to those for which it had been intrusted to him.

Preparations of Francis I. for attacking the Milanese.

As soon as the intentions of the pope were known, Francis I. thought proper to dispense with the pretexts under which he had made such formidable preparations, and to avow his purpose of attempting to recover the states of Milan. If we compare the measures adopted by Francis on this

(a) *Ligue de Camb.* liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 413. *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 87.

occasion with those of Charles VIII. about twenty years before, we shall be led to conclude, that of all the objects which at that time engaged the attention of mankind, the destructive science of war had made the most rapid progress. In fact, the commencement of the modern system of warfare is to be referred to this period, when the disorderly bodies of mercenary troops, dependent on their own particular leader, and armed in various modes, gave way to regular levies, duly disciplined, and to those immense trains of artillery which have ever since been found the most effectual implements of destruction. In preparing to carry his arms beyond the Alps, it was, however, necessary that Francis should first provide for his security at home. The province of Gascony was threatened by Ferdinand of Aragon, and that of Burgundy by the Helvetic states. For the defence of the former he despatched the Sieur de Lautrec, with five hundred lances, and about five thousand infantry, whilst la Tremouille hastened to Provence, with a considerable body of troops, to prevent the incursions of the Swiss. (a) The army destined for the expedition to Milan is said to have consisted of four thousand lances, being double the number retained in the service of Louis XII. and which may be computed, with their usual attendants, at twenty thousand cavalry; but the accuracy of this statement has been questioned, and it is probable the number employed in this service did not greatly exceed half that amount. (b) To these were ad-

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(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 111.

(b) *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 111. But according to the enumeration of Guicciardini, the forces of Francis I. amounted

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ded several large bodies of infantry, as well Germans as French, amounting in the whole to upwards of thirty thousand men, and a much more formidable train of artillery than had ever before been collected. On arriving in the Lionese, where they were directed to assemble, they were also joined by Pietro Navarro, at the head of ten thousand Biscayans, or Basque infantry, whom he had raised, rather by the credit of his military reputation, than by the influence of his rank or his pecuniary resources. This celebrated officer, who had long held a conspicuous command in the Spanish army, after having been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, had remained in confinement; his captor having demanded as his ransom twenty thousand gold crowns, which his avaricious sovereign had refused to pay. On the accession of Francis to the throne, he found Navarro languishing in prison, and being pleased with the opportunity of attaching such a man to his interests, he paid his ransom, and gave him the command of a troop of Biscayans, his countrymen. Navarro, although of mean extraction, had a sense of honour and fidelity, the criterion of an elevated mind. Before he would accept the bounty of the king, he again addressed himself to his former sovereign, once more entreating to be liberated, and replaced in his former employ. On the reiterated refusal of Ferdinand, Navarro transmitted to him a resignation of all the grants which had been made to him as a reward for his services, and took an oath of allegiance to the French monarch, to whom his ta-

to upwards of 50,000 men. *Hist. d'Ital.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 88.

lents and experience were of singular service, and to whom he ever afterwards retained an unshaken fidelity. (*a*)

Nor were the allied powers remiss in preparing for the defence of Italy. The movement of troops throughout the whole of that country far exceeded any recent example. After having reduced Fregoso, doge of Genoa, to obedience, Prospero Colonna, at the head of the Milanese forces, hastened into Piedmont to oppose the entrance of the French. The viceroy Cardona, with upwards of twelve thousand Spaniards, directed his march towards Vicenza, then occupied by the Venetian general d'Alviano; who not being prepared to contend with so great a force, retired in haste to the Brentel; in consequence of which Vicenza was plundered, and its stores of provisions sent to Verona. The Swiss pouring down in large bodies from the mountains, had increased their army to upwards of thirty thousand men. Another body of Milanese was stationed at Cremona, to repress the depredations of Renzo da Ceri, who from his fortress at Crema, continued to harass the surrounding country. At the same time, the pope despatched his brother Giuliano, as general of the church, at the head of three thousand Roman cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry, to Bologna, whilst Lorenzo de' Medici, as general of the Florentine republic, with two thousand horse and six thousand foot, took his station in the vicinity of Piacenza. (*b*)

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Forces of
the allies.

(*a*) *Ligue de Cambr.* liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 407.

(*b*) *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 112. Leoni, in his life of

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The league
proclaimed.

The views of the adverse parties were now fully disclosed ; and whilst Francis I. was on the point of passing the Alps in the beginning of the month of August, the league between the pope, and the king of the Romans, the king of Aragon, the states of Florence and of Milan, and the Swiss cantons, was solemnly proclaimed in Naples, Rome, and other principal places. (a) At the same juncture, Henry VIII. sent an envoy to the French monarch, to admonish him not to disturb the peace of christendom by carrying his arms into Italy ; (b) but opposition and exhortation were now alike ineffectual ; and Francis, having passed with his army into Dauphiny, was there joined by Robert de la Marck, at the head of the celebrated *bandes noires*, who were equally distinguished by their valour in the field and by their fidelity to the cause which they espoused.

Genoa sur-
renders to
the French
fleet.

In order to engage the attention of the allies, whilst the French army were passing the Alps, Francis had despatched a flotilla with four hundred men at arms and five thousand foot, under the command of Aymar de Prie, with orders to possess himself of the city of Genoa. On their arrival at Savona, that place immediately capitulated. Fregoso had now obtained a better opportunity of deserting his friends than had before presented itself. That he might not, however, a second time incur the imputation of treachery, he despatched

Fr. Maria, duke of Urbino, p. 167, states the forces of Lorenzo at 800 men at arms, as many light horse, and 7,000 infantry.

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 113.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 89.

messengers to the duke of Milan to request instant succour from the allies; and as this did not speedily arrive, he opened the gates of Genoa to the French, and raised their standard in the city. The French general having accomplished his object without bloodshed, and being now reinforced by a body of troops from Fregoso, proceeded to Alexandria and Tortona, of both which places he possessed himself without difficulty, although the viceroy Cardona was strongly intrenched at Castalazzo; and even the city of Asti soon afterwards surrendered to the French arms. (a)

Whilst this detachment was thus successfully employed, the body of the French army, under the command of Trivulzio, marshal of France, was effecting its passage over the Alps. They did not, however, follow the usual track, from Grenoble to Susa, although it afforded the greatest facility for the conveyance of artillery; having had information, that the Swiss were assembled there in great force to oppose their progress, on the supposition that it would not be possible for the French to effect their passage in any other part. Choosing therefore rather to encounter the difficulties of a new and unexplored pass, than to attempt to force their way in the face of a bold and active enemy, who might annoy them at every step, they bent their course to the south, and proceeded between the maritime and Cottian Alps, towards the principality of Saluzzo. (b) In this undertaking, they underwent great labour, and

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Prospero
Colonna
surprised
and made
prisoner.

(a) *Ligue de Cambr.* liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 418. *Murat. Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 113.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.

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surmounted incredible difficulties, being frequently obliged to hew through the rocks a path for their artillery, and to lower the cannon from the precipices with which the country abounds. Having however, no fear of an attack, they divided their force into different bodies, each taking such direction as appeared most practicable, and in six days arrived in the vicinity of Embrun. The Milanese general, Prospero Colonna, lay encamped at Villa Franca, near the source of the Po, whence he intended to proceed towards Susa, for the purpose of joining his arms with those of the Swiss, to oppose the descent of the French. As he had not the most remote idea that the enemy could have effected a passage so far to the south, he was wholly unprepared for an attack; but the *Sieur de Palisse*, at the head of a strong detachment, having availed himself of the services of the neighbouring peasants, surprised him whilst he was seated at table, and having dispersed his troops, made him and several of his chief officers prisoners. (a) This unexpected and disgraceful event, by which a great and experienced commander, in whose abilities and integrity the allied powers had the fullest confidence, was lost to their cause, added to the successes of *Aymar de Prie*, spread a sudden panic throughout the country, and was more particularly felt by the pope, who, relying on the courage and vigilance of the Swiss, had flattered himself that the French would not be able to force their way into Italy.

As the measures in which Leo had concurred for

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 91. *Muratori. Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 114.

the public defence had been adopted rather through compulsion, than from any hostile disposition to the French monarch, for whom he still continued to profess the highest regard ; so the earnest of success which Francis had already obtained, induced him to relax still further in his opposition, lest he should eventually exasperate the young monarch beyond all hope of reconciliation. Hitherto the troops of the church had taken no other part in the contest than such as appeared necessary for the protection of the papal territories. Unable to support the fatigues of a camp, Giuliano de' Medici had been attacked by a slow fever, in consequence of which he relinquished the command of the Roman troops to his nephew Lorenzo, and retired to Florence, in hopes of deriving advantage to his health from the air of his native place. Three days after the capture of Colonna, Lorenzo arrived at Modena, between which place and Reggio he stationed his troops ; the only active service which he had performed having been the expulsion of Guido Rangone from the fortress of Rubiera. In this situation it became a subject of serious deliberation with the pope, whether he should order the Roman and Florentine troops to hasten and join the Swiss, who were obliged to retire before the French in all directions, or should avail himself of the opportunity which might yet remain, of a reconciliation with the French monarch. In consulting his principal advisers, he found at this important crisis a great diversity of opinion among them. The cardinal da Bibbiena, and other courtiers, actuated rather by their fears of the French, than by a deliberate consideration of the circum-

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The pope
relaxes in
his opposi-
tion to
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stances in which the Roman pontiff was placed, earnestly advised him to humiliate himself to the king. They represented to him that the duke of Ferrara would undoubtedly seize this opportunity to recover the cities of Modena and Reggio, and that the Bentivoli would in like manner repossess themselves of Bologna ; on which account it would be more prudent for the pope, rather to relinquish those places voluntarily, than by an obstinate and hopeless defence, to endanger the safety of the states of the church. This pusillanimous advice was, however, opposed by the firmness of the cardinal de' Medici, who having lately been appointed legate of Bologna, and conceiving that the disgrace of its surrender would be imputed to his counsels, exhorted the pope not to relinquish to its former tyrants one of the finest cities in the ecclesiastical state, nor to desert at such a crisis those noble and respectable inhabitants, who had adhered with such unshaken fidelity to his interests. (a) These representations, which the cardinal enforced by frequent messengers from Bologna, are said to have had a great effect on the mind of the pope, who resolved not to surrender any part of his territories, until he was compelled to it by irresistible necessity. If, however, on the one hand he did not abandon himself to despair ; on the other, he did not think it advisable to take the most conspicuous part among the allies in oppos-

(a) " Etiamsi honor noster vobis vilior esset, salutem certe charam futuram puto tot nobilium fidelissimorumque hominum, qui omnia sua devoverunt Romano Pontifici, ut patriam tyrannis liberarent." *Ep. Julii Med. Card. ad Pont. ap. Fabr. in vita Leon. X. p. 90.*

ing the progress of the king, but directed his general Lorenzo to keep his station on the south of the Po. At the same time he despatched to Francis I. his confidential envoy, Cinthio da Tivoli, for the purpose of endeavouring, by the assistance of the duke of Savoy, to effect a new treaty; or at least for the purpose, as it has been with no small probability conjectured, that in case the monarch should prove successful, the pope might be found in open negotiation with him. (a)

Nor did the allies of the pope, the Swiss alone excepted, discover any greater inclination than himself to oppose the progress of the French. The emperor elect did not appear on this occasion either in his own person, or by his representatives. The viceroy Cardona, at the head of the Spanish army, after having long waited in vain at Verona for the reinforcements in men and money which Maximilian had promised to furnish, quitted that place, and proceeded to Piacenza, to join the troops under the command of Lorenzo de' Medici. In the mean time Francis had arrived with the remainder of his army at Turin, where he had met with a splendid reception from his near relation, Charles III. duke of Savoy. As the Swiss found themselves closely pressed by the French, and wholly unsupported by their allies, who ought to have felt a much greater interest in the cause than themselves, they listened to the representations of the duke of Savoy, who had endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them and the king. Nor is it unlikely that his efforts would have been successful, had they not been frustrated by the re-

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The Swiss
resolve to
oppose the
French.

(a) *Ligue de Camb.* liv. iv. vol. ii. p. 423. *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 92.

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monstrances and exhortations of the cardinal of Sion, who being irreconcilably adverse to the cause of the French, and possessing great influence among his countrymen, stimulated them by every means in his power to persevere in the cause. He also repaired to Piacenza, where he prevailed on Cardona to furnish him with a supply of seventy thousand ducats, and a body of five hundred cavalry, under the command of Lodovico Orsino, count of Pitigliano, with which he returned to his countrymen; who upon this reinforcement rejected the overtures of the king, and determined to seize the first favourable opportunity of bringing him to a decisive engagement. The arrival, at this juncture, of fresh levies of their countrymen, confirmed them in this resolution; and although some of their leaders were still desirous of an accommodation, yet the increasing activity and energetic harangues of the cardinal, had inflamed their resentment to such a degree, that the greater part of the army breathed only war and revenge. (a)

Francis summons the city of Milan to surrender.

During these negotiations the Swiss had quitted Novara on the approach of the king, who, after a cannonade of some days, compelled the inhabitants to surrender, on terms which secured to them their safety and effects. He thence hastened to Pavia, which instantly surrendered to his arms, and passing the river Tesino, he despatched Trivulzio with the advanced guard towards Milan, in

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 95. A contemporary poet puts into the mouth of the cardinal the beautiful words by which he sought to dissuade his countrymen from all proposals of conciliation. *Turpe quidem ferro vinci, sed turpius auro.* *Haller, Lib. of Helvetic Hist.* Par. v. p. 116. *Ap. Henke, Germ. Ed.* vol. ii. p. 229.*

expectation that the inhabitants would openly espouse his cause. In this, however, he was disappointed. The sufferings which they had experienced on the last incursion of the French had taught them the danger of a premature avowal of their sentiments, and they therefore determined to remain neuter, if possible, until the event of the contest was known. In order, however, to mitigate the resentment of the king, who had already advanced as far as Buffalora, they despatched an embassy to him, to entreat that he would not attribute their reluctance to obey his summons to any disrespect either to his person or government, but that after having suffered so much on a former occasion by their attachment to his predecessor, they trusted they should not now be called upon to adopt such a conduct as might expose them to the resentment of his enemies. The difficulty of their situation justified in the mind of the monarch the temporizing neutrality which they professed; and with equal prudence and generosity he declared himself satisfied with their excuse. (a)

From Buffalora the king proceeded to Abbiatograsso, whilst the Swiss assembled in great numbers at Gallerata. (b) In this situation the duke of Savoy renewed his pacific negotiations, and having given audience to twenty deputies sent to him with proposals on the part of the Swiss, he so far coincided in their representations as to lay the foundation for a further treaty, for the completion of which he afterwards went to Gallerata, where the

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Ineffectually endeavours to form an alliance with the Swiss.

(a) *Ligue de Cambray*, liv. v. vol. ii. p. 432.

(b) For the correction of these names of places in the former editions, I am indebted to the local knowledge of Count Bossi.*

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terms of the proposed reconciliation were explained and assented to. It was there agreed, that an uninterrupted peace should be established between the king and the Helvetic states, which should continue during his life, and ten years after his death; that the territories which the Swiss had usurped in the valleys of the Milanese should be restored, and the pension of forty thousand ducats paid to them from the state of Milan abolished; that the duke of Milan should have an establishment in France under the title of duke of Nemours, should ally himself by marriage to the reigning family, enjoy a pension of twelve thousand francs, and have an escort of fifty lances. For these concessions on the part of the Swiss, they were to receive six hundred thousand crowns, claimed by them under the treaty of Dijon, and three hundred thousand for the restoration of the valleys, retaining four thousand men in arms for the service of the king. In this treaty the pope, in case he relinquished Parma and Piacenza, the emperor, the duke of Savoy, and the marquis of Monferrato, were included as parties and allies, but no mention was made either of his catholic majesty or the Venetians, or of any other of the Italian states. (a) The treaty was, however, no sooner concluded than it was broken, in consequence of the arrival of fresh bodies of Swiss, who holding the French in contempt, refused to adhere to the conditions agreed upon; whereby such a diversity of opinion arose among them, that although the chief part of the army agreed to remain for the defence of Milan, great numbers quitted

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 92. *Liguc de Cambr.* liv. v. vol. ii. p. 435.

the field and retired towards Como, on their return to their native country.

This defection of a part of the Swiss army was not, however, so important as to damp the ardour of the rest. A body of thirty-five thousand men, accustomed to victory, and inflamed with the expectations of an immense booty, presented a formidable barrier to the progress of the king. In retiring from Verona to Piacenza, Cardona had eluded the vigilance of the Venetian general D'Alviano, who having the command of an army of upwards of ten thousand men, had assured the king that he would find sufficient employment for the Spanish troops. No sooner therefore was he informed of the movements of Cardona, than he quit- ted his station in the Polesine, and passing the Adige, proceeded along the banks of the Po to- wards Cremona, with a celerity wholly unexampled in the commanders of those times, and which he was himself accustomed to compare to the rapid march of Claudius Nero when he hastened to op- pose the progress of Asdrubal. (a) On the ap- proach of D'Alviano, Francis proceeded to Marig- nano, for the purpose not only of affording the Venetian general an opportunity of joining the French army, but also of preventing the union of the Swiss with the Spanish and papal troops.

It may be admitted as a general maxim in the history of military transactions, that the efforts made by separate powers in alliance with each other are inferior to those made with equal forces by a single power. On such occasions the post of danger is willingly conceded to those who

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Rapid
march of
D'Alviano.

Inactivity
of the Spa-
nish and
papal
troops.

(a) Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 95.

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choose to take the lead, and the proportionate aid to be given by each party becomes at length so nicely balanced, that the common cause is often sacrificed to vain distinctions and distrustful timidity. Such was the situation of the Spanish general Cardona and of Lorenzo de' Medici at Piacenza ; where, whilst each of them stimulated the other to pass the Po to the aid of the Swiss, neither of them could be prevailed upon to take the first step for that purpose. In exculpation, however, of the Spaniards, it is alleged that Cinthio da Tivoli, the envoy of the pope to Francis I. having been seized upon by the Spanish troops, was compelled to disclose the purpose of his mission, in consequence of which Cardona lost all further confidence in the aid of the papal troops ; and to this it is added, that Lorenzo had himself secretly despatched a messenger to the king, to assure him, that in opposing his arms he had no other motive than that of obedience to the commands of the papal see, and that he should avail himself of every opportunity, consistently with his own honour, of shewing him how sincerely he was attached to his interests. (a) The concurring testimony of the historians of these times may be admitted as evidence of facts, which the temporizing course of conduct adopted by the pope on this occasion renders highly probable. But it is equally probable that Cardona availed himself of these circumstances, as his justification for not doing that which he would equally have declined doing, had they never occurred. Ferdinand of Aragon was

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 114. *Ligue de Cambr.* liv. v. vol. ii. p. 483. *Guicciard.* liv. xii. vol. ii. p. 96.

at least as indecisive as the pontiff, and Cardona well knew the disposition of his sovereign. Day after day was appointed for the passage of the Po, and a part of the Spanish army had at one time made a movement for that purpose, but a pretext was easily found for their retreat; and the Swiss, deserted by those allies who had called for their aid, were left, almost alone, to support a contest which was to decide the fate of Milan and perhaps the independence of Italy.

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At the conclusion of one of those inflammatory exhortations with which the cardinal of Sion was accustomed to harangue his countrymen, the resolution was adopted instantly to attack the French, although only about two hours of day-light remained. By a rapid and unexpected march the whole body of the Swiss presented themselves before the French encampments at Marignano, on the thirteenth day of September, 1515. (a) The attack immediately commenced. Their impetuosity was irresistible. The intrenchments were soon carried, and a part of the artillery was already in the hands of the assailants. As the French recovered from their surprise, they began to make head against their adversaries, and the horse joining in the action, a dreadful engagement took place, which continued with various success and great slaughter to a late hour of the night. During this contest Francis was in the midst of the battle and received several wounds. The *bandes noires*, whom the Swiss had threatened with total extermination, contributed with the French *Gendarmerie* to retrieve the loss. The

Battle of
Marignano.

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 115.

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darkness of the night, although it did not terminate the contest, rendered it for a time impossible for the combatants to proceed in the work of destruction; and an involuntary truce of some hours took place, during which both parties kept the field, impatiently waiting for that light which might enable them to renew the engagement. Accordingly, with the dawn of day the battle again commenced, when it appeared that the French monarch had availed himself of this interval to arrange his artillery, and to reduce his troops into better order than when they had been attacked on the preceding day. The vanguard was now led by the Sieur de Palisse with seven hundred lances and ten thousand German infantry. The body of the army under the royal standard was commanded by the king, and consisted of eight hundred men at arms, ten thousand Germans, five thousand Gascons, and a large train of artillery directed by the duke of Bourbon. Trivulzio led the *corps de reserve*, which consisted of five hundred lances and five thousand Italian infantry. The light infantry under the command of the Sieur de Chita and the bastard of Savoy, brother of the king, were ordered to act as circumstances might require. (a) The attack of the Swiss was now supported with unshaken firmness. A detachment which was intended to surprise the right wing of the French army was intercepted by the duke of Alençon, and pursued by the Basque infantry of Pietro Navarro, who put every man to the sword. (b) After having resisted the charge, the French be-

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 116.

(b) *Ligue de Cambray*, liv. v. vol. ii. p. 496.

came the assailants. Francis at the head of his *Gendarmes* first made an impression on their line ; but the numbers of the Swiss were so great, and their courage and discipline so exemplary, that he would in all probability have been repulsed, had not D'Alviano at that moment rushed into the midst of the combat, at the head of a small but select and intrepid body of cavalry, and by the cry of *Marco*, the war signal of the Venetians, given new courage to the French and dispirited the ranks of their adversaries, who conceived that the Venetian army had at this juncture joined in the engagement. After sustaining the contest for several hours, the Swiss were obliged to relinquish the palm of victory ; but even under these circumstances they had the firmness and resolution to form in regular order, and to quit the scene of action under such discipline, that the French monarch, whose army was exhausted by watchfulness and fatigue, did not venture on a pursuit. (a) Weakened by intestine divisions, deserted by their allies, and defeated by the French, they hastened to Milan, where they demanded from the duke such subsidies as they knew he was wholly unable to pay. This, however, afforded them a sufficient pretext for withdrawing themselves altogether from the theatre of war, and leaving their Italian allies to the mercy of the conquering army. (b)

The battle of Marignano is justly considered by both the French and Italian historians as highly honourable to the gallantry and prowess of the

(a) *Ligue de Cambr.* liv. v. vol. ii. p. 498. *Planta's Helvetic Confederacy*, vol. ii. p. 112.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 101.

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French arms. (a) The example of Francis I. who had in the course of the conflict repeatedly extricated himself from situations of imminent danger by his own personal courage, had animated his soldiers to the most daring acts of heroism ; inso-much that Trivulzio, who had before been engaged in no less than eighteen important battles, declared that they resembled only the sports of children in comparison with this, which might truly be called a war of giants. The chevalier Bayard fought at the side of his sovereign, where he gave such proofs of romantic courage, that Francis, immediately after the engagement, insisted on being knighted by him upon the field of battle. The ceremony was instantly performed in the true spirit of chivalry, and Bayard, making two leaps, returned his sword into the scabbard, vowing never more to unsheath it except against the Turks, the Saracens, and the Moors. (b) This victory is chiefly

Francis I.
knighted
by the che-
valier Bay-
ard.

(a) The circumstances of this battle are particularly related by the Cav. Rosmini, in his life of Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, who informs us, that some have denominated it the battle of *Melegnano*, or *S. Donato*, and observes, “ that it produced a strong sensation, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe ; inasmuch as it deprived the Swiss of that title of *invincible*, which they had obtained by their former victories. Francis I., writing to his mother Louisa, Regent of France, declares that so sanguinary and ferocious a battle had not been fought for the long course of 2,000 years ; “ *Et tout bien débattu, depuis deux mille ans au ça, n’a point été vue une si fière, ni si cruelle bataille, ainsi que disent ceux de Ravenes, que ce ne fut au prix qu’un tiercelet.*” *Rosm. tom. i. p. 498.**

(b) “ Certes, ma bonne épée, vous serez dorés-en-avant, gardée comme une relique, et honorée sur toutes ; et jamais je ne vous porterai, si ce n’est contre les Turcs, les Sarrasins, et les Maures.” *Champier, ap. Moreri, Dict. Hist. art. Bayard.*

to be attributed to the superiority of the French artillery; but the arrival of D'Alviano, although accompanied by so small a body of soldiers, undoubtedly contributed to the success of the day. The number of Swiss left dead on the field is stated by different historians at eight, ten, fourteen, and even fifteen thousand; whilst the loss of the French varies from three to six thousand, among whom, however, were many of the chief nobility of France. (a) On this spot, polluted with carnage, Francis gave orders that three solemn masses should be performed; one to return thanks to God for the victory, another for the souls of those who were slain in battle, and a third to supplicate the restoration of peace. He also directed that a chapel should be built adjacent to the field of battle, as a testimony of his gratitude, and a permanent memorial of his success.

No sooner was the event of the battle of Marignano known at Milan, than the duke Maximilian Sforza, accompanied by his general, Giovanni Gonzaga, and his chancellor and confidential adviser Morone, shut himself up in the castle, which was strongly fortified and garrisoned by a considerable body of Swiss, Italian, and Spanish soldiers. The inhabitants of Milan, deprived of all means of defence, sent deputies to the king to testify

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Surrender
of Milan.

(a) The author of the League of Cambray states the loss on the part of the French to have been between five and six thousand, and adds, that 15,000 Swiss were left dead on the field; liv. v. vol. ii. p. 499; but Mr. Planta, on the authority of Schwickardt, informs us, that it appeared by a muster roll of the Swiss, after their return, that about 5,000 men had perished in the action. *Hist. of the Helvetic Confed.* vol. ii. p. 112.

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their entire submission to his authority ; but Francis refused to enter the city, conceiving that it would be derogatory from his honour to take up his residence in a place, the fortress of which was yet held by his enemies. (a) Operations were therefore instantly commenced against the castle, under the directions of Pietro Navarro, who promised to reduce it in less than a month ; but although he was successful in destroying a part of the fortifications, it is probable that the task which he had undertaken would have required considerable time, had not the assailants found means to open a negotiation with the principal advisers of the duke. Influenced by the treacherous recommendation, or the dastardly apprehensions of Morone, the duke was induced to listen to terms of accommodation, by which he agreed, not only to surrender the fortress of Milan, and that of Cremona, which was yet held by his friends, but also to relinquish for ever the sovereignty of Milan and its dependent states. As a compensation for these concessions, Francis agreed to use his influence with the pope to appoint Maximilian a cardinal, with ecclesiastical preferments and benefices to the annual amount of thirty-six thousand livres, promising to pay him in the mean time a pension to the like amount, and also to advance him, within the space of two years, ninety-four thousand livres, to be disposed of at his own pleasure. A provision was also made for the other members of the house of Sforza, and Morone, who negotiated the treaty,

(a) *Ligue de Cambray*, liv. v. vol. ii. p. 504.

stipulated that he should himself enjoy the rank of a senator of Milan, with the office of master of requests of the hotel to the king. (a) Thus terminated the brief government of Maximilian Sforza; without his having, by his misfortunes, excited in others the sensations of sympathy or regret which usually accompany those who suddenly fall from high rank into the mediocrity of private life. The only observation recorded of him upon this occasion, is an expression of his satisfaction on being at length freed from the tyranny of the Swiss, the persecution of the emperor elect, and the deceit of Ferdinand of Aragon; (b) a remark which is no proof of that want of intellect which has been imputed to him, but which on the contrary shews that he had compared the advantages of sovereignty with the inconveniences and dangers that attend it, and had reconciled himself to that destiny which it was no longer in his power to resist.

The cautious pontiff, who had waited only to observe from what quarter the wind of fortune would blow, no sooner found that the French monarch had defeated the Swiss, and subjugated the state of Milan, than he exerted all the means in his power to obtain the favour and secure the

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Leo X.
forms an al-
liance with
Francis I.

(a) This treaty is published by Lunig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom.* vol. i. p. 523. The stipulations in this treaty on the part of Morone, gave occasion, with other circumstances, to accuse him of treachery to the duke his master; from which he laboured to vindicate himself (to little purpose in the public estimation) by publishing a memorial entitled *Giustificazione di Geronimo Morone circa la Dedizione del Castello di Milano*, from which an extract is given by the Cav. Rosmini, vol. i. p. 504.*

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 105.

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alliance of the conqueror. Had he stood in need of an apology to his allies for this apparent versatility, he might have found it in the temporizing negotiations of the Swiss before the engagement, and their speedy desertion after it; in the hesitating conduct of the viceroy Cardona, and the total inattention of the emperor elect to the interests of the league; but it is probable that he was much more anxious to excuse himself to the king for the apparent opposition which he had manifested to his views, than to his allies for his dereliction of a cause which was now become hopeless. He did not however on this emergency omit the usual forms of exhorting his associates to bear their misfortunes with constancy, and to repair them by their courage; but whilst he thus endeavoured to support a consistency of conduct in the eyes of the world, he had already engaged the duke of Savoy to unite his efforts with those of his envoy, Lodovico Canossa, to effect an alliance with the king. In truth, the situation of the pope was such as would not admit of longer delay. Already the king had given orders to construct a bridge over the Po, for proceeding to the attack of Parma and Piacenza; and although a veneration for the Roman see might prevent him from attacking the ecclesiastical dominions, this sentiment did not apply to the state of Florence, which had taken a decided and hostile part against his arms. Fortunately however for the pope, the king was not averse to a reconciliation, which, whilst it relieved him from those spiritual censures that had occasioned such anxiety and humiliation to his predecessor, might be of essential service

to him in securing the possession of his newly acquired dominions. A negotiation was accordingly opened, when it was proposed that the pope and the king should mutually assist each other in the defence of their respective dominions; that the king should take under his protection the state of Florence and the family of Medici, particularly Giuliano, the brother, and Lorenzo, the nephew of the pontiff, and should maintain to them and their descendants the authority which they enjoyed in the Florentine state. In return for these favours it was proposed, that the pope should surrender to the king the cities of Parma and Piacenza; the king promising in return, that his subjects in Milan should be obliged to purchase their salt from the ecclesiastical states. It had also been proposed that the duke of Savoy should be authorized to inquire and determine whether the Florentines had infringed their treaty with Louis XII.; in which case he should impose upon them such penalty as he might think reasonable, the king expressly declaring that this clause was introduced rather to satisfy his own honour than for any other cause. But although these propositions were assented to by Canossa, they were by no means satisfactory to the pope, who had flattered himself with the expectation of retaining the states of Parma and Piacenza; and would gladly have postponed the ratification of the treaty, in the hopes of hearing the determination of the Helvetic diet assembled at Zurich, for the purpose of debating on the expediency of giving fresh succours to the duke of Milan. But Canossa having assured the pope, that the French monarch had already made prepara-

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tions for attacking the papal dominions in Lombardy and despatching a body of troops into the Tuscan states, the pope had no alternative but to conclude the treaty. He did not, however, ratify it without some modifications, the principal of which was, that the Florentines should not be subjected to any penalty or inquiry with respect to their pretended breach of faith to Louis XII. It was also expressly agreed that the king should not protect any feudatory or subject of the ecclesiastical state against the just rights of the Roman see; a stipulation which, although expressed as a matter of course, and in such vague and general terms as perhaps not to be fully understood by the king, had objects of no inconsiderable importance in view, which a short time sufficiently disclosed. (a)

Francis was well aware that the pope had suffered great mortification in being deprived of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, and he therefore endeavoured to justify himself for the part which he had acted, by alleging that they were a

(a) *Du Mont, Corps Diplomat.* tom. iv. part i. p. 214. The treaty bears date the 13th day of October, 1515. The editor remarks, that it was concluded at a single conference, so greatly was the pope alarmed in consequence of the battle of Marignano; but in this he is mistaken, as the proposed terms gave rise to much negotiation, and were considerably modified. It is remarkable, also, that in the title of the treaty, the editor styles Lorenzo de' Medici, *duke of Urbino*, although he certainly did not obtain that title until the following year. There is reason to suspect that even the treaty, as there given, is erroneous or imperfect. In the course of the discussion, the pope's envoy Canossa, bishop of Tricarica, hastened to Rome and had an interview with the pope, when some modifications were proposed, and Leo wrote to the king to conciliate his favour. v. App. No. CXXV.

portion of the states of Milan which he could not, consistently with his honour, relinquish. In order, however, to reconcile the pope to this sacrifice, and to lay the foundation of a lasting amity between them, he requested to be admitted to an interview with him, which on the part of Leo X. was assented to not only with willingness but alacrity. It is not improbable, that on this occasion the pontiff conceived that he might be enabled, by his eloquence and personal address, to influence the young sovereign to admit of some relaxation in the severity of the terms agreed on; or at least that it might afford him an opportunity of indemnifying himself for his losses, and providing for the establishment of his family in some other quarter. He did not, however, think it prudent to admit the king into either Rome or Florence, but named for that purpose the city of Bologna, where he promised to meet him as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made for their reception.

Encouraged by the success of Francis I. the Venetians began to entertain hopes that they should be enabled to recover their continental possessions, of which they had been dispossessed by the Imperialists and the Spaniards, in consequence of the league of Cambray. They therefore despatched to the king at Milan an embassy, consisting of four of their most respectable citizens, to congratulate him on his success, and to concur with him in such measures as might appear conducive to the mutual interests of himself and the republic. The ambassadors were accompanied by the learned Battista Egnazio, who by his extraordinary acquire-

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Embassy
from the
Venetians
to Francis I.

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ments had raised himself from a humble rank to great consideration among his countrymen, and who upon this occasion gave an additional proof of his talents, in the composition of a Latin panegyric on Francis I. in heroic verse, celebrating his arrival in Italy, and his victory over the Swiss. This poem he soon afterwards published, with a dedication to the chancellor Du Prat, and the king, as a mark of his approbation, gave the author a medallion of gold with his own portrait. (a)

Death of
Bartolom-
meo D'Al-
viano.

Whilst the Venetians were thus soliciting the king, and preparing their own forces for the recovery of their continental possessions, the sudden death of their chief general Bartolommeo D'Alviano, which happened at Gheddi on the first day of October, 1515, retarded for a while their efforts and dispirited their troops. During twenty-five days, the Venetian soldiers, then proceeding to the attack of Brescia, carried along with them in great pomp the body of their favourite commander, determined to convey it to Venice for interment. Nor would they condescend to ask a passport from Marc-Antonio Colonna, who then commanded the Imperial troops, it having been gallantly observed by Teodoro Trivulzio, cousin of the marshal, that such a request ought not be made after

(a) This piece, which greatly increased the reputation of its author, was again printed in the year 1540, with considerable additions, commemorating the heroic actions of the ancestors of Francis I. against the Saracens and common enemies of the Christian faith; but instead of inscribing this new edition to the chancellor, the author thought proper to dedicate it to the king himself. *Agostini, Notizie di Batt. Egnazio, negli Opuscoli di Calogera*, vol. xxxiii. p. 65.

his death, for a man who, whilst living, had never feared his enemies. (a) His remains were accordingly interred at Venice, by a decree of the senate, with extraordinary honours. His funeral oration was pronounced by the celebrated Andrea Navagero, then very young, in a strain of eloquence which may be considered as the earnest of his future celebrity. If we assent to the opinion of Guicciardini, D' Alviano was rather a brave soldier than a skilful general. He was not only frequently defeated, but it had been observed that whenever he held the chief command he had never obtained the victory. Yet it must be confessed that the man who by his activity, courage, and perseverance, could frustrate the efforts of such a powerful alliance as had been formed against the Venetian states, had no slight pretensions to the applause and gratitude of his country. In the elegant Latin oration of Navagero which yet remains (b) are briefly enumerated the principal transactions of his life; and we learn from the same authority, that his few hours of leisure were sedulously devoted to the cultivation of literature, in which he had made a much greater proficiency

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(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii p. 106. In the former editions of this work, I had denominated *Teodoro Trivulzio*, the son of *Gian-Giacopo*, instead of his *cousin*; an error, which has been pointed out by the *Cav. Rosmini*. In admitting the propriety of his correction, I cannot, however, admit that of the epithet by which it is accompanied; and have, I hope, been cautious, in pointing out some slight inadvertencies in his valuable work, not to imitate the same style of criticism. *v. Rosm.* vol. i. p. 506.*

(b) Printed with other works of Navagero at Venice, by Tacuini, in 1530, under the title, *Andreae Naugerii Patricii Veneti Orationes duæ, Carminaque nonnulla*, 4to.; and again in the enlarged edition of the works of Navagero, by Cominio, Padua, 1718, 4to.

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Wolsey raised to the dignity of Cardinal.

The important changes which had taken place in the affairs of Italy, naturally led to some alteration in the conduct of the pontiff towards the other sovereigns of Europe, and particularly towards Henry VIII. ; between whom and Francis I. a degree of emulation had arisen, which was already sufficiently apparent. On the death of Cardinal Bambridge, Wolsey had succeeded him as archbishop of York ; but this preferment, although it increased the revenues, did not gratify the ambition of this aspiring ecclesiastic, who had flattered himself with the hope of obtaining also the hat of a cardinal lately worn by his predecessor. In soliciting from the pope this distinguished favour, Wolsey had relied on the assistance of Adrian de Corneto, bishop of Bath, and cardinal of S.

(a) " Ingenio vero tam acri fuit, ut, cum literis paululum admodum vacasset, tam apte, tam acute, tam cum omnium liberalium artium peritis, quod sæpius facere consueverat, de his ipsis, quæ illorum artibus continentur, rebus loqueretur, ut omnia de illis scripta evolvisse, omnia excussisse videretur." *Naugerii Orat. in funere Bart. Liviani*, p. 7. Ed. Tacuin. 1530.

(b) Further notices of this distinguished commander and eminent patron of literature are given by count Bossi. *Ital. Ed.* vol. iii. p. 204, and vol. v. p. 182.*

Crisogono, the pope's collector in England, under whom, as the cardinal resided at Rome, Polydoro Virgilio, acted as sub-collector.(a) The cardinal was either unable or unwilling to render the service expected; and such was the resentment of Wolsey, who conceived that he had been betrayed by him, that under some trivial pretext he seized upon his deputy Polydoro, and committed him to the tower.(b) This violent measure had been the subject of frequent representations from the court of Rome; but although the cardinal Giulio de' Medici and the pope himself had written to the king, requesting the liberation of their agent, he still remained in confinement.(c) The apparent disrespect thus manifested by the English monarch to the holy see, had induced the pontiff to listen to the representations of Francis I. who was extremely earnest to obtain the restoration of Louis Guillard, ex-bishop of Tournay, to that rich benefice, of which he had been deprived by the intrusion of Wolsey. Whilst the pope was yet hesitating, not perhaps as to the rights of the

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(a) Polydoro Virgilio was a native of Urbino, and distinguished himself by several well-known works, particularly his Latin collection of proverbs, published in 1498, and by his treatise *de Inventoribus Rerum*, published in 1499, which has since been frequently reprinted. He was sent to England in the pontificate of Alexander VI. and at the request of Henry VII. undertook, in the year 1505, his history of England, which he wrote in Latin, but which has not gained him the suffrages of posterity, either for ability or impartiality. He was afterwards appointed archdeacon of Wells, but in consequence of the reformation, he quitted this kingdom and retired to his native place, where he lived to an advanced age, and died in 1555. *Bayle, Dict. art. Pol. Virgile.*

(b) *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.* p. 51.

(c) These letters are given in the Appendix, No. CXXVI.

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(a) *Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII.* p. 51. Ed. Lond. 1740.

(b) *Ibid.*

time the pope's agent in England was liberated from his confinement; but Wolsey, having obtained his object, still refused to relinquish his claims to the bishoprick of Tournay; and is supposed to have stimulated his sovereign to a new quarrel with Francis, for the purpose of affording himself a pretext for retaining the emoluments of his see.

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The arrangements for the intended interview between Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna, being now completed, Leo communicated his intention to the college of cardinals, some of whom ventured to insinuate that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the pontiff to receive the king in any other place than Rome. Without regarding their suggestions, he directed the cardinals to meet together at Viterbo on the approaching festival of All Souls; and to the absent cardinals he addressed a circular letter to the same effect. (a) On his quitting the city, with the intention of paying a visit to Florence, before he proceeded to Bologna, he intrusted the chief authority to the cardinal Soderini, brother of the late Gonfaloniere, as his legate; not on account of his own attachment to him, but, as it was supposed, because he was apprehensive that if the cardinal accompanied him to Florence, his presence might remind the citizens of their former liberties. It was the intention of the pontiff to have proceeded from Rome to Siena, but the number of his followers, consisting of twenty cardinals with their attendants, and an immense train of prelates and officers of the court, alarmed the inhabitants of that place, who

Leo X. vi-
sits Flo-
rence.

(a) v. Appendix, No. CXXVII.

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sent a deputation to him whilst yet on the road, to apprise him, that in the scarcity of provisions under which they laboured it would be impossible for them to provide for such a multitude. He therefore changed his route, and proceeded towards Cortona, where he was magnificently entertained for three days in the house of Giulio Passerini, one of the nobles attendant on his court, and gave audience to six of the principal inhabitants of Florence, who were deputed to meet and to pay him homage in the names of their fellow citizens. On leaving Cortona he passed through Arezzo, and arrived on the twenty-sixth day of November, in the vicinity of Florence, where he took up his residence for a few days at Marignolle, the villa of Jacopo Gianfiliazzi, until the preparations making for his reception within the city could be completed. These preparations were much impeded by a long continuance of rainy weather, but the inclemency of the season did not prevent the inhabitants from displaying their usual magnificence and invention; and the exhibitions upon this occasion employed the talents of the first professors, in a city which was the centre of the arts, and at a period when they had attained their highest excellence. (a)

(a) "A dì 26 di Novembre arrivò (Leone X.) a Marignolle, a casa di Giacopo di Bongiani Gianfiliazzi, un miglio lontano dalla città, e quivi dimorò tre giorni a riposarsi, perchè gli apparati, e i trionfi non erano all'ordine, per esser piovuto un mese." *Cambis Hist. Flor. ap. Moreni.* The visit of the pontiff to this place is also commemorated by the following inscription at Marignolle:

LEO X. PONT. MAX.

CUM PRIMUM PONT. FLORENTIAM VENIRET,
OB ANTIQUAM FIDEM DEVOTIONEM,

At the approach of the pontiff the gates and part of the walls of the city were thrown down, (a) and the exultation of the populace was unbounded, whilst his presence reminded them at the same time, of the honour which his high rank conferred on them, and of the happiness which they had enjoyed under the mild and paternal authority of his ancestors. At the entrance of the city was erected a triumphal arch, richly decorated with historical sculpture, the workmanship of Jacopo di Sandro, and Baccio da Montelupo. Another arch in the *Piazza di S. Felice* was completed by Giuliano del Tasso; in which was placed the statue of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the father of the pontiff, with a motto pathetically appropriate, although perhaps, profanely applied; (b) at the sight of

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Rejoicings
and exhibi-
tions on that
occasion.

ET MERITA GIANFILIAZIE FAMILIÆ ET IN EA JACOBI
FILIORUMQUE EJUS,
SUBURBANUM HOC INTER TOT ALIA ELEGIT,
IN QUO TRIDUUM ESSET DUM ACCESSUS EI AD URBEM
PARARETUR
A DIE XXVII. AD XXX. NOVEMBRIS, M. D. XV.
PONT. SUI ANNO III.

*Dulcis et alta quies, DECIMO pergrata LEONI,
Hic fuit; hinc sacrum jam reor esse locum.*

(a) The pope entered the city by the gate of S. Piero Gattolini. *Vasar. Ragionam.* p. 92. Over the portal of which is placed the following inscription:

LEO X. PRIMUS IN FLORENTINA GENTE
E NOBILISSIMA MEDICEORUM FAMILIA PONT. MAX.
BONONIAM PROFICISCENS FLORENTIAM PATRIAM SUAM
PRIMUS IN EO HONORE INTRAVIT,
DIRUTA HUIUS MURI PARTE
MAGNIFICENTISSIMOQ. RERUM OMNIUM APPARATU
ET LÆTISSIMO TOTIUS CIVITATIS PLAUSU EXCEPTUS
DIE XXX. NOVEMBRIS MDXV. PONTIFICATUS SUI
ANNO III.

(b) *Hic est filius meus dilectus.*

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which the pope appeared to be deeply affected. The same artist also exhibited at the *S. Trinità* a bust of Romulus and several beautiful statues, and erected in the *Mercato nuovo* a column resembling that of Trajan at Rome. Antonio da S. Gallo built, in the *Piazza de' Signori*, an octangular temple, and Baccio Bandinelli placed in the *Loggie*, a colossal figure of Hercules. Between the monastery and the palace a triumphal arch was erected by Francesco Granacci, and Aristotile da S. Gallo; and another in the quarter of the *Bischeri* by Rosso Rossi, with great variety of ornaments and figures, and with appropriate inscriptions in honour of the pontiff. (a) But the work which was chiefly admired was the front of the church of *S. Maria del Fiore*, which was covered with a temporary *façade*, from the design of Jacopo Sansovino, who decorated it with statues and *bassi rilievi*; in addition to which the pencil of Andrea del Sarto enriched it with historical subjects in *chiaro-scuro*, executed in such a manner as to produce a most striking effect; a mode of ornament, the invention of which is attributed, by Vasari, to Lorenzo, father of the pontiff, and which was highly commended by Leo X., who declared, that the structure could not have appeared more beautiful if the whole had been built of marble. (b) Many

(a) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, vol. ii. p. 224. *in vita di Andrea del Sarto*.

(b) "L'idea di quest' opera era assai nobilmente conceputa. Sopra un basamento ben grande vi collocò più mani di colonne *binate* d'ordine Corintio; tra esse vi erano dei nicchi con figure rappresentanti gli Apostoli; reggevan quelle i loro sopraornati con varj risalti, e i loro frontispizj. L' opera tutta era ornata di molti bassi rilievi, e con quel, di più, che saggio Architetto in re-

other works of art are commemorated by contemporary writers, some of which were executed from the designs of Baccio Bandinelli, and were displayed in such profusion as almost to fill the streets through which the pontiff had to pass. (a)

The ceremonial order of the procession was arranged with great attention by Paris de Grassis, (b) from the inferior ranks of valets, heralds, and horsemen, to the great officers of the pope's household, nobles, ambassadors, and independent princes of Italian states. In this task he found, however, no small difficulty; for as there were three ambassadors from France, and only one from Spain, the Spanish envoy insisted on being placed next to

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of the Pope.

gia opera sa, e può disporre. Tutta fu di legname. Egli (Jac. Sansovino) fece le statue ed i bassi rilievi. Andrea del Sarto dipinse alcune storie a chiaroscuro." *Tomaso Tamanza, nella vita del Sansovino, ap. Bottari, Nota al Vasari, vol. ii. p. 225.*

(a) A very particular account of these splendid preparations is given by a contemporary writer, whose narration yet remains unpublished, but from which a passage is extracted by Dom. Moreni, in his annotations on the work of Paris de Grassis, mentioned in the following note. For this passage, v. App. No. CXXVIII.

(b) On this occasion, Paris de Grassis accompanied the pope to Florence, as his master of the ceremonies, during which he continued his diary; in which he inserted, as usual, every circumstance that occurred. His narration has been given to the public by Domenico Moreni, under the title, *De ingressu Summi Pont. Leonis X. Florentiam Descriptio Paridis de Grassis Civis Bononiensis Pisauriensis Episcopi. Ex Cod. MS. nunc primum in lucem edita et notis illustrata a Domenico Moreni Academiae Florentinae nec non Columbariae Socio.* As both the matter and the manner of the diary of this officer, who attended on the person of the pope, and regulated his equipage and dress, to the minutest particulars, is highly curious, the reader will find his account of the pope's entry into Florence, from which the above information is chiefly derived, in the Appendix, No. CXXIX.

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the first of the French envoys, so that the other two should follow him. To this the French envoys positively objected, alleging that on a former occasion, when there were three Spanish ambassadors and one from England, and the English envoy claimed the privilege of following after the first of the Spaniards, they refused to allow themselves to be separated, and insisting that the same rule should be applied to them, which they had applied to others; whereupon the Spaniard quitted the procession in disgust. To the ambassadors succeeded the magistrates of Florence, on foot, the guards of the pope, and Lorenzo de' Medici with fifty followers. The host was preceded by tapers, and placed under a canopy supported by canons of the church. Next appeared the cardinals, according to their distinctions of deacons, priests, and bishops, who were succeeded by one hundred young men of noble families, superbly and uniformly dressed. The master of the papal ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, bishop of Pesaro, with his assistants, immediately preceded the pope, who appeared under a canopy, which was carried by the Gonfaloniere, and chief magistrates of Florence, and followed by the chamberlains, physicians, secretaries, and other officers of the pope's household. Among these was his treasurer, who during their progress, distributed money among the crowd; for which purpose the pope had appropriated a sum of three thousand ducats. A long train of prelates and ecclesiastics followed, and the horse-guards of the pope brought up the rear. In this manner the procession passed towards the church of *S. Maria del Fiore*, the pope

frequently stopping to observe the inscriptions and trophies which appeared in his way. On his arrival at the church he found an elevated path prepared, on which he proceeded, with a few attendants, from the entrance to the high altar, whilst the rest of his followers remained in the church below. Here he continued in prayer a longer time than usual; after which, the cardinal, Giulio de' Medici, as archbishop of Florence, chanted the service, and recited the oration. The pope then gave his benediction and plenary indulgence to all present, after which he retired to relax from his fatigues, in the adjacent monastery of *S. Maria Novella*, whilst the evening was passed by the populace in joyful acclamations. The repose of the night was disturbed by the firing of cannon, which the prudent master of the ceremonies had strictly prohibited during the day, lest the horses of the secular attendants and the terrified mules of the ecclesiastics should throw their riders on the pavement.

On the following day the pope visited the church of the *Annunciata*, where having some doubts whether he should unveil the celebrated image of the virgin, he consulted the cardinals present on this important question, by whose advice the veil was drawn aside at three short intervals. Thence he proceeded to take up his residence at his paternal mansion, where he found his brother, Giuliano, confined to his bed by a tedious and hopeless complaint. The third day after his arrival, being the first Sunday in Advent, was devoted to the performance of divine service in the chapel of the Medici family, dedicated to *S. Lorenzo*. On the

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Leo X. vi-
sits the
tomb of his
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conclusion of the ceremony, Leo X. turned to the spot where the remains of his father were deposited, and whilst he prostrated himself in the attitude of supplication, he was observed by his attendants to shed tears. (a)

The pope
arrives at
Bologna.

On the evening of the last mentioned day, the pontiff quitted the city of Florence and proceeded to Bologna, where he met with a very different reception from that with which he had been honoured in his native place. The inhabitants, still attached to their banished chiefs of the family of Bentivoli, and mindful of the severities exercised upon them by Julius II. received the pope in sullen silence; except when the sound of *Serra*, *Serra*, (b) resounded in his ears, as he passed in procession through the streets. This circumstance gave great offence to many of the cardinals, who thought that the pontiff should have manifested his displeasure on such an occasion. Leo, however, judged much better than his attendants, and availed himself of this opportunity of displaying his moderation and forbearance; qualities for which he was remarkable, and which in general not only

(a) *Fabr. in vita Leon. X. p. 95.* The visit of the pontiff to the church of S. Lorenzo was commemorated in the following lines of Marcello Adriani Virgilio, chancellor of the republic, which were afterwards inscribed over the great door of the church:

“ DIVUS LAURENTIUS,

AD LEONEM X. PONT. MAX.

Hanc mihi, Sancte Pater, Cosmus cum conderet aedem,

Gaudebam, Proavi religione tui;

Delectavit Avus, delectavere Parentes,

Quorum ope creverunt Templâ sacrata mihi.

Sed, Pronepos, majora dabis pietate: Parentes

Pontificem turpe est non superasse suos.”

(b) A *saw*, the *impresa*, or arms, of the Bentivoli.

disarm resentment, but often convert an unjust or mistaken adversary into a faithful friend.

Three days afterwards, Francis I. who had been accompanied from Parma by four prelates sent for that purpose by the pope, was received on the confines of the ecclesiastical state by the cardinals de' Medici and Flisco, and conducted to Bologna, where all the members of the sacred college proceeded to meet him beyond the gate of S. Felice. (a) After they had waited there a short time, the king made his appearance between the two pontifical legates, and was welcomed by a short address in Latin from the cardinal bishop of Ostia, who remained uncovered whilst he delivered it, as did also the other cardinals. To this the king, who was also uncovered, replied in French, assuring them that he considered himself as the son of his holiness, that he was thoroughly devoted to the apostolic see, and desirous of rendering every service in his power to the college of cardinals, as being his fathers and his brethren. Having addressed himself particularly to every one of the cardinals, they then approached him in succession, and gave him a fraternal kiss; the master of the pontifical ceremonies at the same time informing him of the name and quality of each cardinal as he approached. After this exhibition, they proceeded together towards the city, the king being placed between the cardinals Sanseverino and Este; but the attendants of the monarch disregarded the admonitions of the officer

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Interview
between
Leo X. and
Francis I.

(a) The particulars of this interview are related by Paris de Grassis. The reader may consult the original in the Appendix to the present work, No. CXXX.

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whose duty it was to regulate the proceedings of the day, and followed in a disorderly and tumultuous manner. He was thus conducted to the apartments provided for him in the palace, where four cardinals remained as his companions and dined with him at the same table. The pope, having in the mean time been arrayed in his pontifical garments and seated in full consistory, expected the approach of the king, who was introduced by the master of the ceremonies between two cardinals, attended by six prelates, and followed by such an immense multitude, as well of the populace as of French and Romans, that great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the building. The king was himself upwards of half an hour in making his way through the crowd; a circumstance which he seems however to have borne with great good humour. Arriving at length in the presence of the pope he made his due genuflexions, and having complied with the humiliating ceremony of kissing the foot and the hand of his holiness, was next allowed the more familiar honour of kissing his cheek. The king then expressed, in a few words in his native language, his great satisfaction in having been allowed a personal interview with the supreme pontiff, the vicar of Christ upon earth; professing himself desirous of obeying all his commands as his dutiful son and servant. The pope replied in Latin, with great gravity and propriety, attributing so happy and satisfactory an event entirely to the goodness of God. Francis then took a seat provided for him on the right hand of the pope, whilst his chancellor delivered a Latin oration, in which,

in the name of his sovereign, he acknowledged the supremacy of the holy see, and commended the fidelity of the French monarchs, and particularly that of his sovereign Francis I. to the church. (a)

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At the same time the king would have uncovered his head, but the pope prevented him. At the conclusion of the harangue Francis bowed in token of his assent, when the pope again addressed him in a few words, commending his dutiful fidelity. Such of the French nobility and attendants as could force their way through the crowd, were then admitted to kiss the feet of the pontiff, but the dukes of Bourbon and of Orleans, with Monsignor de Vallebrune, were the only persons who were allowed to kiss his hand and face. This ceremony being performed, the pope led the king into a chamber which commanded a view of the principal street of the city; where having left him for a short time he hastened to remove the incumbrance of his pontifical robes, and on his return entered with him into familiar conversation. On this occasion, the vigilant master of the ceremonies cautioned his holiness against touching his cap in token of respect to the monarch, whilst they were seen together by the populace; a mark of attention which it seems Alexander VI. had imprudently shown to Charles VIII. on their interview; this ecclesiastical Polonius contending that it did not become the vicar of Christ to exhibit any reverence towards a sovereign, even if he were the emperor himself.

During the continuance of the two potentates

(a) This oration of the chancellor du Prat is given in the Appendix, No. CXXXI.

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Particular
occurrences
on that oc-
casion.

in Bologna they resided together in the palace of the city, and had frequent conferences on the important subjects which had been the occasion of their interview. The endeavours of the king were exerted to prevail upon the pope to unite his arms with those of France, for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Italy; but as these efforts, if successful, would have enabled Francis to have seized upon the crown of Naples, and given him a preponderating authority in Italy, the pope, without a direct opposition, affected to postpone the measure; alleging that he could not in so ostensible a manner, infringe the treaty which then subsisted between Ferdinand of Aragon and himself, and of which sixteen months were yet unexpired. (a) With no greater effect did the king employ his efforts to prevail on the pope to surrender the cities of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, or to moderate his resentment and relinquish his designs against the duke of Urbino. To the former he refused to assent, unless he was repaid the money which he had advanced to the emperor, on being invested with the sovereignty of Modena; and with respect to the latter, he contended, that the duke of Urbino had forfeited his dominions, which he held as a vassal of the church, by not joining his arms when required, with those of the pope, under the command of Lorenzo de' Medici. (b) But, although the pope firmly resisted every pro-

(a) *Jovii, in vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 70.*

(b) "Fu creduto che'l Re, per havere il Papa tanto più congiunto, e favorevole all' acquisto del Regno di Napoli, vedendolo tanto infervorato contra il Duca (d'Urbino) non si curasse col farne maggiore istanza di pregiudicare alle cose proprie." *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria Duca d'Urbino. lib. ii. p. 170.*

position which tended to the further abridgment of his power, he was indefatigable in his attention to his royal guest, whom he entertained with the utmost splendour and magnificence. He also bestowed on him, as a mark of his esteem, a cross ornamented with jewels, estimated at fifteen thousand ducats, and presented to the beautiful and accomplished Maria Gaudin a diamond of immense value, which has since been called the Gaudin diamond. (a) The numerous attendants of the king were also treated with particular honour and respect; the pontiff being no less desirous of obliterating in the minds of the French people the animosities which had been excited by the violence of Julius II. than of impressing them with an exalted idea of the resources and grandeur of the Roman see. Nor is it improbable that the genial warmth of pontifical kindness found its way into those bosoms which the frowns of his predecessor had hardened into animosity and resistance. In the midst of a solemn interview, one of the French nobles, apparently affected by a sentiment of contrition for the part which he had acted in opposition to the holy see, called out aloud in French, that he wished to make his confession to his holiness, and that as he could not be admitted to do it in private, he would in public acknowledge that he had fought against Julius II. with the utmost resentment, and had paid no regard to his spiritual censures. To this the king added, that he had himself been guilty of a similar offence. Many others of the French nobility made the same

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(a) "Ce joyau est appelé, par tradition domestique, le diamant Gaudin." *Amclot, Mem. Hist. ap. Fabron. Leon. X. not. 42.*

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acknowledgment, and requested forgiveness from the pope; whereupon Leo, stretching out his hands, gave them his absolution and pontifical benediction. The king then turning to the pope, said, “Holy father, you must not be surprised that we were such enemies to Julius II. because he was always the greatest enemy to us; insomuch that in our times we have not met with a more formidable adversary. For he was in fact a most excellent commander, and would have made a much better general of an army than a Roman pontiff.” (a)

Abolition of
the *pragmatic
sanction*,
and esta-
blishment
of the *con-
cordat*.

In addition to these proofs of liberality and good will on the part of the pontiff, an opportunity also occurred of rendering the monarch a much more important service, in a matter which he had greatly at heart. For several centuries the French clergy had claimed, and frequently exercised, an exemption in particular cases, from that general control in ecclesiastical affairs, which was assumed by the holy see: an exemption which is the foundation of what have been called the liberties of the gallican church. Pretensions of this nature are on record as early as the reign of St. Louis, and are probably of still greater antiquity; but in the year 1438, the council of Basil, then acting in direct opposition to Eugenius IV. who had assembled another council at Florence, formed several canons for the future regulation of the church, which greatly restricted the power of the supreme pontiff, and abolished many of the most glaring abuses in ecclesiastical discipline. In con-

(a) This anecdote is related on the authority of P. de Grassis. v. App. No. CXXXII.

sequence of the rejection of these canons by Eugenius, the council passed a decree, deposing him from his pontifical dignity; but Eugenius triumphed over his opponents, and these regulations were not confirmed by the head of the church; notwithstanding which, they were approved by Charles VII. who expressly recommended them to the adoption of the assembly of divines then met at Bourges under the title of the pragmatic council. (a) By this assembly, these regulations were admitted as the general rules of ecclesiastical discipline in France, and its decision has been distinguished by the name of *the pragmatic sanction*. Notwithstanding the attempts of succeeding pontiffs to abrogate these canons as impious and heretical, they were firmly adhered to by the French clergy and people, as highly conducive to the welfare and repose of the kingdom. Nor had the sovereigns of France been less attached to a system which freed them in a great measure from the influence of the Romish see, submitted the nomination of benefices to the approbation of the king, prohibited the payment of *annates* and other exorbitant claims of the Roman court, and abolished the scandalous custom of selling ecclesiastical dignities, which was practised not only as they became vacant, but during the life of the possessor, as a reversionary interest. Hence, notwithstanding the authority of the advocates of the Romish see, who

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(a) *S. S. Concilia*, tom. xii. p. 1430. *Ed. Labbei et Cossartii. Par. 1672.* The history of the council of Basil is written by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II. who was present on the occasion, and is published in the *Fascicul. rerum expetend. et fugiend.* tom. i. p. 1.

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have asserted or insinuated that these canons were abrogated by succeeding monarchs, and in particular by Louis XI. and Louis XII. the claims of the French clergy under the pragmatic sanction were still considered as in full force. (a) In agitating this important question, the object of Francis was not only to obtain a formal concession of the jurisdiction exercised by the monarchs of France in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, but to transfer to the crown some of those privileges which had been claimed and exercised by the French clergy, and to vest in the king a right to those presentations to ecclesiastical benefices which had heretofore been claimed by the Roman see. On the other hand, Leo was not less desirous to accomplish an object which had frustrated the efforts of his predecessors, and to abolish a code of laws which had been so long regarded as the opprobrium of the church; and although the pretensions of the king went beyond the claims of the pragmatic sanction, yet, as the destruction of that system would overturn the independence of the French clergy, and as the rights of the sovereign

(a) In the rebellious efforts of Louis XI. to seize upon the crown of France during the life of his father, he had assured Pius II. that when he had obtained possession of the kingdom, he would abolish the pragmatic sanction. When that event occurred, the pope did not forget to remind him of his promise, in consequence of which that crafty prince issued a decree for its abrogation, which he sent to the parliament of Paris for its approbation; but at the same time he secretly directed his attorney general to oppose it, and prevent its being registered; which that officer accordingly did; and the legate, whom the pope had despatched to France on this subject, returned without having effected the object of his mission. *S. S. Concilia, Labbei et Cossartii*, tom. xii. p. 1432.

were to be exercised under the express sanction of the holy see, and not in direct opposition to its authority, as had theretofore been done, the pontiff willingly listened to the representations made to him by the king on this head, and the discussion was soon terminated to their mutual satisfaction. It was in consequence agreed that the pragmatic sanction should be abolished in express terms, both by the pope and the king, but that its chief provisions and immunities should be revived and extended by a contemporary act, which should invest the king with greater power in the ecclesiastical concerns of the kingdom, than he had before enjoyed. Hence arose the celebrated *Concordat*, by which the nomination to all ecclesiastical benefices within the French dominions was expressly granted to the king, with a reservation of the *annates* to the Roman see; besides which, the right of deciding all controversies respecting the affairs of the church, excepting in some particular instances, was conceded to the judicature of the sovereign without appeal. (a) Both the king and the pope have been accused, on this occasion, of having mutually bought and sold the rights of the church, and betrayed the interests of that religion which it

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(a) *Hist. S. Lateran. Concil.* p. 184. *S. S. Concilia Labbei et Cossartii*, tom. xiv. p. 288. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat.* iv. par. i. p. 226. By art. xxix. of this Concordat, the clergy are prohibited from keeping concubines, under the penalty of forfeiture of their ecclesiastical revenues for three months, and loss of their benefices if they persevered. The laity are also exhorted to continence; and it is very gravely and very truly observed, “*Nimis reprehensibilis est, qui uxorem habet, et ad aliam uxorem, seu mulierem accedit; qui vero solutus est, si continere nolit, juxta Apostoli consilium, uxorem ducat.*”

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was their duty to have protected. That their conduct excited the warmest indignation of the French clergy, appears by the bold appeal of the university of Paris, in which the proceedings of the council of Basil, in opposition to Eugenius IV. are openly defended, the rights of the gallican church courageously asserted, and the character of Leo X. impeached with great freedom. (a) Even the laity were jealous of the authority which the king had thus unexpectedly obtained; conceiving that by this union of the spiritual and temporal power in his own person, he would find it an easy task to eradicate the few remaining germs of liberty which had escaped the destructive vigilance of Louis XI., and which, under the milder government of his successors, had begun to put forth no unpromising shoots. (b)

(a) v. App. No. CXXXIII.

(b) The Parisians, who hated the Concordat, attributed it to the pope, the duchess of Angoulême, mother of Francis I., and the chancellor du Prat. The following lines are said to have been affixed in different parts of the city :

Prato, Leo, Mulier, frendens Leo rodit utrumque ;
Prato, Leo, Mulier, sulphuris antra petant ;
Prato, Leo, consorte carent, Mulierque marito ;
Conjugio hos jungas ; Cerberus alter erunt.

Such was the tumult, that a leader only seemed wanting to induce the people to revolt, and the streets of Paris resounded with seditious ballads,

“ Concilium Cleri fle—quicquid habes sera rifle,” &c. v. *Seckendorf. Comment. de Lutheranism.* lib. i. p. 32.

The Abbe Mably, in his *Observations sur l'histoire de France*, (v. *Fabr. in not. Leon. X.* 44.), considers the authority thus obtained as a powerful engine of oppression in the hands of the sovereign. “ Ce fut pour s'attacher plus étroitement le Clergé, que François fit avec Leon X. le Concordat, et soutint avec tant d'opiniâtreté un traité qui le rendit le distributeur des dignités, et de la plus

After these important arrangements, the king returned from Bologna to Milan, and soon afterwards repassed the Alps, to prepare for new contests, with which he was threatened by the emperor elect, and the kings of England and Aragon. The pope, after having by the desire of the king conferred on Adrian Boissi the hat of a cardinal, quitted a place where he had been treated with disrespectful coldness, and accompanied by twelve cardinals repaired to Florence, where he arrived on the twenty-second day of December, 1515. Being now freed for a while from the cares of state, he had here an opportunity of indulging his natural disposition in splendid representations and acts of munificence towards his fellow-citizens. The day of the nativity was celebrated in the church of *S. Maria del Fiore*, with unusual exultation; and on the first of the new year he presented to the Gonfaloniere Pietro Ridolfi, who then resigned his authority to his successor, a cap of state and a sword, which had been previously sanctioned by the apostolic benediction. On the same day he also assembled in the cathedral the archdeacon and canons of Florence, and being himself seated in state, in the midst of his cardinals and prelates, he gave to the chapter, the members of which were then prostrate before him, a mitre ornamented with jewels of the estimated value of ten

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Leo returns
to Florence.

grande partie des domaines de l'église. Des biens destinés au soulagement des pauvres, et à l'entretien des ministres de la religion, devinrent le prix de la corruption et la firent naître. Le Roi tint, pour ainsi dire, dans sa main tous les prelates, dont l'ambition et la cupidité étoient insatiables; et par leurs secours disposa de tous les ecclésiastiques, dont le pouvoir est toujours si considerable dans une nation." *et v. Thuani Histor. lib. i. p. 18. Ed. Buckley.*

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thousand ducats. (a) At the same time, as a proof of the affection which he bore to the church, of which he had himself, from his infancy, been a canon, he enlarged the incomes of the ecclesiastics attached to it, and directed that the canons should rank as protonotaries of the holy see, and should wear the habit of such dignity on all public occasions. (b)

Raffaello
Petrucci
obtains the
chief autho-
rity at Si-
ena.

Having thus distributed his bounty, and left to seven altars in the principal church, the less expensive favour of his pontifical indulgence, Leo returned to Rome. The first object that required his attention was the state of Siena; where the inability of Borghese Petrucci, who at the age of twenty-two years had succeeded to the govern-

(a) “ Donò Leone X. ai Canonici una mitra, di tanta bellezza, e cotanto di perle, di balasci, di zaffiri, di smeraldi, di diamanti, e di rubini adornata, che secondo ne’ libri pubblici di Canonica è registrato, passava il pregio di diecimila ducati.” *Ammirato, Hist. Fior.* lib. xxix. chap. iii. p. 319.

(b) Notwithstanding the liberality of the pontiff, the Florentines, who were affected by the general scarcity of provisions which then prevailed in most parts of Italy, were well pleased when he and his numerous attendants took their final departure. Paris de Grassis protests, that he neither could nor would remain any longer in a place, where the inhabitants seemed inclined to furnish their Roman visitors. He therefore left the pontiff, and hastened to his brother, the cardinal Germano de Grassis, at Bologna; where he seems to have made himself amends, by his good living, for the penance which he underwent at Florence. He afterwards returned to that city, to accompany the pontiff to Rome, but Leo dismissed him to attend the host, whilst he made a circuitous tour of about twelve days; and although Paris was greatly scandalized that the pontiff should travel without the host, yet he confesses that he did not remonstrate on the occasion, lest the pope should give him orders to wait for him in such a miserable place; but hastened with it as quickly as possible to Rome. v. App. No. CXXXIV.

ment, on the death of his father, Pandolfo, was so apparent as to give just cause for dissatisfaction among the inhabitants. This circumstance induced his cousin, Raffaello Petrucci, then bishop of Grosseto, and keeper of the castle of S. Angelo, to aspire to the chief dignity, to which he was also encouraged by Leo; who, in consideration of his long attachment and services, and with the view of placing in so important a station a person attached to his own interests, furnished him with two hundred lances and two thousand infantry, under the command of Vitello Vitelli, with which the bishop proceeded towards Siena. (a) The rumours of these hostile preparations having reached the city, Borghese assembled the chief inhabitants for the purpose of interesting them in his favour, and preparing for their defence; but the indications of displeasure and animosity which he there perceived, induced him to relinquish all hopes of maintaining his authority. He therefore privately effected his escape from the city, and fled towards Naples, accompanied by Fabio, his younger brother; but leaving behind him his wife, his child, his friends, and his fortunes, to the mercy or the resentment of his adversaries. (b)

The satisfaction which the pontiff had experienced in the success of his measures was, however, speedily interrupted by domestic calamities and personal dangers. In the month of March, 1516, he received information of the loss of his brother

Death of
Giuliano de'
Medici.

(a) Jovius denominates him, "vir stabili fide, sed ignarus literarum et probris omnibus coopertus." *Vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 71. et v. Fabroni, vita Leon. X. p. 115. et not. p. 48.*

(b) *Jovius vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 71. Fabron. vita Leon. X. p. 114.*

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Giuliano, who died at Florence on the seventeenth day of that month, after having supported his indisposition with great patience and resignation. His death was a subject of real regret to the citizens of Florence, who had the fullest confidence in his sincerity and good intentions, which they contrasted with the qualities of his nephew Lorenzo in a manner by no means favourable to the popularity of the latter. His obsequies were celebrated with great magnificence; but the noble monument erected to his memory by Michael-Agnolo, in the chapel of S. Lorenzo, at Florence, may be considered as a far more durable memorial of his fame. (a)

(a) To a correct and unimpeachable moral character, Giuliano united no inconsiderable portion of literary talent, as appears from his writings, in which he followed, though not with equal vigour, the steps of his father. He is, however, enumerated by Crescimbeni, among those writers who were superior to the corrupt taste of the age: “Dimostrò egli questo suo bel genio particolarmente nella volgar poesia, nella quale seguitando le paterne vestigia, ancorchè non giugnesse all’ eccellenza del comporre del Padre, nondimeno sì giudiziosamente adoperò, che non si fece guadagnare dal corrottissimo gusto del secolo.” *Comment.* vol. ii. part ii. lib. vi. p. 338. Of his sonnets a specimen is given in the App. No. CXXXV. On the death of Giuliano, his widow, Filiberta of Savoy, returned to her sister Louisa, mother of Francis I. taking with her all her jewels and bridal ornaments, to an immense value. “Nec multo post ea (Philiberta) cum omni mundo muliebri preciosissimisque insignium gemmarum monilibus, in Galliam ad Ludovicam Sororem transmissa est.” *Jov. vita Leon.* X. lib. iii. p. 70. Their short union was not productive of any offspring, but Giuliano left an illegitimate son who was born at Urbino, in the year 1511, and after having been educated in the Roman court, became the celebrated cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici, and the munificent patron of all the learned men of his time. By the treaty between Leo X. and Francis I. Giuliano was to be honoured with a title in France, which it was understood should be that of duke of Nemours; and,

A few days after he had received intelligence of this event, Leo retired to Civita Lavinia, a town of great antiquity, situate between Ostia and Antium, at the distance of about three miles from the sea. At this juncture a horde of barbarian corsairs suddenly disembarked from their vessel, and after committing great depredations on the coast, captured a considerable number of persons, whom they carried off with them as prisoners. It was supposed to have been their intention to have seized upon the person of the pope, of whose temporary residence they had probably been apprized; but Leo was aware of the danger in sufficient time to escape their pursuit, and hastened in great terror to Rome. Muratori, who relates this incident on the authority of a manuscript history, by an anonymous writer of Padua, exclaims, "what horrors, what dreadful consequences would have ensued, if these barbarians had succeeded in their project!" It would, indeed, have been a singular circumstance, if Leo had in one moment descended from the height of his authority, and the first station in Christendom, to the degrading condition of a slave. To form conjectures as to the probable consequences of such an event, is, however, as useless as it is difficult; but we may with certainty decide, that however humiliating such a circumstance

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Escape of
the pope
from the
barbarian
corsairs at
Civita La-
vinia.

although his death prevented his being formally invested with that honour, yet he is frequently mentioned by that title. On his death Ariosto wrote an ode, not inferior to any of the productions of his exquisite pen, in which he introduces the shade of Giuliano as apostrophizing, in the most elegant and affectionate terms, his widowed bride. This piece will be found in the Appendix, No. CXXXVI.

CHAP. would have been to the christian world, it would
XIII. not have shaken the belief of the faithful, either in

A. D. 1516. the sacred character of the pontiff, or in the infal-
A. Æt. 41.
A. Pont. IV. libility of the holy see.

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1516—1517.

PROPOSED alliance of England, Spain, and Austria—Death of Ferdinand of Spain—His character—Francis I. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples—The emperor elect Maximilian enters Italy in great force—His ineffectual attempt against Milan—Francis I. suspects the pope of having favoured the enterprise—Leo intends to aggrandize his nephew Lorenzo—Excommunicates the duke of Urbino, and expels him from his dominions—Confers the title and authority on Lorenzo—The Venetians recover the city of Brescia—Verona successfully defended by Marc-Antonio Colonna—Negociations for the general pacification of Europe—Treaty of Noyon—Leo endeavours to counteract its effects—Treaty of London—Motives of the Pope for opposing the pacification—The exiled duke of Urbino recovers his dominions—Leo requires the aid of all Christendom against him—The duke of Urbino challenges his rival Lorenzo to single combat—War of Urbino—The duke resigns his dominions—Conspiracy of Petrucci and other cardinals against the pope—Conspirators discovered—Arrest of the cardinal Riario—Several other cardinals confess their guilt—Execution of Petrucci and his subordinate accomplices—Conduct of Leo towards the other conspirators—Observations on this event—Leo creates in one day thirty-one cardinals—Splendour of the Roman See—Leo promotes the happiness of his subjects.

CHAPTER XIV.

AFTER twenty years of warfare and desolation, Italy began at length to experience some respite from her calamities. The contest was not indeed wholly terminated ; but it was chiefly restricted to the Venetian territories, where the senate were struggling to recover from the emperor the important cities of Brescia and Verona, which, by the aid of their successful allies the French, they now expected speedily to accomplish. The conquest of Milan and the progress of the French arms were not, however, regarded with indifference by Ferdinand of Aragon, who was well apprized of the warlike disposition and ambitious designs of Francis I. and fully aware how much the possession of the Milanese might facilitate the success of his hostile attempts against the kingdom of Naples. These apprehensions were increased by the strict alliance lately formed between Francis and Leo X. the latter of whom, if he was not become the adversary of Ferdinand, was, at least, no longer his associate in the war ; and his neutrality was scarcely less dangerous than his hostility. Induced by these considerations, Ferdinand determined to provide the active sovereign of France with employment in another quarter. To this end he renewed his applications to the emperor Maximilian and to Henry VIII, to join

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alliance of
England,
Spain, and
Austria,
against
France.

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him in a league against France. These propositions were willingly acceded to by Maximilian, who earnestly desired the assistance of the Spaniards in divesting the Venetians of their continental possessions; and were also listened to by Henry VIII. who, notwithstanding his late dissatisfaction with the conduct of his father-in-law, and his treaty with Francis I. had been induced by Wolsey to look with an hostile eye on the proceedings of the French monarch. The motives of this powerful favourite, in thus inciting his sovereign to a new contest, are too obvious to be mistaken. By the aid of Francis I. he had lately obtained the hat of a cardinal; and he well knew that the expected compensation for this favour was his relinquishing the revenues arising from his bishoprick of Tournay, which, in case of hostilities between the two countries, he could still retain. He was therefore indefatigable in forwarding the negotiations with the emperor. (a) The Spanish ambassador, who had of late experienced great neglect in the Eng-

(a) This treaty, the professed object of which was to raise Francesco Sforza to the government of Milan, which had been relinquished by his brother Maximilian, occasioned great debates in the English councils, which are fully stated by Lord Herbert. "Leo had a hand herein," says that historian, "as knowing how much safer it was for Italy, that a single duke should govern Milan, than such a potent prince as Francis I." At this time the emperor amused Henry VIII. with promises of granting to him the duchy of Milan, and resigning to him the empire, by which means he extracted from him considerable sums of money. *v. Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.* p. 51, &c. From a document preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, it also appears, that Francesco Sforza had promised to pay Wolsey a pension of ten thousand ducats from the time of his obtaining possession of his dominions. *Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* b. xv. vol. i. p. 732, also, *v. Appendix, No. CXXXVII.*

lish court, was again received into favour; and the ancient treaties between Spain and England were revived and confirmed; but whilst the proposed alliance between the three sovereigns was thus on the point of being accomplished, its further progress was prevented by the death of Ferdinand, who, after a lingering illness, and at an advanced age, terminated his mortal career on the twenty-third day of January, 1516. (a)

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Death of
Ferdinand
of Spain.

The reign of Ferdinand may be considered as having laid the foundation of the power of the Spanish monarchy; and he may justly be regarded, if not as one of the greatest, as one of the most fortunate, sovereigns on historical record. His marriage with Isabella eventually united the people of Castile and of Aragon under one sovereign, and formed them into one powerful nation. To the encouragement which, however tardy and imperfect, was afforded by Ferdinand and his queen to Columbus, may be attributed the discovery of the great continent of America; undoubtedly one of the most important events in the history of mankind. The expulsion of the Moors from his dominions is another incident which adds lustre to his reign. By the valour and conduct of his great general Gonsalvo he had obtained the peaceful sovereignty of the kingdom of Naples, and thereby restored to the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon their long asserted rights. The acqui-

His character.

(a) Guicciardini places this event in January. "Nel mese di Gennajo." Robertson more particularly, on the twenty-third day of January. *Life of Chas. V.* book iii. p. 21. Muratori, who is in general accurate in his dates, on the fifteenth of January, 1516. *Annali*, vol. x. p. 122.

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tion of Navarre, and the conquest of several important places on the shores of Africa, were also highly honourable to the Spanish arms. These uncommon successes, together with the reputation which Ferdinand had acquired for moderation, prudence, and piety, gave him an extensive influence among the crowned heads of Europe; but notwithstanding these splendid achievements, Ferdinand was himself no hero. Whilst Louis XII. and Francis I. and even the emperor elect Maximilian, took the field, he was, for the most part, satisfied with acquiring by proxy what they lost in person. Those talents which were dignified by the name of wisdom and prudence would have been better characterised by the appellations of craft, of avarice, and of fraud. His treacherous conduct towards his near relation Ferdinand king of Naples, and the young prince of Calabria his son, leaves a stain on his character which cannot be varnished even by the brilliancy of success. In England his name was odious for breach of faith, and the French had still greater cause to complain of his perfidy. To reproaches of this kind he was himself indifferent: and provided he could accomplish his purpose, he rather gloried in his talents than blushed for his crime. To his secretary Quintana, who informed him that Louis XII. had complained that he had twice deceived him, "The drunkard lies," he exclaimed, "I have cheated him upwards of ten times." (a) The disgrace and infamy of this conduct he endeavoured to cover by pretensions to extraordinary piety and an invari-

(a) "L'yvrogne en a menti, je l'ai trompé plus de dix fois."
Ligue de Camb. liv. v. vol. ii. p. 535.

able obedience to the injunctions of the Roman see. To him is to be referred the introduction into Spain of the horrible tribunal of the inquisition, which was first intended to compel the Moors and the Jews to enter the pale of the church, but was afterwards extended to all those who presumed to differ in opinion from the infallible doctrines of the holy see. The bigotry of Ferdinand descended to his successors. After tarnishing the character of Charles V. it was concentrated in that of Philip II. and became the scourge of Europe during the greater part of the sixteenth century.

The death of Ferdinand of Aragon was an event which had been impatiently waited for by Francis I. who was ambitious of adding the conquest of Naples to that of Milan. During his interview with Leo X. at Bologna, there can be no doubt that this subject had been discussed; nor is it improbable that the pontiff, instead of directly opposing the views of the king, had advised him to postpone any hostile attempts until the death of Ferdinand; an event which, from his advanced age and infirm state of health, it was supposed could not be far distant. Having therefore complied with the advice of the pontiff, Francis might reasonably expect that he would now favour his pretensions; and as he well knew that the archduke Charles was threatened with some impediments in his succession to the crown of Aragon, he conceived that it might not be impracticable, either by negotiation or by force, to deprive him of the dominion of Naples. (a)

(a) Charles derived his pretensions to the crown of Aragon from his mother Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella;

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Francis I.
forms designs upon
the kingdom of
Naples.

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The emperor elect Maximilian enters Italy in great force.

In the midst of these dreams of aggrandizement, Francis was suddenly awakened by the alarm of hostilities on the part of the emperor elect Maximilian, who seemed at length to have roused himself from his lethargy, and to have formed the resolution of repairing by his own efforts the disasters of his allies. By the seasonable aid of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns, which had been sent to him from Spain shortly before the death of Ferdinand, he was enabled to subsidize a body of fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, to which he had united at least an equal number of troops collected from various parts of the Austrian dominions. His preparations were hastened by the critical situation of the cities of Brescia and Verona, in consequence of a body of three thousand men, sent as an escort with supplies for the relief of those garrisons, having been intercepted by the Sieur de Lautrec, the commander of the French troops in the Venetian service, and defeated with great slaughter. (a) With a promptitude which astonished all Europe, Maximilian took the field in person early in the year, and passing through the Tyrol, arrived at Verona. The united arms of the French and Venetians were unable to oppose his progress; (b) and Lautrec, after having threatened in vain that he would arrest his course, was obliged to relinquish successively the passes

and as it was a maxim, that a female could not succeed to the crown of Aragon, so it was contended, that she could transmit no right to her descendants. *v. Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 112.*

(a) *Ligue de Cambr. lib. v. vol. ii. p. 539.*

(b) "Fu creduto," says Muratori, "che quell' esercito ascendesse a sei mila Cavalli, e a venticinque migliaja di Fanti." *Annali d' Ital. vol. x. p. 124.*

of the Mincio, the Oglio, and the Adda, and eventually to take shelter within the walls of Milan. (a)

This sudden and unexpected alteration in the aspect of public affairs once more awakened in the mind of Leo X. the hopes of a speedy expulsion of the French from Italy; and notwithstanding his alliance with Francis I. he immediately despatched the cardinal da Bibbiena as his legate to the emperor; at the same time directing his general, Marc-Antonio Colonna, then at the head of a small body of Roman troops, to join the imperial army. (b) The government of Milan had been intrusted by Francis I. to Charles duke of Bourbon, who avowed his resolution of defending the city to the last extremity. With the most vigilant attention he suppressed the symptoms of tumult among the inhabitants; he imprisoned such of them as he suspected of disaffection to his cause; he even set fire to the suburbs of the city, to the great dissatisfaction and injury of the inhabitants, who attributed this measure to the advice of the Venetian *Provveditori* and the effects of national jealousy; (c) and finally he omitted no measures that were likely to harass the emperor in providing supplies for his numerous troops. The imperial army had now arrived in the vicinity of the city, and was increased by a considerable party of the Milanese exiles. Colonna had possessed him-

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His ineffectual attempt against Milan.

(a) *Guicciard. Hist. d' Ital.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 113.

(b) *Ligue de Cambr.* liv. v. vol. ii. p. 543.

(c) The Venetian commissioners on this occasion were *Andrea Gretti* and *Andrea Trivigiano*. v. *Rosmini, Hist. di Gian-Jacopo Trivulzio*, vol. i. p. 521, where the reader will find a more particular account of these transactions, in which Trivulzio acted an important part.*

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self of Lodi ; where, contrary to his intentions, and notwithstanding his precautions, a great number of the French and their adherents were put to the sword ; but whilst Maximilian was preparing for the attack of Milan, the arrival at that city of a body of ten thousand Swiss, whom Francis had, in consequence of a recent treaty with the Helvetic states, (a) engaged in his interests, suddenly arrested the prosperous career of the imperial arms, and induced Maximilian to hesitate as to his further proceedings. The mercenary character of the Swiss, if not already sufficiently notorious, was now manifested by their being engaged in nearly equal numbers on opposite sides of the question. The emperor, at this critical juncture, could not avoid calling to mind the fate of Lodovico Sforza, who under similar circumstances had been betrayed by the Swiss, and delivered up to Louis XII. A letter written by Trivulzio to the commander of the Helvetic troops in the imperial service, for the express purpose of being intercepted, and referring to the speedy execution of some preconcerted plan, confirmed the suspicions of the emperor. (b) No manifestations of a favourable disposition were shewn by the inhabitants of Milan ; the circumstances in which the emperor was placed would

(a) By this treaty, which was effected on the seventh day of November, 1515, Francis agreed to advance to the Swiss four hundred thousand crowns in lieu of the terms stipulated by the treaty of Dijon, and three hundred thousand more for the expenses which they had incurred in Italy. *Du Mont, Corps Diplomat.* vol. iv. part. i. p. 218.

(b) A more particular account of the motives and effect of this letter, is given by the Cav. Rosmini, in his *Hist. of Trivulzio*, vol. i. p. 523.*

not admit of long hesitation, and his only choice was either to attack the united forces of the French, the Venetians, and the Swiss, in the fortifications of Milan, or to consult his safety by a timely retreat. In adopting the latter alternative, Maximilian only acted that part which, from his former conduct, might safely have been predicted. Disgraced, although not defeated, he withdrew to Lodi, incumbered with an immense army of different nations which he was unable either to feed or to pay. (a) After having been reduced to the necessity of plundering those cities which, as their sovereign, he ought to have protected, he hastened with all possible expedition to Trent; whilst the Swiss in his service, being obliged on their way to levy contributions on the inhabitants, returned through the Valteline to their mountains. Thus ended the expedition of the emperor Maximilian against Milan; a memorable instance of that imbecility which frustrates all expectation, and sets at defiance every effort of good fortune to crown it with either honour or success.

The conduct of Leo through these transactions was viewed with a jealous eye by Francis I. who began to entertain suspicions that he had incited Maximilian to this enterprise. These suspicions were greatly strengthened by the hesitation which Leo had shewn in complying with the terms of the treaty concluded between them; by which it had been agreed, that in case of an attack on the states of Milan, he should provide for its defence five hundred men at arms, and should subsidize and maintain for the same purpose a body of three thousand

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Francis I.
suspects the
pope of hav-
ing favour-
ed the en-
terprise.

(a) *Guicciard. Hist. d' Ital.* liv. xii. vol. ii. p. 115.

CHAP. Swiss mercenaries. When, however, the king re-
 XIV. quired the stipulated aid, Leo had excused himself
 A. D. 1516. on account of his inability; but had promised to
 A. Æt. 41. send to the assistance of the king a body of Flo-
 A. Pont. IV. rentine troops, which had at length taken the field
 and proceeded by slow marches to Bologna, with-
 out having effected the slightest service to the
 cause of the French. As the fortunes of the em-
 peror declined, the pontiff manifested a more de-
 cided adherence to his former engagements. The
 cardinal da Bibbiena had indeed departed on his
 embassy, but he had stopped at Rubiera under
 pretext of sickness; and Leo, with great apparent
 punctuality, directed his nephew Lorenzo to ad-
 vance the first month's pay for three thousand
 Swiss. Francis, on condescending to receive the
 money, coldly observed, that as his treaty with the
 pope was of no service to him in the moment of
 war and danger, he would negotiate a new one
 with him which should only relate to times of
 peace. (a)

Leo forms
 designs for
 the aggran-
 dizement of
 his nephew
 Lorenzo.

For a long course of years prior to the time of
 Leo X. the principal object of those who had filled
 the chair of St. Peter had been the aggrandize-
 ment, or rather the founding of a family, which
 should hold a respectable rank among the princes
 of Italy. Of this common character of the Roman
 pontiffs Leo strongly participated. The person
 on whom he had placed his fondest hopes was his
 brother Giuliano; but the pacific and unambitious
 temper of this estimable young man had prevented
 those exertions which the pope was inclined to
 make in his favour; and an untimely death had

blighted the expectations which had been entertained of him. (a) After this event the favour of the pope was principally turned towards his nephew Lorenzo, who felt no scruples in availing himself of any advantages which, through his near kindred to the pontiff, he might be likely to obtain. So evidently did the death of Giuliano contribute to the advancement of Lorenzo, that the nephew has been accused of having treacherously accelerated the death of the uncle, in order to prepare the way to his own promotion; (b) but accusations of this nature, which rest merely on presumption, deserve no credit; and miserable indeed would be the lot of humanity, if such motives could countervail that love of kindred which is one of the strongest safeguards of society.

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The temporary cessation of hostilities, occasioned by the retreat of the imperial troops, afforded the pope a favourable opportunity of attempting to carry into effect his long meditated design against the duchy of Urbino, and of raising his family to a sovereign rank. It is probable, however, that in this design, Leo was actuated not

Excommunicates the duke of Urbino, and expels him from his dominions.

(a) " In lui (Giuliano) si discorreva che si fosse per far cadere il Regno di Napoli; in lui il Ducato di Ferrara; a lui si procurasse di appropriare Lucca, Siena, e Pisa; et in somma Giuliano pareva che fosse sempre oggetto principale di tutti i pensieri et concetti del papa." *Leoni, vita di Francesco Maria duca d'Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 165.

(b) " E con l'improvvisa infermità di Giuliano essendosi divulgato subito per Italia, con affermativo discorso, qual egli si fosse, che esso Lorenzo l'havesse avvelenato, come quello, che per essere fratello del papa, gli si andava antepo-
nendo in tutte le cose, crebbero le mormorazioni, e si moltiplicarono variamente i sospetti." *Leoni, vita di Francesco Maria duca d'Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 165.

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only by motives of ambition, but by his resentment against the duke, who had on several occasions manifested a disposition hostile to his views, and particularly at the time of the restoration of the Medici to Florence, when he had refused to afford them his assistance as general of the church ; although he had been directed by his uncle, Julius II. to grant them all the support in his power. These private reasons of dislike were, however, cautiously suppressed, and motives of a more public nature were alleged by the pontiff, in justification of the violent measures which he had in contemplation. Among these Leo did not forget to enumerate the assassination of the cardinal of Pavia, in the streets of Ravenna, perpetrated by the duke with his own hand, in a season of tranquillity and confidence ; the animosity shewn by the duke against the papal troops, as well on other occasions as after the battle of Ravenna, when he expelled the unfortunate fugitives who had escaped that dreadful day from his dominions ; his treacherous negotiations with foreign powers, and his contumacy as a vassal of the holy see, in refusing those supplies which it was his duty, and which he had positively stipulated, to provide. For these ostensible reasons, Leo issued a monitory to the duke, of which he was no sooner apprized than he quitted his capital and retired to Pesaro. Here he endeavoured by all the means in his power to appease the resentment of the pontiff ; for which purpose he despatched to Rome the duchess Elizabetha, the widow of his predecessor, by whose intercessions he hoped to avert the danger with which he was threatened. The reception of the

duchess was not, however, such as from her rank, her accomplishments, and the services rendered by her husband and herself to the family of the Medici, she was entitled to expect. In two audiences, obtained not without difficulty, she remonstrated with the pontiff on the severity of his conduct towards the representative of a family which had so long been connected by the ties of friendship with his own, and which had manifested the sincerity of its attachment, by the protection afforded to the Medici in the midst of their calamities, and when they had no other refuge. She reminded the pope of the intimacy which had so long subsisted between the duke and his late brother Giuliano, who had always avowed the warmest attachment towards the family of his protectors; and she declared that it would be an instance of ingratitude, which she could not believe would be countenanced by so generous and magnanimous a prince as his holiness was universally esteemed to be, if his nephew Lorenzo, who, when an infant, had so often been caressed in her arms, should now rise up against his benefactors, and expel them from the very place which had been the scene of their kindness to him. (a) These supplications had, however, little effect on the determination of the pontiff; who informed the duchess in reply, that he expected the duke to make his appearance at Rome, according to the tenor of the monitory; the term of which being now nearly expired, he should, from his personal respect to her, enlarge for a few days. (b) Instead, however, of proceed-

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(a) *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca d'Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 171. et seq.

(b) *Ibid.* lib. ii. p. 174.

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ing to Rome, the duke retired from Pesaro to the court of his father-in-law, Francesco Gonzago, at Mantua, whither he had already taken the precaution of sending his wife and family, having first garrisoned the citadel of Pesaro with three thousand men, the command of whom he intrusted to Tranquillo da Mondolfo, an officer in whom he placed great confidence. Availing himself of the disobedience of the duke to the paramount authority of the holy see, Leo issued a decree of excommunication, by which the duke was declared a rebel, and deprived of his titles and offices, and all the cities in the state of Urbino were placed under an interdict, as long as they avowed their allegiance to him. The princes of Christendom were admonished not to afford him any assistance, and even the duchess Elizabetta was deprived of her dowry, arising from the territories of her late husband. (a) At the same time Lorenzo de' Medici, as general of the church, accompanied by the experienced commander, Renzo da Ceri, entered the duchy of Urbino by way of Romagna, at the head of one thousand men at arms, one thousand light-horse, and twelve thousand infantry. Vitello Vitelli, with upwards of two thousand men, attacked the dominions of the duke on the side of Lamole, and Giovan-Paolo Baglione, attended by an apostolic commissary, proceeded towards the city of Urbino, by way of Gubbio. (b) Such an attack was irresistible; and the duke himself, being apprized of the forces brought against him, conceded to his subjects, in express terms, the liberty of entering into such

(a). *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 180.

(b) *Ibid.*

stipulations with the conquerors, as they might think conducive to their own safety. (a) The city of Urbino immediately surrendered to the pontifical arms, and this example was followed by all its dependent cities and places, except the citadel of Pesaro, and the fortresses of Sinigaglia, San Leo, and Majuolo. After sustaining a cannonade of two days, Mondolfo, to whom the defence of the citadel of Pesaro had been intrusted, agreed to surrender the place, if effectual assistance did not arrive within twenty days; but when the time had expired, Mondolfo, instead of complying with the terms of the treaty, again attacked the besiegers with his artillery. The straits to which the garrison was reduced, soon, however, gave rise to mutiny and disorder; and the soldiers, seizing upon their leader, delivered him up, as the price of their own security, to the commanders of the papal troops, who executed him on the gallows as a traitor. (b) The fortresses of Majuolo and Sinigaglia were immediately surrendered; but that of St. Leo, being well garrisoned, and situated on a precipitous rock, was deemed impregnable. (c) After a siege of three months, its conquest was, however, accomplished by the contrivance and exertions of a master-carpenter, who having ascended by night

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(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 117.

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d'Italia*, lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 118. But Leoni asserts, that Mondolfo was executed contrary to his capitulation with Lorenzo. *Vita di Fran. Maria duca d'Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 189.

(c) "E' posta la Rocca di S. Leo nella sommità di un sasso, di circuito di ben due miglia, fatto dalla natura inaccessabile, e maravigliosamente dall' arte ajutato." *Bonamini, Mem. Istor. di Guido Postumo Silvestri. Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, vol. xx. par. ii. p. 19.

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 XIV. self by day under its projections and cavities, en-

A. D. 1516. abled the besiegers to fix their ladders, by means
 A. Æt. 41. of which one hundred and fifty chosen men ar-
 A. Pont. IV. rived, early in the morning, at the summit; a part
 of whom, carrying six standards, having scaled
 the walls, the garrison, conceiving the place was
 stormed, abandoned its defence, and the gates
 were opened to the besiegers. (a)

Lorenzo as-
 sumes the
 title of duke
 of Urbino.

The conquest of the whole state being thus
 accomplished, Leo invested his nephew Lorenzo
 with the duchy of Urbino, and its dependent
 states of Pesaro and Sinigaglia; and in order to
 give greater validity to the act of investiture, he
 caused it to be authenticated by the individual
 signatures of all the cardinals, excepting only Do-
 mencio Grimani, bishop of Urbino, who refused
 to concur in despoiling the duke of his dominions.
 Fearful, however, of having incurred the indigna-
 tion of the pope, Grimani, a few days afterwards,
 prudently withdrew from Rome, and did not re-
 turn until after the death of the pontiff. (b)

The pope
 refuses to
 absolve the
 exiled duke.

The exiled duke, thus deprived of his domi-
 nions, requested the pontiff that he would at least
 liberate him from his ecclesiastical censures; but
 Leo refused him even this consolation, although
 the duke entreated it "for the salvation of his
 soul." (c) Thus the man, who appears to have
 felt no remorse for the assassination of another,
 and that too a cardinal of the church, professed

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 118.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) "Che gli concedesse almeno di potere salvar l'anima sua."
Leoni. p. 191.

his anxiety in labouring under the displeasure of the pope ; and thus the pontiff, to whom the care of all Christendom was intrusted, after despoiling the object of his resentment of all his possessions in this world, refused to pardon him even in the next.

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Soon after the retreat of Maximilian, and the dispersion of his immense army, the duke of Bourbon relinquished the government of Milan, and that important trust was committed to Odet de Foix, Sieur de Lautrec, who had greatly distinguished himself by his important services in Italy. The cities of Brescia and Verona yet retained their fidelity to the emperor, or rather, the inhabitants were kept in subjection by the powerful garrisons of German and Spanish troops, by which they were defended. On the disgraceful return of the emperor elect to Vienna, the Venetians resolved to attempt the recovery of these important places. They increased the number of their troops, the chief direction of which was intrusted to Andrea Gritti, who was joined under the walls of Brescia by Lautrec, at the head of five hundred lances, and five thousand French infantry. After bombarding that city for several days with forty-eight pieces of heavy artillery, the French and Venetian generals compelled the besieged to a capitulation, by which it was agreed, that if effectual assistance did not arrive within eight days, they should surrender the place. The vigilance of the besiegers having prevented the approach of the expected succours, this city, on the day appointed, once more passed under the dominion of the Venetians, to the great joy of the major part of its inhabitants.

The Venetians recover the city of Brescia.

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Verona suc-
cessfully de-
fended by
M. A. Co-
lonna.

The attack of the united armies upon the city of Verona, was not attended with equal success. Their forces were now indeed increased to twelve hundred men at arms, two thousand light horse, and twelve thousand foot. But the place was defended by Marc-Antonio Colonna, who, with the consent of the pope, had quitted his service for that of the emperor elect, and had garrisoned the place with a force little inferior to that of his enemies. So numerous a body within the walls, whilst it discouraged the besiegers from an immediate attack, suggested to them the expedient of reducing the place by famine. They, therefore, took their position before the city, the inhabitants of which endured with exemplary patience all the extremes of hunger, of oppression, and of misery. The besiegers, however, soon began to find that the inconveniences which they themselves experienced, from the want of supplies, were scarcely inferior to those of the besieged. After having been obliged to plunder and desolate for their support the surrounding country, they resolved, at the expiration of two months, to attempt to storm the city. The artillery was therefore employed with unceasing activity; the walls were frequently destroyed so as to admit of an assault; the French and the Venetian troops emulated each other in the courage which they displayed on this occasion; but the firmness and perseverance of Colonna resisted the shock. With incredible assiduity he repaired the breaches in the fortifications; he repulsed the besiegers in many severe engagements; and frequently, instead of waiting the approach of his enemies, led out his

troops, and attacked them in their intrenchments. From the month of August to that of October, the fate of the city remained in suspense; when information being received that a strong reinforcement was on its march from Trent, to the assistance of Colonna, (a) the besiegers suddenly broke up their camp, and retiring in separate bodies, relinquished their undertaking.

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During these occurrences in Italy, negotiations had been carrying on among the European states, which in the event not only appeased these contests, but laid the foundation of that general tranquillity which soon afterwards ensued. The suspicions entertained by Francis I. of the dispositions of Leo X. had received confirmation from many concurring circumstances; nor can it be doubted, that in his aversion to the establishment of a French government in Italy, Leo was uniform and unalterable. This aversion had been increased by the conduct of the French monarch, who by depriving the pope of the sovereignty of Parma and Piacenza, had done him an injury which from motives of good policy, he ought to have avoided, and for which all his other concessions were not considered by Leo as an equivalent. The papal troops, which, since the departure of Marc-Antonio Colonna, had been intrusted to the command of his near relations Prospero and Mutio Colonna, yet remained in the vicinity of the Milanese; whence, in order to prevent suspicion, they at length retreated to Modena. Here an interview

Negotiations for the
pacification
of Europe.

(a) It was also rumoured, that fifteen thousand Swiss, in the pay of the king of England, were expected at Milan. *Murat. Annal.* vol. x. p. 127.

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took place between those commanders and Girolamo Morone, which was conjectured to be for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries for an attack upon some part of the state of Milan. At the same time, Leo had sent as his legate to the Swiss cantons, Ennio, bishop of Veruli, for the purpose, as Francis rightly conjectured, of inducing them to engage their services to his enemies. (a) Under these impressions, the king manifested some hesitation in permitting the pope to receive the emoluments arising from the tenths of the benefices in France, as agreed on by the concordat; but afterwards, either suppressing his displeasure, or being yet desirous of obtaining the favour of the pontiff, he not only assented to this claim, but endeavoured to secure his friendship by other acts of kindness. He relinquished his pretensions to a revenue from the states of Mirandola, Carpi, and Correggio, as lord paramount of those places, on being informed that the pope had received them under his protection. He also affected to enter into the views of the pope, with respect to his favourite object of an attack upon the infidels, and offered to equip a powerful armament at Marseilles, under the command of Pietro Navarro, (b) for the purpose of attacking the states of Barbary, whose corsairs infested the Mediterranean, and who had probably increased the pious hatred of the pontiff by their sacrilegious attack upon his person. Well aware, however, that all attempts to reconcile the pontiff to the permanent establishment of the French in Italy might prove fruitless, he turned his views

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 119.

(b) *Ibid.*

towards another quarter, and determined to secure his Milanese possessions by accommodating his differences with the young king of Spain. The advantages to be derived to both parties from such a treaty were obvious. The accession of Charles to the dominions of his ancestors was not unattended by difficulties, and in particular his Neapolitan dominions were yet subject to the rival claims of the house of Anjou and of the illegitimate branch of the house of Aragon. The basis of this negotiation was, therefore, the quieting and defending each other in the possessions which they respectively held in Italy. On the thirteenth day of August, 1516, it was solemnly agreed at Noyon, (a) that the treaty of amity concluded between the two monarchs at Paris, in the year 1514, should be renewed and confirmed, and that they should assist each other as well in the defence of their respective territories on both sides the Alps, as in any just conquest which either of them might undertake. In order to confirm this connexion, it was further concluded, that Francis should give his daughter Louisa, then only one year of age, in marriage to Charles, at a stipulated period, and that on such marriage, Charles should be invested with all the rights and pretensions of the family of Anjou to the crown of Naples. By the same treaty the rights of the family of D'Albret to the kingdom of Navarre, and the discor-

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Treaty of
Noyon.

(a) *Du Mont. Corps Diplomat.* vol. iv. par. i. p. 224. "Con questo trattato tornò Verona in potere de' Veneziani il giorno 15, o il 16 di gennajo, 1517, e per questo ebbero pace la Spagna, la Francia, l' Inghilterra, e la Reppublica Veneta; ed ebbe fine la famosa lega di Cambrai, che costò tanto sangue all' Italia, ed a tutta l' Europa." *Bossi, Ital. Ed.* vol. vi. p. 158.*

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dant interests of the Venetians and the emperor elect, were particularly attended to and arranged ; and a power was reserved for Maximilian to accede to the league at any time within the space of two months. The pope was particularly named as the ally of both parties ; but this was well understood to be merely in respect of his dignity, and not under any expectation that he was likely to assent to the treaty.

Leo endeavours to counteract its effects.

No sooner was Leo apprized of these negotiations, than he employed all his art and all his influence to prevent the Spanish monarch from acceding to the terms proposed to him ; but finding that his interference for this purpose was not likely to avail, he resolved to counteract, if possible, the effects of this treaty, by another alliance, equally formidable. To this end he prevailed on the king of England, and the emperor elect, to unite with him in a league, to which he had also the address to prevail on the Spanish monarch to accede. But although Leo had been the original promoter of this measure, he declined being nominated as an ostensible party, and requested that power might be reserved to him to join in it at a future time. By this treaty, which was concluded at London on the twenty-ninth day of October, 1516,(a) the emperor elect and the kings of England and of Spain, agreed to defend each other against any power that should attack their respec-

Treaty of London.

(a) This treaty is given by Lünig, *Codex Ital. Diplom.* vol. i. p. 149. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. vi. par. i. p. 121. Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 240 ; also v. *Supplem. au Corps Diplom.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 40, where this treaty is more correctly given, from an ancient copy, apparently written at the time of its conclu-

tive states ; and the contingency of each party was settled at five thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. It was further stipulated that all potentates and states, that might be desirous of entering into the league should be admitted ; and as the confederates acknowledged they had reason to expect that the pope would become a party, they declared him principal and chief of the league. Such were the avowed and ostensible objects of this alliance ; but by a separate article, (a) it was further agreed, that endeavours should be used for disengaging such of the Swiss cantons as were in alliance with France, from the interests of that crown ; and it was also settled what amount each of the allies should pay towards the pensions which should be distributed among the Swiss, as well to the public as to private persons. (b) The consequences which Leo expected from this formidable combination were, however, frustrated by the instability or duplicity of the emperor elect ; who at the same instant that he was negotiating the treaty of London, availed himself of the opportunity afforded him of becoming a party to that of Noyon, which was intended as a definitive arrangement of the affairs of Italy. In consequence of this treaty the city of Verona was again surrendered to the Venetians. A further agreement was soon afterwards concluded between the Venetian senate and the emperor elect, which terminated for a time the other objects of their dispute. On the twenty-

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(a) *Supplem. au Corps Diplomat.* tom. iii. par. i. p. 47.

(b) The proportions of the kings of England and Spain were fixed at fifteen thousand gold florins each, and Maximilian was to discharge the stipulations already entered into by him with the Swiss in this respect. *Supp. au Corps Diplomat. ut sup.*

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ninth day of November, in the same year, Francis I. concluded the memorable treaty of Fribourg with the Swiss cantons, known by the name of the perpetual alliance, which has been the foundation of the close connexion that has since subsisted between the two countries. (a) By these alliances the peace of Europe was guaranteed by its most powerful sovereigns; and Leo was compelled to be a reluctant spectator of that tranquillity which he had certainly, on this occasion, done all in his power to prevent.

Motives of
the pope for
opposing the
general pa-
cification.

It would, however, be unjust to the character of the pontiff to conclude that he was averse to the repose of Italy. On the contrary, there was perhaps no object that he had more at heart; but this repose he conceived to be ill-secured whilst the northern and southern states of that country were held by two powerful foreign potentates, whose dissensions or whose closer alliance might equally prove fatal to the rest. This, therefore, was not such a peace as Leo wished to see effected; and if he did not manifest his open disapprobation, it was only because he was for the present precluded from all means of interrupting it with any hopes of success. Nor can it be denied, that in this respect he manifested a regard for the true interests of his country, and a degree of political sagacity which does credit to his discernment; subsequent events having sufficiently demonstrated, that the apprehensions of the pontiff for the safety and repose of Italy were too well founded; that country having, soon after his death, exhibited scenes of contention and of carnage between

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 130. *Ligue de Cambr.* liv. v. vol. ii. p. 561.

the rival monarchs of France and of Spain, yet more horrible than any that had before occurred; and the city of Rome itself having become the prey of a horde of Christian barbarians, who sacked it, with circumstances of ferocious cruelty scarcely to be paralleled in the history of mankind. (a)

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One of the immediate consequences of the general pacification was the disbanding of a great number of the Italian *Condottieri*; who being now out of employment, were ready to engage in any enterprise which might afford them emolument or support. Availing himself of this circumstance, and of the pecuniary aid of his father-in-law the marquis of Mantua, the exiled duke of Urbino had begun to collect a military force, for the purpose of attempting the recovery of his dominions. (b) In the month of January, 1517, he assembled his troops, which then amounted to five thousand Spanish infantry, most of whom had been employed in the defence of Verona, three thousand Italian stipendiaries, and fifteen hundred horse, commanded by Federigo Gonzago, lord of Bozzolo, who avowed a mortal enmity to Lorenzo de' Medici, on account of a personal affront which he had received from him. With this army the exiled duke began his march; having, as a justification of his conduct, addressed a letter to the college of cardinals, in which he declares himself a faithful and obedient son of the church; complains of the

The exiled duke of Urbino recovers his dominions.

1517.

(a) A succinct account of these shocking transactions may be found in Robertson's History of Charles V. book iv. vol. ii. p. 286.

(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 131. *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 198.

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unexampled severity with which he had been treated; asserts that he had not only been pursued with all the violence of ecclesiastical censures, but that his life had been frequently attempted, both by poison and by force, and disavows any intention of disturbing the states of the church further than might be necessary to the recovery of his just rights. (a) He then took the route of Romagna, and arriving at Cesena, passed the river Savio under the walls of that place, without interruption from Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then with a considerable force within the city. The rapidity of his movements anticipated the vigilance of the papal commanders. A few fortresses of little importance which had opposed his progress were stormed, and the garrisons treated with great severity. Arriving in his own dominions, he found his capital defended only by a small body of troops, which was instantly put to flight, and in the space of a few weeks the duke, without a single engagement of any importance, found himself as suddenly restored to his authority as he had been, a short time before, deprived of it.

Leo requires
the aid of
all Christ-
dom
against him.

This unexpected reverse of fortune was a cause of inexpressible chagrin to the pope, not only on account of the loss of a territory which he had considered as effectually secured to his family, but as it indicated a hostile disposition on the part of those sovereigns whose commanders and troops had engaged in the service of the duke. On this account he warmly remonstrated with the ambas-

(a) This letter, which is well written, and may be considered as the manifesto of the duke, has been preserved by Leoni, and may be found in the Appendix, No. CXXXVIII.

sador of the French monarch on the conduct of Lautrec, who had permitted Federigo da Bozzolo, one of his stipendiaries, to enter into the service of the duke. (a) He also complained to the emperor elect Maximilian, and to the young monarch of Spain, that their troops had been engaged in opposition to the cause of the church, which he strongly insinuated would not have been done without their privity and assent. Not satisfied however with these remonstrances, he resorted to his pontifical authority, and issued his briefs, requiring the assistance of all the princes of Christendom against a rebel and a traitor, who had not only opposed himself in open arms against his paramount lord, but had thrown off all reverence to the holy see. (b) These representations were not without their effect. The friendship of a pontiff, who by his talents and vigilance, no less than by his high office, had obtained so considerable an influence in the affairs of Europe, was without long hesitation preferred to the disinterested task of vindicating the rights of a petty sovereign, whose conduct had on several occasions undoubtedly given just cause for reprehension. The Spanish king not only exculpated himself from all share in the transaction, but immediately admonished his subjects to quit the service of the duke of Urbino. He also directed the count of Potenza to proceed from Naples with four hundred lances to the aid of the

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(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. pp. 127, 130.

(b) On this occasion Leo wrote in a particular manner to Henry VIII. representing the church as in a situation of great difficulty and danger, and entreating his immediate and effectual assistance. *v.* App. No. CXXXIX.

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pope, and as a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he deprived the duke of Urbino of the ducal territory of Sora, which had been purchased by his father within the kingdom of Naples. Francis I. although justly suspicious of the intentions of the pontiff, sent also to his assistance a body of three hundred lances; but this reinforcement was accompanied by many complaints of the non-observance by the pope of the treaty concluded between him and the king at Bologna. The unjustifiable severity exercised by Leo against the exiled duke of Urbino, and particularly his cruelty, in depriving both the dowager duchess and the wife of the reigning duke of the revenues appointed for their support, had also been warmly animadverted on by the duchess of Angoulême, mother of the French monarch, who possessed great influence with her son and resented with commendable spirit the injury done to those of her own sex. Leo, being privately informed of this circumstance, and conscious that he had given just occasion for complaint, hesitated whether it would be prudent to accept the assistance offered to him by the king. These difficulties were not, however, of long continuance. In complying with the request of the pope, by giving to his cause the credit of his name, and the assistance of his arms, Francis proposed that a new confederation should be entered into between them, by which they should reciprocally bind themselves to the defence of each other's dominions, and to the advance, for that purpose, if it should appear necessary, of a monthly sum of twelve thousand ducats. The Florentines were also included as auxiliaries in the league, and Lo-

renzo de' Medici was expressly recognised as duke of Urbino. (a) The king further consented to assist the pope, whenever he was required, against the vassals and feudatories of the church; but the pontiff engaged by a separate brief not to require the aid of the French monarch against the duke of Ferrara. On this occasion Francis again insisted with great earnestness on the restitution of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; but the pope sought to evade the discussion, under the pretext that it was not a proper time to make such a request, when he was engaged in a dangerous contest with another of the vassals of the church. Such, however, was the perseverance of the king, that Leo at length consented, by a written engagement, to restore those places to the duke at the expiration of the term of seven months; a promise which there is too much reason to believe he never intended to perform, although conceded to the importunity of the king; relying on the change of circumstances which might arise within that period for a sufficient reason to justify him in the breach of it. (b)

During this negociation, Leo had used his utmost efforts to increase the forces under the command of his nephew Lorenzo; which soon amounted to one thousand men at arms, fifteen hundred

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The duke of Urbino challenges his rival Lorenzo to single combat.

(a) This treaty does not appear either in the *Codex Italia Diplomaticus* of Lünig, or in the collections of Du Mont; yet, as it is stated in express terms by Guicciardini, lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 132, and is recognised by the accurate Muratori, *Annali d' Ital.* x. 132, there can be no doubt that it was concluded.

(b) On this subject, Muratori bluntly observes, "l'osservare la parola non fu mai contato fra le virtù di questo pontefice." *Annali d' Italia*, x. 132.

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light-horse, and eighteen thousand infantry, composed of an heterogeneous assemblage of Gascons, Germans, Swiss, Spaniards, and Italians, (a) the immediate command of which, under the direction of Lorenzo, was intrusted to Renzo da Ceri. Of this force a considerable part was concentrated at Pesaro; but at the time when hostilities were expected to commence, a herald arrived at Pesaro, to demand a safe conduct for two persons who were authorised by the duke of Urbino to impart a message to Lorenzo de' Medici. The necessary credentials were accordingly given, when Suares di Lione, a Spanish officer, and Oratio Florida, secretary to the duke, were introduced in a public audience; but instead of announcing any proposition of submission or accommodation, as was probably expected from them, the secretary read aloud a challenge from the duke, addressed to Lorenzo; by which he proposed, that in order to prevent the effusion of blood and the calamities of a protracted warfare, the contending parties should terminate the contest by an equal number of soldiers on each side, such number to be at the choice of Lorenzo; from four, to four thousand; concluding with an offer to Lorenzo, in case he preferred it, to meet him at a time and place to be appointed for that purpose, and to decide their differences by single combat. (b)

(a) *Leoni. vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino*, lib. ii. Guicciardini states the amount at one thousand men at arms, one thousand light-horse, and fifteen thousand infantry. *Storia d' Ital.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 133.

(b) This singular document is preserved by Leoni, in his life of Fr. Maria, duke of Urbino, and may be found in the Appendix, No. CXL.

