

A
DEFENCE
OF THE
CONSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA,
AGAINST THE ATTACK OF M. TURGOT
IN HIS
LETTER TO DR. PRICE,
DATED THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF MARCH, 1778,

BY JOHN ADAMS, LL. D.
AND A MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
AT BOSTON.

Some philosophers have been foolish enough to imagine, that improvements might be made in the system of the universe, by a different arrangement of the orbs of heaven; and politicians, equally ignorant, and equally presumptuous, may easily be led to suppose, that the happiness of our world would be promoted by a different tendency of the human mind.

JOHNSON'S ADVENTURER, N^o 45.

V O L. III.
A NEW EDITION.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1794.

DECLARATION

OF THE

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA

AND THE

OF THE

DECLARATION

OF THE

BY JOHN ADAMS, ESQ.

AND A MEMBER OF THE CONVENTION

OF THE

Some of the most important of the principles of the Declaration of Independence are those which relate to the rights of man. These rights are not given by the laws of men, but by the laws of God. They are the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These rights are the foundation of all civil and political rights. They are the basis of all justice and equity. They are the principles which should govern the conduct of all men in their relations to each other and to their government.

VOLUME III

A NEW EDITION

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

A
D E F E N C E
OF THE
CONSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES OF
A M E R I C A.

P I S T O I A .

MY DEAR SIR,

October 4, 1787.

THE Roman republic, according to its custom * of placing judges in all places under its dominion, sent to Pistoia a prætor, who had the whole jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over the city; reserving always, according to the tenor of the Roman laws, the obedience to the magistrates of that commonwealth. This jurisdiction, acquired by the Roman republic over the city of Pistoia, passed to the Roman emperors, and from these into the power of the Goths and the Lombards, and successively in those who, from time to time, were the lords (signore) of Tuscany; and has continued, down to our times, under the same tie and obligation of dependence. It is very true, that the province being liberated from the government of foreign nations, and its governors (dominatori) having permitted the people to make laws

* Memorie Storiche della città di Pistoia, raccolte de Jacopo Maria Fioravanti, nobile Patrizio Pistoiese. Edit. Lucca. 1758, cap. ii. p. 15.

Pistoia.

and create magistrates, the authority became divided : hence, when the concession was made to the Pistoians to create magistrates, take the name of consuls, and form the general council of the people, they were permitted to expedite, by the authority of these, many things in their city ; reserving always, nevertheless, the sovereignty to their lords. This concession of governing themselves by their own laws, obtained by the provinces of Italy, was the mere liberality of Charlemain, * at a time when, having delivered them entirely from the government of the barbarians, he placed them under the command of one of his royal ministers, with the title of marquis, or of duke. Under this system of government was comprehended Tuscany, which had its dukes and marquisses, who governed it. But as it was the custom of Charlemain, and, long after him, of his successors, to send to the cities of this province two subaltern ministers, one with the name of castaldo, or governor, and the other with that of count, which is as much as to say, judge of the city, who held his courts of justice either alone, or in conjunction with the castaldo, and very often with the bishop of the place, as the bishops were assessors and officers, deputed as vassals of the king or the emperor ; so the city of Pistoia was a long time ruled and governed by this order of castaldi and counts. Otto the Second, having ascended the Imperial throne, and having conducted, with little good fortune, the affairs of Italy, the people began to think it lawful to lose their respect, and to fail in their veneration, for the imperial commands, and the cities advancing in their inclination for liberty, many of them began to

* Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, lib. iv.

re-assume the title of consuls, which had been extinct under the Longobards; and if these had somewhat of a greater authority, they were not, nevertheless, exempt from the jurisdiction of the dukes and marquisses, or from the sovereignty of the kings and emperors.

A greater spirit of independence arising in the minds of the Italians, in the time of those great discords between the empire and the church, diminished to such a degree the esteem of the people towards the emperors, solemnly excommunicated by the pontiffs, that a great part of the cities of Italy, estranging themselves by little and little from their obedience, began to conduct themselves like independent states, in entire freedom. This happened in the time of Henry the Fourth and the Fifth; and the disobedience increased still more, when all the Tedsque forces were engaged to sustain, in Germany, the competition between Lothario the Second and Conrad the Swede for the throne of Cæsar. Then the cities, taking advantage of the distance of those who had power to bridle their arrogance, began to be insolent: * then they began to lift up their heads, and to do whatever seemed good in their own eyes: then they thought it lawful to appropriate to themselves many of the regalia belonging to their sovereign; and believing themselves able to shake off the yoke of superiority, they attended to nothing but to their present advantage, and to dilate the limits of their usurped liberty. But with all this, they were never able to extinguish the quality of their subjection, nor the obligation of dependence; for Frederick the First passed over to establish and re-

* His diebus, propter absentiam regis, Italiæ urbibus, insolentiam decedentibus. Ottone Frisingense.

gulate, in the convention of Constance, their privileges, and the regalia which were then usurped; and the people were held to an annual census, * and obliged to perform certain royal and personal services.