The only reply which Lorenzo made to this message, which he affected to consider as a personal affront, was to commit the bearers of it to prison. (a) In a few days, however, he liberated the Spaniard; but he sent the secretary of the duke to Rome, for the purpose of being examined respecting the measures and intentions of his master, and particularly as to the persons who had stimulated and abetted him in the prosecution of the war. To the indelible reproach of the pope and his advisers, the use of torture was resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining information from a person who had relied on the express sanction of a safe conduct; but the result of this atrocious act is said to have served only to confirm the pope in the suspicions which he already entertained of the hostile disposition of the French monarch. (b)

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(a) Ammirato informs us that Lorenzo offered to accept the challenge, and meet the duke in single combat, provided he would first restore matters to their former footing: “—cgli non ricusò l’offerta fattagli da Francesco Maria, di combatter seco à corpo à corpo per terminar la differenza dello stato, quando però Francesco Maria si fosse contentato di lasciar star le cose nel modo in che prima erano.” *Ammir. Ritratti d’ Uomini illustri di Casa Medici, in Opusc.* vol. iii. p. 105. If by this proposal it was meant that the duke should relinquish to Lorenzo the sovereignty of Urbino before the combat took place, it was not likely that the duke would accede to it, and the evasion will not save the credit of the papal commander, which, however, might perhaps be defended on better grounds.

(b) It appears from Guicciardini, that the Roman casuists pretended that the passport was void, because Florida was not expressly named as a subject of the church and secretary of the duke; but the historian justly treats this as a miserable cavil. *Storia d’ Ital.* lib. xiii. vol. i. p. 133. The secretary did not, however, lose his life on this occasion, but was liberated in consequence of a stipulation for that purpose, in the treaty afterwards concluded be-

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The opposing armies now took the field, that of the duke being inferior in number to that of his adversaries. After several movements and partial contests on the banks of the river Metro, in the vicinity of Fossombrone, in which the celebrated commander Giovanni de' Medici, then very young, gave an earnest of those military talents which he afterwards more fully displayed, (a) the armies arrived within a mile of each other near Monte Baroccio. A decisive conflict now seemed inevitable, but Lorenzo lost a favourable opportunity of bringing his adversaries to an engagement, and suffered them to withdraw from a situation of acknowledged danger, into a place where they might either accept or decline the combat. Instead of

tween the contending parties. *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 261.

(a) He was the son of Giovanni di Pier-Francesco de' Medici, by Caterina Sforza, the heroine of her age, and was born at Forli, in 1498. If we may credit Ammirato, he manifested, in his infancy, a most savage ferocity of disposition, which could only be gratified by slaughtering brute animals, and insulting and abusing his companions. In the paroxysms of his fury, he had even assassinated several persons, and had been banished from Florence before he arrived at manhood. His early crimes were, however, too soon forgotten in the splendour of his military exploits; and his incredible courage, and unbounded generosity, gained him numerous friends and adherents, and are said to have occasioned great apprehensions to Leo X. who sent for him to Rome at an early age, and endeavoured to secure his attachment by continual favours. The descendants of Giovanni, who was the father of the grand duke Cosmo I. swayed the sceptre of Tuscany for two centuries. *v. Ammirato, Ritratti d' Uomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 176. Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. ii. p. 297, 4to. ed.* A letter from this young man to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, written at this juncture, when he was leaving Florence to join the army under his kinsman Lorenzo, is yet preserved, and is now first published in the Appendix, No. CXLI.

appealing to arms, the duke of Urbino had recourse to a stratagem for creating dissensions among his adversaries, and particularly for detaching the Gascons from the service of Lorenzo. To this end he transmitted to their commanders certain letters, said to have been found in the apartments of the secretary of Lorenzo at Saltara, which place had been occupied by the duke immediately after the departure of the papal troops. By these letters it appeared that the pope had complained of the extravagant expense of supporting his auxiliaries, and had expressed his wishes that they would return to France. Hence a considerable ferment arose in the army, which combining with the disadvantages of their situation, the difficulty of obtaining provisions, and perhaps the reluctance of the commanders to hazard an engagement, induced them to change their position, and to retire in the presence of an inferior force into the Vicariato. After attacking the castle of S. Costanza, which was carried by storm and delivered up to be plundered by the Gascons, the papal troops encamped before Mondolfo, the strongest fortress in that district. Here an event occurred which had nearly proved fatal to one of the leaders. On planting the artillery for the attack of the place, it appeared that the engineers of the papal army, either through ignorance or negligence, had chosen such a station as exposed the soldiery to the fire of the garrison, in consequence of which one of the captains and several other men were killed. Exasperated at this misconduct, Lorenzo hastened to the spot, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of his officers; where, after having with great labour

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CHAP. and perseverance provided for the defence of his
 XIV. followers, he was, when retiring, struck by a ball
 from the garrison, which wounded him on the back
 A. D. 1517. part of his head, and not only rendered him inca-
 A. Æt. 42. pable for some time of further exertion, but greatly
 A. Pont. V. endangered his life. (a)

On the arrival of this information at Rome, Leo instantly despatched the cardinal Giulio de' Medici to take upon him the chief command of the papal army. On his arrival he found it in a state of the utmost disorder. The private disputes and personal quarrels of the soldiers of different nations had been espoused by their respective commanders, and the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, instead of opposing the enemy, had armed against each other; in consequence of which several affrays had taken place, in which some of the parties had lost their lives. The first measure adopted by the papal legate, was to divide the troops of each nation from those of the others, and to order them into separate cantonments. This task, although highly proper, was not carried into effect without considerable personal danger to the cardinal, and gave such dissatisfaction that several considerable

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratti d' Uomini illustri di Casa Medici, in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 105. Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 137.* Leoni, in his life of Fr. Maria, duke of Urbino, lib. ii. p. 230, informs us, more particularly, that Lorenzo was wounded by a Spanish soldier, named Robles, who having observed, from the garrison, that he frequently visited the artillery without being sufficiently attentive to his safety, took aim at his head, whilst he was stooping to examine a cannon, and struck him between the neck and the shoulder; to which the author adds, that the wound was thought so dangerous, that Lorenzo was carried to Ancona, with little hopes of his recovery.

bodies of troops quitted the service of the pontiff, and repaired to the standard of the duke of Urbino. If, at this juncture, the duke had hastened to the attack of his adversaries, he would in all probability have obtained an easy and decisive victory; but if we may judge of the intention of the commanders, from a general view of the contest, it seems to have been equally the policy of both these rivals to decline an engagement, and rather to circumvent each other by deceit, than to trust to the open decision of arms. Instead of opposing his enemies in the field, the duke of Urbino marched towards Perugia, leaving his own territories exposed to the ravages of his adversaries. Having obtained the surrender of this place through the treachery or cowardice of Gian-Paolo Baglioni, the Florentine commandant, he began to threaten the states of Tuscany; but on receiving information of the progress of the papal troops in Urbino, he changed his purpose and hastened to the defence of his capital. After an unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Pesaro, he again returned towards the Florentine state, and attempted to carry by storm the citadel of Anghiari; but being repulsed by the courage of the garrison rather than by the strength of the place, he withdrew his troops under the Apennines between Borgo and Castello, uncertain what course he should next pursue, and exhausted with the expense of a contest, which by one great effort he might have terminated both to his honour and advantage.

In the hopeless situation to which the duke was reduced, surrounded by an army clamorous for subsistence, and apprehensive at every moment of

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The duke of Urbino resigns his dominions.

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being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, he consented, at length, to listen to terms of accommodation. The negociation was however entered into on his part under the most unfavourable auspices. The sovereigns of Spain and of France had seen with mutual jealousy the commanders and troops of each other employed as auxiliaries in the war, and began to entertain apprehensions that the continuance of this contest might endanger the possessions which they respectively held in Italy. The remonstrances of the pope to those monarchs to recall their subjects from the service of the duke of Urbino, were also urged with a degree of earnestness that could no longer be resisted without giving open cause of offence, and Don Ugo de Moncada, viceroy of Naples, was directed to mediate between the contending parties. His efforts to this effect were seconded by those of the French commander L' Escù, and as the duke appeared unwilling to submit to the terms proposed, orders were immediately given to the French and Spanish troops, then in his service, to quit his standard and to repair to that of their respective sovereigns. Under these circumstances the duke was required to relinquish his dominions, and accept from the pope a compensation for his claims; but although he was compelled to assent to the former, he rejected the latter with becoming spirit, as a measure that would be subversive of his rights. He stipulated, however, that he and his followers should, on his relinquishing his territories to the pope, be freed from all ecclesiastical censures; that his subjects should not be liable to punishment on account of their adherence to him; that the dow-

ager duchess, and his own wife, should be allowed to enjoy their possessions in the state of Urbino, and that he should be at liberty to remove all his furniture, arms, and personal effects, among which, it was expressly agreed, there should be included the celebrated library collected by his grandfather Federigo, duke of Urbino. With these terms the pope did not hesitate to comply, and the duke having been allowed to repair to Urbino for the purpose of carrying into execution the articles agreed to in his favour, there assented to the treaty. (a) On the same day he quitted the city under an escort of French cavalry, and passing through Cento, again took up his residence with his father-in-law, the marquis of Mantua, "to enjoy," says his biographer Leoni, "the admiration and applause of mankind, and the reward of his labours. Thus," continues the same writer, "did Leo, after a contest of eight months, terminate the war of Urbino,

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(a) We are informed by Guicciardini, that on the conditions of the treaty being reduced into writing, the duke required the insertion of certain words, importing that the Spaniards had conceded the dominions of Urbino to the pope, which not being assented to, the duke refused to affix his signature, and hastening from the place, accompanied by Federigo da Bozzolo and others of his followers, proceeded through Romagna and the Bolognese to Mantua. *Storia d'Ital.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 151. I have, however, preferred the authority of Leoni, who allows that the duke assented to the treaty; nor indeed, without such assent, could he have been entitled to the advantages for which he had stipulated. "Venne la capitulatione," says Leoni, "sottoscritta insieme con una patente amplissima del papa in mano de' Ministri Francesi, i quali la presentorno al Duca in Urbino; & egli con publico & autentico protesto di quanto comportavano le sue ragioni, *accettandola*, partì il medesimo giorno di quella città, con incredibile franchezza d'animo in tanta mestitia & afflittione universale." *Vita di Fr. Maria duca d'Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 262.

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with the expense of a million of crowns, which it was said throughout Italy had only purchased for him disgrace and insult to his soldiers, his states, and his commanders; and with the acquisition of the duchy of Urbino, lost indeed by the trial of arms, but obtained by the influence of his authority." Without wholly agreeing with this author in his commendations of the conduct and character of the exiled duke, it must be confessed that the motives of the pope in this undertaking were as culpable as the conduct of his commanders was disgraceful; whilst the enormous expenses which he incurred exhausted his treasury, and induced him to resort to those measures for replenishing it which were shortly afterwards productive of such disastrous consequences to the Roman church.

Conspiracy
of the car-
dinals to poi-
son the pope.

During the war of Urbino, an alarming conspiracy was discovered at Rome, the object of which was to destroy the pope by poison; and if the name of religion had not been already sufficiently prostituted, the Christian world might have shuddered to hear, that the authors of this crime were found among the members of the sacred college. The chief instigator of this attempt was the cardinal Alfonso Petrucci, the brother of Borghese Petrucci, who had lately been deprived of his authority in Siena, and expelled from that place by the interference of the pope. This total subversion of the dignity and fortunes of his family, which had been accompanied with the confiscation of his own hereditary revenues, sunk deep into the mind of the cardinal. He considered the conduct of the pope in this transaction, as in itself highly oppressive and unjust; but when he com-

pared it with the services rendered by his father Pandolfo to the family of the Medici, as well on their restoration to Florence as on other important occasions, and recollected the very active part which he had himself taken, with the rest of the younger cardinals, in raising the pope to his high dignity, his resentment rose to such a degree as could not be restrained either by the sense of guilt or the fear of punishment. In the first paroxysms of his anger he determined to assassinate the pope with his own hand; but from this he was deterred by the difficulty of effecting his purpose, rather than by the horror of such a crime, or the scandal that must have arisen to the church from the murder of a pope by the hands of a cardinal.^(a) Changing therefore his means, but not his object, he resolved to destroy the pope by poison, for which purpose he engaged, as the partner of his guilt, Battista da Vercelli, a celebrated practitioner of surgery at Rome. The manner in which this was to be accomplished was agreed upon.^(b) During the absence of the surgeon who usually attended the pope, on account of a dangerous and painful complaint, with which he had long been afflicted, Battista was introduced to him as a person of superior skill; and if Leo had

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(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 144.

(b) "Id eo respiciebat, ut Pontifex curandæ causâ fistulæ, quæ jamdiu illi in ima sede, quemadmodum alibi innuimus, nata erat, et ob quam semel iterumque in vitæ periculum adductus fuit, illo chirurgo, veteri remoto, ac venenato medicamento uteretur. Locus Vercellensi erat patefactus, nisi Lco, cunctis adversantibus, salutari quadam verecundia minime se novo chirurgo aperiendum judicasset." *Fabron. vita Leon. X.* p. 115. et v. *Jovii, vitam Leon. X.* lib. iv. p. 76.

CHAP. not, by a fortunate delicacy, and contrary to the
XIV. entreaties of his attendants, refused to discover

A. D. 1517. his complaint to a stranger, it was intended to
A. Æt. 42. have mingled the ingredients of poison in the me-
A. Pont. V. dicaments to be applied. The impatience of Pe-
trucci could not, however, brook delay, but fre-
quently and involuntarily burst forth in complaints
against the ingratitude of the pontiff, and in ex-
pressions of enmity and revenge. This conduct
soon attracted notice, and Petrucci being aware
of the danger which he had incurred by his im-
prudence, thought it expedient to retire for a
short time from Rome. He did not, however,
relinquish his project, which he had communicated
to his secretary, Antonio Nino, who was to acce-
lerate its execution in his absence, and with whom
he maintained a frequent interchange of letters.(a)
Some of these being intercepted, sufficiently dis-
closed the criminal nature of the correspondence,
and Leo, under the pretext of consulting with Pe-
trucci on the arrangement of his family concerns, re-
quired his presence in Rome. Conscious of his guilt,
Petrucci manifested some reluctance in complying
with this request, but Leo removed his apprehen-
sions by granting him a safe conduct, at the same
time undertaking by his solemn promise to the
Spanish ambassador, not to violate his own act.
Confiding in assurances so solemnly sanctioned,
Petrucci instantly repaired to Rome. On his ar-
rival he was introduced, in company with the car-
dinal Bandinello de' Sauli, into the chamber of the
pope, where they were both secured by the guards,

(a) *Jovii, vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 76. Fabronii, vita Leon. X. p. 116.*

and committed prisoners to the castle of S. Angelo. (a) Against these proceedings the Spanish ambassador loudly remonstrated, asserting, that as he had pledged his faith for the safety of Petrucci, it must be considered as the engagement of his sovereign. (b) Leo was not wanting in arguments to justify his conduct. He alleged in reply, that no instrument of safe conduct, however full and explicit, could be allowed to avail a person who had conspired against the life of the supreme pontiff, unless the crime was therein expressly mentioned. He contended that the same rule was applicable to the crime of murder by poison; a species of guilt abhorred by all laws, human and divine. By evasions of this nature the pontiff did not scruple to violate that good faith, of which he ought to have been the first person to set an example, and condescended to use against his adversary the same treachery which had been employed against himself. The measures thus adopted, Leo communicated by official letters to the other European potentates, well knowing that great interest would be made by the cardinals, to screen their offending brethren from a punishment which would reflect disgrace on the whole college. (c)

The surgeon Battista, who had retired to Florence, was soon afterwards apprehended and sent to Rome. Another person named Pocointesta, who had long served the family of Petrucci in a

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The conspirators discovered.

(a) 19th May, 1517. *Par. de Grass. Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Paris.* p. 458.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 145.

(c) The letter of Leo to Henry VIII. on this occasion, is given in the Appendix, No. CXLII.

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 XIV. and the delinquents were rigorously examined by
 the procurator fiscal, Mario Perusco.^(a) From
 the confessions of these wretched men, the guilt
 of Petrucci was apparent, and there was also great
 reason to suspect, that not only the cardinal de'
 Sauli, but several other members of the college
 had been privy to his designs. Leo, therefore,
 resolved to call a meeting of the cardinals in full
 consistory, to inform them of the reasons of his
 conduct, and to obtain, if possible, a public con-
 fession from such of them as he suspected to be
 implicated in the crime.

Arrest of
 the cardinal
 Riario.

Before the day arrived for this assembly, which
 had been fixed for the twenty-second of May, Leo
 became so greatly alarmed at the extent to which
 the conspiracy had been carried among the cardi-
 nals, that he durst not trust himself in the midst
 of them. He determined, however, to secure the
 person of Raffaello Riario, cardinal of S. Georgio,
 who since the time of the memorable conspiracy
 of the Pazzi, in which he had acted a principal,
 though perhaps an involuntary part, had now sat
 in the college nearly forty years, and from his
 great wealth and splendid manner of life, was con-
 sidered as the principal person in the college. The
 particulars of his arrest, and of the dismissal of
 the other cardinals from the consistory, are mi-
 nutely related by Paris de Grassis, and may give

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 145. *Fabronii, vita Leon. X.*
 p. 116. Count Bossi, on the authority of the French writers,
 seems to think it probable that some of the cardinals were also
 put to the torture; but of this there exists no evidence. *v. Ital.*
Ed. vol. vi. p. 154.*

a sufficient idea of the personal conduct of the pontiff on this trying occasion. (a) "The consistory being assembled, the pope sent for the cardinal of Ancona, who continued with him about an hour. As we were surprised at this long interview," says this vigilant master of the ceremonies, "I looked through an opening of the door, and perceived in the chamber of the pope the captain of the palace, and two of the guards under arms. I was apprehensive of some untoward circumstance; but I remained silent. Seeing, however, the cardinals S. Georgio and Farnese enter the pope's chamber with great cheerfulness, I concluded that the pope had called them to consult with him respecting a promotion of cardinals, of which he had spoken in the morning; but scarcely had the cardinal S. Georgio entered, than the pope, who commonly walked very deliberately between two of his chamberlains, hastened out of the room with great precipitation, and shutting the door, left the cardinal S. Georgio with the guards. Greatly astonished at his haste, I inquired from the pope the reason of it, and asked whether he meant to enter the consistory without his stole. We arrayed him with the stole. He was pale and much agitated. He then ordered me, in a more positive tone than usual, to send all the cardinals from the consistory, and afterwards, with a still louder voice, to shut up the consistorial chamber. I obeyed; and no longer entertained a doubt that the cardinal S. Georgio was arrested. The other attendants and myself then began to form conjectures as to the cause of these

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(a) *Notices des MSS. du Roi*, tom. ii. p. 599. Par. 1789.

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proceedings; but the pope soon afterwards explained them himself, by informing us that the two cardinals in prison had declared that the cardinal S. Georgio was their accomplice; that they had agreed to poison the pope, and nominate that cardinal as his successor. We could scarcely believe that the cardinal of S. Georgio, whose prudence and abilities were so well known, could have engaged in such a plot; or, if he had been guilty, that he would not have made his escape. We were therefore inclined to think that this accusation was made by the pope as a pretext to revenge himself for former injuries.^(a) However this may be, all that the other cardinals could obtain was, that he should not be sent to the castle of S. Angelo, but should remain under arrest at the palace. A few days afterwards he was, however, ordered into closer custody."

Several
other cardinals
confess
their guilt.

On the eighth day of June the pope again assembled the cardinals; and after bitterly complaining that his life should have been so cruelly and insidiously attempted, by those who, having been raised to such high dignity, and who, being the principal members of the apostolic see, were bound beyond all others to defend him; and after lamenting that the kindness and liberality which he had uniformly shown to every individual of the sacred college, even to a degree which had been

(a) " Non defuerunt qui dicerent, levissimæ conjecturæ & suspicioni locum dedisse pontificem, ut vindicaret quæ acciderant in conjuratione Pactiana, cui caussam attulisse Sixti IV. effrenata ambitio, & ipsius Cardinalis juvenilis imprudentia putabatur. Hærebatur enim illi in visceribus mors Juliani patris. Hanc opinionem confirmare videtur Grassius, ajens: *Papa semper habuit coleram contra Cardinalem S. Georgii.*" *Fabron. vita Leon. X. p. 117.*

imputed to him as a weakness, had met with so ungrateful a return ;(a) he proceeded to inform them that two others of their members were concerned in the conspiracy, and called upon the guilty to make their peace by a prompt confession, threatening, that otherwise he would immediately order them into custody. By the advice of three of the cardinals, Remolini, Accolti, and Farnese,(b) each cardinal was called upon to answer, on oath, the interrogatory whether they were guilty. When the question was put to Francesco Soderini, cardinal of Volterra, he denied the fact ; but upon further admonition he fell prostrate, and with many tears acknowledged his offence, yielding his life to the discretion of the pontiff. Leo then observed, that there was yet another concealed traitor, when the three cardinals before mentioned, turning to Adrian di Corneto, cardinal of S. Crisogono, advised him in like manner to humble himself. With great reluctance he too confessed his guilt. It was then determined that the penitent cardinals, after paying a heavy fine, should be restored to favour. This fine was settled at twenty-five thousand ducats ;(c) but when they had raised that sum by joint contributions, Leo insisted that it was intended they should each pay that amount, whereupon they availed themselves of the earliest opportunity to effect their escape from the city. The cardinal of Volterra retired to Fondi, where he remained under the protection of Prospero Co-

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(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 145.

(b) *Fabron. vita Leon. X.* p. 116.

(c) *Par. de Grassis, Diar. inedit. ap. Bibl. Pub. Paris.* *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. pp. 145, 146.

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lonna, until the death of the pontiff; (a) but what became of Adrian is wholly unknown, no tidings having been received of him after his flight from Rome. (b)

The painful task of punishing the authors and principal promoters of this conspiracy yet remained, and seems to have affected the pontiff with real concern. Of the guilt of the cardinals Petrucci and de' Sauli no doubt was entertained; yet the conduct of the latter excited general surprise; as he had shared in an eminent degree the favour and liberality of the pontiff, which

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 146.

(b) It was supposed, however, that Adrian was murdered by one of his servants, for the sake of the gold which he had secreted in his flight. "Constans tamen opinio est, eum insuto in interiorum thoracem auro oneratum, comitis famuli perfidia oppressum; auroque surrepto, cadaver in solitarium aliquem locum abjectum occultari." *Valerian. de Literat. Infelic.* lib. i. p. 17. Adrian was an accomplished Latin scholar, as appears by such of his pieces as are preserved in the *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital.* tom. v. p. 397. *et v. ante*, vol. ii. p. 44. In the reign of Henry VIII. he was the pope's collector in England, and stood high in the favour of the king, who conferred on him the see of Hereford, and afterwards that of Bath, *v. Bacon. Hist. Regni Henry VII. in op.* vol. iii. p. 560, "Certé," says that eminent author, "vir magnus fuit Adrianus, et multa eruditione, prudentia, et in rebus civilibus dexteritate, præditus." He afterwards relates the part which Adrian took in the conspiracy of Petrucci, and attributes it to an ambitious and vain desire of obtaining the papacy; which it seems had been promised by an astrologer to a cardinal named Adrian, which he conceived applied only to himself; but which was intended to refer to Adrian of Utrecht, the preceptor of Charles V., and successor of Leo X. A few months after the cardinal had absconded, he was deprived of his dignities and benefices, as appears by a letter from the cardinal Giulio de' Medici to Wolsey, requesting that Henry VIII. would signify his intentions to the pontiff, as to the disposal of the vacant bishoprick. *v. App. No. CXLIII.*

he had secured by the elegance of his manners and conversation, insomuch as to have been the frequent companion of the pontiff in his hours of leisure and relaxation. It was however conjectured, that the prosperity which he thus enjoyed, had only served to excite in him those ambitious expectations which no reasonable kindness could gratify, and that he resented the preference shown by the pope to the cardinal Giulio, in conferring upon him the episcopal see of Marseilles. (a) Whatever was the cause of his animosity, it was sufficiently apparent, as well from written documents, as the evidence of the surgeon Battista, that he had taken an active part in the machinations of Petrucci, and had supplied him with money for carrying them into effect. During his examination he is said to have hesitated, trembled, contradicted himself, and given evident symptoms of his guilt; whilst Petrucci, almost frantic with rage, poured out his execrations against the pontiff; (b) but little reliance is to be placed on the conduct of persons examined under the immediate terrors of the rack, where hardened intrepidity may be mistaken for innocence, and the natural dread of corporal sufferings for the struggling of conscious guilt.

On the day of Pentecost, Leo having again assembled the cardinals, addressed them in a long and pathetic oration, in which he intimated, that although he might legally and properly have proceeded to degrade and punish the guilty, yet he

Execution
of the cardinal
Petrucci
and others.

(a) *Jovii, vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 76. Fabron. vita Leon. X. p. 119.*

(b) *Fabron. in vita Leon. X. p. 119.*

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had determined to pardon them. The cardinals present acknowledged his clemency towards their offending brethren, whereupon Leo was melted into tears. (a) He then went to attend the celebration of mass, after which his dispositions and intentions seemed to be astonishingly changed, and it was thought that he had been instigated to convert the punishment of the offenders into a source of gain. (b) On the twentieth day of June he proceeded to degrade the cardinals Petrucci and de' Sauli, and also the cardinal Riario, from their dignities, and to deprive them of their goods and ecclesiastical preferments; after which, to the terror and astonishment of all the members of the sacred college, he delivered them over to the secular power. (c) During this meeting of the consistory, which continued thirteen hours, great dissensions and tumults arose, as well between the pope and some of the cardinals, as among the cardinals themselves, of whom only twelve were present, being all who then remained in the city. The sentence of deprivation was read by Pietro Bembo. (d) On the following night Petrucci was

(a) *Paris de Grass. Diar. inedit. in Bib. Pub. Paris.*

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) "Concistorium hoc duravit ab hora XI. usque ad XXIV. tum propter lectionem processus, quam propter clamores & rixas in Concistorio habitas; nam sunt ab extrinseco exauditi clamores mutui, præsertim Papæ contra aliquos Cardinales, & Cardinalem contra Cardinales & contra Papam. Cardinales præsentis privationi fuerunt XII. nam non plures erant in urbe. Petrus Bembo legit sententiam." *Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Fabr. vitæ Leon. X. p. 120.*

strangled in prison. (a) The subordinate instruments of this treachery, Battista da Vercelli and Antonio Nino, were also sentenced to death, and after suffering excruciating torments, were finally strangled and their bodies quartered. (b) The life of the Cardinal de' Sauli was spared on the entreaty of Francesco Cibò, the brother-in-law of the pontiff, (c) and although he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, yet he was soon afterwards liberated on payment of a sum of money, and making an humble submission, which the pope received in a most ungracious manner, and answered by a severe remonstrance. (d) As the cardinal died in

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Conduct of
Leo towards
the other
conspirators.

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 146. Another author, however, relates, that Petrucci was decapitated, having refused to confess his sins, alleging, that if he lost his body, he cared nothing about his soul. “Fama erat laqueo strangulatum fuisse (verum ut alii Roma venientes nobis retulerunt, imposita ad faciem larva, capite plexus est, renuens ut referebant, confessionem peccatorum facere) dixisseque illum, si corpus amitteret, animam quoque se non curare. In Campo Sancto noctu est humatus. Hic enim infelix juvenis fatali aliquo sidere angigula, & collo debebat extingui; olim namque a Burghesio fratre, novacula pene jugulatus fuit.” *Ex relat. Titii, ap. Fabron. Leon. X. in adnot.* p. 285.

(b) “De Vercellio autem ac Antonio Scriba, acerbissime supplicium sumptum; adeo ut curru per urbem circumducti, carptimque discerpti candentium forcipum morsibus, ac ad extremum strangulati, in frustra searentur. Ea severitate pontifex magnum terrorem omnibus incusserat.” *Jov. vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 78.*

(c) *Fabron. vita Leon. X. p. 120.* It is not however improbable, that the cardinal was chiefly indebted for his safety to the interference of Francis I. who represented him to the pope as one of his Genoese subjects, and of a family which he highly esteemed. v. App. No. CXLIV.

(d) “Unde Papa, qui videbatur vultu quidem ægro et turbato, in paucis verbis respondit; Imo. quidem dicens; ‘Utinam vos eodem animo et mente essetis, sicut verba vestra sonant; et si nos crederemus vos ex bona mente loqui, sic etiam gratiam nostram

CHAP. XIV. the ensuing year, it was insinuated that he perished by a slow poison administered to him whilst in custody by the order of the pontiff; (a) an accusation which has no foundation, but in the horrible frequency with which crimes of this nature were then resorted to, and in the idea, that as the pope had always treated the cardinal with distinguished kindness, he could not forgive the injury meditated against him. The cardinal of S. Georgio experienced greater lenity; and although he had been included in the degree of deprivation, was, on the payment of a certain sum, and without any apology, immediately restored to all his ecclesiastical functions, except the power of voting in the college; which incapacity was also removed before the expiration of a year. On the reconciliation between them, Leo used expressions of particular kindness and respect; solemnly assuring him, that whatever offences the cardinal had committed against him, he had wholly pardoned and obliterated from his mind. (b) Riario, however,

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vobis impartiremur. Sed dubitamus ne denuo ad vomitum redeatis, aut redire cupiatis. Itaque si ea mens vobis est, melius est quod in hac re superscedatur.’” *Par. de Grass. Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Paris.*

(a) *Guicciard. lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 146.*

(b) “ Reverendissime Domine, ut Dominatio vestra habeat vram pacem, plenam atque perfectam, tam in facie quam in corde, Ego vobis illam annuncio & dono; præsentem hic Domino nostro Jesu Christo, in carne & sanguine; cujus gratia Ego remitto Dominationi vestræ Reverendissimæ *omnem injuriam, si quam ullo casu, aut tempore, contra me fecistis*; et vice versa similiter, per D. N. J. C. hic præsentem, rogo et peto, ut contra me omnem malum animum remittatis, si quem habetis.” *Par. de Grass. ap. Fabr. vita Leon. X. p. 117.* The lenity experienced by Riario at different periods of his life, from the pontiff and his father, is thus commemorated by Angelo Colocci :

either humiliated by this transaction, or not confiding in the assurances of the pontiff, soon afterwards quitted the city of Rome, where he had so long resided in the greatest splendour and respectability, and took up his residence at Naples, where he terminated his days in the month of July, 1520.

This extraordinary transaction, in which so great a proportion of the members of the sacred college conspired against the life of the supreme pontiff, gave rise to much discussion and great diversity of opinion. (*a*) The motives of Petrucci were indeed sufficiently obvious; and his guilt was universally admitted; but the reasons which actuated the other cardinals, who were regarded as his confederates, are not so apparent, and it is highly probable that the crime of some of them merely consisted in their not having revealed to the pope those expressions of resentment which Petrucci had uttered in their presence. (*b*) By some it was

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Observations on this event.

“ Accepere manus RIARI vincla nocentes,
In caput Etrusci qui tulit arma Ducis.
Vitam orat, vitam lacrymis, Leo magne, dedisti;
Debuit exitium dextra, dedit veniam.
Scilicet hoc Medicum est; quod fesso ætate senecti
Tu facis, hoc juveni fecerat ante Pater.”

Colocc. op. lat. p. 88.

(*a*) Vasari, who has given some account of this transaction in his own manner, mentions six cardinals as involved in the conspiracy, having erroneously enumerated S. Georgio and Raffaello Riario as different persons. *v. Ragionam.* p. 102.

(*b*) This conjecture is confirmed by a letter from several dignified ecclesiastics and noblemen at Rome, to Henry VIII. requesting his interference in behalf of the cardinal Riario. The letter, which throws considerable light on this transaction, is given in the Appendix, No. CXLV.

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supposed that the duke of Urbino, who had already attempted by his letters to interest the college of cardinals in his favour, had prevailed on a part of its members to engage in this hazardous attempt; whilst others did not hesitate to represent it as merely a contrivance of the pontiff to extort large sums of money from the richer cardinals; but to the last supposition the confession of several of the delinquents in open consistory is a sufficient answer. Upon strict grounds of positive law the execution of Petrucci may perhaps be justified; almost all countries having concurred in punishing a projected attempt against the life of the sovereign, in the same manner as if the crime had been actually committed; but the shameful violation of every principle of humanity, exemplified in the execution of the subordinate instruments of his guilt, can never be sufficiently execrated. Are such punishments intended as a retribution for the crime? Justice then degenerates into revenge. Are they for the purpose of deterring others from like offences? Care should then be taken not to render the offenders objects of compassion, and to prevent that re-action of opinion which loses the guilt of the criminal in the cruelty of the judge. (a) Are they intended to correct the excesses and to improve the morals of a people? How can this be effected by spectacles that outrage humanity, and which, by their repetition, steel the heart against all those sentiments by which the individual and general safety of man-

(a) "Sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, & in hominibus impiis, sceleris eorum obliti, de poena disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit." *Salut. Catil.* cap. 51.

kind are secured, much more effectually than by gibbets and halters, racks and chains. (a)

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In punishing the authors and abettors of this insidious attempt against his life, Leo was well aware that he had created new enemies among their friends and supporters, whose resentment was not to be disregarded; nor had he observed without alarm the conduct of the other members of the college, almost all of whom had interested themselves with great warmth in behalf of their guilty brethren. He therefore took additional precautions for his safety, and was usually surrounded by his guards, who attended him even during the celebration of divine service; not to protect him against a foreign enemy, but to secure the chief of the Christian church against the more dangerous attempts of the members of the sacred college. In this disgraceful and melancholy state of the Roman see, Leo had recourse to an expedient on which he had for some time meditated, and which, in a great degree, relieved him from his apprehensions. In one day he created an additional number of thirty-one cardinals. (b) Among these were several of his relations and friends,

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Leo creates
in one day
thirty-one
cardinals.

(a) Mr. Henke, in a long note on this passage, has quoted the authority of Jacob Ziegler, of Vienna, in his "Hist. of Clement VII." (published by Schelhorne, in his *Amanitat. Hist. Eccl. et Liter.* vol. ii. p. 210,) to shew that Clement, whilst known as the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, was the chief instigator of all the severities practised by the pope in the course of this affair; for the purpose of forwarding, by the ruin of so many of the cardinals, his own avaricious and ambitious designs; whilst Leo, devoted to his pleasures, permitted such unjust and cruel judgments to be executed in his name. (v. *Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 316.)*

(b) 26th June, 1517.

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some of whom had not yet obtained the habit of prelacy; a circumstance which gave rise to no small dissatisfaction amongst the more rigid disciplinarians of the Roman see. On the whole, however, it must be acknowledged, that in point of talents, rank, experience, and learning, the persons now called to support the dignity of the Christian church, were not surpassed by any of those who had of late enjoyed that honour. Of these, one of the most distinguished by the solidity of his judgment, the extent of his acquirements, and the sanctity of his life, was Egidio of Viterbo, principal of the order of Augustines, who had long lived on terms of familiarity with the pontiff. Of the elegance of his taste he had in his youth given a sufficient specimen in his poetical writings; (a) but his riper years had been devoted to more serious studies; and Leo, who had long consulted him in matters of the first importance, availed himself greatly of his advice in selecting the other persons on whom it might be proper to confer this high dignity. The principal of the Domenicans, Tomaso de Vio, and of the Franciscans, Cristoforo Numalio, were also at the same time received into the college; and although this might be attributed to the wish of the pope to avoid the appearance of partiality to the Augustines, by the choice made of Egidio, yet it is acknowledged that they were men whose personal merits well entitled them to this distinction; (b) and the former of them, who from the place of his birth was denominated the

(a) *v. ante*, c. ii. p. 79.

(b) "Homines sane doctrina et moribus spectatissimos." *Fabron. vita Leon. X.* p. 121.

cardinal of Gaeta, or *Cajetanus*, soon afterwards acted an important part in the religious controversies which agitated the Christian world. Another distinguished person now elected into the college, was Lorenzo Campeggio of Bologna, who had already served the pontiff on several important embassies, and who was afterwards appointed legate to England, to decide, in conjunction with Wolsey, the great question of divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon; where he obtained by the favour of that monarch the episcopal see of Salisbury. (a) Among those whom Leo selected from his personal knowledge of their virtues and their acquirements, may also be enumerated Giovanni Piccolomini, archbishop of Siena, a near relation of the pontiffs, Pius II. and Pius III.; Niccolo Pandolfini of Florence; Alessandro Cesari, bishop of Pistoja; Giovanni Domenico de' Cupi, and Andrea della Valle, both distinguished citizens of Rome; and Domenico Jacobatio, author of the celebrated treatise on the councils of the church, which is usually annexed to the general collection of those proceedings. Nor did Leo on this occasion forget his own relations, many of whom had long anxiously looked up to him for preferment, nor those stedfast friends to whom, in the course of his eventful life, he had been so highly indebted. Among the former were Niccolo Ridolfi, Giovanni Salviati, and Luigi Rossi, the sons of three of his sisters, all of whom afterwards distinguished themselves as men of superior talents

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(a) Ariosto denominates him the ornament and honour of the Roman senate; and Erasmus has addressed to him several letters, in terms of great respect.

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and munificent patrons of learning ; but the last of these was the particular favourite of the pontiff, having been educated with him under the same roof, and his constant attendant through all his vicissitudes of fortune. In conferring the dignity of a cardinal on Ercole Rangone, of Modena, Leo not only did credit to his judgment, on account of the eminent qualifications of that young nobleman, but gave a striking proof of his gratitude for the kindness shewn him by Bianca Rangone, the mother of Ercole, when he was hurried by the French as a prisoner through Modena. Nor was this the only remuneration which that lady received from the pontiff ; as he had already provided her with a suitable residence in Rome, and assigned to her use extensive gardens near the castle of S. Angelo. From a like grateful sense of favours, and on account of long attachments to his interests, Leo is supposed, on this occasion, to have distinguished Francesco Armellini of Perugia, Sylvio Passerini of Cortona, Bonifazio Ferreri of Vercelli, and Francesco de' Conti, and Paullo Emilio Cesio of Rome. Nor did he forget Raffaello Petrucci, whom he had lately established as chief of the republic at Siena, and on whom he had lavished many favours which might have been elsewhere much better bestowed.

In order, however, to give greater splendour and celebrity to this extensive nomination, as well as to gratify the more distant states and sovereigns of Christendom by the adoption of their relations, or more illustrious citizens, into the sacred college, Leo selected from different parts of Europe several additional members, who were distinguished by their high birth or acknowledged talents. Of the

royal family of France, he conferred this dignity on Louis of Bourbon; of whom it has been said that the splendour of his virtues would have rendered him illustrious, had he been of the humblest origin. Emanuel, king of Portugal, was gratified by the adoption into the college of his son Alfonso, then only seven years of age; but this was accompanied by a restriction that he should not assume the insignia of his rank until he should attain his fourteenth year. The high reputation acquired by Adrian of Utrecht, the preceptor and faithful counsellor of Charles of Spain, afterwards emperor by the name of Charles V. recommended him on this occasion to the notice of the pontiff; whom, by a singular concurrence of favourable circumstances, he succeeded in the course of a few years in the apostolic chair. Gulielmo Raimondo Vick, (a) a native of Valencia, was selected from the kingdom of Spain. The families of Colonna and Orsini, which had been so frequently dignified with the honours of the church, received the highest proof of the pontifical favour in the persons of Pompejo Colonna and Franciotto Orsino. A yet more decisive partiality was shown to the family of Trivulzio, of which two members, Scaramuccio bishop of Como, and Agostino, were at the same time received into the college. The citizens of Venice and of Genoa were honoured by the nomination of Francesco Pisani, from among the former, and of Giovan-Battista Pallavicini, from the latter. For similar reasons, in all probability, Ferdinando Ponzetto, a

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(a) "Gulielmus Raymundus Vicus, patria Valentinus, ejus acre judicium, prudentia in consiliis dandis, & pietas erga Deum a multis laudantur." *Fabron. vita Leon. X.* p. 125.

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XIV. eminent historian has indeed informed us, that in

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many instances the pope had no other motive for conferring this high honour than the payment of a large sum of money, (a) and if we consider the exhausted state of his treasury, by the expenses incurred in the war of Urbino, and other causes, it is by no means improbable that this information is well founded.

Splendour
of the Ro-
man see.

This important and decisive measure, by which the pontiff diminished the influence of the cardinals then in the college, and called to his society and councils his confidential friends and relatives, may be regarded as the chief cause of the subsequent tranquillity and happiness of his life, and of the celebrity and splendour of his pontificate. Until this period, he had been constantly engaged in adverse undertakings or negociations of peculiar difficulty, and surrounded with persons on whom he could place no well-founded reliance; but his contests with foreign powers were now terminat-

(a) “Molti ne creò per danari, trovandosi esausto, & in grandissima necessità.” *Guicciard.* lib. viii. vol. ii. p. 146. It was also supposed, that in this measure, Leo selected the friends of his family, that he might prepare the way for his cousin, Giulio de’ Medici, as his successor in the pontificate. *v. Jacob. Ziegler, in historia Clementis VII. ap. Fabron. vita Leon. X. in adnot. 52.* In his series of historical pictures in the palace of the grand duke at Florence, Vasari has introduced the portraits of all these cardinals whom he has also described in his *Ragionamenti*, or dialogue with the duke Francesco de’ Medici, whom he represents as exclaiming, “Storia piena di virtù, e di liberalità, e grandezza, di Papa Leone, il quale con nuovo modo obbligò a casa nostra, per ogni accidente che potesse nascere ne’ casi della fortuna, quasi tutte le nazioni; esaltando tanti uomini virtuosi, e singolari per dottrina e per nobiltà di sangue.” *Vasari, Ragionam.* p. 105.

ed, if not wholly to his wishes, at least in such a manner as to allow him that relaxation which he had never before enjoyed; whilst his apprehensions of domestic danger were removed, or alleviated, by the constant presence of those friends whose fidelity he had before experienced. In the gratification of his natural propensity to liberality, and in the aggrandizement of his friends and favourites, he found an additional satisfaction, by contributing towards the respectability and honour of that church, of which he was the chief, and which from this time displayed a degree of magnificence which had never before been equalled. The revenues of the numerous benefices, rich abbeys, and other ecclesiastical preferments bestowed upon each of the cardinals and great dignitaries of the church, frequently amounted to a princely sum, and a prelate was considered as comparatively poor, whose annual income did not amount to eight or ten thousand ducats. (a) On the death of Sixtus della Rovere, the nephew of Sixtus IV. (b) in the year 1517, Leo appointed his cousin Giulio de' Medici vicechancellor of the holy see; which office alone brought him the annual sum of twelve thousand ducats. Nor was it only from within

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(a) "Pauper is habitus fuisset, cui non redirent quotannis ex sacerdotiis decem vel octo saltem nummum aureorum millia." *Fabron. Leon. X.* p. 127.

(b) The annual income of this debauched ecclesiastic amounted to upwards of 40,000 ducats, although Paris de Grassis informs us that he was so ignorant as not to be able either to write or read; to which he adds, in allusion to the disease under which he laboured, "ab umbilico ad plantas pedum totum perditus, ut nec stare nec incedere posset." *v. Fabron, Leon. X. in adnot. 53,* p. 287.

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the limits of Italy that the cardinals and prelates of the church derived their wealth and their dignities. All Europe was then tributary to the Roman see; and many of these fortunate ecclesiastics, whilst they passed their days amidst the luxuries and amusements of Rome, supported their rank, and supplied their dissipation, by contributions from the remotest parts of Christendom. The number of benefices held by an individual was limited only by the will of the pontiff; and by an ubiquity, which although abstractedly impossible, has been found actually and substantially true, the same person was frequently at the same time an archbishop in Germany, a bishop in France or England, an abbot or a prior in Poland or in Spain, and a cardinal at Rome.

Leo X. promotes the happiness of his subjects.

By the example of the supreme pontiff, who well knew how to unite magnificence with taste, the chiefs and princes of the Roman church emulated each other in the grandeur of their palaces, the sumptuousness of their apparel, the elegance of their entertainments, and the number and respectability of their attendants; (a) nor can it be denied, that their wealth and influence were frequently devoted to the encouragement of the fine arts, and the remuneration of men of genius in every department of intellect. Soon after the creation of the new cardinals, such of them as resided in

(a) "Pavimenta, aulæ, thalami, cameræ, Pontificia domus omnis tota die cardinalium salutationibus patescunt; benigne invitantur, paratis accipiuntur epulis ad lætitiâ uniuscujusque; non ad necem instructis, ut olim, cum quos divitiis amicos suos Pontifex saginarat, immixto cibus aut potui veneno, tollere cogitaret." *Mat. Herculani, ap. Fabron. vita Leon. X. in adnot. 51, p. 286.*

Rome, were invited by the pontiff to a sumptuous entertainment in the apartments of the Vatican, which had then been recently ornamented by those exquisite productions of Raffaello d'Urbino, which have ever since been the theme of universal applause. (a) The Roman citizens, who partook of the affluence of the church, in a general abundance of all the necessaries of life, re-echoed the praises of the pontiff; who by a liberal policy abrogated the monopolies by which they had been oppressed, and allowed all kinds of merchandise to be freely imported and exported throughout his dominions. Hence the city of Rome became a granary, always supplied with provisions, and was frequently chosen as a residence by mercantile men from other parts of Italy, who contributed by their wealth and industry to the general prosperity. (b) Nor was this prosperity less promoted by the security which the inhabitants enjoyed from a strict and impartial administration of justice; it having been a maxim with the pontiff, not to endanger the safety and tranquillity of the good, by an ill-timed

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(a) A great storm is said to have happened on this day, which was supposed to portend some disaster to the church: "Adfirmat Schelhornius, *Amanitat. Hist. Ecclesiast. et Literar.* eo die quo ad cœnam vocati fuerunt recenter creati Cardinales, subito tantam ac tam turbidam tempestatem coortam fuisse, ut ex eo rem Romanam publicam miserrimam fore multi augurati fuerint; nec sine metu celestis iræ fuisse Julium Cardinalem." *Fabron. vita Leon. X. adnot.* 52, p. 286.

(b) The inhabitants of Rome, at this period, are enumerated by Jovius at 85,000 persons, including strangers; but after the dreadful sackage of the city, in the pontificate of Clement VII., and the other calamities which that place experienced, they were reduced, at the time Jovius wrote, to 32,000. *Jovii, vita Leon. X. lib. iv.* p. 83.

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lenity towards the guilty. (a) The happiness enjoyed by the Roman people, during the remaining part of the life of Leo X. forms indeed the truest glory of his pontificate. That they were sensible of this happiness, appears not only from the sentiments of admiration and regret with which the golden days of Leo were referred to, by those who survived to experience the calamities of subsequent times, but from a solemn decree of the inhabitants, to perpetuate the remembrance of it by a statue of the pontiff, which was accordingly executed in marble by Domenico Amio, a disciple of Sansovini, and placed in the Capitol, with the following inscription :

OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. LEONI. X.
MED. IOAN. PONT. MAX.
OB. RESTITVTAM. RESTAVRATAMQ.
VRBEM. AVCTA. SACRA. BONASQ.
ARTES. ADSCITOS. PATRES.
SVBLATUM. VECTIGAL. DATVMQ.
CONGIARIVM. S. P. Q. R. P.

(a) “ Exercuit et supra naturæ consuetudinem, summum jus in damnandis, qui falsos libellos ipsius subscribentis manum mentiti, in judiciis protulissent; adeo ut Sebastianum Tarvisinum, tum in Gymnasio Romano leges profitentem, & alioqui ea calamitate indignum, in Campo Floræ concremarit.” *Jovii, vita Leon. X.* lib. vi. p. 38. In the punishment of other offences, he seldom deviated from the well-known lenity of his disposition: “ Ut ad clementiæ laudem avidè properare, remissa severitate, diceretur.” *Jovius, ut sup.*

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1517—1518.

LEO X. dissolves the council of the Lateran—Commencement of the reformation—The early promoters of literature arraign the misconduct of the clergy—Dante—Petrarca—Boccaccio and others, expose the clergy to ridicule—Accusations against the clergy justly founded—Attempts made to restrain the freedom of publication—Effects of the revival of classical literature on the established religion—And of the study of the Platonic philosophy—Restrains imposed by the church on philosophical studies—General spirit of inquiry—Promulgation of indulgences—Impolicy of this measure—Luther opposes the sale of indulgences—They are defended by Tetzel—By Eccius—And by Prierio—Leo inclines to temperate measures—The emperor Maximilian calls on the pope to interfere—Leo cites Luther to appear at Rome—Luther obtains a hearing in Germany—He repairs to Augsburg—Interview between Luther and the cardinal of Gaeta—Luther appeals to Leo X.—Papal decree against the opinions of Luther—He appeals from Leo X. to a general council—Two circumstances which contributed to the success of Luther—I. He combines his cause with that of the promoters of learning.—II. He offers to submit his doctrines to the test of reason and scripture.

CHAPTER XV.

THE council of the Lateran, which commenced under the pontificate of Julius II. having now sat for nearly five years, approached the termination of its labours. Were we to insinuate that the motive of Julius in convoking this assembly, was that it might operate as his justification, in refusing to submit to the adverse decrees of the council of Pisa, we might incur the imputation, although we should now escape the penalties of heresy. (a) It may, however, with confidence be asserted, that this council was chiefly intended to counteract the proceedings of the *Conciliabulum*, and in this respect its triumph was complete; the cardinal Carvajal, who had been the leader of the refractory ecclesiastics, having not only made his submission in the seventh session of the council of Lateran, but having accepted the humiliating honour of performing divine service on its final dissolution, which took place on the sixteenth day of March, 1517. On this occasion a solemn excommunication was denounced against all persons who should presume

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Leo dis-
solves the
council of
the Lateran.

(a) " Quisquis ergo hanc synodum ea dumtaxat primaria intentione a Julio indictam existimat, ut hoc prætextu iudicium Pisani Conciliabuli declinaret, graviter aberrat." *S. S. Concilia Labbei et Cossartii.* tom. xiv. p. 343. in notis Bini. Ed. Par. 1672. fo.

CHAP. to comment upon, or interpret its transactions,
 XV. without the special license of the holy see. (a)

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Commence-
 ment of the
 Reforma-
 tion.

The peace of the church thus restored, by the labours of the council, was not however destined to remain long undisturbed. Scarcely had the assembly separated, before the new opinions and refractory conduct of Martin Luther, a monk of the Augustine order, at Wittemberg, attracted the notice of the Roman court, and led the way to that schism, which has now for nearly three centuries divided the Christian world. And introduced new causes of alienation, discord, and persecution, among the professors of that religion which was intended to inculcate universal peace, charity, and good-will.

Early pro-
 moters of
 literature
 arraign the
 misconduct
 of the
 clergy.

In the fourteenth century, when the human mind began to be emancipated from its long thralldom, one of the first indications of liberty appeared in the bold and presumptuous manner in which the fathers and promoters of literature penetrated into the recesses, and arraigned the conduct of the Roman pontiffs and chief dignitaries of the church. Whatever might have been the crimes of the priesthood, the voice of censure had hitherto been effectually suppressed; and their transactions, like those of the ancient heroes, were buried in eternal silence for want of due celebration. The hardy genius of Dante shrunk not, however, from the dangerous task; and after having met with pope Anastasius in the depths of hell, it is no wonder

Dante.

(a) “—Inhibentes sub excommunicationis, *lata sententiæ*, pœna, omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus, ne in præsentî Concilio gesta et facta sine nostra et dictæ sedis licentiâ speciali, glossare aut interpretari præsumant.” *S. S. Concil.* tom. xiv. p. 335.

that he represents the church as sunk under the weight of her crimes, and polluted with mire and filth. (a) The milder spirit of Petrarca appears upon this subject to be roused to a yet higher pitch of indignation. In one of his sonnets he assimilates the papal court to Babylon, and declares that he has quitted it for ever, as a place equally deprived of virtue and of shame, the residence of misery and the mother of error; and in another he seems to have exhausted on this theme every epithet of reproach and abhorrence, which his native language could afford. (b) If the genius and cha-

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Petrarca.

(a) *Inferno*, cant. xi. v. vi. &c. also the whole nineteenth canto, where Dante finds Nicholas III. (Orsini) in hell, planted with his heels upwards, waiting till Boniface VIII. arrives, who is to take his place; and who is to be again relieved, in due time, by Clement V. “*Un pastor senza legge.*” Count Bossi, like a faithful son of the church, reminds me that “I have too often confounded together the church and the clergy; that the censures and invectives I have cited are merely personal, and affect only the characters of individuals in the highest stations of the church, and not the church itself. That it is possible the ministers may be vicious, and exposed to censure, or even to contempt, without derogating from the sanctity of religion, and the respect due to the church.” *v. Ital. ed. vol. vi. p. 88.* My reply is, that as the visible church is seen only in its ministers, so the bringing of these into contempt, has generally been justly thought to bring the Roman church itself into contempt; and on this idea the Protestant writers have sometimes endeavoured to maintain charges against the Roman pontiffs, without attending to the extenuations or exculpations of which the subject in some cases admits.*

(b) *v.* The sonnets of Petrarca, beginning,

Dell' empia Babilonia ond' è fuggita,

and

Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piova,

printed in some editions of his works. Should it be contended, that these sonnets relate only to the papal court at Avignon, it will not invalidate the purpose for which they are here cited.

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racter of these two great men secured them whilst living from the effects of ecclesiastical resentment, the increasing celebrity which their works acquired after their death, gave additional weight to the opinions which they had so freely expressed. Even the populace, under the sanction of such authority, began to open their eyes to the abuses of the church, and to doubt of that infallibility which had before been as willingly conceded as it was arrogantly assumed.

Boccaccio
and others
expose the
clergy to
ridicule.

Whilst these and similar productions were calculated to bring the church into odium and disgrace, those of the celebrated Boccaccio were at least equally calculated to expose the priesthood to ridicule and contempt. The debaucheries of the religious, of both sexes, form the most general theme of his very popular and entertaining work. That Boccaccio was the most dangerous adversary of the papal power, cannot, indeed, be doubted. What we violently abhor, we may still justly dread; but that which we have learnt to despise ceases to be an object of terror. To Boccaccio succeeded several writers, whose works, considered in other points of view, are of little importance; but which, as contributing to sap the foundations of the Roman power, and to weaken in the minds of the people the influence and authority of the holy see, have greatly contributed to the emancipation of the human race. Such are the *Facetiæ* of Poggio, and the writings of Burchiello, Pulci, and Franco. To some of these works the newly invented art of printing gave a more general circulation. Of the *Facetiæ*, upwards of ten editions were printed in the last thirty years of the fifteenth

century. They were also published at Antwerp and Leipsic; an evident proof, in that early state of the art of printing, that the work had obtained great celebrity, not only in Italy, but throughout the whole extent of Christendom.(a)

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If the foregoing instances of a rising spirit of opposition to the Roman see were not sufficient to shew the decided hostility which already subsisted between literature and superstition, it would be easy to multiply them from the works of other writers; but it must not be supposed that the animadversions, or the ridicule, of all the learned men of the time, could have brought the priesthood into contempt, if its members had not by their own misconduct afforded substantial grounds for such imputations. That a very general relaxation, not only of ecclesiastical discipline, but of the morals and manners of the clergy had taken place, is a fact, for the proof of which it is not necessary to search beyond the records of the church.

Accusations
against the
clergy just-
ly founded.

(a) The French translator has increased the number of editions of the fifteenth century to twenty, for which he has been reproved by Count Bossi, who asserts, that it would scarcely be possible to find the ten editions which I have mentioned. *Ital. ed.* vol. vi. p. 90. On the contrary, Henke, on the authority of Panzer, asserts, that there were above twenty editions up to the year 1500. *Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 333. The latter author adds, that some wits in England composed satires upon the clergy still earlier than in Italy. "Towards the end of the twelfth century lived Walther Mapes and Nigel Wireker, whose bitter sallies were learnt by heart. The *speculum stultorum* of the latter was printed more than six times up to the year 1500. But Germany, above all, in the last five years preceding the reformation, was very fruitful in compositions of this kind. Hemmerlin, Murner, Brandt, Kaiser-sperg, and others, were favourite and much read authors." *Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 333.*

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itself. Even in the council of the Lateran, Giovanni Francesco Pico, the nephew of the celebrated Pico of Mirandula, delivered an oration under the sanction of that assembly, in which he inveighed, with great bitterness, against the avarice, the luxury, the ambition, and the misconduct of those ecclesiastics who ought to have supported the dignity of the church, not only by their intrinsic merit and virtue, but by the regularity and decency of their deportment. (a) Yet more remarkable are the acknowledgments contained in the decree of the eleventh session of the same council, by which it appears, that the ministers of religion were accustomed not only to live in a state of public concubinage, but even to derive a part of their emoluments from permitting to others a conduct similar to that in which they themselves indulged. (b)

Attempts
made to re-
strain the
freedom of
publication.

The dangerous consequences that would inevitably result from so full an exposure of the misconduct and crimes of the clergy were early perceived. But instead of applying the only radical and effectual remedy to the evil, by introducing a reformation in their morals and their lives, the pontiffs and cardinals of the church thought it more expedient to endeavour to silence reproach by severe denunciations and exemplary punishment. During the pontificate of Sixtus IV. regulations

(a) This piece is given in the Appendix, No. CXLVI.

(b) "Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam habentes, pecuniarios quæstus a concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patientes eos in tali fœditate sordescere, sub pœna maledictionis æternæ præcipimus, ne deinceps sub pacto, compositione, aut spe alterius quæstus, talia quovis modo tolerant, aut dissimulent." *S. S. Concil.* tom. xiv. p. 302.

were established for preventing the printing of any work, except such as was previously licensed by an officer appointed for that purpose; and in the tenth session of the council of Lateran, it was decreed, that no one, under the penalty of excommunication, should dare to publish any new work without the approbation either of the ordinary jurisdiction of the place, or of the holy inquisition; injunctions which clearly demonstrate, that the promulgation of such works was supposed to have a powerful tendency towards alienating the minds of the people from the Roman see; although it may well be doubted, whether the coercive measures adopted to prevent their dispersion, did not increase the evil which they were intended to correct.

The important schism which occurred at this period was also preceded, and perhaps in some degree promoted, by another circumstance not hitherto explicitly noticed. With the restoration of ancient learning, the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, and the mythology of the pagan world, were again revived. In almost all the universities and public schools of Italy, the studies of divinity and ecclesiastical jurisprudence were rivalled by, or intermixed with, the acquirements of poetry and classical literature. In proportion as the beauties of style displayed by the authors of antiquity began to be perceived, the Italian scholars rejected as barbarous the latinity of the middle ages, and in all their compositions attempted to emulate those elegancies which they had learnt to admire. The abstruse mysteries and peculiar dogmas of the Christian faith were elucidated, or en-

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Effects of
the revival
of literature
on the esta-
blished re-
ligion.

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 XV. **and even the divine persons of the Trinity and the**

Holy Virgin were identified with the divinities of
 A. D. 1517. **ancient Greece and Rome. The Father was de-**
 A. Æt. 42. **nominated Jove, or Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*; the**
 A. Pont. V. **Son, Apollo, or *Æsculapius*; and the Virgin, Diana.**
Of the great extent to which this extraordinary
practice was carried, a competent idea may be
formed, from the specimen given by Erasmus of a
sermon at which he was himself present, and which
was preached before Julius II., and the cardinals
and prelates of his court. (a) The subject of the
discourse was the sufferings and death of Christ.
The orator commenced with an eulogium on the
pope, whom he designated as Jove, and repre-
sented as vibrating in his omnipotent right hand
the inevitable lightning, and regulating the con-
cerns of the universe by his nod. In adverting to
the death of Christ, he reminded his audience of
the examples of the Decii and of Curtius, who for
the safety of their country devoted themselves to
the infernal gods; nor did he omit to mention with
due honor Cecrops, Menæcius, Iphigenia, and
others who preferred the welfare of their country
to their own existence. In moving his audience
to compassionate the fate of the great author of
their religion, he reminded them that the ancients
had immortalized their heroes and benefactors by
erecting statues to their memory, or decreeing to
them divine honors; whilst the ingratitude of the
Jews had treated with every degree of ignominy
the Saviour of mankind, and finally doomed him
to the cross. The death of Christ was then com-

(a) *Erasmi Ciceronianus*, p. 43. Ed. Tolosa, 1620.

pared with that of other excellent and innocent men who had suffered for the public benefit, and reminded the orator of Socrates and of Phocion, who without being guilty of any crime, were compelled to perish by the fatal draught; of Epaminondas, who after all his glorious deeds was reduced to the necessity of defending himself as a criminal; of Scipio, who was rewarded for his incalculable services by exile; and of Aristides, who was compelled to relinquish his country because he had been dignified with the title of the just. (a)

When such was the conduct of the public preachers of religion, it can excite no surprise that Pontano, Sanazzaro, and other distinguished Latin writers of the times, should have admitted throughout all their poetical works, as well on sacred subjects as profane, a constant reference to the mythology of the pagan world; or that Marullus should have written a series of hymns, addressed, with every sentiment of piety and veneration, to the deities of ancient Greece and Rome. (b)

The unfavourable effect which these circumstances must have produced, as well on the minds of the populace, as on the great scholars and dignified ecclesiastics of the time, may readily be conceived; but the injury thus done to the cause of the Romish religion by the mixture of paganism, was, perhaps, yet inferior to that which was occa-

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And of the study of the Platonic philosophy.

(a) *Erasmii Ciceronianus*, pp. 38, 39, 40.

(b) "This taste of the age had a perceptible influence, even upon the style of the official documents which Bembo drew up for Leo X. It avoided many modern Latin expressions, which are become usual in ecclesiastical language, and employed in their stead others of genuine Roman diction, which referred to heathen religious notions and customs." *Henke, Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 337.*

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sioned by the revival of the Platonic Philosophy; the doctrines of which were, at this period, embraced by many persons of great rank and learning, with peculiar earnestness. Besides the various systems of ethics, physics, and metaphysics, which may be traced in the writings of Plato and his followers, they also contain a system of theology, differing, as may be expected, in many important points from that of the Romish church. As opposed to the Christian idea of the Trinity, the Platonists assert the notion of pure theism, expressly maintaining the unity of the divine Being. Instead of the rewards of heaven, and the punishments of hell, the human soul is represented by them as having been united with imperfect matter, and placed here in a state of probation; where, by constant struggling to rise above the passions of sense, it is at length disengaged from its degrading combination, and restored to its original splendour. Even in admitting the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the followers of Plato differ greatly from the received opinions of the Christian church. With the former, the Soul is a portion of the Divinity himself. According to the latter, it is a distinct and peculiar being, the object of punishment or reward. The labours of Marsilio Ficino, of Pico of Mirandula, of his nephew Gian Francesco, of Girolamo Benivieni, and others, had contributed to diffuse these doctrines among the learned and polite; but the great patron, and perhaps the most powerful advocate of this sect was Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of the pontiff, whose writings contain frequent allusions to the refined notions of the Platonists, and whose pieces

on religious subjects, instead of conforming to the dogmas of the church, are evidently founded on, and greatly illustrate, the principles of this theology. (a)

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Restraints
imposed by
the church
on philoso-
phical
studies.

As the opinions of these modern Platonists were, however, originally adopted only by speculative men, who had the discretion not to attempt the formation of an ostensible sect, they were not only tolerated, but considered as favourable to many of the more mysterious doctrines of the Christian faith. A great number of persons, of considerable talents and learning, became the avowed teachers of these opinions, and the inculcation of them was established, as a branch of education, in almost every university in Italy. Even the supreme pontiff was himself supposed to be more favourable to them than to those sciences which, it has been observed, would better have become his dignity and his character. The scepticism and indifference which were thus introduced, relaxed in a great degree the severity of ecclesiastical discipline, and afforded a wider scope for those inquiries, the result of which was so injurious to the interests of the Roman church. The danger, however, became at length too evident to remain unnoticed, and in the eighth session of the council of Lateran, held under Leo X. it was declared by a solemn decree, that the soul of man is immortal, and that different bodies are not actuated by a

(a) This will appear from the admirable *LAUDE*, or *Hymn*, of Lorenzo de' Medici, given in the Appendix. Of this piece a translation is also there attempted; which is, however, very inadequate to convey to the English reader a full idea of the majestic grandeur and profound piety of the original. v. App. No. CXLVII.

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portion of the same soul, but that each has a soul peculiar to itself. It was also ordered, that all persons professing to teach the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, should explain in what respects the same differed from the established faith, and particularly as to the immortality and the unity of the soul, the eternity of the world, and similar subjects; and should endeavour to inculcate the truths of religion, and invalidate the objections which might be raised against them, to the utmost of their power. In the same session it was also decreed, that no person intended for sacred orders should devote more than five years to the studies of poetry and philosophy; but, that at the end of that period, he should diligently apply himself to the sciences of theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence; in order that he might be enabled, thereby, to correct the errors which he might have imbibed from his former pursuits. (a)

General
spirit of
inquiry.

Whatever might have been the effect of these and similar precautions, had they been early adopted and vigilantly enforced, they were now too late. A general spirit of inquiry and dissatisfaction had already diffused itself throughout all Christendom; and a proper opportunity alone was wanting to call it forth and direct it to some certain point. With the causes before stated, as having contributed to excite this spirit, and which appear not to have been observed, or sufficiently insisted on, by former writers, many others undoubtedly concurred. Among these may be enu-

(a) “ — ut in his sanctis et utilibus professionibus Sacerdotes Domini inveniant, unde infectas Philosophiæ et poesis radices purgare et sanare valeant.” *S. S. Concilia*, tom. xiv. p. 188.

merated the long schism of the church of Rome in the fourteenth century, the misconduct of Alexander VI. and of Julius II., the usurpations and encroachments of the clergy on the rights of the laity, the venality of the Roman court; and above all, perhaps, the general progress of liberal studies, and the happy invention of the art of printing.^(a) It would indeed be absurd to suppose, that without some powerful predisposing circumstances, the efforts of an obscure individual could have effected so important a revolution in the ecclesiastical world. But if Luther did not contribute all the materials of the immense blaze which now burst forth, he certainly applied the spark which called them into activity; nor could the great work of reformation have been intrusted to a more unconquerable spirit or a more intrepid heart.

The immediate occasion of this grand dissension has been generally attributed, by the protestant writers, to the misconduct and rapacity of Leo X., whose unbounded extravagance in the gratification of his taste for luxury, magnificence, and expense, as well as his liberality in promoting works of genius and of art, had exhausted the pontifical treasury, and induced him to have recourse to new methods for its replenishment. On the contrary, the adherents to the ancient discipline, anxious for the honour of the church, in the person of its chief minister, have endeavoured to shew that Leo had much more commendable

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Promulga-
tion of in-
dulgences.

(a) These more obvious causes of the reformation are fully enlarged upon by Fra. Paolo and other writers, and particularly by Dr. Robertson in his History of Charles V. book ii.

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objects in view ; and that the real motive of soliciting the aid of the Christian world by the sale of indulgences, was for the purpose avowed in the brief itself, the completion of the immense fabric of St. Peter's, begun on so magnificent a scale by Julius II. That this was an object of his unremitting attention during the whole of his pontificate, appears, indeed, from authentic documents ; and the astonishing expenses thus incurred had certainly contributed, with other causes before noticed, to increase the necessity of further supplies. (a) The grant, by the pontiff, of a portion of the profits to arise by the sale of indulgences to his sister Maddalena, asserted by Guicciardini and Fra. Paolo, as it would have convicted the pope of a direct and sacrilegious misapplication of the revenues of the church, has been the subject of particular examination by a Roman prelate, who had the custody of the papal archives, and who has positively asserted the falsity of this pretended donation ; of which no memorial whatever appears in the records of that period. (b) That

(a) " Naturalem ergo propensionem ad omnia magnifica exequenda secutus, ædificationem superbam Basilicæ S. Petri, a prædecessore Julio II. inchoatam, absolvere moliebatur ; sed exhauserat ærarium immodicis in omnis generis res splendidas sumtibus, qui potentissimo orbis Monarchæ potius, quam Vicario illius conveniebant, cujus regnum non est de hoc mundo." *Maimburg, Hist. Lutheranismi. ap. Seckendorf, Commentar. de Lutheranismi. lib. i. sect. v. p. 11. Ed. Lipsiæ, 1694. fo.*

(b) Felice Contelori, who wrote an express treatise on this subject, cited by Pallavicini, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 54. Ed. Rom. 1664. 4°.* Mr. Henke has observed, that " archives were not likely to give any information respecting the fact so positively asserted by *Guicciardini* and *Fra. Paolo* ;" and this he has followed up by a long note, the tendency of which is

there was any degree of novelty in the method adopted by Leo, of obtaining a temporary aid to the revenues of the church by the dispensation of indulgences, may be denied with still greater confidence; it being certain, that these measures had been resorted to as early as the year 1100, when Urban II. granted a plenary indulgence and remission of sins to all such persons as should join in the crusades, to liberate the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidels. Hence it became customary to grant them also to such, as without adventuring in their own persons, should provide a soldier for these expeditions; and from this origin, the transition was easy to any other purpose which the Roman church had in view.

In admitting, however, that Leo did not in this instance exceed the acknowledged limits of his authority, there is good reason to suppose that he did not sufficiently provide against the enormities and abuses to which the distribution of these indulgences was likely to give rise; and that his commissaries, Arcimboldo and Tetzal, who under the authority of Albert of Brandenburgh, elector of Mentz, were intrusted with this critical employ, not only converted it to their own emolument, but by employing ignorant monks of loose lives and abandoned manners, brought the dispensations and indulgences of the church, and even the church itself and the supreme pontiff, into discredit and

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Impolicy of
this mea-
sure.

to implicate the pontiff in this act of misapplication of the property of the church; but as his opinion is founded rather on circumstances in the character and conduct of the pontiff, and the times, than upon any additional evidence of the *fact*, I shall not engage further in the debate, but refer the reader to the passage in *Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 341.*

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disgrace.(a) It must also be allowed; that if the measures thus adopted by Leo, intrinsically considered, afford no very serious imputation on his public or private character, the time at which he resorted to such an expedient is no additional proof of that prudence and that sagacity which all parties have so liberally conceded to him. After the efforts which had been made towards the improvement of the human mind, and to which Leo had himself so powerfully contributed, he ought to have been aware, that those gross pretensions to the exercise of divine powers, which had imposed on the credulity of the middle ages, were no longer likely to be tolerated. It is, indeed, very remarkable, that Luther himself, who was an excellent scholar, and well acquainted with the writings of the ancient philosophers, was a warm advocate of those very doctrines which Leo and his progenitors had introduced and encouraged,

(a) "Pudet referre," says Fabroni, speaking of Tetzal, "quæ ipse et dixit, et fecit, quasi Legatus e cælo missus fuisset ad quod libet piaculum expiandum atque purgandum." *Leonis X. vita*, p. 182. The reformed writers accuse Leo X. of having exceeded all his predecessors in his rapacity upon this occasion. "On ne peut pas dire que Jules II. qu'Alexandre VI. ou qu'aucun autre de ses predecesseurs fût allé plus loin à cet égard; et je ne sai si les Quêteurs, qui sous l'inspection de son Nonce furent employés au recouvrement des déniers, n'effacèrent pas, par leur excès, tous les desordres de ceux qui avoient fait avant eux le même métier." *v. Cha. Chais, Lettres historiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*, tom. iii. p. 707. *Ed. La Haye, 1751.* Mr. Henke has cited numerous other instances of the arrogance, rapacity, and blasphemy of Tetzal and his associates, on the authority of German authors. If the reader should be of opinion that the scandalous and abominable nature of such a traffic stands in need of further proof, he may find it abundantly in Mr. Henke's annotations on the above passage. *Germ. Ed. vol. ii. p. 344.*

and that he publicly supported the opinions of Plato as opposed to those of Aristotle; (a) but probably Leo did not suspect, that the inhabitants of a remote part of Saxony had attained a degree of illumination, which he considered as peculiar to a few men of eminence and learning in Italy. As all authority both civil and ecclesiastical is founded merely on opinion, regard must be had by those in power to the character and spirit of the times; a want of due attention to this important maxim brought Charles I. to the scaffold, and overturned no inconsiderable portion of the long established fabric of the Roman church.

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The first measures adopted by Luther, (b) who was then a young doctor of theology, and a preacher in the city of Wittemberg, in opposing the sale, or, as it was more decently called, the promulgation of indulgences, was the cautioning his hearers against the imposition attempted to be practised on their credulity; in which he professes, that so

Luther opposes the sale of indulgences.

(a) “Esercitò (Lutero) allo stesso tempo la sua intemperanza di contradire ciò che gli altri più riveriscono nella Filosofia; ponendo molte conclusioni, sì generali, come particolari, in sommo dispregio d’Aristotile; ed antepoendo alle sue dottrine quelle d’Anassagora, di Pitagora, e di Platone.” *Pallav. Concil. di Trento*, p. 69.

(b) He was born at Isleben, in the county of Mansfeld, on the tenth day of November, 1483. His name, in his native language, was *Lutter*, which afforded some one of his numerous adversaries a subject for the following lines, more remarkable for their scurrility than their wit.

“Germanis *Lutter* Scurra est, est Latro Bohemis,
Ergo quid est *Lutter*? scurra latroque simul.”

“*Lotter* has, perhaps, in some German dialects that signification. Our hero was properly denominated *Lüder*, *Luder*.” *Henke, Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 347.

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far from thinking that he should incur reproof, he expected to have found himself warmly patronised by the pope, who had in his decretals explicitly condemned the indecent rapacity of the collectors. On the same subject he addressed a letter to Albert of Brandenburg, elector of Mentz, (a) apprizing him of the consequences likely to result from the scandalous sale of indulgences, and requesting his interference in preventing them. (b) These remonstrances were, however, disregarded; nor was it likely that they would produce on the elector the effect intended, as he had stipulated with the pope, that he should retain one half of the income derived from indulgences for his own use; a circumstance with which Luther was not at that time acquainted. (c) Finding these measures ineffectual, he published ninety-five brief propositions, which he had read in the great church at Wittemberg, on the eve of All Saints, in the year 1517, (d) the chief object of which was to shew,

(a) “ Igitur cum anno 1517, indulgentiæ in his regionibus venderentur (promulgarentur volui dicere) turpissimo quæstu, ego tum eram Concionator, juvenis (ut dicitur) Doctor Theologiæ, et cœpi dissuadere populis, et eos dehortari ne indulgentiariorum clamoribus aurem præberent, habere eos meliora quæ facerent, et in iis certus mihi videbar me habiturum patronum Papam, cujus fiducia tum fortiter nitebar, qui in suis Decretis clarissime damnat quæstorum, (ita vocat Indulgentiarioros prædicatores) immodestiam.” *Lutheri, præf. ad Op. Lat. tom. i. ed. Jenæ, 1612.*

(b) v. Appendix, No. CXLVIII.

(c) “ Nesciebam tamen cujus usibus cederet pecunia, sed interim libellus edebatur sub insignibus Magdeburgensis Episcopi, quo quæstoribus predicatio illa demandabatur.” *Lutheri, contra Henricum Ducem Brunsvicensem, Apologia. ap. Seckend. Comment. lib. i. sec. vii. p. 15.*

(d) To these propositions he gave the following title: “ AMORE ET STUDIO ELUCIDANDÆ VERITATIS, *Hæc subscripta Themata dis-*

that the pope hath power to remit no other penalties than such as he hath power to impose, (a) and that every truly penitent Christian is released from his offences without the formality of an absolution. (b) Adverting to the pretext that the monies received were intended for the purpose of erecting and completing the church of St. Peter, Luther observed that the pope, out of his unbounded wealth, might if he chose finish it himself; and that he ought rather to sell the church to succour the distresses of those who were called upon to contribute, than to erect it with the flesh and blood of those committed to his charge. (c) These bold opinions were, however, rendered less offensive by the form in which they were expressed, as subjects of doubt rather than of positive assertion, as well as by the express avowal of the author, that he was ready on all occasions to submit himself and his opinions to the decision of the holy church; but at the same time he not only printed and dispersed his propositions throughout all Germany, but continued to enforce by his preaching

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putabuntur Wittembergæ, Præsidente R. P. Martino Luthero, Eremitano Augustiniano, Artium et Theologiæ Magistro, ejusdem ibidem ordinario Lectore. Quare petit ut qui non possunt verbis præsentes, nobiscum disceptare, agant id literis absentes. In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen. M.D.XVII."

(a) *Prop. 5.* "Papa non vult nec potest ullas pœnas remittere, præter eas quas arbitrio vel suo, vel canonum, imposuit."

(b) *Prop. 37.* "Quilibet verus Christianus, sive vivus, sive mortuus, habet participationem omnium bonorum Christi et Ecclesiæ, etiam sine literis veniarum a Deo sibi datam."

(c) *Prop. 86.* "Cur papa, cujus opes hodie sunt opulentissimis Crassis crassiores, non de suis pecuniis magis, quam pauperum fidelium, struit unam tantummodo Basilicam S. Petri?" *et v. Prop. pp. 50, 51.*

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 XV. his pen.

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They are
 defended
 by Tetzal.

No sooner had the propositions of Luther found their way to Franckfort, than John Tetzal, the dominican monk who had been intrusted by the elector of Mentz as his principal agent in the promulgation of indulgences, and who then executed the office of inquisitor in that place, endeavoured to counteract their effects; first, by publishing a set of counter propositions by way of reply, (a) and next, by burning those of Luther in public. These violent proceedings only served to excite an equal degree of violence in the friends of Luther at Wittenberg, who having collected together the publication of Tetzal, committed to the flames eight hundred copies in the public square of that city; a circumstance which Luther had the moderation to regret, and which he asserts occurred without his knowledge, or even that of the duke and the magistrates of the place. (b)

By Eccius.

The brief animadversions of Johannes Eccius, vice chancellor of Ingoldstadt, as they consisted rather of reproaches and abuse than of argument, so far from tending to convince the adherents to Luther of their error, failed even in obtaining the approbation of his adversaries; many of whom

(a) Entitled as follows: “*QUO VERITAS PATEAT, ERRORESQUE SUPPRIMANTUR, Redditaque ratione, contra Catholicam veritatem objecta solvantur, Frater Johannes Tetzal, ordinis Prædicatorum, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaureus, ac hæreticæ pravitatis Inquisitor, subscriptas Positiones sustinebit in florentissimo studio Franckfordensi, cis Oderam. Ad laudem Dei, pro fidei Catholicæ defensione, obque sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ honorem.*”

(b) *Maimb. Sect. xii. ap. Seckend. et addit. lib. i. sec. xii. pp. 24, 25.*

have acknowledged that they were rather calculated to increase, than to remedy the evils which they were intended to prevent. Another opponent to Luther appeared in Silvestro Prierio, master of the apostolic palace, but this officer, a part of whose duty it was to license the publication of books, could not divest himself of his professional importance; and, instead of answering the arguments of Luther, thought it sufficient to assert that they were heretical. (a) The reply of Luther to this work produced another publication from Prierio, in which he incautiously exalted the authority of the pope above both the councils and the canons of the church, and affirmed that the whole force of the sacred writings depended on his authority. This was more than the patience of Luther could support. In a short address to his readers, he rudely asserts that the book of Prierio is such a compound of lies and blasphemies that it can only be the work of the devil; and that if the pope and cardinals countenance such doctrines Rome must be the seat of Antichrist. (b)

These disputations were regarded by Leo without any great apprehensions; and, perhaps, he might derive some amusement from the violence of the contending parties. Nor would this bring upon him the charge of either levity or inattention, for it can scarcely be allowed that he had hitherto any serious cause of alarm. After having just escaped

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A. D. 1517.
A. Æt. 42.
A. Pont. V.
And by
Prierio.

Leo inclined to temperate measures.

1518.

(a) *Pallavicino, Concil. di Trento. cap. 6. p. 65.*

(b) "Epitomen, seu (ut Sylvestraliter græcissem) Epitoma responsionis ad M. Lutherum edidit, tot tantisque blasphemiiis a capite ad pedes usque refertum, ut in medio Tartaro, ab ipsomet Satana editum libellum existimem." *Luth. op. vol. i. p. 54. b.*

CHAP. with his life, from the machinations of the college of
 XV. cardinals, it is not surprising that he gave himself
 A. D. 1518. little concern at the proceedings of Luther in Ger-
 A. Æt. 43. many, or that he rejoiced that the danger, what-
 A. Pont. VI. ever it might be, was at least removed to a greater
 distance. "We may now," said he, "live in quiet,
 for the axe is taken from the root, and applied to
 the branches."(a) In fact, the church was at this
 period in its greatest credit and respectability.
 The personal character of the pontiff stood high
 throughout all Europe. He was surrounded at
 home, and represented abroad, by men of the
 greatest eminence. The sovereigns of Christen-
 dom vied with each other in manifesting their obe-
 dience to the holy see; even Luther himself had
 written to the pope in the most respectful terms,
 transmitting to him, under the title of *Resolutiones*,
 a full explanation of his propositions, submitting
 not only his writings, but his life to his disposal,
 and declaring that he would regard whatever pro-
 ceeded from him as delivered by Christ himself. (b)
 Under such circumstances, how was it possible for
 Leo, unless he had been endowed with a greater
 portion of the prophetic spirit than had been
 conferred on any of his predecessors, to foresee
 that the efforts of an obscure monk, in a corner of

(a) "Oramai possiamo viver sicuri; perchè la scure non è più alle barbe, ma è ita a rami." *Segni, Storie Fior.* lib. iv. *Fabr. Leon. X. adnot. 55.* Bandello, in the preface to one of his novels, (*Parte iii. Nov. 25.*) informs us, that Leo X. was blamed, because, when Silvestro Prierio pointed out to him the heresies in the works of Martin Luther, he coldly observed, that *Luther was a man of talents, and that these were only the squabbles of monks.* "Che Fra Martino aveva un bellissimo ingegno, & che coteste erano invidie fratesche."

(b) v. Appendix, No. CXLIX.

Germany, would effect a schism in the hierarchy which would detach from its obedience to the Roman see one half of the Christian world? When, however, Leo found his interference necessary, his first impulse was rather to sooth and pacify Luther, than to irritate him by severity to further acts of disobedience; for which purpose he wrote to John Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustines, directing him to endeavour to reconcile his refractory brother by admonitory letters, written by some persons of integrity and good sense, which he did not doubt would soon extinguish the newly-kindled flame. The effect which might have been produced on the mind of Luther by the moderation of the pontiff was, however, counteracted by the violence and intemperance of the interested zealots who undertook to defend the cause of the church; and who also, as has been conjectured by more judicious writers, by prematurely representing Luther as a heretic, forced him at length to become one. (a) The scholastic disputations, or dogmatic assertions of Tetzels, Eccius, and Prierio, were ill calculated to oppose the strong reasonings on which Luther relied in his dissent; (b) but if they did not discredit his doctrines by their arguments, they exasperated his temper by their abuse,

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A. Æt. 43.
A. Pont. VI.

(a) "Forse i contraddittori, col dichiararlo Eretico prima del tempo, il fecero diventare." *Pallav. Concil. di Trento*. p. 65. Erasmus favours the same opinion, when, speaking of Luther, he says, "Qui nunc bellando, bellator factus est." *Epist.* lib. xxi. ep. vii.

(b) Fabróni candidly owns that the writings of Luther's opponents were not likely to oppose his progress. "Non valere eorum scholasticæ disputationes semina errorum non in Saxoniam modo, sed et in aliis Germaniæ provinciis extinguere." *Vita Leon. X.* p. 133. *et v. Erasmi. Ep.* lib. xix. ep. 107.

CHAP. to such a degree, that he was no longer satisfied
 XV. with defending victoriously the ground which he
 A. D. 1518. had already assumed, but carrying the war into the
 A. Æt. 43. precincts of his adversaries, began with an unspar-
 A. Pont. VI. ing hand to lay waste all that seemed to oppose
 his course.

But whatever might have been the moderation or the negligence of the pontiff, who from one or the other of these causes was certainly not disposed to use severity, (a) he was not long permitted to regard these proceedings with indifference. The effect produced in Germany by the writings of Luther had already excited great alarm among the faithful adherents to the church. His opinions were espoused by many men of acknowledged integrity and learning, and several persons of high rank had manifested a partiality to his cause. Among the latter was his sovereign, Frederick, elector of Saxony, a prince of great personal worth, who not only tolerated Luther in his dominions, but was strongly disposed to protect him against the attacks of his adversaries. These daring innovations at length attracted the notice of the emperor elect Maximilian, who at a diet held at Augsburg, in the year 1518, inveighed against the promoters of them, and afterwards addressed a letter to the pope, requiring his immediate interference, and promising to give a full effect throughout his dominions to all such measures as the head of the

The emperor Maximilian calls on the pope to interfere.

(a) “ Multorum gravium & prudentum judicio, videbatur res feliciorem exitum habitura, si per graves, doctos, ac sedatos viros, majore moderatione, minore sævitia fuisset acta; hoc est, si Leo Papa maluisset, hac in re, suam sequi naturam, quam aliorum affectibus indulgere.” *Erasmii Ep. lib. xiv. ep. i.*

church should think proper to adopt. (a) Before the arrival of this letter, Leo had, however, by the means of Girolamo de Genutiis, auditor of the chamber and bishop of Ascula, addressed a monitory to Luther, commanding him to appear at Rome within the space of sixty days, and defend himself from the imputations charged against him in respect of his doctrines. (b) But after the pope had been thus reminded of his duty by a secular prince, he thought it advisable to resort to more efficacious measures; and without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days, he sent instructions to Tomaso de Vio, cardinal of Gaeta, his legate at the imperial court, to call Luther personally before him, and in case he should persist in his heretical opinions, to detain him until he should receive further orders from Rome respecting him. (c) Of these hasty and inconsistent proceedings Luther complained with apparent justice; alleging, that instead of sixty days, only sixteen had intervened between the date of the monitory and that of the brief to the cardinal of Gaeta; and that he had not

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A. D. 1518.
A. Æt. 43.
A. Pont. VI.
Leo cites
Luther to
appear at
Rome.

(a) This letter is dated the fifth of August, 1518, v. Appendix, No. CL. Pallavicini, (*Storia del Conc. di Trento*, lib. i. cap. vi. p. 66.) accuses Fra Paolo of having intentionally omitted to notice this letter, which he considers as a refutation of the common notion that Leo had proceeded against Luther with too much haste and severity; but although the letter is of too important a nature to be overlooked in a narrative of these transactions, yet it certainly appears that proceedings had been commenced against Luther before its arrival at Rome, and that Maimburg is right in asserting that the citation of Luther was issued prior to the receipt of the letter by the pope. *Maimb. ap. Seckendorff. Comm. de Lutheranism.* lib. i. sec. xvi. p. 41.

(b) This monitory was dated the seventh of August, 1518.

(c) v. Appendix, No. CLI.

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even had notice of the monitory before he was thus condemned. (a) The letter to the cardinal of Gaeta was accompanied by another from Leo to the elector of Saxony, informing him that he had sent instructions to the cardinal how to proceed in this important business; and exhorting the elector to submit in a matter of an ecclesiastical nature to the suggestions of the cardinal, and use his endeavours, if required, that Luther should be delivered up to him to be sent to Rome; at the same time assuring him that if Luther was found innocent he should return home in safety; and that the pontiff was mercifully inclined and would not refuse his pardon to a sincere penitent. (b)

Luther obtains a hearing in Germany.

Luther now found himself under considerable difficulties. On an open resistance of the pontifical authority he had not yet perhaps fully resolved; and the avowal of such an act of disobedience would infallibly deprive him of the support of a considerable part of his friends, who in opposing the abuses of the Roman court had not yet deter-

(a) “ — Ultimo et omnium suavissimum. Breve hoc datum est xxiii. Augusti, Ego autem citatus et monitus fui vii. Augusti, et sic intra datum brevis & citationem cucurrerunt 16 dies. Calculum pone, Lector, et invenies Dominum Hieronymum Episcopum Asculensem, vel ante mihi insinuatam Citationem, aut intra decimum sextum diem post insinuatam, processisse contra me, judicasse, damnasse, declarasse. Si nunc quæram, ubi tunc sexaginta illi dies mihi dati in citatione mea, qui inceperunt a vii. Augusti, finiebantur autem circiter vii. Octobris? Est iste mos et stylus Romanæ Curiae, ut eadem die citent, moneant, accusent, judicent, damnent, declarent, præsertim tanto spatio absentem et ignorantem? Quid respondebunt, nisi sese oblitos et elleboro purgandos fuisse, quando hoc mendacium adornare parabant.” *Luth. Op. Lat.* tom. i. p. 161.

(b) v. Appendix, No. CLII.

mined on a total separation from the church. On the other hand, to comply with the mandate, and to submit his opinions to the master of the pontifical palace, with whom he had carried on a controversy which had terminated in the most violent abuse, could only lead either to the total sacrifice of his conscience and character, or to his being prematurely associated to the glorious train of martyrs. (a) In this emergency he endeavoured to steer a middle course, and whilst he acknowledged the authority of the pope, entreated that he might be allowed to make his defence before a competent jurisdiction in some part of Germany. His request was enforced by a public letter to Leo X. from the university of Wittemberg, (b) and by the earnest application of the elector of Saxony to the cardinal of Gaeta; in consequence of which, the pope delegated to the cardinal full authority to hear the defence of Luther, and on his retracting his errors with cordial penitence to receive him again into the unity of the church. (c)

Having thus obtained his purpose, in being allowed an opportunity of defending his doctrines without repairing to Rome, Luther undertook his journey to Augsburg, poor and on foot, if we are literally to believe his own narrative. (d) On the

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A. Æt. 43.
A. Pont. VI.

He repairs
to Augs-
burg.

(a) The persons appointed to hear him were his avowed adversaries, the bishop of Ascula and Silvestro Prierio. *v. Maimb. ap. Seckend. sec. xvi. p. 41.*

(b) *v. Appendix, No. CLIII.*

(c) *Pallavicini, Conc. di Trento. lib. i. cap. ix. p. 76.*

(d) "Veni igitur, pedester et pauper, Augustam," &c. *Luth. in præf.* Count Bossi is of opinion, that "if Luther went to Augsburg on foot, it was for his own pleasure, or to give eclat to his cause; as it can scarcely be supposed that in the situation he then

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A. Pont. VI.

eve of his departure on this expedition, so hazardous to himself and so important in its consequences to the christian world, he wrote a short letter to his intimate friend Melancthon, which strongly marks the intrepidity of his character. "I know nothing new or extraordinary here," says he, "except that I am become the subject of conversation throughout the whole city, and that every one wishes to see the man who is to be the victim of such a conflagration. You will act your part properly, as you have always done; and teach the youth intrusted to your care. I go, for you, and for them, to be sacrificed, if it should so please God. I rather choose to perish, and what is more afflicting, to be for ever deprived even of your society, than to retract what I have already justly asserted, or to be the means of affording the stupid adversaries of all liberal studies an opportunity of accomplishing their purpose." (a)

After his arrival at Augsburg, (b) whither he brought recommendatory letters from the elector of Saxony, he remained three days before he had an interview with the cardinal, although frequently summoned by him for that purpose. This he did

stood, at the head of a powerful party, and under the protection of his sovereign, he could have wanted the means of travelling in such manner as he chose." What the motives of Luther might be I have not undertaken to divine, but the words, "*pedester et pauper*," admit of no dispute; and my quoting them will scarcely justify the remark of the annotator, that I have in my frequent citations depended too much on the narrative and representations of Luther. v. *Ital. ed.* vol. vi. p. 120.*

(a) v. Appendix, No. CLIV.

(b) On the 12th day of October, 1518. *Maimb. ap. Seckend.* lib. i. sec. xvi. p. 45.

by the advice of several of his friends, who entreated him not to hazard a meeting until he should be furnished with a safe conduct from the emperor. On the third day, one of the officers of the cardinal called upon him, and requested to know why he had not yet made his appearance; and when Luther explained the reason, adding that he had already applied for a safe-conduct, which he soon hoped to receive, "What!" replied the messenger, "do you think the elector will take up arms in your defence?" Luther replied, "he did not wish to be the cause of it." "If you had the pope and cardinals in your power," said the messenger, "how would you treat them?" "I would shew them," said Luther, "all possible honour and reverence." The Italian snapped his fingers in the manner of his country, and cried *hem*, after which Luther saw no more of him. (a)

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A. Pont. VI.
Interview
between
Luther and
the cardinal
of Gaeta.

The safe-conduct was at length obtained, and was formally communicated by the imperial senate to the cardinal, who, it appears, however, had been consulted by the emperor before he thought proper to grant it. On this important interview depended the event of the reformation. The cardinal was a man of talents and moderation, and was, most probably, really desirous of restoring to the obedience of the church, one who had distinguished himself no less by the abilities which he had shewn in defending his cause, than by the novelty and boldness of his opinions. Hence Luther, on his first visit, was received not only with kind-

(a) These incidents are minutely related by Luther himself in the general preface to his works.

CHAP. **ness, but almost with respect by the cardinal, (a)**
 XV. **who being unwilling to enter into any discussion,**

proposed to him that he should retract his errone-
 A. D. 1518. **ous propositions, and should in future refrain from**
 A. Æt. 43. **asserting such doctrines, or any others, in opposi-**
 A. Pont. VI. **tion to the authority of the church. (b) To this**
Luther replied, that he was not conscious of any
errors; and requested to be informed in what they
were supposed to consist. It might at this junc-
ture have occurred to the cardinal, that between
an open opposition to authority, and a misconcep-
tion of its decisions, there is a very evident dis-
tinction. The answer of Luther might have been
considered as applicable only to the latter; and
the cardinal might have been justified in inferring
that Luther was an obedient son of the church, al-
though he had mistaken its precepts; an error
which he might have left to his own judgment, or
to the future decisions of the church to correct.
By this conduct the great point of supremacy and
infallibility would have been secured; and the
construction of the voluminous and contradictory
dogmas of scriptures, and fathers, and councils,
and popes, would have been referred to future
decision, in which the church might have availed
itself of a thousand resources to retain as much of
its ancient influence as the spirit of the times

(a) "Susceptus fui a Reverendiss. D. Cardinale Legato satis clementer, ac prope reverentius; vir enim est omnibus nominibus alius, quam hi Fratrum venatores robustissimi." *Lutheri op.* vol. i. p. 164.

(b) "Primum, ut ad cor redirem, erratusque meos revocaverem. Deinde, promittere in futurum abstinere ab eisdem. Tertio, et ab omnibus, quibus Ecclesia perturbari possit." *Luth. op.* tom. i. p. 164.

would have allowed. Incautiously, however, the cardinal construed the answer of Luther, not into a submission to the church, but into a vindication of his own doctrines, and immediately objected to him two points on which he had advanced erroneous opinions. The first of these was, *That the spiritual treasure of the church, which it distributed in indulgences, did not consist of the merits of Christ and his saints.*(a) The second, *That in order to obtain the benefit of the sacrament, it was requisite to have an absolute faith in its efficacy.*(b)

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A. Pont. VI.

What further could remain to be said on this occasion? Were the contending parties to try the weapons of controversy, and oppose authority to authority through the immense mass of all that related, or did not relate, to the subject? And, at last, who was to be the umpire between them? Or what could prevent either of the parties from claiming the honour of the victory?(c) The legate

(a) *Lutheri propos.* 58.

(b) *Ib. prop.* 7.

(c) The cardinal maintained, on the authority of the church, "That one drop of the blood of Christ, being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining part that was shed in the garden, and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, and might be distributed by indulgences from the Roman pontiff." Luther, whilst he admitted that the merits of Christ were necessary to salvation, denied that the pope held them, *like money in a chest*; but allowed that he had power to distribute them *by virtue of the keys of St. Peter!* On the second question the Roman church has decided, that a *legal obedience*, or conformity in receiving the sacrament, when combined with *good works*, is sufficient for salvation; but Luther insisted, that the efficacy of the sacraments depended on the degree of *faith* with which they were received; an opinion which the cardinal treated with such ridicule as to raise a laugh among his Italian attendants against Luther. *Luth. op.* tom. i. p. 164. This opinion, of the necessity of *faith* to

CHAP. was not, however, aware of his error; but having
 XV. *cited, on his part, the decisions of the church, and*
 A. D. 1518. in particular, one of the extravagants or decretals
 A. Æt. 43. of Clement VI., called *Unigenitus*, Luther an-
 A. Pont. VI. swered him with such full knowledge, both of the
 tenor of the decree and the commentaries upon it,
 as to convince him that nothing was to be obtained
 by a further controversy. He therefore endea-
 voured to recover the ground which he had lost;
 and with a condescending smile, told Luther, that
 it was not his intention to enter into a dispute with
 him, but paternally to exhort him to disavow his
 errors, and submit himself to the judgment of the
 church. Luther had now felt his superiority, and
 was less inclined to comply with this request, than
 before the interview began. Not choosing, how-
 ever, and perhaps not thinking it safe to avow an
 absolute dissent, he requested further time to de-
 liberate, with which the cardinal having complied,
 he took his leave.

Luther ap-
 peals to
 Leo X.

On the following day, Luther, instead of attend-
 ing on the cardinal, as was expected, to renew the

salvation, was ever afterwards maintained by Luther with great
 firmness; and to such a length did he carry it, "as seemed,
 though perhaps contrary to his intention, to derogate not only
 from the necessity of *good works*, but even from their obligation
 and importance. He would not allow them to be considered either
 as the *conditions*, or the *means*, of salvation, nor even as a prepara-
 tion for receiving it." *v. Maclean, note on Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.*
vol. ii. p. 170. His disciple Amsdorff went still further, and
 maintained, *that good works were an impediment to salvation.* *Mo-*
sheim, vol. ii. p. 172. Luther endeavoured to explain his notion
 of faith and works, by saying, "*Bona opera non faciunt bonum*
virum; sed bonus vir facit bona opera. Mala opera non faciunt
malum virum; sed malus vir facit mala opera." *Seckend. lib. i.*
sect. xxvii. p. 100.

deliberations, made his appearance, accompanied by four imperial senators, a notary and witnesses, and delivered to the cardinal a protest in writing; in which, after recapitulating the proceedings which had already taken place, he declares that he is not conscious of having advanced any thing against the holy scriptures, the ecclesiastical fathers, the decrees of the popes, or right reason; but that all which he has said is catholic, proper, and true. Being, however, a man, and therefore liable to error, he submits himself to the church, and offers himself personally, either there or elsewhere, to adduce the reasons of his belief, and to reply to all objections that may be made against it. (a) The cardinal again adverted to the objection which he had first made on the preceding day; but Luther, in reply, only referred to his protest, and promised to give a further explanation of his tenets in writing. Accordingly he drew up a full statement of his opinions on the points objected to him, with the reason on which they were founded, which he delivered in person on the following day to the cardinal, who affected to treat it as irrelevant to the purpose; (b) although he told him that he should send it to Rome, and still persevered in requiring an implicit assent to the authority of the holy see.

For the purpose of prevailing on Luther to relax in his opposition, the cardinal had recourse to

(a) *Pallavicini, Storia del Concilio di Trento*, cap. ix. p. 79.

(b) Those who are inclined to enter into this ample discussion of the doctrinal points in dispute, between Luther and the cardinal, may consult this document in the works of Luther, tom. i. p. 165, &c.

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A. Æt. 43.
A. Pont. VI.

CHAP. the interference of John Staupitz, vicar-general of
 XV. the Augustines, (a) and Wenceslaus Lincéus, two
 A. D. 1518. of the intimate friends of Luther; by whose per-
 A. Æt. 43. suasions he was induced to address a conciliatory
 A. Pont. VI. letter to the cardinal, in which he acknowledges
 that he has been indiscreet in speaking in disre-
 spectful terms of the supreme pontiffs; and pro-
 mises even to be silent in future respecting indul-
 gences, provided his adversaries were also com-
 pelled to be silent, or were restrained in their
 abuse of him. (b) Conceiving, however, that in his
 appearance and conduct at Augsburg he had now
 shewn a degree of obedience sufficiently dangerous,
 he determined to quit the city. This resolution
 he communicated to the cardinal in another letter,
 written with great temper and moderation, and
 which, with the former, may be admitted as a suf-
 ficient proof, that of the personal conduct of the
 cardinal towards him, he had no just ground of
 complaint. (c) Before his departure, he prepared
 an appeal from Leo X. prejudiced and misled, to
 Leo X. when better informed on the subject; for
 the adoption of which daring measure he excuses
 himself in his last letter to the cardinal, by attri-
 buting it to the hardships of his situation and the

(a) Staupitz was in fact a warm adherent to the cause of Lu-
 ther, and Pallavicini informs us, that it was supposed to have been
 at his instigation that Luther first opposed himself to the promul-
 gation of indulgences: "non misurando il futuro giuoco di quella
 mina ch'egli accendeva." *Pallav. Storia del Conc. di Trento.* lib.
 i. cap. ix. p. 82. That Pallavicini was not mistaken in this con-
 jecture sufficiently appears by a letter from Luther to Staupitz.
v. Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 64. b.

(b) This letter, dated 17th October, is given in the Appendix,
 No. CLV.

(c) r. Appendix, No. CLVI.

advice of his friends. He did not however fail to give directions, that after his departure this appeal should be affixed in the great square of the city; which directions were punctually complied with.

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A. Æt. 43.
A. Pont. VI.

Notwithstanding the disrespect shewn to the cardinal by the abrupt departure of Luther, he did not exercise the powers which had been intrusted to him, by excommunicating Luther and his adherents; but contented himself with writing to the elector of Saxony, expressing his disappointment in the conduct of Luther; and requesting, that if he still persevered in his opposition to the church, the elector would send him to Rome, or at least banish him from his dominions. (a) The reply of the elector, in which was enclosed a long justificatory epistle from Luther, was temperate, but firm; and whilst he expressed his unwillingness to approve of any erroneous doctrines, he refused to condemn Luther before such errors were proved. (b)

The important distinction which seems not to have occurred to the cardinal of Gaeta, was however fully perceived at Rome. To the authority of the church Luther had professed his entire submission; but he had contended that this authority, rightly understood, did not sanction the opinions which he had opposed. The supreme pontiff could not enter into a theological controversy with Luther; but he could declare the sense in which the sacred writings, and the former decrees of the

Papal decree against the opinions of Luther.

(a) As this letter contains the cardinal's account of his various interviews with Luther, it is given in the Appendix, No. CLVII.

(b) v. Appendix, No. CLVIII.

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A. D. 1518.
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A. Pont. VI.

church should be explained. Instead, therefore, of adopting the decisive measure of excommunicating the refractory priest, Leo resolved to put his sincerity to the test, by a step which, if he believed in the infallibility of the church, would afford him an opportunity of returning to his duty; and if not, would compel him to desert the ground which he had hitherto maintained as an obedient member of the church. He therefore published a bull, which bears date the ninth day of November, 1518, by which he declared, in express terms, that the pope, as the successor of St. Peter, and vicar of Christ upon earth, hath an indisputable power of granting indulgences, which will avail as well the living as the dead in purgatory; and that this doctrine is necessary to be embraced by all who are in communion with the church. (a) Luther had now no resource but instant submission or open contumacy, and being thus driven to extremes, his bold genius prompted him to the latter. Instead of repeating his former professions, he now discovered that the Roman pontiff, like other men, might fall into error; and he appealed, by a new instrument, from the authority of Leo X. to that of a general council. (b) The bare mention of such a council is, to the court of Rome, equivalent to a declaration of war; (c) but the important events

Luther appeals from Leo X. to a general council.

(a) *v.* Appendix, No. CLIX.

(b) *v.* Appendix, No. CLX.

(c) Although Luther, in his second appeal, which bears date the 28th day of November, 1518, has not expressly assigned, as a reason for it, the papal bull of the 9th day of the same month; yet it is highly probable that he was sufficiently informed of its purport, or at least was well aware that some measure of the kind would be taken against him; as he expressly states, that "he

which occurred at this period, turned the attention of Europe from theological discussions to political debates; and Luther was suffered, without any great interference from the church of Rome, to proceed in that course of conduct, from which every effort hitherto made to deter him had only served as an encouragement to him to persevere.

The success which Luther experienced is chiefly to be attributed to two circumstances, of which he availed himself with uncommon dexterity, to increase the number of his adherents, and to give respectability to his cause. He was himself a man of considerable learning; and although his chief proficiency was in ecclesiastical and scholastic studies, yet he was not destitute of some acquaintance with polite literature, and was perfectly aware

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Two circumstances which contributed to the success of Luther.

1. He combines his cause with that of the promoters of literature.

hears proceedings are already commenced against him in the Roman court, and that judges are appointed to condemn him," &c. So that there can be no doubt that this declaration of the pope respecting indulgences, compelled Luther to appeal from his authority to that of a general council. The apologists of the Roman See have indeed contended, that the appeal of Luther was not provoked by the bull of Leo X., and Maimburg expressly places the appeal before the bull; but this is sufficiently refuted by the dates of the respective instruments. *v. Maim. ap. Seck. p. 58.* Pallavicini also attempts to invalidate the express assertion of Fra. Paolo, *that the bull gave rise to the appeal*, because, as he says, it must have required a month to send the former from Rome to Germany, (a slow progress in a business of such urgency,) and that it was not published at Lintz till the 13th day of December; but this affords no proof that Luther was not apprised of its contents; and at all events it is sufficient for the present purpose, that it appears from his appeal, that he knew such measures were in agitation. *v. Fra. Paolo. Storia del Concil. Tridentino, lib. i. p. 9. Pallavicini, lib. i. cap. xii. p. 92.* It is with pleasure I add, that Archdeacon Coxe has also fully concurred in the opinion here expressed. *v. Hist. of the House of Austria, vol. i. p. 436, in note.*

CHAP. of the advantages which he should obtain by com-
 XV. bining his own cause with that of the advance-
 A. D. 1518. ment of learning, and thereby securing the favour
 A. Æt. 43. and assistance of the most eminent scholars of the
 A. Pont. VI. time. In the letter already cited, written by him
 to Melancthon, on his leaving Wittemberg to re-
 pair to Augsburg, this object is apparent; and
 many other indications of it appear in his works.
 His friends are always represented by him as the
 friends and patrons of liberal studies; and his ad-
 versaries are stigmatized, in the most unqualified
 terms, as stupid, illiterate, and contemptible. (a)
 Notwithstanding the gravity of his cause, he is at
 some times sarcastically jocular; and his parody
 on the first lines of the Æneid, whilst it shews that
 he was not unacquainted with profane writers,
 contains an additional proof of his endeavours to
 mark his enemies as the enemies of all improve-
 ment. (b) On this account he sought with great
 earnestness, in the commencement of his under-
 taking, to attach Erasmus to his cause, as he had

(a) "Neque enim ignorantiorum Asinum ego vidi," &c. "gaudeo plane me damnatum abs te, tam tenebrososo cerebro," says Luther, of Jac. Hoogstraten, a Dominican inquisitor, who had exhorted the pope to use no other remedies than fire and sword to free the world from such a pest as Luther. *v. Luth. op. vol. i. p. 102. b.*

(b) "*Adversus armatum virum Cochleum.*

Arma virumque cano, Mogani qui nuper ab oris,
 Leucoream, fato stolidus, Saxonaque venit
 Littora, multum ille et furiis vexatus et œstro,
 Vi scelerum, memorem Rasorum cladis ob iram;
 Multa quoque et Satana passus, quo perderet urbem,
 Inferretque malum studiis, genus unde malorum
 Errorumque Patres, atque alti gloria Papæ."

Luth. op. vol. ii. p. 567.

already done Melancthon. (a) And although, by the violence of his proceedings, and the overbearing manner in which he enforced his own peculiar opinions, he afterwards lost, in a great degree, the support of that eminent scholar; yet he has himself acknowledged, that the credit and learning of Erasmus were of no inconsiderable service to him. (b) This attempt to unite the cause of literature with that of reform is also frequently noticed by Erasmus. "I know not how it has happened," says he, "but it is certain that they who first opposed themselves to Luther, were also the enemies of learning; and hence its friends were less adverse to him, lest by assisting his adversaries they should injure their own cause." (c) Erasmus could, however, have been at no loss to know how this was effected, for certainly no one contributed to it in so eminent a degree as himself; as may sufficiently appear from numerous passages in his letters, in which he has most forcibly inculcated these sentiments. (d) Afterwards, indeed, when

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(a) Melancthon, addressing Erasmus, (January, 1519) says, "Martinus Luther studiosissimus nominis tui, per omnia tibi probari cupit." *Eras. Ep. lib. v. ep. 37. p. 339. ed. Lond. 1642.*

(b) "Optarim magnopere ut tuo dono contentus, literas et linguas, sicut hactenus, cum magno fructu et laude fecisti, coleres, ornares, provereres. Quo studio non nihil et mihi servivisti, ut multum tibi me debere fatear; et certe in ea re te veneror et suspicio sincero animo." *Luth. ad. Eras. in op. vol. iii. p. 230.*

(c) *Eras. Ep. Jodoco Jona, lib. xvii. ep. 18. p. 764.*

(d) "Non conquiescent (Lutheri inimici) donec linguas ac bonas literas omnes subverterint." *Eras. Ep. Gerardo Noviomago, lib. xii. ep. 17. p. 604.*

—"Breviter sic agunt, ut non minus lædant optimas literas ac linguas, quam Lutherum." *Eras. Ep. Con. Pentingero, lib. xii. ep. 30. p. 633.*

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the inflexible temper of Luther had given offence to Erasmus, and when, perhaps, the danger of adhering to him had increased, Erasmus endeavoured to frustrate the effects of his former labours, and to convince his friends that the cause of learning, of which he considered himself and Reuchlin as the patrons in Germany, had no connexion whatever with that of Luther. (a) But the opinion was now too deeply impressed on the public mind, and all his efforts served rather to establish than to obliterate it. The advantages which Luther derived from this circumstance are incalculable. His adversaries were treated with derision and contempt; and the public opinion was so strongly in his favour, that his opponents could scarcely find a printer in Germany who would publish their works. (b) Nor is it improbable, that the same reasons which

Erasmus was accused of having laid the egg which Luther hatched. This appears in his letter to Joannes Cæsarius, 7 Kal. Jan. 1524. “Ego peperit ovum, Lutherus exclusit. Mirum verò dictum, Minoritarum istorum, magna que et bona pulte dignum. Ego posui ovum gallinaceum, Lutherus exclusit pullum longe dissimillimum. Nihil miror ab istis ventribus talia dicta proficisci, te demiror cum illis sentire.” *Erasm. Ep. lib. xx. ep. 24. p. 989.*

(a) “Esse video qui, quo magis communirent factionem suam, conati sunt causam bonarum literarum, causam Reuchlini, meamque causam cum Lutheri causa conjungere, cum his nihil sit inter se commune.” *Erasm. Ep. Leo. X. lib. xiv. ep. 5. p. 656.*

“Mihi semper studium fuit Lutheri causam a tua bonarumque literarum causa sejungere, quod ea res et nos vocaret in communem invidiam, et illum ne tantulum quidem sublevaret, sed aliter est visum,” &c. *Erasm. Ep. Joan. Reuchlino, lib. xii. ep. 16. p. 603.*

(b) Erasmus, writing to Henry VIII. from Basle, says, “hic, opinor, nullus est Typographus qui ausit excudere, quod verbulo attingat Lutherum. Contra Pontificem licet scribere quidvis.” *Erasm. Ep. lib. xx. ep. 49. p. 1009.*

attached the most eminent scholars in Germany to the cause of Luther, operated also in Italy to prevent that opposition, which might otherwise have defeated his success, or at least have retarded his progress. For Sadoleti, Bembo, and the rest of the Italian scholars, kept aloof from the contest, unwilling to betray the interests of literature by defending the dogmas of religion; and left the vindication of the church to scholastic disputants, exasperated bigots, and illiterate monks, whose writings, for the most part, injured the cause which they were intended to defend.

The other method adopted by Luther, to increase the number and secure the attachment of his friends, appeared in his continual protestations that he was at all times ready to submit his opinions to the test of reason and scripture, and to the decision of enlightened and unprejudiced judges. Bold, and even sarcastic as his propositions were, he affected to offer them only as questions for disputation, of the truth of which he was not himself, in all cases, fully convinced; and whilst he challenged the strictest inquiry of his adversaries, he deprecated, as unjust and tyrannical, the adoption of any severe measures against him, until his errors were clearly demonstrated. Declarations apparently so just and reasonable gained him many powerful friends. Even his sovereign and great patron, the elector of Saxony, seems to have considered this as a decisive proof of the rectitude of his views. After assuring the cardinal Riario, in a letter which bears the date of August, 1518, that he had not even perused the controversial works of Luther, he adds, " I

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II. He offers
to submit
his opinions
to the test
of reason
and scrip-
ture.

CHAP. am informed, however, that he has always been
 XV. ready to make his appearance before impartial

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and prudent judges, and to defend his doctrines ;
 and that he avows himself willing, on all occasions, to submit to, and embrace those more correct opinions, which may be taught him on the authority of the holy scriptures.”(a) In the axioms of Erasmus, in which he seems to have suggested to Luther some of the leading points on which he ought more particularly to insist, we find the same sentiment repeated. (b) It is also occasionally referred to in the letters of Erasmus, in such a manner as to show that this part of the conduct of Luther had contributed, in a great degree, to secure the favour and concurrence of that eminent scholar. “The papal bulls may have more weight,” says he, “but a book filled with good arguments, derived from the sacred writings, and which pretends to teach only and not to compel, will always be preferred by men of real learning ; for a well-informed mind is easily led by reason, but does not readily submit to authority.”(c) This conduct on the part of Luther, at the same time that it confirmed the attachment of his friends, depressed and injured the cause of his opponents ; who, by declining the challenge, gave rise to suspicions that they were unable to defend by reason those doctrines which they wished to enforce by violence and by threats. Plausible,

(a) *v. Epist. Fred. Ducis Saxon. ad Cardin. S. Georgii, in op. Lutheri, vol. i. p. 160.*

(b) “Ipse videtur omnibus æquis æquum petere, cum offerat se disputationi publicæ, et submittat se iudicibus non suspectis.”
Erasm. Axiom. in Luth. op. vol. ii. p. 314.

(c) *Erasm. Ep. Francisco Crancveldio, lib. xv. ep. 5. p. 690.*

however, as this conduct may appear on the part of Luther, it must be confessed that its success was much beyond what might reasonably have been expected from it; and that it was in fact, little more than a veil thrown over the eyes both of his enemies and his friends. Both parties might, without any extraordinary sagacity, have perceived that between an entire obedience to the decrees of the Roman church, and a direct opposition to them, there is no medium. To doubt the supreme authority of the holy see in matters of faith, to call upon her to defend her doctrines by arguments, to question the rectitude of those opinions which have been silently and respectfully assented to for ages, to assert those of a contrary tenor, to enforce them not only by reason and scripture, but by sarcasm and abuse, and finally to impeach the authority of the church herself, by requiring the dispute to be heard by impartial judges, is to throw off all obedience, and to appear in open rebellion. Could the supreme pontiff lay aside his infallibility, and, surrounded by the venerable college of cardinals, enter into a dispute with a German monk on questions which involved both the spiritual and temporal authority of the holy see? Could the successor of St. Peter betray the interests of his high office, and consent to submit the decision of points of faith to any inferior tribunal? Was it to be tolerated, that an obscure individual should be allowed to range at large through the holy scriptures, the decisions of councils, and the decretals and bulls of two hundred successive pontiffs, in order to convict the church herself of error, and to combat her with her own weapons? If it had

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CHAP. been possible that the pontiff and his advisers
 XV. could have stooped to this humiliation, he must
 A. D. 1518. have appeared to the world as a self-convicted im-
 A. Æt. 43. postor, and the triumph of Luther would have
 A. Pont. VI. been complete. But although the pope and his
 adherents were in no danger of disgracing them-
 selves, by submitting their cause to the test of
 reason and scripture, yet they imprudently suf-
 fered themselves to be discountenanced and re-
 pulsed by the bold attitude and daring approach
 of their adversary; and Luther, individually, for
 a long time balanced the scale against the whole
 Christian world, and at length broke the beam
 which he could not wholly incline in his favour.
 Warmly as the protestant writers have inveighed
 against the arrogance and unbending pride of the
 cardinal of Gaeta, and the other opponents of Lu-
 ther, (a) it is sufficiently clear, that the cause of the
 church was rather injured by the condescension
 and moderation which he experienced, as well as
 by the writers who entered with him into discus-
 sions on contested dogmas and intricate points of
 faith. The first measure adopted by Luther in
 the publication of his propositions at Wittemberg,
 was sufficiently hostile to have justified the pontiff
 in calling upon him for an unqualified submission,
 and in case of refusal or hesitation, to have sepa-
 rated him, as an infected limb, from the body of
 the church. Of the feeble conduct of the Roman

(a) "It was sufficient barely to mention the measures taken by *Cajetan*," (says the learned translator of Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 21.) "to draw Luther anew under the papal yoke, because these measures were indeed nothing more than the wild suggestions of superstition and tyranny, maintained and avowed *with the most frontless impudence.*"

see, both on this and on other occasions, Luther was well aware; and had employed his time to such advantage, that before Leo assailed him with the thunders of the Vatican he was already prepared to obviate their effects; to retort violence for violence, and abuse for abuse. Throughout all his writings, this great reformer has represented his own cause as the cause of truth, of religion, of justice, and of sound learning; and by the skilful management of these topics, his efforts were, in a great degree, crowned with success. Being thus aware of the weapons to which he owed his victory, he was enabled, after he had once established himself in the public opinion, to defend himself against those who presumed to differ from him, as he had before differed from the church of Rome; and the conduct of Luther, in enforcing his own peculiar dogmas, and silencing those who opposed his tenets, may justify the assertion, that if he had been pope instead of Leo X., he would have defended the church against a much more formidable adversary than the monk of Wittemberg.

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1518.

ENCOURAGEMENT given to men of talents at Rome
—*Italian poets—Sanazzaro—Tebaldeo—Bernardo Accolti called L'Unico Aretino—Bembo—Beazzano—Molza—Ariosto—His apologue respecting Leo X.—Effect of his writings on the taste of Europe—Vittoria Colonna—Veronica Gambara—Costanza D'Avalos—Tullia D'Aragona—Gaspara Stampa—Laura Battiferra—La Poesia Bernesca—Francesco Berni—Character of his writings—His Orlando Innamorato—Teofilo Folengi—His Maccaronic poems and other works—Imitators of the ancient classic writers—Trissino—Introduces the Versi Sciolti or Italian blank verse—His Italia Liberata da' Goti—Giovanni Rucellai—His didactic poem Le Api—His tragedy of Oreste—Luigi Alamanni—His poem entitled La Coltivazione—General classification of the Italian writers—The Italian Drama.*

CHAPTER XVI.

THE tranquillity which Italy now enjoyed, and the favour and munificence of the supreme pontiff, at length called forth and expanded those seeds of genius, which although they had been sown by the provident hand of his father at the close of the preceding century, had, under the dark and stormy pontificates of his predecessors, narrowly escaped entire destruction. From the time of the elevation of Leo X. the city of Rome had become the general resort of men of talents and of learning from all parts of Italy; who being attracted, as well by the charms of that literary society which was there to be met with, as by the well known disposition of the pontiff to encourage and reward superior merit, either chose that place as their stationary residence, or paid it long and frequent visits. Nor was it only to the grave and the learned that Rome held forth its attractions. Whoever excelled in any art or accomplishment that could afford amusement; whoever, in short, could render himself either the cause, or the object, of mirth, was certain of receiving at Rome, and even in the pontifical palace, a hearty welcome, and often a splendid reward.

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 Encourage-
 ment given
 to men of
 talents at
 Rome.

In the gay tribe that exist only in the sunshine of prosperity, the poets hold a distinguished rank; but the fountain of Poetry ran at this time in two separate currents, and whilst some of them drank

Italian
 Poets.

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at the Tuscan stream, a still greater number imbibed the pure waters from the Latian spring. In considering the state of polite letters at this period, it will be necessary to keep in view this distinction; and our first attention will therefore be turned towards those writers, who are chiefly known to the present times by their poetical productions in their native tongue.

Sanazzaro.

Among those few men of distinguished talents who, after having ornamented the academy of Naples, had survived the desolation of their country, and whose exertions contributed to the preservation of a true taste in Italian composition, Sanazzáro must not be forgotten. (a) In the course of the preceding pages we have seen him, on several occasions, employing his powers in exciting his countrymen to resist their invaders, or in expressing his indignant sorrow at their subjugation. His Italian compositions seem to have been chiefly produced before the pontificate of Leo X., and it has already been remarked, that the superior applause obtained by Pietro Bembo in his Italian writings, is supposed to have induced Sanazzaro to direct his talents towards the cultivation of the Latin tongue. It may however with justice be observed, that if the Venetian excel the Neapolitan in elegance and correctness of style, yet in vigour of fancy and strength of expression, the latter has generally the advantage. (b) Nor can it be doubted,

(a) *v. Ante*, chap. ii. vol. i. p. 60. Of this eminent man Count Bossi has also given some further particulars, which may be found in *Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 264.

(b) Of this, his seventeenth *Canzone*, in which he laments the obstacles that oppose his attempts to immortalize his name by his writings, may be esteemed a sufficient proof. The reader will find

that if he had persevered in his exertions, and undertaken a work deserving of his talents, he would have established a reputation as an Italian poet, which would scarcely have been excelled by that of any other writer of whom Italy can boast. (a)

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Another surviving member of the Neapolitan academy was Antonio Tebaldeo, of whose writings some specimens have also been given in the foregoing pages. He was a native of Ferrara, born in the year 1463, (b) and educated to the profession of medicine; in which however it is not probable that he made any great proficiency, as it appears that from his youth he had been devoted to the study of poetry, and was accustomed to recite his verses to the music of his lute. A collection of his poems was published by his cousin Jacopo Tebaldeo at Modena, in the year 1499; contrary, as it has been said, to the wishes of the author, who was sensible of their inaccuracies and defects. (c)

Tebaldeo.

this poem in Mr. Mathias's elegant selection of the *Poeti Lirici d' Italia*, vol. i. p. 105.

(a) The Italian poems of Sanazzaro have generally been published with his *Arcadia*, of which there have been numerous editions: of these the most complete and correct are those by Comino, *Padua*, 1723, 4to. and by Remondini, *Venice*, 1752, 8vo.

(b) *Giornale d' Ital.* vol. iii. p. 374.

(c) "Impresso in Modena per Dionysio Bertocho nel anno de la redemptione humana M.CCCC.LXXXVIII. a di XIII. de Maggio. Imperante lo sapientissimo Hercule Duca di Ferrara, Modena, & Regio. in 4to." This edition is dedicated by the editor to the marquis of Mantua. The dissatisfaction of the author is alluded to by Narni, in his poem *Della Morte del Danese*, lib. ii. cant. iv. where he represents Tebaldeo, as,

"Mesto alquanto dell'opra sua prima."

Zeno, Note al Fontan. Bib. Ital. ii. 52.

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It was probably for this reason that he turned his attention to Latin poetry, in which he is acknowledged to have been more successful than in his Italian compositions. (a) Soon after the elevation of Leo X., Tebaldeo took up his residence in Rome, and the pontiff is said to have presented him with a purse of five hundred ducats in return for a Latin epigram in his praise. (b) A more authentic testimony of the high favour which he had obtained with the pontiff, appears in a letter yet preserved from Leo to the canons of Verona, recommending to them one Domizio Pomedelli, a scholar of Tebaldeo, "whom," says he, speaking of the master, "I greatly esteem, both for the proficiency which he has made in useful studies and for his poetical talents." (c) His approbation is also expressed in terms of equal kindness, on recommending Tebaldeo to the office of superintendent of the bridge of Sorga; an employment which probably required no personal attendance, and certainly produced a considerable income, as the pontiff adds, as a reason for his interference, "that it might en-

(a) *Tiraboschi, Storia del Lett. Ital.* vi. ii. 154.

(b) *Giornale d' Ital.* vol. iii. p. 376. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vi. ii. 155.

(c) "Qui quidem Domitius alumnus sit Antonii Thebaldei, quem ego virum propter ejus præstantem in optimarum artium studiis doctrinam, pangendisque carminibus mirificam industriam, unice diligo." *Bemb. Ep. nom. Leon. X.* lib. ix. ep. ii. From the account given of Tebaldeo in the text, and the words *pangendis carminibus*, &c., in the note, Count Bossi has suggested, that he was probably accustomed to recite his verses *all' improvviso*, and that he may therefore be enumerated amongst the first *improvvisatori*, or reciters of extempore verses; an art peculiar to Italy, and which he thinks was also practised by *Accolti*, hereafter mentioned. *v. Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 11. in add. note.*

able Tebaldeo to support himself in affluence.”(a) After the death of Leo X. Tebaldeo continued to reside in Rome, but with his great patron he appears to have lost the means of even a competent support, and was obliged to resort to Bembo, who afforded him a temporary assistance. (b) He lived until the year 1537, and for a considerable time before his death was confined to his bed, “having no other complaint,” as we are informed by one of his friends, “than the loss of his relish for wine. At the same time he poured forth his epigrams with greater profusion than ever, and was surrounded at all hours by his learned friends;” but after the invectives which he had written against the French, some of which we have before had occasion to notice, it may surprise us to hear that he had “become their warm partizan, and an implacable enemy to the emperor.”(c) From the censures of Muratori, who considers Tebaldeo as one of the corrupters of the literary taste of the age, (d)

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(a) *Leo X. P. M. Legato Avinionensi.*

“Antonium Thebaldeum, probum hominem atque in bonarum artium, in primisque poetices studiis, tum nostra, tum Latina lingua facile præstantem virum, multos jam annos unice diligo. Cui cum Portorii munus, quod in ponte Sorgiæ fluminis est Avinionensis dioceseos Legationis tuæ, conferri cupiam, ut eo sese alere ac sustentare liberaliter possit; peto abs te velis, ut homo egregius et excellens, et mihi valde charus eo munere per nos te libente afficiatur. Dat. nonis Aug. Anno secundo, Roma.”

(b) *Bemb. Ep. vol. iii. lib. v. Tirabos. Storia della Lett. Ital. vi. ii. 155.*

(c) “Il Tebaldeo vi si raccomanda. Sta in letto, nè ha altro male che non haver gusto del vino. Fa Epigrammi più che mai; nè gli manca a tutte l'hore compagnia di letterati. E fatto gran Franceze; inimico dell' Imperatore, implacabile.” *Girol. Negro à Marc. Ant. Micheli. Lettere di Princ. vol. iii. p. 38.*

(d) *Muratori, della perfetta Poesia, lib. iv. vol. ii. pp. 302, 303.*

CHAP. he has been defended by several authors, and
 XVI. among the rest by Baruffaldi and Tiraboschi; the

A. D. 1518. latter of whom, although he acknowledges his de-
 A. Æt. 43. fects, asserts his claim to rank among the best
 A. Pont. VI. poets of his time. (a)

Not less celebrated for his poetical effusions, and much more distinguished by his exquisite skill in adapting his verses to the music with which he accompanied them, was Bernardo Accolti of Arezzo, usually called, on account of his excellence in this department, *L'Unico Aretino*. (b) He was one of the sons of Benedetto Accolti, author of the well-known history of the crusades; (c) and his elder brother Pietro Accolti was dignified by Julius II. with the rank of cardinal. In his youth he was

Bernardo
 Accolti,
 called
 L'Unico
 Aretino.

(a) “ Ma questi difetti medesimi son per avventura nel Tebaldeo assai più leggieri che in altri; ed ei perciò a ragione può aver luogo tra' migliori poeti che vivessero a quei tempi.” *Stor. della Let. Ital.* vi. ii. 156. Tebaldeo seems, however, to have foreseen the approaching improvement of the Italian language, and the fate of his own productions, as appears from the following lines:

“ So che molti verranno nell' altra etate,
 Ch' accuseranno i miei rimi e versi,
 Come inornati rigidi e mal tersi,
 E fien le carte mie forse stracciate.”

Dolce, Hist. Gym. Fer. ap. Museum Mazzuchell. vol. i. p. 184.

Of the Italian works of Tebaldeo, no complete collection has, I believe, hitherto been published; although the learned Apostolo Zeno, more than half a century since, indicated the sources from which such an edition might be formed. *v. Note alla Bibl. Ital. di Fontunini*, vol. ii. p. 55.

(b) Ariosto denominates him,

“ Il gran lume Aretin, l'unico Accolti.”

Orl. Fur. cant. xlv. st. 10.

(c) Of Benedetto some account is given in the *Life of Lorenzo de' Med.* vol. i. pp. 89, 90. 6th ed.

a frequent visitor at the court of Urbino, and is enumerated by Castiglione among those eminent men who were accustomed to assemble every evening in the apartments of the duchess, for the enjoyment of literary conversation. (a) On his arrival at Rome in the pontificate of Leo X. he was received with great favour by the pope, who soon afterwards appointed him one of the apostolic secretaries; an employment which conferred both honour and emolument. It has also been asserted, that Leo was so delighted with his uncommon talents, that he conferred on him the duchy of Nepi; (b) and although this has been denied on the testimony of one of the letters of Accolti, in which he complains that he had been divested by Paul III. of the sovereignty of this place, which he had purchased with his own money; yet it is a matter of little importance whether he owed his possessions to the gift of the pope, or purchased them by the aid of his bounty; and in fact, in the letter referred to, he attributes this acquisition, as well to his own merits as to the money disbursed by him. (c) This dominion was afterwards restored to him, it appearing that he was succeeded in it by his illegitimate son Alfonso. (d) Of the asto-

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(a) *Castiglione, Libro del Cortegiano*, lib. i. pp. 26, 27.

(b) “Bernardus Cognomento *Unicus*, omni literarum atque nobilissimarum artium peritia insignis, inter celebres illos ea tempestate Urbinates Academicos ascitus, a Leone X. anno 1520, Nepesis dominatu donatus est. *Vita di Benedetto suo padre in fronte al dialogo de præstantia virorum sui ævi.*” ap. *Mazzuchel. Scrittori d’Ital.* vol. i. p. 66.

(c) *Lettere scritte al Sig. Pietro Aretino*, lib. i. p. 141. ap. *Mazz. Scrittori d’Ital.* vol. i. p. 66.

(d) *Mazzuch. Scrittori d’ Ital.* vol. i. p. 67. “Ebbe la Signoria

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nishing effects which the talents of Accolti produced among all ranks of people at Rome, long after the time of Leo X. a very particular account is given by his licentious countryman Pietro Are-
tino, who assures us, “ that when it was known in Rome that the celestial Bernardo Accolti intended to recite his verses, the shops were shut up as for a holiday, and all persons hastened to partake of the entertainment. That on such occasions he was surrounded by the prelates and chief persons of the city, honoured by the solemn light of torches, and attended by a numerous body of Swiss guards.” The same author also adds, that he was himself once sent by the pope to request that Accolti would favour his holiness with a visit, as he had already promised; and that the poet “ no sooner made his appearance in the venerable hall of St. Peter, than the vicar of Christ cried out, *Open all the doors and let in the crowd.* Accolti then recited a *Ternale* in honour of the blessed virgin; with which his auditors were so delighted that they unanimously exclaimed, *Long live the divine poet, the unparalleled Accolti!*”(a)

di Nepi, e d'altre Castella nello stato Ecclesiastico da Leon X. la quale poscia dopo la morte di esso Bernardo, seguita in Roma nel 1534, da Clementi VII. fu data ad Alfonso suo figliuolo naturale.” *Manni, Istoria del Decamerone*, par. ii. cap. xxxi. p. 238. There appears, however, some degree of inconsistency in these accounts, for if Bernardo was deprived of his possessions by Paul III. how could they be restored to his son Alfonso by Clement VII. who preceded Paul in the pontifical chair, and died in 1534? The annotator on the *Ragionamenti* of Vasari, thus relates this circumstance: “ Leone X. donò al *Unico*, nel 1520, col titolo di Ducato, la Città di Nepi, posta nel patrimonio di S. Pietro; la quale poi, nel 1536, per la morte di lui senza successione, ritornò alla Santa Sede.” *Ragionam.* p. 93. *Ed. Arcz.* 1762.

(a) *Lettere di P. Arefino*, vol. v. p. 46. *Mazzuchel. Scrittori d'*

Distinguished as Accolti was by such unbounded approbation, one circumstance only is wanting to his glory—that his works should have perished along with him. Unfortunately, however, some of them have survived their author, and although they are not wholly devoid of merit, yet they are so far inferior to the idea that must have been formed of them from the accounts given of their astonishing effects, as greatly to detract from his fame. Among these is his dramatic poem entitled *Virginia*, written in *ottava* and *terza rima*, and represented for the first time at Siena, on the marriage of the Magnifico Antonio Spanochi.^(a) This piece, which may be enumerated amongst the earliest productions of the Italian drama, is founded on the story of Giletta di Nerbona, one of the novels of Boccaccio; but the scene is changed from France to Naples, and the name of *Virginia*

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Italia, vol. i. p. 66. If the reader be curious to inquire what were the sublime and pathetic passages, which produced so wonderful an effect on the audience, he may be gratified by perusing the following lines to the virgin, which are cited in the letter of Pietro Arcetino as having given occasion to such extravagant applause :

“ Quel generasti di cui concepesti :
Portasti quel di cui fosti fattura ;
E di te nacque quel di cui nascesti.”

Happy days! when poetic honours were so easily attained. The whole of this *Ternale* is printed in the early editions of the works of Accolti; and may be consulted by such of my readers as approve the above specimen. Bossi conceives from the above passage, and perhaps not without reason, that the verses of Accolti were originally given extempore; as otherwise it would not be possible to account for the great effect said to be produced by them. *v. Ital. ed. vol. vii. p. 17, note (a).*

(a) As appears from the title of the early editions, also *v. Manni, Istoria del Decamerone*, par. ii. cap. xxxi. p. 237.

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was given by the author to his heroine in reference to that of his own daughter, who became the wife of the count Carlo Malatesti, lord of Sogliano. (a) Of the lyric pieces of Accolti, which are not numerous, his *Strambotti* have been most commended, (b) and of these his verses entitled *Julia* are incomparably the best. (c) Besides the writings of Accolti which have been published, he left a poem in manuscript, entitled *The liberality of Leo X.*, which an eminent critic asserts was written in a fine style and full of matter. (d) Of his style a very sufficient specimen remains, but we may be allowed to regret the loss of those anecdotes which the poem of Accolti would have transmitted to us respecting Leo X., and which would, in all probability, have done so much honour to his memory.

(a) Mazzuchelli denominates him “ il Conte Giambattista Malatesta,” and adds, that Virginia brought her husband 10,000 crowns, which in those days was considered as a very large portion. *Scrittori d'Ital.* i. 67.

(b) “ Tra quelli *Strambotti* dello *Accolti*, ve ne sono molti acutissimi, e sull' andare de' buoni Epigrammi de' Greci e de' Latini.” *Redi, Annotaz. al suo Ditirambo di Bacco in Tosc.* p. 87. *ed. Fir.* 1685, 4°.

(c) The works of Accolti were first printed at Florence, *A stanza di Alessandro di Francesco Rosseglì a di vi. di Agosto, 1513.* 8°. Again at Florence in 1514. 12°. at Venice in 1515, at Florence in 1518, and at Venice in 1519, by *Nicolo Zopino e Vincentio Compagna*, with the following title:

“ OPERA NOVA d' l' preclarissimo Messer Bernardo Accolti, Aretino, Scriptore Apostolico, et Abbreviatore. *Loe, Soneti, Capitoli, Strambotti, et una Commedia con dui capitoli, uno in laude dela Madonna, l'altro de la Fede.*

In the title page of this edition is the figure of Accolti in meditation.

(d) “ Opera di stile dolce, e piena di sustanza.” *Dolce, trattato secondo di sua Libreria, ap. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital.* i. 68.

The person, however, to whom the Italian critics have unanimously attributed the praise of having, both by his precept and example, revived a true taste in Tuscan literature, was a native of Venice, the illustrious Pietro Bembo. "It was he who opened a new Augustan age, who emulated Cicero and Virgil with equal success, and recalled in his writings the elegance and purity of Petrarca and of Boccaccio."*(a)* The early part of the life of Bembo had been divided between amusement and study; but neither the circumstances of his family, nor his own exertions, had enabled him to provide for his support in a manner equal to his rank or his habits of life. His appointment by Leo X. to the important office of pontifical secretary, not only gave him a fixed residence, but enabled him by its emoluments to secure a respectable competency; his salary of one thousand crowns having been increased by the grant of ecclesiastical revenues to the annual amount of three thousand.*(b)* The society which Bembo met with at Rome was highly congenial to his taste; and he appears from his letters to have enjoyed it with no common relish. Amongst his most intimate friends and associates, we find the cardinals da Bibbiena and Giulio de' Medici, the poets Tebaldeo and Accolti, the inimitable artist Raffaello d'Urbino, and the accomplished nobleman Baldas-

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Bembo.

(a) "A lui devono la poesia, come la lingua nostra il lor pregio più bello; avendo egli aperto il secolo nuovo d'Augusto; emulato Virgilio e Cicerone; risuscitato Petrarca e Boccaccio nell'eleganza e purità del suo scrivere, senza cui non si scrive all'immortalità." *Bettinelli, del risorgimento d'Italia negli Studi, &c.* ii. 105.

(b) *Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital. art. P. Bembo. iv. 739.*

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sare Castiglione. (a) The high reputation which Bembo enjoyed throughout all Italy induced the pontiff to employ him occasionally in important embassies; but Bembo was designed by nature rather for an elegant writer than a skilful negotiator, and his missions were seldom crowned with success. In the execution of his office as pontifical secretary, he is however entitled to great commendation, and the letters written by him and his associate Sadoleti, first demonstrated that the purity of the Latin idiom was not incompatible with the forms of business and the transaction of public affairs. A short time before the death of Leo X. Bembo had retired from Rome, on account, as has been generally supposed, of the infirm state of his health; but there is reason to conclude, that although this was the pretext, he had some cause of dissatisfaction with the pontiff, and that he left it with a resolution never more to return. (b) Being now released from the cares of business, he chose as his residence the city of Padua. He had already selected, as the partner of his leisure, a young woman named Morosina, whom he fre-

(a) One of the letters of Bembo written to the cardinal da Bibbiena, whilst he was detained by indisposition at Rubiera on his embassy to the emperor; and in which several of his illustrious associates are enumerated, in such a manner as to shew the friendly intimacy that subsisted between them, is given in the Appendix, No. CLXI.

(b) "Sallo Iddio, che io da Roma mi diparti, et da Papa Leone, in vista chiedendogli licenzia per alcun brieve tempo per cagion di risanare in queste contrade, ma in effetto per non vi ritornar più, et per vivere a me quello o poco o molto che di vita mi restava, e non à tutti gli altri più che a me stesso." *Bembo, Lettere a Sommi Pontefici, &c.* lib. v. ep. i.

quently mentions in his letters, and who continued to reside with him until the time of her death, in the year 1535. By her he had two sons and a daughter, to whose education he paid particular attention. (a) The revenues which he derived from his ecclesiastical preferments now enabled him to enjoy the liberty of a private life, devoted to his own studies and pleasures, and to the society of his friends. He here formed, by great expense and assiduity, a collection of the ancient manuscripts of the Greek and Roman authors, which in point of number and value was exceeded by very few in Italy. Of these works the greater part have since been incorporated into the library

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(a) Lucilio, one of his sons, died young in 1531. Torquato, who was admitted into the church and became a canon of Padua, distinguished himself by his literary acquirements. Helena was married in 1543, to Pietro Gradenigo, a noble Venetian. *Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital.* iv. 741. Agostino Beazzano has celebrated her accomplishments in one of his sonnets beginning,

“ Helena, del gran Bembo altero pegno.”

Morosina is said to have been buried in one of the churches of Padua, with the following inscription; *Hic jacet Morosina, Petri Bembi Concubina.* But Mazzuchelli has shewn that this epitaph is fictitious. She was in fact interred in the church of S. Bartolommeo at Padua; over her sepulchre is inscribed,

Morosina, Torquati Bembi Matri.

Obiit 8 Idus Augusti, M.D.XXXV.

Bembo is said to have regarded her as a legitimate wife. That he loved her with a sincere and constant affection is apparent from the grief which he suffered on her loss; on which occasion eleven of his sonnets remain, which have more pathos than any of his writings. *v. et Bembo. Ep. Fam.* lib. vi. ep. 66, 67. *Lettere volgari*, vol. ii. lib. ii. ep. 14. Count Bossi is mistaken in supposing that Bembo did not quit Rome until after the death of Leo X., as he left it in the lifetime of that pontiff, and has assigned his reasons for it, as before noticed.

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of the Vatican. To these he added a cabinet of coins and medals, enriched with other ancient specimens of art. A part of his time was spent at his country residence of Villa-bozza, in the vicinity of Padua, where he devoted himself to the study of botany. The garden which he here completed and furnished with plants is noticed by various authors. In this state of independence a great part of his writings was produced, and such was the happiness which he enjoyed, that when in the year 1539, he was unexpectedly nominated by Paul III. to the rank of cardinal, he is said to have hesitated for some time whether he should accept that dignity. (a) His choice was, however, at last determined by his having accidentally heard, at the celebration of mass, the priest pronounce the words, *Peter, follow me,* (b) which he chose to understand as applied to himself. He now once more repaired to Rome, where he was highly favoured by the pontiff, who conferred upon him many lucrative benefices; and where he found in the college many of his former friends, particularly the cardinals Contarino, Sadoleti, Cortese, and the English cardinal Reginald Pole, who then held a high rank both in the political and literary world. In this city Bembo terminated his days in the year 1547, being then upwards of seventy-six years of age. (c)

(a) The pains which Bembo afterwards took to obviate the objections that had been made to his moral conduct, and his flattering letters to Paul III. seem, however, to contradict the report encouraged by Beccatelli, his biographer, and others, that he reluctantly acceded to this promotion.

(b) *Petre, sequere me. Sed v. Mazzuchelli, iv. 746.*

(c) Bembo was interred in the church of S. Maria alla Minerva

The high commendations bestowed on the writings of Bembo by almost all his contemporaries, have been confirmed by the best critics of succeeding times; nor can it be denied, that by selecting as his models Boccaccio and Petrarca, and by combining their excellences with his own correct and elegant taste, he contributed, in an eminent degree, to banish that rusticity of style which characterized the writings of most of the Italian authors at the commencement of the sixteenth century. His authority and example produced an astonishing effect; and among his disciples and imitators may be found many of the first scholars, and most distinguished writers of the age. It must, however, be observed, that the merit of his works consists rather in purity and correctness of

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at Rome, behind the great altar, and between the tombs of Leo X. and Clement VII., with the following inscription placed by his son Torquato :

PETRO BEMBO PATRITIO VENETO OB EJUS
SINGULARES VIRTUTES,
A PAULO III. PONTIF. MAX. IN SACRUM COLLEGIUM COOPTATO,
TORQUATUS BEMBUS P.
OBIIT XV. KAL. FEB. M.D.XLVII.
VIXIT. AN. LXXVI. MEN. VII. D. XXVIII.

Bossi seems to think that I have insisted too much on the dissolute life of Bembo, before he became a cardinal, and has endeavoured to shew that he was not peculiarly culpable in this respect, by adducing the example of several of his accomplished and learned contemporaries. I have only to observe in reply, that I am not aware of having been particularly severe on the character of Bembo in this respect; although I fully agree with Count Bossi, according to whose statement, “ tutti quasi i poeti, tutti i letterati di quella età, comechè residenti in Roma, ed insigniti ancora di prelature, di dignità, e di ufficj nella chiesa, erano infetti dello stesso vizio, o come altri direbbe, *tinti della pece medesima.*” *Ed. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 268, &c.*

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diction, than in vigour of sentiment, or variety of poetical ornament; and that they exhibit but little diversity either of character or subject, having for the most part been devoted to the celebration of an amorous passion. His *Canzone* on the death of his brother Carlo has been highly commended, and must be allowed to possess merit, without, however, exhibiting that warmth of natural feeling which such an occasion might be expected to produce. (a) In estimating with impartiality the talents of Bembo, and ascertaining the services which he rendered to the progress of taste, it will be necessary to make a distinction between the advancement of Italian poetry, and the improvement of the Italian language; between the efforts of genius and the result of industry. The poetical works of Bembo consist chiefly of *Sonetti* and *Canzoni*, in the style of Petrarca, and are frequently more correct and chaste, but at the same time more unimpassioned and cold, than the model on which they are formed. In the perusal of these pieces we perceive nothing of that genuine feeling, which, proceeding from the heart of the author, makes a direct and irresistible appeal to that of the reader; and but little even of that secondary characteristic of genius which luxuriates in the regions of fancy, and by its vivid and rapid imagery delights the imagination. On the contrary, whilst these pieces stand approved to our deliberate judgment, we feel a conviction that any person of good taste and extensive reading might, by a due portion of labour, produce works of equal

(a) This piece is selected by Mr. Mathias, in his collection of the *Poeti Lirici Italiani*, vol. i. p. 86.

merit. That this conviction is well founded is proved in no unequivocal manner by the innumerable throng of writers who have imitated the manner of Bembo; and who, availing themselves of the example of this scholastic style of composition, have inundated Italy with writings which seldom exhibit any distinction either of character or of merit. That the introduction of this manner of writing was fatal to the higher productions of genius cannot be doubted. Internal worth was sacrificed to external ornament. The vehicle was gilt and polished to the highest degree, but it contained nothing of any value; and the whole attention of these writers was employed, not in discovering *what* should be said, but *how* it should be said.

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One of the most intimate associates of Bembo, as well in his various embassies and public concerns, as in his literary occupations, was his countryman Agostino Beazzano; who, although he was only descended from a family of the order of Venetian citizens, enumerated among his ancestors Francesco Beazzano, great chancellor of the republic. Agostino was a knight of Jerusalem, and was frequently despatched by Leo X. on missions of great importance. (a) Such was his acquaint-

(a) A letter from Leo X. to Leonardo Loredano, doge of Venice, not only demonstrates the high esteem in which the pontiff held Beazzano, but shews that he continued the hereditary practice of his family, in combining the affairs of state with the promotion of literature. "Ea de re Augustinum Beatianum, familiarem meum et civem tuum, probum ipsum virum et ingenio doctrinaque præstantem, ad te mitto; qui tibi mentem meam latius explicabit. Cui etiam mandavi, ut certos Græcorum libros, quibus egeo, Venetiis perquireret." *Bemb. Ep. nom. Leon. X. lib. x. ep. 45.*

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ance with the concerns of the Roman court, and his experience in matters of business, that he was consulted at Rome as an oracle. By the bounty of Leo X. he became possessed of rich church preferments, and it seems not improbable that he aspired to the rank of a cardinal; although in one of his Latin poems, addressed to Leo X. he professes not to have carried his views so high. (a) An infirm state of health compelled him soon after the death of Leo to quit the Roman court, and the last eighteen years of his life were spent in retirement at Trevigi; where he endeavoured, not without success, to alleviate the pains or exhilarate the languor of sickness, by the delights of study and the society of his friends. Among the various tributes of respect to his memory, (b) it may be sufficient to notice, that he is enumerated by Aristosto among the most eminent scholars of the age. (c)

- (a) “ Non ego divitias regum, non anxius opto
 Quas Tagus auriferis in mare volvit aquis;
 Nec magnos ut consideam spectandus amicos
 Inter, purpureo cinctus honore caput;
 Amplave ut innumeris strepitent mea tecta ministris,
 Et vix mensa ferat delitiosa dapes;
 O Decus, O nostri spes unica, vitaque secli,
 Non minor hoc, placidus quem regis orbe, Leo.
 Fortunæ tantum dederis, Leo maxime, quantum
 Parco sufficiat, si mihi, dives ero.”

The same sentiment is also repeated in another epistle addressed to Bembo, requesting his interest with the pontiff, and beginning

“ Cum te rector amet lati Leo maximus orbis.”

(b) For many of these, *v. Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Ital.* vol. iv. p. 573.

(c) *Orl. Fur.* cant. xlvi. st. 14. On the tomb of Beazzano, in the church of Trevigi, is inscribed the following epitaph:

From the works of Beazzano it appears, that he maintained a literary intercourse with most of the learned men of his time. His Latin writings are deservedly preferred to those in his native tongue, which are not wholly divested of the rusticity which prevailed in the early part of the sixteenth century. Of his sonnets, a great part are addressed to the emperor Charles V. The rest are chiefly devoted to the commendation of Leo X. (a) of Pietro Bembo, of the Marquis del Vasto, and other distinguished characters. Among them are also several addressed to Titian, the eminent painter, in terms of high admiration and great esteem.

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Another author, equally celebrated for his Italian and his Latin productions, is the elegant Francesco Maria Molza, whose writings have a more distinctive character than those of most of his contemporaries, and by their peculiar tenderness and ex-

*Hospes, Beatianus hic est, scis cetera; num tam
Durus es, ut siccis hinc abeas oculis?*

(a) The following production, on the indisposition of Leo X., may be considered as no unfavourable specimen of his style.

SONETTO.

“ Re del Ciel, che qua giù scender volesti
Vestito del caduco vel terreno;
E, per mostrarti ben cortese à pieno,
Togliendo à morte noi, te à morte desti;
L' alma LEON, che già primo elegesti
Fra tanti à governar del mondo il freno,
Conserva tal, che se non d'anni pieno,
Non torni ad habitar fra li celesti.
Non vedi, che la gente sbigottita
Gridando piange, e prega per chi tiene
In dubbio con la sua, la nostra vita?
Perchè s' egli si tosto à morte viene
Vedrem d' ogni virtù per lui fiorita,
Il fiore e il frutto in un perder la spene.”

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pression might entitle their author to the appellation of the Tibullus of his age. (a) He was born of a noble family at Modena, in the year 1489, and having been sent by his father to Rome, had there the good fortune to be associated in his early studies with the accomplished Marc Antonio Flaminio, one of the most exquisite Latin poets of the time. (b) After having made an uncommon proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, and acquired also a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, which then first began to be studied in Italy, he was recalled by his father to Modena; where, in the year 1512, he married and took up his residence. (c) He had, however, already distinguished himself by several admired productions; and having heard of the extraordinary liberality of Leo X. towards men of talents, and particularly those who excelled in poetry, he felt such an irresistible inclination to return to Rome, that neither the re-

(a) The Latin and Italian works of Beazzano were printed in one volume octavo, under the title, *DE LE COSE VOLGARI ET LATINE DEL BEATIANO. Venetiis per Bartholomæum de Zanettis de Brixia, anno a nativitate Domini, 1538, die decima Octob.* The edition which appears to bear the date of 1551, is only the former with a new title.

(b) “Fr. Mariam Molciam Mutinensem, et M. Antonium Flaminium adolescentes, adeo bonarum literarum studio inflammatos video, ut assidue ambo vel libros evolvant, vel aliquid ipsi componant. De utroque magna concipere possumus, nec solum hi humanitatis flosculos legunt, sed ulterius studia sua proferunt. Franciscus enim post vernacula, in quibus suæ jam eruditionis certa documenta dedit, Latina Græcis et Hebræis conjungit, et licet nimio plus mulierum amoribus insanire videatur, inter rarissima tamen ingenia connumerandus. *Lil. Greg. Gyraldus, de Poetis suor. temp. Dial. i. in Op. tom. ii. p. 544. Ed. Lug. Bat. 1696.*

(c) *Serassi, vita del Molza, in fronte delle Opere volgari e latine del Molza, p. 4.*

monstrances of his parents, nor his affection for his wife and children, could prevent him from carrying his purpose into execution. He accordingly arrived at that city about the close of the year 1516, under the pretext of forwarding a lawsuit, in which his family was involved, but to which it appears he afterwards paid very little attention.^(a) Here he soon formed an intimate acquaintance with Filippo Beroaldo, then librarian of the Vatican, Sadoleti, Bembo, Colocci, Tebaldeo, and the other distinguished scholars of Rome, to whom his society was highly acceptable. In this situation he appears wholly to have forgotten his country, his parents, his family, and his wife, and to have mingled the studies of literature with the gratification of a licentious passion for a Roman lady; in consequence of which he received a wound from the hand of an unknown assassin, which had nearly cost him his life.^(b) Soon after the death of Leo X. he quitted the city of Rome, in common with many other eminent and learned men, who found in Adrian VI., the successor of Leo, a pontiff who held all the productions of literature and of art in the utmost contempt. Instead, however, of returning to his family, Molza retired to Bologna, where he soon became deeply enamoured of Camilla Gonzaga, a lady of rank and beauty, and a warm admirer of Italian poetry. By her attractions he was detained there two years; although it has been supposed that his passion was merely of a platonic kind.^(c) The life

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(a) *Scrassi, vita del Molza*, pp. 5, 6.

(b) *Ibid.* pp. 10, 11.

(c) On the portrait of this lady, Molza wrote a poem, in two

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of Molza seems, however, to have been wholly divided between poetry and dissipation. (a) During the transitory splendour of the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, he was one of the brightest ornaments of his court, and by his extraordinary talents and vivacity attracted the admiration, and even conciliated the esteem and affection of a large circle of friends. (b) After having abandoned his wife

parts, each consisting of fifty stanzas, in *ottava rima*, which is published in his works, vol. i. p. 133, and contains many beautiful passages.

(a) He had the misfortune to be present at the miserable sackage of Rome, by the banditti under the duke of Bourbon, in 1527, which he indignantly mentions in one of his elegies, addressed to his friend Luigi Priuli.

“ His tecum decuit me potius vivere in oris,
Quam spectasse Urbis funera Romuleæ;
Quam sævas acies, truculenti et Teutonis iras,
Ustaque ab Hispano milite templa Deùm.
Vidi ego Vestales fœdis contactibus actas
Nequicquam sparsis exululare comis;
Collaque demissum ferro, gravibusque catenis
Romana sacra procubuisse via.”

Molza op. tom. ii. p. 169.

(b) It would be tiresome to collect the eulogies on the character of Molza; almost all the distinguished writers of the time having left their testimony to his praise. None of these are, however, more honourable to his memory, than that of the virtuous and accomplished Vittoria Colonna, who has devoted two of her sonnets to commemorate the death of the parents of Molza, who both died nearly at the same time, and to excite the son to immortalize their virtues in his writings.

“ Opra è da voi con l' armonia celeste
Del vostro altero suon, che nostra etade
Già del antico onor lieta riveste,
Dir, com' ebber quest' alme libertade
Insieme a un tempo, e come insieme preste,
Volare ne le divine alte contrade.”

Son. 118. Ed. del Corso, 1558.

and his offspring, and been disinherited by his father, he at length terminated his days by that disease which afforded a subject to Fracastoro for his admirable poem; to which the complaints of Molza, expressed in verses of equal elegance, might serve at once as a supplement and a comment. (a)

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Nor must we omit the following elegant lines of his early friend Flaminio.

De Francisco Molsa.

“ Postera dum numeros dulces mirabitur ætas,
Sive, Tibulle, tuos, sive, Petrarca, tuos;
Tu quoque, Molsa, pari semper celebrabere fama,
Vel potius titulo duplice major eris;
Quicquid enim laudis dedit inclyta Musa duobus
Vatibus, hoc uni donat habere tibi.”

Flam. Carm. lib. ii. 19.

His memory was also honoured by the following epitaph, from the pen of the count Nicolo d'Arco.

“ Molza jaces. Musæ te discedente Latinæ
Flerunt, et Tuscis miscuerunt lacrimas.”

(a) In one of his elegies addressed to the cardinal Benedetto Accolti, we find the following unequivocal and impressive lines:

“ Tertia nam misero jam pridem ducitur ætas,
Ex quo me morbi vis fera corripuit;
Quam lectæ nequeunt, succisve potentibus herbæ,
Pellere, nec magico Saga ministerio,
Vecta nec ipsa Indis nuper felicibus arbor,
Una tot humanis usibus apta juvat.
Decolor ille meus toto jam corpore sanguis
Aruit, et solitus deserit ora nitor.
Quæ si forte modis spectes pallantia miris,
Esse alium quam me, tu, Benedicte, putes.
Quid referam somni ductas sine munere noctes,
Fugerit utque omnis lumina nostra sopor?
Et toties haustum frustra cereale papaver,
Misceri et medica quicquid ab arte solet?
Sævitas atrox morbi rabies, tenerisque medullis
Hæret, et exhaustis ossibus, ossa vorat.”

Molza op. vol. i. p. 134.

A short

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The most celebrated composition of Molza, in the Italian language, is his pastoral *Poemetto*, entitled, *La Ninfa Tiberina*, written in praise of Faustina Mancini, a Roman lady who then engaged his ardent but volatile affections. Some of his *Canzoni* have also great merit, and unite considerable vigour of sentiment with great simplicity and elegance of expression. This may sufficiently appear from one of these productions, which was probably addressed to Ippolito de' Medici, and in which he laments that his young patron did not enjoy those opportunities of signalling himself by his great talents, which would have been afforded him under the pontificate of Leo X. At the same time regretting the sudden extinction of those hopes which the virtues and munificence of that pontiff had inspired.

Ariosto.

Whilst many of the most distinguished scholars of Italy, attracted by the generosity of the pontiff, had taken up their residence in Rome, the celebrated Ariosto, the chief favourite of the muses and the glory of his age, remained at Ferrara, attached to the court of the cardinal Ippolito d' Este, in whose

A short time before his death, he also addressed a most beautiful and pathetic Latin elegy to his friends; printed in his works, vol. i. p. 242. That Molza was not so enveloped in licentious amours as wholly to have relinquished the hopes of a lasting fame, is evident from one of his sonnets, beginning,

“Alto Silenzio, ch' a pensar mi tiri.”

In Op. vol. i. p. 43.

His grand-daughter, Tarquinia Molza, daughter of his eldest son Camillo, born in 1542, ranks amongst the most learned and illustrious women of Italy. Her works, united with those of her ancestors, were published in 2 vols. 8vo. 1750.

employment he had lived from the year 1503. (a) During this period he had rendered many important services to Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, both in a civil and military capacity; in the former of which he had incurred no less danger than in the latter, particularly on his embassy to Rome in the year 1512, to appease the anger of that irascible pontiff Julius II. (b) The long and friendly intercourse which had subsisted between Ariosto and Leo X. before his elevation to the pontificate, induced the poet soon after that event to hasten to Rome, in the hopes of sharing that bounty which was so liberally bestowed on others of much inferior merit. Leo recognised his old friend; and raising him from the ground, and kissing him on each cheek, assured him of the continuance of his favour and protection. (c) The favour of the pontiff extended, however, no further on this occasion, than to grant him a special bull, to secure to him the emoluments to arise from the publication of his celebrated poem. But if the sanguine expectations of the poet were disappointed, his good sense soon con-

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(a) *v. Ante*, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 88. In the year 1507, he was sent by the cardinal Ippolito to Mantua, to congratulate his sister Isabella d'Este, the wife of the marquis Francesco Gonzago, on the birth of a child. A letter from Isabella to her brother yet remains, and shews that at this time Ariosto had made a considerable progress in his great epic poem, some parts of which he read for her amusement. This letter is also deserving of notice as the production of an elegant and accomplished woman of high rank in Italy. *v. Appendix*, No. CLXII.

(b) *v. Ante*, vol. ii. chap. ix. p. 139.

(c) "Piegossi a me da la beata sede

La mano, e poi le gote ambe mi prese,

E'l santo bacio in amendue mi diede."

Ariosto, Sat. iii. ad Annib. Malaguzzi.

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vinced him that the blame was not wholly to be imputed to the pope; and whilst he describes, in the most lively manner, the demolition of his hopes, he furnishes even in the midst of his sarcasms a sufficient apology for the pontiff. "Some persons may perhaps observe," says he, in his epistolary satire to Annibale Malaguzzi, (a) "that if I had gone to Rome in quest of benefices, I might have caught more than one before this time; especially as I had long been in favour with the pope, and had ranked among his ancient friends before his virtue and his good fortune had exalted him to his high dignity; or the Florentines had opened to him their gates; or his brother Giuliano had taken refuge in the court of Urbino, where with the author of the *Cortegiano*, with Bembo and other favourites of Apollo, he alleviated the hardships of his exile. When, too, the Medici again raised their heads in Florence, and the Gonfaloniere flying from his palace met with his ruin; and when he went to Rome to take the name of Leo, he still preserved his attachment to me. Often whilst he was legate has he told me, that he should make no difference between his brother and myself. On this account it may appear strange to some, that when I paid him a visit at Rome, he should have humbled my crest; but to these I shall reply by a story. Read it, my friend; for to read it is less trouble to you, than it was to me to write it.

Apologue of
Ariosto re-
specting
Leo X.

"There was once a season in which the earth was so parched up with heat, that it seemed as if Phoebus had again relinquished the reins to Phae-

(a) *Ariosto, Satire iii.*

ton. Every well and every spring was dry. Brooks and streams, nay even the most celebrated rivers, might be crossed without a bridge. In these times lived a shepherd, I know not whether to call him rich, or incumbered, with herds and flocks, who having long sought for water in vain, turned his prayers towards that Being who never deserts those who trust in him; and by divine favour he was instructed, that at the bottom of a certain valley he would find the welcome aid. He immediately departed with his wife, his children, and all his cattle; and according to his expectations found the spring. The well was not, however, very deep; and having only a small vessel to dispense the water, he desired his followers not to take it amiss if he secured the first draught for himself. The next, says he, is for my wife, and the third and fourth for my dear children, till all their thirst be quenched. The next must be distributed to such of my friends as have assisted me in opening the well. He then attends to his cattle, taking care to supply those first whose death would occasion him the greatest loss. Under these regulations they pass on, one after another, to drink. At length a poor parrot, which was very much beloved by its master, cried out, alas! I am neither one of his relations, nor did I assist in digging the well; nor am I likely to be of more service to him in future, than I have been in times past. Others, I observe, are still behind me; and even I shall die of thirst if I cannot elsewhere obtain relief. With this story, my good cousin, you may dismiss those who think that the pope should prefer me before the *Neri*,

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the *Vanni*, the *Lotti*, and the *Baci*, (a) his nephews and relations, who must drink first; and afterwards those who have assisted in investing him with the richest of all mantles. When these are satisfied, he will favour those who espoused his cause against Soderini, on his return to Florence. One person will say, I was with Piero in Casentino, and narrowly escaped being taken and killed. I, cries Brandino, lent him money. He lived, exclaims a third, a whole year at my expense, whilst I furnished him with arms, with clothes, with money, and with horses. If I wait until all these are satisfied I shall certainly either perish with thirst, or see the well exhausted."

That Ariosto however felt his disappointment, is evident from many other passages in his satires, in which he adverts to his journey to Rome with equal vexation and pleasantry. Certain it is, that the munificence of the pontiff by no means corresponded with the kind and even affectionate reception which the poet experienced on his arrival. The granting him a pontifical privilege for securing to him the sole right of printing his great work, the bull for which was, as he pointedly informs us, expedited *at his own expense*, (b) was, assuredly, no great effort of princely bounty. It is, however, evident from the writings of Ariosto, that he possessed a considerable share of that impatience and

(a) Not the names of noble families of Florence, as some have supposed, but diminutives of affection, derived from the common names of Giovanni, Bartolommeo, Lancelotto, &c.

(b) " Di mezza quella Bolla anco cortese
Mi fu, de la qual ora il mio Bibiena
Espedito m' ha il resto, a le mie spese."

irritability which are the usual attendants of genius. After waiting a few days at Rome, in the expectation that the pope would have made a liberal provision for one towards whom he had expressed such uncommon regard, he hastily took his departure, with a firm resolution never more to return. (a) There is, however, sufficient reason to believe, that Ariosto experienced at different times the liberality of the pontiff; and in particular, that Leo presented him with several hundred crowns towards the expense of publishing his immortal poem. (b) It is certain also that the disappointment which he has described in such lively terms, did not excite in the generous breast of Ariosto any lasting degree of animosity towards the pontiff; whom he has frequently mentioned in his subsequent writings, with the highest veneration and applause. (c)

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(a) “ Venne il dì che la Chiesa fu per moglie
Data a Leone, ed a le nozze vidi
A tanti amici miei rosse le spoglie.
Venne a Calende, e fuggì innanzi a gli Idi;
Fin che me ne rimembre, esser non puote
Che di promessa altrui mai più mi fidi.
La sciocca speme a le contrade ignote,
Salì del ciel, quel dì che 'l Pastor santo
La man mi strinse, e mi baciò le gote.”

Ariost. Sat. vii.

(b) The favours conferred by Leo on Ariosto are alluded to by Gabriello Simeoni, in his *Satira sopra l' Avarizia*.

“ Successe a lui *Lion* poi lume e specchio
Di cortesia, che fu la cagion prima
Che all' *Ariosto* ancor porgiamo orecchio.”

Which is explained by a marginal note; “ Leon X. donò all' Ariosto per fornire il suo libro più centinaja di scudi.” *v. Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. in art. Ariost. vol. ii. p. 1063.*

(c) His attachment to the family of Medici in general, and to

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Ariosto
visits Flo-
rence.

On quitting Rome, Ariosto did not immediately return to Ferrara, but paid a visit to Florence, where he was present at the rejoicings which took place in that city on the elevation of Leo X. He remained there at least six months, and probably a much longer time; attracted by the air and situation of the place, the beauty of the women, and the manners of the inhabitants; and on his departure, celebrated in an exquisite poem the opportunities of enjoyment which it afforded him, and which it seems were sufficient to banish all anxieties but those of love. (a) On his arrival at Ferrara he again attached himself to the service of the cardinal Ippolito; which, however, did not prevent his finishing the poem on which he had been so long employed, and which he published at Ferrara in the year 1515. If Ariosto was disappointed in the conduct of Leo X. he had much more reason to complain of the illiberality and insensibility of his great patron the cardinal, to whom he has inscribed his work in terms of such high commendation; but who, instead of affording him any recompense for his labours, inquired from him, with the indifference of a stupid curiosity, where he had collected together such a number of absurdities. (b) This reproof, which was not coun-

Leo X. in particular, appears in his beautiful canzone, on the death of Giuliano de' Medici, already given in the Appendix, No. CXXXVI.

(a) “Gentil Città, che con felici auguri.”

Rime di Ariosto, p. 40. Ed. Vinegia, 1557.

(b) *Dove, diavolo, Messer Lodovico, avete pigliate tante coglionerie.* Mazzuchelli has altered, in some degree, the phraseology of the cardinal, who according to his narrative, inquired from Ariosto, *Donde mai avesse egli trovate tante minchionerie. Scrittori d' Ital.*

terbalanced by any act of kindness on the part of the cardinal, greatly affected the poet; who in the second edition of his poem expressed his sense of it by an *Impresa* or device, in which he has represented a serpent, towards which a hand is stretched out attempting with a pair of shears to cut off its head, and surrounded by the motto *Pro bono malum*. This device, in which he seems to have alluded to the supposed healing power of the serpent, he exchanged in the next edition for one which he perhaps thought would be more generally understood, and represented his lost labours by the emblem of a hive of bees, which are destroyed with flame for the purpose of robbing them of their honey. (a)

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In the year 1518, the cardinal Ippolito d'Este undertook a journey to Hungary, on which he expected to be accompanied by the most emi-

Deprived of his stipend by the cardinal Ippolito d'Este.

vol. ii. p. 1069; but there is reason to believe, that the anecdote is well-founded, and that the merits of Ariosto, like those of Milton, and of all others, whose genius has been superior to the character of the age, were not sufficiently acknowledged in his lifetime. "Così fa il mondo degli huomini; non gli conosce mai se non quando gli ha perduti. Vedi come stava il povero Ariosto, uomo eccellente; leggi i suoi scritti, e vedi, se il mondo lo conosceva. Se rŕuscitasse oggi, ogni principe lo vorrebbe appresso, ogni persona l'onorerebbe." *Doni, la Zucca*, p. 105. *ap. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital.* vol. ii. p. 1069. P. Aretino, in a letter to Dolce, relates, that an expression similar to that made use of by the cardinal, had been applied by one of his servants to the paraphrase of Aretino, of the seven penitential psalms. "Un mio servitor, sentendo leggere i miei salmi, disse, *mi non so ù Diavolo il padron si catti tante bagatelle.*" *Note, M. de la Monnoye. Baillet, Jugemens des Scavans*, vol. iv. p. 48.

(a) These emblems have been perpetuated on the reverse of two different medals, representing the effigies of the poet. They are both given in the *Museum Mazzuchellianum*, vol. i. p. 209. tab. 37.

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 XVI. by Ariosto. The poet was not, however, inclined
 A. D. 1518. to make such a sacrifice of his time, of which he
 A. Æt. 43. well knew the value, or of his health, which was
 A. Pont. VI. then in a precarious state, to the gratification of
 a person who appears not to have merited his at-
 tachment. By his refusal, he not only lost the fa-
 vour of the cardinal, but incurred his resentment,
 which he manifested by depriving the poet of the
 pitiful stipend of twenty-five crowns, which it
 seems the cardinal allowed him every four months,
 but which he had not always the good fortune to
 obtain. This event supplied Ariosto with the sub-
 ject of his first satire, in which he has treated it
 with the most severe pleasantry, the most attrac-
 tive simplicity, and the most inimitable wit; avow-
 ing his resolution to maintain the independence
 both of his person and mind, and to withdraw from
 the vexations of a court to the retirement of pri-
 vate life. He accordingly quitted Ferrara and
 took up his residence in his native district of Reg-
 gio, attending only to his own studies and amuse-
 ments; where he remained until the death of the
 cardinal. (a)

Establishes
 his resi-
 dence at
 Ferrara.

The loss of his patron seems to have been the commencement of the good fortune of Ariosto.

(a) To this happy period of his life he alludes in his fourth sa-
 tire,

“ Già mi fur dolci inviti a empir le carte
 I luoghi ameni, di che il nostro Reggio
 Il natio nido mio n'ha la sua parte.

* * * *

“ Cercando hor questo et hor quel loco opaco,
 Quivi in più d' una lingua, e in più d' un stile,
 Rivi trahea fin dal Gorgonio laco.”

Immediately after that event he was again called to Ferrara by the duke Alfonso, who appears to have been desirous of repairing the neglect of his brother, and who appointed Ariosto to a respectable situation in his court, without requiring from him any attendance which might interfere with his studies.(a) The liberality of the duke soon enabled Ariosto to erect for himself a house in the city of Ferrara, in the front of which he placed an inscription suitable to the modest mansion of a poet, and consistent with the moderation and independence of his own character.(b) In this residence, and in the gardens attached to it, he devoted himself with fresh ardour to his literary pursuits; he composed the additional cantos of his Orlando, and versified his two comedies of the *Cassaria* and the *Suppositi*, which he had in his youth written in prose. Soon after the death of Leo X. his leisure was for a short time interrupted by a mission to the district of Garfagnana, a part

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(a) “ Il servizio del Duca, da ogni parte
Che ci sia buona, più mi piace in questa
Che dal nido natio raro si parte.
Perciò gli studi miei poco molesta,
Nè mi toglie, onde mai tutto partire
Non posso, perchè il cor sempre si resta.”

(b) The centre of the *facciata* of the house has the following inscription :—

PARVA, SED APTA MIHI ; SED NULLI OBNOXIA ; SED NON
SORDIDA ; PARTA MEO SED TAMEN ÆRE DOMUS.

On the highest part of the front is inscribed,

SIC. DOMUS. HÆC.

AREOSTEA.

PROFITIOS.

DEOS. HABEAT. OLIM. UT.

PINDARICA.

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A. Pont. VI.

of the territory of Ferrara, whither he was sent by the duke to appease, by his discretion and authority, a tumult among the inhabitants, in which his efforts had the desired success ;(a) but the city of Ferrara continued to be his chief residence until the time of his death, which happened on the sixth day of June, 1533, after he had attained the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Effects of
his writings
on the taste
of Europe.

On a work so well known, and so universally read, as the *Orlando Furioso*,(b) any observations would now be superfluous, and of the satirical and lyric productions of Ariosto, some specimens applicable to the events of the times have already been given.(c) Like most of the eminent scholars

(a) To this mission Ariosto alludes in his fourth satire, in which he laments the interruption which it had occasioned to his studies, and his absence from his mistress. He admits that his employment is both honourable and profitable, but alleges that he is in the situation of the cock that found a diamond, or of the Venetian nobleman to whom the king of Portugal made a present of an Arabian horse.

(b) For an account of the various editions of this celebrated poem, after its first publication in Ferrara, *per Lodovico Mazziocco*, in 1516, 4to. I must refer to the bibliographers and literary historians of Italy, and especially to Mazzuchelli, who has particularized no less than sixty-seven editions, down to the year 1753 ; of which the best is allowed to be that with the designs of Girolamo Porro, Venice, *appresso Francesco di Franceschi*, 1584, 4to. For much additional and valuable information respecting the editions of the *Orlando Furioso*, the reader may consult the note of Count Bossi, *Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 288.

(c) The *Satires* of Ariosto were not published until after the death of their author, in 1534. This edition is entitled *LE SATIRE di M. Ludovico Ariosto volgari. In terza rima, di nuovo Stampate, del Mese di Octobre, M.D.XXXIII.* from which it might be inferred they had before been printed, if it were not known that this is the frequent phraseology of the printers of this period, and that many instances occur where it has been used, when the work

of the age, he devoted a portion of his leisure to Latin composition; but although some of his productions in this language have considerable merit, (a) it is on his writings in his native tongue that his permanent reputation is founded. On taking a general view of the poets of this period, we immediately perceive that Ariosto occupies the first station, and that had it been deprived of the splendour of his talents, a considerable diminution must have been made from the glory of the age. The fertility of his invention, the liveliness of his imagery, the natural ease and felicity of his diction, give a charm to his compositions which arrests the attention and interests the feelings of the reader, in a degree not experienced from the productions of any of his contemporaries. Whilst the other writers of Italy were devoting their talents to the close imitation of Petrarca, and to the mere elegances of expression, he allowed himself a wider range, and poured forth the ideas of his creative fancy in his own attractive and forcible language. Hence the genius of Ariosto is not presented to us in the fashionable garb of the day, but in its own natural and becoming dress, which

has never before undergone the press. These satires have been inserted in the lists of books prohibited by the Roman see, but this has not prevented the publication of many subsequent editions, some of which have been printed in Venice at different times, as well separately as with his lyric pieces and other works.

(a) The Latin poems of Ariosto, divided into two books, were collected and published by Giov. Batt. Pigna, together with his own poems and those of Celio Calcagnini, at Venice, *ex officina Erasiana*, by Vincentio Valgrisi, in 1553, 8vo. Giraldi denominates them, *ingeniosa sed duriuscula. De Poet. suor. temp. dial. i.* Some of them appear in various collections, and particularly in the *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. vol. i. p. 342.*

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appears equally graceful and appropriate at all times and in all places. By the example of Bembo, the Italians would have written with correctness and with elegance, but they would have been read only by their own countrymen. The delicate and attenuated sentiment which gives its faint animation to their writings, is lost when an attempt is made to transfuse it into another language; but the bold and vigorous ideas of Ariosto bear without injury all change of climate; and his works have contributed more than those of any other author to diffuse a true poetical spirit throughout Europe.(a)

The applause bestowed upon those whose labours contributed to restore the purity of the Italian tongue, must not, however, be confined to one sex only. At no former period of society had the spirit of literature been so generally diffused; and at no period have its female admirers proved themselves more accomplished proficient or more formidable rivals. Among those who at this time distinguished themselves by their talents, two are conspicuously eminent; not only for their high rank, extraordinary acquirements, and excellent literary productions, but for the unsullied purity of their character, and for all the virtues which add lustre to their sex. These are Vittoria Colonna, marchioness of Pescara, and Veronica Gambara, countess of Correggio.(b)

(a) On this passage Count Bossi has given a note, which well merits the attention of the Italian reader. *Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 55, note (a).*

(b) "Fuere pene non viris inferiores duæ illustres principes et poëtriæ, Victoria Columna Piscariæ, et Veronica Gambara Corrigiensis, quarum utriusque pro sexus qualitate divina leguntur poe-

Vittoria Colonna was the daughter of the celebrated commander, Fabrizio Colonna, grand constable of the kingdom of Naples, by Anna di Montefeltro, the daughter of Federigo, duke of Urbino. She was born about the year 1490, and when only four years of age was destined to be the future bride of Ferdinando d'Avalos, marquis of Pescara, then very little further advanced in life. The extraordinary endowments both of person and of mind, with which she was favoured by nature, aided by a diligent and virtuous education, rendered her the object of general admiration, and her hand was repeatedly sought in marriage by several of the independent sovereigns of Italy. Happily, however, the early choice of the parents was confirmed by the mutual attachment of their offspring, and at the age of seventeen she became the wife of a man, who by his great endowments, unshaken fidelity, and heroic valour, merited such a partner. A perfect conformity of temper and of excellence was the pledge of their conjugal affection; but the contests which distracted Italy soon called the marquis from his domestic enjoyments, and at the battle of Ravenna, where he had the command of the cavalry, he was dangerously wounded, and led, with the cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., a prisoner to Milan. Whilst confined in the castle of that place, and prevented by his wounds from bodily exercise, he devoted his hours to study; the result of which appeared in a dialogue *on Love*, addressed to his wife, which we are assured

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mata; quæ eo cupidius a plerisque leguntur, quo sunt ab illustribus Matronis composita." Lal. Greg. Gyraldus, de Poet. suor. temp. dial. ii. p. 571.

CHAP. was replete with good sense, eloquence, and wit.(a)

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He was at length liberated from his confinement by the friendly interference of the marshal Trivulzio; and by the active part which he afterwards took in the military affairs of the time, and the many engagements in which he was victorious, acquired the highest character among the Italian leaders. Having entered into the service of the emperor, he commanded at the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. was made prisoner; where he distinguished himself no less by his magnanimity and humanity, than by his prudence and intrepidity, to which the success of the Imperialists has usually been attributed.(b) This event he did not, however, long survive, having fallen a sacrifice to his military fatigues and the consequences of his wounds. He died at Milan in the month of December, 1525, after a short but glorious life, which has afforded ample materials for the historian.(c) This fatal event blighted all the hopes of his consort; nor did her sorrow admit of any alleviation, except such as she found in

(a) “Dum esset in arce, vulneraque curaret, nec exercendi corporis ulla daretur facultas, ingenium literis amœnioribus ex doctrina Musephili præceptoris haud mediocriter imbutum, ita exercuit, ut paucis diebus summæ jucunditatis Dialogum *de Amore*, ad Victoriam uxorem conscripserit, qui libellus adhuc extat, cum gravibus tum exquisitis salibus atque sententiis, ad admirationem ejus ingenii referendus.” *Jovius, in vita Ferdin. Daval. Pisc. lib. i.*

(b) His generosity and attention to the celebrated chevalier Bayard, who fell in an engagement at Biagrassa, in the year 1524, are recorded by Dr. Robertson in his life of Charles V. book iii. vol. ii. p. 203.

(c) Jovius has written the life of this distinguished commander, in seven books, which comprise the history of the principal military events of the time.

celebrating the character and the virtues of her husband, and recording their mutual affection in her tender and exquisite verse. Soon after his death she retired to the island of Ischia, refusing to listen to those proposals of other nuptials, which, as she had no offspring, her friends were desirous that she should accept. (a) In her retirement she appears to have acquired a strong religious cast of character, which did not, however, prevent her from exercising her poetical talents, although she from this time devoted them chiefly to sacred subjects. Her exemplary conduct, and the uncommon merit of her writings, rendered her the general theme of applause among the most distinguished poets and learned men of the time, with many of whom she maintained a friendly epistolary intercourse. (b) She was also a warm admirer of the great artist Michel-Agnolo, who designed for her several excellent pieces, the ideas of which have been preserved by the engraver; (c) and who appears to have enjoyed her

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(a) The dignified conduct of Vittoria gave occasion to the following lines, attributed to, and not unworthy of the eminent Latin poet, Marc-Antonio Flaminio.

“ Non vivam sine te, mi Brute, exterrita dixit
Porcia ; et ardentes sorbuit ore faces.
Davale, te extincto, dixit Victoria, vivam,
Perpetuo mæstus sic dolitura dies.
Utraque Romana est, sed in hoc Vittoria major ;
Nulla dolere potest mortua, viva dolet.”

Flam. Op. p. 264. Ed. Com. 1727.

(b) Among these were Beazzano, Flaminio, Molza, the cardinals Contarini, Bembo, and Pole; most of whom have celebrated her in their writings.

(c) One of these pieces represents Christ just taken from the cross, and sinking on the knees of his mother. This work has frequently been copied in paintings, which are erroneously supposed

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favour and friendship in an eminent degree; she having on several occasions quitted her residence at Viterbo, to which place she retired some years before her death, and made excursions to Rome for no other purpose than that of enjoying his society. This affectionate attachment, equally honourable to both parties, was at other times supported by an epistolary intercourse. To her Michel-Agnolo has also addressed several of his sonnets, which yet remain, and in which his admiration of her beauty and accomplishments is tempered by the most profound respect for her character. (a) It is a singular anecdote, preserved by

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to be the production of Michel-Agnolo, and has also been engraved. *Bottari, Note al Vasari*, vol. iii. p. 314. & *v. Condivi, vita di M. A. Buonarotti*, p. 53, where this piece is fully described, and where it appears that the artist inscribed on the cross the following line :

Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa.

He also designed for her a figure of Christ on the cross, and another of Christ at the well with the woman of Samaria, which has also been engraved. *Vasari, ut sup.* My late lamented friend Mr. Fuseli, in one of his letters to me, has observed respecting the above passage, that “there seems to be some inconsistency in it, as no trace of any work of sculpture executed by *Michel-Agnolo* for *Vittoria Colonna* exists.” I do not perceive that I have stated, that the works referred to were in sculpture, but have expressly characterised them as having been *designs*, or *drawings*. One of these subjects, that of Christ at the well with the woman of Samaria, executed by *Michel-Agnolo*, on panel, in *chiaro-scuro*, (two feet six inches high, by one foot eleven inches wide,) formerly in the collection at *Capo di Monte*, afterwards came into my possession, and is now deposited in the collection of the LIVERPOOL ROYAL INSTITUTION.

(a) “In particolare egli amò grandemente la Marchesana di Pescara, del cui divino spirito era innamorato; essendo all’ incontro da lei amato svisceratamente; della quale ancor tiene molte lettere d’ onesto e dolcissimo amore ripiene, e quali di tal petto

Condivi, that this eminent man paid her a visit in the last moments of her life; and that he afterwards expressed his extreme regret, that he had not on that occasion kissed her face or her forehead, as well as her hand. (a) After having lived until the year 1547, she terminated her days at Rome; not having taken upon her any religious profession, and not indeed without having given rise to some suspicion that she was inclined to the doctrines of the reformed church. (b)

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uscir solevano; avendo egli altresì scritto a lei più e più sonetti, pieni d'ingegno e dolce desiderio." *Condivi, Vita di M. A. Buonarotti*, p. 53.

(a) "— Tanto amor le portava, che *mi ricorda d'averlo sentito dire*, che d'altro non si doleva, se non che quando l'andò a vedere nel passar di questa vita, non così le baciò la fronte o la faccia, come baciò la mano." *Condivi ut sup.*

(b) In one of the poems of Michel-Agnolo, addressed to the Marchesana, he laments the fluctuating state of his religious sentiments, and calls upon her to direct him in his spiritual concerns.

" Porgo la carta bianca

A i vostri sacri inchiostri,

Ove per voi nel mio dubbiar si scriva,

Come quest' alma d' ogni lucc priva,

Possa non traviar dietro il desio

Negli ultimi suoi passi, ond' ella cade;

Per voi si scriva, voi, che 'l viver mio

Volgeste al ciel per le più belle strade."

Rime del Buonarotti, p. 69. *Ed. Firen.* 1726, 8vo.

He also wrote a sonnet on her death, which manifests the sorrow which he felt on that occasion, and the sacred affection with which he regarded her memory. *Rime*, p. 70. The grounds upon which suspicions were entertained of the inclination of *Vittoria Colonna* to the cause of the reformation, which I had omitted to mention, have been amply stated by both the German and Italian translators of the present work. *v. Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 38, *Ital. ed.* vol. xii. p. 223. The importance attached to a strict adherence to the church, in so eminent a character as *Vittoria Colonna*, has led Count Bossi to observe, that " I ought either to have omitted to

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Her writ-
ings.

Among the Italian writers who have revived in their works the style of Petrarca, Vittoria Colonna is entitled to the first rank; and her sonnets, many of which are addressed to the shade of her departed husband, or relate to the state of her own mind, possess more vigour of thought, vivacity of colouring, and natural pathos, than are generally to be found among the disciples of that school. (a)

notice this imputation altogether, or to have stated, (as *Tiraboschi* has attempted to shew,) that it was thrown out on her memory by *protestant* writers, without any foundation in fact." But the fact is, I did not think she stood in need of any apology for sentiments which did honour to the independence of her character. On this occasion we may, however, appeal to Mr. Henke, who, after stating that the suspicions attached to *Vittoria Colonna*, depend on the testimony of De Thou, Hist. lib. xxxix, where it is said, *in pravitatis sectariæ suspicionem incidit*; or rather upon conjectures arising from her friendly connexions and correspondence with *Flaminio*, who openly shewed himself favourable to the cause of reform, has justly observed, that "at that period, *piety*, divested of blind superstition, drew down upon many persons in Italy the suspicion that they favoured the cause of the reformers, whilst the wildest infidelity and levity of conduct was a reproach to no one, if he only *conformed* to the established creed;" and further, that "the more noble and elevated were the sentiments embraced by women of high rank in Italy at this period, the more liable were they to be suspected of what was there denominated the *German heresy*;" for examples of which Mr. Henke has referred to *Gerdesii, Italia reformata*, p. 155.

(a) Of the poems of Vittoria Colonna, four editions were printed in her lifetime. They were first collected by Filippo Pirogallo, and published, without her knowledge, at Parma, in 1538, reprinted in 1539, without note of place or printer; and again at Florence in the last-mentioned year, with the addition of sixteen spiritual sonnets. The fourth edition is that of Venice, 1544, with the addition of twenty-four spiritual sonnets, and her celebrated *Stanze*. They were also republished after her death, particularly by Lodovico Dolce, in 1552, at Venice; and again at the same place by Girolamo Ruscelli, with the exposition or commentary of

Her *Canzone*, or monody to the memory of her husband, is, however, more deservedly celebrated, and is certainly in no respect inferior to that of Bembo on the death of his brother Carlo; (a) but perhaps the most favourable specimen of her talents appears in her *Stanze*, or verses in *ottava rima*, (b) which in simplicity, harmony, and elegance of style, equal the productions of any of her contemporaries, and in lively description and genuine poetry excel them all; excepting only those of the inimitable Ariosto.

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Veronica Gambara was the daughter of the count Gian-Francesco Gambara, by his wife Alda Pia of Carpi, and was married in 1509, to Giberto X. lord of Correggio, whom she survived many years, devoting herself to the education of her two sons Ippolito and Girolamo, the latter of whom obtained the dignity of a cardinal of the Roman church. Her natural disposition, the course of her education, and above all, perhaps, the instructions and advice of Pietro Bembo, led her in her youth to devote a part of her leisure to the cultivation of her poetical talents, which through all the vicissitudes of her future life, was her occa-

Veronica
Gambara.

Rinaldo Corso, in 1558. Her *Pianto sopra la passione di Cristo*, with other sacred poems, was also printed at Bologna, per Antonio Manuzio, 1557, and at Venice, presso i figliuoli d' Aldo, in 1561. v. Zeno, *Note al Fontanini. Bib. Ital.* ii. 95.

(a) This piece has lately been published by Mr. Mathias, in his *Poeti Lirici d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 144.

(b) This piece was probably addressed to Filiberta of Savoy, the wife of Giuliano de' Medici, and seems to have been written in the early part of the life of its illustrious author, during the pontificate of Leo X. although not inserted in the first editions of her works.

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sional amusement. (a) In the year 1528, she left Correggio to reside at Bologna with her brother Uberto, on whom Clement VII. had conferred the office of governor of that city. Here she established in her house a kind of academy, which was frequented by Bembo, Molza, Mauro, Capello, and other eminent men who then resided at the Roman court. She afterwards returned to Correggio, where she had the honour of receiving as her guest the emperor Charles V. Her life was prolonged until the year 1550. Her writings, which had been dispersed in various collections of the time, were collected and published at Brescia in 1759, and although inferior in elegance and polish to those of Vittoria Colonna, display a peculiar originality and vivacity, both in sentiment and language, which raise them far above those insipid effusions, which under the name of sonnets at this time inundated Italy. (b) The mutual esteem and admiration that subsisted between these accomplished-women, is recorded in their writings. Their example excited the emulation of many competitors among their own sex, and the *Rimatrici* of the sixteenth century may be considered as little inferior, either in number or in merit, to the *Rimatori*. Of these, some of the most distinguished

(a) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Ital.* vii. iii. 47.

(b) "Esse son tali," says Tiraboschi, "che possono aver luogo tra quelle de' più colti poeti di quell'età." Her life was written by Rinaldo Corso, and published at Ancona in 1556. A more full account of her is given by the Dott. Baldassare Camillo Zamboni, prefixed to her works, edited by him in 1759, to which edition he has added her letters, which, we are informed, are highly estimable for the natural and easy elegance of their style. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. i. 48.

are Costanza d'Avalos, duchess of Amalfi, (a) a few of whose sonnets, of no inferior merit, are united to the works of Vittoria Colonna in the edition of Sessa, 1558; Tullia d'Aragona, the illegitimate offspring of Pietro Tagliavia, a cardinal of the church, and himself an illegitimate descendant of the royal house of Aragon; (b) Laura Terracina, a Neapolitan lady, whose numerous poetical works have frequently been printed; (c) Gas-

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Costanza
d'Avalos.

Tullia
d'Aragona.

(a) Daughter of Innico d'Avalos, marquis del Vasto. "I pochi versi, che del suo leggiamo, ricolmi sono egualmente di grazia, di vaghezza, di purità, e d'eleganza, e ricchi di gravissimi sentimenti e di pietà Cristiana." *Crescimb. Istor. della volgar poes.* vol. ii. p. 400. v. *Mazzuchelli*, vol. ii. p. 1223.

(b) The offspring of love, Tullia, is said not to have been insensible to his dictates. Her attractions, both of person and mind, are celebrated by the most distinguished wits and scholars of the time, almost all of whom were proud to enrol themselves among her admirers. The principal work of Tullia is her poem in *ottava rima*, entitled *Il Meschino, detto Guerino*, in twenty-six cantos, printed at Venice in 1560, quarto; which is said by Crescimbeni, vol. i. p. 341, to rival the *Odyssey* in the disposition of its parts; but other critics have formed a different judgment. Her dialogue, *dell' Infinità d'Amore*, was printed at Venice in 1547. Among her admirers who have addressed her in their verses, we find the cardinal Ippolito, son of Giuliano de' Medici, Francesco-Maria Molza, Ercole Bentivoglio, Filippo Strozzi, Alessandro Arrighi, Lattanzio Benucci, and Benedetto Varchi; but the person who adored her beyond all the rest, and who has dedicated a great part of his compositions to her praise, was the celebrated Girolamo Muzio. Her poems were published at Venice, *presso il Giolito*, 1547, and have frequently been reprinted, accompanied with at least an equal number of sonnets and other poems in her praise. Among these compositions, one of the sonnets of the cardinal de' Medici is deserving of particular approbation; but her own pieces are seldom inferior in spirit and elegance to those of her numerous panegyrists.

(c) At Venice, 1548, 1549, 1550, and 1554, and again correct-

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para Stampa of Padua, ranked among the best poets of her time, (a) and Laura Battiferra of Urbino, (b) represented by her contemporaries as the rival of Sappho in the elegance of her writings, and much her superior in the modesty and decorum of her life.

To the time of Leo X. is to be referred the period by Domenichi, in 1560. Among the friends and patrons to whom they are addressed, we find Ercole Bentivoglio, Luigi Tansillo, Lodovico Domenichi, Bernardino Rota, and Vittoria Colonna; some of whom have honoured her in return with their commendations. In the *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, of Boccacini, Cent. ii. Ragg. 35, is a satirical relation of the supposed marriage of Laura Terracina with the poet Francesco Mauro, who, soon after his marriage, became jealous of his wife, on account of a *garter* which she wore, studded with jewels; which she had received as a present from Edward VI. of England, *in return for her devotion towards him*; a circumstance which so exasperated Mauro, that he cut the throat of his wife, *with a prohibited verse of six syllables which he carried at his side*. A great tumult arose in Parnassus, which Apollo allayed by a speech; the object of which seems to be to satirize the order of the garter, and to compare the favours conferred by sovereigns on the subjects of other princes, to the presents given by lovers to other men's wives.

(a) "Una delle più eleganti Rimatrici che allor vivessero, e degna d'andar del paro co' più illustri Poeti." *Tirab.* vii. iii. 49. Many of her poems are addressed to the count of Collalto, of whom she was passionately enamoured, and whose marriage to another lady she did not long survive, having died in 1554, about the thirtieth year of her age. Her poems were published by her surviving sister Cassandra, soon after her death, but were not reprinted till the year 1738; when they were again published by Antonio Rambaldo di Conti, count of Collalto, a descendant of the nobleman to whom they were so ineffectually addressed by their unfortunate author.

(b) She became the wife of the celebrated Florentine sculptor Bartolommeo Ammanati. Her works were first published at Florence, *appresso i Giunti*, in 1560. Mazzuchelli and Tiraboschi have collected numerous testimonies of her contemporaries to her merits.

fecting of the jocose Italian satire, which originated in Florence towards the close of the preceding century. The credit of reviving this whimsical style of composition, and rendering it in the highest degree lively and entertaining, is due to the eccentric genius of Francesco Berni, whence it has been denominated *La Poesia Bernesca*.^(a) In this undertaking he had, however, some coadjutors of no inconsiderable talents, and in particular Francesco Mauro and Gian-Francesco Bini, whose works have usually been united with his own, to which in vivacity and humour they are little inferior. The character of Berni was as singular as his writings. He was born at Lamporecchio, a small town in the Tuscan state,^(b) of a noble, although reduced family, and was sent whilst very young to Florence, where he remained until he had attained his nineteenth year; and where he probably imbibed from the works of the Pulci, Franco, and Lorenzo de' Medici, the earliest taste for that style of composition by which he afterwards so greatly distinguished himself. About the year 1517, he repaired to Rome and entered into the service of the cardinal Bernardo da Bibbiena, to whom he was in some degree related, and from whom he entertained hopes of pre-

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Poesia Bernesca.

Francesco
Berni.

(a) *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. i. p. 290, 6th ed.

(b) Respecting his name and the place of his birth, v. *Menage*, *Anti-Baillet*, par. i. sec. 37.

Bossi thinks it probable, from the following verses of Berni, that he was born in *Florence*.

“ Era quivi per sorte capitato
Un certo buon compagno *Fiorentino*;
Io dico *Fiorentino*, ancor che nato
Foss' el *Padre*, e nudrito in *Casentino*.”

Ed. Ital. vol. vii. 294.*

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ferment which were not realized. After the death of Bernardo, he attached himself to his nephew the cardinal Angelo da Bibbiena, but with no greater advantage, and was at length obliged to accept the office of secretary to Giammatteo Ghiberti, bishop of Verona, who then held the important station of datary to the Roman see. Having now taken the ecclesiastical habit, Berni was occasionally employed by Ghiberti in missions to his more distant benefices, and frequently accompanied the bishop on his journeys through Italy; but the fatigues of business, and the habits of regularity were irksome to him, and he sought for relief in the society of the muses, who generally brought both Bacchus and Venus in their train. Being at length preferred to the affluent and easy station of a canon of Florence, he retired to that city; where he was much more distinguished by the eccentricity of his conduct and the pungency of his satire, than by the regularity of his life. Such was his aversion to a state of servitude, if we may credit the humorous passages in which he has professedly drawn his own character, that he no sooner received a command from his patron, than he felt an invincible reluctance to comply with it. He delighted not in music, dancing, gaming, or hunting; his sole pleasure consisting in having nothing to do, and stretching himself at full length in his bed. His chief exercise was to eat a little and then compose himself to sleep, and after sleep to eat again. He observed neither days nor almanacks; and his servants were ordered to bring him no news, whether good or bad. These exaggerations, among many others yet more extravagant, may at least be admitted as a proof that

Berni was fond of his ease, and that his writings were rather the amusement of his leisure than a serious occupation.

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The death of Berni is said to have been occasioned by the jealous enmity which subsisted between the duke Alessandro and the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, each of whom is supposed to have contended with the other, which should first destroy his rival by poison. One of them, if we may believe this story, was desirous of engaging the assistance of Berni, and he having refused to join in so detestable a project, fell a victim to the revenge of his patron, by a death of similar treachery. On this it may be sufficient to observe, that the cardinal died in the month of August, 1535, and that Berni survived him at least until the month of July, 1536. We may therefore conclude with certainty, that he was not poisoned by the cardinal, and with scarcely less certainty that he was not poisoned by Alessandro, for not having concurred in the destruction of a rival who had then been dead nearly twelve months.(a)

Of the style of composition adopted by Berni and his associates, it is not easy to convey an adequate idea, as its excellence consists rather in the simplicity of the diction, and the sweetness of the Tuscan idiom, than in that sterling wit and vigorous sentiment which bear to be transfused into another language. Of all writers, those whose merit depends on what is called humour are the most local. That which in one country is received with admiration and delight, may in another be considered as insipid or contemptible. To enjoy these writings in their full extent, some degree of

Character
of his writ-
ings.

(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia, in art. Berni. vol. iv. p. 986.*

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acquaintance is necessary with the manners and peculiarities of the inhabitants, even of the lower classes, and perhaps the delicacy and flavour of them can never be fully perceived except by a native. These observations may be applied in different degrees, not only to the works of Berni, Bini, and Mauro, but to the Capitoli and satires of Giovanni della Casa, Agnolo Firenzuola, Francesco-Maria Molza, Pietro Nelli, who assumed the name of Andrea da Bergamo, and a long train of other writers, who have signalized themselves in this mode of composition. (a) That these early productions led the way to a similar eccentricity of style in other countries, is not improbable, and perhaps the most characteristic idea of the writings of Berni and his associates, may be obtained by considering them to be in lively and unaffected verse, what the works of Rabelais, of Cervantes, and of Sterne are in prose. (b)

(a) The *Opere Burlesche* of Berni and others, after some of them had been separately published, were collected by Anton-Francesco Grazzini, called *Il Lasca*, and published by the Giunti at Florence, vol. i. 1548, 1550, vol. ii. 1555, octavo. They have been frequently reprinted since, but generally in a mutilated and imperfect manner. The most complete and best edition is that of which the first and second volumes bear the date of London, 1723, and the third, of Florence in the same year, but which were in fact printed at Naples, and this edition is cited as one of the *Testi di lingua* by the academicians *Della Crusca*.

(b) "A blessing," says Sancho, "on him who first invented sleep; it wraps a man all round like a cloak." Thus Berni, almost a century before Cervantes, on the same subject:

"Quella diceva ch'era la più bella
Arte, il più bel mestier che si facesse;
Il letto er' una veste, una gonella
Ad ognun buona che se la mettesse."

Orl. Innam. lib. iii. cant. vii.

For

It is, however, much to be regretted, that a great part of these compositions are remarkable for a degree of indecency and profaneness, which requires all the wit and elegance of the original, and perhaps more sympathy with such subjects than an untainted mind should feel, to prevent their being read without disapprobation or disgust. It can, therefore, occasion no surprise, that these pieces, many of which have been written by men of high ecclesiastical rank, should have brought some degree of disgrace upon the Roman church. One of the productions, in this style of writing, of Giovanni della Casa, archbishop of Benevento, and for some time inquisitor at Venice, has been singled out as a particular instance of depravity, but many examples at least equally flagrant might have been produced. Even the writings of Berni contain passages, and indeed whole pieces, not less gross and licentious than the work which has given rise to so much reprehension. (a)

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For some further remarks on the different species of the *Poesia Bernesca*, the reader may refer to the notes in the Italian edition, vol. vii. pp. 69, 70, 73, 75.

(a) The work alluded to of Giovanni della Casa, is his *Capitolo del Forno*, published with his *terze rime*, in the *Opere burlesche* of Berni and others, in three volumes. This piece has given rise to an infinite number of errors and misrepresentations, that have stained the memory of this most accomplished scholar and elegant writer with uncommon odium. From these accusations, he has been defended with great ability by M. Menage, in his *Anti-Bailet*, par. ii. sec. 119. That he was himself, however, extremely sensible of the reproaches which he had incurred, appears from his exquisite Latin lines, addressed *Ad Germanos*, in which he has endeavoured to justify himself, by alleging that these obnoxious verses were written in the more thoughtless days of his youth, and that he had compensated for them by the regularity, industry, and

CHAP. XVI. That Berni was not, however, so entirely devoted to indolence, as we might, from the character which he has chosen to give of himself, be induced to believe, may sufficiently appear from his numerous writings, and particularly from his having reformed and new-modelled the extensive poem of *Orlando Innamorato* of the count Bojardo. This work he is said to have undertaken in competition with the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, which has given occasion to accuse Berni of presumption and of ignorance; but Berni was too well acquainted with the nature of his own talents, which involuntarily led him towards the burlesque and the ridiculous, to suppose, that in serious composition he could emulate that great man. He has, however, both in this and other parts of his writings, shewn that he could occasionally elevate his style, and the introductory verses to each canto

His Orlando Innamorato.

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continency of his future life and conduct; for which he refers to *Bembo*, *Flaminio*, and his other friends. His example may be a lesson to young writers, to be cautious how they produce

“ One line which dying they would wish to blot.”

A caution which is beautifully enforced in his own verses :

“ Annis ab hinc triginta et amplius, scio
Nonnulla me fortasse non castissimis
Lusisse versibus ; quod ætas tunc mea
Rerum me adegit inscizia, et semper jocis
Licentius gavisia, concessu omnium,
Juventa ; quod fecerè et alii item boni.
At nunc abit juventa, lusus permanet ;
Et carmini illi nomen adscribunt meum
Idem quod ante erat, nec adscribunt diem
Eandem, erat quæ quando id olim lusimus ;
Sed quod puer peccavit, accusant senem.”

The works of Casa were collected and published in five volumes, quarto, *Venice*, 1728. Both his verse and prose may be esteemed among the purest models of the Italian tongue.

of the *Orlando Innamorato*, which are generally his own composition, are not the least admired, nor the least valuable parts of the work. That the alterations of Berni raised the poem of Bojardo into more general notice, may be conjectured from the various editions of the reformed work which issued from the press soon after its first appearance, and which are yet sought after with avidity. (a) The task which Berni thus completed, was also undertaken by several of his contemporaries, and in particular by Teofilo Folengi, and Lodovico Dolce; neither of whom brought their labours to a termination. It appears also, that Pietro Aretino had formed an intention of devoting himself to this task, which, however, he afterwards relinquished; and if we may be allowed to judge from the specimen given of his epic talents in his poem of *Marfisa*, the world has sustained no loss by his determination.

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Yet more extravagant than the writings of Berni, are those of his contemporary Teofilo Folengi, of Mantua, better known by his assumed name of *Merlino Coccajo*. He was also an ecclesiastic, having in the year 1507, when only six-

Teofilo Folengi.

(a) The first of these editions is that of the Giunti, in 1541, quarto. It was also published at Milan, *nelle case d'Andrea Calvo*, 1542, quarto, with the privilege of the pope, and the state of Venice; and again at Venice, in 1545, *con la Giunta di molte stanze*, which are, however, of little importance. Another edition is said to have been published at Venice, per *Girolamo Scotto*, in 1548. *Quadrio*, iv. 554. *Mazzuchelli*, iv. 992, but this I conceive to be the *Orlando Innamorato*, as reformed by Lodovico Dominichi; at least a copy of the latter work by the same printer, and in the same year, is in my possession. The more modern edition, with the date of Florence, 1725, but in fact printed at Naples, is considered as the most correct.

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His macaronic poems and other works.

teen years of age, entered into the order of Benedictines, on which occasion he relinquished his baptismal name of *Girolamo*, and took that of *Teofilo*. (a) His religious vows did not, however, extinguish his amorous passions, and a violent attachment which he soon afterwards formed for a young lady named *Girolama Diedo*, induced him to desert his monastery. After passing for several years an irregular and wandering life, he published his macaronic poems, in which, by a singular mixture of the Latin and Italian with the various dialects of the populace, and by applying the forms of one language to the phrases of another, he has produced a kind of mongrel tongue, which from its singularity and capricious variety has attracted both admirers and imitators. (b) How it was possible for a person possessed of the ta-

(a) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. i. 302.

(b) Tiraboschi informs us that the first edition is that of Venice, in 1519, but Fontanini and Zeno have cited an edition containing his eclogues, and the first seventeen books of his poem of *Baldo*, printed at Venice in 1517, 8vo. They were afterwards reprinted at Venice in 1520; and by Alexander Paganini, TUSCULANI APUD LACUM BENACENSEM, in 1521, ornamented with grotesque prints from blocks of wood, with the following title:

OPUS MERLINI COCAII Poetæ Mantuani Macaronicorum, totum in pristinam formam per me Magistrum Acquarium Lodolam optime redactum, in his infra notatis titulis divisum.

ZANITONELLA, quæ de amore Tonelli erga Zaninam tractat. Quæ constat ex tredecim Sonolegiis, septem Ecclögis, et una Strambottolegiu.

PHANTASIE Macaronicon, divisum in vigintiquinque Macaronicis, tractans de gestis magnanimi et prudentissimi Baldi.

MOSCHÆ, Facetus liber in tribus partibus divisus, et tractans de cruento certamine Muscarum et Formicarum.

LIBELLUS Epistolarum et Epigrammatum ad varias personas directarum.

lents and learning by which Folengi was undoubtedly distinguished, to sacrifice to these compositions such a portion of time as they must from their number and prolixity have required, it is not easy to conceive, and certainly a much smaller specimen might have satisfied the curiosity of most of his readers. It has, indeed, been said, that it was his first intention to compose an epic poem in Latin, which should far surpass the *Æneid*; but finding, from the decision of his friends, that he had scarcely rivalled the Roman bard, he committed his poem to the flames, and began to amuse himself with these extravagant compositions; some of which, however, occasionally display such a vivacity of imagery and description, and contain passages of so much poetical merit, that if he had

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HEXASTICON *Joanus Baricocola.*

Merdiloqui putrido Scardaffi stercore nuper

Omnibus in bandis imboazata fui.

Me tamen Acquarii Lodola sguratio lavit,

Sum quoque savono facta galanta suo.

Ergo me populi comprantes solvite bursas.

Si quis avaritia non emit, ille miser.

Folengi afterwards reformed and altered this work, for the purpose of correcting its satirical tendency, and a new edition was printed without note of year, place, or printer; but which was printed at Venice in 1530. The edition of 1521 is, however, considered as the best, and has been the usual model of those since reprinted, particularly that of Venice, *apud Joannem Variscum et Socios, 1573*. A splendid edition of the *Macaronics* of Folengi, in two vols. 4to. was published at Mantua in 1768 and 1771, with the life of the author by Gianagostino Gradenigo, bishop of Ceneda.

Of the origin of the macaronic style, as well in France and Germany as in Italy, some additional and curious particulars are given by Count Bossi, in his notes and documents to the Italian translation. v. vol. vii. pp. 295, 297, 347: vol. xii. p. 226.*

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Orlandino.

devoted himself to more serious compositions, he might probably have ranked with the first Latin poets of the age. In the year 1526, Folengi, under the name of *Limerno Pitocco*, published in Italian his burlesque epic poem of *Orlandino*; a work which discovers still more evidently the vigour of his imagination, and the facility and graces of his composition; and which, not being written in the grotesque and motley style of his former productions, may be perused with considerable pleasure. (a) It must, however, be remarked, that both this poem and his *Macaronics* abound with obscene passages; a peculiarity which seems in these times to have distinguished the productions of the ecclesiastics from those of the laity. (b) Re-

(a) This poem, divided into eight cantos, has been several times reprinted after the first edition of the *Sabbii*, in Venice, 1526, particularly by Gregorio de' Gregori, at the same place, and in the same year: in Rimini, by Soncino, 1527 (ed. castrata), in Venice, by Sessa, 1530, and 1539, and at the same place by Bindoni, in 1550: which last edition has been counterfeited by an impression of the same date of much inferior execution. At the close is an apologetical address from the author, in which he has attempted to vindicate himself from the charge of impiety, in having satirized the clergy under the character of *Monsignore Griffarosto*; and, what was much more dangerous, in having shewn a partiality to the cause of the reformers. v. *Zeno*, *annot. al. Fontan.* i. 303.

(b) Bossi has endeavoured to invalidate the above observation, as bearing too hard upon the ecclesiastics, by observing that in those times almost all young men of talents, not destined by their rank to a military life, were devoted to the church; and that even such of the laity, as distinguished themselves in literature, frequently took upon themselves the habit of priests. Something may perhaps be conceded to this remark; but after all, the fact remains as above stated, and sufficiently shews that the restraints of religion, and the rules of morality were insufficient to restrain the licentiousness of the clergy within decent bounds.*

pening of his errors, or wearied with his disorderly conduct, Folengi soon afterwards returned to his cell, where his first occupation was to write an account of the aberrations and vicissitudes of his past life, which he printed under the title of *Chaos de tri per uno*, and which is yet more capricious and extravagant than his former writings. (a) As the fire of his fancy or the ardour of his passions decreased, he turned his talents to religious subjects, and composed a poem *Dell' Umanità del Figliuolo di Dio*, which has probably attracted much fewer readers than his former works. (b) Having been appointed principal of the small monastery of S. Maria della Ciambra, in the island of Sicily, he there, at the request of Ferrando Gonzaga, the viceroy, composed a poem in *terza rima*, divided into two books, and entitled *La Palermitta*, and also three tragedies in verse on sacred subjects, (c) but these pieces have never been printed. Many other works of Folengi are noticed by his editors and biographers. His life was

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(a) His *Triperuno* is intended to exhibit the three different periods of the life of its author, and was first printed at Venice in 1527, and again in 1546.

(b) Printed at Venice, per *Aurelio Pincio*, 1533. This work is divided into ten cantos, in the first of which Homer and Virgil are introduced conversing together in favour of the four Christian poets who have written on the humanity of the Son of God, who it appears are, *il Folgo*, or Folengi himself, *Sanazzaro*, *Vida*, and *Scipione Capece*. Folengi seems to have imbibed some of the notions of the reformers, which he did not dare more openly to avow; and like David before Achish, to have feigned himself mad, and "scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard."

(c) *La Cecilia, La Cristina, e La Caterina*. v. *Zeno, Note al Fontanini*, vol. i. p. 302.

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prolonged until the year 1544, when he died at the *Priorato* of Campese near Bassano, and was buried in the adjacent church of *Santa Croce*.

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Imitations
of the an-
cient classic
writers.

Although the study of the ancient languages had long been revived in Italy, yet no idea seems to have been entertained before the time of Leo X. of improving the style of Italian composition, by a closer adherence to the regularity and purity of the Greek and Roman writers. Some efforts had, indeed, been made to transfuse the spirit, or at least the sense of these productions into the Italian tongue. The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, (a) and the *Æneid* of the Mantuan bard, (b) had thus been translated into prose; and the *Thebaid* of Statius, (c) the *Pharsalia* of Lucan, (d) the *Satires* of Juvenal, (e) with some detached parts of the writings of Ovid, (f) and of Virgil, (g) had been

(a) Translated by Giovanni Buonsignore, supposed as early as the fourteenth century, printed at Venice per *Gio. Rosso. Ven. 1497. v. Morelli. Bib. Pinel. vol. iv. Art. 2069. Haym. Bib. Ital. 118. 13.*

(b) *L' Eneida, ridotta in prosa, per Atanagio Greco. Vicenza, per Ermanno di Levilapide. 1476.*

(c) *Tebaide di Stazio, in ottava Rima da Erasmo di Valvasone, Ven. ap. Fr. Franceschi. 1470.*

(d) *Lucano la Farsaglia, tradotta dal Cardinale Montichiello. Milano, per Cassano di Mantegazii. 1492. 4to.*

(e) *Le Satire di Giuvenale, in terza rima, da Giorgio Sommaripa, in Trevigi, 1480. fo.*

(f) *De arte Amanli, in terza rima, Milano, per Filippo di Montegazzi, 1494.* There is also another edition, without date, which is probably the first. *v. Morelli. Bib. Pinel. vol. iv. p. 2071.*

(g) *Bucoliche di Virgilio, per Bernardo Pulci, di Latino in vulgare traducte, printed with some of the Bucolics of Francesco Arsochi, Hieronymo Benivieni et Jacopo Fiorini de Buoninsegni, Flor. per Maestro Antonio Mischomini, 1494. v. Life of Lor. de' Med. vol. i. p. 244. 4to. ed.* I must observe, that Mr. Warton is

translated into Italian verse ; but in so rude and unskilful a manner, as to produce, like a bad mirror, rather a caricature than a resemblance. As the Italian scholars became more intimately acquainted with the works of the ancients, they began to feel the influence of their taste, and to imbibe some portion of their spirit. No longer satisfied with the humble and laborious task of translating these authors, they with a laudable emulation endeavoured to rival the boasted remains of ancient genius by productions of a similar kind in their native tongue. In order to attain an equality with their great models, they ventured also to discard the shackles of rhyme, and to introduce a kind of measure which should depend for its effect on the elevation and harmony of its language, and on the variety of its pauses, rather than on the continual recurrence of similar sounds. The person who is entitled to the chief credit of having formed, and in some degree executed, this commendable design, is the learned Gian-Giorgio Trissino ; and although his powers as a poet were inadequate to the task which he had imposed upon them, yet the chaste and classical style which was thus introduced, has given rise to some of the

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not correct in asserting, that Virgil's *Bucolics* were translated into Italian by Bernardo Pulci, Fossa de Cremona, Benivieni, and Fiorini Buoninsegni. *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 256. The only translators of Virgil being Bernardo Pulci and Evangelista Fossa ; and the *Bucolics* of Benivieni and Buoninsegni being original compositions. The translation of Fossa is entitled *BUCHOLICA VULGARE DE VIRGILIO composta per el Clarissimo Poeta Frati Evangelista Fossa de Cremona, del ordine di Servi. MCCCCLXXXIV. in Venetia.* The translation is in *terza rima*, but extremely rude and incorrect.

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Introduces
the *versi
sciolti*, or
Italian
blank verse.

Trissino was born of a noble family at Vicenza, in the year 1478, and for some time received instructions from the celebrated Greek, Demetrius Chalcondyles, at Milan. (a) On the death of his wife, of whom he was early in life deprived, he repaired to Rome, where he obtained the particular favour of Leo X. who employed him on several important missions; and in particular, to the emperor Maximilian. (b) The *versi sciolti*, or blank verse of the Italian language, was first employed by Trissino in his tragedy of *Sofonisba*; and is certainly much better calculated than either the *terza rima*, or the *ottava stanza*, to works of length. The same mode of versification was, however, employed about the same time by several men of considerable talents, and an eminent Italian critic has asserted, that “it was first used by Luigi Alamanni, in his translation from Catullus of the epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis, afterwards by Lodovico Martelli, in translating the fourth book of the Æneid, and by the cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici, in translating the second; in imitation of whom, Trissino afterwards composed in the same measure his epic poem of *Italia liberata da’ Goti*.” (c) But it must be observed that the *Italia liberata*

(a) With a laudable gratitude, Trissino erected in the church of *S. Maria de la passione* at Milan, an elegant monument to the memory of his instructor, who died at that city in the year 1511. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vi. ii. 132. Ed. 1776.

(b) *Trissino, in Dedicaz. di sua Italia liberata, al Imperat. Carlo V.*

(c) *Lettere di Claudio Tolomei, citate nelle Giorn. di Letterati.* vol. xxvi. p. 290.

was not the first work in which Trissino had employed the *versi sciolti*, his tragedy of *Sofonisba* having been written at least ten years before he began his epic poem, and completed in the year 1515. (a) It is, however, certain, that in the same year Giovanni Rucellai wrote in blank verse his tragedy of *Rosmunda*; but as he has himself addressed Trissino as his literary preceptor, and as the pretensions of Trissino to the precedence in this respect are confirmed by the explicit acknowledgment of Palla Rucellai, the brother of Giovanni, we may with confidence attribute to Trissino the honour of the invention; (b) unless the pretensions of the Florentine historian, Jacopo Nardi, who gave a specimen of blank verse in the prologue to his comedy entitled *L'Amicizia*, supposed to be represented before the magistrates of Florence, about the year 1494, may be thought to invalidate his claim. (c) The tra-

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(a) It appears from a letter of Giovanni Rucellai to Trissino, dated the 8th day of November, 1515, that Trissino had then completed his tragedy, which was intended to be represented before Leo X. probably on the occasion of his visit to Florence in that year. v. *Zeno, Note al Fontanini, Bib. Ital.* vol. i. p. 464. It was not, however, printed until the year 1524, when it was published in Rome, per *Lodovico degli Arrighi Vicentino*; with a dedication which had been addressed by the author to Leo X. in the lifetime of that pontiff, and which the reader will find in the Appendix, No. CLXIII.

(b) "Voi foste il primo, che questo modo di scrivere, in versi materni, liberi dalle rime, poneste in luce," &c. *Dedicazione al poema degli Api, al Trissino.*

(c) This question has given rise to great diversity of opinion between Monsignore Fontanini and his severe commentator Apostolo Zeno; which the reader will find in the *Bibl. dell' Eloq. Italiana*, vol. i. p. 384, et seq. It has also been discussed by Mr. Walker, in the Appendix to his *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, No. ii. p. 20.

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gedy of *Sofonisba* is, however, entitled to notice, not only as having first introduced the *versi sciolti* into general use, but as being the first regular tragedy which made its appearance after the revival of letters. The appellation of tragedy had, indeed, been already adopted, and even the story of *Sophonisba* had been the subject of a dramatic performance, in *ottava rima*, by Galeotto, marquis of Carretto, presented by him to Isabella, marchioness of Mantua; (a) but this piece, like the *Virginita* of Accolti, and other productions of a similar nature, was so imperfect in its arrangement, and so ill adapted to theatrical representation, that it rather increases than diminishes the honour due to Trissino, who, disregarding the example of his contemporaries, introduced a more correct and classical style of dramatic composition. (b) The affecting story of this tragedy, founded on the relation of Livy in the thirtieth book of his history, is already well known, having been frequently the subject of theatrical representation in this country. It may therefore be sufficient to observe, that Trissino, without greatly deviating from the records of history, has given a dramatic form to the incidents, which renders his production not uninteresting, and has interspersed it with some passages of expression and pathos. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the dignity of the tragic style is not always equally supported,

(a) *Maffei, Teatro Italiano*. vol. i. in prefaz. alla *Sofonisba del Trissino*.

(b) On this account, Giraldi, in the prologue to his *Orbecche*, denominates him

“ Il *Trissino* gentil, che col suo canto
Prima d' ognun, dal Tebro, e dall' Ilyso,
Già trasse la Tragedia a l' onde d' Arno.”

and that the author frequently displays a prolixity, languor, and insipidity, both of sentiment and of language, which greatly detract from the interest of the piece.

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It was not, however, until the year 1547, that Trissino published the nine first books of his epic poem of *Italia liberata da' Goti*; of which the additional eighteen books made their appearance in 1548. (a) In this poem, to the completion of which the author had dedicated upwards of twenty years, he proposed to exhibit to his countrymen a specimen of the true epic, as founded on the example of Homer and confirmed by the authority of Aristotle. The subject is the liberation of Italy from the Goths by Belisarius, as general of the emperor Justinian. In the execution of it, Trissino asserts that he had examined all the Greek and Roman writers, for the purpose of selecting the flowers

His *Italia
liberata da'
Goti.*

(a) This poem, like the second edition of the *Sofonisba*, in 1529, was printed with the occasional introduction of Greek letters, for determining, with greater precision, the Italian pronunciation; the invention of which is due to Trissino, although his authority has failed of introducing it into general use. He dedicated it to the emperor Charles V. in an address which explains the motives of his attempt, and elucidates some circumstances in his own life. Several passages in this poem gave great offence, the author having severely censured the conduct of some of the Roman pontiffs, in consequence of which they were cancelled by him in the copies remaining unsold; a circumstance which has given rise to much discussion among the Italian bibliographers. v. *Fontanini, Bib. Ital.* vol. i. p. 268, &c. As one of these excised passages has a particular reference to the subject of the preceding volumes of the present work, I shall lay it before the reader, from the *prima rarissima Edizione*, as it is denominated by Tiraboschi. In this extract will also be found a specimen of the peculiar manner in which Trissino attempted to introduce the use of Greek types. p. Appendix, No. CLXIV.

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of their eloquence to enrich his own labours. That Trissino was a man of talents and of learning, is evident from his other writings; and his various acquirements in mathematics, physics, and architecture, are highly celebrated by his contemporaries; yet of all the attempts at epic poetry which have hitherto appeared, the *Italia liberata* may be considered as the most insipid and uninteresting. In Berni, Mauro, Folengi, and other writers of burlesque poetry, their simplicity or vulgarity is evidently assumed, for the avowed purpose of giving a greater zest to their satire or their wit, but the low and pedestrian style of Trissino is genuine and unaffected, and is often rendered still more striking by the unconscious gravity of the author. Yet more reprehensible is the plan and conduct of the poem, in which the heathen mythology is confounded with the Christian religion, and an invocation to Apollo and the muses introduces the Supreme Being as interfering in the concerns of mortals, in such language and by such means, as must, in the estimation of either true piety or correct taste, appear wholly unworthy of the divine character. Hence neither the industry of Trissino, nor the high literary character which he had before attained, could raise into credit his unfortunate poem, which, as one of his contemporaries informs us, was never read, but seemed to have been buried on the same day that it first saw the light. (a)

(a) " Non si vede che'l Trissino, la cui dottrina nella nostra età fu degna di maraviglia, il cui Poema non sarà alcuno ardito di negare, che non sia pieno d'erudizione, e atto ad insegnar di molte belle cose, non è letto, e che quasi il giorno medesimo che è uscito a luce, è stato sepolto?" *Bernardo Tasso, ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. iii. 113.*

About the year 1700, a feeble attempt was made, by the associates of the academy of cardinal Ottoni at Rome, to transpose the *Italia liberata* into *ottava rima*, each member selecting a separate book for the exercise of his talents; but although some of them performed their task, the work was never completed. The critics of Italy, unwilling to detract from the character of a man whose merits have in other respects done honour to their country, have, however, seldom mentioned the *Italia liberata* but in terms of respect; although it never was reprinted until the year 1729, when it was inserted in the general collection of the works of its author. (a)

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Subsequent to Trissino in the adoption of the *versi sciolti*, but more successful in the manner in which he employed it, was his friend Giovanni Rucellai, whose near consanguinity to the pontiff Leo X. as well as his own extraordinary merits, entitle him to particular notice. He was one of the four sons of Bernardo Rucellai, by his wife Nannina, sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and was born at Florence in the year 1475. (b) The

Giovanni
Rucellai.

(a) To the particulars here given respecting *Gio. Giorgio Trissino*, Count Bossi has made considerable additions, in his annotations on the present work, *v. Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 347, et seq. He has also enriched his edition by the publication of several original letters, mostly addressed to *Trissino*, from some of the most eminent persons and distinguished scholars of the time; particularly *Leo X.*, *Isabella of Aragon*, *duchess of Milan*, *Demetrius Chalcondyles*, *Andreas Alciatus*, *Janus Parrhasius*, *Giovanni and Paolo Rucellai*, *Veronica Gambarà*, *Vittoria Colonna*, &c. I regret that I cannot, consistently with the limited plan of the present edition, insert these letters in the Appendix, but must refer my reader to the Italian translation, vol. x. p. 141.*

(b) *Giornale de' Letterati*, xxxiii. par. i. 240.

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example of his father, who is justly ranked among the most eminent scholars and correct Latin writers of his time, and the instructions of the celebrated Francesco Cataneo da Diaceto, were a sure pledge of his early proficiency; and it has been said of him with undoubted truth, that he was highly accomplished as well in the Greek and Latin languages as in his own. (a) In the year 1505, he was sent as ambassador from his native city to the state of Venice, and was present when the envoy of Louis XII. required that the senate would permit the learned civilian Filippo Decio to return as his subject to Pavia, to teach the canon law, with which the senate refused to comply; an incident which it seems made a great impression on Rucellai, as being a proof of the value of literature and the great importance of a man of talents. (b) In the tumult raised by the younger citizens of Florence, on the return of the Medici in the year 1512, and which contributed so greatly to facilitate that event, Giovanni Rucellai and his brother Palla took a principal part; in which they appear to have acted in opposition to the wishes of their father, who was a firm adherent to the popular cause. (c) On the elevation of Leo X. and the appointment of his nephew Lorenzo to the government of Florence, Giovanni remained at that city in a respectable employment, and is supposed to have accompanied Lorenzo to Rome,

(a) "TRIPlici LINGUA elegantissime excultus." *Poccianti, Catal. de' Scrittori Fiorentini. ap. Giorn. de' Letterati, ut sup.*

(b) *Giornale de' Letterati*, xxxiii. par. i. p. 244.

(c) *Giornale de' Letterati*, xxxiii. par. i. p. 245, et *v. ante*, chap. x. vol. ii. p. 187.

when he went to assume the insignia of captain-general of the church. Soon after his arrival, Rucellai entered into the ecclesiastical order, and attended the pontiff on his visit to Florence, at the close of the year 1515, when Leo was entertained in the gardens of the Rucellai with the representation or recital of the tragedy of *Rosmunda*, written by Giovanni in Italian blank verse. It has excited surprise that Leo did not confer the dignity of the purple on a man so nearly related to him, to whom he was so much attached, and who was in every respect worthy of that honour. Some authors have attributed this circumstance to the timid jealousy of Giuliano de' Medici, who is said to have represented to his brother the danger that might accrue to their family in Florence, from any increase of the credit and authority of the Rucellai, who could number amongst them one hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms; whilst others have supposed, that as Leo did not choose to advance to the rank of cardinal some of his relations as near to him as Rucellai, on account of the opposition which they had shewn to his family, he on this account postponed also the nomination of Giovanni; but whatever was the reason of the conduct of the pope, which was probably neither of those before assigned, it is certain that it arose not from any want of esteem or confidence, as may be inferred from his despatching Rucellai, at a very important crisis, as his legate to Francis I. in which station he succeeded Lodovico Canossa, and continued until the death of the pontiff.

After this unexpected event Rucellai returned to Florence; and on the elevation of Adrian VI.

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the successor of Leo, was deputed, with five others of the principal citizens, to congratulate the pope on his new dignity. Rucellai, as chief of the embassy, addressed the pontiff in a Latin oration, which is yet preserved. The short pontificate of Adrian was succeeded by that of Clement VII. to whom Rucellai stood in the same degree of kindred as to Leo X. and who immediately after his elevation gave a decisive proof of his regard for Rucellai, by appointing him keeper of the castle of S. Angelo; a dignity which has usually been considered as the proximate step to that of a cardinal, and whence Rucellai is commonly named *Il Castellano*. (a) This honour he did not, however, long enjoy; having terminated his days about the beginning of the year 1526, and before the deplorable sacking of Rome, which soon afterwards occurred. (b)

During the residence of Rucellai at the castle of S. Angelo, he completed his tragedy of *Oreste* and his beautiful didactic poem *Le Api*; neither of which were, however, during his lifetime, committed to the press. The reason of this will appear from the words of the author, addressed, a short

(a) The dialogue of Trissino on the Italian language, entitled *Il Castellano*, is thus named by the author from his friend Rucellai, who is one of the interlocutors, and is therein styled by him "Uomo per dottrina, per bontà, e per ingegno non inferiore a nessun altro della nostra età." The strict friendship which subsisted between Trissino and Rucellai, whilst they emulated each other in their works, is, as Maffei has justly observed, highly honourable to the characters of both. *Teatro Ital.* vol. i. p. 93.

(b) Many of the errors respecting *Rucellai*, of the modern French Lexico-biographers, generally ill informed on the literary affairs of Italy, have been corrected by Count Bossi. *Ed. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 316.*

time before his death, to his brother Palla Rucellai. (a) "My *Api*," said he, "have not yet received my last improvements; which has been occasioned by my desire to review and correct this poem in company with our friend Trissino, when he returns from Venice, where he is now the legate of our cousin Clement VII. and which poem I have, as you will see, already destined and dedicated to him. I therefore entreat that when you find a fit opportunity, you will send him this poem for his perusal and correction; and if he approve it, that you will have it published, without any testimony but that of his perfect judgment to its merits. You will likewise take the same method with my *Oreste*; if he should not think it troublesome to take so much labour for the sake of one who was so affectionately attached to him." The poem of the *Api* was accordingly published in the year 1539, and will secure to its author a high rank among the writers of didactic poetry. Without rendering himself liable to the charge of a servile imitator, he has chosen a subject already ennobled by the genius of Virgil; and has given to it new attractions and new graces. His diction is pure without being insipid, and simple without becoming vulgar; and in the course of his work he has given decisive proofs of his scientific acquirements, particularly on subjects of natural history.

The injunctions of Giovanni Rucellai with respect to his tragedy of *Oreste* were not so punctually complied with; the cause of which is, however, assigned by his brother Palla, in his dedica-

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His didactic poem
Le Api.

His tragedy
of *Oreste*.

(a) *Maffei, prefazione al Oreste. Teatro Italiano, vol. i. p. 92.*

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tion of the *Api*, to Trissino. “As to the *Oreste*, I have thought it better to wait awhile, until your *Belisario*, or to speak more accurately, your *Italia liberata*, a work of great learning, and a new *Hommer* in our language, shall be perfected and brought to light.” This tragedy remained in manuscript until nearly two centuries after the death of its author, when it was published by the Marchese Scipione Maffei. The subject of this piece is similar to that of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides; but the author has introduced such variations, and ennobled his tragedy with so many grand and theatrical incidents, that it may justly be considered as his own, and not as a mere translation from an ancient author; insomuch that Maffei, who, from his own performances must be admitted to be a perfect judge, considers it as not only superior to the *Rosmunda* of the same author, but as one of the most beautiful pieces which any author, either ancient or modern, has adapted to theatrical representation. (a)

Luigi Alamanni.

Another Italian writer who distinguished himself by the elegance and harmony of his blank verse, was Luigi Alamanni; who was born of a noble family at Florence in the year 1475, (b) and passed the early part of his life in habits of friendship with Bernardo and Cosimo Rucellai, Trissino, and other scholars who had devoted themselves more particularly to the study of classical

(a) *Maffei, Teatro Italiano*, vol. i. p. 95.

(b) Some writers have placed the birth of *Alamanni* in 1495, to which opinion Count Bossi seems to incline, and to which, for the reasons he has given, I am also disposed to assent. *v. Ed. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 317.*

literature. (a) Of the satires and lyric poems of Alamanni, several were produced under the pontificate of Leo X. In the year 1516, he married Alessandra Serristori, a lady of great beauty, by whom he had a numerous offspring. (b) The rank and talents of Alamanni recommended him to the notice and friendship of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who, during the latter part of the pontificate of Leo X. governed on the behalf of that pontiff the city of Florence. The rigid restrictions imposed by the cardinal on the inhabitants, by which they were, among other marks of subordination, prohibited from carrying arms under severe penalties, excited the indignation of many of the younger citizens of noble families, who could ill brook the loss of their independence, and among the rest of Alamanni; who, forgetting the friend in the patriot, not only joined in a conspiracy against the cardinal immediately after the death of Leo X. but is said to have undertaken to assassinate him with his own hand. (c) His associates were Zanobio Buondelmonti, Jacopa da Diaceto, Antonio Bruccioli, and several other persons of distinguished talents, who appear to have been desirous of restoring the ancient liberty of the republic, without sufficiently reflecting on the mode by which it was to be accomplished. The designs of the conspirators were, however, discovered, and Alamanni was under the necessity of saving himself by flight. After many adventures and vicissitudes, in the course of which he returned to Florence and took

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(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia, in art. Alamanni.*

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Varchi, Istor. Fiorentina, lib. v. p. 108.*

CHAP. XVI. an active part in the commotions that agitated his country, he finally withdrew to France, where he met with a kind and honourable reception from Francis I. who was a great admirer of Italian poetry, and not only conferred on him the order of S. Michael, but employed him in many important missions. (a) On the marriage of Henry, duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II. with Catherine de' Medici, Alamanni was appointed her *Maitre d'Hotel*; and the reward of his services enabled him to secure to himself great emoluments, and to establish his family in an honourable situation in France. The writings of Alamanni are very numerous; (b) but his most admired production is

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(a) On an embassy from Francis I. to the emperor Charles V. Alamanni gave a singular instance of his talents and promptitude. Having in his oration before the emperor, frequently mentioned *the Imperial Eagle*, Charles, after having attentively listened till the close of the speech, turned towards the orator and repeated with a sarcastic emphasis, from one of the poems of Alamanni,

———— “ *L' aquila grifagna,*

“ *Che per più divorar due becchi porta.*”

Alamanni heard this reproach with perfect composure, and instantly subjoined, “ Since these lines are known to your majesty, I must be allowed to say, that when I wrote them, I wrote as a poet, to whom it is allowed to feign; but that I now speak as the ambassador from one great sovereign to another, whom it would ill become to deviate from the truth: they were the production of my youth; but now I speak with the gravity of age: they were provoked by my having been banished from my native place; but I now appear before your majesty divested of all passion.” Charles, rising from his seat, and laying his hand on the shoulder of the ambassador, told him with great kindness, that he had no cause to regret the loss of his country, having found such a patron as Francis I. adding, that to a virtuous man every place is his country. *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Ital. in art. Alamanni, p. 253.*

(b) The works of Alamanni, consisting of his *Elegies, Eclogues, Satires*, and *Lyric pieces*, with his tragedy of *Antigone*, were

his didactic poem *La Coltivazione*, written in *versi sciolti*, and addressed by him to Catherine de' Medici, by a letter, in which he requests her to present it to Francis I. (a) This work, which Alamanni completed in six books, and which he appears to have undertaken rather in competition with, than in imitation of the *Georgics*, is written not only with great elegance and correctness of style, but with a very extensive knowledge of the subject on which he professes to treat, and contains many passages which may bear a comparison with the most celebrated parts of the work of his immortal predecessor. His tragedy of *Antigone*, translated from Sophocles, is also considered by Fontanini as one of the best dramatic pieces in the Italian tongue; but his epic romances of the *Avarchide*, (b) and the *Girone Cor-*

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His poem
entitled *La
Coltivazione*.

first printed by Gryphius, at *Lyons*, vol. i. 1532, vol. ii. 1533; the first volume was also printed by the Giunti at Florence in 1532, and both volumes were afterwards published at Venice in 1533, and again in 1542. Notwithstanding these frequent editions, the works of Alamanni were prohibited in the pontificate of Clement VII. both at Florence and Rome, in the latter of which places they were publicly burnt. *v. Mazzuchelli*, vol. i. p. 256.

(a) Printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, in 1546, in a beautiful edition, corrected by the author, and dedicated to Francis I. It was again printed in the same year by the Giunti at Florence, and has been since frequently reprinted, particularly in a correct and fine edition in large quarto, by Comino at Padua, in 1718, with the *Api* of Rucellai, and the epigrams of Alamanni, and at Bologna in 1746.

(b) First printed after the death of the author, at Florence. *Nella stamperia di Filippo Giunti*, 1570, 4to. The subject of this poem is the siege of the city of Bourges, the capital of the duchy of Berri, supposed to be the *Avaricum* of Julius Cæsar. The plan and conduct of it is so closely founded on that of the *Iliad*, that if we except only the alteration of the names, it appears rather to be a translation than an original work.

CHAP. *tese*, (a) both written in *ottava rima*, have not had
 XVI. the good fortune to obtain for their author any
 A. D. 1518. considerable share of applause.

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Classifica-
 tion of the
 Italian writ-
 ters.

From this brief review of some of the principal Italian poets who wrote in the pontificate of Leo X. it will not be difficult to perceive, that they may be divided into four distinct classes. I. Such as continued to adopt in their writings, although in different degrees, the rude and imperfect style of composition which was used towards the latter part of the preceding century. II. The admirers of Petrarca, who considered him as the model of a true poetic diction, and closely imitated his manner in their writings. III. Those who, depending on the vigour of their own genius, adopted such a style of composition as they conceived expressed, in the most forcible and explicit manner, the sentiments which they had to communicate. And IV. Those authors who followed the example of the ancients, not only in the manner of treating their subjects, but in the frequent use of the *versi sciolti*, and in the simplicity and purity of their diction. That in each of these departments a considerable number of writers, besides those before mentioned, might be enumerated, will readily be perceived; but the limited object of the present work will be sufficiently obtained, by demonstrating the en-

(a) *Girone il Cortese*, printed at Paris, da *Rinaldo Calderio e Claudio suo figliuolo*, 4to., and again at Venice, per *Comin da Trino da Monferato*, 1549). This work is little more than a transposition into Italian *ottava rima*, of a French romance entitled *Gyron Courtois*, which Alamanni undertook, at the request of Francis I. a short time before the death of that monarch, as appears from the information of the author himself in his dedication to Henry II. in which he has described the origin and laws of the British knights errant, or *knights of the round Table*.

couragement which the poets of the time derived from Leo X. and the proficiency made during his pontificate in this most popular and pleasing branch of literature. It is to this period that we are to trace back those abundant streams which have now diffused themselves throughout the rest of Europe; and although some of them may be pursued to a still higher fountain, yet it was not until this time that they began to flow in a clear and certain course. The laws of lyric composition, as prescribed by the example of Sanazzaro, Bembo, Molza, and Vittoria Colonna, have since been adopted by the two Tassos, Tansillo, Costanzo, Celio Magno, Guidi, Filicaja, and a long train of other writers; who have carried this kind of composition, and particularly the higher species of ode, to a degree of excellence hitherto unattained in any other country. In epic poetry, the great work of Ariosto excited an emulation, which in the course of the sixteenth century, produced an immense number of poems on similar subjects; many of which are of great extent, and some of which, if they have not equalled the *Orlando Furioso* in fertility of invention and variety of description, have excelled it in regularity and classical chastity of design, and have displayed all those poetical graces that without surprising delight the reader. If to the satires of Ariosto, we add those of Ercole Bentivolio, who was nearly his contemporary, and which are written on a similar model, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that neither these, nor the singular productions of Berni, Bini, Mauro, and their associates, have in any degree been rivalled in subsequent times. Nor have the later

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writers of blank verse, among whom may be enumerated Annibale Caro, Marchetti, and Salvini, greatly improved upon the correct and graceful example displayed in the writings of Rucellai, Alamanni, the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and frequently in those of Trissino.

The Italian
drama.

With respect to the drama, much, however, remained to be done. Neither the *Sofonisba* of Trissino, nor the *Rosmunda* or *Oreste* of Rucellai, although highly to be commended when compared with the works which preceded them, and when considered with relation to the times in which they were produced, can be regarded as perfect models of tragedy, adapted to theatrical representation. It must also be observed that the efforts of the cardinal da Bibbiena, and even of Ariosto, to introduce a better style of comic writing, are rather scholastic attempts to imitate the ancient writers, than examples of that true comedy which represents, by living portraits, the follies, the vices, and the manners of the age. It is only in later times that the dramatic works of Maffei, of Metastasio, of Alfieri, and of Monti, have effectually removed from their country the reproach of having been inferior in this great department of letters to the rest of Europe. In comedy, the Italians have been yet more negligent; for between the dry and insipid performances of the early writers, and the extravagant, low, and burlesque exhibitions of Goldoni, Chiari, and similar authors of modern comedy, lies a spacious field, in which the genius of a Moliere, a Goldsmith, or a Sheridan, would not fail to discover innumerable objects of pursuit and of amusement.

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1518.

IMPROVEMENT in classical literature—Jacopo Sadoleti—Latin writings of Bembo—Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli—His Chrysopoiea—Latin writings of Sanazzaro—His poem De partu Virginis—Girolamo Vida—His Christiad—His Poetics—Girolamo Fracastoro—His poem entitled Syphilis—Andrea Navagero—Marc Antonio Flaminio—His writings—Latin poetry cultivated at Rome—Guido Postumo Silvestri—Giovanni Mozzaello—Latin extemporary poets—Raffaello Brandolini—Andrea Marone—Camillo Querno and others—Baraballo di Gaeta—Giovanni Gorizio a patron of learning at Rome—The Coryciana—Francesco Arsilli—His Latin poem de Poetis Urbanis.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM the time of the revival of letters in Italy, the *poesia volgare*, or poetry of the national tongue, had experienced many vicissitudes; having at some periods shone with distinguished lustre, and at others been again obscured by dark and unexpected clouds; but classical learning, and particularly Latin poetry, had made a steady and uniform progress, and in the course of one hundred and fifty years, during which a long succession of eminent scholars had continually improved upon their predecessors, had at length nearly attained to the highest degree of excellence. The pontificate of Leo X. was destined to give a last impulse to these studies; for if there was any department of literature, the professors of which he regarded with more partiality, and rewarded with greater munificence than those of another, it was undoubtedly that of Latin poetry. Nor had this partiality first manifested itself on his ascending the pontifical throne; whilst he yet held the rank of cardinal, the Italian scholars had been well prepared by his conduct to judge of the favour and encouragement which they would be likely to experience, if that fortunate event should take place; and we have already seen, that in the very commencement of his pontificate, he was saluted by them as the person destined to restore the honours

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Improvement in
classical literature.

CHAP. of literature, and to revive the glories of the Au-
 XVII. gustan age.(a)

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Jacopo Sa-
 doleti.

The hopes thus early entertained of the future conduct of the pontiff, had been greatly encouraged by the appointment to the important office of apostolic secretaries, of Bembo and Sadoleti: two men who were distinguished by their proficiency in almost every branch of polite learning, but who had chiefly acquired their reputation by the superior elegance of their Latin writings. Jacopo Sadoleti was a native of Modena, and was born in the year 1477.(b) After having completed his studies at Ferrara, under the directions of Nicolo Leonicensi and other eminent professors, and made a great proficiency in philosophy, eloquence, and the learned languages, he arrived at Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI. where he found, in the cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, a kind and munificent patron, and in the learned Scipione Carteromaco, an excellent instructor. Of the literary associations which were afterwards formed in Rome, Sadoleti was a distinguished member, and it is to his recollection of these meetings, in which festivity and learning seem to have been united, that we are indebted for the most particular account that now remains of them, and which we have before had occasion to notice.(c) The ability and diligence of Sadoleti in his official employment, gave such satisfaction to Leo X. that he conferred upon him the bishoprick of Carpentras; the duties of which station Sadoleti fulfilled

(a) *v. ante*, vol. ii. chap. xi. p. 242.

(b) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Ital.* vii. par. i. 273.

(c) *v. ante*, vol. ii. chap. xi. p. 241.

during his subsequent life, notwithstanding his higher preferments, in a manner that proved him to have entertained a proper sense of the importance of his trust. Amidst his ecclesiastical duties and his political occupations, he did not, however, wholly relinquish the exercise of his talents for Latin poetry; and his verses on the group of the Laocoon, which had been discovered in the baths of Titus, during the pontificate of Julius II., are worthy of that exquisite remnant of ancient art which they are intended to celebrate. (a) It was not, however, until the pontificate of Paul III. in the year 1536, that Sadoleti was honoured with the purple; a dignity which he had long merited, not only by the services which he had rendered to the Roman see in many important embassies, but by the temperate firmness of his character, his elegant and conciliating manners, and, if it can be considered as any recommendation, at a time when it was so notoriously dispensed with, by his sincere and unaffected piety. The moderation which he displayed in opposing the reformers, the concessions which he was willing to make to them, and the kindness with which he invited them to return to the bosom of the church, formed a striking contrast to the conduct of the greater part of his ecclesiastical associates, and has led an eminent writer to express his opinion, that if there had been many like Sadoleti, the breach would

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(a) These verses, which obtained for the author no inconsiderable share of reputation as a Latin poet, are printed in the works of Sadoleti, tom. iii. p. 245. ed. Veron. 1738, 4 vols. 4to., and also in the *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital.*

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not have been so widely extended. (a) It was probably from this liberality of sentiment, that in his Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, he incurred the censure of the Roman court; and although the prohibition was, in consequence of his representations, removed by the pope, and the work was with some corrections admitted as canonical, yet this event appears to have occasioned infinite anxiety to its author. (b) His Latin tracts, and particularly his treatise *De liberis instituendis*, have been greatly admired. This work is indeed considered by Tiraboschi as superior to the many essays and systems of education which have been produced in modern times, when, as he justly observes, it is too common to insult the elder writers as barbarians. (c)

(a) “Ed io credo, che se molti avesse allora avuti la chiesa a lui somiglianti, minore sarebbe stato il danno da lei sofferto.” *Tirab.* vii. i. 276.

(b) *Tiraboschi*, vii. i. 278. Erasmus, who was a friend and admirer of Sadoleti, was aware that the publication of his commentary would give rise to some dissatisfaction. After adverting to the epistle of Paul, in a letter to Damiano Goes, he adds, “In eandem tres libros edidit illud eximium hujus ætatis decus Jacobus Sadoletus, admirabili sermonis nitore, et copia plane Ciceroniana; nec deest affectus Episcopo Christiano dignus. Fieri non potest, quin tale opus a tali viro profectum bonorum omnium suffragiis approbetur; vereor tamen ne apud complures ipse phrased nitor nonnihil hebetet aculeos ad pietatem.” *Erasm. Ep.* lib. xxvii. ep. 38. It appears, also, that Erasmus admonished him to be cautious in publishing his commentary. “De commentariis Jacobi Sadoleti mihi tale quiddam præsentabat animus. Admonui illum literis quantum licuit tantum admonere Præsulem. Insumpsit in hoc opus immensos labores. Audio nec a Sorbonicis probari.” *Erasm. Ep.* lib. xxx. ep. 72.

(c) *Tiraboschi*, vii. i. 277.

The Latin writings of Pietro Bembo appear, as well from the nature of the subjects, as the persons to whom they are addressed, to have been chiefly the production of the early part of his life; after which he was induced, by causes which we have before assigned, to devote himself more particularly to the cultivation of his native language; (a) this alteration in his studies is also alluded to in the following lines, prefixed to the general collection of his works: (b)

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Latin writings of
Bembo.

Whilst, rivalling the strains that Maro sung,
Thine hands across the Latian chords were flung,
Love raptured heard; and bad thee next aspire
To wake the sweetness of the Tuscan lyre.

Neither the Italian nor the Latin writings of Bembo have been considered as entitled to the praise of originality. If, in the former, he has manifested a close adherence to Petrarca, he has in the latter been thought to have followed, with too servile a step, the track of the ancients, and to have imitated, as well in his verse as his prose writings, the style of Cicero. It may, however, be observed, that this imitation is not so apparent in his Latin poems as in his Italian sonnets and lyric productions; and that the former, although not numerous, nor on subjects of importance, possess in general more interest and vivacity than the latter.

In briefly noticing the attention paid by Julius

(a) *v. ante*, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 64.

(b) " Tu quoque Virgilio certabas, Bembe, Latino
Magnanimum heroum carmine facta canens.
Audiit, et Musæ captus dulcedine, Thuscos
Ad citharam versus condere jussit Amor."

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Giovanni
Aurelio
Augurelli.

II. to the learned men of his time, we have already had occasion to mention the Latin poet Augurelli; (a) but as he lived also during the pontificate of Leo X. and survived that pontiff several years, and as his most considerable work is on a singular subject, and is inscribed to Leo X. a more particular account of him will be necessary. Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, or Augurello, was born about the year 1441, (b) of a respectable family in the city of Rimini, whence he was frequently denominated Giovanni Aurelio da Rimini. His early studies were completed in the celebrated university of Padua, where he made a long residence, (c) and where it is probable that he first began to give public instructions in polite literature; he being mentioned by Trissino, in his treatise entitled *Il Castellano*, as the first person who had observed the rules of the Italian language prescribed by Petrarca. (d) Having afterwards the good fortune to obtain the favour and patronage of Nicolo Franco,

(a) *v. ante*, vol. ii. chap. vii. p. 19, and chap. ix. p. 162.

(b) Mazzuchelli fixes his birth about 1454, but the count Rambaldo degli Azzoni Avogari, in his memoirs of Augurelli, published in the sixth volume of the *Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, p. 162, has sufficiently shewn that this event is to be placed at an earlier period.

(c) It appears, from the following passage in one of his odes, that he remained at Padua twenty years.

“ Dulcibus sic dum teneor potentum
Ipse Musarum studiis, et oti
Debitus, dudum patriæ duo bis
Lustra reposcor.”

Carm. lib. ii. p. 17. *Ed. Ald.* 1505.

(d) “Le prime regole de la lingua di lui, (Petrarca) cominciatesi ad osservare in Padova, per M. Giovan Aurelio da Rimini.”

Trissin. Il Castellano, b. iv.

bishop of Trevisi, he took up his residence with him at his episcopal see, where he was appointed a canon, and honoured with the freedom of the city, as he had before been with that of Padua. After the death of his patron he left Trevisi, and passed about fifteen months at Feltre, for the purpose of devoting himself without interruption to the study of the Greek language, (a) and at length fixed his abode at Venice, where he obtained great reputation as a private instructor, and had the honour of numbering among his pupils, Bembo, Navagero, and others, who afterwards rose to great eminence. Augurelli is represented by Paulo Giovio as the most learned and elegant preceptor of his time. (b) His studies are, however, said to have been interrupted by a violent passion for alchemy, which induced him to consume his hours over a furnace, in the vain expectation of discovering a substance which he supposed would convert the baser metals into gold. (c) The failure of his hopes seems not to have deterred him from pursuing his speculations; but, instead of persisting in his chemical operations, he prudently resolved to commit his ideas on this abstruse subject to Latin verse, in which he completed a poem in three books, which he entitled *Chrysopocia*, or the art of making gold. This work he dedicated to Leo X. in a few elegant introductory lines,

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His *Chry-
sopocia*.

(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. in art. Augurelli.*

(b) " Il più dotto e candido d' ogn' altro, ch' a tempi suoi insegnasse privatamente (e però forse con guadagno maggiore) lettere Greche e Latine." *Giov. Iscritt. lib. i. p. 128.*

(c) *Jovius ut sup. Mazzuch. art. Augurelli.*

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which are well entitled to notice. (a) By this production, Augurelli obtained great credit; and it has been justly said, that his verses contain a richer ore than that which he pretends to teach his readers to make. (b) It has also been observed, that he displayed a singular propriety in dedicating his work to Leo X. who stood in need of such a resource to enable him to supply his expenditure, and to repay himself for the immense sums which he disbursed in rewarding men of talents, and in magnificent feasts and spectacles. (c) The compensation which Leo bestowed on Augurelli was not, however, less appropriate; he having, as it has frequently been related, presented him with a large and handsome, but empty purse, observing, that to a man who could make gold, nothing but a purse was wanting. (d) An eminent

(a) From this introduction, as well as from various passages in the poem itself, it appears, that this work was written in the pontificate of Julius II. during the war of Cambray, and that the address to Leo X. was prefixed to it afterwards, when the author resolved to publish it. As this piece is not frequently met with, not being found in the usual collections of the works of its author, the introduction to it is given in the Appendix, No. CLXV.

(b) “ Recte aurum ipse doces fieri, sed rectius aurum
Efficis auratis tu modo carminibus.”

Dom. Onor. Caramella. ap. Mazzuch. in art. Augurelli.

(c) “ L' indirizzò a Papa Leone ch' era d' ogni ricchezza aperto disprezzatore; acciochè sua Beatitudine, la quale prodigamente usava l' oro nel sostentare i belli ingegni, e nelle spese continove, festivioli, e regali, senza ingiuria degli uomini sapesse onde ampiamente cavare ricchezze infinite.” *Jov. Iscritt. lib. i. p. 129.*

(d) “ Ego quidem auro te donarem, sed cum tu ejus efficiendi certam scientiam polliceare, sat erit si habeas ubi aurum abs te confectum reponas.” *Fabron. vita Leon. X. p. 220. Mazzuch. in*

modern critic is of opinion that Augurelli was not serious in his composition of this poem, and that he employed himself in better pursuits than the study of alchemy; (a) but it may be observed in reply, that such a poem could only have been written by a person who had paid great attention to the subject, and that the work has been received as canonical by the professors of the mysterious art. (b) Augurelli lived to an advanced age, and at length died suddenly in the year 1524, whilst he was disputing in the shop of a bookseller at Trevigi; in which city he was buried, and where an epitaph written by himself was inscribed on his tomb. (c)

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Besides his *Chrysopocia* and another Latin poem entitled *Geronticon*, or on old age, there remains

art. Augurelli. This incident is also alluded to in the following lines of Latomus. *ap. Mazzuch. ut sup.*

“ Ut quod minus collegit e carbonibus,
Avidi Leonis eriperet e dentibus.”

(a) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. par. ii. p. 231. *ed. Modena, 1776.* Where he observes, that Augurelli himself professes in his poem to write in jest, and to make no account of this pretended art. If, however, we except a few lines at the end, the whole piece appears to have been very seriously written; and even in these he professes to have mingled the lessons of wisdom with the festivity of wit:

“ — doctos salibus sermone spargere puris
Tentavi.”

(b) It has been printed in various collections of writers on alchemy, particularly in the *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa* of Mangetus, vol. ii. p. 371. *Geneve, 1702. fo.*

(c) “ AURELII AUGURELLI IMAGO EST, QUAM VIDES,
UNI VACANTIS LITERARUM SERIO
STUDIO ET JOCOSO, DISPARI CURA TAMEN;
HOC UT VEGETIOR SIC FIERET AD SERIA,
ILLO UT JOCOSIS UTERETUR FIRMIOR.”

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of Augurelli a volume of poems under the names of *Iambici*, *Sermones*, and *Carmina*, which has frequently been reprinted. The merits of these poems have been variously appreciated by succeeding critics, but they undoubtedly display an easy and natural vein of poetry, a great acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, and a purity and correctness of style, to which few authors of that early period had attained. (a) On this account a learned Italian, himself no inelegant poet, after having fully considered the sentiments of preceding writers, and particularly the unfavourable opinion of Julius Cæsar Scaliger on this subject, scruples not to assert, that on a question of this nature Scaliger was incapable of forming a proper judgment, and that the writings of Augurelli are worthy of immortality. (b)

Latin writings of Sanazzaro.

The Latin writings of Sanazzaro are entitled to more particular consideration, and although not voluminous, most probably afforded him occupation for the chief part of his life. They consist of his piscatory eclogues; two books of elegies; three of epigrams, or short copies of verses, and his celebrated poem *De partu Virginis*. Of these the eclogues possess the merit of having exhibited a novel species of composition, in adapting the language of poetry to the characters and occupations of fishermen; (c) and this task he has ex-

(a) The poems of Augurelli were published by Aldo, in a beautiful volume in 8vo. *Ven.* 1505.

(b) *Giannateo Toscano, Peplus Ital.* No. lxxv. p. 40. *ed. Par.* 1578.

(c) Perhaps the merit of originality in this species of composition may be thought rather to belong to Theocritus, or the writer of the piscatory eclogue placed among his idylliums.

cuted with a degree of fancy, variety, and even of elegance, which perhaps no other person could have excelled; yet it may be doubted whether these subjects, and the long details of no very pleasing nature to which they give rise, are well adapted for a professed series of poems; the varied aspects of mountains, vales, and forests, and the innocuous occupations, and diversified amusements of pastoral life, are ill exchanged for the uniformity of the watery element, and the miserable and savage employment of dragging from its depths its unfortunate inhabitants.

The elegies of Sanazzaro are, however, much more highly to be esteemed; as well for their innumerable poetical beauties, and the expressive simplicity and elegance of their style, as for the many interesting circumstances which they have preserved to us respecting the times in which he lived. But the work to which Sanazzaro devoted the greatest part of his time, and on which he chiefly relied for his poetical immortality, was his poem in three books, *De partu Virginis*, which after the labour of twenty years, and the emendations derived from the suggestions of his learned friends, was at length brought to a termination. That Leo X. would have thought himself honoured by the patronage of this poem, there is sufficient reason to believe; but Sanazzaro had from political motives long evinced a kind of habitual hostility to the Roman see, and some circumstances are said to have occurred between him and Leo X. which are supposed to have increased, rather than diminished his antipathy, and to have induced him to express his resentment in a sarcastic copy of

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Latin verses, in which the family descent and personal defects of the pontiff are, from want as it would seem of other causes of reprehension, the chief objects of his satire. (a) Whether, however, this alleged misunderstanding ever occurred or not, and whether the verses referred to be the production of Sanazzaro or of some one who assumed his name, as has not without reason been asserted, (b) certain it is, that Leo was so far from manifesting any displeasure against the poet, that on being informed of the completion of his great work, he addressed to him a letter, commending

(a) It appears that Alfonso Castriotta, marquis of Tripalda, had formed a marriage contract with Cassandra Marchese, a Neapolitan lady, who enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the esteem and friendship of Sanazzaro, but that having repented of his engagement, he applied to the Roman court for a dispensation to release him from its effects. To the granting this dispensation Sanazzaro opposed all his influence, and engaged his friend Bembo to prevent, if possible, the issuing of the bull; but the rank and opulence of the marquis were suffered to prevail against the efforts of the lady and her friends, and the tenor of his own promise. The lines attributed to Sanazzaro on this occasion are as follow :

In Leonem X.

“ Sumere maternis titulos cum posset ab ursis
Cæculus hic noster, maluit esse Leo.
Quid tibi cum magno commune est, Talpa, Leone ?
Non cadit in turpes nobilis ira feras.
Ipse licet cupias animos simulare Leonis,
Non Lupus hoc genitor, non sinit Ursa parens.
Ergo aliud tibi prorsus habendum est, Cæcule, nomen ;
Nam cuncta ut possis, non potes esse Leo.”

(b) This, and other epigrams of Sanazzaro against the Roman pontiffs, printed in several editions of his works, are considered by Fontanini as scandalous libels, published by the heretical authors of the pasquillades, in the name of Sanazzaro, and incautiously admitted by subsequent editors into the collections of his works. *v. Fontanini, Biblioth. Ital.* vol. i. p. 453.

in the highest terms of approbation his talents and his piety, entreating him to publish his poem without further delay, and assuring him of the protection and favour of the holy see. (a) Induced by these representations, Sanazzaro immediately prepared to lay his performance before the public, with a dedication in Latin verse to Leo X. but the death of that pontiff, which occurred only a few months after the date of his letter, prevented Sanazzaro from carrying his intentions into effect, and the testimony of respect intended for Leo X. was reserved by its author for Clement VII. to whom he inscribed his poem in a few elegant lines, which bear, however, strong internal evidence that they were originally intended for his more accomplished predecessor. (b) On receiving the work

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(a) This letter, so honourable both to the pontiff and the poet, is given in the Appendix, No. CLXVI.

(b) " CLEMENTI SEPTIMO PONTIFICI MAXIMO
ACTIUS SYNCERUS.

" Magne Parens, Custosque hominum, cui jus datur uni
Claudere cælestes, et reserare fores ;
Occurrent si qua in nostris male firma libellis,
Deleat errores æqua litura incos.
Imperiis, Venerande, tuis submittimus illos ;
Nam sine te recta non licet ire via.
Ipse manu sacrisque potens Podalyrius herbis
Ulcera Pæonia nostra levabis ope.
Quippe mihi toto nullus te præter in orbe
Triste salutifera leniet arte malum.
Rarus honos, Summo se Præsidente posse tueri ;
Rarior, a Summo Præsidente posse legi."

Sanazzaro had written the concluding stanza,

" Rarus honos tanto se Principe posse tueri ;
Rarior a Summo Præsidente posse legi ;"

but the advice of his friend Puderico induced him to adopt the improved reading.

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from the hands of the cardinal Girolamo Seripando, (a) Clement, who was no less ambitious of the honour of being considered as a patron of letters than Leo X. requested the cardinal to thank Sanazzaro in his name for his beautiful poem, to assure him of his favour, and to request that he might see him at Rome as early as might be convenient to him. Not satisfied, however, with this verbal expression of his approbation, he addressed a letter to the poet, in which he expresses high satisfaction in having his name united to a poem which is destined to survive and to be read through all future times; at the same time justifying the love of that fame which is the result of those commendable labours, which he considers as the image or reflection of the immortality promised by the religion of Christ. (b) This obligation the pontiff expresses himself ready to repay to the utmost of his power; and from these assurances Sanazzaro is supposed to have entertained hopes of being admitted into the sacred college. (c) That he would have received some distinguished mark of the approbation of the pontiff, is not improbable, had not the calamitous events of the times, and particularly the dreadful sacking of the city of Rome, called the attention of Clement VII. to objects more immediately connected with his own safety. Sanazzaro had, however, the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Egidio, cardinal of Viterbo, to whom he had also transmitted a copy of his

(a) *Crispo, vita del Sanazzaro*, p. 26, *in fronte alle sue Opere*. Ed. Ven. 1752, 8vo.

(b) *v. Appendix*, No. CLXVII.

(c) *Crispo, vita del Sanazzaro*, p. 26, et nota 68.

poem, containing the highest commendations both of the work and its author; (a) and as praise is the natural and proper reward of poetry, Sanazaro must have been extremely unreasonable if the reception of his work did not afford him entire satisfaction. (b)

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That the poem *De partu Virginis* contains many fine passages, and exhibits the powers of the author, and his command of the Latin language, in a more striking point of view than any of his other writings, cannot be denied; and it is even probable that he chose this subject, for the purpose of displaying the facility with which he could apply the language and the imagery of paganism to the illustration of the truths of the Christian creed. But after all, it must be confessed that he was unfortunate in his choice; and that the work, if not deserving of reprehension for its impiety, was at least deserving of it in the estimation of a true and correct taste. To require the attention of the

His poem
*De partu
Virginis.*

(a) In this letter, the cardinal applies to Sanazaro the Homeric lines:

“Ὅ δ' ἕλθεις ὄντινα Μῆσαι

Φιλεῦνται, γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπὸ σώματος ῥέει αὐδή.”

“*Μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα,*” exclaims Vulpius, “cum Hesiodum dicere debuerat; hæc enim leguntur in Hesiodi Theogonia.” v. 96.

But the cardinal probably found these lines in the fragment of the hymn to Apollo and the Muses, attributed to Homer; to whom it may also be presumed to belong, from a similar passage in the *Iliad*.

Τῷ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέει αὐδή. Ἰλ. α'. 249.

(b) This poem was translated into Italian, in *versi sciolti*, by Giovanni Giolito, one of the sons of the celebrated printer Gabriel Giolito, and published at Venice in 1588, in a beautiful edition entitled “*DEL PARTO DELLA VERGINE del Sanazaro, libri tre, tradotti in versi Toscani da Giovanni Giolito de' Ferrari. al Ser. Sig. Don Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duca di Mantoua e di Monferrato,*” &c.

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Among the followers of the muses, Sanazzaro

(a) These improprieties did not escape the animadversion of Erasmus, in his *Cicconianus*: “Præferendus est (Sanazzarius) Pontano, quod rem sacram tractare non piguit; quod nec dormitanter eam, nec inamæne tractavit; sed meo quidem suffragio plus laudis erat laturus, si materiam sacram tractasset aliquanto sacratius.”—“Nunc quorsum attinebat hic toties invocare Musas et Phœbum? Quid quod Virginem fingit intentam præcipue Sibyllinis versibus, quod non apte Proteum inducit de Christo vaticinantem, quod Nympharum Hamadryadum ac Nereidum plena facit omnia? Quam dure respondet Christianis auribus versus ille, qui, ni fallor, virgini matri dicitur: *Tuque adeo, spes fida hominum, spes fida Deorum,*” &c. *Ciccon.* p. 90. *Ed. Tolosa,* 1620, where this passage is followed by some very judicious remarks on the manner of treating sacred subjects in poetry.

may be considered as one of the most fortunate. The destruction of his beloved villa of Mergellina, by Philibert, prince of Orange, on account of its having been occupied as a military station by the French, is said, however, to have occasioned him great concern; (a) but with the exception of this event, amidst all the convulsions of his country, his talents and integrity procured for him general respect, and he enjoyed to the close of his life an honourable independence. His latter years were passed in the pleasant vicinity of Somma, in the society of Cassandra Marchese, who is the frequent subject of panegyric in his writings. (b) The wishes of the poet, that she might be present to close his eyes and perform his funeral rites, were literally fulfilled; and under her care his remains were deposited in a chapel which he had erected at his villa of Mergellina, and where a superb monument was some years afterwards raised to his memory, on which was inscribed the following lines by Bembo:

“ Da sacro cineri flores. Hic ille Maroni,
Sincerus, musa proximus ut tumulo.”

Fresh flow'rets strew, for Sanazzar lies here,
In genius, as in placce, to Virgil near.

(a) *Crispo, vita del Sanazzaro*, p. 28, c nota 75.

(b) “ Tu quoque vel fessæ testis, Cassandra, senectæ,
Quam manet arbitrium funeris omne mei;
Compositos tumulo cineres, atque ossa piato;
Neu pigeat vati solvere justa tuo.
Parce tamen scisso seu me, mea vita, capillo;
Sive—sed heu prohibet dicere plura dolor.”

Sannaz. Eleg. lib. iii. el. ii.

To the same lady, Sanazzaro has also addressed the fifth of his piscatory eclogues.

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The extraordinary talents displayed by Sanaz-
zaro in his Latin compositions, did not, however,
secure to him an uncontested preeminence over his
contemporaries. Before he had brought to a con-
clusion the work on which he meant to found his
poetical reputation, several powerful rivals arose,
one of whom, in particular, produced under the
auspices of Leo X. a poem of great merit and con-
siderable extent, which will secure to its author a
lasting reputation among the Latin writers of
modern times. This poem is the *Christiad* of
Vida; a man who may be considered as one of
the chief luminaries of the age in which he lived,
and of whose life and writings a more particular
account cannot fail to be generally interesting.

Girolamo
Vida.

Marco Girolamo Vida was a native of Cremona. Some diversity of opinion has arisen as to the time of his birth, which event has generally been placed about the year 1470, (*a*) whilst some have contended, that it could not have occurred until the year 1490. (*b*) The reasons adduced by

(*a*) *De vita et scriptis auctoris, in op. Vidæ, vol. ii. App. p. 154, in not. Ed. Comin. 1731, 4to.*

(*b*) *Marcheselli, Orazioni in difesa del Vida, ap. Tiraboschi Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 276.* The last mentioned author has also adduced a passage from the first book of the *Scacchia*, dedicated to Isabella Gonzaga, marchioness of Mantua, from which the poem appears to have been written when her son Federigo was in his early youth. Federigo was born in 1500, and Tiraboschi supposes that he might, at the time when Vida wrote his poem, be about nine or ten years of age. Now as Vida himself informs us that he wrote this poem in his early years, *adolescentiæ suæ lusum*, the historian conjectures, that he might then be about twenty years of age, and was consequently born about the year 1490.

different authors have served to refute the opinions of their opponents, without establishing their own; and as Vida was, as it will hereafter appear, certainly born some years after the first-mentioned time, and some years before the latter, his nativity may be placed with sufficient accuracy about the middle of these two very distant periods. His family was of respectable rank, and although his parents were not wealthy, they were enabled to bestow upon their son a good education, for which purpose he was successively sent to several of the learned academies with which Italy was then so well provided. (a) The first specimen of the talents of Vida in Latin poetry appeared in a collection of pieces on the death of the poet Serafino d'Aquila, which happened in the year 1500; towards which he contributed two pieces, which were published in that collection at Bologna, in the year 1504. In this publication he is named by his baptismal appellation Marc-Antonio, which on his entering into regular orders he changed to that of Marco-Girolamo. The memorable combat between thirteen French and thirteen Italian soldiers under the walls of Barletta, in the year 1503, afforded him a subject for a more extensive work; the loss of which is to be regretted, not only as the early production of so elegant a writer, but as a curious historical document. (b) After having

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- (a) “ — Vos claras me scilicet artes,
 Re licet angusta, potius voluistis adire,
 Quam genere indignis studiis incumbere nostro;
 Atque ideo doctas docilem misistis ad urbes.”

Vid. Manibus Parentum, in op. vol. ii. p. 143.

(b) *v. ante, vol. ii. chap. vii. p. 9, note (a).* If we accede to the opinion of Tiraboschi, Vida, at the time of the death of Serafino

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made a considerable proficiency in the more serious studies of philosophy, theology, and political science, he repaired to Rome, where he arrived in the latter part of the pontificate of Julius II. and appears to have been a constant attendant on those literary meetings which were then held in that city, and were continued in the commencement of the pontificate of Leo X. Of his larger works, on which his reputation as a Latin poet is at this day founded, his three books *De Arte Poetica* were probably the first produced; and these were soon afterwards followed by his poem on the growth of silk worms, entitled *Bombyx*, and by his *Sacchiæ Ludus*, a poem on the game of chess. (a) On the last of these poems being shewn to Leo X. he was delighted beyond measure with the novelty of the subject, and with the dignity, ease, and lucid arrangement with which it was treated; which appeared to him almost beyond the reach of human powers. (b) He therefore requested to see the author, who was accordingly introduced to him by Giammatteo Ghiberti, bishop of Verona, who appears to have been his earliest patron, and whom

d' Aquila, was only about ten years of age, and at the time of the combat at Barletta, about thirteen; a period of life when it can scarcely be supposed that he was capable of celebrating these events in Latin poetry; and we may therefore with confidence presume, that he was born some years prior to the date assigned to his birth by that author.

(a) *Faballi, Orat. de Vida; in Vidæ Op. App. p. 143.*

(b) " Poema hoc, tam festivum, tam elegans, quum LEO DECIMUS pontifex forte legisset, vel potius singulas clausulas, singulaque verba contemplatus esset, tanta fuit affectus admiratione, non solum ex materiæ novitate, sed etiam carminis majestate, ut haud crederet talia a mortali fieri pervestigarique posse, nisi divino aliquo mentis instinctu." *Faballi, Orat. de Vida, p. 143.*

he has celebrated in terms of the warmest affection in several of his works. (a) Vida was received by the pontiff with particular distinction and kindness, admitted as an attendant on the court, and rewarded with honours and emoluments; but that upon which the poet appears chiefly to have congratulated himself, was, that his works were read and approved by the pontiff himself. (b) Whether Leo was merely desirous of engaging Vida in a subject that might call forth all his talents, or whether he wished to raise up a rival to Sanazzaro, who, he probably suspected, was not favourable to his fame, certain it is, that at his suggestion Vida began his *Christiad*, (c) which he afterwards completed in six books, but which the pontiff was prevented by his untimely death from seeing brought to a termination. The future patronage of this work was therefore reserved for Clement VII. under whose auspices it was first published in the year 1535, with an apologetical advertisement at the close of

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His *Christiad*.

(a) Particularly in two fine odes, and a copy of hexameter verse; in his *Carmina*, No. I. III. IV.

(b) "LEO jam carmina nostra

Ipsc libris relegebat. Ego illi carus, et auctus

Muneribusque, opibusque, et honoribus insignitus."

Vidæ, Parentum Manibus. in op. vol. ii. p. 144.

(c) For this we have the authority of Vida himself. "Id oneris passus sum mihi imponi, ut LEONIS X. P. M. mandatis satisfacerem, cum jam pridem me conjecissem in studia longe diversa, a quibus hac de causa ab eo advocatus fui. Qui enim poteram Pontificis illius plurimis, ac summis virtutibus ornati voluntati tam piæ, tam sanctæ, morem non gerere? Tanta erat apud me viri illius immortalitate digni auctoritas, ut, quod mihi munus ingenio et facultate sperandum erat, viderer vel ipso mentis impetu assequi posse." From the Dedicatory Epistle to Bartolommeo Botta. *Ap. Henke, Germ. Tr. vol. iii. p. 91.**

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the work ; in which the author excuses the boldness of his attempt by informing the reader, that he was induced to begin and to persevere in his undertaking by the solicitations and munificence of the two pontiffs Leo X. and Clement VII. to whose exertions and liberality, he ascribes the revival of literature from its long state of torpor and degradation. (*a*)

In order to stimulate the poet to terminate this work, or to reward him for the progress which he had made in it, Clement had already raised him to the rank of apostolical secretary, and in the year 1532, conferred on him the bishopric of Alba. Soon after the death of that pontiff, Vida retired to his diocese, and was present at its defence against the attack of the French in the year 1542, where his exhortations and example animated the inhabitants successfully to oppose the enemy. After having attended, in his episcopal character at the council of Trent, and taken an active part in the ecclesiastical and political transactions of the times, he died at his see of Alba, on the twenty-seventh day of September, 1566, more respected for his talents, integrity, and strict attention to his pastoral duties, than for the wealth which he had amassed from his preferments. (*b*)

(*a*) *QUISQUIS ES, AUCTOR TE ADMONITUM VULT, SE NON LAUDIS ERGO OPUS ADEO PERICULOSUM CUPIDE AGGRESSUM; VERUM EI HONESTIS PROPOSITIS PRAEMIIS A DUOBUS SUMMIS PONTIFICIBUS DEMANDATUM SCITO, LEONE X. PRIUS, MOX CLEMENTE VII. AMBOBUS EX ETRUSCORUM MEDYUM CLARISSIMA FAMILIA; CUJUS LIBERALITATI ATQUE INDUSTRIAE, HAEC AETAS LITERAS AC BONAS ARTES, QUAE PLANE EXTINGTAE ERANT, EXCITATAS ATQUE REVIVISCENTES DEBET. ID VOLEBAM NESCIUS NE ESSES.*

(*b*) “Io ho veduto,” says Tiraboschi, “l’inventario de’ mobili

Of all the writers of Latin poetry at this period, Vida has been the most generally known beyond the limits of Italy. This is to be attributed, not only to the fortunate choice of his subjects, but to his admirable talent of uniting a considerable portion of elegance, and often of dignity, with the utmost facility and clearness of style; insomuch that the most complex descriptions or abstruse illustrations, are rendered by him perfectly easy and familiar to the reader. Of his Virgilian eclogues, the third and last is devoted to commemorate the sorrows of Vittoria Colonna, on the death of her beloved husband, the marquis of Pescara. (a) Among his smaller poems, his verses to the memory of his parents, who both died about the same time, and while he was engaged in the successful pursuit of preferment at Rome, display true pathos and beautiful images of filial affection. (b)

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trovati nel suo Palazzo Vescovile; il quale ci fa vedere ch' ei morì assai povero." *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 283. Vida was buried in his cathedral at Alba, where the following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb.

HIC SITUS EST M. HIERONYMUS VIDA.
CREMON. ALBÆ. EPISCOPUS:

- (a) "Conjugiſ amissi funus, pulcherrima NICE
Flebat, et in solis errabat montibus ægra;
Atque homines fugiens, mæsto solatia amori
Nulla dabat; luctu sed cuncta implebat amaro,
Flens noctem, flens lucem; ipsi jam funera montes
Lugebant Davali; Davalum omnia respondebant."

In Vidæ Op. vol. ii. p. 131.

- (b) "Vos unos agitabam animo, vestraque fruebar
Lætitia exsultans, et gaudia vestra fovebam,
Mecum animo versans, quam vobis illa futura
Læta dies, qua me vestris amplexibus urgens
Irruerem improvisus ad oscula, vix bene utrique
Agnitus, insolitis titulis et honoribus auctus,

Scilicet,

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His poetics.

The poetics of Vida, to which he is indebted for so considerable a part of his reputation both as a poet and as a critic, were, on their publication in 1527, addressed by the author to the dauphin Francis, son of Francis I. at that time a prisoner with his brother Henry, as an hostage for his father, at the court of Spain; but this address was not prefixed until several years after the termination of the work itself, which was written at Rome under the pontificate of Leo X. and originally inscribed to Angelo Dovizio, nephew of the cardinal Bernardo da Bibbiena, who afterwards attained also the honour of the purple. (a) It has indeed been supposed, that this production was first printed at Cremona, in the year 1520; and it is certain that the fellow-citizens of Vida had requested his permission to make use of this work for the instruction of youth, to which he expressed his assent in a letter which yet remains; (b) but although it appears, from the archives of Cremona, that it was actually ordered to be printed, yet there is reason to suppose that this order was not car-

Scilicet, et longo tandem post tempore visus,
Dum tenuit me Roma, humili vos sede Cremona."

In Vidæ Op. vol. ii. p. 145.

(a) Tiraboschi had seen a beautiful MS. of this poem as first written, and addressed to Dovizio, of which he has given a particular account. *v. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 279.

(b) In this letter we find the following apology, which he attempts to derive from the difficulty of his undertaking. "Scio enim quam periculosum sit, de re tam varia, tam difficili atque ardua, scribere, his præsertim temporibus, quibus tot præclara ingenia liberalitate Leonis X. Pont. Max. invitata, emergerunt, emerguntque in dies; ut artes mihi, ipsa injuria temporum jamdudum extinctæ, videantur quodammodo hujus auspiciis reviviscere." *In Ep. præf. ad lib. de Poetic. in Ed. Com.*

ried into effect; not a single copy of such an edition having hitherto occurred to the notice of any bibliographer. The cause of this is perhaps to be attributed to Vida himself, who had in his letter given strict injunctions that his work should not be made public; (a) and whose subsequent remonstrances, when he was acquainted with the intentions of the magistrates of Cremona, may be supposed to have deterred them from committing his work to the press. (b) The approbation which the poetics of Vida had the good fortune to obtain from the most correct and elegant poet of our own country, has recommended them to general notice, (c) to which it may be added, that an excellent English critic considers them as the most perfect of all the compositions of their author, and as

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(a) "Hac tamen lege hos libros vobis credimus, ut apud vos in quopiam loco, aut publico, aut privato servantur; quo tantum civibus nostris aditus sit: ne si forte in exterorum manus furto sublati devenerint, injussu meo, Librariorum avaritia in vulgus venales prodeant; qua re, medius fidius, nihil mihi molestius accidere posset." *In Ep. præf. ad lib. de Poetic. in Ed. Com.*

(b) Some further particulars on this subject may be found in a letter of Girolamo Negri, in the *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 106.

(c) "But see each muse, in LEO's golden days,
Starts from her trance, and trims her wither'd bays;
ROME's ancient genius, o'er its ruins spread,
Shakes off the dust, and rears his reverend head.
Then sculpture and her sister arts revive;
Stones leap'd to form, and rocks began to live;
With sweeter notes each rising temple rung;
A RAPHAEL painted and a VIDA sung.
Immortal VIDA! on whose honour'd brow
The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow;
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
As next in place to Mantua, next in fame."

Pope's Essay on Criticism, ver. 697.

CHAP. XVII. “one of the first, if not the very first piece of criticism, that appeared in Italy since the revival of learning.”(a)

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In his poem of the *Christiad*, Vida has avoided the error into which Sanazzaro has fallen, in mingling the profane fables of the heathen mythology with the mysteries of the Christian religion; and like Milton, seeks for inspiration only from the great fountain of life and of truth. Although he placed Virgil before him as his principal model, and certainly regarded him with sentiments next to adoration, as may appear from the conclusion of the third book of his poetics, yet he knew how to fix the limits of his imitation; and whilst he availed himself of the style and manner, and sometimes even of the language of the great Mantuan, he sought not to give to his writings a classic air, by the introduction of such persons and imagery, as could only violate probability, nature, and truth. Hence, whilst the poem of Sanazzaro seems to be the production of an idolater, who believes not in the truths which he affects to inculcate, and frequently verges on the confines of indecency or incongruity, the writings of Vida display a sincere and fervent piety, a contempt of meretricious ornament, and an energetic simplicity of language, which will secure to them unmingled and lasting approbation.(b)

(a) *Warton's Essay on the genius, &c. of Pope*, vol. i. p. 197.

(b) Mr. Henke thinks this commendation of *Vida* somewhat too favourable, and quotes the opinion of *Papadopoli*, who, he conceives, estimates him more accurately. “*Exceptis carminibus de Latrunculis, et de Bombyce, quæ ingeniosissima sunt, frigent elegantissime et latinissime omnia.*” *Germ. ed.* vol. iii. p. 95. But Bossi approves of the sentiments above expressed, and has

In the first class of Italian scholars at this period, we may also confidently place Girolamo Fracastoro; who was not less distinguished by his skill in medicine, and his uncommon scientific acquirements, than by his great and acknowledged talents for Latin poetry. He was a native of Verona, where his ancestors had long held a respectable station. The time of his birth may be placed with tolerable certainty in the year 1483. Some peculiar circumstances attended his infancy, which his future eminence has perhaps caused to be more particularly noticed. At the time of his birth, his lips adhered together in such a manner as scarcely allowed him to breathe, and a surgical operation became necessary in order to remedy the defect. This incident is commemorated in an epigram of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, which may thus be imitated : (a)

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defended *Vida* against some French critics, who have asserted that in his *poetics* he has taught rather the art of imitating *Virgil*, than that of imitating nature. The Italian translator has also added some interesting notices respecting the various editions of the works of *Vida*, and has particularly referred to that printed at Oxford, in 3 vols. 8vo. in 1722, 1725, and 1733. *Ital. ed.* vol. vii. pp. 322, 323.*

(a) “ Os Fracastorio nascenti defuit, ergo
Sedulus attendit finxit Apollo manu.
Inde hauri, Medicusque ingens, ingensque Poeta,
Et magno facies omnia plena Deo.”

These lines have also been paraphrased by the Cavalier Marini, in the softer language of Italy :

“ Al Fracastor nascente,
Mancò la bocca ; allora il biondo Dio,
Con arte diligente,
Di sua man gliela fece, e gliel 'apriò,
Poi di se gliel' empìo,
Quinci ei divin divenne ; ed egualmente

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Thine infant lips, FRACASTOR, nature scal'd,
But the mute organ favouring Phœbus heal'd.
He broke the charm ; and hence to thee belong,
The art of healing, and the power of song.

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An awful event which occurred in the infancy of Fracastoro has also been considered as a presage of his future eminence. Whilst his mother was carrying him in her arms she was struck dead by lightning, but her child received not the slightest injury. This singular fact is attested by such decisive evidence as to place it beyond all reasonable doubt. (a)

After having received a liberal education in his native place, Fracastoro repaired to Padua, where he for some time availed himself of the instructions of the celebrated Pietro Pomponazzo, and formed a friendly intimacy with several persons who afterwards rose to great literary eminence. The authority of his instructor did not, however, lead Fracastoro to embrace his singular and erroneous opinions in metaphysics, some of which he afterwards confuted in one of his dialogues, although without expressly naming his former tutor. (b) He early perceived the futility of the barbarous and scholastic philosophy which Pomponazzo professed, and directed his whole attention to the cultivation of real science, of natural know-

Di doppia gloria in un giunse a la meta ;
E Fisico, e Poeta."

(a) " Fracastorius mira vitæ incunabula a divina fatalique cœlestium numinum benignitate auspiciatus est. Matrem enim infans adhuc, et tantum non vagiens, cum ipsa ei in sinu subsultanti blandulos garriret jocos, ictu fulminis horribili confectam illæsus sensit, si modo sentire potuit." *Franc. Pola, ap. Menckenium, in vita Fracastorii, p. 30.*

(b) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. par. i. p. 293.*

ledge, and of every branch of polite literature. At the age of nineteen, he had not only received the laurel, the emblem of the highest academical degree at Padua, but was appointed professor of logic in that university, which office he relinquished a few years afterwards, that he might attend with less interruption to his own improvement. (a) He at first applied himself to the study of medicine rather as a science than as a profession; but afterwards engaged with great assiduity in the laborious duty of a physician, and was regarded as the most skilful practitioner in Italy. His engagements in this respect did not, however, prevent him from other pursuits, and his proficiency in mathematics, in cosmography, in astronomy, and other branches of natural science, have given just reason to suppose, that no other person in those times united in himself such a variety of knowledge. (b) The irruption of the emperor elect Maximilian into Italy, in the year 1507, and the dangers with which the city of Padua was threatened, induced Fracastoro, who had then recently lost his father, to form the intention of taking up his residence in his native city of Verona, but he was prevailed upon to change his purpose by the solicitations of the celebrated commander Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who, amidst the tumults of war and the incessant occupations of his active life, had never ceased to cultivate and to encourage literary studies. At his request Fracastoro delivered public instructions at the celebrated acade-

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(a) *Maffei, Veron.* vol. iii. par. ii. p. 337. *ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. iii. 293. *in not. ed. Rom.* 1785.

(b) *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. iii. 293.

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my established by d'Alviano in his town of Pordonone, in the district of Trevigi; which place, after having been wrested by him from the emperor, was given to him by the Venetian senate as an independent dominion, in which he was succeeded by his son.^(a) When that great general was again called into public life, Fracastoro accompanied him as the associate of his studies, until the year 1509,^(b) when at the fatal battle of

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(a) “ Pordonono, *Portus Nuonis* da i Latini addimandato. Fu lungamente questo nobile, grande, e ricco Castello, soggetto a i duchi d’Austria. Ma ne’ i nostri giorni essendo stato pigliato da Bartolomeo Alviano Capitano de i soldati Venetiani, guerreggiando con Massimiliano Imperatore, fu donato da i Signori Venetiani al detto; et essendo lui morto, li successe il suo figliuolo.” *Alberti, Italia.* p. 175. *b.*

(b) It is remarkable that d’Alviano had in his train three of the greatest Latin poets that modern times have produced; Andrea Navagero, Hieronymo Fracastoro, and Giovanni Cotta, the latter of whom was despatched by d’Alviano, when he was made a prisoner at the battle of Agnedello, on an embassy to Julius II. to endeavour to procure the liberation of his patron; on which expedition he died of a fever, having yet scarcely attained the prime of life. The few poems left by Cotta breathe the very spirit of his countryman Catullus, and are well characterized in the following lines of Jo. Matthæus Toscanus:

“ Qui Musas, Veneremque Gratiisque
Vis cœctu socias videre in uno,
Hunc unum aureolum legas libellum,
Quo Musæ neque sunt politiores,
Ipsa nec Venus est magis venusta,
Nec gratæ Charites magis. Quod ulli
Si fortasse secus videtur, ille
Iratas sibi noverit misello,
Camœnas, Veneremque, Gratiisque.”

And Flaminio has ventured even to prefer his poems to, or at least to place them on an equality with, those of Catullus himself.

“ Si

Ghiaradadda, d'Alviano was wounded and taken prisoner by the French. After this event Fracastoro retired to Verona, and dividing his time between his city residence and his retired villa in the mountains of Incaffi, devoted himself to scientific and literary pursuits, and to the composition of those works in various departments which have conferred so much honour on his memory.

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To this period of the life of Fracastoro may be referred the commencement of his celebrated poem, entitled *Syphilis, sive de Morbo Gallico*, which appears from internal evidence to have been completed under the pontificate of Leo X. In adopting this subject, it was probably the intention of Fracastoro to unite his various talents and acquirements in one great work, which should at once display his extensive knowledge in the various branches of natural philosophy, his skill and experience on medical subjects, and his admirable genius for Latin poetry. The success of his labours proves that he had neither mistaken nor over-rated his powers, and the approbation bestowed from all quarters upon the *Syphilis* was such as no production of modern times had before obtained. This work he inscribed to Pietro

His poem
entitled *Sy-*
philis.

“ Si fas cuique sui sensus expromere cordis
Hoc equidem dicam, pace, Catulle, tua ;
Est tua Musa quidem dulcissima ; Musa videtur
Ipsa tamen Cottæ dulcior esse mihi.”

The lines on the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici, usually called the first duke of Florence, attributed to Cotta by Gagnet and Vulpius, *v. Fracastor. Cottæ, et aliorum Carm. Patav. 1718. 8vo.* are the production of some later author ; that event not having occurred until many years after his death.

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Bembo, then domestic secretary to Leo X., with whom he had always maintained a friendly intercourse. (a) In the beginning of the second book he particularly refers to the period at which the poem was written, and takes a general view of the circumstances of the times, the calamities that had afflicted Italy, the discoveries of the East Indies, the recent improvements in natural knowledge, in which he refers with great approbation to the writings of Pontano; and to the tranquillity enjoyed under the pontificate of Leo X.

Nor yet, without the guiding hand of heaven,
To mortal toils are new acquirements given.
For tho' fierce tempests sweep the fields of air,
And stars malignant shed an angry glare;
Not yet the gracious power his smile denies,
Evinced in happier hours, and purer skies.
—If in new forms a dire disease impend;
In dreadful wars if man with man contend;
If the sad wretch, afar condemn'd to roam,
To hostile bands resign his native home;
If cities blaze, and powerful kingdoms fall,
And heaven's own altars share the fate of all;
If o'er its barrier burst the heaving tide,
And sweep away the peasant's humbler pride;

- (a) “ BEMBE, decus clarum Ausoniæ, si forte vacare
Consultis LEO te a magnis paullisper, et alta
Rerum mole sinit, totum qua sustinet orbem;
Et juvat ad dulces paullum secedere musas;
Ne nostros contemne orsus, medicumque laborem,
Quicquid id est. Deus hæc quondam dignatus Apollo est;
Et parvis quoque rebus inest sua sæpe voluptas.
Scilicet hac tenui rerum sub imagine multum
Naturæ, fatigue subest, et grandis origo.”

Yet even now (forbid to elder times,)
 We pierce the ocean to remotest climes ;
 Give to the farthest east our keels to roll,
 And touch the confines of the utmost pole.
 —Nor o'er rude wilds, and dangerous tracks alone,
 We make Arabia's fragrant wealth our own ;
 But 'midst Hesperia's milder climes, descry,
 The dusky offspring of a warmer sky ;
 Midst farthest IND, where Ganges rolls his floods,
 And ebon forests wave and spicy woods ;
 Where man a different offspring seems to rise ;
 And brighter planets roll thro' brighter skies.
 Him too we boast, GREAT POET, o'er whose song
 His own PARTHENOPE delighted hung ;
 With reflux wave whilst smooth SEBETO moves,
 And MARO's mighty shade the strain approves
 Of all the wandering stars of heaven that told ;
 And western groves of vegetable gold.
 —But why recount each bard of mighty name,
 Who stands recorded in the rolls of fame ;
 Whom future times shall hail (to merit just)
 When their mute ashes slumber in the dust ;
 —Yet BEMBO, not in silent joy supprest,
 Be one great boon ; the latest and the best ;
 High-minded LEO ; by whose generous cares,
 Her head once more imperial LATIUM rears ;
 Whilst TIBER, rising from his long repose,
 Onward in gratulating murmurs flows.
 At HIS approach each threatening portent flies,
 And milder beams irradiate all the skies ;
 He calls the muses to their loved retreats ;
 (Too long sad exiles from their favourite seats)
 Gives ROME once more her ancient laws to know,
 And truth and right to fix their reign below.
 Now greatly just, he rushes on to arms,
 As patriot ardour, or religion warms ;
 Back towards his source EUPHRATES rolls his tides,
 And NILE his head in secret caverns hides ;

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CHAP. *Ægean DORIS* seeks her oozy caves,
XVII. And *EUXINE* trembles 'midst his restless waves. (a)

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(a) " Credo equidem et quædam nobis divinitus esse
Inventa, ignaros fatis ducentibus ipsis.
Nam, quamquam fera tempestas, et iniqua fuerunt
Sidera, non tamen omnino præsentia divûm
Abfuit a nobis, placidi et clementia cæli.
Si morbum insolitum, si dura et tristia bella
Vidimus, et sparsos dominorum cæda penates,
Oppidaque, incensasque urbes, subversa que regna,
Et templa, et raptis temerata altaria sacris :
Flumina dejectas si perrumpentia ripas
Evertere sata, et mediis nemora eruta in undis,
Et pecora, et domini, correpta que rura natarunt ;
Obseditque inimica ipsas penuria terras ;
Hæc eadem tamen, hæc ætas (quod fata negarunt
Antiquis) totum potuit sulcare carinis
Id pelagi, immensum quod circuit Amphitrite
Nec visum satis, extremo ex Atlante repostos
Hesperidum penetrare sinus, Prassumque sub Arcto
Inspectare alia, præruptaque litora Rhapti,
Atque Arabo advehere, et Carmano ex æquore merces ;
Auroræ sed itum in populos Titanidis usque est
Supra Indum, Gangemque supra, qua terminus olim
Catygare noti orbis erat ; superata Cyambe,
Et ditescendo, et felices macere sylvæ.
Denique et a nostro diversum gentibus orbem,
Diversum cælo, et clarum majoribus astris
Remigio audaci attigimus, ducentibus et Diis.
Vidimus et vatem egregium, cui pulchra canenti
Parthenope, placidusque cavo Sebethus ab antro
Plauserunt, umbræque sacri manesque Maronis ;
Qui magnos stellarum orbis cantavit, et hortos
Hesperidum, cælique omnes variabilis oras.
Te vero ut taceam, atque alios, quos fama futura
Post mutos cineres, quos et venientia secla
Antiquis conferre volent, at, BEMBE, tacendus
Inter dona Deum nobis data non erit umquam
Magnanimus LEO, quo Latium, quo maxima Roma

The title of this singular poem is derived from the shepherd *Syphilus*, who is supposed to have kept the herds of Alcithous, a sovereign of Atlantis, and who, having become impatient of the scorching rays of the summer sun, refused, with impious expressions, to pay his sacrifices to Apollo, but raising an altar to Alcithous, worshipped that

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Attollit caput alta, paterque ex aggere Tybris
Assurgit, Romæque fremens gratatur ovanti.
Cujus ab auspiciis jam nunc mala sidera mundo
Cessere, et læto regnat jam Juppiter orbe,
Puraque pacatum diffundit lumina cælum.
Unus qui ærumnas post tot, longosque labores
Dulcia jam profugas revocavit ad otia Musas,
Et leges Latio antiquas, rectumque piumque,
Restituit; qui justa animo jam concipit arma
Pro re Romana, pro religione Deorum.
Unde etiam Euphrates, etiam late ostia Nili,
Et tantum Euxini nomen tremit unda refusi,
Atque Ægæa suos confugit Doris in isthmos."

Syphil. lib. ii. vol. 11.

It is very remarkable, that Menckenius, in his life of Fracastoro, p. 111, has asserted, that Fracastoro has not, either in his *Syphilis*, or in any other part of his works, expressed his approbation of, or even mentioned *Pontano*. "Ego vero, quantumvis diligenter versatus in lectione *Syphilidis*, tantum abest ut hic laudes quasdam PONTANI commemoratas invenerim, ut ne ullam quidem ejus injectam viderim mentionem. Et si scripta ejus reliqua perquiras, nihil unquam de Pontano in mentem venisse Nostro, manifesto intelliges." Surely Menckenius should have known that the poet mentioned in the passage above quoted,

"Qui magnos stellarum orbcs cantavit, et hortos
Hesperidum,"———

could be no other than *Pontano*. In addition to which, it may further be observed, that Fracastoro, in his dialogue, entitled NAUGERIUS, sive de Poetica, has not only expressly mentioned *Pontano*, but has cited his opinion as to the object and end of poetry, which he there fully discusses and confirms. v. *Op. Fracastor. ap. Giunt.* p. 116.

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sovereign as his divinity. Exasperated at this indignity, Apollo infected the air with noxious vapours, in consequence of which Syphilus contracted a loathsome disease, which displayed itself in ulcerous eruptions over his whole body. The means adopted for his restoration to health, and the circumstances by which the remedy was communicated to Europe, form a principal part of the subject of the poem ; which throughout the whole displays a degree of elegance, and a propriety of poetical ornament, scarcely to be expected from so unpromising a topic. In relating the discovery of the great mineral remedy, the powers of which were then well known, and the use of which is fully explained, the author has introduced a beautiful episode, in which he explains the internal structure of the earth, the great operations of nature in the formation of metals, and the gloomy splendour of her subterraneous temples, her caverns, and her mines. This region he has peopled with poetical beings, among whom, the nymph Lipare presides over the streams of quicksilver, into which the diseased visitant is directed to plunge himself thrice, and on his restoration to health, and his return to the regions of day, not to forget to pay his vows to Diana, and to the chaste nymphs of the sacred fount. (a)

(a) Count Bossi has conjectured, that Fracastoro, in adopting a new mythology, and placing the scene of his poem in the *Atlantis*, has intended to allude to the recent discovery of America, and to the supposed introduction of the disease in question, by the first navigators ; a supposition which seems highly probable. *v. Ital. ed. vol. vii. p. 157.* Respecting the first notice of the use of mercury in this disease Count Bossi has also quoted some tracts

It would be tedious, if not impracticable, on the present occasion, to repeat the numerous testimonies of approbation with which this poem and its author have been honoured, as well on its first appearance as in subsequent times; (a) but the most decisive proof of its merit is derived from the acknowledgment of Sanazzaro, who is generally accused of having estimated the writings of his contemporaries with an invidious severity, but who, on perusing the *Syphilis*, confessed that Fracastoro had, in this work, not only surpassed any of the writings of Pontano, but even the poem *De partu Virginis*, on which he had himself bestowed the labour of twenty years. (b)

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The reputation of Fracastoro as a skilful physician, had, however, increased no less than his fame as an elegant poet; and besides being resorted to by great numbers for his assistance, he

of *Giorgio Sommaripa* of Verona, printed at Venice in 1487, which shew that this remedy was adopted much earlier than is generally imagined, *ibid.* p. 323.*

(a) Many of these testimonies may be found in the *ARÆ FRACASTORIÆ* of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, printed with other commendatory pieces, at the close of the second volume of the works of Fracastoro, by Comino, *Patar.* 1739, 4to., and in the life of Fracastoro, by Menckenius, sec. 9.

(b) “Poeticam (artem) ita (Fracastorius) excoluit, ut ad Virgilianam majestatem proxime accessisse eum faterentur æmuli; et in iis Jacobus Sanazzarius, alioqui parcus et amarulentus alienæ eruditionis laudator, qui visa ejus *Syphilide*, non solum Joannem Jovianum Pontanum, sed se quoque ipsum, in opere accurata viginti annorum lima perpolito, victum exclamavit.” *Thuari Histor.* lib. xii. tom. i. p. 430, *ed. Buckley.* But it is proper to observe, that the veracity of this anecdote has been much contested by several modern Italian critics, particularly cited by Count Bossi; who has added some judicious remarks of his own. *v. Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 324, *et seq.*

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was frequently obliged to quit his retreat, for the purpose of attending on his particular friends, among whom were many men of rank and eminence in different parts of Italy. (a) By the desire of Paul III. he attended also in his medical character at the council of Trent, and it was principally by his advice that the session was removed from that city to Bologna. (b) The fatigues of his public life were, however, compensated by the pleasures which he found on his return to his villa, in the society of Giammatteo Ghiberti, who then resided at his bishoprick of Verona, and expended his large revenues in the encouragement of learning and learned men; and by the occasional visits of the most celebrated scholars from different parts of Italy. Among these, were Marc-Antonio Flaminio, Andrea Navagero, Giovan-Battista Rannusio, and the three brothers of the Torriani, all of whom he has celebrated in his writings, some of which are also devoted to the praises of the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to whom he dedicated his treatise in prose *De morbis contagiosis*. The smaller poems of Fracastoro, in which he frequently refers to his beloved villa, to his mode of life, his literary associates, and his domestic con-

(a) If De Thou was not misinformed, Fracastoro exercised his profession without deriving from it a pecuniary reward: "*Medicinam, ut honestissime ac citra lucrum, ita felicissime, fecit.*" Ibid.

(b) *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 294.

The reason assigned was the apprehension of a contagious disorder; but it has been suggested, that the real cause was the desire of the Pope to transfer the council from the dominions of the Emperor to some city in Italy. *v. Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 327. However this may be, Fracastoro confirmed his opinion *on oath*. *Salig. Hist. Conc. Trent. ap. Henke, Germ. ed.* vol. iii. p. 103. *

cerns, are peculiarly interesting, and place him both as a man and an author in the most advantageous light. (a) The detached pieces of a few lines, to each of which he has given the title of *Incidens*, may be regarded as so many miniature pictures, sketched with all the freedom of the Italian, and finished with all the correctness of the Flemish school. His sacred poem, entitled *Joseph*, which he begun in his advanced years, and did not live to terminate, is sufficiently characteristic of his talents; although not considered as equal to the more vigorous productions of his youth. His specimens of Italian poetry are too few to add to his reputation, but will not derogate from the high character which he has by his various other labours so deservedly attained.

The death of Fracastoro was occasioned by an apoplexy, and occurred at his villa of Incaffi, in the year 1553; he being then upwards of seventy years of age. (b) A splendid monument was erect-

(a) A translation of Fracastoro's description of his Caphian villa, in his beautiful epistle to Franc. Torriano, may be found in Mr. Greswell's account of some of the Latin poets of Italy in the sixteenth century; but, perhaps, the most exquisite production of Fracastoro, is his epistle on the untimely death of his two sons, addressed to Giovan-Battista Torriano, and which, in point of elegance, pathos, and true sublimity, may bear a comparison with any production of the kind, either in ancient or modern times.

(b) "Sed maxime omnium funesta, quamvis non omnino immatura, mors fuit Hieronymi Fracastorii—qui ad exactam philosophiæ et mathematicarum artium, ac præcipue Astronomiæ, quam et doctissimis scriptis illustravit, cognitionem, summum judicium et admirabile ingenium attulit; quo multa ab antiquis aut ignorata aut secus accepta adinvenit et explicavit." "Obiit in Caphiis suis, villa amænissima ad Baldi montis radices sita, quo sæpe ab urbe secedebat, septuagenario major, ex apoplexia, viii. Eid. sextil." *Thuani Histor.* lib. xii. vol. i. p. 430.

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ed to his memory in the cathedral of Verona ; besides which he was honoured, by a public decree of the city, with a statue, which was accordingly erected at the common expense. A similar testimony of respect was paid to his memory at Padua, where the statue of Fracastoro, and another of Navagero, were erected by their surviving friend Giovan-Battista Rannusio. (a) Of the prose compositions and scientific labours of Fracastoro, a further account will occur in the sequel of the present work.

Andrea
Navagero.

Among the learned friends of Bembo and Fracastoro, who, by their character and writings did honour to the age, no one held a higher rank than Andrea Navagero. He was born of a patrician family at Venice, in the year 1483, (b) and from

(a) The motives of this are beautifully assigned by De Thou : “ Ut, qui arcta inter se necessitudine conjuncti vixerant, et pulcherrimarum rerum scientias ac politiores literas excoluerant, eodem in loco spectarentur, et a juventute Patavina universoque Gymnasio quotidie salutarentur.” *Ibid.*

Of the numerous testimonies of respect to the memory of Fracastoro, by the scholars of the time, the following lines of Adam Fumani, prefixed to the Giuntine edition of the works of Fracastoro, *Ven.* 1574, 4to. may perhaps be considered as the most elegant :

“ Longe vir unus omnium doctissimus,
Verona per quem non Marones Mantuæ,
Nec nostra priscis invident jam secula,
Virtute summam consecutus gloriam
Jam grandis ævo hic conditur FRACASTORIUS.
Ad tristem acerbæ mortis ejus nuntium,
Vicina flevit ora, flerunt ultimæ
Gentes, periisse musicorum candidum
Florem, optimarum et lumen artium omnium.”

(b) *J. A. Vulpius in vita Navagerii, ejusd. op. præf. p. 10. Ed. Comino, 1718.*

his childhood gave indications of that extraordinary proficiency to which he afterwards attained. So retentive was his memory, and so highly was he delighted with the writings of the Latin poets, that whilst yet very young, he was accustomed to recite pieces of great length, which from his fine voice and correct pronunciation, acquired additional interest. His first instructor was the eminent Antonio Cocci, called *Sabellicus*, and author of the earliest history of Venice; but the assiduous perusal of the ancient authors refined his taste, and improved his judgment much more than the precepts of his teacher; and his proficiency was manifested by his committing to the flames several of his poems, which he had written in his early youth in imitation of the *Sylvæ* of Statius, but of which he could not in his maturer estimation approve. (a) On the arrival of Marcus Musurus at Venice, Navagero became one of his most assiduous pupils, and by his indefatigable attention, acquired such a thorough acquaintance with the Greek tongue, as enabled him not only to understand the authors in that language, but to perceive their most refined excellences and convert them to

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(a) This Navagero has himself commemorated in the following lines:—

VOTA ACMONIS VULCANO.

“ Has, Vulcane, dicat *sylvas* tibi Villicus Acmon;
 Tu sacris illas ignibus ure, pater.
 Crescebant ducta e *Statii* propagine *sylvis*;
 Jamque erat ipsa bonis frugibus umbra nocens.
 Ure simul *sylvas*, terra simul igne soluta
 Fertior largo fœnore messis cat.
 Ure istas; *Phrygio* nuper mihi consita colle
 Fac, pater, a flammis tuta sit illa tuis.”

Naug. Carm. xvii. p. 191.

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XVII. it was his custom not only to read, but to copy the

A. D. 1518. works of the authors whom he studied, and this
A. Æt. 43. task he had executed more than once in the writ-
A. Pont. VI. ings of Pindar, which he always held in the highest
admiration. (b) Not confining himself, however,
to the study of languages and the cultivation of
his taste, he repaired to Padua for the purpose of
obtaining instructions in philosophy and eloquence
from Pietro Pomponazzo; and it was in that dis-
tinguished seminary of learning that he formed
connexions of friendship with Fracastoro, Ran-
nusio, the three brothers of the Torriani, and other
men of rank and eminence, which continued un-
broken throughout the rest of his life. On his re-
turn to Venice he became one of the most able and
active supporters of the academy of Aldo Manuzio,
and was indefatigable in collecting manuscripts of
the ancient authors, several of whose works were
published with his emendations and notes, in a
more correct and elegant form than they had be-
fore appeared. (c) It was, indeed, chiefly by his

(a) *Vulpinus in vita Naugerii*, p. 14.

(b) “ ——— Sic delectaris hoc poeta, ut sæpe eum tua manu accurate descripseris; puto, ut tibi magis fieret familiaris, tum ut edisceretur a te facilius, et teneretur memoria tenacius. Id quod describendo *Thucydidem* fecit *Demosthenes*, qui, ut *Lucianus* ait πρὸς ἀπαιδευτον, octies illum descripsit; idque ad suam ipsius utilitatem.” *Aldi Manutii Ep. ad Nauger. in Ed. Pindar. Ven. 1515.* 8vo.

(c) Among these were the *Orations of Cicero*, composing three volumes of the edition of Cicero in eight volumes, printed at the Aldine press in 1519, and the second volume of the edition of the works of Cicero (printed by the *Junta* at Venice, 1534, in 4 vols. fo.) which were edited by Petrus Victorius, under the title, TOMUS SECUNDUS M. T. ORATIONES HABET, AB ANDREA

exhortations that Aldo was induced, amidst all the calamities of the times, to persevere in his useful undertaking; (a) and the obligations which this great scholar and eminent artist owed to Navagero, are expressed in several dedicatory epistles, addressed to him with a warmth of gratitude that evinces the deep sense which Aldo entertained of his merits and his services. An infirm state of health, occasioned by incessant study, rendered some relaxation necessary, and Navagero therefore accompanied his great patron D'Alviano to his academy at Pordonone, where he had an opportunity of enjoying once more the society of his friend Fracastoro, (b) and where he some time afterwards delivered public instructions. The high reputation which he had now acquired induced the senate to recall him to Venice, and to intrust to him the care of the library of cardinal Bessarion, (c) and the task of continuing the history of

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NAUGERIO, PATRICIO VENETO, SUMMO LABORE AC INDUSTRIA IN HISPANIENSI, GALLICAQVE LEGATIONE, EXCUSSIS PERMULTIS BIBLIOTHECIS, ET EMENDATIORES MULTO FACTAS, ET IN SUAM INTEGRITATEM AD EXEMPLAR CODICUM ANTIQUORUM LONGE COPIOSIUS RESTITUTAS. To which may also be added his *Varia Lectiones in omnia opera Ovidii*, printed in the Aldine edition of 1516, in three volumes, and again in 1533. These readings are also met with in other editions derived from the Aldine.

(a) *Aldi Ep. ad Nauger. Pindari Ed. præf. Ven. 1513.*

(b) On the reconciliation which took place between Julius II. and the Venetian republic, in the year 1509, and which first broke the formidable league of Cambray (*v. ante*, vol. ii. chap. viii. p. 81,) Navagero addressed to that pontiff, in terms of the highest commendation, a Latin Eclogue, which deserves notice, as well from its intrinsic merit, as from the particularity with which it applies to the events before related.

(c) This collection, which was the foundation of the celebrated library of S. Marco, had in the year 1468 been presented by Bessarion to the Venetians. *v. Life of Lor. de' Medici*, vol. i. p. 54, 4to. ed.

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the republic of Venice, from the termination of the work of his preceptor Sabellicus. (*a*) It soon, however, appeared that the talents of Navagero were not confined to the study of literature, but were equally calculated for the service of his country in the most difficult and honourable departments of the state. In the year 1523, after the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. was made prisoner, he was despatched as the ambassador of the republic to the emperor Charles V. in Spain, and was absent from his country nearly four years. Soon after his return to Venice, (*b*) he was sent as ambas-

(*a*) To this work Navagero alludes in the following truly Horatian lines, addressed

“ AD BEMBUM,

Qui modo ingentes animo parabam,
Bembe, bellorum strepitusque, et arma
Scribere, hoc vix exiguo male audax,
Carmine serpo.

Nempe Amor magnos violentus ausus,
Fregit iratus; velut hic Tonantem,
Cogit et fulmen trifidum rubenti
Ponere dextra.

Sic eat; fors et sua laus sequetur,
Candidæ vultus *Lalages* canentem, et
Purius claro radiantis astro
Frontis honores.

Nota *Lesboæ* lyra blanda *Sapphus*,
Notus *Alcæi Lycus*, altiori
Scripserit quamvis animosum *Homerus*
Pectine *Achillem*.”

(*b*) On this event he had begun a Latin poem, in which he was interrupted, and of which only the following beautiful lines are preserved:

“ Salve, cura Deum, mundi felicior ora,
Formosæ *Veneris* dulces salvet recessus;
Ut vos post tantos animi, mentisque labores,
Aspicio, lustroque libens! Ut munere vestro,

Sollicitas

sador to Francis I. who then held his court at Blois, where he died in the year 1529, being then only in the forty-sixth year of his age. (a) Of the cause of the death of Navagero, of his character and acquirements, and of the fate of his writings, a particular account is introduced by Fracastoro in his treatise *De morbis contagiosis*; (b) which, whilst it records a very singular medical fact, confers equal honour on the characters of both these illustrious scholars. After adverting to a species of putrid fever which appeared in Italy in the year 1505, and again in 1528, and which was attended with an eruption of efflorescent pustules, Fracastoro observes, that many persons who had left Italy and travelled into countries where this fever was not before known, had, after their departure, been affected by it, as if they had before received the infection of the disease. "This," says he, "happened to Andrea Navagero, ambassador from the Venetian republic to Francis I. who died of this disease in a country where such a complaint was not known even by name; a man of such abilities and acquirements, that for many years the literary world has not sustained so great a loss; for not only was he accomplished in every branch of useful science, but highly qualified for the service of his country in the most important concerns. Amidst the most imminent dangers of the republic, and when all Europe was embroiled in war, Nava-

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Sollicitas toto depello e pectore curas!
Non aliis *charites* perfundunt candida lymphis
Corpora; non alios contexuntserta per agros."

(a) *Vulpus in vita Nauger.* p. 24.

(b) *Fracastorii op.* p. 87. *Ed. ap. Juntas, 1574.*

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gero had scarcely returned from his embassy to the emperor Charles V. by whom he was highly esteemed for his distinguished virtues, than he was sent as ambassador to Francis I. The state of affairs admitted of no delay. The emperor was expected to arrive in Italy in the course of the summer to renew the war ; and early in the year Navagero set out with fatal speed, by post-horses, for France. Soon after his arrival at Blois, and after having had a few interviews with the king, he was, however, seized with the disorder that caused his death ; an event that occasioned the utmost grief to all men of learning, to the French nation, and to the king himself, who was an earnest promoter of literature, and who gave directions that his obsequies should be performed with great pomp. His body being brought to Venice, as he had by will directed, was there interred with his ancestors.”—“ The same good fortune that had distinguished his public negociations, did not, however, attend Navagero in his domestic concerns. Notwithstanding his great talents and great activity, he was so fully occupied with the affairs of the state, that he could scarcely devote any time to his studies. His correct judgment led him to appreciate with severity his own productions, and having formed an idea that they were not sufficiently revised and polished to be published, without detracting from the high reputation which he had obtained among the learned of almost all nations, he committed all the writings which he had with him to the flames. Among these were his books *De Venationè*, or on hunting, elegantly written in heroic verse, in compliment to Bartolommeo d’Al-

viano; and another work which I have seen, *De situ Orbis*; and not to dwell upon his oration to the memory of Catharina, queen of Cyprus, daughter of the senator Marco Cornaro, and other pieces which were then destroyed, how shall we sufficiently regret the loss of that excellent history, which he had undertaken at the request of the senate, and which he had with great assiduity completed, from the arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy to his own times? For this we must not, however, presume to blame the author, but must acknowledge with the poet, that,

“Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.”

‘Fate leads the willing, drags th’ unwilling on.’

“The orations of Navagero on the death of d’Alviano, and of the doge Loredano, which are distinguished by all the beauty of antiquity, and a few poems which were privately copied by his friends, and may be considered as the gleanings of his funeral pile, have however been published, and will demonstrate the exalted genius and great learning of Navagero to all future times.”(a)

(a) The few pieces to which Fracastoro above refers, were collected together soon after the death of Navagero, and printed in the year 1530, with a short address prefixed, for the most part in the very words of Fracastoro above cited; from which we may reasonably conjecture, that it was he who procured this edition of the writings of his friend, and who superintended its publication. This edition, now not frequently met with, is entitled

ANDRÆ NAUGERII PATRICII VENETI ORATIONES DUE CARMINAQUE NONNULLA.

And at the close we read,

IMPRESSUM VENETIIS AMICORUM CURA QUAM POTUIT FIERI DILIGENTER. *Prælo Joan. Tacuini. M.D.XXX.III. ID. MART.*

The researches of subsequent times, and particularly the in-

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To the credit of Navagero, it may be, with truth, observed, that all his writings are perfectly free from that point and antithesis which is the common subterfuge of inferior talents, but which true genius spurns with an indignant feeling. Not satisfied, however, with the example afforded his countrymen in his own writings, he gave a striking proof of his aversion to a false and affected taste, by annually devoting to the flames a copy of the works of Martial ;(a) whom he probably

dustry of the learned brothers, Giovan-Antonio and Gaetano Volpi, to whom we are indebted for many valuable editions of the works of the early restorers of literature, have, however, collected a few additional pieces of Navagero, which had before been scattered in various publications, and given to the public a complete edition of his works, entitled *ANDREÆ NAUGERII, PATRICII VENETI, ORATORIS ET POETÆ CLARISSIMI OPERA OMNIA, quæ quidem magna adhibita diligentia colligi potuerunt. Curantibus Jo. Antonio J. U. D. et Cajetano Vulpis Bergomensibus Fratribus. Patavii, 1718. Excudebat Josephus Cominus, Vulpiorum ære, et superiorum permissu.*

Among these are the remarks made by Navagero on his journeys to Spain and to France, a few Italian poems, which bear the same character of elegant correctness as his Latin writings, and several of his letters, prefixed to his editions of the ancient authors, particularly one which is addressed to Leo X. exhorting him to undertake an expedition against the Turks.

(a) *Jovius, ap. Tirab. Storia della. Lett. Ital. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 230.* This is also alluded to in the following lines of J. Matth. Toscanus :

“ Hic *Naugerius* ille, *Martialis*
Lascivi petulantiam perosus,
Et musas sine fine prurientes,
Læso cuncta quibus licent pudore,
Non jam virginibus, sed impudicis.
— At castas voluit suas Camœnas
Hic *Naugerius* esse, sicque amorcs,
Cantare, ut tenerum colant pudorem.
Hunc ergo pueri, puellulæque,
Crebri volvite, quippe *Martiale*
Nec doctum minus, et magis pudicum.”

considered as the chief corrupter of that classical purity which distinguished the writers of the Augustan age.

From the great names of Fracastoro and Navagero, that of Marc-Antonio Flaminio ought not to be far divided; not only on account of the great similarity of studies and of taste, but of the uninterrupted friendship and affection which subsisted among these distinguished men, whom posterity ought to regard as patterns of human excellence. The family name of Flaminio was *Zarrabini*, which had been exchanged by his father, Gian-Antonio, on his entering into a literary society at Venice, for that of Flaminio. Gian-Antonio was himself a scholar of acknowledged merit, and a professor of belles-lettres in different academies of Italy; but although he has left favourable specimens of his proficiency both in prose and verse, (a) his own reputation is almost lost in the additional lustre which he derives from that of his son, whose honours he lived many years to enjoy. A short time before the close of the fifteenth century, Gian-Antonio had quitted his native city of Imola, and taken up his residence at Serravalle, where Marc-Antonio was born in the year 1498. (b) Under the constant care and instruc-

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Marc-Antonio Flaminio.

(a) *v. ante*, vol. ii. chap. ix. p. 163. During the wars consequent on the league of Cambray, Gian-Antonio had been despoiled of his property, and driven from his residence at Serravalle, but was relieved by the liberality of Julius II. and of the cardinal Raffaello Riario. He has left many works, both in prose and verse, some of which have been printed, and of which his twelve books of letters are the most valuable, as they throw considerable light on the state of literature, and afford much particular information respecting the early progress of his son.

(b) It has generally been supposed, that Marc-Antonio was a

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tions of the father, the happy disposition and docile genius of the son were so early and so highly cultivated, that when he had attained the age of sixteen, his father determined to send him to Rome, for the purpose of presenting to the supreme pontiff, Leo X., a poem exhorting him to make war against the Turks, and a critical work under the title of *Annotationum Sylvæ*.^(a) On this occasion Gian-Antonio addressed a letter to the pope and another to the cardinal Marco Cornaro; by whom, and by the cardinal of Aragon,

native of Imola; but Gianagostino Gradenigo, bishop of Ceneda, has clearly shewn, that he was born at Serravalle. *v. Lettera di Gradenigo, Nuova Raccolta d' Opuscoli*, tom. xxiv. p. i. *Ven. 1773*. It is, however, admitted that his father Gian-Antonio was born at Imola, whence both he and his son have frequently denominated themselves *Forocornelienses*. The family was originally of Cotignola, where Lodovico Zarrabini, the father of Gian-Antonio, resided. *v. Trab. vii. iii. 256*.

(a) "Primus autem illius (Marci-Antonii) a me discessus non ad finitimam urbem aliquam, sed Romam; neque ad Antistitem aliquem gregarium, sed totius terrarum orbis Principem et virum doctissimum, LEONEM X. Pont. Max. ut Epistolam illi nostram de suscipienda expeditione adversus Turcas, elego versu scriptam, et in hac ipsa urbe cum aliis nostris impressam similibus scriptis, et publicatam, redderet; et simul Amplissimo Patri M. Cornelio Sanctæ Mariæ in Via Lata Cardinali Opusculum Sylvarum nostrarum, et Epigrammatum illi a me dedicatum traderet." *Joan. Ant. Flam. Epist. in Op. M. A. Flam. ap. Comin. 1727. 8vo. p. 296*. From which it might be supposed that the work entitled *Annotationum Sylvæ* was the production of the father. There is, however, no doubt that it is to be attributed to the son, as appears from a letter of Gian-Antonio, written to the cardinal Cornaro, in which he thus refers to it. "Misi hac de causa M. Antonium Flaminium, Filium meum, qui et ipse *Sylvarum suarum* libellos, non insulsum fortasse munusculum, ad ipsum Pontificem Maximum detulit." A copy of this work yet remains, and is in the possession of the learned Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco, at Venice.

Marc-Antonio was introduced to the pontiff, who received him with great kindness, and listened with apparent satisfaction to the compositions which he read. After bestowing on Marc-Antonio distinguished proofs of his liberality, he sent to his father to request that he would permit him to remain at Rome, where he would himself provide him with suitable instructors; but Gian-Antonio, who appears to have attended no less to the morals than to the literary acquirements of his son, probably thought him too young to be released from his paternal guidance, and it is certain, that on this occasion Marc-Antonio did not long reside at Rome. He soon afterwards, however, paid another visit to the pontiff, and was received by him at his villa at Malliana. Leo again expressed himself highly gratified with his young visitor, and promised to remember him on his return to Rome. Accordingly, soon after the return of Leo to the city, he sent for Marc-Antonio, and rewarded him for his uncommon talents and early acquirements with that liberality which he always shewed towards men of learning, at the same time addressing him in the language of the poet,

“ Macte nova virtute, puer ; sic itur ad astra.” (a)

The pontiff was also desirous of ascertaining whether the elegance of taste displayed by Flaminio was accompanied by an equal solidity of judgment; for which purpose he proposed to him se-

(a) *Jouan-Anton. Flam. Epist. in Op. M. A. Flamin. p. 297.* To this quotation the pope added, “ Video enim te brevi magnum tibi nomen comparaturum, ac non genitori, et generi tuo solum, sed et toti Italiæ ornamento futurum.” *Ibid.*

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veral questions, which he debated with him at great length in the presence of some of the cardinals. In the course of this conversation Flaminio gave such proofs of his good sense and penetration, as equally surprised and delighted all who heard him; (a) in consequence of which the cardinal of Aragon wrote to Gian-Antonio Flaminio a letter of congratulation. (b) It appears to have been the intention of the elder Flaminio that his son should return to him at Imola, but the kindness and honours bestowed on Marc-Antonio at Rome, induced his father to grant him permission to remain there; where, by the directions of the pope, he for some time enjoyed the society, and availed himself of the instructions of the celebrated Raffaello Brandolini. (c) This indulgence on the part of his father afforded Flaminio an opportunity of making an excursion to Naples, where he formed a personal acquaintance with Sanazzaro, whom he always highly honoured, and which was perhaps the principal inducement to him to undertake the journey. (d)

In the year 1515, Flaminio accompanied the count Baldassare Castiglione to Urbino, where he continued to reside for some months, and was held in the highest esteem by that accomplished nobleman for his amiable qualities and great endowments, but particularly for his early and astonish-

(a) *J. Ant. Flamin. Ep. ut supra. Tiraboschi Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. iii. 259.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) This is fully shewn from the letters of the elder Flaminio, cited by Mazzuchelli in his life of Brandolini. *Scrittori d' Italia*, vi. 2019.

(d) *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. iii. 259.

ing talents for Latin poetry. (a) The care of his father was not, however, yet withdrawn ; towards

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(a) In the same year, when Marc-Antonio was scarcely eighteen years of age, he published at Fano the first specimen of his productions, with a few poems of Marullus, that had not before been printed, under the following title :

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MICHAELIS TARCHANIOTAE MARULLI NENIÆ. *Ejusdem epigrammata nunquam alius impressa.* M. ANTONII FLAMINII *Carminum libellus.* *Ejusdem Ecloga Thyrsis.*

At the close,

Impressum Fani in œdibus Hieronymi Soncini. Idibus Septemb.

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As this small volume, printed in octavo, is extremely rare, a more particular account of it may not be unacceptable. It is addressed by the editor, Flaminio, in a short dedication, to Achille Philerate Bocchi. The poems of Marullus consist of his *Neniæ*, or complaint on the loss of his country and the misfortunes of his family ; an elegy on the death of Giovanni, the son of Pier-Francesco de' Medici ; an ode to Charles V. and another *ad Antonium Baldracantum*, with a few epigrams, or short occasional poems. These pieces do not appear, either in the first edition of the works of Marullus, printed at Florence in 1497, or in the later edition by Cripius, Paris, 1561, and are, perhaps, only to be found in this volume. The poems of Flaminio are dedicated to Lodovico Speranzo, by whose entreaties it appears he had selected a few of his pieces to be printed. In this dedication, Flaminio expresses his apprehensions that he may be accused of presumption, in expecting the world will read the poems of a youth, who has yet scarcely attained the eighteenth year of his age. Of these poems, some have been printed, often with variations, in the subsequent editions of his works ; but several pieces appear there which are not to be found in the edition by Mancurti, published at Padua, by Comino, in 1727, which is considered as the most complete ; whence it is probable this early publication of Flaminio was not known to his editors. It is observable that the lines in commendation of the writings of Navagero, in the Comino edition, p. 40 :

“ Quot bruma creat albicans pruinas
Quot tellus Zephyro soluta flores,” &c.

are applied in the early edition to the writings of the author's fa-

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the close of the last mentioned year, he called his son from Urbino and sent him to Bologna, to attend to the study of philosophy, preparatory to his making choice of the profession which he meant to adopt. Nor was he deterred from this measure by the solicitations of Beroaldo, who proposed, on the part of Sadoleti, to associate Marc-Antonio with him in the honourable office of pontifical secretary. The refusal of so respectable and advantageous an employment for a young man on his entrance into public life is remarkable, and might induce a suspicion that either the father or the son did not approve of the morals and manners of the Roman court, or had not been fully satisfied with the conduct of the pontiff; a suspicion that may perhaps receive some confirmation by observing, that Marc-Antonio has not, throughout all his poetical works, introduced the praises, or even the name, of Leo X. However this may be, it is certain, that after his residence at Bologna, he again returned to Rome, and formed an intimacy with those illustrious scholars who

ther Gian-Antonio Flaminio; the above lines being transposed, and the poem ending thus:

“ Tot menses, bone *Flamini*, tot annos
Perennes maneat tui libelli.”

Among the pieces that have not been reprinted, are two odes, addressed to *Guido Postumo*, of whom some account will hereafter be given, which display the early talents of the author no less than his other writings. The volume concludes with an eclogue, intended to express the gratitude of the author to the count Baldassare Castiglione, for the favours conferred upon him at Urbino. These pieces, with the dedications or introductory letters by which they are accompanied, throw considerable light on the early life and studies of their author, and deserve to be more generally known.

rendered that city the centre of literature and of taste. (a) Without devoting himself to any lucrative profession, he for some years attached himself to the cardinal de' Sauli, whom he accompanied on a journey to Geneva, and enjoyed with him the society of several eminent scholars, who formed a kind of academy at his villa. After the death of the cardinal, Flaminio resided with the prelate Giammatteo Ghiberti, either at Padua or at his see of Verona, where he secured the friendship of Fracastoro and Navagero; a friendship of the most disinterested and affectionate kind, as appears from many passages in their writings.

About the close of the year 1538, Flaminio was induced, by a long continued and dangerous indisposition, to pay another visit to Naples, where he remained about three years, and by the relaxation which he obtained from his studies, and the alternate enjoyment of the city and the country, recovered his former health. (b) Whilst at Naples he was appointed to attend the cardinal Contareni to the congress held at Worms in 1540; but his infirmities would not permit him to undertake the

(a) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 260.

(b) To this visit, during which Flaminio was honoured by the attention of the Neapolitan nobility and scholars, he adverts with great pleasure in many of his writings; particularly in his beautiful elegy. *Carm.* lib. ii. *carm.* vii. "Pausilypi colles et candida Mergellina," and in his verses addressed to Francesco Caserti, lib. vi. *carm.* xx.

" ——— Quid? ista vestra
 Tam felicia, tam venusta rura,
 Quem non alliciant suo lepore?
 Adde quod mihi reddidere vitam,
 Cum vis tabifica, intimis medullis
 Serpens, lurida membra devoraret."

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journey. (a) On quitting Naples he repaired to Viterbo, where the cardinal Reginald Pole then resided as pontifical legate, and where Flaminio lived on terms of the most friendly intimacy with that prelate, who greatly distinguished himself by his munificent patronage of the learned men of his time. He also accompanied the cardinal to the council of Trent, in which the cardinal was appointed to preside as one of the pontifical legates, and where the important office of secretary to the council was offered to Flaminio, who by his declining it, as well as by other parts of his conduct and the tenor of some of his writings, gave rise to suspicions that he was inclined towards the opinions of the reformers. This imputation has occasioned considerable discussion between the papal and protestant writers, which demonstrates, at least, the earnest desire entertained by each of the contending parties to rank as their adherent a man so distinguished by his accomplishments, and whose virtue and piety were no less conspicuous than his talents. (b) Certain it is that no per-

(a) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 265.

(b) A dissertation, expressly on this subject, was written by Schelhornius, and published in the *Amanitat. Hist. Ecclesiast.* vol. ii. to which Tiraboschi has fully replied in his *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 263. From these it appears, that the opinion of the heterodoxy of Flaminio had gained such ground, that his writings were for some time prohibited in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Roman church, by that bigoted pontiff, Paul IV. (Caraffa) who, it is also said, intended to have the body of the author disinterred, and committed to the flames. Tiraboschi has endeavoured to invalidate this latter assertion, by referring to the instances of friendship which passed between that pontiff, whilst a cardinal, and Flaminio; but if the pope could attempt to blacken the memory of Flaminio by the darkest imputation with which, in

son of his time conciliated in so eminent a degree the respect and affection of all those who were

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the general opinion it could be affected, there seems no improbability in supposing that he would also display his resentment against his lifeless remains. As to the fact itself, Tiraboschi fully admits that Flaminio had adopted the opinions of the reformers, and this from a motive which confers the highest honour on his character. "Che egli si mostrasse per qualche tempo propenso alle opinioni de' Novatori, non può negarsi. E forse la stessa pietà del Flaminio, e l'austera e innocente vita, ch'ei conduceva, lo trasse suo malgrado in que' lacci; perciocchè essendo la riforma degli abusi e l'emendazion de' costumi il pretesto di cui valeansi gli Eretici per muover guerra alla Chiesa, non è maraviglia, che alcuni uomini pii, si lasciassero da tali argomenti sedurre." The same author, however, afterwards endeavours to shew, that Flaminio was re-converted to the true faith, by the exertions of his friend, cardinal Pole, under whose roof he died as a good Catholic, and who boasted of having rendered a great service, not only to Flaminio, but to the Roman church, in detaching him from the cause of the reformers. *v. Tirab. vii. iii. 263.* By what arguments his conviction was effected, does not appear, but the mild and inoffensive spirit of Flaminio was ill qualified to brook the reproaches of his friends, much less to prompt him to undergo the sufferings of a martyr. I shall only further observe, that the lines of Flaminio entitled *De Hieronymo Savonarola, Ed. Comin. p. 72,* were more probably intended to apply to Jerome of Prague, who was actually burnt alive by the council of Constance, whilst the dead body only of Savonarola was consumed by the flames.

"Dum fera flamma tuos, *Hieronyme*, pascitur artus,
Religio, sanctas dilaniata comas,
Flevit, et O, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,
Parcite; sunt isto viscera nostra rogo."

Notwithstanding the observations of both *Count Bossi* and *Mr. Henke* on this passage, I still think that the above lines of Flaminio must be referred rather to *Jerome of Prague* than to *Savonarola*. That Flaminio was decidedly attached to the cause of the reformers is admitted. The remark of *Mr. Henke*, that, "as a good Catholic, Flaminio might have hesitated to celebrate Jerome of Prague, far sooner than Savonarola, who was highly extolled by the Dominicans," therefore falls to the ground; it being pre-

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capable of appreciating real merit, and the sincerity of their esteem was often displayed in acts of kindness which did equal honour to his patrons and himself. The important benefits conferred upon him by the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who restored to him his paternal inheritance, of which he had been unjustly deprived, are acknowledged in many parts of his works. The cardinal Ridolfo Pio also increased his possessions, and from the cardinals Sforza and Accolti he received similar marks of attention and esteem. (a)

The death of Flaminio, which happened at Rome in the year 1550, occasioned the sincerest grief to all the friends of literature. Of the numerous testimonies of affection, of respect, of admiration, and of grief, which were poured out by the scholars of Italy on this occasion, many have been collected by the editors of his works, and to these many others might yet be added from the writings of his contemporaries. But his own productions remain, and it is to these only that posterity will resort for an impartial estimate of his merits. The chief part of these are collected in eight books of Latin poems, and consist of odes, eclogues, hymns, elegies, and epistles to his friends. He appears never to have had the ambition to attempt any work of considerable length; yet, if

His writings.

cisely because Flaminio was *not* a good catholic, that he may be supposed to have alluded to Jerome of Prague. In the opinion of Bossi, that the lines may be applied to the burning the *dead* body of Savonarola, as well as the *living* one of the martyr of Constance, I can by no means agree. *v. Germ. ed.* vol. iii. p. 121. *Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 181.

(a) *Flaminii Carm.* lib. i. *carm.* 17, 22, 29, &c., ii. 10. v. 2. vii. 42.

we may be allowed to judge from the vigour with which he always supports himself, he might with safety have ventured on a longer flight. It is difficult to determine in what department of poetry he most excels. In his odes he has caught the true spirit of Horace. His elegies, among which that on his own sickness, and that on his journey to Naples, are pre-eminently beautiful, may rank with the most finished remains of Tibullus; but, if a preference be due to any part of his writings above the rest, it may perhaps be given to his *Hendecasyllabi* and *Iambics*, in which he displays a simplicity and a pathos which seem to exhibit the real character of his mind. It is in these pieces, not the cold and laboured productions of the head, but written warm from the heart to the heart, that we are to trace that affection to his friends, that gratitude to his benefactors, that engaging tenderness of sentiment, which united with a lively fancy, and exhibited with the utmost grace and elegance of expression, secured to him the love and admiration of all his contemporaries, and will never fail to conciliate a sincere esteem for his memory in all those who enjoy the pleasure of an acquaintance with his works. (a)

Among the particular friends of Fracastoro, Navagero, and Flaminio, many of whom contributed by their own productions to give addi-

(a) The Latin poems of Flaminio were collected with those of several other distinguished poets, united with him by the ties of friendship, under the title of "*Carmina quinque illustrium Poetarum, nempe Bembi, Naugcrii, Castilioni, Cottæ, et Flammii. Venetiis*, 1548, 8vo. (v. *Ital. ed.* vol. vii. p. 332), a beautiful volume, now of rare occurrence.*

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tional lustre to the literature of the age, may be enumerated the three brothers of the Capilupi, Lelio, Ippolito, and Camillo, of Mantua, all of whom distinguished themselves by their talents for Latin poetry, no less than by their various other accomplishments; (a) Trifone Benzio, of Assisi, an Italian poet, who, by the elegance of his writings, and the philosophic firmness of his mind, alleviated the misfortune of his personal defects; (b) Achille Bocchi, called *Philerote*, deeply skilled in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and well-known by his elegant book of symbols, (c) and by his

(a) Their works were united together, and published in 1540. Many of them are also inserted in the *Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital.* vol. iii. Flaminio has addressed to them a copy of verses, accompanying some of his poems, in which he denominates them,

“Fratres optimi et optimi poetæ.”

Flamin. lib. v. *carm.* 53.

I cannot admit the corrections of Count Bossi, respecting the names of these three brothers, and must refer him to Tiraboschi, vol. vii. par. 3, p. 254. *Ed. Rom.* 1785.

(b) *Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital.* tom. ii. par. ii. p. 900. *Tirab.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 194. Flaminio, contrasting the personal deformity of his friend Benzio, with the accomplishments of his mind, addresses him,

“O dentatior et lupis et apris,
Et setosior hirco olente, et idem
Tamen deliciæ novem dearum
Quæ silvam Aoniam colunt,” &c.

Carm. lib. v. *carm.* 50.

(c) First printed at Bologna, 1555, and again in 1574. The prints in this work are designed and engraved by the celebrated artist, Giulio Bonasone. Their merit is various, but many of them are very beautiful; a circumstance which may be explained by a passage in Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, ii. 72, where we find that Bonasone frequently copied his ideas from Michel-Agnolo and Albert Durer, and that he procured designs from Parmigiano

other poems; **Gabriello Faerno**, whose Latin fables are written with such classical purity, as to have given rise to an opinion that he had discovered and fraudulently availed himself of some of the unpublished works of **Phædrus**; (*a*) **Onorato Fascitelli**, (*b*) and **Basilio Zanchi**, (*c*) two Latin poets, whose writings are deservedly ranked among the best productions of the age; **Benedetto Lampridio**, no less to be esteemed for the services rendered by him to the cause of literature, as an excellent preceptor, than for his Latin poems, in which he is considered as the first who emulated with any degree of success the flights of **Pindar**; (*a*) **Adamo Fumani**, of whom many productions remain, in Greek, Latin, and Italian, and whose poem on the rules of logic in five books is

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and **Prospero Fontana**; the latter of whom was an intimate friend of **Bocchi**. With this information, it would not be difficult to allot these designs to their respective masters. In the second edition, the prints are retouched by **Agostino Caracci**, who has also engraved the first symbol from a design of his own; but notwithstanding the great merit of this artist, the first edition of this scarce work is to be preferred. The pieces addressed by **Flaminio** to **Bocchi** may be found in lib. i. *carm.* 34, 43, lib. ii. *carm.* 29.

(*a*) *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 249.

(*b*) A native of **Isernia**, and bishop of **Isola**. Many of his poems are annexed to the edition of **Sanazzaro**, by **Comino**, **Padua**, 1731. He is denominated by **Broukhusius**, "Poeta purus ac nitidus;" a character not superior to his merits.

(*c*) A native of **Bergamo**, who resided at **Rome** during the pontificate of **Leo X.**, and whose poems were published at **Bergamo**, in 1747, with the life of the author by **Serassi**. Many of them are also inserted in the *Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital.*, and may bear a comparison with the finest productions of the times. *v. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 224.

(*d*) *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 221.

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mentioned by Tiraboschi in terms of the highest applause; (a) and the three brothers of the Torriani, who, although not celebrated by their own writings, were eminent promoters of literature, and maintained a strict intimacy with most of the learned men of the time. (b)

It would be unjust to the characters of the illustrious scholars before-mentioned, and particularly of Fracastoro, Flaminio, Navagero, and Vida, to close this brief account, without adverting to some circumstances which apply to them in common, and which confer the highest honour on their memory. Although they devoted their talents to the cultivation of the same department of literature, yet so far were they from being tainted in the slightest degree with that envy which has too often infected men of learning, and led them to regard the productions of their contemporaries with a jaundiced eye, that they not only passed their lives in habits of the strictest friendship, but admired and enjoyed the literary productions of each other, with a warmth and a sincerity which were at once a proof of the correctness of their judgment, and of the liberality of their minds. This admiration they were not more ready to feel than to express; and their works abound with passages devoted to the commemoration of their friendship, and to the mutual commendation of

(a) This poem, and other works of Fumani, are printed with the works of Fracastoro, in the second edition, by Comino, two volumes quarto. *Patav.* 1739.

(b) *v. Fracastor. Dialog. cui tit. Turrius, sive de Intellectione, in op. p. 121, ed. Giunti, 1574. Ejusd. Carm. ii. iii. viii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. in op. tom. i. Navageri, Veris Descriptio. in op. Comin. p. 199. Flaminii, Carm. passim.*

their talents and writings. This example extended to their contemporaries, and humanized and improved the character of the age; insomuch that the scholars of the time of Leo X. were not more superior to those of the fifteenth century, in the proficiency made in liberal studies, than in the urbanity of their manners, the candour of their judgment, and the generous desire of promoting the literary reputation of each other. Hence, it is further to be observed, that these authors have never dipped their pens in the gall of satire, or degraded their genius by combining its efforts with those of malignity, of jealousy, of arrogance, or of spleen. Not confining their talents to the cloistered recesses of learned indolence, they obtained by their conduct in public life the esteem and confidence of their fellow-citizens; whilst their hours of leisure were devoted to the cultivation of the severer sciences, and enlivened by those poetical effusions to which they are now indebted for the chief part of their fame. The intrinsic merit and classical purity of their writings are rendered yet more estimable by the strict attention to decency and moral propriety, which they uniformly display; and which, added to the consideration of the ease and simplicity with which they are written, might justly entitle them to a preference, even to the remains of many of the ancient authors, in promoting the education of youth. (a)

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(a) For some interesting notices of several other writers of Latin poetry I must refer to Count Bossi, whose additions to the Italian translation, if incorporated into the present work, would go near to render it a general history of the literature of the age; an

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Latin poetry
cultivated
at Rome.

Guido Postumo Sil-
vestri.

In no part of Italy, however, was the cultivation of Latin poetry attended to with such assiduity as in the city of Rome, to which place almost all the learned men from every part of Europe occasionally resorted, and where many of them fixed their constant residence. Among those who appear to have enjoyed in an eminent degree the favour and confidence of the supreme pontiff, we may particularly distinguish Guido Postumo Silvestri of Pesaro; who was born in that city, of a noble or a respectable family, in the year 1479. (a) His father Guido Silvestri having died before the birth of his son, his mother gave to her offspring the appellation of her deceased husband, with the addition of that of *Postumo*. His early education was superintended by Gian-Francesco Superchio, Proposto of the cathedral of Pesaro, better known by the name of Philomuso, (b) and by Gabriel Foschi, afterwards appointed by Julius II. archbishop of Durazzo. (c) He then repaired to the

object far beyond what I had in view; which was only to enter on that subject as far as connected with the character and exertions of Leo X. *v. Ital. ed. vol. vii. p. 332, et seq.**

(a) The particulars of his life have been collected by the Cav. Domenico Bonamini, under the title of MEMORIE ISTORICHE di Guido Postumo Silvestre Pesarese, and published in the *Nuova Raccolta d' Opuscoli*, tom. xx. *Venez. 1770*. To this tract, and to the writings of Postumo, I am chiefly indebted for the particulars given of him in this work.

(b) Author of the congratulatory verses to Leo X. on his appointment to the rank of cardinal, and afterwards on his elevation to the pontificate. *v. ante*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 24. vol. ii. chap. x. p. 174.

(c) To this, his early preceptor, Postumo has addressed his affectionate and pathetic elegy, entitled, "Ad Fuscum, Episcopum Comaclensem," *Eleg. lib. i. p. 10*, in which he acknowledges his kindness, and laments his own misfortunes and imprisonment.

academy of Padua, where, having pursued his studies during two years, he married at the early age of nineteen a lady of whom he was deeply enamoured, and whom he has frequently celebrated in his writings under the name of *Fannia*.(a) The death of his beloved consort, which happened within the short space of three years after her marriage, whilst it appears to have affected him with sincere sorrow, afforded him an additional topic for the exercise of his poetical talents.(b) He now quitted the city of Padua and engaged in the service of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, on whose behalf he interested himself with great warmth when that prince was attacked by Cæsar Borgia. On this occasion, Postumo expressed his resentment against the family of Borgia in some sarcastic verses; in consequence of which he was soon afterwards deprived of his possessions, and might have considered himself as sufficiently fortunate in having escaped with his life from the effects of their resentment.(c) On his expulsion

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(a) *Elgia*, lib. ii. pp. 46, 47, 53, &c.

(b) *Ad illust. Comitem Hannibalem Rung. Prorempicon. EL* lib. i. p. 24.

(c) It is observable, that in one of the poems of Postumo, intended to excite the citizens of Pesaro to resist the arms of Borgia, the author refers, not only to the murder of the duke of Gandia, by Cæsar Borgia, and to the supposed incestuous intercourse of this family, but to other charges, not alluded to, as far as I have discovered, by any other writer, which are, however, sufficiently refuted by their own enormity.

“ Pellite vi vires, ferrumque arcessite ferro,

Inque feros enses obvius ensis eat.

Aspera dux vobis indixit prælia, cujus

Fraterna potuit cæde madere manus.”

* * * *

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from his native place, he repaired to Modena, where he was appointed preceptor to the young nobles of the family of Rangone, the sons of Bianca, daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna; and by her recommendation he was nominated as one of the professors of the celebrated academy of Bologna, from whence he was, however, soon afterwards expelled, in consequence of the dissensions between the family of Bentivoglio and the pontiff Julius II. (a) Having taken an active part in the wars which desolated Italy, and in which he obtained great credit by his military talents, he was, in the year 1510, whilst commanding a troop of Bolognese in the service of the Bentivoli, made prisoner by the papal troops, and committed by Julius II. to close confinement. As Postumo had long been the avowed adversary of the Roman see, and had attacked the character of the pontiff in his writings, he conceived himself on this occasion to be in great danger, and endeavoured to mitigate the anger of the pope in a supplicatory elegiac poem which yet remains, and which probably obtained him his liberty. (b)

“Sede sub hac non est matri sua filia pellex,
Concubuitve suo noxia Myrrha patri;
Hic neque pro nato victurum in secula torrem
Testiadem flammis imposuisse ferunt;
Solve Thyestææ fugiens fera pocula mensæ,
Pone domum celeres ire coegit equos.
Monstra nurus nostræ non progenuere, tulitque
De bove senivirum, de cane nulla canem.”

Eleg. lib. ii. p. 33.

(a) *Bonamini, Memorie di Guid. Postumo*, p. 13.

(b) *Ad Julium Secundum, Pont. ut subjectis et victis parcat hostibus.* *Eleg.* lib. i. p. 15.

From this time the life of Postumo appears to have been more tranquil. Having throughout the whole course of his studies paid particular attention to medicine, he was, in the year 1510, appointed by the duke of Ferrara, professor of that science and of philosophy in the university of Ferrara, where he remained about six years. (a) This situation he probably quitted for the purpose of superintending the education of Guidubaldo, the infant son of Francesco Maria, duke of Urbino; as it appears, that on the attack made upon the territories of that prince by Leo X., Postumo was sent with his young charge to the fortress of S. Leo, as to a place of perfect safety. Of this fortress it has been suggested that Postumo held the chief command, when it was captured in the year 1517, by the joint efforts of the pontifical and Florentine troops; but of this the evidence is too slight to be relied on. (b) It is, however, highly probable that he was here made a prisoner, since we find him in the same year at Rome; but in whatever character he first made his appearance

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(a) *Bonamini, Memorie Istoriche*, p. 17.

(b) Bonamini has founded this opinion on the following lines of Postumo, in his *Epicidium* on the death of his mother :

“ Creditus hoc cum ipso est saxo mihi regius infans
Guidus Juliades, qui quamquam mitis, et ore
Blandus, ut ex vultu possis cognoscere matrem,
Patrem animis tamen, et primis patruum exprimit annis.”

But this is contradicted by the historical evidence of Leoni, who informs us, that the defence of this fortress was intrusted to Sigismondo Varano, who, on account of his youth, was assisted by Bernardino Ubaldino, and Battista da Venafro. *Leoni, vita di Fran. Maria Duca D'Urbino*, lib. ii. p. 183. *et v. ante*, vol. iii. chap. xiv. p. 93.

CHAP. there, it is certain that he was treated by Leo X.
 XVII. with particular attention and kindness, which he
 A. D. 1518. has endeavoured to repay by recording the praises
 A. Æt. 43. of that pontiff in many parts of his works. (a)
 A. Pont. VI. Among these commendatory pieces, the elegiac
 poem in which he compares the happiness enjoyed
 under the pontificate of Leo X. with the wretched
 state of Italy, under his predecessors Alexander
 VI. and Julius II. is deserving of particular no-
 tice. (b) By the generosity of Leo X. Postumo
 was enabled to restore his family mansion at Pe-
 saro to its former splendour; a circumstance which
 he has not failed to record in his writings. (c) In
 the amusements of the chase, of which Leo so
 eagerly partook, Postumo was his frequent asso-
 ciate, and one of the most finished poems of this
 author is devoted to commemorate the various in-
 cidents which attended an excursion made by the
 pontiff to his villa at Palo, for the purpose of en-
 joying this amusement, on which occasion he was
 accompanied by the foreign ambassadors, and the
 prelates and nobles of his court. (d) The tranquil-
 lity and happiness which Postumo now enjoyed,
 were, however, interrupted by the infirm state of
 his health, which some of his contemporaries at-
 tributed to the luxurious banquets of which he

(a) " Guido Posthumus, Pisarenensis lepido et comi argutoque ingenio poeta, quum Elegias, et variis numeris carmina factitaret, in aula LEONIS conspicuus fuit. Patebat enim ea liberaliter, meridians præsertim horis, quum citharædi cessarent, his omnibus qui eruditæ suavitatis oblectamenta ad ciendam hilaritatem intulissent." *Jov. Elogia.* lxi.

(b) This is already given in the appendix to vol. ii. No. LXXII.

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

(d) *v.* Appendix, No. CLXIX.

partook in the pontifical palace, (a) but which others have supposed to have been the effects of his military fatigues, on a constitution naturally weak. (b) In hopes of deriving some advantage from change of air he retired to the pleasant villa of Capranica, in company with his former pupil, the cardinal Ercole Rangone, whence he addressed to Leo X. an elegiac poem which is conjectured to be the last of his productions; (c) as he died at this place only a short time before the pontiff, in the year 1521. (d)

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(a) "Præstat nonnihil in Elegis Guidus Posthumus Pisarenis; ausus ille aggredi phalæcios et heroicos, parum utrumque recte; sapientiæ et medicinæ studia amplexatus, nihilo plus quam in poetica profecit, secutus convivias, et Regum convictus, unde infirmam atque ægram valetudinem contraxit." *Gyrald. de poet. suorum temp. in op. ii. 538.*

It is observed with great truth by Count Bossi, that the judgment pronounced by *Giraldi* appears to be too severe; for that if *Postumo* had been unfortunate in his poetical attempts, and no less so in his medical capacity, he could scarcely have obtained either the applause of his contemporaries, or the favour of the great. The commendations, he adds, of *Tebaldeo* and of *Giovio*, if they do not serve to counterbalance the censures of *Giraldi*, may, at least, serve to make it doubtful whether that critic was always exempt from prejudice in the opinions he has given. *v. Ital. ed. vol. vii. p. 335.*

(b) *Bonamini, Mem. Istoriche, p. 22.*

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

(d) *Tebaldeo* honoured the memory of *Postumo* with the following epitaph:

"Posthumus hic situs est; ne dictum hoc nomine credas
In lucem extincto quod patre prodierit;
Mortales neque enim talem genuere parentes,
Calliopeia fuit mater, Apollo pater."

Jov. Elog. lxi.

Some time after the death of *Postumo*, his writings were, at the instance of the cardinal *Rangone*, collected by his pupil *Lodovico Siderostomo*, and published at *Bologna*, in 1524, with a dedica-

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His writ-
ings.

Giovanni
Mozzarello.

Of the merit of the writings of Postumo very different opinions have been entertained. That they are to be ranked with the polished productions of Fracastoro, of Vida, and of Flaminio, cannot indeed be asserted; but they frequently exhibit passages of considerable merit, and are, on the present occasion, entitled to particular notice, as having preserved to us many circumstances of the private life and character of Leo X.

Among those who contributed by their wit and vivacity to the amusement of the pontiff in his

tion from the editor to Pirro Gonzaga, protonotary of the Roman see. The extreme rarity of this volume, of which very few copies are known to exist, has given rise to conjectures, that the edition was suppressed by some of those persons in power who found themselves attacked by the satirical and pungent style of the author; nor is it unlikely that this circumstance may be attributed to the freedom with which he had treated the Roman pontiffs who preceded Leo X.

This volume is entitled,

GUIDI POSTHUMI SILVES
TRIS PISAURENSIS
ELEGIARUM
LIBRI II.
CUM GRATIA ET
PRIVILEGIO.

At the close,

*Impressum Bononiæ per Hieronymum de Benedictis Bibliopolam
Bononiensem, Anno Domini M.D.XXIII. Calen. Jul.*

“ Questa edizione,” says Bonamini, “ in brevissimo tempo tanto rara divenne, che appena a giorni nostri un esemplare se ne conserva fortunatamente nella nostra patria, avutasi non è gran tempo dalla pubblica Biblioteca di Perugia dall’ eruditissimo Sig. Uditore Passeri; e due altri, che io sappia in Roma, nella Libreria Alessandrina, non contando fra questi i tre codici, che nella Vaticana si conservano.” *Memor. Istoriche di Guido Post.* p. 25. From this edition Mr. Henke has given three of the Poems of Postumo; observing, that his works lie in that edition, as if concealed in manuscript, and still want a publisher. *v. Germ. ed.* vol. iii. p. 134. App. 509.

hours of leisure, was Giovanni Mozzarello, a native of Mantua; but Leo had sufficient discernment to perceive that Mozzarello, although very young, possessed superior talents, which amidst his apparent negligence he had cultivated with uncommon application. By his cheerful and friendly disposition, and the facility and elegance which he displayed both in his Latin and Italian writings, he conciliated in an eminent degree the favour of almost all the distinguished scholars who then adorned the Roman court. (a) After having for some time observed his character and experienced his attachment, Leo removed him from the dissipation of the city, and appointed him governor of the fortress of Mondaino, (b) the income of which office afforded him an ample competency, with sufficient leisure for the prosecution of his studies. (c) In this situation he undertook an epic poem entitled *Porsenna*, which he was probably prevented from terminating by an untimely and calamitous death; having been found, after he had been sought for in vain upwards of a month, suffocated, with his

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(a) Bembo, writing to Ottaviano Fregoso, denominates him, “Magnæ spei adolescens, ut scis, aut etiam majoris quam quod scire possis. Magis enim magisque sese in dies comparat, cum ad mores optimos, et ad omnem virtutem, tum ad poetices studia, ad quæ natus præcipue videtur.” *Ep. Fam. lib. v. ep. vii.*

(b) Or *Mondolfo*, as suggested by *Bossi*, for which he cites the authority of *Valeriano*. *Ital. ed. vol. vii. p. 197.**

(c) “Mutius Arelius Mantuanus, magno et eleganti juvenis ingenio, lingua prius nostri temporis Italica sese exercuit; mox latinam affectans jam adultus, brevi admodum temporis curriculo magnum poetam professus est; quam juvenis promptitudinem admiratus Leo X, ne tali decisset ingenio, arci eum Mondulphiæ præfecit, quem locum Arelius studiis suis necessaria ubertim suppeditaturum arbitrabatur.” *Valerian. de Literator. infel. lib. i. p. 34.*

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mule, at the bottom of a well; (a) a circumstance which confirmed the suspicions before entertained, that his death was occasioned by the barbarity and resentment of those persons over whom he was appointed to preside. This event affected his numerous friends with real sorrow; and Bembo in particular, has, in several letters to the cardinal da Bibbiena, lamented his fate in terms of the warmest affection and the sincerest regret. (b) Under the name of *Mutius Arelius*, by which he chose to distinguish himself, Mozzarello produced several works, some of which are yet preserved in the Italian libraries, (c) whilst others, as well Latin as Italian, have been published in different collections, and are entitled to no inconsiderable share of approbation. (d)

Latin ex-
temporary
poets.

The efforts of the Italian *Improvvisatori* were emulated by the extemporary recitations of the

(a) *Valer. ut supra.*

(b) “ Monsignor mio, sapete bene ch’ io temo grandemente che ’l nostro povero Muzarello sia stato morto da quelli di Mondaino; perciocchè da un mese in quà, esso non si truova in luogo alcuno; solo si sa che si partì di quella maledetta Rocca temendo di quelli uomini, e fu nascosamente. Non mancò già, che io non gli predicassi questo, che Dio voglia non gli sia avvenuto. O infelice giovane! non lo avessi io mai conosciuto, se tanto e sì raro ingegno si dovea spegnere così tosto e in tal modo.” *Bembo Ep. al Card. da Bibbiena. in op. tom. iii. p. 10.*

(c) In the ducal library of Modena is a work of Mozzarello, written by him whilst very young, in the manner of the *Arcadia* of Sanazzaro, and dedicated to Elizabetha Gonzaga, duchess of Urbino. *v. Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 233.*

(d) Ariosto has immortalized him, by enumerating him among the great scholars of the age:

“ Uno elegante Castiglione, e un culto
Mutio Arelio.”

Orl. Fur. Cant. 42. st. 87.

Latin poets; and when Leo was not detained by the correct and classical productions of Vida, of Bembo, of Fracastoro, or of Flaminio, he might listen with satisfaction to the spontaneous effusions of Brandolini, of Morone, or of Querno, who often attended him during his convivial entertainments, and poured out their verses on such subjects as the occasion supplied, or were suggested to them by the pontiff; who hesitated not at some times to lay aside his dignity and take a part himself in the entertainment. (a) Nor ought we to conclude, as it has too generally been supposed, that these were always the illiterate efforts of men without talents and without education. Although recited extempore, it was required by the pontiff that the verse should not only be applicable, but correct, and Brandolini has in particular left several works, which prove him to have been a man of real learning. (b) To the favours conferred upon

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Raffaele
Brandolini.

(a) “*Namque ad mensam accumbere fere nunquam visus est (Leo X.) nisi illustriorum poetarum corona circumseptus, quos subitariis carninibus quamlibet rem propositam vicissim persequi jubebat; quo honestissimi solatii genere et ipse mirum, inquam, in modum afficiebatur, et convivarum pascerebat animos, exemplo Attici, apud quem nunquam sine aliqua lectione cenatum legimus; ut non minus animo, quam ventre convivæ delectarentur.*” *Foliazzi, in vita Raph. Brandolini, p. 47. Ed. Ven. 1753.*

It is the opinion of Count Bossi, that the art of reciting extemporary Latin verses arose in Italy, and that from this we are to derive the origin of the Italian *Improvvisatori*, who increased in number as their predecessors declined, and have carried the art to a degree of perfection unknown in any other country. *Ed. Ital. vol. vii. p. 199.*

(b) The *Brandolini* were of a noble family at Florence, and were distinguished at the close of the fifteenth century by two men of considerable literary eminence, *Aurelio* and *Raffaele*, each of whom was known by the denomination of *Lippo*, or *Lippus Floren-*

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him at Naples by Charles VIII. in the year 1495, we have before had occasion to refer, (a) and he appears to have attached himself to the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici before his elevation to the pontificate. (b) Soon after that event Brandolini took up his residence at Rome, where he had apartments allotted him in the pontifical palace, and acquired in an eminent degree the favour and friendship of the pope. (c) These obligations he has in some degree repaid in his elegant dialogue entitled LEO, to which we have had frequent occasion to refer in the course of the present work, (d) and where the author has preserved many curious

tinus. Of the former of these writers, who died in the year 1497, a full account may be found in Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d' Italia*, vol. vi. p. 2013, and a Latin poem, which does honour to his talents, is given in the life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 12, 4to. ed.

(a) Vol. i. chap. iv. p. 237.

(b) He collected together some of the works of his relation Aurelio; one of which, entitled *De comparatione Reipublicæ et Regni*, he dedicated to the Card. de' Medici, afterwards Leo X. in an address which contains several curious particulars of the Medici family, and which is therefore given in the Appendix, No. CLXXI.

(c) On this account he is denominated by Gianantonio Flaminio, *Oculus Pontificis*, although Brandolini was himself in fact nearly deprived of sight. It has already been noticed that, at the desire of the pontiff, Brandolini gave instructions to the celebrated Marc-Antonio Flaminio, the son of Gian-Antonio, *v. ante*, p. 320, to which it may be added, that the father has, on many occasions, expressed his satisfaction that his son had obtained the assistance of so accomplished a tutor; who is said to have treated his pupil with as much kindness and affection as if he had been his own offspring. *v. J. A. Flamin. Op. ap. Mazzuch. Scrittori d' Ital.* tom. vi. p. 2019.

(d) This work was preserved in MS. until the year 1753, when it was published at Venice, by Francesco Fogliazzi, Doctor of Laws, accompanied by a life of the author, and copious notes.

particulars respecting that pontiff, and thrown considerable light on the general history of the times.

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Andrea Marone, another favourite attendant of Leo. X., was a native of Brescia, and had passed some part of his youth in the court of Ferrara, under the protection of the cardinal Ippolito d'Este. On the journey which the cardinal undertook into Hungary, Marone expressed a desire of accompanying him, and, on his being refused, quitted Ferrara and repaired to the court of Rome. (a) The facility and promptitude with which Marone expressed himself in Latin verse on any subject that could be proposed to him, surprised and delighted all his auditors. His recitals were accompanied by the music of his viol, and as he proceeded he seemed continually to improve in facility, elegance, enthusiasm, and invention. The fire of his eyes, the expression of his countenance, the rising of his veins, all bespoke the emotions with which he was agitated, and kept his hearers in suspense and astonishment. (b) Having been desired, at a solemn entertainment given

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Andrea
Marone.

(a) *Calcagnini Carm.* p. 172, ap. *Tirab. Storia della Letteratura Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 211.

(b) "Is, cum summa eruditorum admiratione, ex tempore, ad quam jusseris quæstionem, Latinos versus variis modis et numeris fundere consuevit. Audax profecto negotium, ac munus impudentiæ, vel temeritatis plenum; nisi id a natura, impetu prope divino, mira felicitas sequeretur. Fidibus et cantu musas evocat, et quum semel conjectam in numeros mentem alacriore spiritu inflaverit, tanta vi in torrentis morem citatus fertur, ut fortuita et subitariis tractibus ducta, multum ante provisa, et meditata carmina videantur. Canenti defixi exardent oculi; sudores manant; frontis venæ contumescunt; et quod mirum est, eruditæ aures, tanquam alienæ et intentæ, omnem impetum profluentium numerorum exactissima ratione moderantur." *Jov. in Elog.* LXXII.

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by the pontiff to several of the ambassadors of foreign powers, to deliver extempore verses on the league which was then forming against the Turks, he acquitted himself in such a manner as to obtain the applause of the whole assembly, (a) and the pope immediately afterwards presented him with a benefice in the diocese of Capua. On the celebration of the feast of Cosmo and Damiano, the tutelar saints of the family of Medici, a subject was proposed by the pope, on which all those who aspired to the character of extempore Latin poets were to display their talents, and contend for superiority. Notwithstanding many learned competitors appeared, the prize was adjudged to Marone; but the circumstance that conferred on him the highest honour, was, that on this occasion Brandolini was one of his unsuccessful rivals. (b) Of the Latin poetry of Marone very few specimens have been preserved, (c) but the com-

(a) Jovius, who relates this incident, has preserved the commencement of the verses recited by Marone:

“ Infelix Europa, diu quassata tumultu
Bellorum.”

(b) “ Celebrabatur magnificentissimo apparatu Mediceorum Cosmiana solemnitas, quam in magni Cosmi proavi memoriam Leo X. quotannis celebrandam statuerat. Itaque ad illius celebritatis diem honestandum plurimi fama celebriores Poetæ convivio intererant, qui proposita de more argumenta referebant ex tempore; verum cum *Andreas* quidam *Maro*, magni promptique vir ingenii, omnes quasi clingues fecisset, cum Lippo nostro congregari a pontifice est jussus; et cum valide utrimque certatum esset, Lippum tandem victum cecidisse ferunt.” *Fogliazzi, in vita Raph. Brandolini, p. 48.*

(c) Two Latin epigrams of Marone, which do no discredit to his talents, are prefixed to the singular book of Francesco Colonna, entitled *LA HYPNEROTOMACHIA DI POLIPHILLO*, printed by

mëndations bestowed upon his extemporary effusions by Jovius, Valerianus, and others, may be admitted as a sufficient proof of his extraordinary endowments, and of the wonderful effects which they were accustomed to produce upon the learned audience by which he was generally surrounded. (a)

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The arch-poet, Camillo Querno, was also an extempore reciter of Latin verse, and his talents in this department have met with high commendation from some of his contemporaries; (b) whilst others have attributed the applauses which he received rather to his unblushing assurance than to his extraordinary merits. (c) On the first arrival of Querno at Rome, he brought with him from Monopoli, in the kingdom of Naples, of which place he was a native, an epic poem, entitled *Alexias*, consisting of twenty thousand verses. With this and his lyre he presented himself at the literary meetings of the Roman scholars, who soon perceived that he was well qualified to afford them a

Camillo
Querno.

Aldus in 1499, and again in 1545, of which a full account may be found in the *Menagiana*, tom. iv. p. 70.

(a) " Quid si illum audieris, velut sodales
Octo audivimus, optimum sodalem!
Nos audivimus; audit hunc et omnibus
Doctorum manus in dies, canentem
Mille ex tempore carmina erudita;
Quis nil sit lutulentum, inexploratum,
Nil absurdum, et inane, nil hiulcum;
Tanquam Virgilii mora, et labore,
Tanquam tempore culta sub novenni."

Pier. Valerian. ad Dantem Aligerum. Hexam. &c. iii. p. 127.

(b) Particularly by Fr. Arsilli, in his poem *de Poetis Urbanis*, to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer.

(c) *Gyraldi de Poet. suorum temp.*

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rich fund of entertainment. A day was appointed on which Querno should recite his poem, for which purpose his auditors repaired to a small island in the Tiber. Here he alternately drank and sang, and after he had proved himself equally qualified for either of these tasks, a crown of a new kind was prepared for him, interwoven with the leaves of vine, of cabbage, and of laurel, which was immediately placed on his head, and he was saluted by his companions with the title of *Archipoeta*. (a) This incident soon reached the ears of the pontiff, who was highly delighted with it, and desired that the arch-poet might be introduced to him without delay. From this time he became a frequent attendant on the convivial entertainments of the pope, who usually sent him a portion from his table, which he consumed with a voracity equal to that of the heroes of Homer; (b) but the wine was brought to him only on the condition of his reciting a certain number of stanzas, and if he made an error, either in sense or in measure, it

(a) "Salve brassica virens corona
Et lauro, Archipoeta, pampinoque,
Dignus principis auribus *Leonis*."

Jov. in Elog. lxxxii.

"Not with more glee, by hands pontific crown'd,
With scarlet hats wide waving circled round,
Rome, in her capitol, saw QUERNO sit,
Throned on seven hills, the antichrist of wit.

Dunciad, ii. 13.

It is justly remarked by Henke, that Pope has, in these lines, confounded *Querno* with the other court-jester *Baraballa*, with whom the pageant alluded to by Pope, and hereafter described, was exhibited. *v. Germ. ed. vol. iii. p. 144.*

(b) "Querno, porrectis de manu semesis obsoniis, stans in fenestra vesceretur." *Jov. ap Henke, Germ. ed. vol. iii. p. 141.**

was mixed with a due proportion of water. (a) On some occasions Leo is said to have amused himself with replying to Querno. Of this, instances have been preserved, which, if authentic, sufficiently shew, that in the extempore recitation of Latin verse, the pontiff possessed a facility not inferior to that, with the display of which in others he was himself so highly delighted. (b)

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In the same class with Querno may be placed Giovanni Gazoldo and Girolamo Britonio, both of whom aspired to the character of extemporary Latin poets, and if they failed in obtaining the

Gazoldo
and Brito-
nio.

(a) On one of these mortifying occasions, Querno is said to have turned towards the pontiff, with the cup in his hand, and to have addressed him in these Leonine verses.

“ In cratere meo Thetis est conjuncta Lyæo
Est Dea juncta Deo ; sed Dea major co.”

Foresti, Mappamondo Istorico, tom. iii.

(b) Of this, the following specimen has frequently been quoted. Querno complaining of his laborious office, exclaimed,

“ Archipoeta facit versus pro mille poetis.”

To which Leo instantly replied,

“ Et pro mille aliis Archipoeta bibit.”

Querno, who found some reinforcement necessary, shortly afterwards subjoined,

“ Porrige quod faciant mihi carmina docta Falernum.”

But Leo refused ; and added, as a reason,

“ Hoc vinum enervat debilitatque pedes.”

In which it has been supposed, that he alluded to the gout, with which Querno is said to have been afflicted ; but he certainly meant also to apply the word *pedes* to the *feet* of the verse, which were not likely to be improved by an additional quantity of wine.

We learn from Bossi that Querno remained in Rome after the death of Leo X., but left it in 1528, for Naples, where he was so persecuted by his countrymen, that he was accustomed to say, “ *he had found a thousand wolves in exchange for one Lion.*” According to Valeriano, he finished his days in a hospital. *v. Ital. ed. vol. vii. p. 337.*

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applause, frequently provoked the laughter of the pope and his attendants. These exhibitions were, however, carried sometimes beyond the bounds of jocularity. Gazoldo is said to have received a reward for his bad verses in a serious bastinado, bestowed upon him by the orders of the supreme pontiff, and the arch-poet was so disfigured by a wound given him in the face, by some person who had taken offence at his intemperance and gluttony, that he was deterred from attending the banquets of the pontiff so frequently as he had before been accustomed to do. (a) Several other persons are mentioned by Jovius as having contributed to the hilarity of the pontiff in his festive hours, among whom was Giovan-Francesco, one of the sons of Poggio Bracciolini. (b) They were, however, more distinguished by their devotion to the pleasures of the table, than by their intellectual endowments; and the frugal Batavian Adrian VI. who, by an extraordinary combination of circumstances, succeeded Leo X. in the pontifical chair, was astonished at the luxury of his predecessor, and particularly at the expenses incurred

(a) Of these authors, Giraldi thus expresses himself at the close of his dialogue, *De Poetis suor. temp. in op.* p. 547: "Si hujusmodi lurcones verius quam poetas vobis afferrem, ingratum potius quam gratum arbitrarer me facturum. An nescitis Gazoldum sæpius, ob ineptos versus et claudicantes, male mulctatum a LEONE flagris, et fabulam omnibus factum? Archipoetam vero immania ingurgitantem pocula a ganeone Alex. auribus et pæne naribus deformatum? Unde nunc parcius Pontificis mensam adit. * * Cum quibus et Hieronymus Britonius posset adscribi, de quo notissimum illud Iambicum Baptist. Sangæ extat, et legitur,

"*Prætor graviscus mittitur Britonius,*" &c.

et v. *Muzzuchelli Scrittore d'Ital.* vol. vi. p. 2112.

(b) v. *Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, chap. xi. p. 483.

in *peacock sausages*, which seem to have been a favourite dish with these voracious frequenters of the pontifical table. (*a*)

But the most remarkable instance of folly and of absurdity is preserved to us in the account given of Baraballo, abate of Gaeta, one of that unfortunate but numerous class, who, without the talent, possess the inclination for poetry, and who, like the rest of his brethren, was perfectly insensible of his own defects. The commendations ironically bestowed on his absurd productions had, however, raised him to such importance in his own opinion, that he thought himself another Petrarca, and like him aspired to the honour of being crowned in the capitol. This afforded too favourable an opportunity for amusement to be neglected by the pontiff and his attendants; and the festival of SS. Cosmo and Damiano was fixed upon as the day for gratifying the wishes of the poet. In order to add to the ridicule, it was resolved, that the elephant, which had lately been presented to the pontiff by the king of Portugal, should be brought out and splendidly decorated, and that Baraballo, arrayed in the triumphal habit

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Baraballo
di Gaeta.

(*a*) “ Mire quoque favit Pogio seni, Pogii historici filio, itemque Moro nobili a gulæ intemperantia articularibus doloribus distorto, et Brandino equiti, Marianoque sannioni cucullato, facetissimis helluonibus, et in omni genere popinalium deliciarum eruditissimis. Nam inter alia portenta insanientis eorum gulæ, lucanicas concisis pavonum pulpis farctas commenti fuerant: quod obsonii genus, mox successor Hadrianus, vir Batavæ frugalitatis, mirabundus expavit, quum sumptuarias rationes Leonis inspiceret. Verum festivissimis eorum facetiis, et perurbanis scommatibus, magis quam ullis palati lenociniis oblectabatur.” *Jov. in vita Leon. X. lib. iv. p. 85.*

CHAP. XVII. of a Roman conqueror, should mount it, and be conveyed in triumph to the capitol. The preparations on this occasion were highly splendid and expensive; (a) but, before they were completed, a deputation arrived from Gaeta, where the relations of Baraballo held a respectable rank, for the purpose of dissuading him from rendering himself an object of laughter to the whole city. Baraballo however construed their kindness into an illiberal jealousy of his good fortune, in having obtained the favour of the pontiff, and dismissed them with reproaches and anger. Having then recited several of his poems, replete with the most ridiculous absurdities, until his hearers were no longer able to maintain their gravity, he was brought to the area of the Vatican, where he mounted the elephant, and proceeded in great state through the streets, amidst the confused noise of drums and trumpets, and the acclamations of the populace. (b)

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(a) "La incoronazione del nostro Abate di Ghaeta per le poste vien via; et le veste di velluto verde, di raso cremisi, ornate di armellini, et altri belli vestimenti per lui, et per lo Elephante sono già quasi facte; et molte belle recitationi da farsi dinanzi al Nro. Signore (Leo X.) si preparano," &c. *ex MSS. inedit.*

(b) To this event Angelo Colocci refers in one of his epigrams, entitled,

De Abante Baraballa.

"Littore de curvo vicina cadentibus Euris
Cajeta huc celebres misit alumna viros,
Ænean mentem Trojæ, et te maxime vatum,
Qui nunc Assaraci nomen Abantis habes.
Clarus Abans cantu, ter dextra clarus, et armis;
Illum pax redimit, hunc grave Martis opus.
At nos Nutrici tantum debebimus omnes,
Quantum Roma suæ debet alumna Lupæ."

Colocci, op. Lat. 109.

“I should scarcely have believed,” says Jovius, (a) “unless I had myself been present at the sight, that a man not less than sixty years of age, of an honourable family, and venerable by his stature and his grey hairs, should have suffered himself to be decorated with the *toga palmata* and the *latum clavum* of the ancient Romans, and bedecked with gold and purple, to be led in a triumphal procession before the public, with the sound of trumpets.” His triumph was not, however, of long continuance. On arriving at the bridge of S. Angelo, the sagacious quadruped refused to contribute any longer to the ungenerous mirth of the crowd, and the hero of the day was glad to descend in safety from his exalted station. (b) The remembrance of this important incident was, by the orders of the pope, perpetuated by a piece of sculpture in wood, (c) which yet remains upon the door of one of the inner chambers in the Vatican.

Among the inhabitants of Rome, one of the most distinguished patrons of learned men was a noble and opulent German, named Giovanni Gorizio, or, as he was usually denominated, Janus Corycius, who under the pontificate of Leo X.

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Giovanni
Gorizio a
patron of
learning at
Rome.

(a) *Jov. in vita Leon.* lib. iv. p. 85.

(b) Several writers have erroneously supposed that Baraballo and the arch-poet Querno were the same person. *v. Bottari, Note al Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 120. *Lancelotto, in op. lat. Angeli Polocci, notis*, p. 109. Baraballo was of Gaeta, Querno of Monopoli, in Apulia. Both these authors cite the authority of Jovius, *in Elog.*, who makes no such assertion. Bottari is also mistaken in relating that Leo X. actually crowned Baraballo, “*fece la funzione di incoronarlo*,” for which he also cites the authority of Jovius.

(c) By Gian Barile, “*artefice nel genere suo excellentissimo*.” *Bottari, Note al Vasari*, tom. ii. p. 120.

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held the office of a judge in the civil concerns of the city. For several years the house and gardens of Corycius were the usual resort of the Roman academicians. On the feast day of S. Anna, his tutelary saint, he was accustomed to provide a splendid entertainment, which was attended by the most accomplished scholars and respectable inhabitants of Rome and its vicinity, and afforded a favourable opportunity for those literary contests and exhibitions which gave additional vigour to these studies. The liberality of Corycius was repaid by the commendations of his learned friends, many of whom have perpetuated his name in their verses. About the year 1514, he erected at his own expense, in the church of S. Agostino at Rome, a magnificent family chapel, in which he placed a beautiful piece of sculpture, the workmanship of Andrea Contucci del Monte Sansovino, representing the infant Jesus with the virgin and S. Anna. These figures, although all formed from one block of marble, were nearly the size of life, and are mentioned by the historian of the arts as one of the finest productions of the times. (a) On this occasion the learned friends of Corycius vied with each other in paying a tribute of respect to his munificence, his piety, and his taste; and the numerous compositions to which this incident gave

(a) “Fece (Andrea) di marmo, in Sant’ Agostino di Roma, cioè in un pilastro a mezzo la chiesa, una Sant’ Anna, che tiene in collo una nostra Donna con Cristo, di grandezza poco meno, che il vivo; la qual opera si può fra le moderne tenere per ottima. * * Onde meritò, che per tanti anni si frequentasse di appiccarvi sonetti, ed altri varii e dotti componimenti, che i frati di quel luogo ne hanno un libro pieno, il quale ho veduto io con non piccola maraviglia.” *Vasari, vite de’ Pittor.* vol. ii. p. 169.

rise may be considered as the most decisive proof of the proficiency which had been made in the cultivation of Latin poetry within the city of Rome.

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One of the most eminent contributors to the shrine of S. Anna, was Biagio Pallai, a native of Sabina, who assumed the academic name of Blossius Palladius, by which he is frequently mentioned in the writings of his contemporaries. (a) In the year 1516, he had the honour of being admitted a Roman citizen by a public decree. (b) This accomplished scholar was no less distinguished by his hospitality than by his talents, and his house and gardens are also celebrated as having frequently afforded a place of assembly and entertainment for his literary friends. (c) After having been one of the principal ornaments of the Roman academy during the pontificate of Leo X. he rose to considerable eminence in the state, and filled the office of pontifical secretary to Clement VII. and Paul III. by the latter of whom his services were rewarded by the presentation to the bishoprick of Foligno. (d) To Palladius we are indebted for the publication of the poems addressed to Corycius, which the latter had carefully preserved, but which he justly conceived would subject him to the imputation of vanity, if he were to commit them to

The Cory-
ciana.

(a) Particularly in the *Carmina* of Marc-Antonio Flaminio, where it appears that the most trivial circumstances have at times given rise to compositions which Horace or Catullus might not have blushed to own. *Flamin. Carm.* lib. i. *carm.* 56, 57, 58, 59, &c.

(b) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 203.

(c) *Flamin. Carm.* lib. i. *car.* 55.

“Blosi villula ter quaterque felix.”

(d) *Fabroni, vita Leon. X.* 194.

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the press. The solicitations of Palladius at length removed his objections, and they made their appearance in the year 1524, in an elegant volume, now of extreme rarity, entitled, *Coryciana*. (a) This collection contains, besides several anonymous pieces, a specimen of the productions of no less than one hundred and twenty Latin poets, who were then found within the limits of Rome, and many of whom yet hold a high rank in the annals of learning. (b) It appears to have been usual

(a) At the close we read, *Impressum Romæ apud Ludovicum Vicentinum, et Lautitium Perusinum. mense Julio. MDXXIV*. The address of Palladius prefixed to this work, and the letters of Corycius, and of his friend Cajus Sylvanus, one of his learned countrymen then resident at Rome, and who contributed several pieces to this collection, throw considerable light on the state of literature in Rome during the pontificate of Leo X., on which account, as well as from the rarity of the volume, they are given in the Appendix, No. CLXXII.

(b) Of the nature of these compositions, the following lines of Flaminius, whilst they exhibit a singular mixture of Christian piety and heathen sensuality, may afford a sufficient idea.

De Sacello Coryciano.

“ Dii, quibus tam Corycius venusta
Signa, tam dives posuit sacellum,
Ulla si vestros animos piorum
Gratia tangit,
Vos jocos risusque senis faceti
Sospites servate diu; senectam
Vos date et semper viridem, et Falerno
Usque madentem.
At simul longo satiatus ævo
Liquerit terras, dapibus Deorum
Lætus intersit, potiore mutans
Nectare Bacchum.”

Carm. lib. i. car. vii.

Ye sacred powers, to whom this shrine,
These sculptured forms, *Corycius* rears,
If e'er your favouring ear incline
To votive sighs and mortal prayers,

to present these pieces as votive gifts at the altar of S. Anna, but the offerings became so numerous, that Corycius was at length obliged to close the doors of his chapel, and to terminate this more than half idolatrous worship.(a)

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The collection of the *Coryciana* is terminated by a poem of Francesco Arsilli, entitled *De Poetis Urbanis*, which celebrates the names, and characterizes the works of a great number of Latin poets resident at Rome in the time of Leo X. Its author was a native of Sinigaglia, and was of a respectable family, his brother Paolo having been deputed by his countrymen to congratulate Lorenzo de' Medici, duke of Urbino, on his acquisition of that state. After having finished his studies at Padua, and devoted himself to the practice of medicine, Francesco took up his residence at Rome.(b) He appears, however, neither to have

Poem of
Francesco
Arsilli en-
titled *De
Poetis Ur-
banis.*

O grant him still with jest and song
The blissful hours of life to pass ;
To healthful age his years prolong ;
And crown with wine his festive glass ;
Till satiate with this earthly fare,
You lead him to your seats divine,
The banquets of the gods to share,
And into nectar change his wine.

(a) This circumstance is alluded to in the following lines of Fabius Vigil.

“ Tandem, Jane, oculis aufer Miracula Divum,
Nam decet arcanis sacra latere locis.
Ni facis, accurrent vario tot ab orbe poetæ
Quot Persarum iniere agmina Thermopylas.
Nec tibi, quot scita populo statuere Quiritum
Bissenæ adversus sat fuerint tabulæ,” &c.

(b) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 200, where it appears that Arsilli returned to Sinigaglia, in the year 1527, not richer than he left it, and lived there till 1540; several other

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been favourable to the pontiff, nor to have obtained his friendship; as a reason for which, it has been said that he was too fond of his own liberty to attend on the court, and that the court therefore neglected or forgot him.^(a) Hence Arsilli was one of the few instances which these times afforded of unrewarded merit; and his dissatisfaction is pointedly expressed in the commencement of his poem, addressed to Paulus Jovius, where he enters into the following comparison between the patronage afforded to the poets of antiquity, and to those of his own days:

works of this author yet remain in MS., among which Tiraboschi enumerates, *Amorum*, libri iii. *Pirmillicidos*, lib. iii. *Piscatio. Helvetiados*, lib. i. *Prædictionum*, lib. iii. Onorato Fascitelli has celebrated the memory of Arsilli in the following lines:

In obitu Arsilli, Medici, et Poetæ.

“ Ergo videmus lumine hoc spirabili
Cassum jacere te quoque;
Ut plebe quivis unus e vili jacet,
ARSILLE, magno Apollini
Novemque Musis care? Sive poculis
Præsentibus morbi gravès
Essent levandi, sive dulci carmine
Dicenda mater aurea
Cupidinum, lusnsque furtorum leves.
O vota nostra inania!
Quid dura fati non potest necessitas?
I, da lyram mihi, puer,
Manuque funde proniore Cæcubum.
Nunc sunt Lyæi munera,
Nunc plectra cordi; nunc juvat lectissimo
Cinxisse flore tempora.
Sicci, tenebris obsiti, tristi in Styge
Fortasse cras silebimus.”

(a) “ Natura enim frugi, et auræ libertatis custos, Vaticanam aulam, et potentium limina, contumaci quadam superbia devitabat ” *Jov. in Elog. Arsilli, ciii.*

Long have I, Jovius, in my mind revolved
 Whether the laureate wreath to former times,
 Or to our modern bards be rather due.
 —But sure the muses in those better days
 Were blest, when great AUGUSTUS ruled the earth,
 And when MÆCENAS with his liberal hand
 Foster'd the flowers of genius. Witness thou,
 Melodious HORACE, and thou, MIGHTY BARD,
 Who sang'st the labours of the Phrygian chief,
 And, NASO, thou, and ye, the numerous throng
 Whose fame survives the lapse of rolling years.
 Then to the poet's song the sovereign bent
 With ear benignant; but in modern times
 We to the deaf our tuneful warblings pour.
 Rude was the breast that from th' imperial smile
 Caught not a warmer fervour; and 'tis hence
 We yield (if yet we yield) to elder days.
 —But when I note this avaricious age,
 And the scant boon the modern patron gives;
 —An age, in which the tuneful maids themselves
 Might ask admittance at the door in vain,
 And unprotected on Parnassus' hill
 The laurel droops and dies: I boldly then
 Prefer to ancient talents modern worth.
 For not by hopes of lucre led, the bard
 To virtue only consecrates his song.

O that the shepherd would, with timely care,
 Collect his scatter'd flock, and lead them forth
 To richer pasturage, and guard them safe
 From ravenous wolves, that with unsparing tooth
 Tear the fair fleece from Phœbus' favourite train.
 Then to the envy of each former age
 Should flow the nectar'd melody. Even now,
 Tho' chill'd by cold neglect, the heavenly flame
 Glows ardent; and forgetful of his lot
 The poet raises his immortal strain.

To these querulous effusions, the numerous instances of the liberality of the pontiff to the pro-

CHAP. XVII. fessors of every department of literature, and the general testimony of his contemporaries, would afford a sufficient reply ; (a) but for this purpose it is not necessary to resort further than to the poem itself, which exhibits in a striking point of view the astonishing proficiency which, in the course of a very few years, had taken place in the city of Rome. This proficiency the author, it is true, affects to consider as the spontaneous result of the genius, the talents, and the virtues of those whom he has celebrated ; but he might as well have informed us, that in those days the flowers of summer bloomed in the midst of winter, as attempt to conceal a truth which is demonstrated by every line of his work ; there being scarcely a person of any eminence mentioned by him, who was not indebted to Leo X. for the competence, and perhaps for the credit, which he enjoyed. (b) On the merits of Sadoleti and of Bembo, this author has dwelt with peculiar complacency.

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(a) Even Jovius, to whom the poem of Arsilli is addressed, attributes the sudden improvement of polite literature to the liberality of Leo X. “Scripsit (Arsillus) lepidum libellum *de Poetis Urbanis*, mihi, tanquam veteri sodali, dedicatum ; quum Leone ingeniis liberaliter arridente, multi undique poetæ illustres, nequaquam ad inanes spes in Urbem confluxissent, et pulcherrimo quodam certamine a singulis in una tantum statuæ materia scriberetur, qua carminum farragine Corytius, homo Trevir, humani juris libellis præpositus, uti perhumanus poetarum hospes, ac admirator inclaruit ; ea scilicet, statua insigni marmorea, *Aureliano* in templo dedicata, invitatisque vatibus, ut tria numina Christi Dei, et *Matris*, ac *Aviæ* uno in signo celebrarent.” *Jov. in Arsilli Elog.* ciii.

(b) I am happy to find this opinion strongly confirmed in an excellent note by Count Bossi, in which he has recapitulated and particularly insisted on the merits of Leo X. as a restorer of literature ; but for which I am compelled, on account of its length, to refer my readers to the Italian edition, vol. vii. p. 338.*

Hence numerous are the bards that Rome infolds
 In her maternal bosom; heirs of fame
 While yet they live. For say what future age
 Shall rob thee of thy honours, or refuse
 Thy praise, O SADOLETI? in whose verse
 The breathing marble of Laocoon glows
 With strong expression, as in serpent-folds
 He and his sons expire; or Curtius wheels
 His foaming steed and rushes on to fate
 To save his country. Nor inferior praise
 Is thine, O BEMBO; who amidst the waves
 Of Venice nursed, could'st tune thy infant voice
 To notes of Tuscan melody, or wake
 To Latian sounds the elegiac lyre,
 From amorous Pan as Galatea flies.
 Sing'st thou the hero's praise? thy rival verse
 Aspires to emulate his deeds, and bears
 The palm of excellence from every age.
 Or if to narrower bounds confined, thou know'st
 To rein thy steed and bend thy fervid wheels
 Within prescriptive limits. These the bards
 Of kindred mind, amid th' Idalian groves
 Oft social wander, emulous to crop
 Their brightest flowers; and when the sister-train
 Of Phœbus seek on Aganippe's brink
 A shelter from the day-star's burning rage,
 Then to her lyre Calliope attunes
 Their melting numbers, that like music sweet
 Sink deep into the vacant mind; and they,
 The tuneful maids, responsive to the song,
 In choral harmony applaud the strain.

This poem, as published in the *Coryciana*, consists of only one hundred and ninety-two distichs; but Tiraboschi had the good fortune to obtain another copy in the hand-writing of the author, which is enlarged by the addition of many other names, and extends to three hundred and twenty-

CHAP. seven distichs. The perusal of this poem will af-
XVII. ford the admirer of Latin poetry a characteristic
A. D. 1518. idea of the numerous authors there mentioned ;
A. Æt. 43. and the republication of it, at the close of the pre-
A. Pont. VI. sent volume, may therefore relieve us from the
necessity of prosecuting our researches on a sub-
ject, which, if pursued, would carry us beyond the
limits to which this portion of the present work
must necessarily be confined.

CHAP. XVIII.

1518—1519.

SELIM usurps the Ottoman throne—Defeats the Sophi of Persia—Conquers Egypt—Apprehensions entertained for the safety of Europe—Leo X. endeavours to form an alliance among the Christian powers—Publishes a general truce for five years—His plan of an offensive league against the Turks—The Christian sovereigns engage only in a defensive alliance—Marriage of Lorenzo de' Medici with Madelaine de Tours—Munificence of the pope on that occasion—Charles of Austria endeavours to obtain the title of king of the Romans, and the investiture of Naples—Death of the emperor elect Maximilian—Charles of Austria and Francis I. contend for the imperial crown—Views and conduct of Leo X.—Election of the emperor Charles V.—Death of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino—Ippolito de' Medici—Alessandro de' Medici—Consequences of the death of Lorenzo—State of the Florentine government—Memoir of Machiavelli—The cardinal de' Medici directs the affairs of Tuscany—Urbino united to the dominions of the church.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE states of Italy were now freed from the calamities of internal war, but the apprehensions entertained of the increasing power and desolating ferocity of the Turks, diminished that satisfaction which their inhabitants had begun to experience. Nor was there ever a time when these apprehensions were more justly founded. The Ottoman throne was now filled by a monarch, who to the most ardent and persevering courage, united the most insatiable thirst of conquest, and the utmost cruelty of disposition. By a successful rebellion, and the murder of his father Bajazet, Selim had prematurely seized upon the reins of empire, to the exclusion of his brother Achmet; whom, having afterwards defeated in an engagement, he publicly put to death. The two sons of Achmet, and a younger brother of Selim, with many others of the family, experienced a similar fate; and such was the unnatural hatred by which this monster was actuated against his own blood, that he intended to deprive of life Solyman his only son; who lived, however, to inherit the sanguinary jealousy of his father, and to complete the unnatural example by the destruction of his own offspring. (a)

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Selim
usurps the
Ottoman
throne.

(a) Solyman put to death two of his sons, Mustapha and Bajazet, with their innocent offspring. "I principi di questa casa

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Defeats the
sophi of
Persia.

Conquers
Egypt.

Having by these means endeavoured to secure himself against all competition at home, Selim directed his efforts towards the conquest of the surrounding states, and it was for some time doubtful whether Asia, Europe, or Africa, would first have to sustain the fury of his attack. A shade of difference in construing the law of the great prophet, and the offence of having afforded assistance to Achmet, his unfortunate brother, determined him, however, to turn his arms against Ismael, sophi of Persia, whom he defeated in a decisive engagement, and possessing himself of the city of Tauris, delivered it up to be plundered by his soldiery; having first sent the principal inhabitants as slaves to Constantinople. The sterility of the country, which disabled him from obtaining supplies for his numerous army, compelled him, however, to relinquish his conquests; but Selim found no delight except in slaughter, and no relaxation except in preparing for a new expedition. After possessing himself of a great part of the country lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, he attacked the sultan of Egypt; and notwithstanding the power and resources of that sovereign, and the courage and fidelity of the Mamalukes, he succeeded in subjugating that kingdom and annexing it to the Ottoman dominions. In this contest the sultan Campson perished in battle, and his successor Tomombey, the last sovereign of the Mamas-

nascono," says Sagredo, " come i giovenchi al Coltello, per essere vittime scannati e sacrificati al idolo dell' ambizione." *v. Memorie Storiche de' Monarchi Ottomani*, lib. ii. p. 119. lib. iii. p. 122. lib. vii. pp. 343, 349. *Robertson's Hist. Cha. V.* lib. xi. vol. iii. p. 289.

lukes, having been made a prisoner, was put to death by Selim, with circumstances of peculiar ignominy and cruelty. (a)

The fall of such a long established and powerful empire, which had been supported by a military system of unexampled vigour for upwards of three hundred years, struck all Europe with terror, which the preparations carrying on at Constantinople for another, and apparently still more important expedition, were not calculated to allay. This general alarm was also increased by the knowledge of the personal character of Selim, who sought to cover the enormity of his guilt by the splendour of his triumphs. He is also said to have inflamed his passion for conquest by perusing the narratives of the deeds of Alexander and of Cæsar, which he caused to be translated and read to him. Thus is the world destined to pay the penalty of its blind admiration of those, whom it dignifies with the name of heroes. At some times it was supposed that the island of Rhodes and the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who then possessed it, and were considered as the bulwark of Christendom, would be the first objects of his attack. At other times, apprehensions were entertained that the kingdom of Hungary, then governed during the infancy of its sovereign by a regency, would most probably excite his ambition; whilst others deemed it probable that the example of his grandfather Mahomet, who had, in the year 1480, captured Otranto and gained a footing in the kingdom of Naples, might induce him to attempt the conquest of Italy.

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Apprehensions entertained for the safety of Europe.

(a) *Sagredo, Mem. Istor.* lib. iii. p. 141.

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Leo X. endeavours to form an alliance of the Christian powers.

At this juncture Leo X. conceived it to be his peculiar office and duty, as head of the Christian church, to endeavour to form such an alliance among the sovereigns of Europe, as might not only repress the incursions of these formidable enemies, but by carrying the war into the Ottoman dominions, might either expel them from the countries which they had recently occupied, or afford them sufficient employment in providing for their own defence. But although the circumstances of the times were the immediate motives which induced the pontiff to take an active part in opposing the power of the Turks, yet his dread and abhorrence of them had long been avowed. From the commencement of his pontificate, his efforts had been employed to engage the sovereigns of Christendom to unite together in a common attack upon the infidels, and the harmony which now subsisted among them seemed to afford a more favourable prospect of accomplishing this great object than had ever before presented itself. The exertions of the pontiff were stimulated by the representations made to him on behalf of the sovereigns of those countries which bordered on the Turkish dominions, and particularly by the governors and inhabitants of the provinces of Croatia and Dalmatia, who were obliged to maintain their independence by a cruel and continual warfare. (a) He was also incited to persevere in this attempt by many noble and learned Greeks, resident in Italy, who yet flattered themselves with faint and distant hopes of regaining their native country, and by several eminent Italian scholars, who had imbibed from

(a) v. Appendix, No. CLXXIII.

their preceptors a hatred of the Turks, as the enemies alike of learning, of liberty, and of religion. (a) Nor can it perhaps with truth be denied, that Leo was also prompted to this attempt by the ambitious desire of being considered as the author of this general league of the Christian powers, and of seeing himself placed at their head, as the supreme director of their movements.

The first public measure adopted by the pontiff, was the calling together the cardinals in full consistory, where he laid before them his vast project, and published a general truce among the potentates of Europe for the space of five years; subjecting in the severest terms all such princes or states as should contravene it, to the penalties of excommunication. He then despatched as his le-

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Publishes
a general
truce for
five years.

(a) Among these was Andrea Navagero, who in his epistolary address to Leo X. prefixed to the first volume of his edition of the orations of Cicero, employs all his eloquence to incite the pontiff to this great undertaking, and promises him a complete triumph over his enemies. "Erit, erit profecto dies illa, quum te longissime prolatis finibus, devictis omnibus, quæ Christiano unquam nomini infensæ fuerint nationibus, cum insigni laurea redeuntem intueri liceat; quum tota te Italia, totus terrarum orbis, ut quemdam ad levanda nostra incommoda e cælo delapsum Deum, veneretur; quum tibi obviam cunctis ex oppidis, omnium generum, omnium ætatum, multitudo se omnis effundat; tibi patriam, tibi penates, tibi salutem, ac vitam denique, depulso crudelissimum hostium metu, acceptam referat." *Nauger. Ep. ad Leon. X.* Yet more impassioned is the language of Vida, who addressed the pontiff on this occasion in a Sapphic ode, in which, like another Ossian, he offers his personal services in the war, and exults in that immortality which would be the certain result of his military achievements.

v. Appendix, No. CLXXIV.

We have had the hopes of the Greeks revived in our own days with a greater prospect of success. May the wishes of the friends of liberty, justice, and literature, be speedily and fully gratified! (1826).

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gates to the principal sovereigns of Europe, such of the cardinals as enjoyed the highest character for their talents, and held the chief place in his confidence. Bernardo da Bibbiena was sent to France, Lorenzo Campegio to England, (a) Egidio of Viterbo to Spain, and Alessandro Farnese to the emperor elect Maximilian; all of them furnished with ample instructions as to the object of their mission, and with directions to give to these different sovereigns the most positive assurances, that the sole object which the pontiff had in view was the general safety of Europe, and the protection and honour of the Christian church. In order to promote the success of these exertions, or to give a greater degree of solemnity and importance to the measures which he meant to adopt, Leo directed that public supplications should be made in Rome for three successive days; in the course of which he walked in the public processions with head uncovered and naked feet; performed in person divine offices, distributed his bounty to the poor, and by every mark of humility and devotion endeavoured to conciliate the favour of heaven, or at least to evince the sincerity of his intentions. On this occasion Jacopo Sadoleti also delivered a public oration, encouraging the intended enterprise, and highly commending the pontiff for the

(a) Wolsey was joined with Campegio in this commission, without which measure Leo well knew there would be no chance of success. *v. Rapin's History of England*, book xv. vol. i. p. 739. The bull from Leo to Wolsey is given in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 140. An original letter on this subject, from the bishop of Worcester, then ambassador at Rome, to Wolsey, which strongly marks the earnestness of the pope on this occasion, is preserved in the British Museum, and is given in the Appendix, No. CLXXV.

piety, zeal, and activity, with which he devoted himself to the common cause, and the different sovereigns of Europe for the ardour which they had already manifested in its support. (a)

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Leo was, however, well aware, that the success of his undertaking was not to be solely intrusted to measures of this nature. "It is folly," said he, "to sit still and suppose, that these ferocious enemies can be conquered by prayers alone. We must provide our armies and attack them with all our strength." (b) He therefore consulted with the most experienced soldiers of Italy; he sought out and examined those persons who were best acquainted with the military force of the Turks, the disposition of the inhabitants of the different countries which they held in subjection, and the places most open to an attack; and having obtained the fullest information in his power, he sketched the great outline of his undertaking. By this he proposed, that an immense sum of money should be raised from the voluntary contributions of the European sovereigns, and a compulsory tax upon their subjects; that the emperor of Germany should provide a numerous army, which uniting with large bodies of cavalry, to be furnished by the Hungarians and the Poles, should proceed down the Danube into Bosnia, and thence,

General
plan of an
offensive
alliance
against the
Turks.

(a) *v.* Appendix, No. CLXXVI.

(b) *Fabron. in vita Leon. X.* p. 73. This may be thought a bold truth from the mouth of a pontiff; but Sagredo, the historian, avows the same sentiment. "I digiuni, le indulgenze, sono sempre giovevoli; ma come non bisogna scordarsi della rassegnatione al cielo, così conviene sovvenirsi del proprio coraggio; frequentare l'oratione, ma non dimenticarsi la spada al fianco." *Mem. Storiche de' Monarchi Ottoman.* p. 144.

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through Thracia, towards Constantinople; that at the same time, the king of France, with all his force, the armies of the Venetians, and other Italian states, and a powerful body of Swiss infantry, should assemble at the port of Brindisi, on the Adriatic gulf, whence they might easily pass to Greece, which was still inhabited by great numbers of Christians, impatient of the tyranny of the Turks; that the fleets of Spain, of Portugal, and of England, should meet at Carthagena, and its adjacent ports, whence two hundred vessels should be despatched with Spanish soldiers, to attack the Dardanelles, and join the allies in storming the Turkish capital. In the mean time, the pope, who meant to take a personal part in the attempt, proposed to proceed from Ancona, accompanied by one hundred well armed vessels; so that the Turks being attacked both by land and by sea with such immense numbers, a happy termination of the expedition might be speedily and confidently expected. (a)

Thus far this mighty enterprise seems to have proceeded with favourable omens, and Leo had already, perhaps, anticipated in his own mind, the time so frequently foretold, when he should be hailed as the restorer of the eastern empire, the deliverer of the holy land, and the avenger of the atrocities committed on Christendom by the Turks. But these magnificent expectations were not destined to be realized. It is true, that the general truce for five years which he had proclaimed among the European sovereigns, was accepted by them with apparent cheerfulness, and that they

The sovereigns of Christendom engage only in a defensive alliance.

vied with each other in avowing their readiness to afford their assistance in promoting so just and so important an enterprise. (a) A treaty was also concluded between the kings of England, of France, and of Spain, in express compliance with the requisition of the pope, and in which he was declared to be chief of the league; (b) but, although the avowed object of this union was the mutual defence of each other's dominions, and the protection of Christendom against the Turks, yet it was merely defensive, and by no means calculated to answer the purposes which Leo had in view. How, indeed, was it to be expected that so many different states, some of them immediately, and others only remotely interested in the cause, should concur in carrying on a distant and offensive war? After the instances which had been exhibited since the commencement of the century, of restless ambition, unprovoked aggression, the overturning of states and kingdoms, and the breach of the most solemn treaties, could it be expected that the voice of the pontiff should at once allay all suspicions, and destroy those sanguinary passions which now only slumbered to acquire new strength! Add to this, that the political horizon of Europe, although calm, was not cloudless. The young sovereign of Spain had al-

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(a) The declaration of Henry VIII. on this subject, is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, and is given in the Appendix, No. CLXXVII.

(b) This treaty, bearing date 2d October, 1518, is given in Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tom. iv. par. i. p. 266. But, in the title, the editor has erroneously called Charles of Austria the emperor Charles V. The ratification of Charles bears date the 14th January, 1519.

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ready given indications of a vigorous and decided character, and the advanced age of his grandfather Maximilian, afforded reason to suppose that it would not be long before discussions might arise of the highest importance to the public tranquillity. Under such circumstances it was scarcely to be supposed, that the principal sovereigns of Europe would desert their stations, or weaken their strength by engaging in distant and dangerous expeditions, which afforded no prospect of an adequate recompense, and might expose those who were sincere to the designs of those who might not hesitate to take advantage of any circumstances that might contribute to their own aggrandizement. The ratification of the defensive treaty among the chief powers of Europe, which was afterwards confirmed by the pope, prevented him, however, from experiencing the mortifying reflection that his exertions had been wholly in vain ; and perhaps the notoriety of this formidable league, might, in fact, have had a beneficial effect in deterring the Turkish emperor from attacking the Christian territories. The pontifical legates at the different courts still continued to promote, to the utmost of their power, the great object of their mission, towards which they affected to consider the treaty already formed as only a previous step, and they obtained at least the credit of having performed their duty with vigilance and with ability ; (a) but notwithstanding their exertions, no further measures were adopted by the princes

(a) These negotiations are greatly illustrated by the confidential letters between the cardinal da Bibbiena, and the cardinal Giulio de' Medici ; in the *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. pp. 27, 34, 35, &c.

of Europe for carrying the project of Leo into effect; and whilst his envoys were still labouring to promote a hopeless cause, events occurred, both in the east and western world, which changed the aspect of public affairs, and afforded even Leo himself sufficient employment in other quarters.

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If, however, the envoys of Leo X. failed in accomplishing the chief object of their mission, they rendered him, in other respects, a very acceptable service; and the pontifical treasury was replenished by the contributions obtained both from the laity and the clergy, under the various pretexts which these crafty ecclesiastics well knew how to employ. (*a*) At the court of France the cardinal da Bibbiena, who, to the character of a polite scholar, and a deep politician, united an easy and insinuating address, recommended himself so far to the favour of the duchess of Angouleme, mother of the king, who exercised great influence over her son, as to obtain through her interference the presentation of the bishoprick of Constance, to be held by him in addition to his many other preferments; the revenues of which were, however, so inadequate to his expensive and improvident

(*a*) The exaction of these contributions gave rise to great dissatisfaction, particularly in Germany, where the doctrines of the reformers had already made considerable progress. The oration made on this occasion by the apostolick legates before the imperial diet, was soon afterwards printed by the adversaries of the Roman see, and accompanied by a kind of answer or exhortation, not to comply with the requisition of the pope. This piece, which is attributed to the pen of Ulrich Hutten, contains many severe sarcasms on Leo X. and the family of the Medici; it is given in the Appendix, from the original edition, printed in the year 1519. *v.* Appendix, No. CLXXVIII.

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Marriage of
Lorenzo de'
Medici with
Madelaine
de la Tour.

style of life, that he is said to have been always embarrassed with debt. (a) Nor did Leo neglect the opportunity afforded him by the residence of the cardinal at the court of France, of aggrandizing his family, by a nearer connexion with that of the French monarch. To this end he proposed a treaty of marriage between his nephew Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, and Madelaine de la Tour, daughter of John, count of Boulogne and Auvergne, and related by her mother Joanna, the daughter of John, duke of Vendosme, to the royal family of France. This union was readily assented to by the king; and early in the year 1518, Lorenzo hastened to Florence, where he made the most sumptuous preparation for his approaching nuptials. In the mean time, intelligence was received of the birth of a son to the French monarch, who expressed his wishes that the supreme pontiff would become baptismal sponsor for the infant; in consequence of which, Lorenzo was directed to proceed with all possible expedition to Paris, as representative of his holiness on this occasion. The ceremony was performed on the twenty-fifth day of April, the other sponsors being the duke of Lorraine, and Margaret, duchess of Alençon, afterwards queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I., but this, the first-born son of the French monarch, who received the name of Francis, did not survive to enjoy the authority to which his birth would

It is doubtful whether the dissuasive attributed to Ulrich Hutten, be from his pen or not, but Mr. Henke thinks it very probable. He is also inclined to consider the oration pretended to be made by the legates, and to which Hutten published a reply, as a happy fiction of his own. *v. Germ. ed. vol. iii. p. 162.*

(a) *Bandini, Il Biblicina, pp. 47, 60.*

have entitled him. (a) This event was, however, distinguished by splendid banquets and great rejoicings, which were continued during ten days, and by magnificent tournaments, in which Lorenzo de' Medici is acknowledged to have acquitted himself with honour, and to have displayed great courage and address.

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The celebration of the nuptials between Lorenzo de' Medici and Madelaine de la Tour afforded an additional cause of exultation, and the king and the pontiff vied with each other in bestowing their favours on both the husband and the bride. On the part of the king, Lorenzo was invested with an annual revenue of ten thousand crowns. (b) But the presents sent by the pope, as well for the queen of France, as for the bride, were beyond even royal munificence, and are said to have exceeded in value the enormous sum of three hundred thousand ducats. A train of thirty-six horses conveyed to Paris these precious articles, among which was a state-bed, composed of tortoise shell, mother of pearl, and other costly materials. (c) Nor was this event less distinguished by the instances of mutual kindness which the pontiff and the monarch manifested towards each other, and which they fortunately found the means of evincing, not at their own expense, but at that

Munificence of the pope on that occasion.

(a) "Era in questo tempo nato a Francesco I. Re di Francia un figlio maschio che fu poi *Francesco II. Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 136. It is surprising that this eminent historian should have fallen into such an error; Francis II. being the son of Henry II. and grandson of Francis I.

(b) *Ammirato, Ritratto di Lor. duca d'Urbini. in Opusc.* vol. iii. p. 106. *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 155.

(c) *Fabron. vita Leon. X. in adnotat.* lxi. p. 291.

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of their subjects or their allies. Leo conceded to the king, in addition to the tenths of the French benefices, all the contributions that should be obtained in France towards the projected crusade against the Turks; the king promising to repay the amount when that expedition should be actually commenced. On the other hand, the king transmitted to his holiness the written engagement which he had subscribed, to restore to the duke of Ferrara the cities of Modena and Reggio. (a) Such were the circumstances under which a marriage was celebrated, which, although not destined to be of long duration, was fatally inauspicious to the destiny of France, and prepared the way to some of the greatest calamities that Europe has ever experienced.

Charles of Austria endeavours to obtain the title of king of the Romans, and the investiture of Naples.

This period, in which Europe enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity, may be considered as the termination of that long course of events, which commenced with the arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy, and had been continued throughout all the vicissitudes of the league of Cambray; until the causes, having produced their effects, had now almost ceased to operate. (b) But, whilst the scene

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 155.

(b) About this period (5th December, 1518) died, at seventy-eight years of age, the celebrated Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, who had acted so important a part in the commotions of Italy, and had for twenty-four years been engaged in the service of the French sovereigns against his own countrymen; a service which was repaid on the part of Francis I. with suspicion and neglect, from which he was only excited by the remonstrances of Leo X. who sent his nuncio, and wrote a letter to the king, in which he reminded him of the merits of Trivulzio, and complained of the treatment he had received. *v. Rosmini, Hist. of Gian Jacopo*, vol. i. pp. 535, 536.*

was closing on the transactions of the past, the prospect of the future opened on the view, and discovered the commencement of a new series of affairs, not less striking in their contemplation, nor less important in their consequences, than those which have before engaged our attention. Charles, the young king of Spain, had already turned his attention to the securing and uniting in his own person, the government of those extensive possessions to which he was either entitled by his birth, or which his situation, as the representative of the sovereign houses of Spain and of Austria, gave him a right to expect. His succession to those dominions was not, however, unattended with difficulties. In Castile and Aragon the refractory proceedings of the Cortes, or representative assemblies of the nation, had occasioned him no small share of trouble. His title to the crown of Naples had not yet been judicially recognized by the holy see, which confessedly enjoyed the power of deciding who should be considered as the rightful sovereign of that kingdom; and his succession to the imperial throne on the death of his grandfather Maximilian, would depend on the will of the electors, by whom the extent of his hereditary possessions might be considered rather as an objection, than an inducement to his becoming the object of their choice. Under these circumstances, Charles thought it advisable to apply to Leo X. to grant him a bull of investiture for his Neapolitan territories, and to endeavour, during the lifetime of his grandfather, to obtain the title of king of the Romans, which would secure to him the indisputable succession to the imperial dignity. The gra-

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tification of Charles in the accomplishment of these great objects was not, however, consistent with the views and wishes of the pontiff; who, whilst he could not contemplate without dissatisfaction the permanent establishment of any foreign power in Italy, still more justly dreaded the union of the Imperial, Spanish, and Neapolitan crowns in the same person. He therefore, by means of his legate Bibbiena, communicated the request of Charles to Francis I. who, although he had lately concluded with Charles a close alliance, and had contracted to give him one of his daughters in marriage, was greatly alarmed at the ambitious views and active measures of the young sovereign, and earnestly entreated the pontiff not to comply with his request. To the nomination of Charles, as king of the Romans, it was objected, that his grandfather Maximilian had never received the imperial crown, and that there was no instance in the history of the Germanic constitution, of a successor having been appointed under such circumstances. (a) On this account, Charles prevailed upon Maximilian to apply to the pope, and to request that he would send a nuncio to crown him at Vienna. He also endeavoured to engage the king of France to forward his views with the pontiff, but instead of complying with his request, Francis opposed himself to it with still greater earnestness, and advised the pope to declare to Maximilian, that in conformity to ancient custom he could not invest him with the imperial crown, unless he, like his predecessors, would repair in

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xiii. vol. ii. p. 158. *Robertson's Life of Charles V.* book i. vol. ii. p. 49.

person to Rome. If Maximilian assented to this proposal, it was not likely that he would undertake such an expedition without a considerable military escort, which would afford a pretext for Francis to oppose his progress; for which purpose he declared that he should not only engage the Venetians to take an active part, but should hold himself in readiness to march into Italy with a great force, as soon as he was apprized of the necessity of such a measure. (a) By the vehemence of Francis on this occasion, his own projects were sufficiently disclosed. In order to engage the pope more firmly in his interests, he gave him the most solemn assurances of his attachment, obedience, and affection, and pretended that he was now ready to join him in an offensive league against the Turks, and would undertake to furnish, as his contingent, three thousand men at arms, forty thousand infantry, and six thousand light horse; that to these he would add a formidable train of artillery; and would, if required, accompany the expedition in person. (b) These magnificent offers seem, however, to have been duly appreciated by the pope, who stood in need of no inducements to oppose himself to the aggrandizement of Charles. (c) The

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(a) These particulars appear in a letter from the cardinal da Bibbiena to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici. *v. Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 56.

(b) *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 57.

(c) It appears to be in reference to these promises, that the cardinal Giulio de' Medici observes, in one of his letters to the cardinal da Bibbiena, "Di tanti sogni, che fanno il Re, la Regina, e Madama, par gran cosa a N. S. e a tutti questi Signori; benchè non sia da prestar lor fede alcuna." *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 66.

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reasons which Leo alleged for this opposition were, that with respect to Naples, it was a fundamental law of the kingdom that the sovereignty of that country could not be united with the imperial dignity, which Charles was evidently endeavouring to obtain ; (a) and that with respect to the title of king of the Romans, it was already enjoyed by Maximilian himself, and consequently could not be conferred on another. The utmost efforts of both Charles and Maximilian to remove the difficulties of the Germanic succession in the diet of the empire were ineffectual ; and as Leo still persevered in his refusal to transmit his bull for the coronation of Charles as king of Naples, that monarch was obliged, for the present, to relinquish all hopes of obtaining the objects which he had so ardently desired.

If, however, Francis imagined that on this occasion Leo was actuated by any desire to further his views, it is highly probable that he was mistaken. To the pontiff the two monarchs were alike objects of dread, and to have divested them of their Italian possessions, would have been considered by him as a triumph superior even to that of a victory over the Turkish sultan. But his enmity to Francis, who had deprived him of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, was perhaps the most implacable. Amidst all his professions of esteem and affection for the French monarch, he never for one moment relaxed in his determinations to seize the first opportunity that might present itself, of divesting him of the duchy of Milan ;

(a) This law was founded on a bull of Clement IV. *v. Seckendorf*, lib. i. sec. xxxiii. p. 123.

and at this very time his agents were employed in engaging large bodies of Swiss mercenaries, who had assembled under various pretexts, and were intended to be in readiness to act on the part of the pontiff, as circumstances might require.(a)

In order, however, to remove the difficulties which had arisen to obstruct the election of Charles of Austria to the dignity of king of the Romans, Maximilian at length resolved to undertake a journey to Rome, to receive from the hands of the pontiff the imperial crown. This intention he communicated to the pope, under the pretext of shewing him a mark of his respect, with which he had not thought proper to honour his predecessors Alexander or Julius.(b) His proposal embarrassed the pontiff; who, whilst he was unwilling to promote the views of the Spanish monarch, was sensible of the dignity and importance which the Roman see would derive from the restoration of the ancient custom, of the chief of the Germanic body resorting to Rome to receive the imperial crown. But whilst he was deliberating on the measures which it might be proper to adopt, he was relieved from his difficulties by an event which wholly changed the posture of public affairs, and prepared the way for new commotions. This was

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Death of
the emperor
elect Maxi-
milian.

(a) *v. Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 38. b.

(b) “ Sua maestà s’è fatta intendere, che vuol far quel honore a papa Leone, che non volle mai far ad Alessandro, nè a Giulio, et che vuol venire a coronarsi a Roma per mano di sua Santità. Il Legato commenda questa sentenza di Cesare, et dice, che ella si debba accettare, per non metter questa usanza, di mandar la corona a gl’ Imperatori, ma servar la vecchia, che vengano per essa a Roma.” *Lettera del card. Giulio de’ Med. al Card. da Bibbiena. Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 66.

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the death of the emperor elect, Maximilian, which happened on the twelfth day of January, 1519. Of the weak and fluctuating character of this monarch, sufficient instances have appeared in the preceding pages. An ostentatious vanity, and an inordinate desire of fame, were accompanied by an imbecility of mind, that frustrated all his purposes, and rendered his magnificence contemptible, and his pretensions to heroism absurd. His whole life was employed to demonstrate how insignificant the first monarchy in Christendom might be rendered by the want or the misapplication of the personal talents of the sovereign; and his death was of no other importance, than as it opened the way to a successor, who might vindicate the imperial dignity from disgrace, and restore to it that influence in the affairs of Europe which Maximilian had lost. (a)

Charles of Austria and Francis I. contend for the imperial crown.

The dominions which, by a singular concurrence of fortunate events, had been united in the person of Charles, were of great extent and importance. From his father Philip, archduke of Austria, he inherited the rich patrimony of the Netherlands, which Philip had himself acquired in right of his mother, Mary of Burgundy. His title to the crowns of Castile and of Aragon was derived from Ferdinand and Isabella, by their daughter Joanna, the mother of Charles, who was yet living, and whose name was in fact united with his own in the sovereignty; although she was incapacitated by a derangement of intellect from

(a) For some further observations on the character of Maximilian, the reader may consult the *Ital. ed.* vol. 3. pp. 205, 206, &c. and *v. ante*, vol. ii. chap. viii. p. 78.*

taking any share in the administration. The crown of Sicily had descended in peaceable succession for several generations, and Charles now assumed it as representative of the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon. Of that of Naples, Ferdinand of Aragon had lately divested the illegitimate branch of that house, to whom it had been limited by Alfonso I., but although this kingdom was for the present held by the sword rather than by an acknowledged title, yet Ferdinand died in the exercise of the royal authority, and Charles was possessed of resources sufficient to maintain his pretensions. By the death of Maximilian, he now entered upon the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria; and to these he had the fairest prospect of uniting the imperial dignity, for which he immediately offered himself a candidate. He found, however, in Francis I. an early and a determined competitor, and the respective claims of these powerful rivals divided the votes of the electors, and suspended for a considerable time the important decision which they were called upon to make.

The conduct of Leo on this occasion was such as was consistent with his desire of maintaining a proper equilibrium among the European states, and providing for the safety and independence of Italy. (a) He would gladly have seen any other

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Views and
conduct of
Leo X.

(a) It is related, on the authority of a MS. attributed to Spalantino, that after the death of Maximilian, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the elector palatine, met to consult together on their common defence, during the vacancy of the imperial functions. That the cardinal of Gaeta, the pope's legate, went to this meeting, and required three things in the name of the pontiff. I. That

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person preferred to these powerful candidates ; but he well knew that his open opposition would be fruitless, and it was by no means his policy to incur the resentment of either of the rival sovereigns, much less to manifest a decided hostility to both. Thus situated, he had recourse to a project, which, if it had been executed by his agents with a degree of ability equal to that by which it was conceived, might have produced an incalculable alteration in the political state of Europe. That of the two competitors, Charles was the most likely to obtain the important prize for which they contended, was sufficiently apparent. His German origin, his extensive possessions in the empire, and the length of time during which the imperial dignity had been almost hereditary in his family, seemed to exclude the pretensions of any other potentate, however powerful by his dominions, or distinguished by his personal merit. The first object of Leo, whilst he appeared to main-

they should turn their thoughts on electing an emperor possessed of great talents and resources. II. That they should not elect Charles of Austria, he being also king of Naples, which sovereignty could not be held with the imperial crown, such an union being prohibited by the bull of Clement IV. III. That they should explicitly inform the legate of their intentions. To these demands, the electors replied, that they had not met for the choice of an emperor, but to consider on their own affairs ; that, however, they had no doubt, that such a person would be chosen, as would be found desirable to the pontifical see, and to all Christendom, and formidable to their enemies ; but that they were much surprised that the pope should in so unusual a manner attempt to prescribe laws to the electors. This anecdote is probably well-founded, and may serve to shew the active part which Leo took in influencing the election. *Scekkendorf. Comm. de Luther. lib. i. sec. xxxiii. p. 123.*

tain a perfect neutrality between the parties was, therefore, to encourage Francis to persevere in his pretensions, for which purpose he sent, as his confidential envoy, his near relation Roberto Orsini, archbishop of Reggio, with directions to exhort the king to maintain his pretensions; but with secret instructions, that when a proper opportunity occurred he should alarm the French king with doubts of his success, and should endeavour to prevail upon him, as the next desirable measure, to frustrate the election of Charles, by proposing to the choice of the electors, and supporting with all his influence, one of the inferior princes of the German empire. Nor can it be denied, that if Francis had consulted his true interests, this would have been the proper conduct for him to adopt. As sovereign of a rich and powerful kingdom, and surrounded by a loyal and warlike people, he would still have enjoyed a degree of consideration and of influence superior to that which Charles could have derived from his scattered possessions, or a subordinate German prince, from the mere splendour of the imperial crown. In executing the first part of his task, Orsini found no difficulty; but ambition is not easily stayed in its career, and it required more skill and address than he seems to have possessed, to prevent its exceeding its proposed limits. Instead of listening to the voice of prudence, Francis endeavoured, by the most shameless bribery, to influence the electors in his favour.(a) But as the

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(a) "As the expeditious method of transmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe by bills of exchange, was

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XVIII. Charles adopted a yet more effectual method.

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Election of
the emperor
Charles V.

Under the pretext of securing the freedom of election, he suddenly marched a powerful body of troops into the vicinity of Franckfort, where the members of the diet were assembled. After this measure their debates were not of long continuance, and on the twenty-eighth day of June, 1519, Charles, then only nineteen years of age, was proclaimed king of the Romans, or emperor elect; a title which he, however, transposed into that of *emperor elect of the Romans*, in which he has been imitated by his successors; except that they have

then little known, the French ambassadors travelled with a train of horses, loaded with treasure; an equipage not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for those to whom they were sent!" *Robertson's Life of Charles V.* book i. vol. ii. p. 52. Nor did Charles scruple to forward his cause by similar methods. In particular he sent a large sum of money to Frederick, elector of Saxony, the great patron of Luther, to whom the imperial crown had been offered by his associates, and who, after having magnanimously rejected it, and given his vote to Charles, was not likely to disgrace himself by accepting such a reward. "Hierì non so come, o per qual nuovo motivo, fu dato l'Imperio al Duca Federico di Sassonia, il quale magnanimamente lo ha rifiutato, et dato il suo voto a Carlo; rifiutando parimente una gran somma di danari, che alcuni ministri di Carlo gli havevano portato a donare, per gratitudine di questo suo sì buon animo et altissimo servizio; ed ha commandato strettamente a tutti i suoi, che non pigliino cosa alcuna ancor essi, per quanto temono la sua disgrazia." *Lettera a Papa Leone X. Luglio, 1519. Lettere di Principi.* vol. i. p. 73. Henry VIII. who had flattered himself with some distant hopes of the imperial dignity, sent his agent, Richard Pace, to the diet, who applied to the elector of Saxony, and offered his master's interest if he would accept the imperial crown; otherwise requesting the vote of the elector for the king his master. *Ex. MS. Spalatini ap. Seckend.* lib. i. sec. xxxiii. p. 123, and *v. Lord Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII.* p. 74.

since omitted, as superfluous, the derogatory phrase, *elect.* (a)

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The secret but severe disappointment which Leo experienced from the result of this election, was preceded by a domestic misfortune which had occasioned him great anxiety. On the twenty-eighth day of April, 1519, his nephew Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, died at Florence, of a disorder which is said to have been the consequence of his licentious amours during his visit to France. His wife, Madelaine of Tours, had died in childbed only a few days before him, leaving a daughter named Catherina, who by a concurrence of events which cannot with truth be called fortunate, rose to the dignity of queen of France, and became the mother of three kings and a queen of that country, and of a queen of Spain. The death of Lorenzo greatly deranged the projects of the pontiff, who now found himself the only legitimate surviving male of the elder branch of the house of Medici, as derived from Cosmo, the father of his country. An illegitimate offspring was not, however, wanting. Of these, the eldest was the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, whose origin was derived from the elder Giuliano, who fell in the conspiracy of the Pazzi. The younger Giuliano, brother of the pontiff, usually called duke of Nemours, had also left a son by a lady of Urbino, who was born about the year 1511, and named Ippolito. It was generally believed that the inhuman mother had

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Death of
Lorenzo,
duke of
Urbino.

Ippolito
de' Medici.

(a) Mr. Henke observes, that the title of emperor elect of the Romans, remained customary until the dissolution of the German imperial dignity. For some observations on this subject he has referred to Häberlin, *Facts in the Hist. of Empires*, vol. x. p. 320.*

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exposed her child; from the perils of which situation he had been preserved by the care of Giuliano, who is said however not to have been without his suspicions that he was the offspring of a rival. (a) At the age of three years, this infant was sent to Rome, where he was received under the protection of Leo X., and gave early indications of a lively and active disposition. The pontiff took great pleasure in observing his childish vivacity, and at his request the portrait of Ippolito, as engaged in his sports, was painted by Raffaello, and placed in one of the apartments of the Vatican. (b) The education which Ippolito here received, brought those talents with which he was endowed by nature to early perfection, and led the way to that eminence, both as a patron and a professor of literature, which, under the name of the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, he afterwards obtained. Yet more equivocal was the origin of Alessandro de' Medici, usually denominated the first duke of Florence. The time of his birth may be placed in the year 1512, and he has generally been considered as the son of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, by a Moorish slave, or woman of low rank; but it is

Alessandro
de' Medici.

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratti d' Uomini di Casa Medici, in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 134.*

(b) This early favourite of fortune, is often mentioned in the letters of the cardinal da Bibbiena, written to Giuliano de' Medici about the year 1515. "Ippolito si degnò pur venire stamane a desinar meco, et habbiam fatto la pace insieme. Dio vi conceda gratia d'haver presto di Madama un figliuolino, acciochè Ippolito resti del tutto libero a me." And in another letter. "Ippolitino sta bene, et dice ad ogni huomo che lo domanda ove è andato il Signor suo padre. E andato a condurre qud Madonna mia madre. Rispose così al Papa, et Sua Santità fu per creppar delle risa." *Lettere di Principi. vol. i. pp. 16, 17.*

much more probable that he was the son of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., and the earnestness displayed by that pontiff in raising him to the high station which he afterwards filled, may be considered as no slight indication that the latter supposition is well founded.

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The obsequies of Lorenzo were celebrated at Florence with a magnificence suitable to his high station, as chief of the Tuscan state, and duke of Urbino; but the respect paid to the dead is in fact a tribute to the living, and these extraordinary honours are to be placed to the account of his near relationship to the supreme pontiff. In consequence of the exile and early death of his father, the education of Lorenzo had been principally left to his mother Alfonsina, who had instilled into him such ideas, and brought him up in such habits and manners, as would better have suited an Italian baron of high birth, than a Florentine citizen. Hence he devoted himself wholly to projects of ambition and aggrandizement, in which, through the partiality and assistance of Leo X. he flattered himself with the most sanguine hopes of success. It was supposed, and not without reason, that by these means, and by the concurrence of the French monarch, he meant to possess himself of Siena and Lucca, and by uniting them with the duchy of Urbino and the Florentine state, to establish a dominion extending from one coast of Italy to the other, and to assume the title of king of Tuscany. With this view he had, in the latter part of the year 1518, paid a visit to Rome, expecting to prevail on the pontiff to assent to his ambitious design; but found that Leo was not in-

Conse-
quences of
the death of
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clined to favour the attempt.(a) By the true friends to the honour and character of the pontiff, the information of the death of Lorenzo was received with satisfaction rather than with sorrow. The earnestness which Leo had shewn in promoting the advancement of his nephew, and the unjustifiable, expensive, and dangerous methods which he had in some instances resorted to for that purpose, were attributed by them to his affection for one who was endeared to him no less by a similarity and participation of misfortunes, than by the ties of blood, and it was now generally expected that the pontiff, having no equal object of his partiality, would consult only the dignity of his own character, and the honour and interest of the Roman sec. These expectations were in some degree confirmed by the conduct of the pontiff, who on this event expressed his submission to the will of God, and appeared to resume the natural rectitude of his character. That he had not on all occasions fulfilled the hopes that had been entertained of him, is sufficiently apparent from the bold and remarkable language of Canossa, bishop of Bayeux, who, in giving his sentiments on this event to the cardinal da Bibbiena, considers it as a cause of universal satisfaction, and expresses his hopes "that his holiness will now become such as he was expected to be, on the day when he was created pope."(b)

(a) *Nerli, Commentar.* lib. vi. p. 131.

(b) " — Mostrando sua Santità del tutto volersi accomodare al voler di Dio, ed al naturale instinto suo. Il che ci dà speranza, che sua Beatitudine si possa ancora veder tale, quale si sperò che dovesse essere il giorno che fu creata." *Lettere di Principi.* vol. i. p. 57.

The death of Lorenzo rendered it necessary for the pontiff to adopt new measures for the government of the Florentine state, which had now become wholly subservient to the authority of the Medici, although it still retained the name and external form of a republic. This undertaking was attended with no inconsiderable difficulties. Leo might, indeed, at this period have assumed the sovereignty, and extinguished even the pretext of a free government; but if we suppose that he would have felt no reluctance, in sacrificing to his own ambition the liberties of his native place, yet he was perhaps aware, that his dignity of supreme pontiff was scarcely compatible with the assumption of a monarchical power. He might also reasonably suspect, that such a measure would not be regarded without jealousy by the principal sovereigns of Christendom; and might entertain apprehensions, that notwithstanding the devotion and subservience of the Florentines, he might, by too severe a pressure, occasion an elasticity and resistance, which would entirely throw off his authority. On the other hand, to restore the Florentines to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties, although the attempt would have conferred great honour on the pontiff, would have been a total surrender of that power and influence, which his family had maintained for so many years, and preserved by so many sacrifices; nor could it with certainty be presumed, that the citizens of Florence were now capable of preserving the pælladium of their freedom, even if the pontiff had been inclined to restore it to them. In this emergency, Leo judged it expedient to resort to the advice of

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Memoir of
Machia-
velli.

Niccolo Machiavelli, whose general knowledge on political subjects, and whose intimate acquaintance with the state of his native place, pointed him out as the fittest person to be consulted on such an occasion. The memorial which Machiavelli presented to the pope on this subject yet remains, (a) and like his other works, contains many acute remarks, without, however, unfolding those extensive views which the nature of the inquiry, and the circumstances of the times, seem to have required. In taking a retrospect of the ancient state of Florence, he observes, that the fluctuations which it has experienced are to be attributed to its having been neither strictly a republic, nor an absolute government. This mixed or intermediate state he considers as the most difficult of any to maintain, because, as he asserts, an absolute dominion is only in danger of being dissolved by one cause, that of inclining towards a republic, and, in like manner, a republic is only in danger by inclining towards a monarchy; but a mixed government is in constant danger from two causes, and may be destroyed by inclining too much towards either republicanism or despotism. On this account he advises the pontiff to adopt either the one or the other of these definite forms of government, and either to erect an absolute sovereignty, or to establish a perfect republic. He then proceeds to shew, that the choice of these two forms must depend on the condition and character of the people, and particularly, that a sovereignty can

(a) "*Discorso sopra il Riformar lo Stato di Firenze. Fatto ad istanza di Papa Leone X. Sta nelle opere di Machiavelli pubblicate da Baretti.*" Vol. iii. p. 1.

only be supported where there is great diversity of wealth and of rank, whilst a republic, on the contrary, requires a considerable degree of equality among its citizens, of which he adduces several instances. Under the latter description he includes the inhabitants of Florence, and thence takes occasion to sketch a form of government which he denominates a republic, but in which he gives to the pontiff, and to the cardinal de' Medici, such a preponderating influence, by the nomination, during their lives, of the persons intrusted with the supreme authority, as must inevitably prevent the exercise of that liberty on which alone a popular government can be founded. To restore the freedom of the republic seems, however, to have been the chief object which Machiavelli had in view; but conceiving that there was no probability that the pontiff and the cardinal could be prevailed on voluntarily to relinquish their authority, he was induced to relax in his purpose, and to propose that the republic should not enjoy its full liberties until after their death. "If this plan," says he, "be considered without reference to the authority of your holiness, it will be found in every respect sufficient to answer the purpose intended; but during the lifetime of your holiness and the cardinal, it is a monarchy; because you command the army, you control the criminal judicature, you dictate the laws, insomuch, that I know not what more can be required in a state." At the same time that he thus endeavoured to satisfy the pope as to the continuance of his power, he attempted to awake in him the desire of being considered as the founder or the restorer of the liberties of his na-

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tive place. "I conceive," says he, "that the greatest honour which a man can enjoy, is that which is voluntarily given him by his country; and I believe the greatest good we can do, and that which is most acceptable to God, is that which we do for our country. On this account there are no persons held in such high honour, as they who, by their institutions and laws, have reformed a republic or a kingdom. These are they, who, next to the gods, have been thought entitled to the highest praise. But as the opportunities for this purpose are few, and as the number of those persons who know how to make use of them is still fewer, so we find that this great undertaking has seldom been performed. Such, however, is the honour attending it, as to have induced many persons who could not accomplish it in reality, to attempt it in their writings; as Aristotle, Plato, and many others, who have been desirous of shewing to the world, that if they had not, like Solon or Lycurgus, been able to establish a civil community, it did not arise from want of ability, but of a proper opportunity for carrying their ideas into effect."

The system thus proposed by Machiavelli, was not, however, adopted by the pontiff. From the important changes which had taken place in Europe, and particularly in Italy, the state of Tuscany was not merely to be considered as an independent government, but as affected by the powerful influence of its foreign relations, and as combining at this juncture with the Roman see to give strength and importance to the pontiff, in the great attempts which he now meditated.

It is probable too, that for reasons sufficiently obvious, neither Leo nor the cardinal thought it advisable that the commencement of the freedom of the republic should depend, as a simultaneous event, on the termination of their own lives. Under these circumstances, Leo resolved to permit the Florentines to continue the established forms of their government; but, at the same time, he retained such a control over their proceedings, as he thought would be necessary, not only to repress their internal dissensions, but to secure their conformity to the views and interests of the family of the Medici and of the Roman see. A few days prior to the death of Lorenzo, Leo had despatched to Florence the cardinal de' Medici, who now assumed the superintendence of the state, and under the directions of the pontiff, established such regulations as were calculated to ensure its tranquillity, without further encroachments on its municipal rights. (a) The conduct of the cardinal during his residence at Florence, which continued nearly two years, furnishes a decisive proof both of his talents and his moderation, and notwithstanding his future dignity, may be considered as the most brilliant period of his life. By his intimate acquaintance with the state of the city, and the views and temper of the opposing factions, he was enabled to allay their dissensions, or to defeat their projects. Without imposing extraordinary burthens on the people, he discharged the public debts, and replenished the treasury with considerable sums. Under his influence, the commerce of

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The cardinal de' Medici directs the affairs of Tuscany.

(a) *Nerli Commentarj*, lib. vi. p. 133.

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the city again revived, and the inhabitants began with confidence to employ their capitals in the acquisition of additional wealth. Whilst by these measures the cardinal acquired the respect and attachment of the Florentines, he evinced his prudence and his fidelity by maintaining a strict intercourse with the Roman see, and a due submission to the supreme pontiff; to whose advice he constantly resorted on all doubtful points, and to whose directions he strictly and faithfully conformed.

Urbino
united to
the domi-
nions of the
church.

The power which Leo X. possessed over the duchy of Urbino, was yet more absolute than that which he enjoyed in the Florentine state. By the tenor of the investiture, the sovereignty had been extended, in default of males, to the female offspring of Lorenzo, and his infant daughter was now entitled to the ducal sceptre; but the disadvantages which might arise from such a government were easily foreseen, and Catherina, under the care of her powerful relatives, was reserved for a still higher destiny. To any reconciliation between its former sovereign and Leo X. the animosities which had arisen between them, in the course of the contest in which they had been engaged, had placed an insuperable bar; and even if the pontiff had been inclined to an accommodation, the restoration of the duchy of Urbino to the duke, could only have been considered as an acknowledgment, on the part of the pope, that in expelling him from his dominions he had committed an act of injustice. Having therefore first dismembered the duchy of Urbino of the fortress of S. Leo, and the

district of Montefeltro, which he gave to the Florentines as a compensation for the expenses incurred, and the services rendered by them in the acquisition of these domains, he annexed the remainder of that territory, with its dependent states of Pesaro and Sinigaglia, to the dominions of the church.

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FRANCISCI ARSILLI
SENOGALLIENSIS
DE POETIS URBANIS,
AD PAULUM JOVIUM
LIBELLUS.

FRANCISCI ARSILLI
 SENOGALLIENSIS,
 DE POETIS URBANIS,
 AD PAULUM JOVIUM

LIBELLUS.

TEMPORA Apollineæ presentia frondis honorem,
 Illius an laudem sæcula prisca ferant,
 Paule, diu mecum demorsis unguibus æqua
 Sub trutina examen, iudiciumque traho.
 Felices Musæ, felix quas protulit ætas,
 Cum foret Augusto Principe Roma potens.
 Mæcenas Vatum ingenti mercede solebat
 Elicere ingenia Pieriamque manum.
 Testis erit nobis numerosus Horatius, et qui
 Jam cecinit Phrygio prælia gesta duci.
 Et Naso, atque alii, vastum quos fama per orbem
 Nunc celebrat, multo numine plena cohors.
 Adde quod his aures solitus præstare benignas
 Cæsar erat: surdis tempora nostra canunt.
 Ad laudem rude pectus erat, cui calcar inertis
 Non possent tanti Principis ora dare.
 Talia dum tacitus dubia sub mente revolveo,
 Temporibus priscis cedere nostra reor.
 Sed quoties ævum hoc, peravaraque temporis hujus
 Sæcula, quæ Musis occuluere fores,
 Obruta et ut jaceat cæno Parnassia laurus,
 Nostra ego nil illis esse minora puto.

Nunc miseri tantum Vates virtutis amore,
 Non precio inducti plectra sonora movent.
 Quos si Pastor agens ad pingua culta Minervæ
 Duceret, et rabidos pelleret inde Lupos,
 Pascua mordaci rictu qui cuncta vagantes,
 Phœbei laniant vellera culta gregis,
 Qualia nectarei caperes modulamina cantus,
 Forsan et antiquis invidiosa viris.
 Plurima nunc quamvis Vatum conatibus obstant,
 Attamen his œstrum mentis inesse vides.
 Quos furor ille animis cœlo dilapsus inhæret
 Et propriæ immemores conditionis agit.
 Hinc tua nescio quid pectus præstringit, et urget
 Ut superet Joviæ gloria gentis avos :
 Ac mea nescio quid molli dicat otia Phœbo,
 Meque etiam invitum munera ad ista rapit.
 Hinc fovet alma sinu sacros tot Roma Poetas
 Fama, quibus cineres contigit ante suos.
 Ætas nulla tuum minuet, Sadolete, decorem,
 Gloria nec longo tempore victa cadet,
 Laocoontei narras dum marmoris artes,
 Concidat ut natis vinctus ab angue pater.
 Curtius utque etiam patriæ succensus amore,
 Et specie et forti conspiciendus equo,
 Fervida dum virtus foret in juvenilibus annis
 Præcipitem se se tristia in antra dedit.
 Bembus, et hoc mirum est, Venetis nutritus in undis
 Ethrusco hunc tantum quis putet ore loqui ?
 Nec minus est Elegis Latio Sermone disertus,
 Hoc Pana ostendit dum Galatea fugit.
 Hic canit Heroas, atque illos versibus æquat,
 Et superat cantu tempora prisca novo.
 In breve sive opus est spacium deflectere carmen,
 Curriculo effrænis colla retorquet equi.
 Hi simul Idalios Damaseni e gramine ruris
 Unanimi flores sæpe tulere sinu ;
 Horum opera, ad fontis dum Musæ Aganippidos umbram,
 Phœbei evitant torrida plaustra jugi,

Jac. Sado-
letus.

Petr. Bem-
bus.

- Ut Sociis vacuas oblectet carmine mentes
 Ad citharæ pulsum Calliopea refert;
 Unisonaque illi responsant voce Sorores,
 Et plaudunt numeris turba canora deæ.
 Est sacer a docto celebratus carmine Vida,
 Vida, Cremonensis candida Musa soli.
 Panthoiden Samii corpus si credere fas est
 Intrasse, et clypei pondera nosse sui;
 Altiloqui Genium Vatem hunc adamasse Maronis
 Quis neget, ut Juli grandia gesta canat?
 Grandia gesta canat; canat ut confectus ab annis
 Ausonii molem sustinet imperii.
 Sperulus est Elegis cultus, dum cantat amores,
 Arduus, heroum dum fera bella canit;
 Nec minor est Lyricis, cum barbitos æmula Vati
 Æolio molles concinit icta modos.
 Nota erit Hesperiiis, atque Indis nota puella,
 Felsineus multa quam colit arte Pius;
 Idem priscorum reserans enigmata Vatum
 Conspicuo reddit lucidiora die.
 Est Casa molliculi Vates Nova carminis Auctor,
 Cujus amat placidos blanda Camœna sales;
 Huic decor, et cultus astant, Veneresque jocique,
 Hunc fovet in tenero gratia trina sinu.
 Galle tuæ passim resonant per compita laudes,
 Scena graves numeros te recitante probat.
 Vivet inæ ternum facundi Musa Camilli,
 Quem peperit genitrix Portia stirpis honor.
 Certat Romano tua pagina culta Tibullo,
 Laurea nunc culti carminis ambigua est.
 Nonne reus Musis fierem, si nostra Catani,
 Et magni Augusti laudibus ora vacent?
 Namque simul penitus scrutantur Numina Cyrrhæ
 Argivasque docent verba Latina Deas.
 Est vafer, et facilis peracuto dente renidens
 Lælius, austero toxica corde gerens.
 Huic quamvis libeat verbis petulantibus uti,
 Est tamen ingenio mitis et arte potens.

Hier. Vida
 Cremon.
 Sacerdos.

Franc. Sperulus
 Camers.

Bapt. Pius
 Bonon.

M. Ant.
 Casanova.

Gallus Romanus
 Comicus.
 Camillus
 Portius.

Jo. Maria
 Cataneus.

Augustus
 Patavinus.

Antonius
 Lælius
 Rom.

Thomas Pe-
trasancta.

Quique supercillii rigidi Lunensis, ab annis
Assuetus teneris scindere cuncta Tomos,
Inde sibi metuens, vigili sic cuncta lucerna
Lustrat, ut a nullis unguibus ictus eat,
Pindarus auritas sylvas testudine mulcet,
Dulcisonaque trahit concava saxa fide.
At modo quis Thamyræ cytharam non nescit amatque,
Aurea cui nitido pectore vena fluit.

Evangelista
Faustus
Matalena
Romanus.

Fluctibus immerget se se ante Lycaonis arctos
Æquoreis, Phœbi currus ad ima ruet,
Quam tua Fauste cadat nitidi candoris avena,
Cui levat Ismeni fluminis unda sitim.

Baldas.
Castilionus
Mantuan.

Castilionum annumerem quos inter? Martis acerbi,
Num Phœbi, an Veneris te rear esse decus?
Miles in arma ferox, peramata in Virgine mitis,
Hinc molles elegos, hinc fera bella cane.

Mellinus.

Et tu nomen habes ab nectare mollis Hymetti
Melline, Aonidum culmen et urbis Amor.

Blosius.

Pene mihi exciderant animo tua carmina Blossi,
Cui nova Acidaliæ vincula nectit amor.
Utque Cupidineos confundens pulvere currus,
Semper anhelantes verbere tundis equos.

Dejanira.

At modo ne tantum priscorum insultet honori
Inter doctiloquos Lesbia sola Viros,
Inclyta Pisæo, et præstanti sanguine creta,
Fœminei splendor Deianira chori,
Prompta venit nostris non indignata choreis,
Virgineos facili plaudere fronte pedes,
Imparibus cedit præsens cui versibus ætas,
Quamque novam Sappho Tibridis ora colit.

Severus
Sacerdos.

Dum gravidæ nubes fugient Aquilonis ab ortu,
Dum madidas referet turbidus Auster aquas,
Sidera percutiet fulgor, titulusque Severi,
Pandulphi pandens inclyta gesta ducis.

Bapt. Casa-
lius Rom.

Suggestit assidue nomen tibi grande Casali
Melpomene æternæ posteritatis opus.

Achilles
Phileros
Bono.

Dulcis Apollineo demulcens pectore chordas
Aonius Phileros agmina tanta premit.

Tu quoque seu Flacci, seu per nemora alta Properti
 Incedis, tibi habes Valeriane locum.
 Frondibus Aoniis te Pimpinelle decorum
 Vidimus, et meritis laureaserta comis.
 Dum recinent volucres, tudent dum littora fluctus,
 Implumes fœtus dum feret unda maris,
 Huic aderis semper mollis Beroalde trophæo,
 Blanda Venusinæ cui favet aura Lyræ.
 Est Marius versu, pergrato et scommate notus,
 Cui virides colles ruraque amœna placent.
 Sæpius inde novem vocat ad vineta Sorores
 Munifica impendens citria poma manu;
 Promittitque rosas, violas, vaccinia, et alba
 Lilia, cum primo vere tepescet humus.
 His scelus est, magnum non asseruisse Capellam,
 Roris Apollinei cui rigat ora liquor.
 Non te Amiterne sinam, dubias sub nocte silenti
 Per tenebras nullo lumine ferre gradum.
 Nam tu Pegasidum juvenes deducis ad undas,
 Quos fovet ingenti Martia Roma sinu.
 Lippus adest caro natali sidere mancus
 Lumine, sed docto carmen ab ore movens.
 Delius huic lucis dedit hæc solatia ademptæ,
 Ne misera ex omni sors sua parte foret.
 Nam subito revocat blanda in certamina divas,
 Dum movet Ausoniam dulcius arte chelym.
 Cyrrhæas latebras, et amœna Marosticus antra
 Visit, et huic Erato prævia signa tulit.
 Inde miser dominæ tactus dulcedine amandi
 Demulsit placidis ferrea corda modis.
 Illum tu blandis æquas Vallate Camœnis,
 Ingenio, inventu, carmine, judicio;
 Quem penes arguto scribendi Epigrammata sensu
 Laus fuit, et gratos tingere felle sales.
 His te cui Charites adsunt, Agatine, choreis
 Insere et aurata carmina funde lyra.
 Phileticum haud Lucam sileo, qui nomen ab ipsa
 Luce tenens, tenebras dispulit ingenii.

Valerianus
 Picius.
 Pimpinelle
 Romani.
 Phil. Bero-
 aldi Junior
 Bononiensis.

Marius Vo-
 laterranus.

Capella.

Amiterni-
 nus.

Lippus.

Jo. Ant.
 Marostica.

Laur. Val-
 latus Romani.

M. Ant.
 Elatanus
 Medicus.

M. Ant. Fla-
minius.

Est et Flaminius nimium sibi durus et atrox,
Cujus avena potest scribere quidquid avet.

Scipio Lan-
cellottus
Medicus
Rom.

Unica spes genti et languentum maxima cura
Scipio, qui Choa est clarus ab arte Senex.
Hunc quamvis Arvina premat, vigil intus oberrat
Spiritus, et sacro pectore multa fovet.

Donatus
Poli.

Noscit sic montes, sylvas, maria, oppida, et amnes
Polius, ac solidis viderit illa oculis.

Angelus
Colotius.

Te si, Colloti, O musarum candide Alumne,
Præteream, Vates invidiosus ero ;
Urbis delitiæ, dictant cui verba lepores,
Lacteus a dulci cui fluit ore liquor ;

Scipio Car-
teromachus,
Pistor.

Felix exactæ est sic Carteromachus artis
Ut nihil adscribi, diminuive queat.

Joan. Parr-
hasius.

Euterpen trahit hic sociasque e Phocidos ora,
Romuleique jubet littus amare soli.
Sospite Parrhasio, Romana Academia, opacis
Occultum in tenebris nil sinit esse diu.
Hunc circum urbanus latrando livor oberrat,
Et fessa externam voce reposcit opem.

Joannes
Aloysius
Vopiscus,
Neapol.

Ille velut Danaes turri munitus in alta,
Ridenti imbelles despicit ore minas.
Vocibus ut placidis, placido et modulamine, Siren
Fallaci nautas mersit et arte rates,
Sic modo, Parthenope erudiit quem docta, Vopisci
Decipitur blandis cauta puella modis.

Mariange-
lus ab
Aquila.

Idem Cardonis magni dum fortia in armis
Gesta canit, grandi fertur, in astra sono,
Cecropiæque imos linguæ Latæque recessus
Scrutatus, nymphis munera rara tulit.
Ut volucrum Regina supervolat æthera, et alti
Immotum lumen solis in orbe tenet,
Sic illa genitus clara Mariangelus urbe,
Alite quæ a Jovia nobile nomen habet,
Felici ingenio solers speculatur in antro
Corycio, unde refert carminis omne genus.
Quantum Ramatio tellus Fulginia, tantum
Arcade grandisono Narnia terra nitet.

Imperium prisca donec tenuere Quirites
 Dum stetit Augusto maxima Roma Duce,
 Vix Latiae Linguae Scythicas penetravit ad oras
 Nomen et illius fama sinistra fuit.
 At modo quae latos glacialis Vistula campos
 Abluit, et gelidum per mare findit iter,
 Suchthenium ingenio praestanti misit ad Urbem,
 Qui modo lege sui carminis urget avos.
 Explicat ardores, et amicae ventilat ignes,
 Praebeat ut victas dura puella manus.
 Alta supervolitans Ursinus tecta Quirini
 Fertur Parrhasii Gaspar ab axe poli
 Barbariem incultam patriis de finibus arcet,
 Ducit et Ausonias in nova Tempa Deas.
 Aemulus huic, concors patria, Juvenilibus annis
 Silvanus numeris certat et arte pari.
 Auspice Germanas hoc jam fluxere per oras
 Attica Romano conflua mella favo.
 Hunc puer Idalia doctum cum matre Cupido
 Mirantur vatem dum sua furta canit.
 Praecipiti quoties aestro nova carmina dictat
 Pierio toties dignus honore frui.
 Pannonia a forti celebris jam milite tantum
 Extitit; at binis vatibus aucta modo est.
 Nam Latium Piso sitibundo ita gutture rorem
 Hausit, ut Ausoniis carmine certet avis.
 Nec minor est Jano, patrium qui primus ad Istrum
 Duxit laurigeras ex Helicone Deas.
 Fulvius a septem descripsit montibus Urbem,
 Reddit et antiquis nomina prisca locis,
 Fulminea est adeo lingua Syllanus, ut illi
 Aonium facili murmure flumen eat.
 Flava Tibaldeum placidis sic Flavia ocellis
 Incitat, occultis praecipitatque dolis,
 Aptior ut nullus malesani pectoris ignes
 Explicet, et lepida comptior arte sales.
 Urbs Patavi foret orba suo ne semper alumno,
 Cujus opus tantum blanda Columba fuit,

Suctenius
Tentonicus.

Gaspar Ur-
sinus, Theu-
tonicus.

Piso Pan-
nonius.

Andreas
Fulvius
Sacer.
Syllanus
Spoletinus.

Ant. Tibal-
deus.

Lucas Bon-
filius Pata-
vinus.

Camillus
Paleottus,
Bononien.

Phæd. Vo-
laterranus.
Fabius Vi-
gil.

Spoletinus.
Caesar Sa-
ceus.
Franciscus.
Cetrarius.

Michael
Venturus
Fulginas.

Illius Elysijs fato revocatus ab umbris
 Spiritus, in lucem nunc redivivus agit.
 Pectora nam tribuit facilis Bonfilius illi,
 Nec minor ingenio, nec minor arte valet.
 Nec mea Calliope Paleotum fessa silebit,
 Cui fons irrorat pectora Castalius.
 Læta fluentisono remeabat ab æquore Cypris,
 Incipit, et tanto carmine conflatur opus.
 Quis Phædrum ignorat, Vigilisque poemata magni?
 Maxima Romani lumina gymnasii.
 Saccus invicti celebrat nunc gesta Triulti
 Invictasque Aquilas, magnanimumque senem.
 Fortunate senex, quis te furor impius egit?
 Cur geris in patrios arma nefanda lares?
 Phœbus ad externas peregrinaque regna sorores
 Ducturus Cyrrhæ quæ juga summa colunt,
 Incola barbaries fieret ne collis amati
 Fœda timens, cœptum distulit auctor iter.
 Atque agilem viridis cetræ de stipite Lauri
 Fabricat, hoc circum cui breve carmen erat.
 Miles erit Phœbi, et musarum miles, honestum
 Quisquis barbarico culmen ab hoste teget.
 Turba pavet, tantæque timens discrimina molis.
 Pensitat atque humeris non leve credit onus.
 Tum subito juvenes inter promptissimus omnes
 Exilit, intrepida sumit et arma manu.
 Tollitur applausu Sociorum clamor, et illi
 Ab Cetra impositum nomen inesse volunt.
 Dexter in omne genûs scripti Cetrarius, inde est;
 Nec focile agnosces, aptior unde fluat.
 Infantem quæ cura regat, quis cultus habendo
 Sit puero, et juveni qualia, quidve seni,
 Optimus ut queat hic Civis sine fraude vocari,
 Jureque cui res sit publica danda viro,
 Tempora qui placidæ pacis sine fraude gubernet,
 Nec timeat mortem, cum fera bella premunt,
 Fulginas Venturus agit, præceptaque in unum
 Colligit, et culto carmine promittit opus.

Janus, et expertus Macer est depellere morbos,
 Pieridum tenero cultor ab ungue chori,
 Fulvia quem fallax medicis subtraxit ab Aris,
 Jussit et Idalii vulnera amare Dei.

Joannes a
 Macerata,
 Medic.

Hausisti Cruciger sacros Heliconis honores :
 Hinc venit ad calamos prompta Thalia tuos,
 Et cantat Leges, sanctique edicta Senatus,
 Ac duce te insolitas audet adire vias.

Nicolaus
 Crucifer,
 Sacerdos.

Exprimit affectus animi sic carmine veros
 Postumus, ut Lector cuncta videre putet ;
 Cum libet ad lacrimas ridentis lumina amicæ
 Flectit, et ad risum cum gemit, ora movet.

Postumus
 Pisarenensis.

Marce Aganippeos latices qui e fonte Caballus
 Ernit, ille tibi nomina sacra dedit.

Marcus Ca-
 ballus, An-
 conitanus.

Inde tuis charites numeris hærerere videntur
 Numen et Idalium, Pegasidumque chori.
 At modo Bombasi quo non vaga fama refulget ?
 Cui reserant Musæ Phocidos antra novem.

Bombasius.

Litoris Adriaci nuper deleta per agros
 Perque Ravennatis pinguis culta soli,
 Gentis Aquitanæ turmas, et gentis Iberæ
 Agmina, ad infernos agmina pulsa lacus,

Marcellus
 Palonius,
 Rom.

Marcellus cecinit primævo in flore juventæ,
 Præliaque intrepido carmine sæva gerit ;
 Romuleæ gentis longe indignatus, et idem
 Auctorem per tot sæcula nocte premi,
 Iliades magni genus armipotentis, ut urbem
 Fatalem æternum struxit in orbe, caput,
 Et tandem ut patrium merito jam possidet astrum

Utque ipsum indigetem Martia Roma colit,
 Concitus Aonio reserat Palonius œstro
 Unica Romuleæ spesque decusque togæ.

Hinc mihi se offert Parmensi missus ab urbe
 Dardanus Aoniis pectora lotus aquis.

Dardanus
 Parmensis.

Hic canit Ausonias quoties irrumpat in oras
 Barbarus, et quanto fulmine bella fremant.
 Idem sollicitos elegis solatur amores,
 Atque gemit dominæ tristior ante fores ;

Qua Padus ingentes Vesuli de vertice pinus
 Volvit et occultis exerit ora vadis,
 Idem contractis Epigrammata condere verbis
 Gaudet, et argutos promere ab ore sales ;
 Cui dum Cæsareas percurrit carmine laudes
 Continuit rapidas Renus et Ister aquas.
 Hunc merito Cæsar Lauri dignatus honore est,
 Huicque Palatini Militis Arma dedit.
 Monstra quid Hesperiiis portendant urbibus, acri
 Ingenio et quidquid exta resecta notent,
 Jane, Panormææ telluris gloria, narras,
 Cui vix in vultu prima juvena nitet ;
 Tuque etiam ingenio scandis super ardua primus
 Sydera, Olympiacas ausus adire domos.
 Afflatusque animis æternis concinis hymnos
 Ætherei reserans claustra verenda Jovis.
 Vergilii hic manes semper sub nocte silenti
 Evocat, et musis cogit adesse suis.
 Te Maro non ausim, prisco cui Musa Maroni
 Æmula dat Latio nomina nota foro,
 Immemor obscuras inter liquisse tenebras,
 Et sinere ignavo delituisse situ.
 Exuis humanos extemplo e pectore sensus,
 Fatidicique furens induis ora Dei ;
 Pulcher inaurata quoties testudine Jopas
 Personat, et placido murmure fila movet.
 Hauriretque Helicon prius, Dircesque fluenta,
 Desereret cœptum quam tuus ardor opus.
 Liviani audentis narrat fera bella Modestus,
 Quotque hominum dederit millia multa neci ;
 Inter ut arma illi mens imperterrita mansit ;
 Hujus opus Seres, Antipodesque legent.
 Ille opifex rerum cœli qui lapsus ab Arce
 Filius æterni maximus ille Jovis,
 Orbe pererrato, cum quid bene gesserat olim,
 Describi insolito carmine vellet opus,
 Musarum infantem subtraxit ab ubere sacro,
 Aonio assuetum fonte levare sitim ;

Joannes Vi-
 talis Panor-
 mensis.

Andreas
 Maro
 Brixienis.

Franc. Mo-
 destus Ari-
 minensis.

Camillus
 Quærus,
 Archipoeta
 Leon. X.

Nomen et imponens peramatæ a stipite frondis
 Dixit, Quernus eris, tu mea gesta canes.
 Inde sacrosancto celebrat sic omnia versu
 Divinum ut cuncti numen inesse putent.
 At quibus e doctis domus est ignota Coryti?
 Thespiadum curæ est cui bona ne pereant:
 Vatibus hic Sacris Mœcenas splendidus, illi,
 Si foret Augustus, tempora avara nocent.
 At tua, quod potis es, sunt Phœbi tecta Sacellum,
 Cumque novem Musis illa frequentat Amor.
 Verticis Aonii musarum in culmine templum
 Desertum stabat, jam sine honore locus:
 Annua pœnituit Phœbum pia Sacra Sororum
 Jamdudum amisso flamine nulla fore;
 Quæsitumque diu juvenem renovare quotannis
 Mystica sacra jubet Flaminiumque vocat.
 Inde Elegos, blandosque sales, seu fortia bella,
 Pangit, habet Veneres, nec decor ullus abest.
 Invidit Vati Spartanus Rallius Umbro
 Te gravibus recinens pulchra Licina modis,
 Et patria Eurotas licet hunc instruxerit arte,
 Te tamen Ausonio carmine ad Astra tulit.
 Delie ni vires nosset sibi conscia virtus,
 Ipse tuas laudes haud timide exequerer.
 Sed quoniam præstat molem evitasse pericli,
 Quam grave curvato poplite fundere onus,
 Cum tua Romulidum volitet vaga fama per urbem,
 Ne male cœpta canam sit voluisse satis.
 A patria, a musis, Phœboque urbique Quiritum
 Ac reus a populi publicus ore ferar,
 Ni tua multiplici studio præstantia Ulisse
 Pectora sacratis Vatibus annumerem.
 Notitia in tenebris nulla est adeo abdita rerum
 Ingenio fuerit quin bene culta tuo;
 Omnia nam septem reserasti arcana sororum;
 Libera quarum Artes noscere corda decet.
 Nec tibi deficiunt (bisseptem tempora lustrum
 Cum superes) vires corporis atque animi.

Jo. Coricius.

Petrus
Delius.Ulixes Fa-
nensis.

Aurelius
Clarerius
Lupus,
Spoletinus.

Clareli ingenua effigies frontisque serenæ
 Blandus honos Musas ad sua castra vocat.
 Illius ex hilari genium dignoscere vultu
 Et mentem, et sensus, cordaque aperta licet.
 Nullæ unquam poterunt fraudes se inferre Camœnis,
 Quas tibi lascivo murmure dictat amor.
 Hoc duce Nympha olim Venerisque peristera custos
 Fit volucris, volucris quæ vehit axe Deam.
 Per Sylvas quoties nemorosis saltibus errat,
 Calliope æternum sola ministrat opus,
 Armaque grandiloquo resonantia carmine Phœbus
 Ingerit, et gravibus verba sonora modis.
 Felleque mordaci brevibus sententia dictis
 Non caret, hostili cum vomit ore sales.
 Atque Atriæ hic nostri doctissima pectora secli
 Non silet, armati nec fera bella ducis.

Petrus
Pactius.

Pactius Ethruscæ modo plurima gloria Gentis
 Petrus adest, clivo maximus Aonio,
 Nobilitas quem clara fovet Geniusque Charisque,
 Et prudens fraudum nescia simplicitas.
 Fortunamque super generosa mente vagatur,
 Illius haud unquam territus insidiis.
 Non rapit in præceps tete ambitiosa Cupido
 Intra fortunam vivere docte tuam.
 Ingerit huic mirum nil sors inopina, novumque
 Omnia qui immoto pectore adire potest.
 Candida sublimem te vexit ad æthera virtus
 Felicem reddens assimilemque Deis.

Honoratus
Fascitellus.

De grege quis posset, posset quis credere inert
 Quem mons præpingui rure Casinus alit,
 Solus Honoratus vigilanti mente Sacerdos
 Aonidum cantus post sua vota colit?
 Fascitella domus priscorum e fascibus orta,
 Quos veteri imperio stirps generosa tulit,
 Edidit infantem, nascenti Æneia nutrix
 Affuit, excepit, composuitque caput,
 Uberaque admovit pleno turgentia succo:
 Auctori arrisit muneris ore puer;

Intrepidaque manu pressit, suxitque papillas ;
 Lacte redundanti cessit anhela sitis ;
 Musarumque ipsum altrici commendat, ut inter
 Pierides Clarii disceret acta Dei.
 Exceperc Deæ unanimes, et mystica Phœbi
 Sacra docent patriis restituuntque focis.
 Cecropiæ hinc cæcas latebras arcanaque linguæ
 Anfractusque omnes multiplicesque dolos,
 Et quocumque olim veterum invidiosa propago
 Liquit in obscuris semisepulta locis,
 Paulatim explorans fulgenti luce recessus
 Discutit, et nitido tramite monstrat iter.
 Nam brevibus longas ambages legibus aufert,
 Et parvo immensum codice stringit opus.
 Sentibus evulsis nudo jam calle per amplas
 Ire licet montes Pieridumque nemus.
 Hoc duce Parnassi pubes petet Itala culmen,
 Altaque securo conteret arva pede.
 Daphni tibi sydus nascenti afflavit Apollo,
 Ingessitque libens numina et artis opem.
 Hinc elegos promptosque sales cultissime pangis,
 Nec desit numeris dorica lingua tuis.
 Te quoque Romulidum et cultæ spes altera linguæ
 Intexam chartis candide Sanga meis.
 Vos, animæ, æterni quos ingens nominis ardor
 Sollicitat noctu sollicitatque die,
 Quas stimulis agitant laudum præconia, quasque hæc
 Pœnitet haud vatium celsa trophea sequi,
 Laurea deponat vobis modo sarta capillus ;
 Surgite in amplexus, jam Deus alter adest.
 Namque Caledonio Pæceus ab Axe Sacerdos
 Cortynam ingreditur ad pia Templâ ferens,
 Cortynam, qua rite litat tibi, Delphice, quando
 Attica Romulidum ac inclyta sacra colit.
 Mulsius antiquum nitido candore nitorem
 Possidet, et prisca simplicitate viget,
 Sincerusque fluit, nec fuco nobile adumbrat
 Carmen, sed casto pectore sacra colit,

Barthol.
Daphnis,
Exinus.

Sanga.

Francisc.
Moltius,
Mutinen.

Hunc quoniam illius cantu oblectantur amœno
 Cypris, et aurato gratia blanda sinu,
 Semper dulcisonos ut lamentetur amores
 Perpetuis flammis improbus urit Amor.
 Fortunate bonis animi felicibus aucte
 Præsagi merite nomen ab ingenio.
 Gratulor, ingeminat tibi quod malefida dolores
 Julia, quæ auricomi nomina solis habet.
 Namque nisi ex alto sic dissimularet amores,
 Non foret a cantu tam bene nota tuo.
 Quis melius doctum te Alexandrine Catullum
 Jam promptis numeris te insinuare potest?
 Euge quibus Daphnem lamentis, aut quibus olim
 Formosum indoluit Cynthius Æbalidem,
 Ac veluti jecur æternum sub vulture mœrens
 Defleat Japeti viscera hiulca satus,
 Qualibus aut lacrymis Ceycem in gurgite vasto
 Submersum flerit tam misera Alcyone,
 Candide lector, aves si noscere, si vacat, euge
 Da mœstis aures vocibus Euryali,
 Dum queritur fastus iratæ Juliæ, et artes
 Illecebras, fraudes, jurgia, furta, dolos.
 Calliope huic dextram tribuit dea sponte pupillam,
 Threicio vati mamma sinistra data est.
 Centelles gemini fratres stirps inclyta, aviti
 Post habita Siculi nobilitate soli,
 Illecti pariter linguæ dulcedine ad urbem
 Migrarunt, Clarii bina trophea Dei;
 Quorum pectoribus sic mutuus ardor inhæret,
 Alter ut alterius pectore corda ferat;
 Concordesque animo Phœbei gramina campi,
 Antraque sollicito trivit uterque pede.
 Hos inter natu major viridante capillum
 Lauro Hyeron cinctus tempora nixa gerit;
 Heroumque canit laudes ingentiaque acta,
 Acta quibus justo murmure plectra movet;
 Melliferæ inventum segetis, dulcemque liquorem,
 Ut trahit e molli canna palustris humo,

Alexandri-
nus.

Centelli
Fratres.

- Et quis arundinibus cultus, quæ tempora messi:
 Dulcia quin etiam saccara ut orbis habet,
 Franciscus minor enodat Centello propago,
 Et leges strinxit juraque certa dedit.
 Non adeo in specubus latitanti horrentis Eremitæ,
 Damnatus voti dum bona sacra novas,
 Illorum ut careant ritu, Stephane alme, Quirites
 Obscœnæ nulli sacra adeunda pede. Stephanus.
 Hos quoque qui ad Tanaim penetrat genus usque nivalem
 Insequitur dextris Nerlius alitibus ;
 Non te divitiæ, fastus, præcepsque juvena
 Elevat, ingenium, nobilitasve premit,
 Otia quin Elegosque colas, Phœbique recessus,
 Carminaque arguto tingere felle juvet. Antonius
Nerlius.
 Præmia, Calve, tuis quæ digna laboribus umquam,
 Tam bene pro meritis lingua latina dabit ? Franciscus
Calvus.
 Tu peregre errasti sublata volumina quærens
 Quantum Europæo tingitur Oceano.
 Namque Caledonii te dives terra Britanni
 Novit, et auratis dives Iberus aquis ;
 Galliaque et latis Germania frigida campis,
 Pannoniosque secans turgidus Ister agros.
 Quidquid Barbarici Martis furor impius olim
 Abstulit, ad patriæ limina grata refers.
 Ecce iterum antiquum te pervigilante nitorem,
 Roma tenet, candor pristinus ille redit.
 Madalius placido immitem dum murmure amicam
 Deflet, et assiduo murmure mœstus hiat, Jo. Bapt.
Medalius,
Thuseus.
 Multifido Aonii silvas in vertice montis
 Plantat, et errantes mulcet Hamadryadas.
 Quin etiam interdum mordax resonante susurro
 Ridet, et argutos ingerit ore sales.
 Si tua non fictos Erato descripsit amores,
 Miror quod nondum es, Angeriane, cinis. Hierony-
mus Ange-
rianus,
Neapol.
 Annua Pierides celebrant Phœbeia Nymphæ,
 Solemnemque notant munera rara diem,
 Quo miser Admeti pecudes armenta que Pastor,
 Desierit tandem tristia vota sequi ; Albineus
Parmensis.

Succinctæque sinus niveo et circumdatæ amictu
 Gratantur reducem lata per arva Deum :
 Dumque vagæ huc illuc cursant per florida Tempe,
 Textentem puerum mollia scrta vident.
 Dulcia certatim dant oscula, lacte perungunt
 Albenti, Albineo nomen et inde fluit.
 Collis et Aonii secreta per omnia ducunt,
 Instillantque sacri numina cuncta loci.
 Haud igitur mirum est, si quidquid concipit alto
 Ingenio, æquali carmine, et arte refert.
 Oceano in magno veluti stat saxeæ moles
 Immota, assiduis fluctibus icta maris,
 Sic caput objectat fortunæ interritus acri
 Confisus Diis Clælius auspiciibus ;
 Desinit illa unquam ut valido intorquere lacerto
 Spicula, in hunc solum spicula cuncta ferens ;
 Sic animo invictus constanti pectore semper
 Imperturbata vulnera mente subit ;
 Solaturque suas Phœbeo murmure curas,
 Murmure cui Latii plaudit avena chori.
 Castalii fontis nisi Bevazanius undas
 Hausisset solitus pellere ab ore sitim,
 Non adeo felix hederæ super alta corymbis
 Parnassi ornatus montis adisset iter.
 Æternos scripsit cultus Lampridius hymnos,
 Terreni laudes concinuitque Jovis.
 Carmina Romano tantum placuere Tonanti,
 His nulla ut nostri temporis æqua putet.
 Si vetus obstupuit, præsens itidem obstupet ætas
 Excultum carmen, culte Tibulle, tuum :
 Haud mirum hoc doctæ genitricis ab ubere sacro
 Hausisti, et castos parvulus ante Lares.
 Inde tibi genioque tuo peramica fuere
 Sæcula, et Augusti numina grata Ducis.
 At modo bisdenos florenti ætate decembres
 Vix numerans quanto pectore Zanchus ovat !
 Phocenses pariter Musæ Latiique Camœnæ
 Concordes una hunc sponte tulere sinu.

Clælius.

August.
Bevazan.Bened.
Lampridius.Petrus
Zanchus
ergom.

Certatim accurrunt charites, numerosaque dictant
 Carmina, juncturas, pondera, verba, sonos,
 Ponderibus rerum mentem hic bene pascit et aures
 Selectis verbis mulcet et exhilarat.

Bine tui ingenii vires, quibus omnia amussim

Binus.

Pangere vel genio nil renuente potes,

Si modo ab hortorum cultu divellere musas,

Ferrea quas semper ducere rastra piget,

Atque alio illarum mentem divertere et aures

Quo se humili extollant sidera ad alta solo,

Jamque tuis velles humeris injungere munus

Grande aliquod, quantus quantus in urbe fores!

Dum celebris Vates circumfert pompa, Molosse,

Tranquillus
 Molossus.

Ipse indicta feris horrida bella cane;

Queis cecidere apri cervorumque agmina longa,

Et damæ imbelles, capreolumque genus,

Cum Leo venandi Palieti lustra Caninum

Oppidulum lassus mœnia parva subit

Illic ubi hospitio exceptum Pharnesius heros

Convivam nulla non fovet arte Jovem.

Thespiadum erudiit prima incunabula nutrix

Crotus.

Euphemes, natus cui, Crote, solus erat,

Unde genus, nomenque trahens ab origine avita

Altera Musarum est maxima cura Crotus.

Batte melos dulci genitrix te Amerina liquore

Imbuit, et primis imbuit uberibus.

Quam bene mellifluo susceptum nectar ab ore

Diffundis semper Martia gesta canens!

Quæ tuus antiquæ pro mœnibus ille Ravennæ,

Et quæ pro laribus, docte Catulle, tuis,

Marcus honos patriæ, stirpisque Columnicæ, et almæ

Italix contra Gallica signa dedit.

Grandiloquis gerit ille modis celebranda per orbem

Prælia, tuque pari pectore bella refers.

Digna tuis Heros numeris facit omnia, tuque

Factis digna suis carmina semper habes.

Ad Vatum cœtus propera blandissime Cursi,

Cursius.

Ne taceas clausas tristior ante fores;

Nam data carceribus citius si signa quadrigæ
 Contingant, frustra vocibus astra petes.
 Suntque alii celebres, quos ingens gloria tollit,
 Et quorum passim carmina Roma legit.
 Horum si quis avet cognoscere nomina amussim
 Protinus Aureli templa superba petat.
 Illic marmorea pendent suspensa columna,
 Atque etiam hæc Coryti picta tabella docet.
 Illos novit Arabs, illos novere Sabæi,
 Et nigri Ethiopes, arvaque adusta gelu.
 Vaticinor, dis grata cohors, felicius ævum
 Pectora fatidico murmure Phæbus agit;
 Venturus novus Augustus, venturus et alter
 Mœcenas, divum candida progenies.
 Aurea Principibus novaque illis sæcula fient,
 Sæcula, queis ætas ferrea victa cadet;
 Pacificæ grave Martis opus tunc cedit olivæ;
 Romano cedent arma cruenta foro.
 Pinguis humus passim nullis cultoribus, ultro
 Et Cererem, tuaque munera, Bacche, dabit.
 Arva pede incerto pessundare sancta profanos
 Non sinet, arva sacris castè adeunda choris.
 Tunc virides lauri sudabunt roscida mella,
 Flumina perpetuo nectare lenta fluent;
 Altricemque novus quando instaurabitur orbis,
 Tellurem repctent numina prisca Deum.
 Felices animæ, quibus illa in tempora carmen
 Singula sub proprio pondere verba cadent.
 His ego, si potero meritum subscribere nomen,
 Forsitan ARSILLI fama perennis erit;
 Et mea tunc totum felix PIRMYLLA per orbem
 Vivet in exitium nata puella meum.
 Ast ego non tantum mihi nunc temerarius augur
 Polliceor, nec me tam ferus ardor agit,
 Corvus ut his ausim crocitare per arva Caystri
 Cycneumque rudi fingere voce melos.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. CXXI.

(Page 7.)

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 96.

Litera Leonis Papæ ad Regem Angliæ.

CHARISSIMO in Christo Filio nostro Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Intelleximus ex Literis *Majestatis tuæ* eam ægre molesteque tulisse Nos Venerabilem Fratrem et *Archiepiscopum Sancti Andreae* in Regno Scotiae, nostrum et hujus Sanctæ Apostolicæ Sedis Nuntium, cum Potestate Legati de Latere constituisse.

Qua in re etsi cognoscere potuerit Nos rationem imprimis habuisse Dignitatis et Voluntatis Tuæ, quoniam ipsum *Archiepiscopum* ad *Tuæ Majestati* satisfaciendum ante omnia obligavimus, Isque id Nobis aperte se facturum recepit; tamen ea etiam consideratio Te in eam sententiam adducere potuit, ut considerares Nos nihil, quod Te offenderet, facere et statuere voluisse.

Quod ex omnibus Christianis Regibus et Principibus Tu Unus profecto es quem in Domino unice atque summopere diligimus, et in quo præter cæteros pro animi nostri affectu et propensione confidimus, cujusque Petitionibus et Postulatis, aut etiam tacitæ Voluntati et Desiderio, quantum cum Deo potuimus, omnibus semper in rebus satisfacere concupivimus; cujus nostræ erga Te mentis Ipse optimus et locupletissimus es Testis; sed de his hactenus.

Quod autem *ad Archiepiscopum* attinet, ea statuimus quæ

Tibi grata essent futura, quæque Te velle cognoscebamus, quemadmodum a Venerabili Fratre *Episcopo Wigorniensis*, Oratore apud nos tuo latius intelliges.

Datum *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die vicesimo secundo Aprilis; Millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto, Pontificatus nostri Anno tertio.

P. BEMBUS.

Dor.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri.

No. CXXII.

(Page 9.)

Sadolet. Ep. Pont. No. 36.

REGI FRANCORUM.

CHARISSIME. Etsi obitu claræ memoriæ Ludovici, tui nuper Prædecessoris, audito, non mediocrem animi dolorem concepimus, quod magnum Regem, & nobis, ac Sedi Apostolicæ, præsertim extremis his temporibus, amicissimum, judicabamus amisisse; tamen, cum esset ad nos perlatum Majestatem tuam continuo, ut quidem decebat, summa omnium lætitia, & voluntate ad regale solium evectam fuisse, nova gratulatione mitigavimus dolorem. Itaque commoti nostra erga te paterna benevolentia & charitate, quam etiam, cum tu esses in minoribus, susceptam, magnis & mutuis inter nos officiis nos aucturos speramus, has ad tuam Majestatem litteras direximus, nuncias cum nostræ ex tua amplitudine susceptæ lætitiæ, tum singularis erga te studii, & amoris. Nos te, charissime fili, semper judicavimus cum cæteris virtutibus omnibus, quæ magno Principi convenient, ornatum, tum præcipua quadam præditum erga summum Deum pietate, in illius sanctam Fidem, & Romanam ac universalem Ecclesiam religione & observantia; cujus quidem rei egregiam alias laudem, nunc maximum ab ipso Deo præmium es consecutus, cum ejus recens in te tantum beneficium

possis agnoscere. Eo enim auctore, & largitore, Reges & Principes nationum constituuntur, quos tam præclaro munere devinctos, ad referendam Deo gratiam, & illius sanctissimam propagandam fidem, omnis et diurna, & nocturna cura debet excitare. Hac igitur de te spe, & opinione imbuti, gratias agimus primum Deo, deinde tuæ Majestati gratulamur, omni affectu & amore hanc dignitatem tuam complectentes, quam non solum optamus, sed etiam speramus toti Christianæ Reipublicæ fore salutarem; nobis vero, qui te in nostræ visceribus charitatis gerimus, ac Sedi Apostolicæ, quæ in te filio suo primogenito acquiescit, jucundam etiam, & honorificam. Illud certe Majestatem tuam pro nostra affectione paterna breviter admonendam putamus, ut consideratis secum diligentius superiorum temporum & rerum eventibus, nullam actionem velit putare, nisi quæ cum Deo, ac pietate, & cum Christianæ Fidei commodo conjuncta sit, dignam Christianissimi Regis aut virtute, aut nomine: cum cætera, quæ ab hoc fine, consilia aberrant, & plena semper sint ingratae sollicitudinis, & eventus plerumque non habeant secundos. Quamquam hæc tu, Deo inspirante, tua prudentia diligentius cogitabis. Nos nostri erga te amoris fiducia parem nobis tuam voluntatem reprobmittentes, hac primo in re abs te cupimus nobis satisfieri, ut de Ecclesiæ Narbonensi (quemadmodum nos destinavimus, & sicut ad claræ memoriæ Prædecessorem tuum scripseramus) velit Majestas tua libenter assentiri, ut dilecto filio nostro Julio Cardinali de Medicis provideamus; cum præsertim Prædecessor tuus recompensam Ecclesiæ Albiensis ei pollicitus, Vaurensem obtulisset, dictusque Cardinalis neutram sit assecutus, et utramque illarum cedere in tuam gratiam sit paratus. Cujus quidem Cardinalis tum virtus, et integritas, tum erga tuam Majestatem, & ipsius statum observantia & affectio, digna est quæ hanc suam erga se cognoscat liberalitatem: nobis quidem, qui eum & pro suis summis virtutibus, & pro consanguinitate ipsa vehementer amamus, Majestas tua faciet rem gratissimam, cui perpetuam gratiam debemus. Die xxi. Jan. MDXV. Anno secundo.

No. CXXIII.

(Page 11.)

*Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 12.**Al. Sig. Mag. Giuliano de' Medici, Capitan Generale di Santa Chiesa.*

Io scrissi questi giorni à V. S. per la medesima via, per la quale mando la presente, & sarammi gratissimo intendere, che l'una e l'altra habbia havuto ricapito. Et se io pensassi, ch' ella si dovesse fermare per qualche tempo là, dove hora si trova, la pregherei, che si contentasse di mandarmi una cifra, accioche sicuramente le potessi scrivere, quando alla giornata m' occoresse degno d' aviso, si come hora qualche cosa m' occorrerebbe; il che non potendo sicuramente fare, mi eleggò di tacerlo. Solamente dirò, ch' io trovo il Christianiss. & Mad. sua madre (la quale può tanto, quanto ragionevolmente deve potere una prudentissima madre appresso un' obedientiss. figlio) tanto ben disposti verso Nostro Signore & V. S. ch' io più non saprei desiderare, avenga che nelle cose di sua Santità, et di quella, io non habbia già il desiderio troppo moderato, & gran fondamento fanno delle cose loro appresso Nostro Signore sopra il mezzo di V. Sig. La quale se le vorrà abbracciare, le se ne haverà buon grado, e tutte si rimetteranno in man sua, ò di chi V. Sig. ordinerà, pur che dipenda da lei. La quale, se vederà Nostro Signore ben disposto verso questa Maestà, com' io credo, & ogni ragion vuole che sia, non saria già bene lasciarle maneggiare a persona, che si facesse scudo et mezzo con l' autorità di V. S. e tutto il grado volesse per se, si come a qualche altro tempo s'è fatto. Nè si deve haver maggior rispetto ad altrui, che all' honor proprio, che sia massimamente per tirar tanto utile, quanto essa stessa saprà desiderare. Et se ben'io son certo, che senza il mio scrivere, V. S. assai conosce quanto carico le sarebbe, che altri che essa, trattasse appresso Nostro Signore le cose di questa Maestà; pure per troppa servitù scrivo molte volte

quello, ch'è superchio, et che si potrebbe tacere. Nè creda V. S. che alcuno qui habbia, nè possa havere maggior' autorità in trattar le cose di Nostro Signore & di questa Maestà, di quello che haverà V. S. pur ch' ella voglia, overo i ministri suoi, di chi mostrerà fidarsi, & lasci pur dire, & scrivere chi vuole, che tale à Roma è predicato governor del mondo in questo nuovo stato, che si contenterebbe, se bene ha mutato patrone, non haver mutata autorità, la quale ogni di sarà minore, se da V. S. non gli fie data. Et se voi Signori sarete savij, farete li fatti vostri per voi stessi, ò col mezzo de' ministri vostri, altrimenti non concluderete mai cosa che vogliate, nè si darà obbligo alcuno à questa Maestà di far per V. S. se ben N. S. facesse molte cose a beneficio della detta Maestà; perche il tutto l'amico attribuirebbe alla destrezza et autorità sua, et non alla buona dispositione di chi le facesse. Dio dopo molt' altre felicità ha concesso a V. S. d' havere un tanto Re non solo per parente stretto, ma ancora amorevolissimo, et che dimostra stimar tanto tal parentado, quanto se l'avesse con qual si voglia grandissimo Principe, ò Re. V. S. stimi all' incontro tal gratia sopra tutte l'altre, come quella, c' ha piu stabile fondamento. Et certo ho tanta paura, ch' una sì fatta occasione non si perda, che s'io non havessi temuto errare, me ne sarei venuto a trovar V. S. per soddisfare all' animo mio, et alla servitù, che ho con N. Sig. et con essa. Questa cosa di Narbona m' ha assai levato dal venire, perche io v'era molto inclinato; basta c' ha havuto buon' effetto, et così haverà ogni altre cosa, che N. S. vorrà, solo che da sua Santità non manchi.

Aspetto di di in di qualche huomo di V. S. mandato per far riverenza a questo Re, il quale venendo, come mi par ragionevole che debbia venire, io li farò intendere quanto m'occorrerà. Governando quà il tutto la madre del Christianiss. si come è ragionevole, per esser, come ho detto, prudentissima, non sarebbe forse se non bene, che V. S. le scrivesse quanto si fida di me, et quanto ella liberamente può parlar meco delle cose di N. S. et di Vostra Sig. Che se ben questo non è molto necessario, mostrando la Eccel-

lenza sua di credermi pur' assai, tuttavia stimo, che non potria se non giovare, massimamente havendo a questi dì il Malpasso scritto quà, che N. S. non si fida gran fatto di me in queste cose di Francia; et me' ha dato in ciò per compagno Santa Maria in Portico. Domane la Maestà del Re doveva fare la sua entrata in questa terra, la quale sarà superbissima cosa da vedere; pure questa sera piove, et essendo il tempo cattivo, si differirà ad un' altro giorno. Non ardisco dire, che i forieri, secondo ch' essi riferiscono, hanno dato in questa terra alloggiamento à forestieri per ottanta mila cavalli, ma ben dico, che io non vidi mai tanta gente. Fatta l'entrata s'attenderà alle giostre. Questa non è già lettera da scrivere ad huomo che si trovi à nozze, anzi le faccia. Vostra Sig. habbia patientia, et leggala in più volte, acciochè ad un tratto non rimanga stracca et del leggere, et dello scrivere. Et à vostra Sig. baciandole la mano, humilmente mi raccomando.

In Parigi à i 14. di Febraro. 1515.

Di vostra Illustriss. Sig. humiliss. servitore,

LODOVICO CANOSSA.

No. CXXIV.

(Page 12.)

Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 14.

Al Mag. Giuliano de' Medici Capitano di S. Chiesa.

LA Santità di N. S. stà con grande ammiratione, et dispiacere di non haver nuove già son tanti et tanti giorni di voi, nè di vostro essere, et si duole grandemente di tutti i ministri vostri, che sieno sì poco accurati, et tanto negligenti, che dopo l'arrivata à Nizza non habbiano avisato quà cosa alcuna de' progressi vostri, et più che niuno altro, da S. Santità, et da me, è ripreso M. Latino, di cui lo scrivere è principal cura. Nè si scusi con dire, che per essere in loco fuor di mano, non ha saputo ove indrizzare le lettere; per-

cioche à Genova, ò à Piacenza si potevano ad ogni hora mandare per huomo à posta, che ben meritava il pregio, per avisar N. S. di quella cosa, che gli è più cara, che altra che habbia al mondo, cio è la persona vostra. Si che se volete levare ogni dispiacere à S. Santità, et tenerla molto consolata, fate che sia avisata spesso del bene star vostro.

Non solo il Papa, et questi Signori vostri, fratello, nipote, et sorelle, ma tutta la corte stà con aspettation mirabile d'intender nuove di voi, et della Illustriss. Signora vostra consorte: nè credo, che con tanto desiderio fosse mai aspettata persona del mondo in parte alcuna, quanto è ella in questa terra, si per le rarissime parti, che s'intendono essere in lei (che fanno che ciascuno desidera molto di vederla et d'honorarla) sì ancora per haver V. S. grandissima gratia. Deverete adunque avisar, con ogni diligenza et celerità, la partita vostra di costà, et quanto starete in camino, et quando credete arrivar quì; accioche noi di quà sapendolo, possiamo far poner in ordine tutte le cose necessarie. Et circa questo non vi dirò altro, aspettando da voi l'aviso del tutto.

Sapendo io, come M. Pietro Ardinghelli v'ha continuamente tenuto avisato delle cose importanti, non ho voluto darvi briga con lettere mie da x. giorni in qua; che prima per via di Piacenza vi haveva di mia mano scritto due lunghe lettere, lequali penso che sieno arrivate salve in man vostra. Scrissi, come Tomaso haveva lassato nel suo andar fuori Baccio vostro, per che espedisce molti negotij importanti, et così fu fatto. Con Ghingherli, et con chi già instava di voler Leonardo per suo parente, si concluse ottima amicitia et intelligenza, essendo inclinatissimi à fare il medesimo con gli altri, che sa Leonardo, se quel che Tomaso vuole per Leonardo, gli sarà concesso, che si spera di sì: percioche Ghingherli per lettere sue de' III. di questo, fa intendere à Tomaso esser contento di lassare ancora oltre all'altra ricompensa che già vi scrissi, il loco, et la terra, ove Leonardo mio già s'ammalò, et stette così grave, per darla a chi sapete. Resta hora, che chi ha à ricever questa ricompensa, et li suoi vicini difensori, se ne satisfacciano

che si pensa, et si crede di sì, et quello, à chi è assimigliato il Conte Hercole, si rimanda al suo padrone à questo effetto, et si ricerca Ghingherli, che liberi del tutto gli altri due lochi, che hanno ad esser di Tomaso, ò à dir meglio, di Leonardo, et crediamo non vi sarà una difficoltà al mondo, et Tomaso ne sta d'una buona voglia, che pur stamattina me l'ha detto, replicando voler, che Leonardo habbia tutti quegli altri luoghi, che altre volte ha ragionato, dando, come sapete, di tutti i beneficij ricompensa à coloro, da i quali vorrà li detti beneficij.

Bartolomeo, che ha la cifra, non è in casa, et però si fa senza usarla, massime venendo questa sempre per mano di cavallari nostri.

Monsig. Reverendiss. nostro, et il Mag. Lorenzo si raccomandano tanto tanto tanto alla S. V. che più dir non si potria. Quella si ricordi di scriver spesso alle loro Signorie, et à N. S. che doveva dir prima, et non manchi per niente, perche così richiede la riverenza di V. S. verso S. S. et l'amore, che porta alle lor Signorie: Monsig. Reverendiss. nostro hebbe il Placet dalla Maestà Christianiss. sopra la chiesa di Narbona, et tutto per opera della Illustriss. Sig. Madama d'Angolem. Onde V. Eccellenza puo di ciò render gratie in nome di N. Sig. à gli Illustriss. Signore Duca, et sua consorte. Avanti hierimattina fu spedita la cosa in Concistoro, et mandate via le bolle in Francia, come credo l'Ardinghello v' habbia scritto, et così de' capitoli, che Svizzeri hanno fatti con l'Imperadore, et Re Catolico, et Duca di Milano, della sustanza di che l'Ardinghello vi deve avere scritto, che gli diedi la copia de' capitoli d'essa confederatione. Laquale N. Signor non è disposto accettare per molti rispetti, parendoli conveniente, che, quando si facciano leghe, nelle quali S. Santità habbia ad essere inclusa, si debban fare, et stipulare appresso di lei, come capo della lega, et della Christianità.

Dice Tomaso che vuole si piglino et accettino le cose fatte da lui, non che lui habbia da accettar quelle fatte da altri.

C'è di Francia, che Inghilterra ha qualche fantasia di

dar la sua vedova sorella al Duca di Soffolc, et che ella non ne è aliena. Tal cosa non si crede molto, e pur l' avviso vien da loro assai autentico.

Per questo anno si crede, che il Christianissimo Re non farà la impresa di Lombardia.

Inghilterra vuole, che per niente la sorella non istia in Francia.

Cesare, et il Catolico faranno ogni cosa, perchè sia moglie dell' Arciduca. Così viene scritto da i Nuntij nostri d' Alemagna, et di Spagna. Altro ch' io mi ricordi, non c' è di nuovo. Le feste di questo Carnevale lascerò scrivere ad altri. Io sol dirò, che lunedì il Mag. Lorenzo fa nel prosceonio vostro recitare il Penulo, et darà cena nella vostra sala alla Illustriss. Signora Marchesana. Et domenica in Testaccio fa una bella livrea con Monsignor Reverendiss. Cibò di xx. persone vestite di broccato, et di velluto, che sarà un bellissimo vedere, à spese di N. S.

Non avisaste mai, se faceste la scusa vostra con Milano; se mandaste à Svizzeri, et a Sedunen, come fu ragionato, et ricordato; se faceste alcuno officio col Christianiss. Re, che di tutto pareva conveniente dar notitia a N. S. facendo, ò nò tali officij.

Ricordatevi, che dopo N. S. ogniuno mira a voi, essendo la persona vostra quella, nella quale i pensieri, i concetti, et i disegni del Papa si specchiano. Et anche vi ricordo, che ogni opera, et attion vostra non è considerata, et notata manco, che quella di N. S. Però prego V. S. per l' amor grandissimo, che le porto, che ogni giorno, se è possibile, s' intendano uscir da lei opere, et attioni, che sieno degne della prudenza sua. Et a lei mi raccomando. Di Roma A XVI. di Febraro. MDXV.

Il vostro Cardinal di Bibiena.

No. CXXV.

(Page 46.)

*Fabron. vita Leon. X. in Adnot. No. 40.**Leo X. P. M. Regi Christianissimo.*

CAPITA fœderis inter te atque me remque hanc publicam sancienti ab Episcopo Tricaricensi Legato meo allata Romanam, tanquam primordia, et quasi fundamenta voluntatis utriusque nostrum (quod magnopere concupivi) consociandæ, libentissime vidi. Libentius autem ipsum Episcopum audivi. Plura enim mihi, et clariora de tuo optimo in Dei Ecclesiam atque nos animo egregiaque voluntate narravit. Quæ si vera sunt, quemadmodum quidem puto, cum te de hac tua pietate atque mente vehementer laudo, nihil enim potes te dignius atque præclarior facere, quam nihil committere, quo te male gratum appellare Dominus tam in te largus, tamque beneficus possit; tum spero fore ut hoc virtutum tuarum specimen, quod quidem in tam tenera ætate nobis das, cum iis opibus, quas maximas atque amplissimas habes, conjunctum et consociatum universæ Reip. Christianæ magnum brevi adjumentum atque ornamentum afferat. Itaque ejusmodi tuæ et virtuti et pietati omnem nostram et Reip. dignitatem tuendam statui permittere, ut existimare plane possis mihi te et esse jam charissimum, et semper fore. Neque enim vereor, cum videas te a me plurimi fieri, quin statuas hoc in fœdere sanciendo honorem meum abs te neglectum iri non oportere, quemadmodum ab ipso Episcopo, quem quidem ad te, eadem celeritate qua est ad me profectus, intra biduum, aut summum triduum remittam, clarius omnia atque apertius intelliges. Vale nosque dilige. Dat. V. Kal. Octob. 1515. Anno III. Roma.

No. CXXVI.

(Page 51.)

*Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 105.**Papa ad Regem, pro Polidoro Vergilio.*

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Commendavimus aliis nostris Literis Majestati tuæ Dilectum Filium *Polidorum Vergilium*, hujus Sanctæ Apostolicæ Sedis in Regno isto Subcollectorem; qui quidem in Carcerem tuo jussu conjectus est, pluresque jam in eo menses detinetur; hortatique sumus Te, pro tua in eandem Sedem atque Nos reverentia, proque Nostra in Te paterna dilectione et charitate, velles eum liberum facere.

Cujus quidem rei, cum nihil dum actum abs Te intelligamus, has ad tuam Majestatem Literas dandas duximus; quibus etiam atque etiam id ipsum abs Te attente atque enixe requirimus, tum etiam ut Collectori Domum quæque ablata ex ea sunt mandes restitui, neque patiaris ut ad Te frustra totiens de eadem re scripsisse videamur.

In eo præterea *Majestas tua* Nobis gratissimum facies, si Dilectum Filium nostrum *Hadrianum Cardinalem Batoniensem*, tuæ Majestati deditissimum, resque ejus omnes fovebis, Tibique ipsas nostro Nomine commendatas facies.

Datum *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die Tricesimo Augusti, Millesimo, quingentesimo, decimo quinto, Pontificatus nostri Anno Tertio.

P. BEMBUS.

Dor.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri.

Ju. Cardinalis de Medicis pro dicto Polydoro.

Serenissime ac Invictissime Rex et Domine, Domine mihi Colendissime, humillimas Commendationes.

Nisi scirem qua promptitudine Reverendissimus Dominus

meus *Cardinalis Hadrianus* in causa *Collectoris* Se gesserit, ut *Majestatis vestræ* voluntati satisfaceret, quave fide et servitute in eam semper fuerit, minus audacter fortasse scriberem quam nunc facio pro *Polydoro ejus Servitore*, quem non sine molestia in Carcerem conjectum intellexi.

Nam quum Reverendissimus *Dominus Cardinalis* omnia fecerit quæ ex eo petebantur, et *Dominus Andreas* possessionem *Collectoris* acceperit, et omnia Acta transacta jam sint, Proinde *Majestatem vestram* plurimum rogo ne permittat talem Cardinalem et Servitorem suum tantam pati indignitatem, ejusdemque Servitorem sic diutius detineri, quem quantum magis ex animo possum, commendo *vestræ Regiæ Majestati*, et supplico ut dignetur mandare quod liberetur; in quo faciet Sanctissimo Domino nostro rem valde gratam, Mihi gratiam singularem, et Ipsum Dominum Reverendissimum non mediocriter consolabitur.

Et felicissime valeat *vestra Regia Majestas*, cui Me humillime commendo.

Bononiæ, tertia Septembris, Millesimo quingentesimo decimo quinto.

Excellentissimæ vestræ Regiæ Majestatis,
Humillimus ac Fidelissimus Servitor,

JU. CARDINALIS DE MEDICI.

Dors.

Serenissimo et Invictissimo Principi Domino, Domino mihi Colendissimo, Domino Henrico Angliæ, &c. Regi.

No. CXXVII.

(Page 53.)

Fabron. vita Leon. X. p. 93.

DILECTE Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Accepit, quemadmodum Deo O. M. placuit, eas pacis conditiones, quas ei dedimus, Carissimus in Christo Filius Franciscus Rex Christianissimus, libentique animo nobiscum et cum Sede hac Sancta foedus inivit, quam rem non solum

eidem Sedi sed universæ Reipublicæ Christianæ speramus, ac confidimus in Domino maxime utilem et salutarem futuram. Nunc autem cum existimarem ad ejusdem Sedis et Reipublicæ dignitatem magnopere pertinere, ut de tota re, ejusque partibus te reliquosque fratres nostros Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales quam primum consulamus, ut quæ agenda deinceps sint, communi omnium sententia constituentur, peto abs te, ut, omni mora postposita, quod comodo tuo fiat, Viterbium ad nos te conferas, qua in urbe ad III. Kal. Novembris erimus. Id erit et prudentiæ tuæ ac dilectionis, quam Apostolicæ Sedi Christianoque nomini debes, maxime proprium, et nobis vehementer gratum. Datum Corneti, sub annulo Piscatoris die xxi. Octobris MDCXV. Pontificatus nostri anno III.

No. CXXVIII.

(Page 57.)

Ex relat. Anon. ap. Parid. de Grassis de ingressu Summi Pont. Leonis X. Florentiam, p. 9.

ENTRÒ la Santità di Leone X. dalla Porta a S. Gaggio la quale trovò ornata di un bello e vago arco fatto a similitudine di quelli delli antichi Romani; dipoi se ne venne a S. Felice in Piazza, dove trovò il secondo Arco dove era l'immagine di Lorenzo suo Padre con un verso, che diceva: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus*; il che da S. S. veduto e letto, fu visto alquanto lagrimare; dipoi addirizzatosi su per via Maggio arrivò al Ponte a S. Trinita, il quale trovò ornato di due bellissime macchine: una era all'entrare del Ponte in forma di arco, nella sommità della quale era scritto, *Leoni X. laborum victori*, e l'altra era di là dal Ponte di verso S. Trinita, e quest'era un'altissima Guglia. Passato il Ponte arrivò a S. Trinita, e dipoi sul canto, dove si abboccano le due strade, una detta Parione, e l'altra Porta Rossa: quì vi era fatto un'altra Macchina in forma di un tondo Tempio, avanti al quale un Vestibolo in forma di Luna, nel fre-

gio del quale erano lettere, che in sostanza significavano esser questa Città in protezione di due Leoni, e due Giovanni felicissimamente posarsi, intendendo per l'uno il celeste Batista, e per l'altro il terrestre de' Medici: dipoi addirizzandosi su per Porta Rossa, arrivato in Mercato Nuovo, quivi trovò un'altissima Colonna molto ben lavorata, dipoi per Vacchereccia arrivò in Piazza de' Signori, dove sotto gli archi della Loggia, che de' Tedeschi si chiama, era fatta una grandissima Statua di Ercole colla Clava in sulla spalla, dipoi torcendo verso il Leone, che è sul canto della Ringhiera, quivi trovò un altro arco bellissimo, il quale era diviso in quattro, e per il suo mezzo faceva due strade, posato su otto bianchissime Colonne scannellate, nella sommità del quale era scritto: *Leoni X. P. Max. propter merita*; e così passando dal Sale, e da i Gondi arrivò al Palazzo del Potestà, dove era dirimpetto a Badia fatto un superbissimo arco, e allato alla Porta di detta Badia, ve n'era fatta a similitudine di quella un'altra finta; e questo per non essere la detta Porta a dirittura nel giusto mezzo della via del Palagio a tale che la falsa dalla vera non si distingueva, e sopra quest'arco fu scritto: *Leoni X. Pont. Max. Fidei Cultori*; e seguendo la strada dal Canto de' Pazzi, e venendo da' Fondamenti quivi sul canto d'onde prima si scuopre la Cupola trovò un altro arco bellissimo, il quale sembrava tutto di rosseggiante Porfido, e per la sua mirabile struttura fu tenuto il più bello di tutti gli altri, nella sommità del quale era scritto: *Spes ejus in Domino, Leo X. Pont. Max.* e girando dietro a essi Fondamenti pervenne in sulla Piazza di S. Gio. dove la faccia di S. Maria del Fiore era tutta rifatta da terra fino alla cima del tetto, e mostrava con bellissima invenzione essere tutta di pallidi marmi, che per loro stessi denotassino per lunghezza del tempo, e per le continove piogge essersi dalla lor natural bianchezza nel colore dell'orientali perle trasformati.

La Chiesa dentro fu molto sontuosamente ornato, e parata, e fatto un palco dentro in Chiesa, alto da tre cubiti, e largo dodici, il quale cominciava dalla Porta principale, e andava a dirittura su per il mezzo della Chiesa fino all'Al-

tar Maggiore, su per il quale camminando il Pontefice, con quelli che erano seco, la sua benedizione al Popolo che in sul basso pavimento della Chiesa era largamente donava, e così per quello si condusse all' Altar Maggiore, dove fatte le debite solenni cerimonie S. S. si cavò il Regno di testa, e fu dato a quello de' quattro Prelati, che di sopra dicemmo, il quale non lo aveva, e dipoi si cavò di dosso li paramenti, e rimase in bianchissimo Roccetto, sopra il quale si messe la Mozzetta di velluto rosso con il Berrettino in testa del medesimo, nel quale abito fece il resto della Via per infino al suo alloggiamento, e così uscendo di Chiesa, e passando dal Canto alla Paglia arrivò al Canto de' Carnesecchi dove era fatto un vago, e bellissimo Arco con 10 Ninfe, che cantavano, e trall' altre in un quadrato era dipinto un Leone, che colla propria lingua curava le piaghe di un ferito corpo, con un motto, che diceva: *Omne dulces in ore Leonis.*

Dipoi arrivato in sulla nuova Piazza di S. M. Novella, nel mezzo della quale era fatto un bello e grandissimo Cavallo, a similitudine di quei due, che sono in Roma a Monte Cavallo: Dipoi si transferì in Via della Scala, e alla Sala, detta del Papa, dove era preparato il suo alloggiamento. Era con bella invenzione fatta una bella macchina all' entrare di detta Strada, e all' entrata di detta Sala un' altra, sebbene l' intenzione dell' Artefice, che quivi lavorò, era, che tal lavoro fosse continovata dall' entrata della strada per infino alla Porta della Sala; ma dalla brevità del tempo impedito, non potette condurre a perfezione se non le dette due parti principali.

No. CXXIX.

(Page 57.)

Parid. de Grassis, de Ingressu Leon. X. Florentiam, p. 1.

CUM per diversa loca Agri Florentini Pontifex solatianter spatiatuſ esset, et denique in Villa, quæ de Marignolle permansisset, tandem die S. Andreae inde venit ad Monasteri-

um Suburbanum Monialium, dictum S. Gagii, ubi Corpus Christi repositum fuerat, pervenit (*sic*) ubi Cardinales in Cappis rubeis vestiti eum expectaverunt, et inde sola Stola super Albam paratus recedens descendit ad aliud Monialium Monasterium. Sic enim rogatus a Populo fuerat, ut ibi caperet paramenta, prout sanctæ memoriæ Eugenium (IV.) fecisse dicebant, et sic fecit; nam ibi Pluviale pretiosum novum induit, et ad urbem pervenit sequentibus Cardinalibus, ubi in Porta de more Crucem sibi a Cardinali de Medicis oblatam osculatus est sede ejus ad terram demissa, sic volente ipso, et ibidem incepit Thesaurarius Papæ pecunias in Populo dispergere, quamquam paucas, ut dixerunt. Ego autem ordinaveram, ut tria millia ducatorum dispergerentur in hoc Florentiæ ingressu, sicut sanctæ memoriæ Julius (II.) in ingressu Bononiæ.

De aliquibus quæsitis super Ingressu Papæ in Florentiam.

Ceterum antequam Pontifex ingrederetur Civitatem quæsi a Sua Sanctitate, super quibus volebam resolvi, sicut est. In qua Ecclesia extra Portam velit induere paramenta, an S. Gagio, vel in Monticellio, et dixit quod in utroque volebat respective indueri propter consolationem Monialium, et propter suam commoditatem; et de hora ingressus dixit, quod de mane, quia sciebat propter ceremonias, et propter turbas, et longas vias esset in nocte vix hospitatus. An placeat habere cc. torcias ante Sacramentum, et fuit contentus; de Baldachino portando non voluit quod aliquis illud ferret, nisi Cives ordine ipsorum, dummodo Priores cum Vexillifero Justitiæ prima vice illud ferant, prout factum fuit: De Cubiculariis, et Scutiferis noviter creatis per Collegia, quæsi quid vellet, et an ante, et supra antiquos ponerem, et dixit, quod ex istis, ille qui erat, antequam assumeretur ad Papatum, præcederet, deinde sequerentur noviter creati, et ultimo loco irent, qui venissent tempore Paschali. De Datario, qui non haberet locum, an placeat facere illum Subdiaconum supernumerarium, etiam cum habitu, et loco; et placuit. An Thesaurarius, qui non est solitus portare Rochetum, pro illa die induat, et cum illo indu-

tus absque Capello projiciat pecunias in Populo. Et an placeat, quod Umbella nova fiat, quia antiqua fuit demissa per oblivionem Romæ, et facta est una Umbella nova, similiter de Capellis ad minus duobus, pluribusve, idest in totum tribus papalibus, quæ antea ferantur, et factum est ita. An placeat, quod Sarcinæ ad minus quinquaginta antecedant pompam, et voluit cc. antecedant, cum omni ornatu, et ordine. De equis nobiles, quot antecederent, et placuit quod centum optime ornati irent, quod nullæ bombardæ sonarent in ingressu propter stuporem dictorum equorum, et aliorum, ut nullum læderent, et factum est sic. An placeat, quod darem Civibus, et Magistratui ordinem pompæ, quem ipsi servare deberent, et placuit, dummodo nulla vexilla ferentur, sicut in Civitate Ecclesiæ, quia hoc relinquere arbitrio eorum. An parari facerem aliquam collationem in Ecclesia altera, ubi Papa reciperet paramenta, pro ipso Papa, et Cardinalibus, et statuit, quod super hoc consulerentur Cardinales, et satisfaceret eis. Item quia Vexillifer Justitiæ, ut mihi dictum fuit, non intendebat cedere Cardinalibus, nec eis transeuntibus assurgere, an placeret, quod hi in hoc casu a me ipso admonerentur, ut suum errorem cognoscerent, et in hoc Papa misit ad Vexilliferum, qui tres Cives ad Papam destinavit, ut referrent suæ Sanctitati majoritatem, et auctoritatem Domini Florentini, et Papa eos ad me remisit, qui fuerunt Jacobus Salvatus Cognatus Papæ, Robertus Acciaiolus, et Lanfredinus de Lanfredinis, qui cum multa mihi dixissent, præsertim, quod ipsi volebant suum Vexilliferum cum Dominis esse æquales Cardinalibus, ego subridens vanitatem hujusmodi, jussi ut remanerent in Palatio suo, quia non solum non æquales ituri essent Cardinalibus, sed non nisi ut scutiferi eorum, idest pedites ante frenum Pontificis, quod cum mihi credere non vellent, adierunt Papam, et cum nisu exposuerunt censuram meam, quasi ego vanitatem exposuissem eis. Pontifex autem meum judicium approbando dixit, aut non venirent in isto ingressu, aut si venirent, pedito incederent, et Baldachinum portarent, super quo facta est magna collocutio inter ipsos, et tandem acquieverunt in hoc verbo, licet ipsi

Vexillifer, et Priores Domini, qui ante venerant ad Portam Civitatis ascenderunt certum pegma, sive taxillum, et ibi sedentes nulli Cardinali exeunti obviam Pontifici assurrexerunt, nec minus Caputium e capite deposuerunt, quod cum ego vidissem, statui, quod nullus Cardinalis transiens cleveret oculos ad palcum, sive taxillum illud, ne contingeret eos videri, aut audire, et sic Vexillifer, et Priores remanserunt in sua vanitate, præter id quod dixi Papæ factum, et Papa misit ad eos ut omnino Cardinalibus assurgerent, et caput denudarent, quod vix acceperunt, tamen acceptarunt; et fecerunt insuper ordinari, quod Vexillifer nullus Claves Civitatis offerret Papæ sicut alii Magistratus consueverunt, et hoc quia ipsi Florentini Portam ad terram dejecerunt, et patefecerunt in totum. Quo autem ad sacram Processionem ordinavi, quod omnes de Clero Civitatis quantumcumque exempti venirent sub pœnis pecuniariis per me impositis, exceptis Monialibus, licet etiam Papa dedit Monialibus volentibus venire, et videre licentiam veniendi ad loca honesta, ita ut viderent, sed non viderentur, prout multa Collegia Monialium Claustralium venerunt, et aliquæ omnino abstinerunt, multi etiam Religiosorum Conventus se excusare voluerunt, ne venire cogerentur, sed omnino venerunt, et comparuerunt, non tamen per vias ambulaverunt in processionibus illis, sed feci quod Vicarius Archiepiscopi assignavit singulis Regulis locum suum, in quo unaquæque Regula suum Altare quam festivissime erigeret, et ibidem stantes cantarent, dum equitatus Papalis transiret a principio usque ad finem, quod placuit Papæ, et Cardinalibus, ac etiam Civibus universis; et si qua contentio erat inter aliquos, ut sæpe solet, Vicarius eas concordaret, et factum est de facili. Item ordinavi, quod ante triduum semper campanæ sonarent. Item, quod omnis Clerus indesinenter oraret pro serenitate Cœli, et pro iter agentibus, usquequo Papa reversus fuerit in Urbem. Feci quod cc. Torciæ portarentur ante Sacramentum per Clericos seculares et sub pœnis consignarent illas Sacristæ Matricis Ecclesiæ. Feci quod soli Canonici Matricis Ecclesiæ portarent Baldachinum Sacramenti per vices, et non alii. Feci, quod Cardi-

nalis de Medicis Diaconus esset in Porta cappatus, ut offerret Crucem Papæ osculandam. Item ante valvas Ecclesiæ S. Reparatæ idem Cardinalis affuit cum Thuribulo, et Aspersorio, et super Altari cantavit versiculos et Orationem, et Archidiaconus incensato Pontifice inchoavit *Te Deum laudamus*, &c. Duo Baldachina fuerunt, unum album ex Damasco cum floribus aureis intertextis pro Sacramento, aliud autem aureum, idest ex panno aureo super Papam cum perticis auratis. Juvenes autem c. pedites in ornatu nobilissimo cum baculis auratis, et totidem equestres similiter exornati præter centum Cives equites, et Doctores, ac nobiles, qui omnes erant equestres in Ecclesia S. Reparatæ, sive S. Mariæ de Flore. Erat in Porta Ecclesiæ usque ad tribunam elevatus Pons, quasi duas cannas, et largus tres, sicut est in Ecclesia S. Johannis Lateranensis, quando fit Coronatio novi Pontificis, et hoc factum est propter populi multitudinem, quæ fuit innumerabilis; arcus erant XII. pulcherrimi, et ditissimi, æqualibus distantis elevati, et super istis erant cantilenæ diversæ, quas Papa libenter audire videbatur, et inter arcum et arcum, erant variæ structuræ similes illis, quæ videntur in Urbe Roma, videlicet Obeliscus, sicut in Vaticano, Columna sicut in Campo Martio, et hujusmodi usque ad Sanctam Mariam Novellam, ubi Papa prima nocte quievit, qui locus etiam magnifice exornatus est, et in ejus Campo erat Equus auratus magnus, sicut ante ædes Lateranenses. Ordinavi quod omnes carcerati liberarentur, sed non omnes liberati sunt, tamen multi, et quod omnes qui ex quacumque funeratione lugubres essent, luctum deponerent. Cardinales fuerunt tres Cappis rubeis, qui numero fuerunt xx. et Prælati in mantellis longis cum latis Capuccis, Papa autem fuit cum Pluviali pretioso amplo, et Thiara pretiosa, quam cum aliquandiu portasset, et gravaretur, deposuit, et illam Thiam simplicem in via resumpsit, et sic usque ad Ecclesiam S. Reparatæ delatus ista, Prafrenariis suis subcollocantibus, etiam Juvenibus Florentinis ad hoc præparatis, et similiter aliis, qui Baldachinum vicissim ferrent, et deputavi xxx. Cives Florentinos, qui per spatia viarum custodirent, ne ordo per me deputatus Processionis alteraretur, et super

his omnibus præfeci Dominum Julianum Prothonotarium de Tornabuonis qui ferulam gestaret, et faceret, sicut Gubernator Urbis Romæ, Processionem servari, prout fecit, et bene successerunt omnia. Ordo autem Processionis talis fuit, videlicet, Cursores, Equites, Sarcinæ Papæ, cc. Valisarii, et Familiæ Cardinalium, Nobiles Florentini Equites, Officiales Cancellariæ, et Camerae Valisarii Papæ, et Scutiferi Papæ, Equifalerati xx. et Scutiferi Papæ quatuor cum Capellis, Procuratores Ordinum, et Principum, Cubicularii antiqui fuerunt in primo loco, tum illi, qui emerunt (*sic*) ultimo illi, qui venerunt, Accoliti, Clerici Camerae, Auditores cum Magistro Palatii, Barones, Oratores, Principes. Inter Oratores fuit dissensio, quia unus Orator Hispaniæ voluit esse post primum Franciæ, cujus tunc erant tres, et sic voluit habere sub se duos Franciæ, sed illi non voluerunt, asserentes hanc disciplinam ab Oratore Hispaniæ alias datam fuisse, cum essent tres Oratores Hispaniæ, et voluerunt esse simul juncti, nec aliquo modo cedere Oratori Regis Angliæ, qui voluit esse post primum, et supra duos Hispanos; sed quia Hispani tunc non voluerunt, propterea nunc legem, quam tulit, patiat, sic cessit, et recessit, nec nunquam voluit amplius comparere; deinde Magistratus Florentinus omnes pedites, Guardia Papæ pedestres cum Capitano Equestri solo, Laurentius Medices cum quinquaginta pedestribus suis, Macerii Papæ sex tantum, alii discurrerunt. Hostiarii. Magister unus Ceremoniarum, Subdiaconi duo, Datarius supernumerarius a sinistris in habitu Subdiaconali, Clerus Cathedralis cum luminaribus ante Sacramentum, Clericus Camerae, Capellæ cum lanterna, Corpus Christi sub Baldachino, quod Canonici portarunt, Cardinales omnes, idest Diaconi Presbiteri et duo Diaconi assistentes, Juvenes centum pedites; ego Episcopus Pisaurensis Magister Ceremoniarum, et assistentes; Papa sub Baldachino, quod Vexillifer, et Priores Domini portarunt per vices, et priores dicti semper pedites nudo capite antecesserunt, duo Cubicularii non caputiati cum Auditore Rotæ de Mitra, Medici duo cum Secretario, Thesaurarius, Dispensator pecuniarum in Populo, Macerius unus cum

Umbella, assistentes Prælati, et alii Prælati, et Togati, et ultimo Milites Equestres, Guardia Papæ; et iste fuit ordo procedendi a Porta ad Ecclesiam S. Reparatæ, in qua via fuerunt per me ordinati cives, qui per spatia, ut dixi, custodirent, ne qua fieret pressura, aut scandalum, aut mora, ut solet quandoque a Juvenibus Mulierum inspectoribus. Pontifex primo accepit Regnum in capite, quod cum gravaretur in media via illo deposito, accepit leve Regnum, et delectabatur cum in quolibet arcu triumphali cantaretur aliquid in suam laudem, et firmabat gressum, ut omnia audiret, et intelligeret. In Ecclesia S. Reparatæ fuit suggestus altus ligneus, ut dixi; a porta usque ad Altare elevatus fuit, sicut in S. Johanne Lateranensi in die Coronationis, super quem suggestum soli nos Papam facientes ascendimus. Populus autem remansit inferius hinc inde per Ecclesiam; ibi Papa diutius solito oravit, et tandem Cardinale de Medicis Diaconos, qui erat Archiepiscopus Florentinus in Cappa sua rubea cantante versiculos, et orationem, Papa benedixit cum indulgentia plenaria, et ibi exiit Pluviale, et accepit Stulam super rochetum, et delatus est in Monasterium S. M. Novellæ, ubi non est Ecclesiam ingressus, sed recta in ædes ingressus est, populo indesinenter in vitam et laudem Pontificis, et Domus suæ exclamante, et in nocte bombardis sine fine crepitantibus, quia ego in die sic ordinavi propter equos nostros, et multitudinem mularum timidarum, ne propter siliceas stratas in viis aliqui caderent.

No. CXXX.

(Page 61.)

Parid. de Grassis, ap. Fabron. vita Leon. X. in adnot. 44. p. 280.

DIE Martis XI. Decembris, anno MDXV. de mane summo, Cardinales omnes numero xx. in Palatio Papæ, intra cameram Legati, quæ tunc erat interius parata, congregati sunt, et collegialiter inde ad portam Sancti Felicis iverunt, et se

extra illam in plano ad sinistram exeuntium firmaverunt, ita ut senior versus esset ad Regem venturum, et erant quidem omnes vestiti rubeis cappis, hinc inde duas alas, ut moris est, facientes: ubi postquam modicum quieverunt, ecce Rex in brevibus vestibus, medius inter duos Legatos aduit, quem Cardinalis S. Georgii Episcopus Ostiensis nudo capite, et similiter omnes alii astantes Cardinales, cum eo, semper nudo capite stantem, et sæpius orantem, ut tam ipse Cardinalis, quam etiam omnes Cardinales cooperirent, verba fecit in latino aperto, et claro, ac simplici: sic enim cum instrueram de consensu Regis, nomine Papæ, et totius sacri Senatus, congratulando de sospitate Regis, et felici adventu, et optima voluntate adversus Summum Pontificem, et Sedem Apostolicam, et Sanctum Senatum, et nomine Principis offerebat omnia, quæ in facultatibus essent suæ Sanctitatis, et Rex semper etiam ipse nudo capite stans respondit in vulgari suo Gallico, ut mihi quidem videbatur satis aperte, et convenienter, *se filium suæ Sanctitatis, et sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ obsequentem amicum et filium appellans, cupidum omnium bonorum et commoditatum Dominorum Cardinalium, sicut patrum, et fratrum suorum.* Facta collocatione a primo usque ad ultimum Cardinalem osculati sunt eum in facie fraterne, quos Rex omnes intellexit a me ibi adstante, et cognovit qui essent singuli nominatim, et tandem Cardinales seniores præcesserunt, et Diaconi ultimum caput facientes, ut mos eorum est, ipsum Regem in medio duxerunt, videlicet Sanctiseverinas, et Estensis. Duo autem Legati tunc se ad partem vestiverunt, et in loco congruo inceserunt. Ordo autem venientium eorum, qui ex parte Regis erant, nullus servabatur, sed ibant omnes, ut eis placebat, nam neminem eorum ego agnoscebam, infiniti enim erant Barones, et Principes, illos tantum tres ego cognovi, de quibus supra dixi, quia Rex eos mihi monstrari fecerat, ut honorari facerem eos et ego eos quidem ante Regem constitui, ut præcederent, sed ipsi subsequi voluerunt, et sic continuo subsecuti sunt, ac post eos duo Camerarii Regis, omnes Officiales Curix, quos Papa ab urbe Roma veniße jusserat, hac de causa, ut Curiam Romanam repræ-

sentarent. Adfuerunt quidem, sed nullus comparuit in ordine tali, ut Collegia viderentur esse, prout erant Araldi tres Regis, quos posui supra Mazerios nostros, idest viciniore Collegiis Cardinalium: sed quia alii erant tres Araldi trium Ducum, quos jam præmisi, posui illos ultra unam coppiam Mazeriorum nostrorum, sicut Mazerii nostri essent medii inter hos et illos. Campanæ omnes Civitatis, et inter eundum tubæ indesinenter infinitæ, et omne genus sonantium, populus infinitus processit ut videret, etiam Papa in fenestris superioribus stetit, et vidit, ac postea modum meum, et ordinem commendavit, quod omnia quiete, et ordinate fecerim. Rex tandem ductus est a Collegio ad cameras suas, quæ erant inferius ubi solent Vexilliferi Justitiæ commorari, et ibi festiviter dimissus est a Collegio toto, præterquam a quatuor Cardinalibus, videlicet duobus ultimis Presbyteris, et duobus ultimis Diaconis, qui continue manserunt societatem Regi facientes, ac etiam prandentes simul cum eo in eadem mensa. Interea alii Cardinales ascenderunt ad Papam, et illico prandium fecerunt in una Aula, ubi Papa non voluit quicquam comedere; quo facto ego accessi de mandato ad Regem, et inhibui ne veniret ad Consistorium, donec scirem an Papa in eo jam desideret, et sic ascendi, et vestiri feci Papam, et venire in Aulam ad Consistorium. Aula erat plenissima populo tam Bononiensi, et Curiali, quam etiam Gallico, intantum ut sæpe a pluribus dubitatum fuit de ruina, et ruptura ejus. Cardinales præstiterunt reverentiam Papæ solitam, et incepta Advocati propositione, qui fuit Dominus Julius Stephanutius Romanus, ego vocavi Sanseverinum, et Estensem, et duxi eos ad cameras Regis, unde dimisi duos Diaconos juniores ad Papam. Rex veniebat medius inter duos seniores, quem duo Presbyteri præcedebant, et sex Prælati assistentes Papæ sequebantur: tantus autem populus utriusque partis aderat, ut vix procedere possemus, et fuit opus quod Rex plures de suis disponeret ad valvas, et repagula, ut custodirent ingressum, quem nos vix attingere poteramus. Unde Rex, ut erat placidus, sæpe risit quod sic detineretur, nec posset ulterius progredi. Tandem, cum quasi per mediam horam detenti fuisset, et

ascendimus, et duo Presbyteri, qui nobiscum erant, præceserunt ad reverentiam Papæ, et vix illuc adire potuerunt, et firmaverunt sese ante Papam, hinc inde super gradibus summis solii, et non erant tanti aditus, ut vix ire posset Rex, quem primo præcedebat Sanseverinas, deinde ego simul cœqualis cum Rege, quem nunquam dimisi, semper eum per manum ducens, sic enim ipse volebat, nec me demittere volebat. Itaque ter, cum æquali, ante Papam in medio quadraturæ distantiæ genufleximus, Rex et ego ascendimus ad osculum pedis, et ridens ac jubilans pedem, et manum, et faciem osculatus, et dicens aliqua pauca verba in vulgari Gallico, per quæ demonstrabatur lætissimus, quod videret facie ad faciem Pontificem Vicarium Jesu Christi Domini Nostri, cujus filium, et servitorem præ se ferebat, deditissimumque ad omnia ejus mandata: adversum quem etiam Papa benignissime, et humanissime respondit, omnia hæc in Deum transferens, et Deo omnia attribuens, et in veritate Papa optime locutus est Regi, ut sui moris est semper bene loqui, tunc optime locutus est Regi: post quorum mutuam, licet non multam locutionem Rex, qui a facie ad faciem Pontificis erat, firmavit se in Pontificis dextera, me indicante, et tunc ego vocavi Reverendissimos Dominos Cardinales, ut ad solium venirent si possent, et vix pauci venire potuerunt: quibus ante Pontificem stantibus, Cancellarius Regis veste aurea longa indutus, et primo quidem genuflexus, per modum longæ, et ornatæ orationis obedientiam in forma solita, nomine Regis præsentis, qui primo voluit se detegere, quando præcise verba obedientiæ recitabantur, sic enim ego eum instruxeram, sed Papa inhibuit ne detegeretur, et sic omnino recooperuit, et finito sermone Rex approbavit cum humiliatione capitis et humerorum, omne quod dictum fuerat per Cancellarium ejus, et Papa elegantissime, et commodissime respondit, commendans publice et multipliciter regiam fidem. Tunc vocavit tres illos Duces, qui venerunt ad osculum pedis, manus, et oris, et Papa eos benigne admisit. Rex interim cum Pontifice confabulabatur de ipsis Principibus, narrans eorum virtutes, et conditiones. Post istos Papa statuit nullos alios admittere

ad osculum pedis, ne detineret Regem inanem, sed Rex vocabat hunc, et illum, et Pontifici commendabat; sic usque xv. vel xx. venerunt, quos omnes Papa osculatus est, ut priores illos tres, et tandem Papa surrexit, et vix de solio suo, ac magis vix de aula exire potuit præ multitudine turbarum, et semper Regem manu sua sinistre deducebat usquequo apud lectum paramenta fuerunt, ubi Rege cum Cardinalibus dimisso exiit paramenta; interim vero Rex ad fenestram, quæ supra plateam respiciebat, accessit, et Papa mox ad eum accessit amicabiliter confabulans, et quia timebam ne propterea forte volens Regem honorare manum suam quodammodo ad biretum apponeret, sicut sæpius, et quasi semper faciebat Papa Alexander cum Rege Carolo, admonui ne id faceret, quinimo caveret, ne ipse Jesu Christi Vicarius in publico aliquem actum reverentiæ adversus Regem, nec etiam Imperatorem quantuncumque coronatum exhiberet, prout non exhibuit in publico saltem quantum viderimus. Itaque facta consalutatione, Papa licentiaavit Regem, et Collegium Cardinalium cum reduxit in cameras suas, ordine quo a Papa in urbem venerunt, sed quando Rex cum Pontifice ibat, tunc ibat medius inter duos Episcopos Cardinales, ut infra dicitur.

No. CXXXI.

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Exempl. in Biblioth. Vatican.

Oratio habita Bononiæ coram Leone X. Pont. Max. in frequenti Cardinalium Concilio, ipso Rege Christianissimo presente, a Clarissimo et Illustri viro Antonio Prato magno Gallicæ Cancellario. Tertio Idus Decembris MDXV.

SI quisquam hominum B. P. justa aliquando de causa in-junctum sibi dicendi munus respuerit, aut in alium quemvis hominem aptiorem magisque exercitatum rejecerit, nemo certe inficiabitur æquissimo jure uni mihi idem licuisse, si

modo hinc curarum negotiorumque molem, qua in dies magis et magis obruor, illinc virium tenuitatem, reique pondus diligenter examinet. Nam quis quæso tantam dicendi vim, fiduciam, facultatemque præsumpserit, qui ubi Majestatis tuæ B. Pater radios fulgoresque senserit, Reverendissimosque istos Patres firmissimas Christianæ Reipublicæ columnas cardinesque inspexerit, non ei statim præ metu singultantia interruptaque verba excidant? lingua timore balbutiat? genua formidine titubent? cor palpitet? capilli rigeant? vultus palleat? pluribusque locis hiulcam et nimis fatiscentem orationem abrumpat? Nedum ego, cui ne horam quidem a forensibus negociis, aulicisque tumultibus et curis respirare licet citra nominis et famæ periculum in tam celebri Patrum, eruditorumque virorum consessu atque ordine, et in tam eminenti totius Reipublicæ Christianæ theatro hoc dicendi munus tractavero, nisi obvias nobis ulnas, mitemque et facilem vultum B. P. ostenderis, frontem exporrigeris, ablegataque procul omni severitate, facilitatis comitatisque radio nos aspexeris, inprimisque benignam tuam illam auram, et humanitatis zephyrem nobis arridens, lætusque spiraveris, qui non tuæ tamen S. paternitati, sed toti etiam genti et familiæ Medicum (ut pleræque aliæ virtutes) peculiaris semper fuit. Nam præter hoc, quod familia tua propria quodam et gentilicio jure virtutes omnes, bonasque disciplinas indefesso semper studio amplexata sit, quod rem ipsam literariam non minus quam omnes literatos juverit, quod privatorum omnium et amicorum causas ex fide semper et jure tutata sit, quod eos a vi et injuria defenderit; maximis etiam in Remp. Florentinam meritis principem locum fere semper in ea civitate meruit, summos semper honores, maximosque magistratus adepta est, in quibus administrandis tam et pie semper, tanquam et modeste, et prudenter se gessit, ut quamdiu sub ductu, auspiciisque Medicæ domus Florentina res fuit, semper floruit; in diesque uberiora sui et ampliora incrementa senserit, jamque et nunc et in posterum in eam civitatem ex ista vestra felici domo majora in dies augmenta proventura sperantur: quæ fortissimus Leo de tribu Medicum ad Pontificatum divini-

tus assumptus es; qui naviculam Petri variis bellorum fluctibus procellisque diu multumque agitatum; laceram fere et magno fortunæ ventorumque ludibrio expositam, e naufragio (cui temporum malignitate pene proxima fuerat) per syrtes et scopulos primum eximeres; deinde in tutissimum portum tanquam peritissimus nauclerus, reduceres. Et tali certe Leone Christiana Resp. tum egebat, qui pro tempore rerumque varietate et conditione, varias quoque ipse personas indueret, ut si forte a mari tempestas orta nunciatur, quæ Petri cymbam in brevia vel scopulos vi ventorum impellat, tum Leo nauclerus factus et una manu clavum, altera remum tenens, a tempestate et periculo eam liberam tutamque asserat; si vero a terra metus et discrimen ingruerint, utpote lupis, ferisque bestiis Dominicum gregem infestantibus, tum Leo Leonis persona retenta, lupos dentibus unguibusque laniet, et rugitu territōs procul ab ovibus arceat; quod si fæda scabie aut tabe (quod abominor) gregem infici, aut alio quovis genere mali vexari contigeret, tum Leo pastoris personam induat, qui dispersas primum, palantesque oviculas sedulo colligat; collectas aspiciat; quo morbidas et mala viciorum contagione pollutas curet, curatas lætissimis herbis et salutari pabulo reficiat; refectas plenasque in septa reducat, ut tandem ex Dei optimi Maximi, ejusque pastoris vigilantissimi voto fiat unum ovile et unus pastor. Id quod tam abunde B. P. hi tui sanctissimi mores, hoc tuum divinum ingenium, hæ virtutes, hæ disciplinæ, hæ denique pietatis et religionis plenissima instituta, felici nostro seculo præstiterant, ut his motus Invictissimus Princeps noster Franciscus nihil unquam posthac aut charius, aut antiquius duxerit, quam per legatos, oratores, nuncios, privatasque et familiares epistolas qualem in te B. P. observantiam, pietatemque semper habuerit, modis omnibus significaret et ostenderet. Qua quidem in re præcessorum Regum et majorum vestigia secutum nemo non videt, qui ubi primum divino cœlitusque misso chrysmate delibuti fuerant, nihil antiquius justiusque duxere, quam Pontifici maximo, et Apostolicæ sedi aliqua in re gratificari, et nomen ejus auctoritatemque ampliorem augustioremque facere, quantoque

pietatem illi suam pluribus nominibus testatam reliquissent, tanto sibi totique regno melius felicisque consuluisse crederent; adeo certe Galliarum Principes et Reges in hanc Sanctissimam Sedem prompti semper affecti benevolique fuere, ut nisi multis in eam obsequiis beneficiisque collatis regnandi initia fecissent, non se satis antiqua et vetere Christianissimi appellatione dignos esse putarent, quorum si exempla et uberrima et amplissima repetere incipiam, et tibi B. P. non mediocre tedium, et mihi ipsi quoque non parum impedimentum afferam. Ideo ne diutius tuam istam Beatitudinem teneam, et in recensendis Francorum Regum in Apostolicam sedem meritis diem totum absumam, hoc unum tantum profiteri audeam, nullos unquam Imperatores, nullos Reges, nullos denique Christianos Principes tantum pro Catholica Fide asserenda, pro Christi nomine defendendo, pro Apostolica sede aut in dignitate retinenda, aut in antiquum venerationis majestatisque statum restituenda laborasse, quantum olim Franci Reges pro ingenta sua in Romanam sedem et summos pontifices observantia et devotione fecerunt. Quibus et peculiare et pene semper hereditarium fuerit se se acerrimos et assiduos Apostolicæ sedis defensores et indefessos propugnatores prestare, adeo ut Illustria Francorum Regum pro summis Pontificibus edita facinora, celebres victorias et parta totiens ex hostibus trophæa non solum Gallia, sed universus orbis et admiretur et prædicet. Non velim B. P. vosque Reverendiss. viri putetis Principes Gallos eo jam vecordiae, eo negligentiae et oblivionis decidisse, ut sprete majorum suorum vestigiis ab hac Sacrosancta et Apostolica sede animum mentemque abalienaverint, aut devotionis fideique vela verterint; quin potius eos in fide et reverentia a majoribus accepta perstare semper existimetis, eoque animo, ea mente, eaque in hanc Sanctissimam Sedem observantia in qua semel nati sint morituros, talesque esse de quibus vel in difficilibus arduisque rebus vestris omnia spondere, pollicerique positus, idque nunc maxime dum apud eos rerum potitur Franciscus hic Rex Christianissimus, et huic sacrosanctæ Apostolicæ Sedi devotissimus, cuius fidem observantiamque vel hoc solo argumento facile col-

ligere licet, quod licet non pauca postquam ardua alpium juga cum exercitu superavit a multis ei palam passimque dicerentur, quæ animum ejus vel quantumvis mitem facilemque offendere, et a Sanctissima Majestate tua alienum facere potuissent, tamen cum abest ne quid inde mutaverit, ut in fide etiam ac devotione constantior factus malevolos ipsos, clandestinosque et pestilentes susurratores procul a se rejecerit, atque ut illam singularem observantiam et devotionem quam ergo tuam istam Beatitudinem Christianissimus Rex semper inviolatam, intemeratamque continet Sanctissimæ tuæ Majestati coram et presens exhiberet, nulla sumptuum mole, nulla viarum difficultate, nulla periculorum magnitudine territus, per rupes et saxa, per valles et præcipitia, nemora, saltus, flumina, per æstus et ignes, perque infensissimas et confertissimas Helvetiorum Phalanges ad te B. P. advenit, ut quam cæteri Reges et Christiani principes alieno ore et per procuratores filialem obedientiam exhibere soliti sunt, eam ipsam Leonij, Franciscus, Patri, Primogenitus filius, summo Pontifici, Rex maximus; Reip. Christianæ moderatori et principi, Christianissimus Princeps coram et citra alterius operam catus supplexque exhibeat, atque ut eam provinciam quam primum expleat re in primis verissimum Christi Dei Optimi Maximi in terris Vicarium Sacrosanctum et majestatis plenum Christianissimus Rex agnoscit. Invictissimum Populi Christiani ducem profitetur. Vigilantissimum Dominici gregis pastorem prædicat. Intrepidum fluctuantis naviculæ Petri rectorem observat. Indulgentissimum totius humani patrem reveretur. Divinum hominem obviis manibus, apertis brachiis, et devotissimo animo, veneratur. Tibique et simul Apostolicæ Sedi devotet ac dedicat quicquid opibus, facultatibusque potest, quicquid viribus pollet, Fortunas omnes, copias, classes, exercitus, universum Regnum, Ducatus, ac semetipsum promptissimo animo, et constantissima fide offert, et ante Sanctitatis tuæ deosculatos pedes deponit. His ergo omnibus tuo jure utere; pro tuo arbitrio dispone. Utere inquam B. P. in quancumque catholicam expeditionem firmissimo Christianissimi Regis exercitu; utere Gallicis victricibus copiis, utere

Francorum signis, et simul excipe, fortissime Leo, fortissimum Franciscum; Indulgentissime Pater, obsequentissimum filium; qui tuus e religione, tuus jure, tuus more majorum, tuus consuetudine, tuus fide, tuus voluntate, et quem non minus re et opere, quam verbis et oratione promptum semper paratum expeditumque invenies, nec minus brachio quam lingua pugnacem omni ævo experieris. Excipe etiam B. P. Gallos omnes devotissimos filios tuos; qui ea mente animas et corpora Sanctitati Tuæ commendant, quo te animo hoc est promptissimo et lætissimo, in pastorem accipiunt; quicquid habent aut virium aut facultatis ante scabellum pedum tuorum promptissime deponunt. Dixi.

No. CXXXII.

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Fabron. vita Leon. X. in Adnot. 41.

UNUS Baro, ad Pontificem exclamavit, dicens in suo vulgari Gallico quod ex quo non potuit communicare de manu Papæ, et desiderabat, saltem volebat Papæ confiteri, et cum non posset propius accedere, sic ut in aure Pontificis posset peccatum suum confiteri, alte dixit, se confiteri quod contra Papam Julium quantum potuisset etiam malo animo hostiliter præliatus esset, et suas censuras non curasset. Quod Rex audiens subdidit, et se quoque in eo peccato fuisse et esse. Post Regem multi Barones idem dixerunt, et veniam petierunt: adversus quos omnes Papa apertam manum proferens, benedixit et absolvit. Quo facto dixit Rex: Pater Sancte, non miremini si omnes isti sunt inimici Papæ Julii, quia ipse etiam fuit maximus inimicus noster, et non cognovimus nostro sæculo terribiliorem hostem in bellis, quam Papam Julium, qui in veritate fuit prudentissimus Capitaneus, et melius fuisset imperator exercitus, quam Papa Romanus.

No. CXXXIII.

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Fasciculus Rerum expetend. et fugiend. tom. i. p. 68.

Inclytissimæ atque omnium Studiorum matris eminentissimæ Universitatis Parisiensis contra Leonem Decimum, in robur ac firmamentum Sacratissimi Basiliensis Concilii, non contemnenda Appellatio, in qua omnes ferme (quæ in Ecclesia Dei sunt) abusus apertissime enumerantur.

UNIVERSIS præsentibus literas inspecturis, Rector et Universitas magistrorum doctorum, et scholarium Parisiis studentium, Salutem in Domino. Notum facimus, quod nos apud Sanctum Bernardum Parisiis super infrascriptis, et aliis nostris negotiis agendis, per juramentum convocati et congregati, modo et forma contentis in quodam codice papyreo, cujus tenor inferius describitur et inseritur, provocavimus et appellavimus, provocamusque et appellamus. Cujus quidem codicis papyrei tenor sequitur, et est talis. Præmissis expresse protestationibus, quod contra unam Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, quam totius orbis esse magistram, et obtinere principatum credimus, sanctæque sedis Apostolicæ auctoritatem, ac Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ, bene consulti, potestatem nihil dicere intendimus, si quid ex lubrico linguæ forsitan male dictum sit, parati emendare. Sed quoniam is qui vices Dei gerit in terris, quem Papam dicimus, quamvis a Deo potestatem immediate habeat, per hanc potestatem non impeccabilis efficitur, nec potestatem peccandi accepit; ita ut si quid, quod injustum est, faciendum esse præceperit, patienter sustinere debeat, si non fiat quod ei prava fuerit insinuatione suggestum eique parendum non sit, si quid contra divina præcepta statuendum esse decreverit: Imo ei resisti jure potest: quod si illi potentum auxilio falsa forsitan suggestionem, vel minus sano consilio deceptorum adjuto resisti non potest, sublataque

sint resistendi remedia, unum tamen jure naturali proditum est, quod nullus princeps tollere potest appellationis remedium, cum sit quædam defensio quæ jure divino, naturali et humano cuique competit, quæ non potest auferri a principe, ut in cle. pastoralis de sen. et re. judic. et no. splendor ille Canonistarum Inno. in c. quæ in ecclesiarum, de consti. Ad hujusmodi ergo appellationis remedium, quo oppressi relevantur, confugientes, Nos Rector et Universitas studii Parisiensis, Illustrissimi ac Christianissimi principis nostri Francorum regis, filia primogenita, antiqua studiorum parens, vice ac nomine nostris, singulorumque doctorum, magistrorum et scholarium Parisiensium studentium animoq. et intentione provocandi et appellandi a personis, et gravaminibus infrascriptis, dicimus, et proponimus, nosq; loco et tempore opportunis et congruis probaturos offerimus, quæ sequuntur. Imprimis, quod cum priscis illis temporibus hæreses multæ pullularent, plurimique errores insurgerent, et Christi fidelium dissidia orirentur, ecclesiasticique status deformatio conspiceretur, fuerunt sacra generalia Concilia provide statuta, in quibus hæreses extirparentur, mores reformarentur, christicolarum dissidentium ad invicem reconciliationes fierent, prout sacrorum generalium Conciliorum incumbit officio. Et præcipue ante omnia, sacra Constantiense et Basiliense Concilia, quæ successive ac legitime in spiritu sancto congregata, universalem ecclesiam repræsentantia, quam plurima circa præmissa statuerunt, maxime circa status ecclesiastici, tam in capite quam in membris, reformationem, quæ illis diebus præcipue indigere reformatione videbantur, cum deformitates in ecclesia Dei excrescere et mores corruptos eandem ecclesiam inficere conspicerent, ut repressis deformitatum scelerumque regnantium enormitatibus perniciosis, quæ per christianitatem (spretis antiquorum patrum decretis et institutis salutaribus) multas clades, multaque discrimina injecisse videbantur, divinus honor reffloresceret in terris, lumen catholicæ veritatis, Christo vera luce auxiliante effulgeret, et ecclesiasticæ libertatis conversatio subsisteret, populusque Christianus salubriter regeretur, et ad salutem perduceretur æternam.

Et inter cætera perpenderit ipsum sacrum Basiliense Consilium, qualiter per sanctos patres antiquos, sacri canones, salubriaque decreta pro felici regimine jam dicti status ecclesiastici, tam super electionibus, modisque, ministros ecclesiæ assumendi et instituendi conditi fuerunt, qui quandiu fuerunt observati, ecclesia Dei fructus honoris et honestatis felici ubertate produxit, disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ vigor perstitit, religio, pietas, charitas ubertim floruerunt, hominesque in quietudine animi constituti, Deum authorem pacis devotissime coluerunt. Sed postquam damnatæ ambitionis improbitas, et detestandæ cupiditatis insatiabilitas, humanitatis jura violando, ipsa sanctorum patrum decreta paulatim cœpit deserere atque contemnere, et in vitia ruere, subsequutæ sunt deformationes status ecclesiastici, atque decolorationes, et usurpationes, præsertim per prælaturarum, dignitatumque, et aliorum beneficiorum reservationes, et gratiarum ad vacatura beneficia expectatarum a jure exorbitantium multiplicationes et innumerabiles concessiones, et alia gravissima et importabilia onera, quibus ecclesiæ, ecclesiasticæque personæ graviter afflictæ, et fere ad extremam evacuationem et destructionem illis diebus ruere conspiciabantur. Cum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum patrimonia et bona indigni occupabant, et sæpe dignitates, ac beneficia notabilia et opulentiora personis conferebantur incognitis, et indignis, quæ in eisdem beneficiis minime residebant, et animarum cura, quæ est ars artium, neglecta, velut mercenarii solum temporale lucrum quærebant, sicque cultus minuebatur divinus, animarum cura negligebatur, ecclesiastica jura peribant, ruebant ædificia quæ magnificentia extruxerat decessorum. At clerici, literarum scientiis et virtutibus effulgentes, qui ad Christianæ plebis ædificationem salutarem vacare possent, quorum perlucida et salutaria documenta prædictam illustrarent ecclesiam, decorarent virtutibus, et moribus informarent, per quos, quasi per luminosas, ardentesque lucernas super candelabrum in domo domini positas (errorum tenebris profugatis) totius corpus ecclesiæ tanquam sydus irradiaret matutinum, eorumque fœcunda facundia cœlestis irrigui gratia influente, scripturarum ænig-

mata reserarent, obscura dilucidarent, dubiaque declararent, profundisque ac decoris illorum sermonibus ampla ipsius ecclesiæ fabrica, velut gemmis vernantibus, rutilaret, et verborum elegantia singulari gloriosius sublimata coruscaret, qui etiam regnorum, et rerum publicarum consiliis forent opportuni, propter spem congruæ promotionis eis ablatam, divinarum et humanarum scientiarum studia deserebant.

Insuper reservationum et expectatarum occasione capta de mortis alienæ votis ingerebatur, lites suscitabantur, contentiones et rixæ inter Christi ministros oriebantur, ambitio pluralitatis beneficiorum execrabilis fovebatur, pauperes clerici variis et innumeris personarum et rerum discrimini-bus subiciebantur, et per callidos et calumniosos opprimebantur, beneficia quoque ecclesiastica per litium involutiones et multiplicationes sæpius injuste occupabantur, et sine divinis officiis sæpius remanebant, materia injustis vexationibus parabatur, abusus pestiferi, horrenda et detestanda specie labis Symoniacæ respersi committebantur, juvenibus bonæ indolis qui studiosis et virtuosis actibus intendere deberent, evagandi materia præbebatur, et breviter status ecclesiæ confundebatur, plurimaq. adversus divina, et humana jura in animarum perniciem, ac ecclesiæ et Regnorum atque Provinciarum, præcipue Regni Franciæ, et Delphinatus Viennensium oppressionem et destructionem perpetrabantur, quorum, quarumq. thesauri in extraneas regiones asportabantur, ut eo exhausto, sacerdotioque depresso, regna ipsa, et subditi debiliores in adversis redderentur, beneficiaque jam non gratis, juxta evangelicam doctrinam Christique præceptum, dicentis, Gratis accepistis, gratis date; et contra Concilium Lateranense, &c. unicum ut ecclesiastica beneficia cum summa ambitione et avaritia, auri-que et argenti exactione conferebantur.

His igitur tam detestabilibus incommodis divinæ procul dubio displicentibus voluntati, saluberrime providere cupiens Concilium Basiliense memoratum, contra hæc, saluberrima constituit et edidit Statuta et Decreta, volens et ordinans, ut tales ecclesiæ præficerentur pastores, qui tanquam columnæ et bases ipsam ecclesiam doctrina et moribus firmi-

ter sustentarent, non quidem per reservationes generales ecclesiarum hujusmodi, sed per electiones et confirmationes Canonicas, juxta juris communis dispositionem, ecclesiis ipsis metropolitanis, cathedralibus, monasteriis, collegiatis ecclesiis, et dignitatibus electivis vacantibus, debite provideretur: Reservationes generales hujusmodi reprobando, (certis duntaxat exceptis) certam salutarem formam, antiquis formis a jure introductis adjiciendo.

Et insuper, ut per singulas ecclesias ministri instituerentur idonei, qui scientiis et virtutibus effulgerent ad Christi gloriam et populi Christiani salutarem ædificationem, reprobando multitudinem gratiarum expectatarum, quæ digniorum ministrorum institutioni et promotioni obviabat, ac reservationes quascunque beneficiorum, sive per papam sive per legatos reprobando ac nullas et invalidas declarando.

Voluit insuper, et statuit, ut per prælatos et eos ad quos beneficiorum collatio et dispositio spectare dignoscitur, viris studiosis, certisque qualitatibus specificatis præditis, qui per universitates generalium studiorum eisdem prælati et patronis nominarentur, canonicè provideretur, certis modificationibus, et decreto irritan. adjectis. Præterea, ut fraterna charitas in clero et populo vigeret, et ne quis proximum suum indebitis vexationibus opprimeret: sed justitia ordine debito cuilibet ministraretur, ad obviandum infinitis abusibus et variis incommodis, quæ inoleverant, statuit, ut pro salute et quiete subditorum, justitia in partibus cum honestate et facilitate ministraretur, ne studium et alii subditi extra regna et provincias suas ad curiam Romanam traherentur et citarentur, ne etiam per hoc hujusmodi regnorum et provinciarum facultates exhaurirentur. Damnavit insuper hujusmodi sacrum Concilium ab usum illum jam damnatum de annatis solven. salutifere prohibens illarum exactiorem, et solutionem. Multaque alia sancta et salubria statuit idem Concilium ad divini cultus augmentum, ac salutem et quietem subditorum, quæ omnibus innotescunt. Quæ quidem statuta Serenissimus ille Princeps Divini nominis et ecclesiastici honoris exaltator devotissimus et con-

servator excellens, Carolus septimus Francorum Rex, in suo celebri Concilio ecclesiæ Gallicanæ Bituris celebrato, recenseri fecit, et ea sic salutifera et suo regno ac Delphinatui utilissima, saluti et quieti subditorum consulens. inconcusse servari præcepit, et per Regnum et Delphinatum promulgari fecit, prout conservata et observata fuerunt, ut ex eorum observantia cultus perseveravit Divinus, salus advenit subditorum, omniaque in eisdem regno et Delphinatu prospere successerunt.

Sed Romani propriis cupiditatibus et commoditatibus inhiantes, attendentes his mediis aurum et argentum, sicut antea, ex dictis Regno et Delphinatu ad se pro suo voto non deferri, hujusmodi statutis invidentes, ea per Romanos Pontifices abrogari facere studuerunt, quod auxiliante domino hactenus prohibitum extitit, donec advenit Dominus Leo Papa Decimus, qui Romanis, plus debito, favens, in quodam cœtu in Romana civitate, quæ contra nos est, nescimus qualiter, non tamen in spiritu Domini congregato, cum quo nihil contra legem divinam, et sacra Concilia statui, decerni, aut ordinari potest; Opera enim quæ ego facio, ipsa testimonium perhibent de me; præmissa tam salutifera statuta abroganda esse, nescimus quo fretus concilio, censuit, contra fidem Catholicam, et auctoritatem sacrorum generalium Conciliorum veniendo, sacrum Basiliense Concilium damnavit. In quo inter cætera judicatum est, gloriosam virginem Mariam sine peccato originali fuisse conceptam, nec de illo habet ecclesia aliam decisionem. Quædam alia statuta prohibitu voluntatis (cum venia dictum sit) condendo, in perniciem Regni et Delphinatus prædictorum, et subditorum illusterrimi principis nostri Franciæ Regis detrimentum. Per hoc enim Canonicas electiones, quibus sancte et salubriter ecclesiis metropolitanis, cathedralibus, monasteriis, et aliis collegiatis ecclesiis eorundem Regni et Delphinatus providebatur, destruxit. Hujusmodi ecclesiarum provisiones, cum vacaverint, sibi reservando, collationesque et impetrationes beneficiorum non expresso vero valore irritas esse declaravit, subditorumque regni in prima instantia per Cardinales et curiales sedis apostolicæ passim vocari, et

nominationes, universitatum in parte reprobavit et damnavit, ita ut a modo si talia statuto tolererentur, non his quibus virtutum merita et literarum scientia, sed quibus pecuniarum acervus, et potentum favores suffragabuntur, ad ipsarum ecclesiarum non dicimus regimen, sed (proh dolor!) perniciem et ruinam assumentur, cum hujusmodi personarum mores et vitia non perscrutabuntur, et indigni sæpius ad regimen assumentur animarum, contra sacri generalis Concilii salutiferum statutum recte judicans nihil esse quod ecclesiæ Dei magis officiat, quam quod indigni assumantur prælati ad regimen animarum, et propterea statuens, ut is ad quem pertinet electionis confirmatio processum electionis et electi personam diligenter examinet antequam eidem electo munus confirmationis impendat, pœnam contra facien- imponens. Per hæc etiam et alia quæ idem Dominus Leo statuen. decrevit, viris studiosis, et literarum scientia pollentibus spem promotionis ademit: Et aptissimum modum facultates et substantiam totius regni et Delphinatus exhauriendi invenit, quo etiam hujusmodi regni et Delphinatus subditi improbis machinationibus ad curiam Romanam evocentur, et indebitis vexationibus fatigentur hujusmodique sic noviter editis statutis, jam dictus Dominus Leo Papa serenissimum principem nostrum Franciscum regem modernum in partibus Italicis agentem in maximo strepitu armorum consensum præbere quorundam suasu coegit. Et ne promissionis infractor idem Princeps illustris videretur, jam dicti Domini Papæ monitis obtemperans, hæc quæ dicta sunt de novo edita statuta (quæ concordata vocantur) ruinam ecclesiæ, totiusque regni inde imminentem non attendens, nobis, dictaque universitate, et aliis, quorum intererat, non vocatis nec auditis, publicanda esse imperavit, non dijudicans, quam ei, dictoque Regno et Delphinatui, ac subditis perniciosa esse viderentur. Ex quibus nos Rector et Universitas, gravatos læsosque et oppressos esse sentientes, cum per ea ad superius enarrata incommoda sensim devenire posse prospiciamus: Idcirco a domino nostro Papa non recte consulto jam dictique sacri Basilien. Concilii, et ei adhærentes pragmaticæ sanctionis statutorum abrogatione,

novorum statutorum editione, consensus præstatione, ac attentata illorum quadam publicatione, et omnibus inde secutis et secuturis tam pro nobis quam omnibus, et singulis suppositis ipsius universitatis, et nobis, ac illi adhærentibus et adhærere volentibus, ad futurum Concilium legitime, ac in loco tuto et quem libere et cum securitate nos eadem universitas vel a nobis, et ab ea deputandi adire poterimus. Et ad illum vel illos, ad quem seu quos de jure, privilegio, consuetudine, vel alias nobis provocare licet et appellare, provocavimus et appellavimus, prout in his scriptis provocamus et appellamus. Instanter, instantius et instantissime protestantes hanc appellationem prosequi per viam nullitatis, abusus, iniquitatis, vel injustitiæ. Et alias, prout melius proterimus, optione nobis reservata. Astantes in testimonium invocatum, addendi, diminuendi, mutandi, corrigendi, et in melius reformandi, omniumque alio juris beneficio, nobis ac nostris adhærentibus et adhærere volentibus semper salvo. Datum et actum Parisiis in nostra congregatione generali apud sanctum Bernardum solenniter celebrata, Anno Domini MDXVII. die vicesima septima mensis Martii ante Pascha.

No. CXXXIV.

(Page 72.)

Parid. de Grassis, de ingressu, &c. p. 41.

CUM propter extremam rerum omnium penuriam, seu potius miseriam insupportabilem qua Populus Florentinus Curiales, ut inimicos, persequebantur, ego Florentiæ stare non possem, nec vellem, inde discessi, invitatus a Reverendissimo Domino meo Cardinali Germano de Grassis, et Bononiam petii, ubi e contra omnium victualium abundantissima affluentia erat; et ibi mansi, usque quo intellexi Pontificem deliberatum esse inde discedere, et sic die Lunæ XI. Februarii recessi ex Bononia, et veni Florentiam ad Papam,

qui me licentiavit, ut ad Urbem Romanam venirem simul cum Corpore Christi per viam rectam, et licet male consultus fuerit Papa præmittere Sacramentum per tot dies ante Pontificem, quia ipse per aliam viam non rectam intendebat at Urbem redire, inde ad XII. dies et sic ire sine Sacramento, quod Pontifex nunquam deberet facere, tamen nihil ego replicavi ad hæc, ne forsitan Papa mandaret ipsum Sacramentum, et me simul cum eo expectare, quod mihi non placebat stare in ea miserrima civitate, ideo eadem die inde recessi cum celeritate, et ad Urbem die Sancti Petri in Cathedra perveni, et simul cum Sacrista, et aliis Prælati dimissimus illud in Ecclesia de Populo, sicut Papa jusserat. Hoc autem tempore, quo ego Bononiæ mansi, dimisi substitutum meum Hippolitum Morbiollum, sic volente Pontifice, et ipse, omnia quæ occurrerunt, executus est, tam quo ad distributionem Cereorum in die Purificationis, et Cinerum in prima die quadragesimæ, quam ad alia omnia pertinentia ad officium Ceremoniarum, quæ quidem omnia sicut fuerunt per ipsum executi, ita etiam per eundem scripta.

No. CXXXV.

(Page 74.)

Di Giuliano de' Medici.

SONETTO.

In morte di Serafino d' Aquila.

PERCHE hai Serafin, Morte, offeso tanto?
 “ Che al Cielo e me fur sue virtù moleste.”
 A te perchè? “ Che un dì potea con queste
 “ Farsi immortale, e tormi il regno e' l vanto.”
 Al ciel perchè? “ Rubò del regno santo
 “ E portò in terra il harmonia celeste.”
 Perchè il feristi con subita peste?
 “ Che non potesse svolgermi col canto.”

Dunque è rebel di Dio? “ Non; perchè ha ora
 “ Li Dei placati, e tanto piace e vale,
 Che chi quaggiù l' odìo, là su l' honora.”
 Tu hor che fai? “ L' error piango e 'l mio male.
 “ Non ho possuto far ch' in terra mora,
 “ E in ciel, no 'l credendo io, fatto è immortale.”

No. CXXXVI.

(Page 75.)

Di Lodovico Ariosto.

CANZONE.

ANIMA eletta, che nel mondo folle,
 E pien d'error, sì saggiamente quelle
 Candide membra belle
 Reggi, che ben l' alto disegno adempi
 Del Re de gli elementi, e de le stelle,
 Che sì leggiadramente ornar ti volle;
 Perch' ogni donna molle,
 E facile a piegar ne gli vitii empì,
 Potesse haver da te lucidi esempi,
 Che fra regal delitie, in verde etade,
 A questo d' ogni mal secolo infetto,
 Giunt' esser può d' un nodo saldo, e stretto
 Con somma castità somma beltade:
 Da le sante contrade,
 Ove si vien per gratia, e per virtute,
 Il tuo fedel salute
 Ti manda, il tuo fedel caro consorte,
 Che ti levò da le tue braccia morte.
 Iniqua a te, che quel tanto quieto
 Giocondo, e al tuo parer felice tanto
 Stato, in travaglio e in pianto
 T' ha sotto sopra, et in miseria volto:
 A me giusta, e benigna, se non quanto

L' udirmi il suon di tue querele drieto
 Mi potria far non lieto,
 Se ad ogni affetto rio non fusse tolto
 Salir quì, dove è tutto il ben raccolto,
 Del qual sentendo tu di mille parti
 L' una, gia spento il tuo dolor sarebbe ;
 Ch' amando me (come sò ch' ami) debbe
 Il mio più, che 'l tuo gaudio rallegrarti :
 Tanto più, ch' al ritrarti
 Salva da le mondane aspre fortune,
 Sei certa, che commune
 L' hai da fruir meco in perpetua gioia,
 Sciolta d' ogni timor, che più si moia.
 Segui pur senza volgerti la via,
 Che tenuta hai sin quì sì drittamente ;
 Che al Ciel, e a le contente
 Anime, altra non è che meglio torni :
 Di me t' incresca, ma non altrimenti,
 Che, s' io vivessi ancor, t' incresceria
 D' una partita mia,
 Che tu havessi a seguir fra pochi giorni.
 E se qualche e qualch' anno anco soggiorni
 Col tuo mortal a patir caldo, e verno,
 Lo dei stimar per un momento breve,
 Verso quest' altro, che mai non riceve
 Nè termine, nè fin, viver' eterno.
 Volga fortuna il perno
 A la sua rota, in che i mortali aggira :
 Tu quel, che acquisti, mira,
 Da la tua via non declinando i passi ;
 E quel, che a perder hai, se tu la lassi.
 Non habbia forza il ritrovar di spine,
 E de sassi impedito il stretto calle
 Al santo monte, per cui al Ciel tu poggi,
 Sì, ch' a l' infida, o mal sicura valle,
 Che ti rimane a dietro, il piè decline :
 Le piagge, e le vicine
 Ombre soavi d' alberi, e di poggi

Non l' allentino sì, che tu v' alloggi :
 Che, se noia, e fatica tra gli sterpi
 Senti al salir de la poco erta roccia,
 Non v' hai da temer' altro, che ti nocchia,
 Se forse il fragil vel non vi discerpi,
 Ma velenosi serpi
 De le verdi, vermiglie, bianche, e azzurre
 Campagne per condurre
 A crudel morte con insidiosi
 Morsi tra fior, ch' in l' herba stanno ascosi.
 La nera gonna, il mesto, e scuro velo,
 Il letto vedovil, l' esserti priva
 Di dolci risi, e schiva
 Fatta di giuochi, e d' ogni lieta vista,
 Non ti spiaccian sì, che ancor captiva
 Vada del mondo, e 'l fervor torni in gelo.
 C' hai di salir al Cielo,
 Sì, che fermar ti veggia pigra, e trista :
 Che questo habito inculto hora t' acquista
 Con questa noia, e questo breve danno,
 Thesor, che d' haver dubbio, che t' involi
 Tempo, quantunque in tanta fretta voli,
 Unqua non hai, nè di fortuna inganno.
 O misero chi un' anno
 Di falsi gaudii, o quattro, o sei piu prezza,
 Che l' eterna allegrezza
 Vera, e stabil, che mai speranza, o tema,
 O altro affetto non accresce, o scema.
 Questo non dico già, perchè d' alcuno
 Freno a i desiri in te bisogno creda,
 Che da nov' altra teda
 Sò con quant' odio, e quant' horror ti scosti ;
 Ma dico 'l perchè godo, che proceda,
 Come conviensi, e com' è piu opportuno,
 Per salir quì ciascuno
 Tuò passo, e che tu sappia, quanto costi
 Il meritar sì ricchi premij posti :
 Non godo men, che a l' ineffabil pregi,

Che havrai qua sù, veggio, ch' in terra ancora
 Arrogì un' ornamento, che più honora
 Che l' oro, e l' ostro, et i gemmati fregi.
 Le pompe, e i culti regi
 Se riverir non gli faranno, come
 Di dolcezza il bel nome,
 E fede, e castità, tanto più caro,
 Quanto esser suol più in bella donna raro.
 Quest' è più honor, che scender da l' Augusta
 Stirpe d' antichi Otthoni, e stimar dei :
 Di ciò più illustre sei,
 Che d' essere de' sublimi, incliti, e santi
 Filippi nata, et Ami, et Amidei,
 Che fra l' arme d' Italia, e la robusta
 Spesso a vicini ingiusta
 Feroce Gallia, hanno tant' anni, e tanti
 Tenuti sotto il lor giogo costanti
 Con gli Allobrogi i popoli de l' Alpe,
 E di lor nomi le contrade piene
 Dal Nilo al Boristhene,
 E da l' estremo Idaspe al mar di Calpe :
 Di più gaudio ti palpe
 Questa tua propria, e vera laude il cuore,
 Che di veder il fiore
 Di gigli d'oro il santo Regno assunto,
 Che di sangue, e d' amor ti sia congiunto,
 Questo sopra ogni lume in te risplende,
 Se ben quel tempo, che sì ratto corse
 Tenesti di Nemorse
 Meco scettro Ducal di là da' monti :
 Se ben tua bella mano il freno torse
 Al paese gentil, che Appenin fende,
 E l' alpe, e il mar difende ;
 Nè tanto val, che a questo pregio monti,
 Che 'l sacro honor de l' erudite fronti
 Quel Thosco e 'n terra, e 'n ciel' amato Lauro
 Socer ti fu, le cui mediche fronde
 Spesso a le piaghe, donde

Italia morì poi, feron ristauro ;
 Che fece a l' Indo, e al Mauro
 Sentir l'odor de' suoi rami soavi,
 Onde pendea le chiavi,
 Che tenean chiuso il Tempio de le guerre,
 Che poi fu aperto, e non è chi lo serre.
 Non poca gloria è, che cognata e figlia
 Il Leon Beatissimo ti dica,
 Che fa l'Asia, e l' antica
 Babilonia tremar, sempre che rugge ;
 E che già l' Afro in l' Ethiopia aprica
 Col gregge, e con la pallida famiglia
 Di passar si consiglia :
 E forse Arabia, e tutto Egitto fugge
 Verso, ove il Nilo al gran cader remugge,
 Ma da corone, e manti, e scettri, e seggi
 Per stretta affinità luce non hai
 Da sperar, che gli rai
 Del chiaro Sol di tue virtù pareggi,
 Sol perche tu non veggi
 Dietro al desir, che come serpe annoda
 E guadagni la loda,
 Che 'l padre e gli avi, e tuoi maggiori invitti
 Si guadagnar con l' arme a i gran conflitti.
 Quel cortese Signor, che honora, e illustra
 Bibiena, e inalza in terra, e in Ciel la fama,
 Se come fin, che la giù m' hebbe appresso,
 M'amò, quanto se stesso,
 Così lontano, e nudo spirto m' ama ;
 S' ancor intende, e brama
 Sodisfare a miei prieghi, come suole ;
 Queste fide parole
 A Filiberta mia scriva, e rapporti ;
 E preghi per mio amor che si conforti.

No. CXXXVII.

(Page 80.)

*Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 109.**Promissio Secretarii Ducis Mediolani pro 10000 Ducat. solvendis singulis Annis Cardinali Eboracensi.*

EGO *Michael de Abbatis* Secretarius Illustrissimi Ducis Mediolani promitto et obligo Me, ex parte dicti Illustrissimi Ducis Domini mei, quod *Decem Millia Ducatorum* fideliter in Anglia persolventur Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Eboracensi, secundum promissum quod ex commissione dicti Illustrissimi Ducis mei Dominationi ejus Reverendissimæ feci.

Persolventur autem singulis annis vivente præfato Illustrissimo Duce, et succedente in Principatu ipsius Filio vel Fratere.

Et prima solutio incipiet postquam præfatus Illustrissimus Dux meus sit liberatus a molestiis Gallicis, et sit securus de Statu suo.

Et dictus Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis promittet quod erit perpetua et inviolabilis amicitia inter Invictissimum Angliæ et Franciæ Regem, et dictum Illustrissimum Dominum meum, mediante præfato Reverendissimo Domino Cardinale.

In cujus rei Fidem hanc Cedulam manu propria scripsi et subscripsi.

Ita est, idem Michael manu propria scripsi et subscripsi.

No. CXXXVIII.

(Page 104.)

Leoni, vita di Francesco Maria Duca d' Urbino. Ven. 1605.

Lettera di Francesco Maria Duca d' Urbino, al Sacro Collegio de' Cardinali, a Roma.

REVERENDISSIMI Domini mei osservandissimi. Io mi son persuaso sempre che la mia così lunga persecutione, che m' ha posto in tanti pericoli, non habbia però mai havuto forza di mettermi in disgratia delle SS. VV. Reverendissime, e farmi gli animi loro nemici: anzi son ben certo, che elle sempre m' habbiano havuto compassione, e sonsi dolute delle mie disgratie. Et io in tante ruine non ho sentito refrigerio alcuno, se non la opinione ferma tra me stesso, che cotesto sacro Collegio giudicasse, che io non fussi degno in modo alcuno di tal persecutione. Però essendoli io humilissimo servo et ubidiente come sono stato sempre, e sarò finche mi duri la vita, mi tengo obligato a render loro conto d' ogni mia attione, et escusarmi di quello di che forse dai malevoli miei io potessi essere imputato appresso le Signorie Vostre Reverendissime, nelle quali ho posto la speranza di ogni mio presidio. Penso adunque, ch' elle havranno inteso questo mio nuovo movimento con genti verso lo Stato mio: il che è causato non da voler disturbare nè travagliare le cose della Chiesa, nè esserle mai molesto in parte alcuna; ma più tosto per commettere la vita mia all' essito della Guerra, la quale in questo caso spero, che sarà Ministra di Dio, et egli la governerà con la briglia della ragione in modo, che sì come la mia innocentia è nota al cospetto di Sua Divina Maestà, così sarà ancor manifesta a tutto il Mondo. E con questa confidentia mi movo non per temerità, o presontione, che ben posso esser certissimo, che non che le mie forze, le quali hora son quasi nulle, ma ne ancor quelle di qual sia grandissimo Rè non basterieno per resistere alla potentia di N. S. collegato con tutti i Potentati, et Re

Christiani. Ma Dio che è Rè dei Rè, e può ogni cosa, potrà ancor soccorrere me in questa calamità, e così spero sarà mio difensore: perchè esso il quale vede l'intrinseco de' cuori degli huomini sà, che niun' altra via nè di riposo nè pur di vita m'era restata. Però che essendomi ridotto in Mantoua appresso l'illustrissimo Signor Marchese mio suocero, e quasi postomi volontariamente in prigione, havendo perdute tutte le fortezze dello Stato, e quanto io teneva al Mondo, e volendo anco promettere a Nostro Signore di non innovar cosa alcuna nello Stato mio per disturbarne il Nipote a cui Sua Santità l'haveva dato, ma solamente desiderando di vivere, mai non hò potuto ottenere, che le censure mi sieno levate, anzi sempre contra me sono usciti novi, et acerbissimi Interdetti, et espressi commandamenti all' Illustrissimo Signor mio Suocero, e Padre, che non mi tenga nello Stato suo. Et oltre a ciò ogni dì mi si sono scoperte insidie di veneno, e di ferro, lequali tutte attribuisco ai miei malevoli, non alla Santità di Nostro Signor, che sò bene essere impossibile, che con la clementia, e bontà sua fusse congiunta una così ardente sete del sangue mio, et una così perfida ingratitude contra di me, dal quale (lasciando le cose più vecchie, che facilmente si scordano) Sua Santità, e tutti i suoi hanno ricevuti infiniti benefici in quei tempi che la Casa sua era ne' termini, in che hora ha posto me. Ma quelli che hanno procurato, e tuttavia procuravano la mia ruina, procurano ancora l'infamia di Sua Santità; e credendo lor quella tanto come fà, à me era necessario per vivere di andare in Turchia. Sforzato io dunque da queste cause mi son posto à venire verso Casa mia con opinione che se bene la morte me ne seguisse, non me ne debba seguire almeno infamia. Che se à Sua Santità essendo Cardinale con istimation grandissima, e con modo di vivere in dignità fu lecito far una tanta, e così crudele occisione in quella povera Terra di Prato per entrare nella Patria sua come Cittadino, della quale egli era in esilio; molto più debba esser lecito à me, esule non d'una Città ma di tutta Christianità, e privo non che delle Dignità temporali, ma quasi del vivere,

e de' Sacramenti della Chiesa, e del Commercio degli huomini in una così atroce persecutione, nella quale contra lo Stato, e la vita, e l' Anima mia si adoperano l' Armi Temporali, e Spirituali essermi lecito (dico) cercare d' andar nella Patria, della quale, e per giudizio di tutti i miei popoli, e d' ogn' altro, eccetto che di Sua Santità, sono legittimo Signore. Supplico adunque le Signorie Vostre Reverendissime per quella misericordia, che si deve à coloro, i quali sono posti in calamità senza colpa, che si degnino trovando qualche modo, ò via di mitigare l' animo del sommo Pontefice, essere mie protettrici, ch'io non posso stimare l' autorità loro, e la natural bontà di Nostro Sig. con la innocentia mia non debbiano spezzar la durezza, che nell' animo di Sua Santità hanno edificata le labbra inique, e le lingue dolose de' miei avversari. Et io per ricuperare la gratia di quella non ricusarò sorte alcuna di sommissione, o ancor di pena sopportabile. E se pure io non merito di ottenere da lei misericordia, degninsi almeno le Signorie Vostre Reverendissime favorirmi tacitamente con gli animi, e pensieri loro, a raccomandarmi con efficacia alla infallibile bontà, e giustizia di Dio. E se li miei successi saranno prosperi (com' io spero) riconoscerò lo Stato, e la Vita dalle Signorie Vostre Reverendissime, con opinione, che la Maestà Divina habbia esaudito i loro giusti desiderj, e per li loro meriti m' habbia havuto in protezione. E così parimente se le mie piccole forze non saranno oppresse dal gran cumulo della Potentia di N. Signore accompagnata dall' Arme spirituali, e da quelle di tanti altri Principi, sarà miracolo espresso, e buon testimonio che l' innocentia mia, condannata da gli huomini in Terra, sia da giudice maggiore e più giusto assoluta nel Cielo. Et alle Signorie Vostre Reverendissime humilmente baciando le mani, di continuo in buona gratia loro mi raccomando.

No. CXXXIX.

(Page 105.)

*Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 135.**Papa ad Regem, pro Subsidio contra Hostes Ecclesiæ.*

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Non veremur ne *Majestas* tua nostram, quam de ea capimus fiduciam, in optimam partem non accipiat ejusdem Fidei et maximi amoris quo illam semper prosecuti sumus :

Et quia existimamus pristinum illum suum animum Sedi Apostolicæ durissimis in rebus subveniendi perstare in eadem voluntate, auctamque potius ejus animi magnitudinem fructu tantæ gloriæ quantam ex similibus actionibus alias consecuta est quam diminutam esse ;

Nos quidem certe, quamquam maximis nostris et ejusdem Sanctæ Sedis angustiis difficultatibusque pressi ad hunc diem usque, nihil Tibi oneris imponere, nullam *Majestati tuæ* inferre molestiam sustinuimus, non de tua voluntate, pietate erga nos et eandem Scdem benevolentia dubitantes, sed quod in Te certissimum rerum nostrarum perfugium usque ad extremam necessitatem voluimus esse illibatum atque intactum.

Nunc vero cuperemus te cernere oculis, quibus rapinis et depopulationibus, quanto furore et scelere perditorum et nefariorum Hominum Status Ecclesiasticus hujusque simul Sanctæ Sedis Dignitas vexetur, laceretur, diripiatur, cum nihil Latronum avaritiæ libidini crudelitati obstet ; non pudor a stupris nefariis, non Religio a Sacris et Locis et Rebus violandis, non misericordia a cædibus Eos coherceat, quæ Nos ut reprimeremus exhausimus jam omnia fere et hujus Sanctæ Sedis et eorum qui communem Rem Ecclesiasticam ita afflictam dolent subsidia, ne quid de nostra Dignitate decederemus, ne sceleratis Hostibus facilem cursum suæ improbitatis faceremus.

Sed cum, si volumus salvam Ecclesiasticam esse Rempub-

licam majore conatu et viribus nobis opus sit, unique, inter Reges Christianos Principes, *tuae Majestati* præcipue confidamus, petimus a te et hortamur *Majestatem tuam* in Domino, summoque affectu requirimus, ut, quod alias consuevisti, tuique præstantissimi Animi est proprium, subvenire in tantis angustiis, difficultatibus, indignitatibus, huic Sanctæ Apostolicæ Sedi communi Matri Fidelium cunctorum tua cura, prudentia, opibus, facultatibusque quamprimum velis.

Quem autem in modum et qua potissimum ratione videatur expedire et *tua Majestas* pro sua prudentia cogitabit, et Dilectus Filius *Nicolaus Scomber* Ordinis Prædicatorum noster Familiaris, istuc hac præcipue de causa missus, cum eadem communicabit; cui eam nostro Nomine alloquenti *Majestas tua* fidem summam adhibendo ita secum reputabit, neque hoc majus erga Nos beneficium ab ea proficisci posse neque ipsius laudi et nomini magis honorificum fore quicquam, quam si ad suam peculiarem Virtutem et Gloriam se converterit, præstare Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam ab Insidiis et Latrociniis Impiorum Salvam atque Tutam.

Dat. *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die vicesimo Junii millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

JA. SADOLETUS.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ.

No. CXL.

(Page 108.)

Leoni, Vita di Fr. Maria Duca d'Urbino.

COMMISSIONE à voi Capitano Suares, et Oratio Florido di quanto in nome mio harrete à procedere, e far intendere all' Illustrissimo Signor Lorenzo de' Medici.

E prima. Essendo che non poca laude si conceda à ciascuno Prencipe, che per qual causa si vogli farci Guerra, quando si sforza che con meno sangue, e danno del Paese, che possibile sia, si ponga fine alla sua intentione; e tanto

più quello, che pure si persuade doverne restare patrono. Nel qual concetto persuadendomi, che 'l prefato Signor Lorenzo sia, ingannato forse più presto dalla fama, che dalla coscienza; ho pensato cosa all'uno, et all'altro di noi convenientissima. Perche se tanto lui desidera questo Stato, come la passata e presente Guerra mi dimostra, gli sia carissimo trovare modo, che con prestezza, senza più grave peso di questi popoli, mostrando il valor suo, e delle sue genti à satisfarsi. E però per tal rispetto a voi Capitano Suares, et Oratio, commetto, che espeditamente lo dobbiate chiamare à combattere in luogo qual voglia à IIII. mila per IIII. mila; o III. mila; o II. mila; o mille; o cinquecento; o cento; o venti, o quattro, et il minore numero che gli piaccia, purchè ciascuno di noi ci intravenghi, e che siamo a piede con arme da Fanti e piede, come vanno alla Guerra. Et in ultimo se vuole ambedui noi soli con arme, che con prestezza trovar si possa, più mi fia caro; e dove, o per la prigione, o per la morte di uno di noi il vincitore con più satisfactione d'animo darà fine al suo disio, et al languire di molti.

Giudico dunque che per il valore di sua Signoria, e di molti che gli sono appresso, che fanno la medesima professione di honore, queste ragionevoli offerte gli saranno carissime; però al vostro ritorno mi riportarete à qual più esso si risolve, acciò possa dal canto mio espeditamente provvedermi. Mando il termine di tre giorni per la risoluta disposta aggiungendo ancora al combattere del numero grosso piacendogli fare combattere CCC. Cavalli Leggeri con altritanti delli suoi pure alla leggiera accappati dalle Campagnie, cioè che ogni Capitano ne elegga tanto numero della compagnia propria e non d'altrove, ch'arriva alla somma delli CCC. con Lancia, Spada, Pugnale, e Mazza. E quando le sopradette conditioni non gli piacessero (il che non credo) vi ricordarete offerire, combattendo con detti CCC. Cavalli, e con tutte le nostre Fanterie, et altritanti delli suoi Fanti, di vantaggio gli darò cinquecento, e mille Fanti più, armati però tutti secondo il costume della Guerra trà Fanti à piedi. Et il presente memoriale in mano di Sua Signoria lasciate.

No. CXLI.

(Page 110.)

Ex Orig. in Archiv. Reipub. Florent.

REVERENDISSIMO in Christo Patri, et domino D. Julio Diaconi Cardinali de Medicis S. Romane Ecclesiae Vice Cancellario observandissimo.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, et Domine D. plurimum observandissime. Lo exhibitore presente sarà el nostro M. Jacopo Silvestri, quale farà intendere a V. S. R. el desiderio mio, et quanto mi occorra, che in summa è, che quella se degni consentire, che l'nostro Prete Francesco da Civitella habbia un certo beneficiolo posto in fra le nostre possessioni sopra L'Olmo a Capello, come particolarmente dal prefato M. Jacopo essa intenderà. Il perchè prego V. S. R. gli piaccia non solamente prestarci in ciò el suo consenso, ma ancora pigliarne per amor mio cura particolare, perchè in vero la fede, et servitù sua verso di me ricerca molto più, et se bene el beneficio preducto è di pocho momento, lo estimo nondimeno quanto fussi de valuta per ogni respecto, et però quanto più efficacemente io posso, la supplico me ne facci gratia, ascrivendolo al cumulo degl'altri obblighi, ho cum quella infinitamente.

Per commissione del nostro Illustrissimo Signore Duca, in questo momento mi parto alla volta di Cortona per conferire cum la nostra compagnia, dove sua Excellentia mi ha ordinato, che a Dio piaccia per tutto darci victoria, quale col suo benigno ajuto s'haverà indubitatamente, se ciascuno farà el debito suo. Prego V. S. R. se degni di core ricomendarmi alla Santità di Nostre Signore e alla Excellentia Madonna Alfonsina, et a V. R. S. quanto più posso humilmente mi raccomando, quam Deus, &c.

Florentiae XI. Junii MDXVII.

E. V. R. Servitor et filius

JOANNES JO. MEDICIS.

No. CXLII.

(Page 119.)

Rymer. Fæd. tom. vi. par. 1. p. 134.

CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Cum comperiissemus Dilectos Filios nostros, *Benedictum tituli Sanctæ Mariæ trans Tiberim Presbiterum, et Alfonso Sancti Theodori Diaconum, Cardinales* in vitam nostram conspirasse, deque nobis dolo malo occidendis tractavisæ, hodie detinere eos jussimus, detentosque in Arce nostra Sancti Angeli asservari, dum autentici processus super eo scelere juste ac legitime formari conficique possent;

Id volumus *Majestati tuæ* notum his nostris Literis facere; ut sciat qua de causa ad Detentionem istam devenimus: cui etiam processus ipsos transmitti curabimus, cum primum erunt confecti; quemadmodum cum Venerabili Fratre *Episcopo Wigorniensi*, Oratore apud nos tuo, loquuti sumus.

Datum *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die decimo nono Maii, millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, Pontificatus nostri Anno quinto.

BEMBUS.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri.

No. CXLIII.

(Page 124.)

Rymer. Fæd. tom. vi. par. 1. p. 141.

Cardinalis de Medicis Litera super Privatione Hadriani.

REVERENDISSIME in Christo Pater et Domine mi Colendissime humilimas Commendationes.

Quanti semper, præ cæteris, fecerit Serenissimam *Anglo-*

rum Regis Majestatem Sanctissimus Dominus noster, quamque cupiat ut mutua inter Se benevolentia et is amor, quo *prædictus Rex* universam Familiam nostram semper est prosequutus, non conservetur modo, verum etiam indies augeatur, multis et illis non obscuris argumentis hactenus cognoscere licuit, quorum *Reverendissima Dominatio vestra* bona in parte conscia egregiam *Majestati suæ* Fidem facere poterit.

Quoniam vero in amovendo ex Collegio nostro *Domino Hadriano olim Cardinali* aliquanto serius quam fortasse *sua Majestas* voluisset Res peracta fuit, si quis forte minus recte sentiens interpretetur noluisse *Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum*, *Serenissimo Regi* Morem gerere, Is tota prorsus veri aberrat via, neque vero unquam *Sanctissimus Dominus noster* alterius mentis fuit, sed magni momenti negotium non erat nisi mature et ut Juris forma postulat conducendum est.

Igitur hodierno Consistorio *Dominus Hadrianus nuper Cardinalis* a Sacratissimorum Patrum gremio sevulsus, et ob sua tam mala merita jure Exauctoratus, in quem quia non nisi legitime Processum fuit, idcirco nullus quamlibet malignus æstimator poterit objicere *Hadrianum* aut *Sanctissimi Domini nostri*, suapte natura clementissimi, odio aut *Serenissimi Regis vestri* extimulatione, sed propriis suis meritis poenas dedisse.

Ipsius vero Ecclesiæ Provisio differetur, donec *Majestas sua* id quod *Reverendissima Dominatio vestra* optime novit *Sanctissimo Domino nostro* significaverit.

Hæc fuit, *Reverendissime Domine*, hujus tam necessariæ quam prudentis cunctationis causa; quam, etsi puto Reverendum Patrem Dominum *Episcopum Wigorniensem*, qui majoreve cum prudentia an gratia et dexteritate pro *Serenissimo Rege* in Urbe Oratorem agit, plenius significaturum, Oratam tamen velim *Reverendissimam Dominationem vestram*, dignetur etiam ipsa *Sanctissimi Domini nostri* et meo Nomine *Serenissimo Regi*, apud quem plurimum et Gratia et Auctoritate pollet, declarare; Et insuper nihil esse in quo *Sanctissimus Dominus* Ipsi satisfacere non sit paratus; Domum vero nostram esse ita *Majestati suæ* addictam, ut

non minus de Nobis quam de suis Subditis disponere possit.

Benevaleat *Dominatio vestra Reverendissima*, cui Me humilime commendo et offero.

Romæ in Palatio Apostolico, quinto Julii, Millesimo quingentesimo decimo octavo.

Reverendissimæ Dominationis vestra
Humilimus Servitor,

JU. VICECANCEL.

No. CXLIV.

(Page 127.)

Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 21.

Al Cardinal de' Medici.

IL Christianissimo mi comanda, ch'io voglia in nome suo raccomandare a N. S. et a V. S. Reverendissima, Il Reverendissimo Cardinal de Sauli, parendogli impossibile, per l'informationi, che ha havute sempre, della buona qualità, et virtù di sua Sig. che quella possi haver pensato, non che tentato, cosa che non meriti et raccomandatione da sua Maestà, che sempre l'ha tenuto per buon' amico, et perdono da Nostro Signore, alquale s'è mostro sempre obediente servitore; et che quando anco vi fosse qualche parte d'errore, pure che non fosse maggior di quello può essere la misericordia di sua Santità, che la preghi, per esser d'una patria subietta, et di famiglia tanto grata a sua Maestà, che gli lo voglia per amor suo perdonare, mostrando grandissimo desiderio d'ottenere tal gratia da sua Santità, et intendere, mediante l'auttorità di Vostra sig. che 'l detto Reverendissimo sia reintegrato nell'amore, et gratia di Sua Beatitudine, &c.

Da San Quintino, alli 12. de Giugno, M.D.XVII.

Di. V. Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Sig. Devotissimo
Servitore,

Il Vescovo di Baiusa.

No. CXLV.

(Page 129.)

*Rymer. Fæd. tom. vi. par. 1. p. 134.**Pro Cardinali Sancti Georgii, de intercedendo.**Sacra Regia Majestas, post humillimas Commendationes.*

PRIDIE, pro ea fide, observantia, et devotione, qua Sublimitatem vestram semper prosecuti sumus, proque ea Pietate atque animi magnitudine qua eandem excellere ac polere non ignoramus, scripsimus *Celsitudini vestræ* Patruum nostrum Reverendissimum Dominum *Cardinalem Sancti Georgii*, Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ ac Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Camerarium, fuisse Detentum in Palatio a sua Beatitudine, neque causam ullam tantæ rei explicare potuimus, cum eodem momento quo detentus fuit, scribere coacti fuerimus.

Nunc autem ne, quod postea successerit, præteriisse videamur, causam esse intelligimus quod quædam verba, quæ coram ipso *Cardinalis Senensis*, uti juvenis nec in loquendo satis pensi habens, adversus Pontificem protulerat, non illico Sanctitati suæ, uti debeat, renuntianda curaverit.

Quod certe, quando ita sit, non possumus nisi erratum et peccatum esse, et dicere et fateri; unum tamen nobis persuademus et pro indubitato affirmare et asserere posse non dubitamus, Ipsum non ex malitia et Animi voluntate, sed ex inconsideratione et quadam potius negligentia peccasse ac prolapsum esse.

Quid nempe minus verisimile est, quidve minus credi debet? quam quod Cardinalis jam Senex, et opibus gratia et auctoritate non infimus, neque etiam humanarum rerum expertus et imperitus, eum Pontificem lædere ac provocare voluerit, qui secum in Cardinalatu conjunctissime et amantissime vixerat, et in Pontificatu tanta secum lenitate, benignitate et liberalitate usus fuerat, ut nihil ab eo desideraverit quod non prius impetrasse quam petiisse videri potuerit; quid inquam minus credibile, quam quod hunc Pontificem,

tam de se tamve de universo Christiano orbe Benemeritum lædere voluerit?

Is Cardinalis, qui olim junior et multis quoque incommodis affectus, Alexandri Tempora et Julii Secundi difficultatem ac morositatem patientissime innocentissime et summa cum animi æquitate transegit?

Quoquo modo res se habeat, eum neque excusamus neque etiam condemnamus; sed cum nihil sit quod imprimis de divina pietate et gratia deinde de clementia et mansuetudine *Sanctissimi Domini nostri* sperare posse non videamus, rogamus Serenitatem vestram ut etiam ipsam, pro Regia bonitate, proque invicta animi magnitudine, præfatum Patruum nostrum apud *Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum* commendatum habere dignetur.

Nam, ut omittamus quam proprium et peculiare sit bonorum Regum magnorumque Principum esse pietatem clementiamque exercere, utque etiam taceamus quanta Beneficiorum magnitudine Reverendissimum præfatum *Dominum Cardinalem* et nos ipsos *Majestas vestra* sit devinctura, licet minimos et inutiles Servos, non tamen præteribimus commemorare Sublimitatem vestram et apud Homines perpetuam laudem, et apud Omnipotentem Deum gratiam magni meriti, ex conservatione et incolumitate hujus Hominis, per errorem magis quam per voluntatem lapsi, sibi vindicaturam esse.

Quod tanto speramus facilius futurum esse, quanto res est in manibus illius Pontificis, cujus bonitatis, clementiæ, misericordiæ et mansuetudinis neminem hactenus expertum esse aut vidimus aut audivimus; Quæ fælucissima sit, et cui iterum et humillime nos commendamus.

Romæ, quinto Junii Millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo.

Serenitatis vestræ

Humillimi Servitores,

CÆS. ARCHIEPISCOPUS Pisanus Patriarcha Alex.

OCTAVIANUS EPISCOPUS VITERBIENSIS.

GALEACIUS VICECOMES DE REARIO.

FRANCISCUS SFORTIA VICECOMES DE REARIO.

No. CXLVI.

(Page 148.)

*Fascic. rerum Expetend. et Fugiend. tom. 1. p. 417.**Johannes Franciscus Picus, Mirandulæ Dominus, &c. Bilibaldo Pirckheimero suo, Salutem.*

CUM ad pontem Oeni, tu quidem Reipub. tuæ Legatus, ego vero ob propria negotia Cæsarem sequens, casu quodam convenissemus, coram petisti, ut Orationis ejus ad Leonem Pontificem Maximum et Concilium Lateranen. destinatum, te compotem facerem, et literis tuis, postquam in Italiam redii, id ipsum postulasti. Nunc eam tibi habere potes, quam tum non potuisti; neque enim fas erat, uti prior ullus eam haberet sibi, quam is ad quem mittenda erat; sed miræ expectationis, aliquam Johanni tuo Cochlii usuram, cum oratione ipsa Bononiam misi, Hymnis tribus comprehensam Martino, Magdalenæ, Antonio; qui postquam ex Germania in Italiam, indeque in patriam ditionem perveni, præter quinque alios, diversis in locis olim formis stanneis excusos, editi sunt. Cæterum si me amaveris, ad communem amicum Johannem Reuchlin alligatam epistolam curabis perferendam, et interim bene vale nostri memor. Mirandulæ Calend. Aprilis. Anno Salutis, MDXVII.

AD LEONEM DECIMUM PONTIFICEM MAXIMUM, *et Concilium Lateranen. Johannis Francisci Pici, Mirandulæ Domini, de Reformandis Moribus, Oratio:*

Si quis fortasse cuperet in Sacratissimo N. Christianæ Reipub. conventu atque consessu de ferendis legibus ad frænandam malorum hominum audaciam ut verba fierent, ipse secum cogitet prius, quo pacto sit opus eos plecti, qui eas quæ a majoribus nostris rite positæ, maximoque habitæ in pretio sunt, et habuere contemptui et nunc maxime habeant. Nec dubitabit de moribus hominum qui tam diu collapsi jacent, instaurandis, et ad normam positarum jam legum redigendis orationem ante omnia haberi oportere.

Nam tametsi non duxerim in controversiam referri debere ad sacrosanctam istam Synodum de legibus quibusdam ferendis, præstare tamen existimo, ut a principibus viris, ut a Cardinibus ipsis, quibus tota nostræ Christianæ Reipublicæ moles, verti regique convenit, sanctissima antiquorum Decreta patrum, et honestissima instituta custodiantur. Quod si fiat, populi facile Antistites ipsos tanquam animatas et vivas leges sequentur, atque ad normam pietatis et veræ disciplinæ revocabuntur. Nova consulta atque decreta neutiquam aspernor, sed veterum custodiam sanctionum in primis duco necessariam, ad ea quæ jam prolapsa defluerunt piis primum instauranda moribus, severis deinde legibus vincienda, adeo ut censoribus, ut vindicibus legum ipsarum atque assertoribus magis quam legislatoribus opus esse non negem. Et quanquam hac de re disserendi majus esse onus, quam ut ferre facile queam non sum nescius; nam valentioribus egeret humeris, et vires robustiores exposceret; tamen quod suapte natura pertinet ad omnes, id a me alienum esse non cogito. Quod si ad hanc diem in tanta eruditissimorum hominum turba vel unum quempiam conspexissem, qui hoc idem exacte sibi adscivisset, mihi omnino cessandum putassem. Sed quum de statuendis legibus sæpenumero sermonem habitum norim, de legum custodia, vel nullum, vel tenuem, ut sunt hominum varia judicia variis rerum occasionibus mota, non abs re mihi visum est fore, si quæpiam afferrem, ut facilius ad memoriam revocarentur sanctissima priorum instituta, quibus observatis, nostra Christiana respublica et aucta est semper et conservata; posthabitis vero atque contemptis, innumerabiles jacturas fecit; et nisi esset servata divinitus, eo miseræ et calamitatis prolapsa fuisset, ut frustra nunc, Pater sanctissime Leo Decime, et vos ecclesiæ Cardines et Antistites Conventum haberetis, ut in meliorem statum redigi quiret. Optabam certe ut ex doctissimorum hominum numero aliquis hanc sibi provinciam desumpsisset, ut majorem auctoritatem et potestatem in audientium animis habitura esset oratio, sed nuda fortasse veritas, puraque simplicitas viribus non carebit. De luxu, de libidine, de avaritia vitanda, positas esse

leges ab antiquis patribus, nemo est qui nesciat. De pietate, de justitia, cæterisque virtutibus traditas esse normas, vel ineruditi novere; eas partim negligi partim jacere plus etiam quam volumus, experimur. Multi nostræ Principes reipublicæ priscam simplicitatem in astutiam, castitatem in nequitiam, liberalitatem et parsimoniam in luxum et avaritiam convertere. Apud plerosque religionis nostræ primores, ad quorum exemplum componi atque formari plebs ignara debuisset, aut nullus, aut certe exiguus Dei cultus, nulla bene vivendi ratio atque institutio, nullus pudor, nulla modestia: justitia, vel in odium, vel in gratiam declinavit, pietas in superstitionem pene procubuit, palamque omnibus in hominum ordinibus peccatur, sic, ut sæpenumero virtus probis viris vitio vertatur, vitia loco virtutum honorari solent, ab his qui suorum criminum quasi septa, et tanquam mœnia, et inauditam petulantiam et diuturnam impunitatem esse putaverunt. Hi tibi morbi, hæc tibi vulnera sananda sunt, Maxime Pontifex: alioqui si mederi (quoniam id ad te multis de causis potissimum spectat) recusaveris, vereor ne non fomentis jam, sed igne ferroque is cujus vices geris in terris, membra ipsa affecta dissecet atque disperdat, signa jam dedisse illum ejus futuræ medicinæ plane crediderim. An puellæ Deo dicatæ in Brixiana direptione a religiosissimis abstractæ templis cesserunt militibus loco prædæ? An in Ravennati excidio sacerdotes trucidati? An in Prætensi clade sanctimonia olim celebratæ virgines prostitutæ? Quid aliud Pater sanctissime? Quidnam aliud nobis intelligi dedere, quam sacras ædes et templa lenonibus et catamitis antea commissa, quam nefariis lupis optimi pastoris ovilia demandata, quam virginibus olim dicata plerisque in urbibus septa in meretricios fornices et obscœna latibula fuisse conversa? Sed initia illa malorum et prægustationes, vereor, propinandæ nobis a perfidis nostræ religionis desertoribus potionis amaræ et luctuosæ, ni bonis eam moribus avertamus, ni precibus et supplicationibus, non ex summis labris, sed intimis ex animi penetralibus iratum placemus Deum, cujus ad hæc monita et tanquam cœlestia tonitrua non aures modo arrigere visi simus ut

resipiscamus, sed deprimere, visi tanquam Æthiopes ad prolabantis. Nili strepitum obsurdescere, prava consuetudine affecti sic, ut audiamus suadentibus vitiis, obaudiamus monenti Deo Optimo Maximo, sapientissimo, qui se contemni amplius a nostro seculo nolle satis arbitror indicavit, signis atque portentis non parum multis, pestilentia, fame, cruentissimis paulo ante præliis. Quid enim aliud? aut si quid aliud, cur hoc tamen nostris insinuatum mentibus plane non rear? per tot cæsorum hominum millia, quorum cadaveribus et contacti sunt campi, et remorati fluviorum cursus, eorumque cruore superum mare et inferum quasi quadam purpura infectum, nisi ut memoriam subeat innumera in nos collata beneficia nobis non debere esse ludibrio; scilicet Christus ille Servator humani generis tantum sanguinis effuderit, ut qui eo sanguine non redivivi solum facti, sed ditati etiam sunt, delicientur in plumis? Quid plumarum feci mentionem, et scortorum præterii catervas et greges exoletorum? et coempta et divendita sacerdotia? Sperare poteram, Pater Sanctissime, postquam ad supremum sacerdotii culmen evectus es, non malis artibus, non pudendis, ut plerique olim pactionibus et mercimoniis, qui per summum dedecus summum decus appetivere; sed tua (ita mihi, ita non parum multis visum) gratissima humanitate fore aliquando, uti meliorem in statum reformaretur Christiana respub. sed nec omnino desperarim, si adniti volueris, et tuæ isti humanitati, lenitati, facilitati, aliquid supercilii, aliquid rigoris, nonnihil pœnarum admiscere. Danda est opera, Maxime Pontifex, ne quid detrimenti nostra respub. patiat; bellum enim tibi cum multis; bellum, inquam, intestinum, periculosum, grave, quod avertendum est severitate disciplinæ. Luxum cohibe cujuscunque ordinis, modum pone ambitioni, compesce indomitos et effrænatos libidinis obscenæ furores, suspectis sacerdotum (quod et legibus ecclesiæ cautum est) contuberniis fræna constitue, aviditati et sceleratæ habendi cupiditati terminum præfige. Non concredita et commendata fidei sacerdotum, sed comesta verius ab illis et devorata piorum virorum patrimonia

vindica, et effice ut in bonos dispertiantur usus, ne amplius ab impuris heluonibus, ab omnium scelerum gurgitibus absorbeantur. Qui auctionibus sacrorum pudendis que licitationibus invigilaverint, dent poenas temerariæ mercaturæ. Qui non prospexerint commisso gregi, qui vanitati studuerint innumeræ, superstitionibus, comessationibus, pudendis exercitiis et familiaribus oblectati, vel corrigantur omnino, vel amoveantur a sacris, quandoquidem omnia fœdant exemplo, et pravæ consuetudine vitæ eos qui bene morati et egregie instituti sunt, plane corrumpunt, ut hinc non plebis modo, sed omnis ordinis fiat lapsus in crimina. Nec sane mirum, quando malum omne prodire de templo Johannes Chrysostomus censet, et Hieronymus scribit se invenisse neminem qui seduxerit populos præterquam sacerdotes, quos quidem si vel probe institueris, volentes, vel nolentes coercueris, universo Christiano orbi ad bene de omni reformatione sperandum quasi signum aliquod sustulisse videbere. Potes, summe Pontifex, nec in terris alius potest, et quum possis, debes, et cum debes, nisi volueris et curaveris ut fiat, quid sit periculi ex probatissimis eisdemque divinis exemplis animadvertere. Succurrat, quæso, tibi vetustus ille Sacerdos, in quem filiorum non vindicata scelera magnâ ex parte reciderunt: etenim qui præsumunt aliis, non modo est opus ut sint innocentes ipsi, sed ut resistant nocentibus, eorumque mala facinora compescant, et tum quidem ex Lebeta carnes tridenti fuscinula subtrahebantur ab illis, quod peccatum sacra Regum testatur historia nimis grande fuisse, quin homines a Dei sacrificio retraheret. Nunc autem malorum catervis exemplorum plebs ignara et a divino cultu et ab omni pietate deterretur. Illi cum mulieribus ea tempestate dormiebant ad ostium tabernaculi. Nostra vero et in sacras ædes fit irruptio, et ab illis etiam (proh pudor!) fœminæ abiguntur ad eorum libidines explendas, et meritorii pueri a parentibus commodantur, et condonantur his qui ab omni corporis etiam concessa voluptate sese immaculatos custodire deberent, hi postea ad sacerdotiorum gradus promoventur, ætatis flore transacto jam exoleti. Non igitur miremur si dejerant et falso utrumque se nosse sacrarum lite-

rarum instrumentum profiteantur. Quoniam nec quid ejus nomen significet pernovere.

Ac memini puerum quendam in episcopi locum ascitum, qui quoniam literas penitus ignorabat, per jocum dum roga-
retur, an magnos fecisset progressus in disciplinis, respon-
disse ingenue, nondum se didicisse exordium ejus orationis
quam de more sacerdotes præfari solent divina facturi.
Novi et qui annuas sacerdotii pecunias, commendatas eorum
fidei, spurcissimis voluptatibus et impendant et impendisse
glorientur. Hæc tu monstra, LEO Decime, tolerabis? hæc
et videbis et patieris? patieris (inquam) ut ignari literarum,
ut ad omnia magis apti quam ad tractanda sacra, per igno-
miniam et contumeliam abutantur divinis, et opes ad tem-
pla vel tuenda vel instauranda paratas, ad sublevandam pau-
perum miseriam, a piis hominibus qui jam vita sunt functi
destinatas, in alienos et prophanos usus convertant? Scri-
bit Hieronymus eos qui rebus ecclesiæ abutuntur, similes
scribarum esse et pharisæorum, et sacerdotum Christi Ser-
vatoris sanguinem mendacio redimentium. Equidem nec
Dionysii mysticam Theologiam, et divinorum dogmata no-
minum, neque subtilitates hypostaseōn, notionum, originum
et cæterarum disceptationum, quæ in Lutetia Parisiorum
exagitata ad nos manarunt, ab omnibus, exquiro sacerdoti-
bus; si se tamen dederent sacris literis, et præcellentium
nostræ religionis Antistitum doctrinis navarent operam,
multa sane commoda ad bene beateque vivendum consequi
possent. Non eo solum quod multa discerent, et pro se
magna et ipsis utilia, sed quoniam ejusmodi studiis præsta-
retur illis, uti facilius illecebris sensuum nuncium remitte-
rent, cum honestissimo in officio occupati, tum ab ipsis stu-
diis admoniti, ad meliorem vitam nos esse natos, et hanc
quam vivimus plenam esse ignorationis tenebris, si sensum,
si humana solum placita sectari volumus, plenam ærumna-
rum, plenam calamitatum, si humanis fidem votis velimus,
cujus etiam vitæ incommodis et tanquam stimulis invitamur,
ut ad eam quæ futura est libentius properemus. Quis (quæ-
so) mente paulo vegetiore non advertat, prima hac in vita
magis ad dolorem homines, quam ad voluptatem natos?

Tanto enim spatio nunquam aut bibere, aut comedere, aut vacare proli quisquam potuit, quanto aut sitiunt febrientes, aut mendici et obsessi esuriunt, aut rei criminum torquentur. Id etiam emolumentum nancisci facile possent, ut frænerent ambitionem malorum omnium matrem atque nutricem, quandoquidem omnia quæ magna corporeis et humana tantum intuentibus oculis apparent, exigua videntur spiritalibus oculis et æterna contemplantibus. Idque ipsum jure optimo; quandoquidem terræ moles collata cœlo, instar est puncti, raris habitata locis, sterili arena noxiis serpentibus sitique deserta, vastis in via paludibus, altissimis intersecta montibus, profundissimis interpolata fluctibus. In hac exigua naturæ portione tumultuatur humanum genus, brevis et incertæ vitæ etiam si diuturna, si longissima, si stabili nixa fundamento videatur. Quid enim diuturnum mortalibus si æternitati futuræ et immortalis vitæ ad ipsum conferatur? Quid certum et stabile in homine, in quo nutant omnia? in quo ut externas taceam et circumjacentes molestiarum moles, ipse conflictus pugnantium inter se qualitatum corporei temperamenti, bellum intestinum illi ipsi ciet identidem, et confecto bello minatur excidium. Adde tenebras quibus humana mens sibi relicta circumfunditur, unde et variarum opinionum prælia cooriuntur, et votorum sibi succedentium, subindeque fluctuantium æstus plane continui. Adde impetus hostiles, dolos, fraudes, injurias: Adde et superiorum mentium et insultus et æstus, ut verissimum sit illud elogium, Vita hominis militia super terram. Militia dubio procul, sed qua et victoriam et coronam et regnum, nobis in cœlo comparere possimus, ejusmodi, ut nec animo capere, nec concupiscere votis plane queamus, quando et animi et corporis fœlicitas quæ illic reposita Dei amicis, ejusque legis custodibus post hujus vitæ cursum asservatur, omnino superet captum humanæ mentis, nec nisi Deo docente hominibus patefiat nihilque omnino sint, si ei conferantur fœlicitati, quæ vanæ vetustatis illustratores Poetæ atque Philosophi commenti sunt de fortunatis insulis, de fluminibus nectaris, de via lactea, de reditu ad compares stellas, et cæteris quæ ad veritatem hallucinantes suis lucubrationibus inse-

ruere. Hæc illi et similia de sacro literarum otio nancisci facile possent. Sed ea ab omnibus non extorqueo sacerdotibus: at ne literas omnino ignorent, ne salis evanidi, ne lucis extinctæ notam gerant, et noscant quæ ad eorum pertinent officium, hoc exposco, hoc exigo, et ni præsent plane detestor. In primis autem et vitæ innocentiam et morum disciplinam, non exactissimam illam quidem et præcellentissimam, sed mediocrem. Non peto ut instar Hieronymi saxo pectus identidem verberent, sed nec ut meretricum pectora baccatis monilibus, nec crepidas Hydaspæis gemmis exornent. Neque etiam postulaverim, ut Hilarionis inediæ asuescant, sed ne Sybaritarum cœnas aut æmulentur, aut superent. Minus etiam efflagitaverim, ut in spinis et nive volutentur, more Francisci et Benedicti, sed quum mollem cygnorum plumam ingenti pecunia mercantur, aut redimendis captivis, aut virginibus nuptui tradendis jure optimo dedicata id plane damnaverim. Mediocritatem suadeo; præcellentiam illam virtutem, quam demirari facilius quam imitari plurimi possunt, si sequi etiam maluerint, et laudabo et prædicabo. Sed neque ita rem ad vivum reseco, ut quum eos et largos et facilesesse ad tribuendum moneo, ita moneam, ut velim eos omnino imitari egregium illud Martini et celebratissimum facinus scindendæ vestis, uti mendicus et frigore tremebundus pauper amicaretur. Verum eos quibus abundant acervi pecuniarum, monitos velim Martini exemplo, nudis vestes tribuendas, potius quam coccineis atque purpureis pannis cooperienda jumenta. Neque item exigo in sacrarum sumptibus ædium censum ut omnem dispertiant, æmulenturque aut Sybillina Cumis olim extracta delubra, aut Simandii et Artemisiæ præruptas murorum moles et minas, aut Solomonia templa, aut etiam nostræ tempestatis Julia ædificia. Sed libenter postulaverim, ne sinant corrumpere quæ ab illis structa sunt templa, a quibus ipsi opes tantas nacti sunt, ut multo auro dicantur Salmacidæ noctes coemere. Postulaverim ne Sacella a priscis olim frequentata patribus permittant histicum latibula constitui, fœdeque adeo haberi et negligenter, ut sit sæpenumero videre ferarum lustra equorumque præsepia et mundius et hones-

tius asservari. Quum nihilominus ipsorum cubicula interim auro splendeant, et substrata etiam purpura longe pretiosissima sint, mensarum vero et coquinarum instrumenta opere cælato refulgeant. His incommodis cum aliarum beneficio sanctionum, tum illius maxime custodia legis consuleres, Maxime Pontifex, qua sanctissime cavetur, ne multa ab uno sacerdotia, quibus annexa sit animarum cura, possideantur, Dispensatio, ita solet appellari, effecit, ut jam non multa, non plura, sed innumera teneant multi, qui ne diaconi quidem mererentur officio defungi, at ejusmodi rerum dissipationem non ego, sed Bernardus tot antea seculis appellavit. Oppone te huic petulantiae, Pater beatissime, et unum hoc inter alia negotium et munus egregie suscipe, ut qui luxu diffluunt, qui ambitione defervent, qui vel coemptis vel ejusmodi dissipationibus paratis sacerdotiis lascivunt, qui leges denique rite positas non observant, sentiant tuæ vim justitiæ atque intrepidæ virtutis, ut si aliqua culpa teneantur erroris humani, ab ejusmodi tamen scelerum immanitate liberentur. Liceat bonis et modestis vivere, quibus nec otiosis in communi otio jam licet esse; illis ipsis omnia arripientibus, et servitatem indicentibus maximam his qui eorum indigent opera ad famem tolerandam. Hoc si non egeris, Antistitum Summe, si malis hominibus fræna laxaveris, si jamdiu multumque laxata non cohibueris, vereor ne, te Pontifice, decidat eo nostra respub. ut dici non falso possit, a libidine pudorem, ab audacia timorem, ab amentia rationem, penitus esse devictam, et in te bellum a nostræ religionis hostibus ante audias geri quam parari. Si egeris, et utilitatem omnibus, et tibi etiam gloriam non hanc solum momentaneam et caducam, quæ parvi temporis angustiis coercetur, sed et stabilem et perpetuam, non in terris modo, sed in cœlesti sede comparabis. Nec modo timendum tibi ab exteris erit, sed intrepide sperandum, venturos nostræ religionis hostes, ad nostræ fidei disciplinam, bonis exemplis facilius quam vi et armis invitatos. Redactum olim ad nostræ pietatis instituta terrarum orbem per Apostolos efficacius sanctissimis eorum vitæ moribus, quam non modo Constantini Cæsaris legibus, præliis atque

triumphis, sed etiam peractis ipso Apostolorum ministerio supra vim naturæ miraculis, præclarissimi nostræ fidei assertores judicavere. Et quis, rogo, nobis assentiretur bonos mores suadentibus, si pravis ipsi abuteremur? Quis religioni quam colimus initiari per nos cuperet, quos videret quod ore asserimus factis pernegare? Præstat itaque in reducendis hostibus et desertoribus ad nostræ fidei pietatem, ut collapsos mores ad normam priscae virtutis instauremus, quam quod multi ambiunt, ut classe petamus Euxinum, et exposito in continentem milite, concussa que maximis confectis præliis Colchica Trapezunte, cruentata vexilla inferamus Armeniæ. Eja igitur, Pater Sanctissime, et naturæ lege non scripta, sed nata et revelata divinitus disciplina, et majorum tuorum sanctionibus atque decretis, et utilitate simul et gloria excitatus, induc sanctissimum in desertores et inpios saluberrimumque furorem, quo discant pœnarum agere formidine, quod virtutis amore deberent. Moses ille legislator, quamquam imitissimus, terrificam tamen percitus est ira, quum posthaberi Deum agnovit, et severam in desertores pœnam exercuit. Deus et homo Christus Jesus omnium virtutum exemplar irrogatas in se contumelias patientissime tulit. Non tulit Paterni honoris notam, quum sacrilegos venditores emptoresque ex templo expulit et flagello discussit. Et ille quidem vituli unius aurei cultores maxima est cæde persecutus; et hic columbas vænales et turtures e templo voluit ejectas. Tu vero earum cultores vitularum, quæ maximo numero in urbe non stabulantur modo sed dominantur, et auro, purpura, margaritis, more regio incedunt ornatae, ut ad eorum aspectum, nedum congressum plurimi et obbrutescant et pereant, exilio saltem et honorum omnium mulcta non compesces? Tu sacras ædes sceleribus omnifariam prophanari, et in eis tot monstra Circaeæ grunnire permiseris? Tot Syrenes, et verius, tot Syrenum millia patieris, naviculæ tibi divinitus commissæ, quantum in ipsis est, procurare naufragium? Tu Dei Optimi Maximi templorum, tu Christi sanguinis mercatum sustinueris, cujus supremum sacerdotium nullis mercimoniis es consequutus? Si clemens videris pontifex, id pietati facile adscribetur. Si nimis placidus,

naturæ tuæ consuetudini, corporisque temperamento. Sed si posthaberi Deum ejusque legem patieris, et immania scelera passim et nulla prorsus verecundia peragi, nullus erit tam injustus rerum æstimator, qui vereatur id tribuere vel malitiæ vel negligentia. Quapropter si attendere diligenter et æstimare hac omni de re, de qua disseruimus, volueris, Pater Sanctissime, sic (ni fallor) plane constitues, ut leges jam rite positæ, pœnæ saltem formidine custodiantur, dabisque operam exemplo non solum et innocentia vitæ, sed animadversionis in alios, ne quicquid collibitum fuerit impune fecisse audeant improbi, atque ita et tibi simul et omnibus consules, et collabentem jam ac prope intermorituram Christianam Rempublicam ab interitu vendicabis. Hoc omnis ordo, hoc consensio bonorum omnium exposcit et obsecrat. Quæ ubi per Te acta fuerint, ubi pessimæ vitæ monstra vel edomueris vel extinxeris, ne postea repullulent, adhibenda erit legum cautio, et severior aliquanto disciplina. Non in vestibus modo et sumptibus, sed in studiis sacræ literæ utriusque instrumenti recognoscendæ, et cum antiquis et castigatis primæ originis exemplaribus conferendæ, ut ab erratis quæ vitio temporum et librariorum incuria, in illas irrepserunt, omnino purgentur; solemnes cæremoniæ de quibus fuere olim quæpiam difficultates, prioribus oblatæ Synodis, statuendæ firmandæque sunt; quotidianæ preces redigendæ in statum et probatum ordinatum ordinem; et veræ historiæ ab apocryphis nugis segregandæ, præscribenda principibus viris officia, ut scelerata illa et nostræ Reipublicæ deletrix opinio, licere quæ placeant, et a vulgi animis omnino amoveatur et penitus exulet. Sit inter ipsos Principes pax et discordiarum finis, ut a diuturnis dissensionibus aliquando quiescamus, daturi operam eis officiis, quæ mortales evehunt ad immortalem vitam et excedentem animantium omnium vota fœlicitatem.

Comitis Mirandulæ de Moribus reformandis Orationis
Finis.

No. CXLVII.

(Page 153.)

Rime Sacre di Lorenzo de' Medici, p. 48. Ed. Fir. 1680.

ORAZIONE.

MAGNO Dio, per la cui costante legge,
 E sotto el cui perpetuo governo,
 Questo Universo si conserva, e regge,
 Del tutto Creator, che dallo eterno
 Punto comandi corra el tempo labile,
 Come rota faria sù fisso perno.
Quieto sempre, e giammai non mutabile,
 Fai e muti ogni cosa, e tutto muove
 Da te fermo Motore infatigabile.
Ne fuor di te alcuna causa truove,
 Che rimuova a formar questa materia,
 Avida sempre d'aver forme nuove.
Non indigenzia, sol di bontà vera
 La forma forma questa fluente opra,
 Bontà, che senza invidia o malizia era.
Questa bontà sol per amor s'adopra
 In far le cose a guisa di modello,
 Simile allo edificio ch'è di sopra.
Bellissimo Architetto el Mondo bello,
 Fingendo prima nella eterna mente
 Fatt' ai questo all' imagine di quello.
Ciascuna parte perfetta esistente
 Nel grado suo, alto Signor, comandi,
 Che assolve el tutto ancor perfettamente.
Tu gli elementi a' propri luoghi mandi,
 Legandoli con tal proporzione,
 Che l' un dall' altro non disgiungi, o spandi.

Tra' l foco e' l ghiaccio fai cognazione,
 Così temperi insieme il molle e' l duro,
 Da te fatti contrari anno unione.
 Così non fugge più leggiero e puro
 El foco in alto, nè giù el peso affonda
 La terra in basso sotto 'l centro oscuro.
 Per la tua providenzia fai, s' infonda
 L' anima in mezzo del gran corpo, donde
 Convieni in tutti e membri si diffonda.
 Ciò che si muove, non si muove altronde
 In sì bello animale; e tre nature
 Quest' anima gentile in sè nasconde.
 Le due più degne più gentili e pure,
 Da sè movendo, due gran cerchi fanno,
 In se medesme ritornando pure;
 E 'ntorno alla profonda mente vanno.
 L'altra v'è dritta mossa dall' amore
 Di far gli effetti, che da lei vita anno.
 E come muove se questo Motore
 Movendo el Cielo, il suo moto simiglia,
 Come le membra in mezzo al petto el core.
 Da tè primo Fatto la vita piglia
 Ogn' animale ancor di minor vita,
 Benchè più vil; questa è pur tua famiglia.
 A questi dà la tua bontà infinita
 Curri leggier di puro fuoco adorni,
 Quando la Terra e' l Ciel gli chiama in vita.
 E dipoi adempiuti e mortal giorni,
 La tua benigna legge allor concede,
 Che il curro ciascun monti, et a tè torni.
 Concedi, o Padre, l' alta e sacra sede
 Monti la mente, e vegga el vivo fonte,
 Fonte ver bene, onde ogni ben procede.
 Mostra la luce vera alla mia fronte,
 E poichè conosciuto e' l tuo bel Sole,
 Dell' Alma ferma in lui le luci pronte.
 Fuga le nebbie, e la terrestre mole
 Leva da mè, e splendi in la tua luce;
 Tu se' quel sommo ben, che ciascun vuole.

A tè dolce riposo si conduce,
 E tè come suo fin, vede ogni pio ;
 Tu se' principio, portatore, e duce,
 La vita, e 'l termin, Tu sol Magno Dio.

HYMN

Of Lorenzo de' Medici.

GREAT God, by whose determined laws
 All nature moves ! unceasing cause,
 Whose power the universe controls !
 Who from the central point decreed
 That time his rapid flight should speed,
 As round th' eternal circle rolls !

At rest thyself, yet active still,
 Thou mak'st and changest at thy will ;
 Unmoved alone, thou movest all ;
 Whilst matter, eager to assume
 New forms, from thee awaits its doom,
 And hastens at thy powerful call.

Firm on the ductile mass imprest
 Whate'er thy wisdom deems the best
 Thou fashion'st with unbounded love ;
 Whilst all the wondering eye surveys
 Unfolds to reason's clearer gaze
 The nobler Archetype above.

Revolved in thy eternal mind,
 Whate'er thy providence design'd
 Its *primal* fashion there assumed ;
 Till all in just dependence shewn,
 All future change to thee foreknown,
 The whole in full perfection bloom'd.

Then first thy mightier chain was bound
 The struggling elements around,
 Till each assumed its destined stand.
 Thy power their contraries controll'd,
 And moist and dry, and heat and cold,
 Were harmonized at thy command.

Nor scales the fire th' empyreal height,
 Nor sinks the earth's incumbent weight
 Beneath the central darkness deep ;
 But temper'd in proportions true,
 Each binding each in order due,
 They learn their destin'd bounds to keep.

Diffused thro' all the mighty whole,
 Thy goodness pours the living soul
 That actuates each remoter part.
 Thy energy with ceaseless force
 Impels the still returning course,
 As 'midst the limbs the heaving heart.

From Thee, great Author, all that lives
 Its stated boon of life receives,
 Ere long again restored to Thee ;
 Each insect too minute to name
 Yet owns a portion of thy flame,
 Part of thy numerous family.

Resplendent cars of fiery glow
 From realms of light to earth below
 Thy animated offspring bear ;
 And when this mortal trial ends,
 Again the glorious car attends
 To wing them to their native sphere.

Grant then, my God, that raised sublime
 My soul the arduous heights may climb,
 And gaze upon the fount of light ;

Nor ever from the place where shines
That cloudless sun which ne'er declines
Remove again its raptured sight.

Purge thou, my God, my visual ray ;
Banish these earthly mists away,
Great centre towards which all things tend !
In thee alone, eternal mind !
The good their final refuge find,
Of all Creator, Guide, and End.

No. CXLVIII.

(Page 160.)

Lutheri Opera, tom. i. p. 1.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Alberto, Magdeburg. ac Moguntinen. Ecclesiarum Archiepiscopo Primati, Marchioni Brandenburg. &c. Domino suo et Pastori in Christo, Venerabiliter metuendo ac gratiosissimo.

Gratiam Dei, et quicquid potest et est.

PARCE mihi, Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Princeps illustrissime, quod ego, fex hominum, tantum habeo temeritatis, ut ad culmen tuæ sublimitatis ausus fuerim cogitare Epistolam ; testis est mihi Dominus Jesus, quod meæ parvitas et turpitudinis mihi conscius, diu jam distuli, quod nunc perfricta fronte perficio, permotus quam maxime officio fidelitatis meæ, quam T. Reverendissimæ Pat. in Christo debere me agnosco ; dignetur itaque tua interim Celsitudo oculum ad pulverem unum intendere, et votum meum pro tua pontificali clementia intelligere.

Circumferuntur Indulgentiæ papales, sub tuo præclarissimo titulo, ad fabricam S. Petri, in quibus non adeo accuso Prædicatorum exclamations, quas non audivi, sed doleo

falsissimas intelligentias populi ex illis conceptas, quas vulgo undique jactant, videlicet, quod credunt infœlices animæ, si literas Indulgentiarum redemerint, se securas esse de salute sua. Item, quod Animæ de Purgatorio statim evolent, ubi contributionem in cistam conjecerint. Deinde, tantas esse has gratias, ut nullum sit adeo magnum peccatum, etiam (ut aiunt) si per impossibile quis Matrem Dei violasset, quin possit solvi. Item, quod homo per istas indulgentias liber sit ab omni pœna et culpa.

O Deus optime! sic erudiuntur Animæ, tuis curis, optime Pater, commissæ, ad mortem, et fit atque crescit durissima ratio tibi reddenda super omnibus istis. Id circo tacere hæc amplius non potui, non enim fit homo per ullum munus Episcopi securus de salute, cum nec per gratiam Dei infusam fiat securus, sed semper in timore et tremore jubet nos operari salutem nostram Apostolus. Et justus, inquit Petrus, vix salvabitur. Denique tam arcta est via, quæ ducit ad vitam, ut Dominus per Prophetas Amos et Zachariam, salvandos appellet torres raptos de incendio, et ubique Dominus difficultatem salutis denunciat.

Cur ergo per illas falsas veniarum fabulas et promissiones, prædicatores earum faciunt populum securum et sine timore? cum Indulgentiæ prorsus nihil boni conferant Animabus ad salutem aut sanctitatem, sed tantummodo pœnam externam, olim eanonice imponi solitam, auferant.

Denique, opera pietatis et charitatis sunt in infinitum meliora indulgentiis, et tamen hæc non tanta pompa nec tanto studio prædicant, imo propter Venias prædicandas illa tacent, cum tamen omnium Episcoporum hoc sit officium primum et solum, ut populus Evangelium discat, et charitatem Christi, nusquam enim præcipit Christus Indulgentias prædicari. Quantus ergo horror est, quantum periculum, Episcopi, si tacito Evangelio, non nisi strepitus indulgentiarum permittat in populum suum spargi, et has plus curet quam Evangelium? nonne dicet illis Christus, Colantes culicem, et glutientes camelum.

Accedit ad hoc, Reverendissime Pater in Domino, quod in Instructione illâ commissariorum, sub T. Reverendissi-

mæ P. nomine edita, dicitur (utique sine T. P. Reverendissimæ et scientia et consensu) unam principalium gratiarum esse donum illud Dei inæstimabile, quo reconciletur homo Deo, et omnes pœnæ deleantur Purgatorii. Item, quod non sit necessaria contritio his, qui Animas vel Confessionalia redimunt.

Sed quid faciam, optime Præsul et illustrissime Princeps, nisi quod per Dominum Jesum Christum T. Reverendissimam P. orem, quatenus oculus paternæ curæ dignetur admittere, et eundem Libellum penitus tollere, et prædicatoribus veniarum imponere aliam prædicandi formam, ne forte aliquis tandem exurgat, qui editis Libellis, et illos, et Libellum illum confutet, ac vituperium summum Illustrissimæ Tuæ Sublimitatis, quod ego vehementer quidem fieri abhorreo, et tamen futurum timeo, nisi cito succurratur.

Hæc meæ parvitatæ fidelia officia, rogo, tua illustrissima gratia dignetur accipere, animo principali, et episcopali, id est, clementissimo, sicut ego ea exhibeo corde fidelissimo, et T. P. Reverendissimæ deditissimo, quando et ego pars ovilis tui sum. Dominus Jesus custodiat T. Reverendissimam P. in æternum, Amen.

Ex Wittembergæ, in Vigilia omnium Sanctorum,
Anno MDXVII.

Si T. Reverendissimæ P. placet, poterit has meas Disputationes videre, ut intelligat, quam dubia res sit Indulgentiarum opinio, quam illi ut certissimam seminant.

T. Reverendissimæ P.

MARTINUS LUTHERUS.

No. CXLIX.

(Page 164.)

Lutheri Op. tom. i. p. 65.

*Beatissimo Patri Leoni Decimo, Pont. Max. F. Martinus
Lutherus Augustinianus, æternam salutem.*

AUDITUM audiui de me pessimum, Beatissime Pater, quo intelligo, quosdam amicos fecisse nomen meum gravissime coram te et tuis fœtere, ut quia auctoritatem et potestatem clavium et Summi Pontificis minuere molitus sim. Inde Hæreticus Apostata, perfidus et sexcentis nominibus, imo ignominiis accusor. Horrent aures et stupent oculi. Sed unicum stat fiduciae præsidium, innocens et quieta conscientia. Nec nova audio; talibus enim insignibus et in nostra Regione me ornaverunt, homines isti honestissimi et veraces id est, pessime sibi conscii, qui sua portenta mihi conantur imponere, et mea ignominia, suas ignominias glorificare. Sed rem ipsam, Beatissime Pater, digneris audire ex me infante et inculto.

Cœpit apud nos diebus proximis prædicari Jubileus ille Indulgentiarum Apostolicarum, profecitque adeo, ut præcones illius, sub tui nominis terrore, omnia sibi licere putantes, impiissima hæreticaque palam auderent docere, in gravissimum scandalum et ludibrium Ecclesiasticæ potestatis, ac si Decretales de abusionibus quæstorum nihil ad eos pertinerent. Nec contenti, quod liberrimis verbis hæc sua venena diffunderent, insuper Libellos ediderunt, et in vulgum sparserunt. In quibus, ut taceam insatiabilem et inauditam avaritiam, quam singuli pene apices olent crassissime, eadem illa impia et hæretica statuerunt, et ita statuerunt, ut Confessores juramento adigerent, quo hæc ipsa fidelissime instantissimeque populo inculcarent.

Verè dico, nec est, quo se abscondant a calore hoc. Extant Libelli, nec possunt negare. Agebantur tum illa prospere, et exugebantur populi falsis spebus, et ut Propheta

ait, Carnem desuper ossibus eorum tollebant. Ipsi vero pinguiissime et suavissime interim pascebantur.

Unum erat, quo scandala sedabant, scilicet, terror nominis tui, ignis comminatio et Hæretici nominis opprobrium. Hæc enim incredibile est quam propensi sint intentare, quandoque etiam sit, in meris opiniosisque nugis suis contradictionem senserint. Si tamen hoc est scandala sedare, ac non potius mera tyrannide, schismata et seditiones tandem suscitare.

Verum nihilominus crebrescebant Fabulæ per tabernas de avaritia sacerdotum, detractionesque clavium, summique Pontificis, ut testis est vox totius hujus terræ. Ego sane (ut fateor) pro zelo Christi, sicuti mihi videbar, aut si ita placet, pro juvenili calore urebar, nec tamen meum esse videbam, in iis quicquam statuere aut facere. Proinde monui privatim aliquot magnates Ecclesiarum. Hic ab aliis acceptabar, aliis ridiculum, aliis aliud videbar; prævalebat enim nominis tui terror et censurarum intentatio. Tandem, cum nihil possem aliud, visum est, saltem, leniuscule illis reluctari, id est, eorum dogmata in dubium et disputationem vocare. Itaque Schedulam disputatoriam edidi, invitans tantum doctiores, si qui vellent mecum disceptare, sicut manifestum esse etiam adversariis oportet, ex Præfatione ejusdem disceptationis.

Ecce, hoc est incendium, quo totum Mundum quærentur conflagrari, forte quod indignantur me unum, autoritate tua Apostolica Magistrum Theologiæ, jus habere in publica Schola disputandi, pro more omnium Universitarum et totius Ecclesiæ, non modo de indulgentiis, verum etiam de potestate, remissione, Indulgentiis divinis, incomparabiliter majoribus rebus. Nec tamen multum moveor, quod hanc mihi facultatem invideant, a tua B. potestate concessam, qui eis favere cogor invitus, multo majora, scilicet, quod Aristotelis somnia, in medias res Theologiæ miscent, atque de divina Majestate meras nugas disputant, contra et citra facultatem eis datam.

Porro, quod nam fatum urgeat has solas meas Disputationes præ cæteris, non solum eis, sed omnium Magistro-

rum, ut in omnem terram pene exierint, mihi ipsi miraculum est. Apud nostros et propter nostros tantum sunt editæ, et sic editæ, ut mihi incredibile sit, eas ab omnibus intelligi. Disputationes enim sunt, non doctrinæ, non dogmata, obscurius pro more, et ænigmaticus positæ. Alioqui si prævidere potuissem, certe id pro mea parte curassem, ut essent intellectu faciliores.

Nunc quid faciam? Revocare non possum, et miram mihi invidiam ex ea invulgatione video conflari; invitus venio in publicum, periculosissimumque ac varium hominum iudicium præsertim ego indoctus, stupidus ingenio, vacuus eruditione, deinde nostro florentissimo seculo, quod pro sua in literis et ingeniis fœlicitate etiam Ciceronem cogere possit ad angulum lucis et publici, alioqui non ignavum sectatorem; sed cogit necessitas, me anserem strepere inter olores.

Itaque quo et ipsos adversarios mitigem, et desideria multorum expleam, emitto ecce meas nugas, declaratorias mearum Disputationum; emitto autem, quo tutior sim, sub tui nominis præsidio, et tuæ protectionis umbra, Beatissime Pater, in quibus intelligent omnes, qui volent, quam pure simpliciterque Ecclesiasticam potestatem et reverentiam clavium quæsierim et coluerim, simulque quam inique et false me tot nominibus adversarii fœdaverint. Si enim talis essem, qualem illi me videri cupiunt, ac non potius omnia disputandi facultate, recte a me tractata fuissent, non potuisset fieri, ut Illustr. Princeps Fridericus Saxonix Dux, Elector Imperii, &c. hanc pestem in sua permetteret Universitate, cum sit Catholicæ et Apostolicæ veritatis unus facile aman-tissimus, nec tolerabilis fuisset viris nostri studii acerrimis et studiosissimis. Verum actum ego, quando illi suavissimi homines non verentur mecum et Principem et Universitatem pari ignominia conficere palam.

Quare, Beatissime Pater, prostratum me pedibus tuæ B. offero cum omnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivifica, occide, voca, revoca, approba, reproba, ut placuerit; vocem tuam, vocem Christi, in te præsentis et loquentis agnoscam. Si mortem merui, mori non recusabo. Domini enim est terra,

et plenitudo ejus, qui est benedictus in secula, Amen, qui et te servet in æternum, Amen. Die S. Trinitatis, Anno MDXVIII.

No. CL.

(Page 167.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 160.

Epistola Imperatoris Maximiliani Augusti: missa ex conventu Augustiniano, Anno MDXVIII. De controversiis Lutheri, ad Leonem X. Pontificem Romanum.

BEATISSIME Pater, Domine Reverendissime, Accepimus non adeo multos ante dies, quendam Fratrem Augustinianum, Martinum Lutherum, nonnullas Conclusiones in materia Indulgentiarum, scholastico more discutiendas, disseminasse, nec non in Concionibus suis et ea de re, et de vi Apostolicarum Excommunicationum plurima docuisse, in quibus damnosa et hæretica pleraque videantur; atque ea nunc per Magistrum Sacri vestri Palatii notata esse. Quæ res nobis eo magis displicuit, quo pertinacius dictus frater, ut edocti sumus, doctrinæ suæ inhærere, atque complures errorum suorum Defensores et Patrones, etiam potentes, consequutus esse dicitur.

Verum, cum suspectæ adsertiones, et periculosa dogmata a nemine melius, rectius et verius dijudicari queant, quam a Beatitudine vestra, quæ sola, ut potest, ita debet, vanarum quæstionum, sophisticarum rationum, et verbosarum contentionum autores compescere, quibus pestilentiores Christianæ pietati nulli contigerunt, huc tantum spectantes, ut quod ipsi didicerunt, id solum habeatur in precio, quod præsentis seculi, et eruditorum consensus, et pie antea in Christo defunctorum candida et solida doctrina comprobatur.

Extat pervetustum Pontificii Senatus Decretum, de constituendis Doctoribus, in quo de sophistica nusquam unquam quicquam cautum est, nisi quod ista in Decretis vo-

cantur in dubium, utrum fas sit, ea discere nec ne, atque horum studium a multis et magnis autoribus improbatum. Cur igitur, quod Pontificum autoritas jussit, negligitur, et de quo dubitatum, imo improbatum est, id solum recipitur, necesse est interdum hallucinari, somniare et cæcutire Magistros istos, quibus debetur, quod non solum hactenus Doctores ab Ecclesia recepti solidiores non lecti, sed plerique depravati sunt, atque mutili redditi.

Tacemus iis Autoribus pullulasse longe plures, quam unquam damnatas fuisse hæreses. Tacemus Reuchlinianam infamationem, et nunc præsentem hanc periculosissimam de Indulgentiis atque censuris Apostolicis disceptationem, his perniciosis Autoribus in mundum emanasse: Quibus nisi Beatitudinis vestræ et Reverendissimorum Patrum autoritas legem finemque imposuerit, brevi non solum imperitæ imponent multitudini, sed et Principum virorum sibi auram et favorem in mutuum perniciem comparabunt. Quibus, si conniventibus oculis campus apertus atque liber dimittatur, futurum est, ut quod omnium maxime in votis habent, ut pro optimis et sanctissimis Doctoribus istorum nenias præ oculis habere cogatur totus mundus.

Hæc pro singulari nostra in sedem Apostolicam reverentia Beatitudini vestræ significavimus, ut sinceritas Christiana, hujusmodi temerariis Disputationibus et captiosis Argumentis, non lædatur et scandalizetur. Nos enim quidquid super his sancte statuerit in Imperio nostro, ad laudem et honorem Dei omnipotentis, et Christi fidelium salutem, ab omnibus observari faciemus. Datum in civitate nostra imperiali Augusta, die quinta mensis Augusti, Anno MDXVIII. Regnorum nostrorum, Romani tricesimo tertio, Hungariæ vero vicesimo nono.

No. CLI.

(Page 167.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 161.

Leo Papa X. Dilecto nostro Filio Thomæ, Tituli S. Sixti, Presbytero Cardinali nostro, et Apostolicæ Sedis de latere Legato.

DILECTE fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Postquam ad aures nostras pervenerat, quendam Martinum Lutherum, Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Professore, in reprobum sensum versum, nonnulla hæretice, et ab eo, quod sancta Romana tenet Ecclesia, diversa asseverare, et super hoc Conclusiones, nec non famosos Libellos temeritate propria, et erecta cervice, laxatis obedientiæ frenis, inconsulta Romana Ecclesia, fidei Magistra, in diversis Germaniæ partibus publicare ausum fuisse, Nos temeritatem suam paterne corrigere volentes, Venerabili Fratri nostro Hieronymo Episcopo Asculano, Curiæ causarum Cameræ Apostolicæ generali auditori, commisimus, ut ipsum Lutherum ad comparandum personaliter coram eo, et se super præmissis examinandum, et qualiter de fide sentiret respondendum, sub certis pœnis moneret, Ipseque Hieronymus auditor, contra dictum Martinum Lutherum monitorium hujusmodi, ut accepimus, decrevit.

Nuper autem ad notitiam nostram devenit, quod dictus Martinus benignitate nostra abusus, et audacior effectus, mala malis addendo, et pertinaciter in hæresi persistendo, nonnullas alias Conclusiones ac famosos libellos similiter publicavit, in quibus nonnulla alia hæretica et erronea continentur, quod quidem mentem nostram non modicum perturbavit.

Quare, prout pastorali nostro incumbit officio, in præmissis occurrere, et ne pestis hujusmodi adeo invaleat, ut simplicium animos inficiat, providere volentes, circumspeditioni tuæ, (de qua tum ob singularem doctrinam et rerum experi-

entiam, tum ob in nos, et hanc sanctam Sedem, cujus honorabile membrum existis, sinceram devotionem plurimum in Domino confidimus) per præsentés mandamus, ut eisdem præsentibus receptis, absque ulla mora, quoniam res apud nos, tum ex fama, tum ex facti permanentia, notoria et inexcusabilis est, dictum Lutherum hæreticum per prædictum auditorem jam declaratum ad personaliter coram te comparendum, invocato ad hoc tam clarissimi in Christo filii nostri Maximiliani Romanorum Imperatoris Electi, quam reliquorum Germaniæ Principum, Communitatum Universitatum et Potentatum, tam Ecclesiasticorum, quam secularium, brachio, cogas atque compellas, et eo in potestate tua redacto, eum sub fidei custodia retineas, donec a nobis aliud habueris in mandatis, ut coram nobis et Sede Apostolica sistatur. Ac quod si coram te, sponte ad petendam de hujusmodi temeritate veniam, venerit, et ad cor reversus pœnitentiæ signa ostenderit. Tibi eum ad unitatem sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, quæ nunquam claudit gremium redeunti, benigne recipiendi concedimus facultatem.

Si vero in pertinacia sua perseverans et brachium seculare contemnens, in potestatem tuam non venerit, Tibi in omnibus Germaniæ partibus eum ac omnes ipsius adhærentes et sequaces, etiam per edicta publica, ad instar illorum, qui olim in Albo prætorio scribebantur, pro hæreticis, excommunicatis, anathematizatis, et maledictis publicandi, et ab omnibus Christi fidelibus, tanquam tales evitari faciendi, concedimus similiter facultatem.

Et ut celerius et facilius morbus hujusmodi exterminetur, universos et singulos Prælatos, et alias Ecclesiasticas personas, tam seculares quam quorumvis Ordinum, etiam mendicantium regulares, nec non Duces, Marchiones, Comites, Barones ac quascunque Communitates, Universitates et Potentatus (præfato Maximiliano electo Imperatore excepto) autoritate nostra etiam sub Excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, et aliis infra dicendis pœnis moneas, et requiras, ut sicut reputari cupiunt, et haberi fideles, dictum Martinum, et ejus adhærentes et sequaces capiant, et ad manus tuas transmittant.

Quod si, quod absit, quod nobis persuadere non possumus, prædicti Principes, Communitates, Universitates, et Potentatus, aut aliquis eorum, Martinum, aut adherentes et sequaces prædictos quomodolibet receptaverint, seu eidem Luthero auxilium, consilium, vel favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, ex quavis causa quomodolibet dederint, eorundem Principum, Communitatum, Universitatum, et potentatum, ac cujuslibet eorum civitates, oppida, terras et loca, nec non civitates, oppida, terras, et loca ad quæ prædictum Martinum declinare contigerit, donec dictus Martinus ibidem permanserit, et per triduum post, ecclesiastico subjicimus interdicto.

Mandantes nihilominus omnibus et singulis Principibus, Communitatibus, Universitatibus et Potentatibus prædictis, ultra præfatas pœnas, quo ad ecclesiasticos et regulares prædictos sub privationis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, et aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, nec non inhabilitatis ad ea in posterum obtinenda, privatione quoque Feudorum. Quo vero ad Laicos, dempto prædicto Imperatore, infamiæ, et inhabilitatis ad omnes actus legitimos Ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, privationis quoque Feudorum, a nobis et sede Apostolica, vel quibusvis aliis etiam secularibus obtentorum pœnis, eo ipso incurrendis, quatenus mandata requisitionis et hortationes tuas sine exceptione, contradictione et replicatione aliqua ilico exequantur, et a consilio, auxilio, favore, et receptatione prædictis omnino abstineant.

Obedientibus vero Indulgentiam etiam plenariam, seu retributionem aliquam, aut gratiam arbitrio tuo concedendi, tenore præsentium tibi tribuimus facultatem. Non obstantibus, exemptionibus, privilegiis, et indultis, juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia, roboratis, quibusvis Ecclesiasticis seu cujusvis Ordinis et mendicantium regularibus, Ecclesiis, Monasteriis sive locis, aut personis etiam secularibus, quomodolibet concessis, etiam si in eis caveretur expresse, quod excommunicari, suspendi, interdicti nullo modo possint, cum irritantis decreti appositione, quibus eorum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum præsentibus insererentur, pro expressis habentes, ad effectum præsen-

tium specialiter et expresse derogamus, et derogatum esse volumus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, Die xxiii. Augusti, Anno MDXVIII. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS.

No. CLII.

(Page 168.)

Lutheri op. p. 160.

Leo Papa X. Dilecto Filio Nobili viro Friderico, Duci Saxonie, Sacri Romani Imperii Principi Electori, S.

DILECTE Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Cum memoria recolimus nobilissimam Familiam tuam, teque ipsum caput et ornamentum familiæ, ad cæteras laudes proprias generis vestri hanc primam et potissimam esse voluisse, ut per vos Dei fides ac religio, et hujus sanctæ Sedis honor ac dignitas, quemadmodum quidem decet et fas est, salva atque illibata manerent, non possumus existimare errantem quempiam a fide, vel adversus eam potius oblatrantem, tuæ nobilitatis favore aut gratia fretum, superbiam et iniquitati suæ frena tam audacter laxare.

Cum vero audimus, et ad nos undique defertur, quendam iniquitatis filium, Fratrem Martinum Lutherum, ordinis Eremitarum, S. Augustini congregationis Alemanniæ, immemorem habitus, professionisque suæ, quæ in humilitate et obedientia consistit, prævaricantem, in Ecclesia Dei jactare se, tanquam tuæ nobilitatis præsidio munitus, nullius auctoritatem reprehensionemque vereatur. Etsi cognoscimus falsum hoc esse, tamen eidem nobilitati tuæ scribendum duximus, hortantes eam in Domino, ut pro nomine et dignitate boni catholicique Principis, qualis tu es, retinere splendorem optimæ famæ generis tui immaculatum ab hac calumnia velis. Neque solum culpam evitare, quod facis, nulla enim adhuc in te nostro judicio culpa est, sed etiam

suspicionem fugere hujus culpæ, quam tibi illius temeritas inferre conatur.

Et quoniam ex doctissimorum ac religiosissimorum hominum relatione, ac præsertim dilecti filii Magistri sacri Palatii nostri, nobis constat, multa, dictum fratrem Martinum Lutherum, impia et hæretica, audere asserere, et publice affirmare; Nos et eum citari ad respondendum jussimus, et dilecto filio nostro Thomæ, tituli S. Sixti Presbytero Cardinali nostro, et hujus sanctæ Sedis de latere Legato, homini omnis Theologiæ Philosophiæque consultissimo, quid eum agere oporteat, commissimus.

Cum autem hæc res Dei Catholicæque fidei sinceritatem omnino concernat, sitque proprium officium Sedis Apostolicæ, fidei magistræ cognoscere, qui recte sentiant aut perperam; hortamur denuo nobilitatem tuam, et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandamus, ut et Dei, et nostri, et sui honoris causa, dare operam et efficere velit, ut is Martinus Lutherus in potestatem et judicium hujus sanctæ Sedis, sicut a te Legatus prædictus requisiverit, deducatur. Quod erit fidei catholicæ gratum et salutare munus, tuæ nobilitati, ob pietatis et religionis cultum, in primis honorificum. Si quidem ad honorem nominis tui et animæ salutem in primis pertinet, ne præsens et futurum seculum ullo tempore commemorare possit, hæresin perniciosissimam in Ecclesia Dei, favore domus tuæ nobilissimæ, fuisse exortam, cui te periculo occurrere tua sapientia decet.

Quod si forte aliquid tibi de eo in bonam partem persuasum est, re apud Sedem Apostolicam discussa, et veritate indigata, aut is, si erit innocens, cum bona nostra gratia remittetur; aut si pravæ mentis inventus fuerit, mens tua ab omni errore liberabitur. Nos et paterno affectu, et ex pastoralis officio, neque innocentiae pœnam ullam proponimus, et pœnitenti clementiæ nostræ gremium largiter aperiemus. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, Die XXIII. Augusti, Anno M.D.XVIII. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS.

No. CLIII.

(Page 169.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 162.

Epistola Academicæ Witembergensis ad Leonem X. Romanum Pontificem, Testimonium præbens de integritate D. Martini Lutheri, et excusans eum, quare Romam proficisci non possit.

NON temeritati neque impudentiæ nobis vertet, Beatissime Pater, suavissima illa tua et vere pastoralis Clementia quod Sanctitatem tuam hisce nostris Literis adire præsumpsimus, Pietas ipsa et veritas vice nostræ verecundiæ abunde (speramus) nobis conciliabit patientissimam tuam, et passim omnibus munifice expositam benevolentiam.

Frater quidam, Martinus Lutherus, Artium et sacræ Theologiæ Professor, nostri studii fidele gratumque membrum, (ut vocant) nobis supplex factus, fiducia nostræ intercessionis, Literas ad Beatitudinem tuam postulavit, quibus testimonium perhiberemus et doctrinæ et famæ ejus, quam a quibusdam iniquius damnari et accusari queritur.

Denique et nunc autoritate Beatitudinis tuæ, per Commissionem propter disputatas aliquot apud nos Propositiones de Indulgentiis, citatus, et personaliter comparere in Urbe jussus est. Quia vero et corporis valetudo, et itineris periculum, non patiuntur eum facere quod deberet et vellet, hæc res supra vires suas esse videtur: Idcirco nos ejus et necessitati et petitioni compassi, negare non volumus id, quo sibi opus esse credit, testimonium nostrum.

Quare, Beatissime Pater, humiliter et obnixè oramus, devoti deditique filii Sanctitatis tuæ, ut hunc Virum cum credere dignetur, cujus apud nos opinio usque adhuc nullius perversi et quod a sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sensu aberraret, dogmatis labe respersa aut contaminata sit. Nisi quod ritu et facultate disputandi liberius forte quædam posuerit (nihil asserendo) quam ferre potuerint quidam adver-

sarii sui. Nam nec nos ipsi tales unquam videri volumus, qui pertinaciter adversus catholicum Dogma quidquam sapere statuerent. Parati per omnia, tuis et sanctæ Ecclesiæ voluntatibus parere in Christo Jesu Domino Deo nostro, qui et sanctitatem tuam nobis faciat propiciam et exorabilem, et gratia sua hic præveniat, et illic gloria æterna subsequatur, Amen. Datum Wittembergæ xxv. Septemb. Anno MDXVIII.

Tuæ Sanctitatis devoti deditique Filii, Rector, Magistri, et Doctores Academiae Wittembergensis.

No. CLIV.

(Page 170.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 163.

Martinus Lutherus Philippo Melancth. S.

NIHIL novi aut miri hic agitur, nisi quod mei nominis rumore Civitas plena est, et omnes cupiunt videre hominem tanti incendii Herostratum. Tu age virum, sicut agis, et adolescentes recta doce. Ego pro vobis et illis vado immolari, si Domino placet. Malo perire, et quod unum mihi gravissimum est, etiam vestra conversatione dulcissima carere in æternum, quam ut revocem bene dicta, et studiis optimis perdendis occasio fiam, apud hos, ut insipientissimos, ita acerrimos literarum et studiorum hostes.

Italia est in Ægypti tenebras palpabiles projecta, adeo ignorant omnes Christum, et ea quæ Christi sunt. Hos tamen Dominos et Magistros habemus fidei et morum. Sic impletur ira Dei super nos, quæ dicit: Dabo pueros Principes eorum, et effœminati dominabuntur eis. Vale, mi Phillippe, et Dei iram castis precibus averte. Augustæ feria secunda post Dionysii, Anno M.D.XVIII.

F. MARTINUS LUTHERUS.

No. CLV.

(Page 176.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 169.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino Thomæ, Tituli S. Sixti, Presbytero Cardinali, sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ per Germaniam de latere Legato, &c. In Christo metuendo et colendo, Salutem et omnem subjectionem sui.

REVERENDISSIME in Christo Pater. Iterum Venio, sed per literas; dignetur Reverendissima Paternitas tua me clementissime audire.

Egit mecum Reverendus, mihique dulcissimus, Pater meus in Christo, Vicarius noster Johannes Stupicius, ut humiliter sentirem, et opinioni propriæ cederem, et censum meum submitterem, commendavitque ac exuberantissime persuasit Paternitatem tuam Reverendissimam mihi esse gratiosissimam. Ea res, et nuncius pariter me mirum in modum exhilararunt, Est enim homo hic talis et tantus in oculis meis, ut nullus sit in mundo cui libentius audirem et obsequerem. Nec minus egit dulcissimus frater meus, Magister Venceslaus Lincus, qui ab ineunte ætate pari mecum studio adolevit. Breviter, non potuit Reverendissima Paternitas tua fortius et dulcius me movere, quam his duobus Viris mediatoribus, quorum uterque in solidum me habet in manu sua. Tanta est tua simul humanitas et prudentia, qua video tuam Reverendissimam Paternitatem non mea, sed me quarere, cum potuisset sola potestate in me dominari. Itaque jam timor meus sensim transit, imo mutatus est, in singularem erga Reverendissimam Paternitatem tuam amorem, et veram filialemque reverentiam.

Nunc, Reverendissime in Christo Pater, fateor, sicut et alias fassus sum, me fuisse certe nimis (ut dicunt) indiscretum, acrem et irreverentem in nomen summi Pontificis. Et licet acerrime fuerim in hanc irreverentiam provocatus, tamen meum fuisse nunc intelligo, modestias, humiliter et re-

verentius hanc materiam tractare, et non ita respondere stulto, ut ei similis efficerer, de quo sincerissime doleo, et veniam peto, et per omnia Pulpita in vulgus promulgabo, sicut et sæpius jam feci, Daboque deinceps operam, ut alius sim, et aliter loquar, Deo miserente. Imo promptissimus sum, atque facillime promitto, me posthac materiam de Indulgentiis non tractare, atque his finitis quiescere, modo illis quoque modus imponatur, aut sermonis aut silentii, qui me in hanc Tragœdiam suscitaverunt.

Cæterum, mi Reverendissime in Christo, ac jam dulcissime Pater, quantum ad sententiæ veritatem pertinet, libentissime omnia revocarem, tam tuo, quam Vicarii mei jussu et consilio, si ullo modo conscientia mea permetteret. Ego enim scio, nullius præcepto, nullius consilio, nullius gratia, me tantum debere permittere, ut aliquid contra conscientiam dicam, aut faciam. Deinde narrationes divi Thomæ et aliorum tantæ non sunt, ut mihi in hac Quæstione satisfaciant, cum dedita opera contra eas disputarim, ut optime perlectas et percognitas, visæ enim sunt non satis firmo niti fundamento. Hoc autem unum superest, ut meliori superer ratione, quæ est : Si vocem sponsæ audire merear, hanc enim, certum est, vocem sponsi audire.

Ideoque omni humilitate supplico, Reverendissima Paternitas tua dignetur ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem X. istam causam referre, ut per ecclesiam hæc dubia determinata, ad justam vel revocationem vel credulitatem possit compelli. Nihil enim aliud cupio, quam Ecclesiam audire et sequi. Nam meæ super dubiis et indeterminatis Revocatio quid faciat, ignoro, nisi quod merito mihi objici posse timeo, me, nec quid asseruerim, nec quid revocarim, scire. Suscipiat Reverendissima Paternitas tua hanc humilitatis et parvitatæ meæ supplicationem, ut in filii vicem clementer commendatum me habere dignetur. Datum pridie Lucae Evangelistæ. Anno MDXVIII.

Reverendissimæ tuæ Paternitatis

Deditus filius

F. MARTINUS LUTHERUS AUGUSTINIANUS.

No. CLVI.

(Page 176.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 170.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino, Thomæ tituli S. Sixti Presbytero Cardinali, Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ per Germaniam de latere Legato, &c. In Christo metuendo et colendo, F. Martinus Lutherus Salutem et seipsum.

VIDIT Reverendissima paternitas tua, Reverendissime in Christo Pater, vidit, inquam, et satis cognovit meam obedientiam, qua per tantum iter, ac per tot pericula, imbecillis corpore, et pauperrimus sumptu, huc me contuli: et ad mandatum Sanctissimi Domini nostri Leonis X. coram Reverendissima Paternitate tua comparui, et me obtuli. Præterea edito libello Resolutionum, me et omnia mea sub pedibus suæ Sanctitatis projecit, expectans accepturusque quidquid sive damnanti sive approbanti visum fuerit. Et plane nihil me omisisse mihi conscius sum, quod ad deditum obedientemque Ecclesiæ filium pertinere possit.

Quare frustra hic tempus terere nolo, neque possum, quia et sumptus deficit et Patribus his Carmelitis satis superque fuerim et sim onerosus, maxime cum Reverendissima Paternitas tua mihi viva voce mandarit, ut si nollem revocare, non redirem in conspectum Reverendissimæ Pat. tuæ. Revocare quid et quantum valeam, prioribus literis signavi.

Itaque nunc abeo, et alio me loco provisurus migro. Et quanquam mihi consultum est, ab his etiam, qui vel majores me movere possunt, ut a Reverend. Paternitate tua, imo a Sanctissimo Domino nostro Leone X. male informato, ad melius informandum (scio enim quod Principi nostro Illustrissimo, gratum facturum appellando magis quam revocando) appellem. Tamen quantum in me fuisset, non

appellassem, Primum, quod mihi non videatur necessaria Appellatio vel commissio ad partes. Cum ego, ut dixi, omnia in iudicium Ecclesiæ retulerim, et non nisi sententiam ejus expectem. Quid enim ultra facere debeo, aut facere possum? Neque enim me reo aut responsore opus est, qui non quid ego dixi, sed quid Ecclesia dictura sit, attendo, nec Adversarius contendere, sed Discipulus audire volo.

Deinde, quod mihi pene persuasum est, hanc causam Reverendissimæ Paternitati tuæ esse molestam, et Appellationem gratissimam, Ideoque sicut non mereor, ita nec timere habeo censuras. Et si ego Dei gratia talis sim, ut censuras longe minus timeam, quam errores et malam in fide opinionem, sciens, quod censura non nocet, imo prodest, si sana fides et veritatis sensus mecum fuerit.

Quare per Christi viscera, et insignem tuam mihi exhibitam Clementiam, rogo, dignetur hanc meam obedientiam hucusque præstitam et completam, gratiose agnoscere, et sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ benigniter commendatam facere. Atque hanc meam abitionem et Appellationem, pro mea necessitate et amicorum autoritate paratam, boni consulere. Nam eorum vox et ratio mihi insuperabilis est hæc: Quid tu revocabis? Nunquid tua Revocatione nobis legem fidei statues? Damnet Ecclesia prius, si quid damnandum est, et ejus tu iudicium sequere, non illa tuum sequatur iudicium, atque ita victus cedo.

Valeat itaque Reverendissima Paternitas tua, in Christo, mihi observantissimo, Ex Carmelo Augustensi, die S. Lucæ Evang. Anno M.D.XVIII.

Reverendissimæ Paternitatis tuæ

Deditus filius,

MARTINUS LUTHERUS AUGUSTINIANUS.

No. CLVII.

(Page 177.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 173.

Epistola Thomæ Cajetani tituli S. Sixti Presbyteri Cardinalis, ad D. Fridericum, Saxonicæ Ducem, Sacri Imperii Electorem, &c. De Lutheri causa, post discessum ejusdem Lutheri ex Augusto, Anno MDXVIII.

ILLUSTRISSIME et Excellentissime Princeps. Venit Frater Martinus cum literis Excellentiæ vestræ, et antequam nos adiret, voluit se munire salvo conductu, quem ab illis Dominis, Cæsareæ Majestatis Consiliariis, vestræ Illustrissimæ Dominationis intuitu et favore impetravit. Non tamen sine scitu meo. Noluerunt enim hi Domini quidquam illi concedere, nisi me permittente. Quibus respondi, Facerent quidquid eis placeret, dummodo nomen meum non misceretur. Et hic cœpi mirari; nam si Excellentia vestra in me confidebat, non erat opus salvo conductu; si non confidebat, non erat mittendus ad me, ut Patrem.

Adiit deinde nos Frater Martinus, primum excusans se super impetratione salvi conductus propter inimicitias, &c. Deinde dicens, se venisse, ut nos audiret, et veritatem a nobis agnitam profiteretur. Nos hominem libentissime ac humanissime excepimus, paterneque complexi sumus. Dixi ante omnia, quod secundum solidam Scripturam sacram et sacros Canones interrogandus esset, et quod si se cognosceret, et de cætero caveret, possemusque secure dormire, ne reverteretur ad vomitum, omnia componerem, sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ Leonis X. autoritate.

Ostendi deinde, monique paterne, Disputationes et Sermones ejus esse contra Apostolicam doctrinam, maxime super Indulgentiis, citavique Extravagantem Clementis VI. aperte contra ipsum stantem, tam super causa, quam effectu Indulgentiarum. Adduxi præterea antiquam et communem Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, ac interpretationem

super alio etiam Articulo de fide Sacramentorum aperui; admonique opinionem ejus non esse sanam, sed manifeste dissentire a sacra Scriptura et recta Ecclesiæ doctrina, quæ illi omnino repugnat. Is ad Extravagantem claram et apertam dixit nescio quid relatione indignum, et petiit diem ad deliberandum, rediturumque se affirmavit. Ego illum hortatus, ut se cognosceret, dimisi.

Rediitque postridie, una cum Patre Vicario generali congregationis Observantium, multisque stipatus. Et cum expectarem, ut se vere agnosceret, cœpit coram Notario, quem secum duxerat, protestari. Ego id subridens, iterum humanissime hominem hortatus sum, ut relicto hujuscemodi inani consilio, ad cor et sanitatem rediret, durum esse illi contra stimulum calcitrare. Addidit deinceps, in Scriptis se velle mihi respondere, et causam suam agere, me anteriore die satis digladiatum verbis cum illo fuisse. Ego audaciam hominis miratus dixi, Fili, neque tecum digladiatus sum, neque digladiari volo. Tantum paratus sum, intuitu Illustrissimi Ducis Friderici, te paterne ac benigne (non disputandi contendendive gratia) audire, ac pro veritate monere ac docere, conciliare etiam (si voles) sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ Leoni X. et Romanæ Ecclesiæ.

Rogavit me tum is, tum Vicarius ejus, ut illum in Scriptis audire vellem. Dixi me libentissime auscultaturum et facturum omnia paterne non tamen judicialiter. Itaque abiit, reversusque postea tertio est, et longam Scripto exhibuit phylacteriam, in qua fatue admodum respondet ad constitutionem Extravagantis Papæ, nec parcit etiam suæ Sanctitati, quam dicit abuti autoritatibus sacræ Scripturæ. Ad illud vero de fide Sacramentorum implet papyrus locis sacræ Scripturæ omnino impertinentibus et perperam intellectis.

Ego postquam ostendi non ita esse intelligendum, quod in illa Extravagante et sacris literis scriptum est, iterum atque iterum Fratrem Martinum ut filium monui et obtestatus sum, nollet plus sapere, quam oporteret, nec nova dogmata in Ecclesiam intrudere, sed seipsum cognoscere, et salvare animam suam.

Venit ad me deinde Pater Vicarius congregationis, cum quo præsentē, Magnifico Domino Urbano Oratore Montisferrati, et uno Magistro Theologiæ dicti Ordinis multasque horas tractavimus de negotio hoc, ut tolleretur scandalum, salva reverentia Apostolicæ Sedis, et sine ulla nota Fratris Martini. Venit postea solus ille Theologiæ Magister socius Fratris Martini, qui probavit et collaudavit tractatum.

Jactis his fundamentis, cum bene sperarem omnia, profectus est hinc idem Vicarius, insalutato hospite; ac me omnino inscio subsequutus est deinde Frater Martinus et Socii ejus, mihiq̄ omnino, imo sibi, perbelle illuserunt. Accepi interea Fratris Martini literas, quibus petiit fucatam veniam. Non ideo vero revocat maledicta et scandala, quæ catholicæ Ecclesiæ incussit.

Ego, Illustrissime Princeps, fraudulentum Fratris Martini et sequacium consilium, non solum admiratus sum, verum etiam prorsus perhorruī et obstupui. Cum enim de bona illius valetudine maxime sperarem, maxime sum frustratus. Non video tamen cujus fiducia hæc agat.

In causa vero tria affirmaverim. Primo, dicta Fratris Martini in Conclusionibus suis disputative esse posita. In sermonibus tamen ab eo scriptis, affirmative et assertive esse posita, et confirmata in vulgari germanico, ut ajunt. Ea autem sunt partim contra doctrinam Apostolicæ Sedis partim vero damnabilia. Et credat mihi Illustrissima Dominatio vestra, quia vera dico et loquor ex certa scientia, non ex opinionibus.

Secundo, Illustrissimam illam vestram Dominationem hortor et rogo, consulat honori et conscientiæ suæ, vel mittendo Fratrem Martinum ad Urbem, vel ejiciendo extra terras suas, postquam non vult paterna via errorem suum cognoscere et cum universali Ecclesia bene sentire.

Postremo, illud sciat Illustrissima Dominatio vestra, nequaquam hoc tam grave et pestilens negotium posse diu hærrere. Nam Romæ prosequuntur Causam, quando ego lavi manus meas, et ad sanctissimum Dominum, Dominum nostrum hujuscemodi fraudes scripsi. Bene et feliciter valeat

Excellentia vestra cui me intime commendo. Ex Augusta Vindelicorum, 25 die Octobris. Anno 1518.

Iterum atque iterum rogo, ut Dominatio vestra Illustrissima non permittat se decipi a dicentibus, Nilil mali continent Fratris Martini Lutheri dicta; Nec ponat maculam in gloriam Majorum suorum, et suam, propter unum Fraterculum, ut toties promissit. Ego loquor puram veritatem, et servabo Jesu Christi regulam: A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Hæc pauca manu propria.

E. V. et Illustriss. D.

ad obsequia,

THOMAS, S. SIXTI CARDINALIS,

Legatus Apostolicæ Sedis.

No. CLVIII.

(Page 177.)

Lutheri op: tom. i. p. 173.

Illustrissimi Principis D. Friderici, Ducis Saxonie Romani Imperii Electoris, Responsio ad literas D. Thomæ, Tituli S. Sixti Cardinalis, præcedentes.

REVERENDISSIME in Christo Pater Singulariter nobis dilectissime Domine, et Amice; Vestræ Charitatis literas die 25 Octobr. Augustæ datas, die 19 Novemb. per tabellarium non peculiarem, sed fortuitum, redditas, accepimus, ad D. Martinum Lutherum Augustinianum pertinentes, quas undecunque cum toto earum argumento percepimus atque intelleximus.

Quoniam ergo dictus Martinus coram pietate vestra apud Augustam comparuit, sicut cum charitate vestra colloquuti Augustæ pollicebamur, nostræ satisfacimus promissioni. Præterea, persuaseramus nobis, vestram pietatem, audito Martino, secundum vestræ Reverentiæ promissionem multiplicem, eum paterne et benevole dimissuram fuisse, neque quamvis nondum cognita causa et sufficienter discussa, ut Martinus refert, coacturam ad revocationem et palinodiam.

Sunt enim plurimi eruditorum, in nostris principatibus et terris, et alibi in Universitatibus studiorum, a quibus hactenus et in hodiernum usque diem constanter et irrefragabiliter certiores fieri non potuimus, Martini doctrinam impiam, non Christianam, et hæreticam esse; exceptis nonnullis, quorum rei privatæ et utilitati pecuniariæ eruditio ejus non profuit, qui ut propriæ commoditati consulerent, Martino sese adversarios opposuerunt, suo tamen proposito contra Martinum nondum probato. Nam si aliquo constanti fundamento et ratione intelligeremus, D. Martini Lutheri doctrinam impiam et instabilem esse, Dei omnipotentis auxilio et gratia, ipsimet ita nos doceremus, ut nulla indigeremus exhortatione atque admonitione. Noster enim animus, nostra voluntas, nostra mens, in hoc tota est, ut ad Christiani Principis officium sit paratissima, et qui Deo adjutore, et honori et conscientiæ suæ cupiat consultum.

Quapropter modis omnibus speravimus, non futurum, ut in hoc rerum statu, hac afficeremur comminatione, scilicet Rom. curiam id causæ prosequuturam, et Reverentiam vestram manus lavisse, vel ut a nobis postularetur, ut Martinum Lutherum sive Romam mitterimus, sive ex nostris Regionibus expelleremus: Non tamen ob alia, quam quod Martinus Lutherus criminis hæreseos nondum convictus est. Pelleretur enim incommodo nostræ Universitatis, sicut in hanc diem notum est, Christianæ, et multos bonos et doctos et studiosos homines habentis.

Neque omisimus D. Martino vestræ charitatis literas exhibere, ad quas nobis secundum tenorem exempli, his nostris literis inclusi, respondit.

Cum itaque D. Martinus sese offerat ad aliquarum Universitatum judicium, et in locis tutis disputationem, et cognita causa permissurum se obedienter, ut doceatur et simul ducatur, arbitramur eum merito admittendum, aut saltem ei ostendendos in Scriptis errores, Id quod et nos petimus, ut sciamus, quamobrem tamen hæreticus esse debeat, et habeamus quod sequamur et faciamus. Neque enim nos ita (nondum convictum) pro hæretico reputandum et scribendum sentimus. Denique non libenter permitteremus, nos

in errores pertrahi, neque ut inobedientes a Sancta Sede Apostolica inveniri.

Hoc vestram charitatem (quam Deo omnipotenti diu feliciter conservandam commendamus) celare noluimus. Datum Aldenburg, die 8 Decembris, Anno 1518.

No. CLIX.

(Page 178.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 177.

Nova Decretalis Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi: de Indulgentiis, Anno MDXVIII. condita.

IN NOMINE DOMINI. AMEN.

UNIVERSIS et singulis præsens Transumptum seu publicum Instrumentum inspecturis, pateat, et evidenter sit notum, Quod anno a Nativitate ejusdem Domini, millesimo, quingentesimo decimo octavo, inditione sexta, die vero decima tertia mensis Decembris, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri, Domini Leonis, divina providentia Papæ decimi, anno sexto. Ego Petrus Antonius Berrus Parmensis, publicus Apostolica autoritate Notarius, ac in Romano Archivio descriptus, constitutus in Lintz oppido, Archiducatus Austriæ, in Camera Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Thomæ Tituli S. Sixti S. R. E. Presbyteri Cardinalis, ad Cæsaream Majestatem, &c. Sedis Apostolicæ de latere Legati, sita in Monasterio Fratrum Conventualium S. Francisci, oppidi prædicti ad infrascripta per Reverendissimum Dominum, Dominum Cardinalem, Legatum ibidem personaliter constitutum requisitus, ut exemplum seu Transumptum literarum Apostolicarum, de quibus infra fit mentio, et quarum tenor subinseritur, in forma authentica conficerem, easque transumerem, et eandem veram copiam sive Transumptum facerem, et cum originalibus mihi Notario infra scripto per præfatum Reverendissimum Dominum, Legatum præsentatis et traditis collationarem, et facta collatione Transumptum, sive copiam

hujusmodi in publicam formam redigerem, Quarum literarum Apostolicarum post Reverendissimi Domini, Domini Cardinalis Legati, earundem insinuationis exordium infra scriptum, tenor subsequitur, et est talis :

Thomas misericordie divina, Tituli S. Sixti, sacrae Romanae Ecclesiae Presbyter Cardinalis, ad Cæsaream Majestatem, &c. Apostolicæ Sedis de latere Legatus, Universis et singulis Dominis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, cæterisque locorum Ordinariis, Salutem in Domino, sinceræque dilectionis affectum, et præsentibus fidem indubiam adhibere. Sanctissimus in Christo Pater et Dominus noster, Dominus Leo, divina providentia Papa decimus, suas nobis transmissit literas, cum vera Bulla plumbea cum Cordulis ex Canopo, more Romanæ Curia bullatas, sanas siquidem et integras, non vitiatas non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas, sed omni prorsus vitio ac suspitione carentes, Tenorem qui sequitur, de verbo ad verbum continentes.

LEO Episcopus: Servus Servorum Dei, Dilecto filio Thomæ tituli S. Sixti, ad charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Maximilianum in Imperatorem electum, nostro et Sedis Apostolicæ Legato, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Cum postquam Circumspectio tua Germaniam applicuerat, ad aures nostras pervenisset, quod nonnulli Religiosi, etiam ad evangelisandum verbum Dei deputati, super Indulgentiis, a nobis et Romanis Pontificibus prædecessoribus nostris, ab immemorabili tempore citra concedi solitis, publice prædicando, multorum cordibus imprimerent errores, idque nobis intelligere nimis grave et molestum esset, Aliis nostris Literis eidem Circumspectioni tuæ, de qua propter ejus singularem doctrinam, et in rebus agendis experientiam specialem, in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, commisimus, ut autoritate nostra approbatione digna approbares, Ea vero, quæ minus recte dicta essent, etiam per eos, qui Rom. Ecclesiae doctrinam se sequi paratos asserent, reprobare et damnare curares.

Et ne de cætero quisquam ignorantiam doctrinae Romanae Ecclesiae circa hujusmodi Indulgentias, et illarum effica-

ciam allegare, aut ignorantiae hujusmodi praetextu se excusare, aut protestatione conficta se juvare, sed ut ipsi de notorio mendacio ut culpabiles convinci, et merito damnari possint, per praesentes tibi significandum duximus, Romanam Ecclesiam, quam reliquae tanquam Matrem sequi tenentur, tradidisse, Romanum Pontificem, Petri Clavigeri successorem, et Jesu Christi in terris Vicarium, potestate clavium, quarum est aperire tollendo illius in Christi fidelibus impedimenta, culpam scilicet et poenam pro actualibus peccatis debitam, Culpam quidem mediante Sacramento poenitentiae, poenam vero temporalem pro actualibus peccatis secundum divinam justiciam debitam, mediante ecclesiastica Indulgentia, posse pro rationalibus causis concedere eisdem Christi fidelibus, qui charitate jungente, membra sunt Christi, sive in hac vita sint, sive in Purgatorio, Indulgentias ex superabundantia meritorum Christi et Sanctorum, ac tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis Apostolica autoritate Indulgentiam concedendo, thesaurum meritorum Jesu Christi et Sanctorum dispensare, per modum absolutionis Indulgentiam ipsam conferre, Vel per modum suffragii illam transferre consuevisse. Ac propterea omnes tam vivos quam defunctos, qui veraciter omnes Indulgentias hujusmodi consecuti fuerint, a tanta temporali poena, secundum divinam justiciam pro peccatis suis actualibus debita liberari, quanta concessae et acquisitae Indulgentiae aequivalet. Et ita ab omnibus teneri et praedicari debere sub excommunicationis latae sententiae poena, a qua illam incurrentes ab alio, quam a Romano Pontifice, nisi in mortis articulo, nequeant absolutionis beneficium obtinere, autoritate Apostolica, earundem tenore praesentium decernimus.

Et ne quispiam de praemissis valeat ignorantiam allegare, Circumspectioni tuae mandamus, Quatenus universos et singulos Germaniae Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, et alios locorum Ordinarios, in virtute sanctae obedientiae, et sub suspensionis a divinis poena, moneas, eisque districte praecipiendo mandes, ut praesentes literas, sive earum Transumptum, infra tempus per Circumspectionem tuam eis praefigendum, in eorum Ecclesiis, dum inibi populi multitudo ad

divina convenerit, publicare, et circa Indulgentias prædictas supradicta sub simili excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna tenere et prædicare debeant, Et nullus contra ea quovis modo directe vel indirecte venire præsumat. Tibi nihilominus contra præsumentes et inobedientes procedendi, illosque debitis pœnis, quibus tibi videbitur, puniendi plenam et liberam etiam per præsentem concedimus facultatem, in contrarium non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Et quia difficile foret easdem præsentem literas ad singula quæque loca, in quibus expediens fuerit, deferre, Volumus, et dicta autoritate decernimus, illarum transumptis manu publici Notarii inde rogati, subscriptis, et sigillo alicujus Prælati seu Personæ in dignitate Ecclesiasticæ constitutæ munitis, vel Curiæ Ecclesiasticæ, ea prorsus in judicio et extra, ac alias ubilibet fides adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur, si fuissent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, Millesimo, quingentesimo, decimo octavo, quinto Idus Novembris. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

BEMBUS.

No. CLX.

(Page 178.)

Lutheri op. tom. i. p. 179.

Appellatio F. Martini Lutheri: a Papa ad Concilium, &c.

IN NOMINE DOMINI. AMEN.

ANNO a Nativitate ejusdem, MDXVIII. inditione VI. die vero Solis, XXVIII. mensis Novembris Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri, Domini Leonis divina providentia Papæ X. anno VI. In mea Notarii publici testimonioque infra Scriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, præsentia, Constitut. R. Pater D. Martinus Lutherus Augustinian. Wittembergen. sacre Theol. Magister, ac ibidem Lector ordinarius Theologiæ, principalis, ac principaliter pro seipso, citra tamen quorumcunque Procurato-

rum suorum quomodolibet hactenus per eum constitutorum revocationem, habens et tenens suis in manibus quandam Provocationis et Appellationis papyri schedulam, animo et intentione provocandi et appellandi, Apostolosque petendi, dicens, narrans, provocans et appellans, certis et legitimis de causis, in eadem schedula contentis et compræhensis, ad Concilium proxime et immediate futurum, saltem in Spiritu sancto legitime congregatum, aliis vero congregationibus, factionibus et concionibus privatis penitus seclusis, protestans aliaque faciens, prout in dicta Appellationis schedula plenius continetur, habetur et describitur, Cujus tenor sequitur, et est talis :

Cum Appellationis remedium in subsidium et relevamen oppressorum a Jurium conditoribus sit adinventum, et non solum ab illatis, verum etiam ab inferendis, et inferri comminatis, gravaminibus et injuriis, Jura appellare permittant; adeo, quod inferior de non appellando ad superiorem statuere non possit, et manus superiorum claudere ; sed cum satis sit in professo, sacrosanctum Concilium in Spiritu sancto legitime congregatum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam repræsentans, sit in causis fidem concernentibus supra Papam; evenit, quod nec Papa in causis hujusmodi, ne ab eo ad Concilium appelletur, statuere possit, tanquam id agens, quod ad officium suum non spectet ullo modo, Sitque Appellatio ipsa defensio quædam, quæ jure divino, naturali, et humano cuique competit, neque per Principem auferri possit.

Idcirco ego Frater Martinus Lutherus, Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Wittembergens. sacræ Theologiæ Magister indignus, ejusdemque ibidem Lector Ordinarius principalis, principaliter et pro me ipso, coram vobis Notario publico tanquam publica et authentica persona, ac testibus hic præsentibus animo et intentione provocandi et appellandi, Apostolosque petendi, et accipiendi, præmissa tamen expressa hac et solemnî protestatione, Quod contra unam sanctam et Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, quam totius orbis esse magistram, et obtinere principatum non ambigo, sanctæque Sedis Apostolicæ autoritatem, ac sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ bene consulti potestatem, nihil

dicere intendo, Si quid autem ex lubrico forsan linguæ, sed adversariorum potius irrimamento, minus recte, et non ea, qua debeat, reverentia dictum fuerit, paratissimus sum illud emendare.

Sed quoniam is, qui vicem Dei in terris gerit, quem Papam dicimus, cum sit homo, similis nobis, ex hominibus assumptus, et ipse (ut Apostolus dicit) circumdatus infirmitate, potens errare, peccare, mentiri, vanus fieri, nec sit exceptus ab illa Prophetæ generali sententia: Omnis homo mendax. Nec S. Petrus, primus et sanctissimus omnium Pontificum, ab hac infirmitate liber fuit, quin noxia simulatione contra veritatem Evangelii incederet, Ita, ut rigida quidem, sed sanctissima reprehensione Apostoli Pauli opus habuerit corrigi, ut ad Galatas scribitur. Quo nobilissimo exemplo per Spiritum sanctum in Ecclesia monstrato, et in literis sacratissimis relicto, fideles Christi erudimur, et certi sumus. Quod si summus Pontifex eadem Petri, vel simili infirmitate lapsus, quid præceperit vel decreverit, quod contra divina militet mandata, non solum obediendum ei non esse, verum etiam cum Apostolo Paulo in faciem ei resisti posse, imo debere, ac velut per inferiora membra infirmitati capitis, pia totius corporis sollicitudine succurri. Et in hujus exempli præsentem ac perpetuam memoriam, non sine singulari Dei consilio factum esse, non obscure intelligitur, ut non solum S. Petrus, sed etiam salutaris ejus reprehensor Paulus, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ juxta et simul patrocinentur, et præ essent, ne scilicet solum literis, sed sensibili quoque monumento hujus summe necessarii ac saluberrimi exempli, assidue moneremur, tam ipsa capita, quam nos membra. Quod si qua potentium vi armatus, tantum prævaluerit, ut resisti ei non possit, unum certe illud prædictum Appellationis remedium reliquum est, quo oppressi releventur.

Ad quod et ego Frater Martinus Lutherus prædictus, modo et animo prædictis confugiens, dico et propono. Quod cum diebus superioribus Indulgentiæ a quibusdam Commissariis (ut asserebant) Apostolicis indiscretissime prædicarentur, in regione nostra Saxonjæ, adeo ut ad exugendas po-

puli pecunias inciperent, absurda, hæretica, blasphema quædam prædicare, in seductionem animarum fidelium, et summum ludibrium Ecclesiasticæ potestatis, præsertim de potestate Papæ in Purgatorium, ut continet eorum libellus, qui summaria institutio vocatur, cum tamen certum sit ex Abusionibus, Papam non habere prorsum ullam potestatem in Purgatorium. Deinde una totius Ecclesiæ sententia, omniumque Doctorum consensu, Indulgentiæ sint nihil, nisi remissiones satisfactionis pœnitentialis a suo Judice impositæ, ut est clarus textus, *Quod autem*. Satisfactio autem pœnitentialis ab Ecclesiastico Judice imposita, aliud non sit, quam opera jejunii, orationis, elemosynæ, &c. Ideoque clavibus Ecclesiæ remitti non possit, quod eisdem non fuerit impositum. Item quod certum est ex distinct. XXXV. c. Qualis, quod in Purgatorio non solum pœna, sed et culpa remittitur. Culpam autem Ecclesia remittere non potest, sicut nec gratiam conferre.

Istis autoritatibus nixus, cum disputandi more fuisset reluctatus impuris et insulsis illorum dogmatibus, cœperunt illi, lucri studio furentes, Primum publicis declamationibus ad populum declarare me hæreticum temeritate impudentissima; deinde apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem X. per quendam Dominum Marium de Perusiis, Procuratorem Fiscalem accusare, tanquam hæresi suspectum. Et per eundem Dominum tandem impetrantes Commissionem citandi mei in personas Reverendissimorum Dominorum et Patrum, Hieron. de Genu. Episcop. Asculani, causarum Cameræ auditoris et Sylvestri Prieria. Palatii Magistri, per eosdem me citari curarunt ad urbem, aut personaliter comparendum.

Cumque ego nec Wittembergæ tutus ab insidiis, tantum iter perficere non possem, nec Romæ tuto consistere, et pauperculus et imbecillis corpore; deinde Judices præfati mihi multis causis fuissent suspecti, præsertim quod R. P. Sylvester adversarius mihi fuerit, et dialogum contra me jam ediderat, et in sacris literis minus eruditus, quam ista causa ferre possit, Dominus autem Hiero. in Jurib. quoque plus quam Theologia doctus, merito timebatur Sylvestrinæ Theo-

logiæ concessurus, et extra modum suæ professionis hanc rem habere, sollicitavi per Illustriss. Principem D. Fridericum Ducem Saxoniae, sacri Rom. Imperii Archimareschallum, Landgravium Thuringiæ, Marchionem Misniæ ut causa ad partes committeretur, non suspectis, sed honestis et bonis viris.

Tunc illi crassa quadam et insulsa astutia instructi, apud sanctissimum Dominum Leonem, &c. egerunt, ut causa in seipsum, hoc est in personam R. Domini Thomæ, S. Sixti Cardinalis, tunc in Germania Sedis Apostolicæ Legati, transferretur, ut qui de Ordine Prædicatorum et Thomasticæ factionis, i. e. adversariæ vel primari, facile speraretur, contra meæ ipsis definitur, aut, ut verisimile est, certe ut hujus facie Judicis absterritus recusarem comparere, et contumaciam incurrerem. Ego tamen veritate Dei fretus ad Augustam multo labore et magnis periculis veniens, humaniter quidem a præfato R. Domino Thoma S. Sixti Card. &c. susceptus sum. Qui cum posthabita protestatione mea et obligatione, qua vel publice vel privatim me responsurum obtuli, coram Notario et testibus denique præsentibus quatuor insignibus viris, Cæsareæ Majestatis Senatoribus, simulque subjicrem me meaque dicta sanctæ Sedi Apostolicæ, et judicio quatuor Illustrium Universitatum, Basiliensi, Friburgensi, Lovaniensi, tandem et studiorum Parenti, nobilissimæ Parisiensi, me simpliciter ad revocationem urgeret, nec vellet ostendere mihi errores meos, et quibus rationibus, vel autoritatibus error a me intelligi posset, nimio scilicet suæ factionis fratribus affectus, et iniquitatis faciem assumens, tandem nisi revocarem, abjectis precibus et votis discindi, et informationis petitionibus, minas diras ac crudelissimas vigore cujusdam Apostolici Brevis intentavit, ac ne redirem in faciem suam, imperavit.

Quibus gravaminibus læsus, tunc ab ejus iniqua et violenta præsumptione et prætensa sibi Commissione, appellavi ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem X. melius informandum, prout in schedula hujusmodi Appellationis plenius continetur. Nunc vero etiam ista Appellatione (ut dixi) contempta, cum usque hodie cupiam, non nisi ut ostendan-

tur mihi errores mei, quicumque tandem id possit præstare, de quo denuo legitime protestor, paratissimusque sum revocare, si quid male dixisse fuero edoctus. Deinde totam disputationem meam subjecerim Summo Pontifici, ita ut nec ego amplius aliquid in ipsa facere habeam, quam expectare sententiam, quam et usque hodie expecto.

Nihilominus tamen, ut audio, et idem Reverendissimus Dominus Thomas S. Sixti Cardinalis, scribit ad Illustrissimum Principem D. Fridericum, &c. in Romana Curia procedi contra me, et autoritate ejusdem sanctissimi Domini nostri, &c. Judices prætenso causam prosequi in damnationem meam, non attendentes meam fidelem et superabundantem obedientiam, qua tanta difficultate comparui Augustæ, nec curantes oblationem meam honestissimam, qua me ad responsionem publicam et privatam obtuli, denique contemnentes ovem Christi petentem humiliter doceri veritatem, et reduci ab errore; sed simpliciter nec audita, nec reddita ratione, mera autem tyrannide et plenitudine potestatis urgere ad Revocationem sententiæ, quam ex conscientia verissimam judico, et ad abnegandam fidem Christi et veram apertissimæ Scripturæ intelligentiam (quantum mea capit conscientia) seducere volentes, cum potestas Papæ non contra nec supra, sed pro et infra Scripturæ et veritatis majestatem sit, nec potestatem Papa acceperit oves perdendi, in Luporum fauces projiciendi, et in errores errorumque Magistros tradendi, sed ad veritatem (sicut Pastorem et Episcopum, Vicarium Christi decet) revocandi. Ex quibus me læsum, gravatumque sentiens, cum tali violentia videam futurum esse, ut nullus etiam ipsum Christum audeat confiteri, nec Scripturas sacras in Ecclesia sua propria profiteri, atque ita me quoque a vera, sana, Christianaque fide et intelligentia, in vanas et mendaces hominum opiniones violenter protrudi, et in seductorias populi Christiani fabulas urgeri.

Id circo a præfato Sanctissimo Domino nostro Leone non recte consulto, supraque dictis prætensis Commissione et Judicibus, et eorum citatione ac processu, et omnibus inde secutis et secuturis, et quolibet ipsorum, ac a quibusvis excommunicatione, suspensione et interdicti sententiis, censu-

ris, pœnis et mulctis, atque aliis quibuscunque denunciati-
onibus et declarationibus (ut prætendunt) hæresis et apos-
tasiæ per eos vel alterum eorum quomodolibet attentatis,
factis et molitis, attentandis, faciendis et moliendis, ipsarum-
que nullitate (suis honore et reverentia semper salvis) tan-
quam iniquis et injustis mere tyrannicis et violentis, Nec non
a quolibet futuro gravamine, quod mihi ex eo venire poterit,
tam pro me, quam pro omnibus et singulis mihi adhærenti-
bus, et adhærere volentibus, ad futurum Concilium legitime,
ac in loco tuto, ad quem ego, vel Procurator per me depu-
tandus, libere adire potero vel poterit, Et ad illum, vel ad
illos, ad quem, seu quos de jure, privilegio, consuetudine,
vel alias mihi provocare et appellare licet, provoco et appello
in iis Scriptis, Apostolosque primo, secundo, tertio, instan-
ter, instantius, et instantissime mihi dari peto. Si quis sit,
qui mihi dare hos voluerit et potuerit, et præsertim a vobis
Domino Notario, testimoniales, Et protestor de proseguendo
hanc meam Appellationem per viam nullitatis, abusus, ini-
quitate vel injusticiæ, et alias, prout melius potero, optione
mihi reservata, addendi, minuendi, corrigendi, et in melius
reformandi, omnique alio juris beneficio, mihi, ac mihi ad-
hærentibus et adhærere volentibus semper salvo.

Qua quidem schedula coram me et testibus infra scriptis
ut præmittitur, interposita protestatus fuit, et protestabatur
expresse se, per se vel Procuratorem, non posse ad eum ac-
cedere, a quo extitit appellatum, tum propter metum pluri-
morum, sibi, et vitæ suæ insidiantium, ac ejus, a quo appel-
lavit, tum propter viarum discrimina. Ideoque petiit sibi
a me, Notario Publico, cum debita instantia Apostolos ta-
les, quales sibi de jure deberentur dari atque concedi. Cui
quidem petenti dedi Apostolos tales, quales sibi debentur,
vel saltem testimoniales præsentī Instrumento publico ex
tunc exarandos. Super quibus omnibus et singulis petiit a
me Notario infra scripto unum vel plura confici atque fieri
publicum vel publica Instrumentum vel Instrumenta.

Acta sunt hæc Wittembergæ, Brandenburgensis Diocœ-
sis, sub anno, inditione, die, mense, et Pontificatu, quibus
supra. Regnante Divo Maximiliano Romanorum Impera-

tore, hora tertiarum, vel quasi, in Capella corporis Christi, in Parochiali ibidem cemiterio situata. Præsentibus ibidem Christophoro Beehr, sacris Apostolica et imperiali auctoritate vicecomite Constantien. Et Hieronymo Papiss. Curien-
 Diocœsis Clerico, testibus ad præmissa vocatis rogatisque pariter et requisitis.

No. CLXI.

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Bembi Ep. Fam. lib. ii. in op. vol. iii. p. 11.

Al Card. di S. Maria in Portico. in Rubera.

INTENDENDO V. S. haverç un poco di raffreddamento et febbre in Rubera: ilche all' animo mio ha dato riscaldamento et dispiacere assai. Priegola ad attendere a rihavere la intera sanità sua, che io non posso essere sano altramente. Non voglio dire, che vi guardiate da disordini; che so bene quanto siete continente et ordinato in tutte le cose, dal curar le facende publiche et lo scrivere in fuori, et suole questo avcnirvi molto spesso. La vostra Emigrania ne fa fede. Dunque sarete contento travagliar meno che si può, almeno fino attanto, che habbiate scacciata da voi la freddura, et la febbre; la quale non credo però sia altro, che freddura. La S. Duchessa d' Urbino, laquale visitai hieri, come che io però faccia questo officio assai di rado, à voi si raccomanda, et Madonna Emilia altresì. Le loro Signorie sono corteggiate dal S. Unico molto spesso: et esso è piu caldo nell' ardore antico suo, che dice essere ardore di tre lustri e mezzo, che giamai: et più che mai spera hora di venire a prò de' suoi disii, massimamente essendo stato richiesto dalla Signora Duchessa di dire improvviso, nel quale si fida, muovere quel cuor di pietra intanto, che la farà piagnere, non che altra. Dirà fra due ò tre dì; detto, che egli habbia, ve ne darò avviso. Ben vorrei che ci poteste essere, che son certo dirà eccellentemente. Raphaello, il

quale riverentemente vi si raccomanda, ha ritratto il nostro Thebaldeo tanto naturale, ch' egli non è tanto simile à se stesso, quanto gli è quella pittura. Et io per me non vidi mai sembianza veruna più propria. Quello, che ne dica e se ne tenga M. Antonio, V. S. può stimare da se; et nel vero ha grandissima ragione. Il ritratto di M. Baldassar Castiglione, ò quello della buona et da me sempre honorata memoria del S. Duca nostro, à cui doni Dio beatitudine, parrebbero di mano d' uno de' Garzoni di Raphaello, in quanto appartiene al rassomigliarsi à comparatione di questo del Thebaldeo. Io gli ho una grande invidia, che penso di farmi ritrarre anco io un giorno. Hora hora havendo io scritto fin quì, m' è sopra giunto Raphaello, credo io, come indovino, che io di lui scrivessi, et dicemi che io aggiunga questo poco; cioè, che gli mandiate le altre historie, che s' hanno à dipingere nella vostra stufetta, cioè la scrittura delle historie, perciochè quelle, che gli mandaste saranno fornite di dipingere questa settimana. Per Dio non è burla, che hora ora mi sopraggiugne medesimamente M. Baldassar, il quale dice ch' io vi scriva, che esso s' è risoluto di stare questa state à Roma, per non guastare la sua buona usanza, massimamente volendo così M. Antonio Thebaldeo. A. V. S. bascio riverentemente la mano et nella sua buona gratia mi raccomando. A. 19 d' Aprile. MDXVI. Di Roma.

No. CLXII.

(Page 215.)

Tiraboschi, Storia della Letter. Ital. vol. vii. par. iii. p. 101.

ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINO FRATRI OSSERVANDISSIMO, DOM. HIPPOLITO, S. Luciae in Silice Diac. Card. Esten. et Rever. et Illustriss. Monsignore mio, Comen. Et per la lettera de la S. V. Reverendissima, et a bocha da M. Ludovico Ariosto, ho inteso quanta letitia ha conceputa del felice parto mio: Il che mi è stato summamente grato, cussi la ringrazio de la visitazione; et particolarmente di havermi

mandato il dicto Monsignore Ludovico ; per che ultra ch'el mi sia stato accetto, representando la persona de la S. V. Reverendissima, lui anche per conto suo mi ha addutta gran satisfazione, havendomi cum la narratione de l' opera ch'el compone facto passar questi due giorni, non solum senza fastidio, ma cum piacer grandissimo ; ch' in questa, come in tutte le altre actione sue, ha havuto bon judicio ad eleggere la persona in lo caso mio. De gli rasonamenti, che ultra la visitacione havemo facti insieme, Monsignore Ludovico renderà cunto alla S. V. Reverendissima ; alla quale mi raccomando. Mantuæ, tertio Februarii, M. D. VII. Prego la S. V. che per mio amore provedi al Gabriele, che ha tuolto per moglie la servitrice de la Fe. Me. de Ma. de quello officio che la gli ha promesso. Reverendissima V. S.

Obseq. Soror, ISABELLA MARCHIONISSA MANTUÆ.

Nº. CLXIII.

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Al Santissimo Nostro Signore Papa Leone Decimo, Giovan Giorgio Trissino.

AVENDO io già molti giorni, Beatissimo Padre, composto una Tragedia, il cui titolo è Sofonisba, sono stato meco medesimo lungamente in dubbio, s' io la dovessi mandare a Vostra Beatitudine, o no ; Perciò, che da l' un de' lati considerando l' alteza di quella, la quale è tanto soprà gli altri uomini, quanto che il grado, che tienc, è sopra ogni altra dignità, e rimembrando ancora la grandissima cognizione, che ha, così de la lingua Greca, come de la Latina, e di tutte quelle scienze, che in esse scritte si trovano, et appresso vedendo quanta occupazione continuamente le reca il governo universale di tutti i Cristiani, io stimava non essere convenevol cosa il mandare a sì alto luogo, et a sì dotte et occupate orecchie questa mia operetta in lingua Italiana composta. Ma poi da l' altro lato pensando che sicome Vostra Beatitudine avanza ogni mortale di grandeza, così

da nessuno è di mansuetudine superata, e che per quantunque gravi, e necessarie occupazioni, mai non si lasciò talmente impedire, che non scegliesse tanto spazio di tempo, che potesse leggere alcuna cosa; e sapendo eziandio che la Tragedia, secondo Aristotele, è preposta a tutti gli altri poemi, per imitare con suave sermone una virtuosa, e perfetta azione, la quale abbia grandezza; e come Polignoto antico pittore ne l'opere sue imitando faceva i corpi, di quello che erano migliori, e Pauson peggiori, così la Tragedia imitando fa i costumi migliori, e la Comedia peggiori, e perciò essa Comedia muove riso, cosa, che partecipa di bruttezza, essendo ciò, che è ridicolo, difettoso, e brutto; Ma la Tragedia muove compassione, e tema, con le quali, e con altri amaestramenti arreca diletto a gli ascoltatori, et utilitate al vivere umano; le quali cose tutte (com'io dico) da l'altro lato pensando, mi davano tanta confidenza, et ardire a mandarla, quanto quell'altre m'inducevano a ritenerla. Così adunque tra sì fatti dubbii dimorando, avvenne, che queste ultime ragioni ajutate da i suavissimi costumi di Vostra Beatitudine, e da la inefabile bontà di Quella, rimasero vincitrici; La onde mi diedero tal ardire, ch'io feci deliberazione di offerirle e dedicarle, la predetta mia fatica. A la quale non credo già, che si possa giustamente attribuire a vizio, l'essere scritta in lingua Italiana, et il non avere ancora secondo l'uso comune accordate le rime, ma lasciatale libere in molti luoghi. Perciò che la cagione, la quale m'ha indotto a farla in questa lingua, si è; che avendo la Tragedia sei parti necessarie, cioè la Favola, i Costumi, le Parole, il Discorso, la Rappresentazione, et il Canto; manifesta cosa è, che avendosi a rappresentare in Italia, non potrebbe essere intesa da tutto il Popolo, s'ella fosse in altra lingua, che Italiana, composta; et appresso i Costumi, le Sentenzie, et il Discorso non arrecherebbono universale utilitate, e diletto se non fossero intese dagli ascoltatori. Si che per non le torre la Rappresentazione, la quale (come disse Aristotele) è la più dilettevole parte de la Tragedia, e per altre cagioni, che sarebbero lunghe a narrare, elessi di scriverla in questo Idioma. Quanto poi al non aver per tutto accor-

date le rime non dirò altra ragione; perciò, ch' io mi persuado, che se a Vostra Beatitudine non spiacerà di voler alquanto le orecchie a tal numero accommodare, che lo troverà, e migliore, e più nobile, e forse men facile ad assequire di quello, che per avventura è riputato; E lo vederà non solamente ne le narazioni et orazioni utilissimo, ma nel muover compassione necessario; Perciò che quel sermone, il quale suol muover questa, nasce dal dolore, et il dolore manda fuori non pensate parole, onde la rima, che pensiero dimostra, è veramente a la compassione contraria. Adunque, Beatissimo Padre, essendo (come dice Plutarco) non minor laude ad un gran Signore l' accettare lietamente le cose picciole, di quello, che si sia il donare agevolmente le grandi; ardirò di pregare Vostra Beatitudine, che si degni di prendere questo mio picciol dono; il quale da sincerità di mente, da fermissima fede, e da ardentissimo amore accompagnato le porgo. Et in questo già non ardisco di dire, che Quella debbia imitare Xerse Re de i Re; al quale un povero villanello, che passare lo vide, non avendo altro, che donare, corse ad un fiume vicino, e raccolse de l' acqua con ambe due le palme, e donogliela; la quale Xerse molto allegramente accettò; e fecegli dimostrazione, che tal dono gli fosse stato gratissimo; Ma ben la esorto a fare, come fa il Re de l' Universo, di cui è Vicario in terra, il Quale riguarda sempre a l' amore, a la sincerità, et a la fede del donatore, e non a la qualità del dono.

No. CLXIV.

(Page 253.)

Trissino, Italia liberata da' Gotthi, lib. xvi.

ANCHOR vi voljω dir, quel che mi disse
 Un amicω di diω, ch' era profeta,
 Di alcuni Papi, che verranno al mωndω
 E queste fur le sue parole εspesse

La sede in cui sedete, il maggiωr Pierω,
 Usurpata sarà da tai pastωri
 Che fian vergogna eterna al christanesmω
 Ch' avarizia, luxuria, ε Tyrannia
 Faran ne' petti lor l'ultima pruova,
 Et haran tutti e lor pensieri intenti
 Ad aggrandire i suoi bastardi, ε darli
 Ducadi, ε signorie, terre, ε paesi,
 E cōnciudere anchωr senza vergogna
 Prelature ε capelli a i lor cynedi,
 E a i prōpinqui de la lor bagascie;
 E vender vescovadi, ε benefici,
 Ωffici, ε privilegi, ε dignitadi,
 E sollevare li infami, ε per denari
 Rompere, ε dispensar tutte le leggi
 Divine, ε buone, ε non servar mai fede
 E tra veneni ε tradimenti, et altre
 Male arti lor menar tutta la vita;
 E seminar tra i principi Christiani
 Tanti scandoli ε risse, ε tante guerre
 Che faran grandi i Saraceni ε i Turchi,
 E tutti li avversari de la fede;
 Ma la lor vita scelereta ε lorda
 Fia cōosciuta al fin dal mōndω errante
 Onde cōrregera tuttω 'l gōvernω
 De i mal guidati popoli di Christω.

No. CLXV.

(Page 276.)

Mangeti, Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa, tom. ii. p. 371.

Joannis Aureli Augurelli Chrysopoesia. Ad Leonem X.

AURIFERAM parvis animi pro viribus artem,
 Quæsitam nobis, et longo tempore partam,
 Ut rerum involucris tantarum evolvere moles
 Se potuit, claro perhibentes carmine nuper

Lusimus, et Musis hanc commendavimus almis,
 Quod nulli ex omni numero fecere priores.
 Cumque operi autorem cujus sub nomine tutum
 Pergeret optarem, foret et res præside digna
 Ipsa ex se magno, variaque hinc mente tenerer
 Cui merito cuncta hæc, et non ingrata dicarem;
 Interea nobis tute velut æthere ab alto
 Missus ades mundi festis succurrere rebus,
 Qui belli scelerumque faces, incendia tanta
 Extinguas, placidamque piis sperare quietem
 Des populis, solidamque per aurea secula pacem.
 Cuive etiam, si parva licet componere magnis,
 Ad sanctos hæc nostra pedes ars aurea tendat:
 Ut quo te fidei sacræ nunc cœtus honore
 Prosequitur cunctus hoc te veneretur, et omni
 Ipsa tuum pro me cultu sic numen adoret.
 Hanc igitur, si non immensa negotia prorsus
 Impediunt, permitte precor se prodere tantum
 Quo tibi, detracto veluti velamine virgo
 Nobilis ingenio vultum perfusa rubore,
 Occultum incipiat semel ostentare decorem.
 Hæc etenim prima quanquam se fronte legenti
 Non adeo ostendat, paulum tamen ipsa reclusis
 Detecta arcanis mira et gratissima pandit.
 Quam si forte legens interdum nomina divum
 Offendes quos vana olim coluisse vetustas
 Dicitur, extemplo haud renuas, sacra optima quanquam
 Exerces, veramque fidem, cultumque tueris.
 Illa etenim tanquam priscis consueta vocari
 Vatibus enixe quos tunc imitabar adivi
 Supplex, et paribus curis in vota vocavi.
 Materies etiam solitum conquirere Solis
 Et Luna: auxilium, nec non Vulcania velle
 Arma videbatur quorum implorare favorem
 Fas erat: et mihi jam per te licuisse sit id nunc
 Concessum, et venia dignum peccasse fatenti.
 Mox tamen hinc aliud quæsitum ad carmina numen,
 Et precibus solum cunctis quandoque vocatum,

Forte aderit, præsens fuerit si gratia cœlo
 Tanta mihi; magnum multo seu carmine Mosen,
 Seu quem flagranti vectum super æthera curru
 Mirati videre patres, oculisque sequuti
 Aera per purum cœli discindier oras,
 Astrorumque globos intro aspexere micantes:
 Seu qui voce palam porrectoque indice prodit
 Venisse auxilio jam tum mortalibus agnum
 Ipse canam, vatem quamprimum matris in alvo
 Exultantem, et adhuc puerum ad deserta ferentem
 Antra pedes, puri mox et Jordanis ad undam
 Dignatum caput illius contingere limpha
 Qui proprio antiquam nobis sic sanguine labem
 Abluit, ut scelerum maculas absterserit omnes.
 Nomine cujus item tibi quondam et moribus aucto
 Defuit haud unquam favor ac cœlestis abunde
 Gratia, qua tantum meritis conscendere culmen
 Posses, et justas mundi regere unus habenas:
 Magnanimos æquans propria virtute Leones,
 Pontificum decus egregium jam sæpe repertos
 Esse, nec Italiæ sub iniquo tempore, et usquam
 Christicolis ullo prorsum in discrimine deesse.
 Hæc sed erunt mihi cum dicendi facta potestas
 Jam fuerit, dabiturque loqui quæ jusseris ipse
 Sancte Pater, cujus nobis stant omnia nutu.

Interea certis hominum vis ulla-ne possit
 Indiciis aurum facere, et mutare metalla
 Percipias primum: dehinc quæ secreta labore
 Ars id perficere, et naturam æquare potenti
 Ingenio inspicias, demum quis rite sequatur
 Hinc modus assiduis doctisque laboribus artem
 Pervideas, et quo tandem experientia ducat.
 Omnia quæ gnaro passim tibi certa patebunt,
 Si quo hac inter se nexu, quoque ordine constant
 Ipse acie qua cuncta soles discernere mentis
 Inspectans, parvum non dedignabere munus,
 Quod tibi non parva offerri super arte laboro.

No. CLXVI.

(Page 281.)

Dilecto Filio Actio Syncero Sannazario, Leo Papa X.

DILECTE fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quum forte de claris ingeniis ætatis nostræ; apud nos verba fierent, affuere qui quum te, tum opus tuum De Partu Virginis divinis prope laudibus cum admiratione attollerent, atque prædicarent. Quæ res exspectata quidem diu nobis (nihil enim non excultum, non elaboratum, non singulari tuo ingenio dignum proficisci a te posse arbitramur) verum eo nunc carior et jucundior visa est, tum quod quæ futura exspectabamus, accepimus jam facta esse, et quæ superent, omnem exspectationem, tum quod etsi nullo non tempore fuissent acceptissima, hac præcipue tempestate erunt longe gratiora. Qua ut quidam, quo doctiores videantur, Ecclesiam stilo iniquo petunt, qui exactissima eruditione commendent, non desiderentur. Dicit non potest, quum hæc audiremus, quantum voluptatis acceperimus, et quum ipsi legemus, accepturi simus; quod persuasi simus, divina factum providentia, ut divina sponsa tot impiis oppugnatoribus, laceratoribusque lacessita, talem, tantumque nacta sit propugnatorem; et quum illi impia facundia abusi frangant in rem sacram genuinum, tu unus opus edideris quo rem sacram omnibus (ut dici solet) nervis attollendam, excolendamque procuraveris sancto consilio, eventu felicior, quum dictitent qui legere, si rem quæramus, nihil nisi CHRISTUM atque ejus sponsam sonare: si pietatem, undique religionis enitere studium; si judicium, nihil ungue signandum relinquere; si figuras artisque conatus, veterum vatum nulli cedere, multos anteire. Gratulamur itaque tibi, quod tantum unus præstes, quantum antea nemo; Ecclesiæ, quod quum vexetur lacineturque ab aliis, a te uno in cælum efferatur; nostro sæculo, quod fiet tui carminis luce celeberrimum, nobis denique ipsis quibus imminente hinc Goliade armato, hinc Saule a furiis agitato, affuerit pius David illum funda a te-

meritate, hunc lyra a furore compescens. Hortamur itaque te, jam opus edas, ut qui dolent, quum illa legunt quæ adversus pietatem venena ficti Christiani evomuere, ad tua conferant sese, quæ veluti præsens antidotum sint opposituri. Tu ita tibi persuadeas volumus, nos te et tua omnia perinde ac nostra complexuros esse, nec nos, nec hanc Sanctam Sedem umquam tui vel affectus vel operæ immemores futuros. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris die VI. Augusti, M. D. XXI. Pontificatus nostri anno nono.

BEMBUS.

Per Favonium de mandato.

No. CLXVII.

(Page 282.)

*Dilecto Filio Actio Syncero Sannazario, Clemens
Papa VII.*

DILECTE fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Accepimus librum gratissimo munere, quem tu ad nos de DEI, et DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI rebus scriptum misisti, cujus argumentum præclarum, atque nobile quum in te parem ostendat animi pietatem, atque ingenii gloriam, sitque in eo nomen quoque nostrum ad memoriam eorum qui lecturi sunt, qui quidem innumerabiles futuri sunt in longa posteritate, immortalitati quasi commendatum, muneris tui magnitudinem hoc magis sentimus, quod quomodo parem referamus gratiam, habere nos non arbitramur. Si enim immortalitas optata, et grata est omnibus, qui præsertim animo vegetiore atque erectiore sint, permagnæ sunt illius partes nobis a te tributæ. Quamquam enim ea est appetenda maxime, illique elaborandum præcipue, quæ post discessum ex hac vita, in illa altera vita felici et sempiterna nos cum DEO ipso collocat, tamen ne hæc quidem non libenter adsciscenda, quæ producit ad posteros nostri nominis perpetuitatem, pro qua, qui illam cœlestem et divinam immortalitatem non

plane cognoverunt, maximis sæpe tamen contentionibus, et acerbissimis discriminibus vitam, et caput suum objecere, quod profecto non fecissent, nisi a natura ipsa admoniti, summum quoddam bonum existere conjectati fuissent, cujus in imagine et simulacro tam multas partes experirentur esse delectationis, et gloriæ. Est enim profecto hæc famæ et laudis ad commemorationem hominum celebritas, imago illius veræ immortalitatis quæ eximio dono Omnipotentis DEI, uni Christiano generi, per DOMINUM NOSTRUM JESUM CHRISTUM proposita est; ad quam potissimum aspirare debemus, hanc vero ita caram, jucundamque ducere, si proborum et prudentium testimonium nobis deferatur, quod quidem in te nobis egregie contigit. Non enim ingenio solum tuo honorati, illustratique sumus sed (quod nobis etiam gratius est) judicio comprobati; et si enim ingenii gloria concedis nemini, vel omnibus potius præstas qui in hoc scribendi genere cum laude versati sunt, tamen quum ipso scriptoris argumento ostendas, qua sis pietate, sapientia, religione præditus, jucundius etiam accepimus testimonium optimi, et religiosissimi viri, quam studium doctissimi. Quapropter macte virtute tu quidem; id enim es consecutus, quo nullum majus homini bonum in hac vita existere posse videatur, maximorum enim donorum quibus te affecerat DEUS, gratia illi (quoad mortali homini licuit) relata, illud jam summum, et incomparabile veræ immortalitatis donum es promeritus, cui deinde jam gratia nulla esse par potest, qui talentum acceptum multiplicatis mercedibus, eidem domino reddidisti a quo acceperas. Ex quo quum fructum quoque non mediocrem tui libri dicatione, ad nominis nostri laudem, ac memoriam redundare volueris, tantam tibi habemus gratiam, quantam capere grati, et memoris Pontificis tanto devincta officio mens potest, sicut et re ipsa tibi ostendere parati sumus, et ut experiare etiam adhortamur. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris die V. Augusti, M. D. XXVI. Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

No. CLXVIII.

(Page 336.)

*Guidi Postumi Silvestri Eleg. lib. i. p. 7. Ed. Bonon. 1524.**Pro Ædibus paternis a se instauratis ope Leonis X. Pont.
Opt. Max.*

QUAM cariosa ætas, quamque hosticus hauserat ignis,
 Exuit en senium Posthumiana Domus.
 Scit tamen hanc longo perituram Posthumus ævo,
 Ergo aliud longe firmitus egit opus.
 Quod (cum hæc victa situ domus et lapis iste jacebunt)
 Vivet, eritque altæ posteritatis honos.
 Pro cytharæ meritis tribuit Leo Maximus aurum,
 Jussit et hinc vatis tecta nitere sui.
 Quippe Amphionii non ficta est fabula muri,
 Si domus hæc blandæ structa canore lyræ est.

No. CLXIX.

(Page 336.)

*Guidi Postumi Silvestri, Eleg. lib. ii. p. 91.**Ad Petrum Pactium.*

ABSENTEM dum te Florentia, Maxime Pacti,
 Implicitum et curis te tua terra tenet;
 Ille tuæ pacisque hominum Leo Maximus auctor,
 Æternum ille et honos, sanguis, amorque tuus,
 Sollicitus Dominæ liquit fastidia Romæ,
 Atque dicata bonæ cessit in arva Pali.
 Hic ubi majorum molem extruit arte, novatque,
 Nec sinit ex toto sæcula prisca mori,
 Arcet arenosos magno molimine fluctus,
 Ipsæ ubi mox multo pisce natentur aquæ.
 Huc quoque longinquo descendere monte jubetur,
 Cogitur et faciles currere lympha vias.

Atria pulsa freto, spaciosam extruit arcem ;
 Qua procul Hetruscae stet populator aquae.
 Quin et equis stabula alta solo jaciuntur, et ipsis
 Militibus struitur magna capaxque domus.
 Ne tamen illum ipsos penitus sic condere soles,
 Neve putes sola hac decipere arte diem ;
 Ipse suas crebris mensas venatibus auget,
 Cœnaque de proprio parta labore venit.
 Accipe quot nuper nemorosa in valle, vel una
 Luce perhorrentes straverit ille feras.
 Est nemus et piceis frondosaque abiete densum
 Ipsam ubi fama refert sæpe habitare Palem ;
 Quo neque secretis jucundior ulla Napæis,
 Craque semicapro gratior ulla Deo est.
 Cujus in extremo tot frondea tecta recessu
 Aspicias, magnæ quot lucus urbis habet.
 Fingit in hunc silvas morem natura, nec ulla
 Diva laboratas extruit arte domos.
 Hic nulla violata virent myrteta securi,
 Multaque odoratam laurus obumbrat humum ;
 Dianam hic referunt visam, ac sæpe alta petentem
 Æquora, Tyrrenum hic nam prope littus adest.
 Hæc domus atque feris statio gratissima capris,
 Hic locus agrestes quo stabulentur apri.
 Huc Leo venantes decrevit in aspera cogi
 Prælia, et armigera bella ciere manu.
 Primus et ante omnes ipse albo insignis amictu
 Carpsit iter, vastum sepe obiitque nemus.
 Proximus et magno fratri comes ibat Julus,
 Quamlibet illi atra in sorte fidele caput.
 Cernere erat magna excitos Mavortis ab urbe
 Sæva galeritos sumere tela patres.
 E quibus invictæ referens cognomina gentis
 Cæsar Calaici terga premebat equi ;
 Ille quidem multa cor Pallade præditus, idem et
 Clarus Iuleæ nobilitate domus.
 Hinc Germana phalanx campis se læta ferebat.
 Illinc Romanæ robora gentis eques.

Pars agitare feras cornu properabat adunco,
Pars armillatos voce ciere canes.
Hos inter quoque Septimius Rangona propago,
Frena recusanti fervidus ibat equo ;
Septimius, Leo cui magnus posita oppida lætis
In tumulis, dono nuper habere dedit.
Hunc adeo validis venabula torta lacertis,
Nec minus egregius fervor in arma decet ;
Ut non ullus aper silvis stabuletur in altis,
Qui non illius optet ab ense mori.
Talem olim Hippolytum ripas prope Thermodoontis,
Strymonias memorant sollicitasse feras ;
Aut cum Chironis sese referebat ad antrum
Pelidem innumeras perdomuisse Leas.
Inde puellarum pulcherrima cura Galesus,
Dextra idem promptus forma atavisque potens,
Charum dilectæ pignus gestabat amicæ,
Veste tegens niveum versicolore latus.
Optabat decus usque aliquod meruisse, suæque
Parvum hinulum dominæ ferre, caputve suis ;
Quæ fera ab his animam ediderit transfixa lacertis,
Sacraque et in libris nota erit usque meis.
Hunc unum comes insequitur Chorineus euntem,
Saucius et cura pallidus ora gravi ;
Unus qui teneri spectatum facta Galesi
Junxerat arma, canes miscueratque suos.
Ille quidem ducens alieno in pectore vitam,
Sanandum nulla vulnus alebat ope.
Ibat acerba fremens magnumque hastile gerebat
Fregusus, Lygurum nobilitatis honos.
Cui comes Insubrumque decus splendorque Ricardus
Quassabat validam pristina tela sudem.
Mellinus, Laurensque Cibo, hinc socia agmina jungunt,
Conjugii hic foelix prosperitate novi ;
Pullato prævectus equo mœstissimus alter,
Fratris et indigni funeris usque memor ;
Quem vorticoso modo raptum in gurgite Apollo
Vidit, et occiduis flevit ab usque fretis.

His gladium clavamque ferentibus usque trinodem
 Moris erat prædas lustra per alta sequi.
 Quin Lusitano orator quoque missus ab orbe
 Sylvius Hispani terga onerarat equi.
 Ibat suspensio similis, quem magna putares
 Concipere, ac Regi mox referenda suo ;
 Aut si quod musis gratum acceptumque canebat
 Corrigrere, æternæ posteritatis opus.
 Is comitem Gibertum altis de rebus agentem
 Junxerat, et Phœbi Castiliona decus ;
 Armatam ferro cornum de more gerebat,
 Missile telum illi fulminis instar erat.
 Unicus hunc celebrem cœtum Aretinus obibat,
 Quo monitore omnis læta juvena fuit :
 Ille hominum captus super et super æthera vectus
 Ingenio, astrum aliquod, non hominem ore sonat ;
 Quacumque incedit divinum inspirat odorem ;
 Ne moriturum hominem credite, numen habet ;
 Ille canes, et equos Euri, atque aquilonis alumnos,
 Ille habet et famulos Marte et Amore satos.
 Intexta ille modis miris se in veste ferebat,
 Et cujus nondum cognitus usus erat ;
 Ferre uni Arcitenens dederat sua tela Cupido,
 Et pharetram ipsam humeri pondus habere sui.
 Pars quota et ipse aderam, quin cuspide lætus Ibera
 Certus eram rabidos cominus ire sues.
 At clarus Serapica jugis, domitorque ferarum
 Guidus, et inde ipsas explicuere plagas.
 Magnus utrumque Leo teneris sibi legit ab annis
 Præsidium, et thalami spemque fidemque sui.
 Quisque sui cupidus vestigatorque pericli
 Pressa diu quærit signa inimica pedum.
 Pluribus in morem curto coma pressa galero,
 Pars bona cœlata casside aperta caput.
 Huic intertexti per collum it flexilis auri
 Circulus, et multis balthea cæsa notis.
 Cursitat hic auro fulgens ostroque decorus,
 Nec potis est longæ tædia ferre moræ.

At peditum legio sibi quisque ingentia nodis
 Robora pro scutis tegminibusque legit.
 Procumbunt taciti, atque hastilia longa reclinant
 Nam minus auritis voce cavetur apris.
 Insonuere tubæ, et picea Marianus ab alta
 Elato capitis tegmine signa dedit ;
 Tegmine, quod nuper rabido æschilus ore momordit,
 Dimidiumque avidæ mersit in antra gulæ.
 Protinus admovete canes, stabula ista subite.
 Irruite, huc omnes hoc terebrate nemus.
 Latrantumque hominumque genus ceu nimbus in unum
 Mox coiere, altisque obstrepuere soni.
 Exi aper huc, campo te te mihi detege aperto,
 Exere aper frendens hac mihi ab arce caput.
 Heu, ohe, seu silva capreæ latitatis in ista,
 Sive lupi in nostras huc fugitate manus.
 Vidi ego, vos vidi, vestris prodite latebris,
 Huc Dromas, euge sagax, huc bone Theron ades.
 Prima ego, quis credat, belli discrimina sensi,
 In me unum ut promptum est vel genus omne mali !
 Prima pericla adii, nam post fruticosa latebam
 Vimina, et hirsutis tesqua adoperta rubis,
 Constiteramque loco qua se fera plurima agebat,
 Et qui non ullo robore septus erat.
 Clamabat pius usque Leo, ut loca fortia adirem,
 Usque adeo cordi vatem habet ille suum ;
 Verum ego seu virtus, seu me mea sidera agebant,
 Non illa potui voce referre pedem.
 Ecce canum extemplo magnis latratibus actus
 Pene mihi fregit crus violentus aper.
 Prostratum herboso proceres risere fruteto ;
 At non Septimius talia visa tulit ;
 Nam memor altoris, nostræ et pietatis alumnus
 Frendentem certa cuspidē fixit aprum.
 Utque puer factō fœlix lætissimus esset,
 Principis ante oculos concidit ille sui.
 Fœlix interitu ac tali fera vulnere fœlix,
 Quæ per tam pulchras corruiet icta manus.

Septimium Pacti sic nobilis ira coegit,
 Altorem ulcisci justa per arma suum.
 Ac si pro capite hoc fuerit, quo parva redempto
 Gloria, in agrestes vel puer ivit apros,
 Quem fore pro sceptro speresque animaque Leonis,
 Acceptum ille refert cui decus omne suum?
 Interea incertum exoritur per devia murmur,
 Quale sonat dubii cum strepit aura noti ;
 Admoniti ergo omnes hærent, cursumque retorquent,
 Innumeri strepitu qua coiere novo.
 Clamabat celsa speculator ab ilice Calvus,
 State viri, innumeras silva habet ista feras.
 Dixerat, ac volucres dicto ocius æquora cervi
 Percurrere, iterum huc pergite Calvus ait.
 Cervus adest, properate citi, capite arma, propinquat,
 Huc properate, huc huc pergite, cervus adest.
 Obvius hunc jaculo pariter canibusque Galesus
 Stravit, cornigerumque abstulit ense caput.
 Moxque sui monumentum ictus late ardua cervi
 Romam dilectæ cornua miset heræ.
 Prospectare feram immanem stratam usque juvabat
 Et pueri niveas tam valuisse manus.
 Non jam degenerem aiebant virtutis avitæ,
 Nec jam animi aut patrii sanguinis esse rudem.
 Multa igitur puero super, et super indole multa
 Commemorant, blandis multa iterantque sonis.
 Cum concepta lupo sed naribus utilis Alce
 E silvis ab apro læsa gemensque redit.
 Ergo lupo Alce male credita, protinus omnes
 Inque suum vertit tela inimica caput.
 Tunc numen Lycabas equitum auxiliare precatus,
 Suppliciter tremula talia voce dedit.
 Hoc bene si telum direxeris alme Georgi,
 Quale tibi munus, qualia dona feram !
 Dixit et amento inseruit digitosque manumque ;
 Transadigit dubiam fraxinus acta canem.
 Pars voti rata, pars vacuas male cessit in auras,
 Quadrupedem fixit non tamen ille feram.

Risere, atque Alcem stratam ostentare Leoni
 Lectorum juvenum plurimus ardor erat.
 Tum Lycabas, vos ne hæc miracula creditis inquit.
 Cernite, tam similis non lupo ipse sibi est.
 Non te Scipio ait, non te pudet agmine in isto
 Formidare feras et dare terga fugæ?
 Non ego te vidi trepidum et diversa petentem,
 Cum nuper veri fiximus ora Lupi?
 Nempe cani atque lupo tu non discrimina pones,
 O pecus arcadicum, ridiculumque caput.
 Addidit his quidam et risum pater auxit Aquinas
 Namque ait, O Lycaba, dicta joco ista putes?
 Jam lupo iste quidem est, quem tu gladio asper et acer
 Venatu, sed nos turba jocosum sumus.
 Vade age, et hoc ipsa caput a cervice resectum
 Postibus hoc ipso in vespere fige tuis.
 Tale aliquod mea si patrarit dextera factum
 Inter venantes non leve nomen erit.
 Scipio ait, Lycabas mihi parcius ista memento
 Objicienda, at at te graviora manent.
 Hunc tibi cædo, hoc est quod sæpe fideliter olim
 Vitalis monuit me fugere astrologus.
 Mi Lycaba, Lycaba, parce, atque absiste movere;
 Dispercam nisi tu vel Maleagron agis.
 Hactenus audieris certamina, maxime Pacti,
 Bellaque non magno sollicitata metu.
 Nunc tibi mira canam, discrimina Martis anheli;
 Herculeas possint quæ decuisse manus.
 Nec mirere sonem quod grandius arma, quod ausim
 Magna per exiguos bella tonare modos.
 Est aliquid placuisse Jovi, et Jovis auribus, ille
 Magna referre humili dat mihi posse sono.
 Sus erat, armentorum horror, pecorumque ministris,
 Pastorum dominæ maxima cura Pali;
 Cui non Ida parem, cupressifer aut Erimanthus,
 Nec tulit in siculo silva Erycina jugo;
 Dorsum immane, ingens, setis riget horrida cervix;
 Sanguine et igne oculi spiritibusque micant,

Fulmen ab ore venit, ipsisque afflatibus ardent
 Gramina, et incessu sternitur omne nemus,
 Primus in hanc mediis silvæ et penetralibus actam
 Irruit, exclamans ferte Ricardus opem :
 Et procul, O quicumque illac conceditis inquit,
 Immanis sus est, claudite euntis iter.
 Verte feram, verte huc tibi dico Caballe, Caballe,
 Huc tibi dico, eja, o verte, Caballe, feram.
 Clamantem illa sacer vates non audiit, ergo
 Iræ ut erat juvenis præda furentis ait ;
 Huic te aprum ludo non te tua protulit Ancon
 Sed levibus studiis, vade age et illa cole.
 Huic celer accurrit ac stricta cuspide Julus
 Transadigit vastum setigerumque latus.
 At fugiente fera magna vi hastile revulsum
 Pone sub intrantis perculit ora Lyce.
 Illa diu eluctata canesque virosque trahebat
 Vuhificum torquens in sua colla caput.
 Mox quoque diutius frustra cervam usque sequutus
 Huc in defessi frena retorsit equi ;
 Prævertitque feram, ac jaculum in cervice recondit,
 Quam mox telorum est magna sequuta seges.
 Læsit humum tandem, ac terræ sera procubuit sus,
 Una grunnumque edidit, atque animam ;
 Quo nemus intonuit, remugitque recessus,
 Ipsaque Tyrrheni mugit unda freti.
 Distraxit tamen ante Dapem, Domadenque molossos,
 Atque Thoum, atque Labron, cresso Athamone satos.
 Vix hoc ediderat campis spectacula monstrum
 Cum vastum exclamant fige, age, fige lupum.
 Freguso ille gravi sua vulnere terga sequuto,
 Distinxit validam fulmineo ore manum.
 Excussusque ultorque sui properabat in agmen,
 Qua pia sacrati signa Leonis erant.
 Tunc Saliatus, amansque Cibo, invictusque Rodolphus
 Lecta manus missa prosiluere mora,
 Omnes Medicibus consanguinitate propinqui,
 Omnes terreno stirps bene fida Jovi.

Mox et fraxinea Cornelius affuit hasta,
 Ursinusque agitans jam grave Martis opus.
Alter prædatorque avium et vastator aprorum,
 Alter ponendis duxque caputque plagis.
Dehinc jaculis Rango, ac stricto bonus ense Triclus
 Cæsar et ipse sui nominis usque memor ;
Te quoque peltatum Egydi accurrisse loquuntur,
 Nec minus ore tuas tunc valuisse manus ;
Una omnes ruere, atque in aperta pericla videres
 Præcipites domini pro capite ire sui.
Impiger at quadrupes et telis mille petitus
 In se conversus dissipat ore canes.
Tum domini vitæ custos hærensque timensque
 Hannibal illi avidum transigit ense latus ;
Increpitansque fero morientem inspexit, et i nunc,
 Bellua dira, inquit, dente feri, ungue seca.
Macte animis, Leo magnus ait, custode gradivo
 Non poterat nostrum tutius esse caput,
Diverso interea completur silva tumultu
 Clamantum, immanis bellua Taurus adest.
Taurus erat qui forte jugi de colle propinqui
 Terga fugæ huc diro victus ab hoste dabat.
Ille suos ignes, regnataque liquerat arva
 Saucius, et raptæ conjugis usque memor ;
Multa gemens, vasto implebat nemora alta boatu ;
 Victorem ignarus ferre, paremque pati.
Quid non cogit amor ? quamvis puer imperat astris
 Idem et in horrentes jus habet ille feras.
Ibat atrox, non ille canum, non ille ruentum
 In sua telorum terga virumque memor ;
Obnixus trunco cornu exacuebat in iras,
 Respiciens patrii tesqua adamata jugi.
Victori certus plagam ingeminare superbo
 Moxque sibi erepto rursus amore frui.
Exercentem iras perque agmina tota frementem
 Latrantum atque hominum est magna sequuta cohors.
Ocius exsiluere Arge Ichnobatesque, molossi,
 Nembrophanosque furens, prævalidusque Lacon,

Tum bonus Ispelles, Mendocius, Emiliusque
 Accurrere, cito qua furit ille pede.
 Dehinc Serapica sequens canibus vulpem usque dolosam
 Huc quoque ad hæc properans murmura vertit iter.
 Mox Valerus Venetæ decus et nova gloria terræ
 Excussus fœtæ nuper ab ore lupæ,
 Et nunc crura instant secuisse bipennibus, et nunc
 Vulnificum sagulis implicuisse caput.
 Attollentem animos irascentemque juvebant
 Hac amor, hac turpis damna dolorque fugæ.
 Ergo furens Serapicam adiit, uncisque rotatum
 Cornibus, adverso præcipitem ore dedit.
 Ille ut erat parvos breviter concretus in artus,
 Fertur in offenso procubuisse genu.
 Moxque animos rursus attollens, victusque resurgens,
 Colla securigera persecuisse manu.
 Concidit, ac mugitum alto de pectore ducens,
 Sanguine fœdatam pressit inultus humum.
 Illum indignantem aspiceres, seque usque dolentem
 Ulciscique iras non potuisse suas.
 Ne tamen hunc ipsam vita spoliasset bipennem,
 Neu vicisse homines, credite vicit amor.
 Spectantem dum me hæc immania visa morantur,
 Vulnerat ecce aures vox inopina meas.
 Nam meus Æneas mihi per nemora avia anhelans,
 Huc precor, huc genitor, si vacat, inquit, ades.
 Illa vides myrtos inter procul arma moveri,
 Pugnat pro fibris vix dum obeuntis apri?
 Agnovi nostri galeam vocemque Faloppi;
 Ille pater stricto scilicet ense furit.
 Cessi, et turbam illam nato comitante petivi,
 Indolui et socium rixam agitasse caput.
 Forte aderat genus hic Mutinense Faloppius acer,
 Dexterâ Rangono fide comesque duci.
 Venerat huc patriis nuper de finibus exul,
 Uktus ibi offensas justa per arma graves.
 Hic ubi purpureum primis galeaque coruscum
 Vidit apri testes subsecuisse Lycham,

Illum deberi soli sibi clamat honorem,
 Nostrorumque, minax, præda ait ista canum est.
 Moxque furens stricto incessit cava tempora pugno,
 Ingeminans testes non sine teste ferēs.
 Addidit et factō hæc quin tu istam age pone securim,
 Arma viri fortes et fera bella gerant.
 Semivir et patrium in morem caput oblite myrrha ;
 Nostra Padi in ripis, vade age, facta refer.
 Pulsatæ sonuere genæ, mox lividus olli
 Sanguis, et informis polluit ora tumor.
 Ergo dolens ignominiam, vastam ille securim
 Sustulit, ut forti præsto erat illa manu.
 Jamque per adversumque hostem perque ora ruebat
 Lætalis dirum exitium hasta ferens,
 Cum saltu fœlix juvenis Mutinensis ab ictu,
 Et latus, et mira retulit arte pedem.
 Mox propiusque hostem increpitans, validum exigit ensem,
 Qua radiat, dextro et lumen ab orbe venit.
 Effosso patuere oculo penetralia, et orbis
 Spiramenta, ater proluit ora cruor.
 Hic mihi jam vitam expira pro lumine adempto
 Hostis amare, ait, et hæc cape dona Lychas.
 Dixit et arrecta rursum in sublime bipenne,
 Objectum ensem hosti fregit in ora suo ;
 Dissiliens mucro faciem distrinxit, at illi
 Cæde cruentatæ subrubuere genæ.
 At non illa ferens indigna Faloppius, hostem
 Comminus amplexum dextra obeunte rotat.
 Non secus Alcides procul a tellure premebat
 Antæum, vires matre ferente novas.
 Luctatusque diu tandem pede crura recurvo
 Implicat, atque gravi stratum agit usque solo ;
 Seminecemque furens stricto pugione sequutus,
 Impetit ipsum oculum qui super unus erat.
 Calcitrat, atque oculo usque cavet cervice reflexa
 Et pro luce neci dat sua colla Lychas.
 Ocius accurrere ipso in discrimine vitæ
 Brandinus, et calabro vectus Helenor equo ;

Impiger et Decimo bellis spectatus Helenor,
Ille Deis Rhodia religione sacer.
Hic subito exoritur studiis nova rixa faventum;
Scinditur in partes ipsa caterva duas.
Quid prohibetis ait justum certamen Orodes?
Æquore quin medio cedite signa canant.
Venantum densa septos certare corona
Convenit, affectu pugnat uterque pari.
Cedam ego, Helenor ait, vincat quem vincere malit
Jupiter, aut socias mitiget ille manus.
Unum illud scitote, feras agitare fugaces
Venimus, hoc ultra ne scelerate manus.
Mox proceres Hiero, et juvenis Catineus, et ipse
Decessit Rhodiæ Brandinus urbis eques.
Ergo Lycham multa turpatum tempora arena
Torpor iners, mortis corripuitque metus;
Atque ait O summa mundi regnator in æthra,
Excipe sollicito quas damus ore preces.
Si merui videorque nocens succense merenti;
Sin minus, immeritæ da superesse neci.
Vota bonum meruere Jovem, namque Albicus acri
Eripuit procerum primus ab hoste Lycham.
Dehinc victi magna testatus voce salutem,
Spectacula ipse, inquit, non probat ista Leo.
Testis abesse ipsa jussus gladiator ab urbe
Roma, et ab hoc ipso libera facta metu.
Luce Lycham dextra aspiceres, miserabile, cassum,
Sanguinolentum, ipsos et male ferre pedes;
At testantem ira stimulante Faloppion aras
Victum hostem, et captum non potuisse capi.
Hos virtus Rangona, potes hos ferre ministros?
Clamarunt fremitu sydera adusque novo.
Serva manus Rangona Lycham curæque medentum
Tradidit, artifices applicuitque manus,
Hannibalisque ægrum nota ad tentoria ducunt,
Conjugis et mira texta operosa manu.
Namque suos molli casus effinxerat auro,
Rapta olim in patriis pene puella focis.

Quin matrem longo subtexerat argumento
Sanguinolentam ipsos commaculasse lares.
Non procul hinc famulasque manus pubemque suorum
Irruere et patrium cæde abolere caput.
Claustra relaxat male credita proditor arcis,
Noxque favens tantis texta erat ipsa dolis.
Ipsa videbatur præceps demissa fenestra ;
Mœnibus et patriæ pendula ab arce suæ.
Seque diu clavo præfixa veste teneri
Fecerat, et teneros implicuisse pedes :
Et ne audita queri rapido traheretur ab hoste,
Conatam nullos prodere voce metus.
Finxerat et servatam ipso se numine divum ;
Numine, nam patriæ concideratis opes.
Hannibalem hæc inter fausto sibi fœdere junctum
Fervere et ulcisci justa per arma patrem.
Illum cernere erat stricto petere agmina ferro ;
Ipsaque pro cara conjuge in arma rapi.
Postremum ipsa humili votum immortale sacello
Visa erat ante ipsos persoluisse deos,
Si poteras tanti aspectu caruisse duelli,
Lancettum saltem visere dignus cras ;
Lancettum Pacti quo non vinosior alter
Huc puer Arctoi venit ab axe poli.
Quæ te animi fratremque tuum tenere procellæ
Debit hæc omnis cedere cura joco.
Insignis fuerat canibus Lancettus alendis,
Idem ille et domini cura jocusque sui.
Æternum cui versanti crateras ahenos,
Vina dabant vitam, vina dedere necem.
Non nisi potum illum exoriens aurora videbat,
Pura rejectantem vina, merumque merum.
Præcipites clamore feras quoque potus agebat,
Nare sagax canibus non minus ille suis.
Hic jaculum intorsit quod detulit error in Argem,
Argem insignem agili mobilitate canem ;
Quæ fugientem aprum cursu præverterat et jam
Villosam valido fregerat ore cutim.

Lancettum inde pudor vinumque iræque coquebant,
 Congressusque trucem cominus ibat aprum.
 Insiliensque feræ dorso nunc dentibus aures,
 Nunc ferit insana colla ferina manu,
 Verum illum tergo excussum male, præcipitemque
 Trux fera ad usque imos fregit ab ore pedes.
 Sanguinolentum et humi vinum crasso ore vomentem,
 Et nemora et fidi mox gemuere canes.
 Stratum herus efferri Cornelius agmine ab ipso
 Jussit, et annoso perluere ossa mero.
 Inscribique dedit tumulo, Hic Lancettus ab apro
 Sed magis a vino saucius ora jacet.
 Hunc libeat Chorineo astum, et quam Braccius artem
 Struxerit, hic certa commemorare fide.
 Ille ut mille jocos semper sub pectore versat,
 Obvius huic celeri per nemus, inquit, equo.
 Quid struis hic Chorinee? omnes per lustra Galesum
 Quærimus in tantis casibus unus abes.
 Aut equus illum alta in silva per iniqua locorum
 Excussit, rupit aut ferus inguen aper.
 Dixit et amentem Chorineum et multa querentem
 Transiit, in mediis descruitque sonis.
 Ergo hac atque illac infœlix currit amator,
 Secretumque nemus qua magis horret adit.
 Et nunc voce tonat, nunc cornu multa recurvo
 Integrat, et socios admonet inde canes.
 Silva Galese, heu, quo te abdidit ista recessu
 Verte, Galese, tuos, verte age, verte pedes.
 Heu frustra, Chorinee, hic labor, ille agmine ab ipso
 Cessit, habetque suum molliter unda latus.
 Impatiens æstus et multa in cæde volutus,
 Torrida sepositis fontibus ora levat.
 Ergo ubi nulla miser per devia vidit, amici
 Longum quæsiti, signa adamata pedum,
 Illicis accumbens sub tegmine fertur ab imo hæc
 Pectore flebilibus verba iterasse sonis.
 Silvæ laurentes, silvæ quas criminis hujus
 Ignaras, tanti et funeris esse velim,

Vosque ignota feræ quas per nemora ista vagantes
 Maluerim nostros non agitasse canes,
 Dicite si latebras vestras amor attigit umquam,
 Per nemus hoc carpsit qua meus ignis iter ;
 Dicite, sic stabulis ævum peragatis in istis,
 Vestraque in hac placide pectora valle cubent.
 Heu, male caute puer, quis te casusvè dolusvè
 Perdidit ? O medio e pectore adempte mihi !
 Scilicet hoc sævo in nemore et nigrantibus umbris,
 Præda feris trucibus alitibusque jaces.
 Reddite eum, Nymphæ, nemorum secreta colentes,
 Reddite fors vestro si latet ille sinu.
 Quin totum ipsum illum proprios habeatis in usus,
 Credita si per vos sit sua vita mihi.
 Ah puer, et frustra misero dilecte sodali,
 Exstincti ipse tuum vita meumque caput !
 Clamabam cave ne hæc virtus tibi fiat amara,
 In gyrum heu rapido cum traheris equo ;
 Et cum apros jaculo præceps sequerere furentes,
 Clamabam, lateri, lux mea, parce tuo.
 Quo sine me diversus in hæc loca perfida abisti,
 En quo perduxit te tuus ille vigor.
 Certum est hic, atque hic inter loca plena pavoris ;
 Nam quo lux mihi sit te sine velle mori.
 Hæc et plura ferunt illum ingeminasse sub alta
 Ilice, et his ipsas illachrymasse feras.
 Parte alia nemore ex ipso, quæ ibi plurima turba est,
 Ibat aper rapida clam per iniqua fuga.
 Huc genus Ursina Valerus de gente profectum,
 Ferrata celerem calce fatigat equum.
 Ille quidem primis malas vestitus iulis,
 Publica cura hominum, publicus ardor erat.
 Plurima fronte Venus sensusque animosque trahebat,
 Sed mage nescio quis gratus in ore vigor.
 Sic per lustra vagus teneris prælusit in annis
 Mars puer, et cælo tunc quoque dignus erat.
 Venantum ergo animos in se converterat omnes,
 Immemores illa prætereuntis apri.

At fera prævalido fugiens vorat æquora cursu,
 Transiliitque cito retia summa pede.
 Indoluit medias puer evasisse per enses,
 Totque per arma capi non potuisse feram.
 Tum Marianus ibi picea speculator ab alta
 Dicitur hos tenui voce dedisse sonos.
 Ne geme, blande puer, lachrymis ne pollue vultus,
 Hoc tibi nam facies hoc tibi forma dedit.
 Quid mea vita feras amor est fixisse nocentes?
 Nonne hominum satis en sanguine habere manus?
 Dixit et hinc pueri, stabat nam ibi cantharus unus,
 Nomen, cognomen, matrem aviamque bibit;
 Dum bonus interea risum movet ac Marianus
 Totum ibi se et pleno proluit ora cado,
 Unice, clamabant, damam, Unice respice damam,
 Respice en ante tuos se se agit ille pedes.
 Ille alio licet excultas intenderat aures,
 Audiit, inque feram talia versus ait,
 Sic rogo nostra tuum figant venabula pectus
 Fœmina ceu princeps perdidit una meum.
 Olli arcum dextram usque Deus lunavit ad aurem,
 Et levum dixit sic mihi claude oculum;
 Corda per et fibras perque ilia venit arundo
 Figier in jusso docta vel illa loco.
 Clamavere omnes, O nostri gloria sæcli
 O decus, O vere nomine digne tuo.
 Ille feram super incumbens, semel inquit obisti,
 At mihi mille uni sunt in amore neces.
 Longa referre mora est quæ saucia diffugerunt
 Secretisque procul monstra obiere locis.
 Quæque Thebaldeus jaculo eminus et bonus arcu,
 Mattelenes alta in valle dedere neci.
 Quæque modo adveniens accinctus acinace Roma
 Lilius, usque gradum pone sequutus heri.
 Forte aberat rebus missus Sadolettus agendis;
 Hoc caruere uno gaudia nostra bono.
 Dulce caput domino et patribus Sadolettus, et idem
 Promptus Arionia monstra movere fide.

Sed votum hoc minuit stirps Portius alta Camillus,
 Arbiter Ausoniæ maximus ille togæ.
 Nec non Christiados Vida ipse sacerrimus auctor
 Cui par nullum ætas pristina vidit opus.
 Affuit armatusque Sparo, et quis crederet, audax
 Per medias vates tam pius ire tubas,
 Molsa comesque aderat, volucris gratissima cura
 Molsa Deo, Phœbi Virginibusque sacer ;
 Qui nisi quod sævam grave suspirabat in Æglem,
 Gloria venantum prima futurus erat.
 Vertitur interea, nec dum tamen occiduus Sol,
 Parcite jam ferro cum Leo magnus ait.
 Ergo omnes propere inde plagas et lina refigunt,
 Festinosque vocant ad sua vincla canes ;
 Huc te, huc verte, huc te, ingeminant, huc verte Melampe,
 Huc Terela, huc Ladon, ad tua vincla redi.
 Ichnobates ades, huc ades, huc cum Lelape Theron,
 Huc Dromas, huc Leucon, huc bona Tigris ades.
 Clamantum fremitu rauci canor astrepit aeris,
 Extremosque refert garrula Nympha sonos.
 Attolluntur aquæ et fracto longum aggemit æstu,
 Ipsaque vicinis fervet arena fretis.
 Terga suum excisasque feras congeffit in unum
 Monstra Adimas miris saucia facta modis.
 Huc lepores etiam imbelles damasque fugaces
 Congessere, avidi quos rapuere canes.
 Cernere vasta omnes nec jam semel ora juvabat
 Rostraque adhuc hosti pene tremenda suo.
 Quæ postquam Leo conspexit, venantibus inquit,
 Proveniant alii sic mihi sæpe dies.
 Corpora deinde jubet tolli quæ strata jacebant
 Imponique altis anteferenda rotis.
 In numerum jumenta ibant, onerataque plaustra,
 Cædibus et multa turpia facta nece.
 Ipse domum usque suo graditur comitatus Julo,
 Lætam, ille ingeminans, terque quaterque diem !
 At vixdum exierant castris cum se inter eundem
 Milvius ætherea prodit ab usque plaga ;

Hic nova mox dederunt spectacula, scilicet hujus
Aucupii veteres non meministis avi.
Tum falco rostro atque animis spectatus, in astra
Mittitur, et gyris cœlum obit usque suis,
Nec prius absistit quam nubila et æthera tranet,
Unde suam incursit prædam inimicus atrox ;
Ille hostem agnoscens resupinus pandere rostrum
Vulnificum atque uncōs vortere in astra pedes ;
At falco volucres præceps diverberat auras,
Seque ruens missi fulminis instar agit ;
Itque reditque viam, inque ipsum arietat hostem,
Et miserum variis vexat agitque modis ;
Evasit tamen ille, ac dissiliente sagitta
Ociō aversum saucius ibat iter.
Insequitur falco jam jam tenetque feritque
(Heu quas ferre solet vel brevis hora vices !)
Ecce furens pone ætherio Jovis ales ab axe,
Non expectati vulneris auctor adest.
Ac jam victorem in mediis miserum excipit astris,
Et validum sævo sauciat ungue caput.
Discerptum dimisit (agit genus omne animantum
Invidia ipsa) animos non tulit ille pares.
Clamabat, sed frustra illum ad sua vincla magister,
Usque adeo miserum laudis agebat amor.
Quem moribundum alta poli e regione cadentem
Excepit trunci versicoloris acer.
Lapsum herus ingemuit, hacque illum est voce sequutus,
Te tua vis dedit et fraus aliena neci.
Ergo illi aëria in turri statuere sepulchrum
Ursinusque pater Ausonidumque manus.
Rostra super busto et posuere ingentia cœlo
Cæsarem in mediis syderibusque avium.
Exculptamque ursam dominique insigne superbum
Et validorum olim vincla operosa pedum.
Insignem hanc pietatem olim miratus et hærens
Tale gravi carmen voce Capella dedit.
Quid non patre sub hoc poterunt spectare Quirites ?
Cum tumuli meritis obliget unus aves.

His actis petiere domus, mensisque frequentes,
 Et picturatis accubuere thoris.
 Multa inter mensas interque liquentia vina
 Narravere sacri fortia facta patres.
 Hic jactat rapidi oris aprum, hic taurum usque furentem,
 Hic cecidisse uno se feriente lupum ;
 Ille suos memoratque metus ut robore fido
 Vitarit fulmen fata minantis aperi.
 Ille ut ob hoc ipsum sibi magno optaverit emptum
 Armorum illa ipsa in luce fuisse rudem.
 Me quoque narrarunt foelicem a morte redemptum,
 Et medium quod non subsecuisset aper.
 Lætitia plausuque fremit Romana juvenus ;
 Augustumque suum vivere rursus ait.
 Sed procerum nihil æque animis risumque Leoni
 Movit, Mantoæ quam sacer urbis Abas.
 Namque ferunt inter voces hominumque canumque
 Totam illam in somnis accubuisse diem,
 Stertentemque altum sub odore et tegmine lauri
 Collectis multa nocte redisse plagis ;
 Miratumque diu ac longum stupido ore morantem
 Tot domini excisas mensam onerasse feras.
 Divini interea recitantur carmina Bembi,
 Venantum validas quæ cecinere manus.
 Insignis cythara, Phœbique idem ipse sacerdos
 Thyresias, miris retulit illa modis ;
 Donec stellifero delapsus somnus ab axe
 Admonuit tacita membra quiete frui.
 Hæc ego venatuque super silvisque canebam
 Posthumus, Ethrusci qua strepit unda sali ;
 Cum Palis antiquam cessit Leo magnus in arcem,
 Jussit et intactæ virginis arma coli ;
 Quo duce, Jane, tuam per sæcula clausimus ædem,
 Romaque oliviferæ commoda pacis agit.
 Quo duce, nunc colitur pietas, habet ocia ferrum,
 Fraus poenam, virtus præmia, jura locum ;
 Per quem acri impatiens livor sibi pectora telo
 Fixit, et hoc uno numine vincor, ait.

Ipsa ego forte illo sub tempore lustra sequutus,
 Desueta potui tela agitare manu,
 Qui prius imbelles elegos, dominumque potentem,
 Et cecini una malas quot dedit illa cruces.

No. CLXX.

(Page 337.)

*Guidi Postumi Silvestri, Eleg. lib. ii. p. 89.**Leoni X. Pont. Opt. Max.*

HEU quam nostra levis, quam non diuturna voluntas,
 Quam juvat ingratum sæpe quod ante fuit.
 Quam placitis, Pater Alme, adsunt fastidia rebus!
 Ut minus id, gratum quod fuit ante, probes.
 Urbis opes, moresque olim, sine fine placebant,
 Nunc præferre urbi commoda ruris amem.
 Credideram nihil esse Remi conspectius urbe,
 Inque suis tantum gaudia nata jugis,
 At magis ora, ubi nunc mihi torrida ducitur æstas,
 Et placet, et sensus abstulit una meos.
 Hic, de more, dies, non jam mihi stare videntur,
 Quos placidum faciunt frigus et aura breves.
 Sublevat arentemque sitim, ebibitumque remordet
 Insiliensque oculis, frigidulumque merum;
 Legitimum hic labens non ullo tempore desit,
 Garrulaque argenti vena perennat aquæ.
 Capripedes alibi Panes, non jam aptius, ora
 Fervida, fontanis immaduistis aquis;
 Non hic aura calet, non hic plaga noxia cœli,
 Hic vel Erythreæ sæcula vatis agunt,
 Huc Boreas gelido non jam bacchatur ab axe,
 Sed leve nescio quid languidulumque sonat;
 At Notus æternum squallentia comprimit ora,
 In latus oppositi personat ille jugi;
 Quin et nox, et lux somnos habet ipsa salubres,
 Conveniens populis illa vel illa venit.

Quam juvat hic; quem non semper sublimia tangunt,
 Agrestum tenues excoluisse casas.
 Dulce pruinosis spatiatur manu frutetis,
 Dulce diem spectat sole cadente mori,
 Dulce videt fessos operosi cultibus agri
 In sua ruricolae tecta redire boves,
 Silvestrumque gregem imparibus certare cicutis,
 Moxque inter pecudes accubuisse suas.
 At festum venerata diem, perfunctaque vino,
 Saltat amatori fusca colona suo.
 Vernat læta, thymum populataque mane rubenti
 Corticibusque cavis multa susurrat apes,
 Plurima et hic perdix, et plurima phasidis ales
 Rangoni volitant grata rapina meo.
 Quarum cottidie prædam tibi destinat omnem,
 Ingeminans, nostro cœpimus ista Jovi.
 Excipe pacato silvestria munera vultu,
 Quantulacunque animis nec satis æqua suis.
 Ipsa vices tibi mox virtus fraterna repondet,
 Unica nata tuo est pro capite illa mori.
 Præsides ab hac, Lepidi nuper summotus ab urbe est
 Gallus, et in primo limina terga dedit.
 Læta tibi belli dedit inclytus omina Guido,
 Hic vir, hic est palmæ summa caputque tuæ.
 Hoc duce, iniqua tuis quondam victoria castris.
 Æqua tibi terris æqua futura mari est.
 Non procul hinc rabidum erigones vitantibus aurum
 Illicibus densum verberat aura nemus;
 Quo velit ipsa libens juga permutare Lycæi,
 Silvanusque pater, semicaperque deus.
 Multa ubi frondet acer, ubi ponto natus arando,
 Aurea Fagineus sydera tangit apex.
 Illic dulce cubant sera sub nocte palumbos,
 Illic rore madens plurima garrat avis,
 Illic venatu accumbit perfuncta juvenus,
 Membraque frondosis ponit anhela jugis;
 Apta cohors, Satyris saltantibus, ordine longo
 Visa modo est rudibus carmen hyare sonis.

Materiam quæris? Nymphas celebrabat amatas,
 Missaque virgineâ Naica dona manu.
 Scilicet irrigui fontes, non antra, nec umbræ,
 Nec faciunt silvæ, quo minus urat amor.
 Est et Septimio quiddam teneroque Galeo
 Carius, hoc unum sed latuisse velim.
 Scilicet æoos brevis occulit arca lapillos
 Incustoditæ ne rapiantur opes.
 Judice me, Siquis gemmam ostentarit et aurum,
 Ille reus fatuæ simplicitatis erit.
 Magne pater, rerum atque hominum justissime rector,
 Idem honor, et sæcli rexque deusque tui.
 Si sinat hoc discors qui nunc tibi supplicat orbis,
 Non alibi soles occuluisse velis.
 Si liceat tua facta rudi mihi claudere versu,
 Hoc nemus, hi fontes dent Helycona mihi.

No. CLXXI.

(Page 342.)

Raph. Brandolini Leo, p. 139.

*Raphael Brandolinus Junior Lippus, Joanni Med. Diac.
 Card. Sanctæ Mariæ in Navi Nuncup. S. D.*

QUUM nullum majus, atque præclarius indicium defunctorum memoria conferri beneficium possit, quam siquid assumatur, quod eorum laudi sempiternæ consulat, et per eos posteritatem maxime ad virtutem accendat, statui Lippi Germani lucubrationes in unum redactas in lucem proferre, ut ex hac ejus industria, exactaque diligentia, in summa præsertim rei familiaris angustia, et miserabili, quæ mihi cum illo communis est, cæcitate, et quam ipsam rerum, ac temporum vario conflictatio reddit miserabiliorem, illi quidem nomen et gloria quam meretur, mihi saltem hujus lucis aliquid comparetur; quippe quod ille non in fortunis, quas ad usus vitæ necessarias non multum cupivît, vel in corporis venustate, cujus caruit eminentissimo sensu, sed in virtute,

ac honestate, et divinarum rerum contemplatione felicitatem omnem esse ponendam existimavit. Ego, etsi ejus in hoc genere laudis assequendi spem mihi effulgere non videam, imitandi tamen, ejusque vestigiis inhærendi studio semper incumbo. Quare cum ejus tres libros de comparatione Popularis, et Regii status in Rempublicam, quos Pannoniæ inceptos, Florentiæ per Dialogos absolverat, nuper evolvissem, tuo Nomini dicandos multis de caussis mihi proposui tum quod eos ille, interveniente Mathiæ Corvini optimi; ac sapientissimi Pannoniorum Regis obitu (cujus maxime hortatu opus aggressus fuerat) Laurentio Medi Parenti tuo, unico seculi nostri virtutum ac literarum omnium præsidio, summoque non Florentinæ modo Reip. totiusque Regionis Etruscæ, sed universæ Italiæ ornamento, censuerat offerendos; ut qui, justissimo ac munificentissimo nostræ tempestatis Rege amisso, eum civem deligendum videbat, cui tam præclarum opus merito debebatur, cujusque vel judicii gravitatis, vel ingenii acumini, vel rerum peritiæ posset maxime confidere; tum quod ipse veracissimam prudentiæ, pietatis, munificentiæ, fortitudinis, innocentæ, cæterarum Parentis virtutum imaginem referens, dignissimus procul dubio videris, qui super jus quoque hæreditarium paternæ laudi, immortalitatisque succedas. Quandoquidem tute tibi ab ineunte ætate vitæ formulam præscripsisti, ut sive publice sive privatim in summo rerum discrimine versareris, peropportunum et prope divinum consilium captares, quo Fratres, atque propinquos omnes difficillimis temporibus sublevasti; quique sic etiam in te pietatem semper habuisti, ut omnibus præditus virtutibus non immerito judicareris, quibus ea inopes beneficentia es complexus, ut qui tuæ rei familiaris angustiam metiretur, te Parentem quoque Laurentium in eo virtutis genere facile crederet superasse; qui autem ignoraret, illum in te revixisse arbitraretur. At domesticas per exilium calamitates, quæ multiplices, ac prope infinitæ fuere, acerrimos quoque invidorum morsus qua animi celsitudine ac innocentia pertulisti? ea nempe, qua unus ex fortissimis, innocentissimisque nostrorum temporum viris posses jure optimo judicari. Accipe igitur, Pater humanissime, Paren-

tis prius lucubratum, deinde tuo nomini recognitum opus, quod uni tibi, et gratissimo Filio, et unico Familiæ Medicum fulcimento, et viro optimo, et pientissimo Cardinali, et denique paternæ laudis hæredi merito debebatur accipe; accipe, inquam ac una mecum existima, hanc tibi dedicationem optimum revisendæ Patriæ omen, ac certissimum esse. Quod si tibi tandem aliquando, ut ego quidem, et optimus quisque civis maxime sperat, contigerit, et illa per te pristinum decus, ac veterem dignitatem, et tu per illam incredibilem gloriam, sempiternamque ad posteros memoriam propagabis. Vale.

No. CLXXII.

(Page 354.)

Coryciana. Ed. Rom. 1524.

*Blossius Palladius Romanus. Jano Corycio Lucumburgen.
a Libellis Just. V. C. S. P. D.*

CORYCIUM SENEM tibi quadantenus cognominem, Jane Coryci, P. Vergilius (ut scis) multis versibus collaudat, facitque eum ad Galesum flumen, sub altis Tarenti turribus, hortorum cultui hærentem, vitamque felicem, atque otiosam ruri degentem. Itaque hac una hortensi industria meruit vetulus cilix divinis carminibus interseri, et vita longævus, longævior fieri carmine, quod illi pro æterno monumento a poeta omnium maximo statutum est. Atque ille quidem hoc summi poetæ munere æternus jam est, suasque arbores, et plantas vivacitate vincit, parique perennitate hujus memoria cum poetæ gloria protenditur, tantum illi felicitatis attulit, P. Vergilium in ejus hortos incidisse. Quid autem te Jane Coryci dicam, hujus senis cognominem, annis æquævum, ab hortorum cultu non abhorrentem? Quem omnes nostri temporis Urbani Poetæ, uno ore concelebrant? Quid hoc an factum aliquod est, Corycios semper poetis populares. Corycium crocum atque adeo aromata omnia, ad æternitatem olentes? Nisi te etiam illo longe præstantiorem, et ex Par-

nasso monte, ac Corycio specu, Musarum dono nobis datum crediderim, ac (si poetice magis eloqui licet) ab Coryciis genitum Nymphis, atque educatum, quod omnia hujus ævi ingenia in urbe excitaveris, et ad virtutis, laudisque amorem miro ardore succenderis. Nam tu cum ab hinc ferme decennio pro tua pietate aram cum sacello in æde Divi Augustini, Christo Deo, Matrique et Aviæ ejus, Mariæ, et Annæ statuisses, treisque statuas, suam cuique e Lunensi illas marmore erexisses, ad hæc picturam longe inclytam, et priscae æmulam, addidisses, sculptoremque, et pictorem quam eximios adhibuisses, præterea sacrificio quotidiano perpetuo, vasa, vestem, pecuniam legasses. Tum Poetæ urbani omnes, velut œstro perciti, tuamque tum pietatem, tum operis ipsius excellentiam admirati, te certatim extulerunt, tuamque animi magnitudinem, statuarum nitorem, artificum præstantiam, suis carminibus texuerunt. Præclare illi quidem, et ut in divinis rebus, prope divine. Qua sane in re, nescio an potius ubertatem ingeniorum, copiamve sententiarum, an carminum genera et varietates, laudandas putem, cum in omnibus, quanquam inventione, stylo, metro, diversis, unus tamen ac prope idem decor concentusque eniteat. Alius elegis, alius heroicis, alius lyricis numeris, aut phalæciis agit, æque pulchre omnes. Adde rei ipsius ac materiæ dignitatem, cum non ut prisci coacervatim in licentiosis Lampsaceni jocularibus, sed in Dei ac divorum laudibus canendis, ingenium exercuerint. Ergo ut in plurimis, quorum Pandectæ sunt, Jurisconsultis, præter rei ipsius quam docent, utilitatem, unus prope stylus in tot diversissimis, tum ætate tum patria, ingeniis elucet, sic in hoc uno libello, præter ipsam rem, quæ (ut non majus dicam) divina est, et de Deo, ac divis contexta, etiam styli elegantia, etiam ingeniorum ubertas, etiam inventionis carminumque varietas, admiranda nobis est. Stupendum est præterea, quosdam in his pene pueros esse, Romanamque pubeculam tam præcox, et frugiferum ingenium divis suis consecrasse. Felix igitur tu, Coryci, non ut Tarentinus incola de suis hortis, sed de tuis statuis, de tua pietate, de divino cultu, de perpetuo sacrificio, de tot poetis, de tot carminibus, de tua pe-

renni gloria, mansuraque æternitate. Nam quanquam tuæ laudes longe plures ac potius innumeræ sint, tamen sic velim, Coryci, existimes, tuam felicitatem hoc uno libello contineri. Etenim hæ tibi statuæ, præterquam quod carminibus et monumentis tot poetarum perennitatem tibi contulerunt, etiam statuam in cœlo statuerunt, aut certe locum ac sedem pepererunt, in quibus tu resideas sempiternus. Quod si P. Vergilius in tua, aut tu in illius tempora incidisses, habuisset ille quidem quid de te, præter hortense studium concineret; prædicasset in homine natione externo, Romanum ingenium, urbanam dexteritatem, litteraria studia, litteratorum commercia, festivam urbanitatem, extemporariam dicendi facultatem, antiquitatis et marmorum vetustorum amorem, tum vero rigidam in justitia et supplicibus libellis, quibus jam sub sex Pontificibus præsides, severitatem; atque etiam istam tuam caniciem, corpusque teres et vividum, istamque tunicam tenuem atque expeditam in frugi homine, et ab omni ambitione semoto, cum nitens alioqui vestiarium tibi sit, prædicasset. An vero ille illum tuum solennem diem tacere potuisset, quo tu Annæ Christi Aviæ sacrum, tanto cultu et honore, ad tuas primum statuas stato sacrificio, inde ad hortos, pingui et lauto epulo, atque adeo omnibus bonis, omnibus doctis, indicto, concelebras? Nam eo bonorum atque eruditorum virorum ea cohors coit, ac diem celebrat, ut in tuis hortis medias Athenas, emporiumque doctrinarum possis videri illo die includere, et musas de Helicône et Parnasso deductas, in Tarpejum et Quirinalem tuis hortis imminentes, transferre. Ubi alius ad arbores citrias, alius ad hortenses parietes, alius ad puteos, aut signa, quæ illic plurima sunt et speciosa, omnia antiqui operis, et gloriæ plena, hac illac temere et varie, carmina affigunt tuas statuas, tuam pietatem, liberalitatemque ejus diei, tam in Deos quam in homines tantam, uno ore concelebrant. Denique nullum in orbe terrarum (ausim hoc dicere) concilium aut convivium est, illo tuo illius diei, nobilium atque illustrius, quum præeuntibus mane sacrificiis, et re divina, post vergente vespera, selecta doctissimorum turba, et quasi flores litterarum, in hortos tuos coacervantur: quos tu quidem

plurisquam reges, plurisque quam Satrapas universos æstimas et jure æstimas. Neque enim philosopho, immo sapienti tibi, plus animum purpuræ ac mitræ, quam carmina et metra pervadunt, neque pluris eos facis, qui sunt, quam qui esse reges merentur. Possem ego istos hic inserere, ac nomina poetarum tui temporis, posteritati indicare, nisi pene innumerabiles essent, ac bona eorum pars in libello ipso carminum annotaretur. Quare te iterum atque iterum felicem jure appellaverim, cum tu in tanta ubertate ingeniorum, quantam nostra tulit ætas, non solum annumerari, sed ab omnibus unus celebrari merueris. Eant igitur isti, qui laquearia aurea supini suspiciunt in cameris, suasque opes sibi habent, aut avare oclusas, aut inutiliter profusas, aut indignis erogatas, nec quicquam in poetas et doctos viros largiuntur. Tu enim non usque adeo dives, sed tamen satis animo dives, ac divitiarum prudens partitor, nobili hac liberalitate, quam in perpetuum sacrificium, et in solenne hoc epulum contulisti, tum alia indesinente et perpeti, quam in omnes assidue bonos per occasionem exerces, factus es sempiternus. Siquidem in divos, qui supra homines, in homines, qui inter homines doctrina excellere, ostendisti simul pietatem ac liberalitatem. Verum illi cum suis plurimis opibus, quibus uti nesciverunt, interibunt, nomenque una atque opes in terra condent, tu paucissimis tuis divitiis perbene usus, bene ac sempiternæ uteris. Etenim in cœlo tibi æternitatem Divi, in terris optimi homines, optimis monumentis, perennitatem rependent. Quo magis miratus aliquando sum, te tam inglorium, atque immortalitatis contemptorem fuisse, ut tuæ gloriæ invideres, carminaque tot, totque ingenia suppresseres, et cum gloriam tam meruisses, meritam tam contemneres, aut certe negligeres. Ecce jam Decennium circumactum est, ex quo ista conflata, emissa, divisque donata sunt nec dum in lucem a te proferuntur. Invidisti tibi, immo etiam Divis, immo et nobis omnibus, qui non sumus tam philosophi quam tu, qui gloriam amamus, qui famam non contemnimus. Ergo (dicam enim jam libere) tecum furem esse oportuit, atque istum libellum, quem tu sepultum atque occultum volueras, subfurari tibi, atque in

lucem edere opus fuit, ut nobis omnibus aliquam afferret lucem. Scio non esse nos Vergilios, neque tam nos assecutos his plurimis versibus, quam illum illis paucissimis. Sed nec ullos alios præter Vergilium fuisse Vergilios, et te illi Corycio anteponendum (ut dixi) non dubito, neque quia nos tibi Vergilii esse non possumus, Ideo tu nobis non eris Corycius. Vives, vives, inquam nobiscum, et hoc uno remedio mortem vincemus, ut mortui vita, per famam et gloriam vivamus. Quod si altera quoque æternitatis via, quæ armis et victoriis quæritur, in precio est, quinimmo preciosior quibusdam habetur, ego istam mihi amabo, quæ non hominem ferro necat, sed stylo servat, quæ prodest scribendo, non obest rapiendo, quæ innocentia, humanitate, pietate, non audacia, ira, vi, temeritate contendit, ita ut longe mihi præoptem (si id assequi possim) poetam me esse quam militem. Verum ad me redeo, quem furem fuisse fateor, ne tu esses invidus, neu forte id nobis quod olim illi eveniret, cui divina opici roserunt carmina mures. Librum itaque istum, quem tu capsula oclusum tenebas, in tua cellula, ad lævam manum, sopito nuper tibi subripui, et quasi a Sileno dormiente Vergiliani pueri, sic ego a Corycio sene, æterna carmina clam extorsi, invulgandaque typis dedi. Dabis tu veniam, ac mecum redibis in gratiam, ut voles, neque me sic furem oderis, ut non recogites, te potius odio habendum fuisse, ut invidum. Denique alliges me ut vis ad tuam Tarpejam rupem; me nunquam pœnitebit fuisse Prometheum, qui ut ille de cœlo ignem, sic tibi ardentia, et victura carmina, ad perennitatem nostram, sæculique voluptatem, subriperim.

VALE.

C. Sylvanus Germanicus, Jano Corycio S.

Arsillus egregius vir, libellum ad me detulit, quem de poetis urbanis conscripsit; eum tibi mitto, non solum ut legas, verum ut associates quoque libellis tuis, una orbem terrarum ut peragrent, postquam tandem extra sinum, parto deliberaris frui honore. Non poteris profecto sine magna ingratitude nota id negare officii, me poscente, vîris iis, qui in te statuasque tuas officiosissimi fuere, sed certum est invi-

dulos aliquot exclamaturos, quid tam sedulo Silvanus laborat isthæc edi? scilicet quod ipse quoque est insertus corona tantorum virorum. At ego istiusmodi blaterones perinde habeo, ac Romani Brutios, dummodo sciant laudem hanc, somnos mihi breviores facturam. Tu vero, mi Coryci, plusquam decuit inanes illorum, immo vero inermes stimulos metuens, hactenus rarissimam cohibuisti gloriam. Cave igitur animo decedas, confige cornicum oculos, utere laude tua vivens, si sapiens, quæ cæteris post fata longe venire soleat, naucifacito quicquid est omnino invidentium, quando citius invidere quis poterit, quam imitari. VALE.

Janus Corycius Lucumburgen. C. Silvano. S.

Multam, Silvane, tibi debeo gratiam, qui mihi nostri Ar-silli de Urbanis poetis legendum libellum indulseris, longe jucundiolem profecto, et venustiolem, iis libellis, qui mihi, quotidie inter manus versantur, et lites præferunt, atque contentiones; ac licet assueto, nauseam et bilem commovent. Ingentem itaque ex eo voluptatem cepi, nec mittere mihi carius potuisses quippiam. Arsillo vero etiam atque etiam debeo, qui tantos illos viros, quorum opera pene spiro et vigeo, quorum ope nomen obtineo, atque umbris subtrahor, uno libello nobili complexus est, verissimas uniuscujusque laudes attingens, et quodammodo collocatos in Musarum concilio, posteritati plane intuendos exhibet. Cum tamen efflagitationibus, ne dicam conviciis, virorum probatissimorum urgear, carmina in nostras edita statuas publicare, typisque cudenda tradere (non tam quod obtrectatores invidosque extimescam, quibus parum certe negotii nobiscum est, quam quod mihi, iudicioque meo non satis fido, et consulendas mihi aures arbitror disertiorum) minime obsequendum credidi, et ut ab editione abhorreo, ita quoad fieri possit abstinere decrevi; non maligno, ædepol, animo, neque ut immortales laude homines fraudem, aut præconio illo excludam, atque intervertam, quod tot fessi vigiliis commeruerunt (Nempe ea jactura mihi cum iis est communis). Sed, ne viderer forte ita gloriæ appetens esse, ut quid deceat,

quid dedecet, non prius dispiciam. Hac ratione libellus summæ apud me æstimationis et gratiæ, cæteris quidem jungetur, verum in scrinii latebra aliquamdiu dormient, et hoc elegantiæ præmium apud me feret. Scio summi Oratoris esse sententiam, Nullius Agricolæ stirpem tam diuturnam, quam boni Poetæ versum, conseri posse. Verum ego non tanti duco gloriæ illecebras, ut decoris rationem et temporis posthabendam existimem, cui sapientem servire in primis decet. VALE.

No. CLXXIII.

(Page 366.)

Oratio Stephani Possidarski, habita apud Leonem Decimum, Pontificem Maximum, pro Domino Joanne Torquato Comite Corbaviæ defensore Crovaciæ.

BEATISSIME Pater, semper in divinis Beatissime, in humanis autem vix audeo dicere, cum rempublicam Christianam a ferocissimis hostibus lacerari et ludibrio iri animadverto. Quod idem Sanctitati tuæ cognitum esse, cum ex nunciis Domini mei Joannis Torquati devotissimi servuli tui, Corbaviæ infelicissimi Comitibus, tum ex legatis tuis ad illas provincias missis exploratum esse judicamus, quod omnibus fere Christianis, non sine magno terrore cognitum est, immanem illam Bestiam in Apocalypsi figuratam, idest Turcarum regem, septem illa cornua contra nos extulisse, et per quinquaginta et amplius annos, nescio an propter vitia nostra, an permissu summi Dei, tot Episcopatus et consequenter episcopatibus subditos, in suam ditionem, et quod pejus est in suos mores ire coegerit, ut jam prope, nisi ostenderit te esse id quod es, Salvatoris Vicarium, de nostra salute desperemus. Videmus enim quotidie non indies majus urgeri, et quasi ex igne aquam petere? sed proh Deus immortalis, ubi est veritas? ubi est amor justitiæ? ubi est fœdus amicitiae christianæ? Vicini Domini atque Dynastæ qui nobis auxilio et sibi præsidio esse deberent, invidia nos

quadam prosequuntur, et ex amaritudine nostra sibi adipem faciunt; sed Joanne Torquato deleto, tunc intelligent carnes et adipem ex invidia saginatos sine ossibus constare non posse. Verba subdola et apparentia inter gladios et frameas nullius efficaciam sunt. O quoties inter ignes villarum suarum, et multitudinem captivorum, ipse Joannes, non sine magno sanguine suorum, tanquam Leo irritatus in medias latronum et hostium acies impetum fecit, nullaque humana ope sed divina potius evasit. Animos ejus et ausus quis enarraverit! Cogitare potes, Clementissime Pater, cum tot calamitatibus de continuis incursionibus et atrociniis affectus sit, quomodo sibi constet, ut facile appareat non sine numine tam diu posse subsistere. Utcumque tamen vigilat et observat quantum fieri potest in angusto, et in regione prope desolata, ut exclamare possit, unde mihi auxilium nisi a Domino. Venetorum provinciam Dalmatia et Liburnia prope mare quum naturali munimento defensae tum foedere factae tutae aliquandiu a faucibus Turcarum fuerunt. Ceterae Mediterraneae provinciae, aut quia longius ab ipsis hostibus, aut quia prope flumina sunt, negligentius de nobis agere videntur; sed Joanni Torquato ista necessitas imposita est, ut non solum se finesque suos, sed alienos etiam tutari cogatur; nam in Tinium, et Clissiam, et Regulorum castella, quae ab aliis custodiri deberent, et maxima quidem vigilia, idem Dominus meus semper oculos intendit, et saepe castella sua, et bellicis tormentis, et militibus exarmat ut illis opem ferat. Caeteri omnes Reguli et Frangipanes, qui a tergo sunt, illius fortunam opperiantur, in casu ejus omnino casuri. Banus in penetralia Sclavoniae secessit, et in foribus Croatiae hostes non curat. Sed quid plura dicam, quum nemo ignoret Joannem Torquatum xxx. annos in foribus Corbaviae vigilantissimum custodem excubare, et contermina Turcis loca intrepido animo defendere. Ibi non legationibus neque verborum disceptationibus de principatu agitur; sed cruentatis ensibus de fide, libertate, ac de salute contenditur; sed circumcirca, undique terror undique fuga est; quas pulcherrimas et fecundissimas terras ipsa natura constituit, saevitia hostium et cultorum desolatio tur-

pissimas et infecundissimas reddidit. Non possum tibi, Pater Sancte, tot arces natura munitissimas, tot nobiles et strenuissimos equites Croatia fugatos nonnisi Banorum incuria et negligentia recensere. Non possum tibi omnes Turcarum æstus et insidias, taceo crudelitates quas contra nos faciunt, enarrare. Ambiguum est an majus nos potentia an dolis et fraudibus urgeant. Waiwodas captis arcibus et Castellis præficiunt qui sponsionibus et possessionibus Christianos subditos alliciunt ut sibi obnoxii sint. Proh dolor, Beatissime Pater, jamjam cum Turcis vicini Christiani matrimoniam contrahunt, atque ita conveniunt ut Domino meo inter Christianos et subditos agenti debito dubitandum sit. Affirmare tibi possum, elementissime Pater, illum hostium fraudes multo majus quam arma timere. Hostium tributarius effectus est, ut quoquomodo possit effugiat et salutem sibi et miserimæ Croatiae tam diu producat, quoad divina miseratio faverit. Videt enim omnem furorem Turcarum totas in se vires effundere; ut nisi tu, Beatissime Pater, qui summi Dei Vicarium agis, solita providentia Domino meo prospexeris, de rebus suis, et de tota Croatia propediem interitum nunciet. Si prospicere, Pater sanctissime, vis, aut Joannem Torquatum militem Ecclesiæ restitue de Turcarum tributario, et sicut optat, propugnatores effice, aut aliquem de ducibus tuis mitte, cujus armis et ope Turcis vicinis secum obstare valeat, et latrocinio latrocinia repellere, aut saltem aliquem virum religiosum ad illos populos mitte, cujus autoritate a fuga contineantur, et ad fidem Christi corroborentur, aut Sanctitas tua dic novissima verba. Vale.

Manlius arces Romanas et templa repulso,
 Defendit Gallo sæpius hoste procul.
 Hic noster Torquatus agros defendit avitos,
 Et sæpe a nobis Turkica signa fugat;
 Tam gratus patriæ quantum ille Quiritibus olim,
 Et si fata dabunt prospera, major erit.

No. CLXXV.

(Page 368.)

From the original in the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Vitell. B. 3. 218. b.

REVERENDISSIME Pater et Domine, Domine mi ac benefactor singularis, post humillimas commendationes. Nonnullis meis litteris ad vestram R. D. scriptis, satis copiose me significasse arbitror ingens Sanctissimi Domini nostri desiderium ad pacem inter cunctos christianos principes universalem componendam, meique non ejus Sanctitatis consilium quod Gallico Regi hac de causa tanquam sibi in mentem venisset proponendum decreverat; sperans non difficulter successurum quod saluberrimum eventu foret atque in ea re, viam a me cogitatum quam maxime probans, nostrum consilium tanquam a semetipso proveniens, postea Pontifex ipse, per Illustrissimum Urbini Ducem, opportune secreteque ad prefatum Gallicum Regem deferri curavit, a quo nuper plenum accepit responsum, mentem atque ejus voluntatem plane indicans, ut abunde V. R. a Domino Silvestro Dario percipiet. Quamobrem Sanctissimus D. N. mihi injunxit, ut per celerem cursorem, vestram R. D. ejus nomine rogarem, obtestarerque, ut quam citissime ejus responsum haberemus; Nam verbis ullis explicare nunquam ardentissimum suæ Sanctitatis desiderium possem, quo afficietur donec rescripserit ipsa V. R. quam meo etiam nomine propterea obsecratam velim ut huic tanto Pontificis voto satisfacere dignetur.

Super privationem Cardinalis Hadriani ternis ad vestram R. D. literis significavi perplexum Sanctissimi D. N. animum, ac suæ trepidationis causas; quamvis in sententia se persistere affirmaret, et ad postremum non defore diceret, quin illum ad Ecclesiæ Bathoniensis Resignationem compellat; id quod ab ejus Sanctitate sæpissime et quotidie pene mihi confirmatur. Felicissime valeat eadem V. R. D.

cui me iterum humillime commendo. Romæ xiii. Junii, M.D.XVIII. V. R. D.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Dom. D. Thomæ, Sanctæ Cec. Presb. Card. &c. ac Sedis Apost. Legato.

Humill. suus Sil. Ep. Wigornien.

No. CLXXVI.

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Sadoleti op. tom. ii. p. 257.

Jacobi Sadoleti Episcopi Carpenter.

Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi a secretis, in promulgatione generalium Induciarum Oratio, in Beata semper Virginis ad Minervam habita, XIX. Kal. Aprilis, M. D. XVIII.

QUOD optavimus antea semper, et quotidianis votis petere ac precari solebamus, Leo summe Pont. Patres amplissimi, legati, virique ornatissimi, a Deo primum immortalis, dominoque nostro Jesu Christo, et item Sancto Spiritu, cujus veri Dei potestas ita cœlo et terra est maxima, ut sit sola, tum autem ab ipsa matre Dei Sanctissima Virgine, eisque divis omnibus, qui hujus Urbis atque templorum, horum ordinum atque Curiaë hujus populi generis nominis curam ac tutelam gerunt, vellent, juberent, agerent, ut tandem aliquando domesticis intra nos dissensionibus liberati, arma quæ diu in nostram perniciosam distinximus, ad impiorum fidei nostræ hostium cladem, atque exitium verteremus; id hodierno primum die ejusdem Dei ope atque numine, Divorum omnium suffragio et precibus, tuo Pont. Maxime consilio, tua auctoritate, diligentia, monitis Regum et Principum vestrorum legati pietate ac moderatione ita factum est, ut magna ex parte confectum esse videatur. Quanquam pax, Patres, illa, quæ maxime necessaria esse existimatur, non est in hodierno facto voce et vocabulo usurpata: Sed etsi pacis nomen abest, illius vis omnis tamen et potestas assumitur. Induciæ enim promulgantur, si rem spectes pa-

cis prænunciæ, si tempus, quinquennales, cujus temporis longinquitas plus nescio quid boni profecto habere in se putanda est: Sæpe enim pax brevior fuit: Tanti vero temporis Induciæ egregios fructus diuturnæ pacis afferunt. Ita cum rem ipsam jam teneamus, celeriter, ut spes est, in ipso nomine pacis conventura est omnium voluntas et consensio. Quo igitur generales inter omnes Reges ac Principes christianos Induciæ in quinquennium edicantur, eaque res optimis auspiciis, optimis omnibus Deo auctore fiat, et ipsi habitus honos, supplicationesque triduo tota Urbe fuerunt, ut vidistis, et hodie hic est, ab hoc orbis terræ Parente et Capite, a sacrosancto Senatu, ab omnium Principum legatis, a florentissimis ordinibus Sacerdotum, Civiumque conventu in celeberrimo hoc Templo in conspectu pene Dei immortalis, ut cujus bonitate tantum donum accepimus, ejusdem etiam numine sanciamus. Et huic quidem saluberrimæ pulcherimæque tantorum Regum et Principum conspirationi, quam sub nomine Induciarum sancta pax constitutura est, immanissimi hostis Turcæ infinita cupiditas illiusque admirabiles parvo tempore ad omnem amplitudinem progressus, et periculum ab eo imminens atque propinquum christianæ reipublicæ, causam præbuit. Qui non contentus Asiæ provincia, quam e corpore christiani Imperii primam avulsit, eamque spurcissimis suis ritibus et moribus inquinavit; non contentus Græcia, quam errore quodam a nobis dissentientem repentino bello oppressit; non contentus Illyrico cujus maximam partem occupavit, reliquum quod superest omni clade belli, et crebris excursionibus sæpe est populatus; nuper etiam ac plane paulo ante tanquam cupidus athleta verum certamen meditatus, quo se interea exercitatione faceret robustiorem, ad Syriam usque excucurrit et Ægyptum, easque opulentissimas provincias, duobus præliis victor, sub imperium, et ditionem suam redegit. Sophique Rege Persarum aliquot certaminibus repulso atque deterrito nihil jam deinde esse putavit, quod furori suo obsistere, impetum frenare posse videretur. Itaque non victoriam illam finem belli, sed illud bellum majoris et gravioris contra nos certaminis tanquam præludium quoddam fuisse putat: Ad quod

nunc se apparat tanta diligentia, tanta instructione rerum omnium, quæ ad maximum et gravissimum bellum sint idoneæ, ut aut sanguis noster et libertas illi danda, aut hoc remedium salutaris inter nos concordia fuerit adhibendum. Nam tertium quidem nihil fuit, nisi forte cum eo hoste rem esse existimamus, quo cum aut pace aut pactione aliqua concordia aut justo fœdere et æquo nobis convenire posse arbitremur. Qui cum ab eorum, quos nuper devicit, superstitione non abhorreret, essetque cum eis et multarum legum et vetustissimorum fœderum societate conjunctus, nihilominus tamen victoria jam parta armisque ab adversariis positis infinitam vim sanguinis ex deditis exhausit, plurimisque fide data, fore eos apud se tutos; cum eo pignore inducti multi accessissent, omnes continuo ad supplicium rapi jussit; cum hoc ulla conventio rata esse potest atque firma, qui fidem suam porrigat ad occasionem perfidia? Qui quacunq̃ue pervadit, nobilitatem omnem vult extinctam, virtutem perditam, sanguinem porro nostrum ita exsorbere avide et profundere exoptat, quasi videatur hoc sanguine sanguinem illum abluturus, quo se parente prius suo morte ablato ex fraternis cædibus respertis. Nam si avaritia aut cupiditate imperandi contra nos ferretur, hanc ejus vel acerrimam sitim satiare potuisset Oriens, explere Asia, sedare Europa. Sed nimirum ille ex nostris cladibus non minus ludum crudelitati suæ, quam pastum cupiditati quærit. Atque hunc hostem, vel immanem potius feram et truculentam, tot sæculis perpressa christiana respublica, quas non pertulit calamitates? quibus non contuneliis affecta fuit? Quot mortales, mortales dico? quot integri populi proditi, miseri, et omnium destituti auxilio, qui tamen ex nostro genere ex nostra cognatione essent, aut acerbissimam mortem oppetere, aut Deo vero repudiato et rejecto, turpissimam servitutem subire sunt coacti? Quot Urbes captæ, vastatæ, inflammatæ? Quantæ aut extinctæ aut oppressæ nationes? Quot regna erepta? quot multæ inustæ christiano generi ignominia et notæ? Quodque et miremur amplius et doleamus, tantam ne in tot acerbissimis injuriis nostrorum Principum patientiam, bone Deus? tantam malorum omnium to-

lerationem? Tantam in accipiendis contumeliis animorum dissolutionem? Quod non evenit quidem metu aut ignavia; nec quod se impares viribus esse hosti arbitrarentur. Semper enim, si usquam ulla fuit bellandi fortitudo et rei militaris gloria, ea christiani maxime generis et fuit et est propria. Sed Deus, Deus inquam, cum peccatis nostris gravius esset infensus, ab omnibus voluit intelligi in ipsius manu esse et perniciem nostram et salutem. Itaque nobis a salutis propria cogitatione aversis, hosti etiam suo liberiores furendi habenas indulsit. Hanc unam caussam, si vere rem expendere voluerimus illius secundarum fortunarum nec aliam ullam fuisse reperiemus, felicem quandam temeritatem, videlicet Dei iudicio permissam, hominis fortasse vigilantis et vafri, non tamen magnanimi neque prudentis. Quid enim illi cum virtute aut cum prudentia? Virtus sibi ipsa præcipue confidit. Hic alienis vitiis terroribus pro sua virtute usus est: Virtus et repugnantes aperte vincere lætatur et conservare cedentes. Illic cum in pugnando insidiosus et fallax, tam nusquam minus est quam in ipso prælio crudelis. Virtus ex victoria laudem, hic nihil unquam appetivit nisi prædam. Prudentiam autem consilii, quam in eo esse statuimus? qui ita imperium regat, si illud imperium potius quam superbum et crudelem appellabimus dominatum, ut eum multo gravius cives metuant quam hostes, capitaliore illum odio prosequantur qui ejus ditioni subsunt, quam qui arma contra eum ferunt; neque injuria; strages enim nobilitatis maximas; bonorum direptiones facit impudentissimas; ita orbatis nationibus omni dignitate reliquos in servorum numero ac loco habet; hæc qui perpetiuntur miseri, qui pertimescunt anxii; fortes vero, quos nos esse decet ad veri Dei cultum et ad dignitatem natos, qui aut tantum dedecus virtute propulsare parati sunt, aut si id minus liceat, mortem præoptant quam illius modi servitutem. Sed quod institueramus dicere, hactenus illi, ut fureret, ut in nostris malis damnisque debaccharetur, permisit Deus; non tamen gentem delectam a sese, et ad hæreditatem patriæ cœlestis per filium suum vocatam, captam penitus voluit esse et extinctam. Sed in ipso pene extremo rerum omnium discrimine

nobis ad ejus opem atque auxilium confugientibus ipsius **justa** severitas ad solitam misericordiam deflexa est. **Qui** cum divina illa mente prospiceret unicum prope remedium supremis rebus esse in conveniendo populos in unum et **Reges** ut serviant **Domino**, primum optimum hunc et sapientissimum Pontificem noctes et dies nihil aliud cogitantem, nihil laborantem, nisi de pace et de concordia communi, ad jam diu exorsum opus conficiendum adjuvit, deinde christianos **Reges** ac **Principes**, quibus ipsemet illum honorem, illam dignitatem tribuisset, discussa privatarum caligine simultatum, ut verum decus, veram honestatem, veram laudem attenderent, ad munus eorum dignitati debitum et ad pristinam animi magnitudinem revocavit. Ipso porro eo tempore, quo si in longiorem diem dilata fuisset illius clementia ultimus casus universæ calamitatis christianæ reipublicæ fuerit subeundus, cum hostis, nobis imparatis, ut persuadebatur ipse, nec id quidem falso, maximos jam comparasset exercitus, navibus tota maria constrasset, immanem suam crudelitatem cum infinita cupiditate contra nos intenderet, **Italiam** non carpere paulatim, ut quondam majores sui tentaverunt, sed universam belli fluctibus obruere cogitasset; ad eamque oppugnandam classibus pro machinis, **Græcia** atque **Illyrico** pro aggere, se usurum arbitraretur. Cui instanti et jam jamque imminente periculo ita opportune occursum est, ut cum ipsa res statum atque incolumitatem totius christianæ reipublicæ contineat, tum vero temporis opportunitas divini providentiam consilii ostendat. Sane nullum non beneficium a Deo est; sed quod hoc majus et illustrius sit, gravissimi periculi proximus facit metus; tanto scilicet, quanto gratius est liberari summo malo, quam secundis rebus augeri. Quamobrem, quæ paulo ante vehementer extimescebamus, fugam, exilium, servitutem, mortem, quamquam hanc quidem in illo abominabili, quem **Deus** avertat, casu, cæterorum malorum remedium arbitrabamur, ab eo præsertim hoste, a quo victore, si cruciatus et lacerationes absint, mors in beneficii loco numeretur, hæc jam timere omnia desinamus. Quæ vero nobis jucunda atque exoptata sunt, **salus, libertas, religio, spes et cōservandæ et**

ampliandæ dignitatis, ea sunt cuncta hodierno hoc facto atque consilio hujusmodi Induciarum consentione omnibus constituta. Pro quo immortalis et vere divino beneficio, Patres, ingentes primum gratias Deo nostro agere, deinde christianis principibus habere maximas debemus, quod suas voluntates et studia in communem salutem polliciti sunt, quod fidem ac virtutem præstare sunt parati. Ac hujus quidem sancti salutarisque consilii actio omnis et tractatio ab hoc optimo clementissimoque Pontifice, et ab initio perfecta est, et ad hunc exitum pervenit. Cujus officii tanto illius honori debiti, earumque quas cum eo junctas esse necesse est, virtutum, aliorum sit prædicatio; meum erit testimonium; interfui enim et cognovi, et pro ea fide qua illi meæ servitus ac vita devota est, opera, studio, diligentia, quoad potui illius mandati excepi. Quas ille curas, quos animi labores, quantas et quam varias suscepit sollicitudines, ut suum dilectum gregem, bonus pastor incolumem conservaret; omnis ejus voluntas, omnis cogitatio, tota mens pacem, amicitiam, concordiamque spectavit; hæc habuit proposita; in his semper perstitit, itaque affuit recte cogitanti Deus. Sacer iste Senatus Principis sui sanctissimi consiliis nec cura nec studio nec auctoritate defuit. Res bona ex parte confecta est. Principes obtemperarunt. Quorum primus dignitate, virtute nulli inferior, Imperator Cæsar Maximilianus Augustus et sua sponte, et ejusdem Pontificis hortatibus incitatus, non modo in optimam sententiam discessit ipse et sua amplitudine dignam, sed ultro etiam rationes totius belli gerendi et sibi et omnibus conscribendas curavit; tanta prudentia, tantoque studio, ut facile appareat in summo Imperatore summi quoque Ducis et animum et consilium inesse. Pacem ait se velle, sin id sit spissius, inducias sex annorum omnino constitui oportere. Quid ita tam multi temporis? quia inquit triennium bello dandum est. Reliqui tres anni ad quietem domi necessariam victori exercitui sunt tribuendi, ne externos labores statim domestica mala excipiant; majorem hic ne pietatem præ se fert, an sapientiam? Idem semet iturum in expeditionem pollicetur. Quis dubitare vel minimum de victoria

queat, tanto Imperatore rei militaris scientissimo belli Duce? Extat certe et eminent, quod mandatum monumentis est, nulli magis convenire reipublicæ curam quam Cæsari. Eadem et animi virtute et consilii sententia Christianissimus Galliæ rex Franciscus pacem se desiderare generalem ait. Et tamen quæcunque erit proposita ratio concordiae sive per fœdus sive per Inducias in eam sese summo studio iturum. Idque sine fraude, inquit, sine dolo malo, ut videamur oculis cernere animum illum excelsum ac magnum, si quid privatim mordeat, condonantem hoc Deo et Reipublicæ christianæ; quæ tanto major virtus est, quanto is, qui ea moderatione utitur, opibus et potentia est instructor. Idem de hoc bello ita sentit se nihil unquam ardentius concupivisse, nec vero nunc cupere, quam ut in sævissimos fidei hostes exercitum ducere et cum eis decertare pro imperio et dignitate recuperanda liceat. Idque ipsa re affirmat aliquando se probaturum. O eximiam animi magnitudinem! et jure quidem hoc cupis, Francisce. Tu enim ad imperandum natus es. Illa Barbaria ad serviendum. Tua est nobilitatis propagatio, quam illi totis radicibus extirpant. Tua fidei propugnatio, quam illi oppugnant. Cujus etiam tutelam ac defensionem et isto tuo cognomine præclarissimo suscipere teneris, et divino recente beneficio admoneris: Quid enim filio nunc tibi a Deo dato quod multis antea Regibus Galliæ non contigit tibi præscriptum putas esse? nisi iccirco fuisse ab eo tuis privatis rationibus consultum, ut tu publicis nunc consulere liberius possis. Erit ergo in hoc maximo et præstantissimo Rege summa spes rei bene gerendæ constituta. Quid Carolo Hispaniarum Regi catholico, quæ par laus invenietur? qui in ea quam scimus adolescentia, et ætatis etiam nunc viridibus annis constitutus, maturos tamen jam fructus admirabilis cujusdam virtutis fert: Pacem aut Inducias probat communes: adit consilia de bello, de militum genere, de itineribus. Quodque ab illa ætate nec postulandum fuerat, nec expectandum, semet offert ipsum, opesque omneis suas se Duce in sanctam expeditionem pollicetur. Quoque rem agi intelligas, classem jam nunc parare se se atque adornare affirmat bene

magnam, quæ populatis prius Africæ littoribus confestim ad primum signum Italiæ accurrat subsidio. In hoc Rege clarissimo eodemque potentissimo, cum tantum virtus jam antegressa sit ætatem, nonne sperandum est ipsius majorum præstantissimas virtutes, velut translatae plantæ solent, ad majorem in eo amplitudinem celerius proventuras? Nam Henricum invictissimum Angliæ Regem licet regionibus extremum rerum natura fecerit, in omni tamen regia excellentique virtute inter Principes connumerandum ducimus. Qui cum ad omnem rationem et conventionem generalis concordiæ paratum se dicat, tum adjungit se se quamvis ab omnibus his periculis sit ipse semotior, tamen detrimento rei-publicæ christianæ magis commoveri quam suo. Itaque se se offert et omneis opes suas, quæ quamquam sint maximæ, effecit tamen ipse pietate et magnitudine animi, ut non copiis esset, quam virtutibus laude præstantior. Igitur hoc quoque firmissimo fortissimoque præsidio christiana respublica munita est. Quid Emanuele Regem Illustrissimum Lusitanorum? Qui hujus belli non novam neque nunc primum susceptam affert voluntatem; sed antea sæpe omni sua auctoritate contendit, ut ad hunc finem communis pax constitueretur. Cujus de virtute ac in Deum pietate quod majus testimonium quærimus, quam quod rerum gerendarum studio cum flagraret, alium orbem terrarum investigare maluit, ubi suæ virtutis adipiscerentur gloriam, quam eam ex socialibus controversiis comparare. Transfer nunc animum in diversam partem, et Ludovicum Pannoniæ, Sigismundum Poloniæ Reges clarissimos contemplare, quorum in altero lucet indoles quidem virtutis egregia, sed ætas nondum apta rebus gerendis. Sigismundi autem tantæ res bello atque armis gestæ extiterunt, ut cum ex illis regionibus Ducem expeditioni quæramus, nec animi magnitudine præstantiorem, nec consilio prudentiorem quemquam, nec eventis feliciorem desiderare possimus. Est et Daniæ Rex Christiernus, cujus pietas erga Deum et in hanc sanctam expeditionem voluntas pluribus sæpe rebus est testata et cognita. Et Jacobus Scotiæ, qui quamquam puer est, tamen majorum suorum in hoc sanctissimum bellum studia

creditur imitaturus. Atque hi Reges omnes tales atque tanti, in hac consensione Induciarum, desiderio pacis, susceptione hujus belli, et animo et cupiditate sunt toti, quorum animi ac voluntatum tum ex eorum litteris clara testimonia tum vivi testes legati gravissimi et prudentissimi viri, quorum ora præsentium assentientiumque cernimus, fidem certam omnibus faciunt. Adde huc Helvetiorum fortissimam manum, invictum robur, mirabilem constantiam. Quæ gens tanto flagrat hujus belli ardore, ut jam nunc paratos teneat ad hunc usum milites atque descriptos. Adjunge ceteros et in orbe terrarum et in Italia Duces, Principes, Populos, et eos præsertim, qui mari et terra bellare cum Turcis consueverunt, qui nullo pacto sunt communi studio et salutis defuturi. Quorum nunc quidem omnium ad hujus maximi et pulcherrimi facinoris laudem conspirantem concordiam, ubi ille audiet omni scelere et immanitate præditus Tyrannus, quonam modo conturbabitur? Cadet animo, languescet studiis, et totis artibus contremiscet, et ut pudeat eum referre pedem ac regredi, insistet certe. At nos progrediemur. In quo conflictu quid tandem tibi ad spem erit propositum, o Turca? quibus rationibus confides? Innumerabiline multitudini militum? At nostri parva sæpe manu ingentes copias fundere didicerunt. An tuorum virtuti? quasi vero non jam bis aut etiam tertio periculum factum sit. Quo quidem tempore si majores nostri non tam semitam sibi facere ad Hierusalem quam Asiam apprehendere voluissent, pedem nunc de tuo, ubi insisteres non haberes. An vero divinum tibi auxilium speras affuturum? O scelerate et perditæ: Tu Deum verum oppugnans, Deum insequeris, et ab eo tibi opem potius quam supplicium debitum expectas? Quin tute rem, ut est fatere et concede. Nostræ intra nos dissensiones, quas semper es speculatus, locum tibi prædæ et direptioni patefecerunt. Cæci, cæci inquam antehac fuimus, nec satis inspeximus quid ageretur: nunc disjecta est caligo, tenebræ depulsæ sunt; diluxit, patet veri honoris splendor, vera species objecta est oculis. Quapropter tu, Deus optime maxime, qui ex illis altissimis templis omnia contemplaris et gubernas, Da tu, supplices

quæsumus, populo tuo, quem condidisti, quem a nominis tui cognitione quondam aversum, per filii tui mortem et sanguinem in vitam revocasti, cui nunc tantis periculis exposito non solum salutis viam, sed etiam spem laudis ostendis, ut horum ipsorum Regum Principumque virtute, quorum fidei et vigilantia per te commendatus et concreditus fuit; in pristinam possessionem veteris dignitatis et imperii restitutus te colere unum, te venerari, in omni regione oraque terrarum libere possit. Quorum autem ductu, imperio, auspiciis, hoc tantum in christiano genere beneficium collocabitur, ut hi post beatam demum, ac tam diu inter nos actam vitam, partamque celebritatem ad posteros memoriae et laudis suæ sempiternam, aurato et quadrijugis albis, cuncto cœlesti comitante exercitu, in cœlum deportentur.

No. CLXXVII.

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From the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Vitell. B. iii. p. 225.

CUM nuper Sanctissimus Dominus noster Leo Papa decimus, Gregis Dominici sibi a Deo commissi, tamquam bonus pastor paternam sollicitudinem gerens, et tranquillitatem ac pacem omnium christianorum principum mira cordis affectione desiderans, videns insuper immanissimos Turchas velut Lupos rapaces ad dispergendas Oves et ad Gregis Dominici interneccionem paratos imminere, nisi pastoris Vigilantia et Diligentia a Christianorum invasione ab oculo Dominico arceantur et repellantur, præsertim cum nuper eorundem Turcharum Tyranni vires et potentia eousque creverint ut deleto Sultano cum toto Mamaluchorum exercitu, tota Syria et Egipto cum omnibus provinciis dicto Sultano quondam subjectis sit potitus, et nunc omni alia cura probe solutus et liber, nil aliud moliri quam Christianorum cædibus et sanguini inhiare videtur. Considerans præterea quæ culpa Christianorum principum qui inter se

miserabiliter potius pugnare quam dictorum Turcharum feritati resistere eosque adoriri retroactis temporibus voluerunt, tot Regna a Turchis et Saracenis ante hæc tempora occupata, coinquinata, et fœdata fuerunt, pastorali officio suo convenire putavit ut Christianos principes omnes contra Turchas pugnare et susceptas injurias ulcisci hortaretur. Et cum hoc commode fieri non posse idem Sanctissimus Dominus noster prospiceret, nisi prius ipsi principes Christiani inter se pacem habentes, de communi hoste propellendo cogitarent, ac unitis animis et viribus gladium quem eis divina Majestas ad vindictam malorum tribuit, in Turchas, qui salvatorem Christum verum Deum esse abnegantes Legem Evangelicam evertere atque extirpare conantur eripere vellent. Ac propterea idem Sanctissimus Dominus noster, habita super hoc cum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus matura deliberatione, Reges, principes et potentatus Christianos, necnon Respublicas, communitates, cæterosque Christi fideles, quinquenales treugas et inducias (ne tam necessaria aut salutifera Expeditio in Turchas aliquo impedimento differatur, sed potius debitum et optatum exitum consequatur) suscipere sit hortatus, atque eadem anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, sexto Idus Martis publicavit, Christianos et cæteros prædictos hortans per vim Misericordiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et per passionem qua nos redemit, et per Judicium extremum quod unusquisque secundum opera sua est accepturus, et per spem Vitæ æternæ quam repro-misit Deus diligentibus se, ut hujusmodi treugis et induciis durantibus, in Caritate mutua et amoris et benevolentiae unione persistentes, ab omni prorsus abstineant offensione, ut tam sanctæ contra nefandissimos Turchas Expeditioni, omni prorsus metu et suspitione cessantibus, intendere possint, ad quas quidem inducias sive treugas acceptandas et ratificandas, Dominus Sanctissimus Dominus noster nos non solum suis litteris verum etiam per Reverendissimos in Christo patres Thomam Sanctæ Cecilie et Laurentium Sancti Thomæ in Parione titulorum presbiteros Cardinales et ad hoc nostrum Regnum de latere domini Sanctissimi

Domini nostri legatos requisiverit et hortatus fuerit. Nos igitur, tanquam Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et sedis Apostolicæ Filius obsequentissimus, nec non honorem ejusdem cordi semper habentes, eamque pro viribus et opibus nostris defendere, ac sanctissimæ ejusdem Apostolicæ sedis monitis et exhortationibus acquiescere paratissimi, dictas quinquennales treugas seu inducias quantum ad nos attinet acceptandas ratificandas et approbandas duximus, ac easdem per præsentem acceptamus, ratificamus, et approbamus: Protestantes nihilominus et per præsentem declarantes, quod per dictarum quinquennialium treugarum seu induciarum acceptationem, ratificationem, seu approbationem, ab aliis Ligis, Amicitiiis, seu confederationibus cum quibuscunque Regibus, Principibus Christianis, Dominis sive Comitibus ante hæc per nos initis, aut ab aliquo seu aliquibus articulo seu articulis in aliqua dictarum Ligarum, Amicitiarum seu confederationum comprehenso seu comprehensis, recedere vel in aliquo derogare nullo modo intendimus, sed easdem Amicitias, Ligas, et Confederationes cum Regibus quibuscunque, Principibus, Dominis, Comitibusque ut præfertur factas, ac omnia et singula capitula contenta in eisdem in suo pleno robore et effectu permanere volumus et declaramus. *Cætera desunt.*

No. CLXXVIII.

(Page 373.)

Exhortatio Viri Cuiusdam doctissimi ad Principes, ne in Decimæ præstationem consentiant.

SI UNQUAM Germaniæ principibus prudentia, consilio, concordiaque pro defendendo honore, et communi utilitate opus fuit, Alemanni proceres electissimi, inprimis indigere mihi videntur hoc tempore, quo in prædam Romanæ avaritiæ deputantur, ac dedecorosam servitutem, ita blande propositam, ut illa homines, prius quam intra viscera penetraverit, sese captos non sentiant. Est enim modus fallendi

adeo vafer, ut his septis versutiis (quid enim non excogitat avaritia) existiment acuti homines fraudem a nemine posse deprehendi, præsertim a vobis Germaniæ ducibus, quos cibo semper refertos, et vino madidos arbitrantur, et publice declamant. Et ob id ad decipiendum liberius aggrediuntur. Præbuerunt præterita tempora fallacibus hominibus constantiam in spe præsentis. Quando enim non est assensum illorum malis artibus; cum saltem adfuerit, qui vel mediocriter didicit fraudi fucum adpingere? Constat profecto nullam partem Christiani orbis ab hujusmodi prodigiorum genere non esse callide tentatam, multos reges et principes fraudulenter deceptos. Sed singula mecum reputanti occurrit nullam gentem sæpius illusam, habitamque ludibrio ac nostram. Non te, inclyta Germania, ad libros relego, ut gesta hominum cognoscas legendo. Satis ampla sunt, quæ memoria hujus ætatis tenet. Quo magis vereor ne incitia temporis præteriti successum præbeat malo incumbenti. De quo brevem tibi Germania sermonem subjiciam, quanquam nil novi a me audies, quod per inclytos tuos principes non melius noris. Quadriennium habitum Romæ concilium patrum de rep. christiana (quam legitime jurisperiti et theologo disputant). Nondum erat finis tamen cum de colligendis Decimis omnium assensu decretum est, volutus erat lapis ad locum suum. Placuit ergo, rejecto reliquo negotio, tanquam parum utili, invocato sancto spiritu, concilium dimittere, gratias agendo Deo, per quem operationes nostræ incipiunt, et cœptæ recte finiuntur. Porro impium est, quod concilio placuit, id putare displicere Deo, quo hæc aguntur autore. De pace agitur inter reges, qua firmata, visum omnium suffragiis Asiatico hosti conjunctis viribus bellum inferre. Evomuntur evestigio quatuor legati (nisi ob quintum collegam et ob computum erraverim) ad nationes Christianas, ut reges et principes ad expeditionem instigent, ipsi vero pecuniam mulgeant. Quibus forte dicebatur, *Ite in orbem universum, prædicate dicentes, Qui crediderit, et Decimas solverit, salvus erit. Quorum nuper, cum Bononiæ essemus, tres vidimus ingredi, tanta pompa et apparatu, ut sapientes ad eorum errorem allicerent. Dilatate inclyti*

Germani imperium christianum. Frangite vires hostis impurissimi; in hoc omnibus nervis incumbite, quo nomen Christi extendatur. Res pia et sancta est, et a nemine potest reprehendi, nisi qui malit Turcæ, quam Christo servire. Verum sub hoc prætextu, per hanc fictam pietatem, sub hoc umbrato nomine exspoliare imperitiorum populum, sugere lac gentium, inebriari mamilla regum, dico scelus esse multo probabilius, quam quæ a Turca inferuntur. Non quod tanti faciam pecunia privari (quam sceleratus citius quam probus habere potest) sed quod nullo pacto ferre debemus (quantum in nobis est) ut angelus Satanæ transfiguret se in angelum lucis, et poculo pietatis propinet impietatis venenum, ut populus, cum se rem sacram facere Deo existimet, avaritiæ sacrificet, quæ mater est falsæ religionis. Falli, errare, labi, decipi, ubique turpe est, per religionem vero turpissimum; quam unam nobis contra noxios mores contulit divina bonitas. Hæc absolutiorem partem pietatis nobis proponit. Primum, Deum amare omnibus viribus, proximum deinde ut nosipsos. At quomodo illum amabimus, cum videmus ejus sacrosancta præcepta manifeste pollui? Nec tamen occurrendo, sed potius connivendo, opem ferimus impietati. An ille proximum sincere amat, qui in incommodo illius removendo nihil est occupatus? Nolo amicum nihil sollicitum de salute mea. Inimicus mihi habeatur, qui a me non propulset injuriam si potest, et tamen illa non legimus, nec audimus, sed quotidie fieri videmus, nullo hominum reluctantante, sed patientes ad omnem ignominiam; quasi non potius contumelia sit Deo quam obsequium, stulta patientia. Utinam tam facile possint ista emendari, quam reprehendi, et principes nostri nollent perpetuo connivere, sed tandem aliquam partem, si non totum, perversæ consuetudinis præcidere. Quanto æquabilius res tam prophanæ quam sacræ se haberent? Ego enim sic existimo, imperia his artibus melius retineri, quibus acquiruntur. At imperium Christianum non armis non gladio comparatum est, sed pietate, et optimis exemplis vivendi. Quæ postquam pessum abierunt, omnia bona retrolapsa sunt. Multa imperia perdidimus, quoniam artes, per quas parta erant, non

retinuimus. Amissa est pietas, retinuimus nomen. Saluta-
 mur in vita sanctissimi, et post mortem nemo nos dignatur
 nomine sanctitatis. Ab hac parte paulatim cœpit proser-
 pere virus exitiale. Deinde cæteri proceres secuti sunt non
 segniter. Ergo mirum non est quod a nobis alienatur cœ-
 lestis favor, et nos non cognoscit amplius, atque prædæ re-
 linquit improbo hosti. Pontifices enim Romani, postquam
 cœperunt prophana cum sacris conjungere, immo relictis
 sacris solum prophana admirari, quam bene consultum fue-
 rit reip. christianæ, quam bene placuerit superis ipsorum
 institutum, eventus comprobavit. Amissis externis, interna
 infinitis seditionibus conturbantur. Divina despiciuntur.
 Venditur Christus, lana ovium tondetur, de custodia studium
 nullum. Omitto hic Hispaniam, Gallias, orientem cum oc-
 cidente. Quantum pro palliis similibusque figmentis, ætate
 duorum principum Frederici et Maximiliani, una effudit
 Germania, si Roma, ut institutum est, in fiscum collegisset,
 vel Germania (veluti par erat) in unum contulisset, habere-
 mus jam nervos reipublicæ abunde sufficientes bello Asiatico.
 Nec opus foret orbem jam fatigare Christianum et novis
 onerare (ne dicam exenterare) quotidie tributis, et excoriare
 pauperes. Provenit Pontifici ex sua terra vectigal, quan-
 tum nulli regum Christianorum, et tamen pallia emimus, et
 tamen asinos auro onustos Romam mittimus, patibula Christi
 erigimus, munera promittimus, aurum pro plumbo mutamus,
 negligentias (heu lapsus sum calamo) indulgentias passim
 admittimus. O avaritiam immensam carentem fundo, canum
 impurissimorum nescientium saturitatem, ut est apud pro-
 phetam Danielem. Certe emere pallia sanctum duco, modo
 id prosit aut pietati, aut valeat ad conservandam communem
 utilitatem. Sed cum utrunque horum tot sæculorum expe-
 rientia refutet, et pallia tantum extiterint simulata instru-
 menta perditissimæ avaritiæ, surgat jam aliquis, atque justam
 causam dandi proferat in medium. Qui timeat Pontificis
 fulmen, probus Episcopus aliquis, concordia fratrum, pu-
 raque conscientia electus, sed respuens, multis modiis aure-
 orum emere Romanum centonem? Non faciet puto. Non
 probat Paulus Apostolus, qui nos devorant, qui in faciem

cædunt, qui nos in servitutem redigunt. Quandoquidem non christianam charitatem, sed meram tyrannidem illi præ se ferunt. Foris facto fure, in pellibus ovium intus lupos rapaces agunt. Mihi justus dolor est, ob nefariam avaritiam totum mundum sub umbra religionis pollutentem. Quem enim locum, quantumvis obscurum illa contagione non contaminatum ostendas? Quæ resp. non multa amisit? Quis princeps jus avitum servat integrum? Quæ sacerdotum collegia non sunt contaminata? Quis pessimos mores (quorumque etiam nomen erat apud nostros majores abhorrendum) induxit in Germaniam; et quæ honeste nominari non possunt docuit? Qui fœdarunt hominum societates? Qui norunt egregie fallere, decipere, pejerare, testamenta supponere, divina et humana prophanare, miscere lites, quietos perturbare, denique cœlum cum terra confundere? Nonne e Romana Italicaque proluvie ista sentina sese in orbem terrarum effudit? Adeo ut ne saltus et sylvæ (ubi lustra ferarum tantum esse duxeris) hoc malo careant. Episcopos merito sacrosanctos esse dicimus; sed prodeant, quibus est illæsa sua autoritas, et hunc veluti bonum valde, et rarum merito suscipiemus. Non sunt longe petenda exempla. Sermoni meo fidem conciliant res vestræ. Ante omnes protectum esse oportuit Episcopum Bambergensem ab hac peste, ob ingentia dona in Italia Pontifici largita ab Henrico imperatore, quo domum suam contra Romanas invasiones obarmatam post mortem suam relinqueret. Verebatur vir providus id quod postea accidit. Latrocinari cœpit superstitio, sed nondum tanta erat in sæculo. Violatum jus est, ut servata fides sancto seni. Sed quid ego ista commemoro, quæ declamationis exempla superant? Ad institutum sermonem redeo. Turcam profligare vultis. Laudo propositum, sed vehementer vereor ne erretis in nomine. In Italia quærite, non in Asia. Contra Asiaticum quisque nostrorum regem pro finibus suis defendendis per se satis est. Ad alterum vero domandum, totus orbis christianus non sufficit. Ille cum finitimis quoque tumultuans, nobis nondum nocuit. Hic ubique grassatur, et sanguinem miserorum sitit. Hunc Cerberum nullo modo sedare potestis,

nisi aureo fluvio. Nihil armis, nihil exercitu opus est. Plus valebunt Decimæ quam equitum turmæ, et militum copiæ. Duplex mihi videtur via proposita, dum rem diligentius considero; una quæ jubente superstitione, aurum petit; altera quæ renuentibus Pontificis fulmen minatur. Utram vultis ingredimini. Sed O stultam, et superstitiosam opinionem credentium cœleste numen, omnia æquis oculis intuens, ad nutum Florentinorum flecti et reflecti, irasci non danti, et rursus largienti placari! Non est Christi vicarii fulmen contemnendum, sed non semper ab illius jactu pertimescendum, præsertim cum res agitur pro humanis affectibus. Christi indignationem vereor, Florentinorumque non vereor. Jam vero Florentinorum negotium agitur, non Christi. Superiori æstate sumptu incredibili bellum gestum est contra Franciscum ducem Urbinatem, quo regno ejecto, sed prius placato aurea gratia, Laurentius Medices in locum successit. Ibi non satis providus fuit Julius II. quod non plus auri reliquit. Ergo inventa fuit quædam fraus nova. Quicumque plura dare potuerunt Cardinalium, hi inventi sunt conspirasse in necem Pontificis. Horum bona ficco scribebantur. Subsecuta est discordia fratrum cordigerorum, quæ, quantum lucri attulerit rabulis Florentinis, rem pro voluntate in omnes partes flectentibus, quid attinet narrare? cum fidem superet largitio mendicorum. Non libet narrare erectas cruces Salvatoris per cuncta oppida, ad mensuram dantis propitias. Prætereo scenam de æde Petri et risus, et indignationis plenam. Templum domini, templum domini, templum domini clamat propheta, sed non est templum domini. Laurentius ædificat, non Petrus. Lapidem noctu migrant. Nihil hic fingo, principes Romani imperii, imo orbis totius, cuncti sollicitantur pro æde Petri in qua duo tantum opifices operantur, et alter claudus, quod nuper in frequentia peregrinorum concitabatur tumultus artificum, currebatur, clamabatur, videbantur sculpti et picti angeli excipientes munera largientium, ferentesque in sublimine. Ridere poteratis mecum commoti ob prestigias aucupii, sicut risit olim venerabilis pater Cyprianus præ indignatione, viso Christo pedibus et auribus asininis depicto.

Deflere libet fortunam sæculi corruptissimi, ob supremam negligentiam episcoporum, atque principum, permittentium populum suum ita nequiter decipi. Omnes illas artes invenit fraus Florentina, et propediem nefandiores excogitabit. Animadvertite modo. Quisque modo dies novam pariet curam. Timetur ne corpus pontificis crassum immatura morte perturbet consilia. Fugato duce Urbinate, similem fortunam minatur principi Ferrariensi. Quo pariter ejecto, regnum constituemus, et Regem Tusciæ salutabimus Laurentium Medicem civem Florentinum. Sed quia fortuna mutabilis est, et citius potest mori Leo decimus, quam ista optatum finem consequantur, et fieri potest, ut Leonis successor discedere cogat Laurentium ex alienis regnis, ideo contra adversum eventum ducenda est uxor Laurentio in Gallia cujusdam potentis ducis filia, emendusque ibi principatus; parandum adversus fortuitos casus, sicut decet sapientem virum duobus regnis profugium. Facta est emptio, signatæ tabulæ, dati fidejussores. Satis diu Medici fuimus, Principum Regumque fortuna ambienda est. Habetis jam breviter caput Decimarum, et insidias Turcæ, duce superstitione, in viscera vestra latrocinantis. Quamobrem resistite nefando conatui. Nolite assentiendo contaminari impietate. Quod rectum est, quod ratio suadet sequimini. Signatum est lumen vultus tui domine super nos. Illud errare nolentes non sinit. Mementote vos esse Germanos, hoc est, populum ante alios natura liberiolem, sicut hostes vestri de vobis scripserunt. Nolite alicui esse vectigales, ante omnes vero Florentinis. Proferant se in judicium nostri episcopi, indignum servitutis jugum a cervicibus suis abjicientes. Sed verentur omnes, mussitant quidem, quod dicere non didicerunt, alii metu fulminis, nonnulli spe novi honoris. Unus omnium mihi venerabilis Laurentius sese erigit, qui sæpenuero gravem imbrem consilio, et prudentia sua a republica Franconica amovit. Atque ideo corona aurea merito laureandus, Augustiore vero, si hanc quoque tempestatem removerit. Ad quem honorem studium omne convertat alacriter divino monitu. Nos, qui ab eo sacerdotum collegio decorati sumus, audentius deprecari volumus. Oremus pro

Pontifice nostro. Dominus conservet eum, et vivificet eum, et beatum faciat eum in terra, et non tradat eum in manus inimicorum ejus. In manus inimicorum traditur quando audire contemnit eum qui dicit, Ego dominus amans judicium, et odio habens rapinam, qui sit in sæcula sæculorum benedictus, Amen.

IN COMITIIS IMPERII RATISBONEN. Francisco Cardinali Senen. legato, et Joanne Campano oratore, decima itidem petita fuit contra Turcas: Tum princeps quidam elector, bellicæ rei peritissimus, et in eadem non vulgariter fortunatus, qui paulo ante treis principes viros devicerat, ait, se sola Vicesima, et Turcas, et eos, qui decimam exigent, ultra Herculeum fretum facile profligaturum.

Horum tu CAROLE meminisse memento.

Emprime en che pais neuu trouve nome Utopya l'an mille. ccccc. et XIX. le quinzome jour Mars.

END OF VOL. III.