In the twelfth century, the cities, after the similitude of ancient Rome, all re-assumed the title of consuls, and began, some sooner and others later, to make their proper statutes, and establish their popular government. Though it is not possible to ascertain the precise time when the institution of consuls was first made in Pistoia, they are, nevertheless, found named in the statutes of 1107. 1107; and of these there were two, called the Consul of the Soldiers, and the Consul of Justice, taken from the nobility of the place, and were called the Greater Consuls, to distinguish them from the plebeian consuls of the second class, called the Lesser Consuls, or Consuls of the Merchants, taken from the common people. Their authority, and sometimes their numbers, were various; but there ought ever to be one more of the popular than of the greater consuls. † The election of these magistrates was made every year by the people, with the intervention of all the governors (rettori) of the arts of the city; and they governed, with the council of an hundred of the better sort of citizens, administering justice both to the laity and the ecclesiastics. This council, besides its extraordinary assemblies, was obliged to meet in the months of March, May, July, and September, after a previous intimation, given by the consuls, of the business to be done; and for the result of this assembly all determinations,

* Sigonius, lib. xiii. de Regno Italiae.

† Unus plus de popularibus quam de majoribus.

Fioravanti.

upon things of most importance, must wait; and all laws, resolutions, and deliberations, first proposed and digested in the smaller council, by the few, must be here confirmed or rejected.

Here again is a constitution of all authority in one assembly. The council of an hundred was sovereign. The consuls, though they had the command of the army, and the judgement of causes, could do nothing in administration by themselves, or with advice of their little council. They had no negative upon any deliberation or resolution of the great council: and, on the other hand, the people had no negative, not even the poor protection of a tribunitian veto. Accordingly we read, in the next paragraph, that the power of the people having so greatly increased, by means of their usurped liberty, so many factions had arisen, and separated into so numerous divisions, and all had become so much the more intractable and seditious, and the stimulus of power was become the greater, that the emperor Frederick the First, in 1155, after having reduced to his obedience Milan, and received the oaths of fidelity from all the other cities of Italy, and, among the rest, from all those of Tuscany, judged it necessary, to obviate the continual tumults which arose, to institute the office and dignity of podesta, and to send to the government of those cities gentlemen, from among the foreign nobility, with that title. This commission of podesta operated to the damage and diminution of the influence of the consuls, because in this magistrate was vested the whole judicial power, both in private and civil causes, and in those which were public and criminal; and therefore the podesta was the ordinary judge in the

1155.

city, * with full power, dominion, and authority to govern, command, and chastise, granted to him by the emperor, to whom, as their legitimate sovereign, the people had recourse in cases of appeal, and in all denials of justice.

From its subjection to this minister, in the earliest times of the institution of his office, the city of Pistoia was still more irritated and oppressed; and, as the nomination was reserved directly to the sovereign, the officer was changed as often as the times seemed to him to require. The rigour of this institution was softened by length of time and continual discords and dissensions, till the city of Pistoia acquired the right of the election of this minister, who obliged himself, in many things, to follow the various ordinances and resolutions of the consuls. This election of the podesta was made by the Pistoians in virtue of a municipal law consented to by the sovereign; the person elected stood in office only six months, and was chosen by the council of the people, as it was called, that is, the council of an hundred, with the intervention of all the rectors of the chapels, and all the rectors of the arts. The podesta was bound to conduct with him, judges skilful in the laws, notaries, two companies of militia, horses, and servants, and other followers; and in all things were these officers obliged to render their accounts. It was customary to confer this dignity of podesta upon the primary citizens. Neither the consuls nor podesta, jointly or severally, had authority to impose taxes, consent to war, peace, truce, or alliance, without the council of the people, which

* Con tutta la balia, impero, e potesta di governare, comandare, e castigare. Fioravanti, p. 18.

consisted of an hundred citizens, elected in the proportion of five and twenty for each of the four gates or quarters of the city, with the intervention of all the rectors of the chapels, and rectors of the arts, or, in other words, the podesta, consuls; council of an hundred, and rectors of the chapels and arts, were all collected in one assembly, to determine on grants for money, peace, war, truce, alliance, &c. and all questions were determined by the vote of the majority, which necessarily made that tempestuous and capricious government in one center, against which we contend.

And to the podesta, for his regulation in the exercise of his office, were given by the city fourteen counsellors, and two judges; one *de lege*, that is to say, a doctor of laws; the other *ex usu*, or *de usu*, which signified, as they interpreted the words, a protector of the commons; and two advocates for arguing each cause: and by the opinion of all these he decided upon those things which affected the honour or utility of the public, as he himself, after having made his election of these attendants, was obliged to stand by their advice.* This podesta, in early times, superintended not only the secular government, but the ecclesiastical: but in process of time the city became governed by three, namely, the consuls, the podesta, and the bishops; for the bishops had profited of the violent dissensions that prevailed in the city, to draw to themselves various rights and jurisdictions, as has happened in other nations. The lordship of the podesta, therefore, having thrown down the authority of the consuls, these were no

* His oath was, *Et petam a consiliariis toto tempore mei dominii de rebus, quæ mihi videbuntur expectare ad communem honorem et utilitatem, nostræ civitatis Pistorii. Fioravanti, p. 18, 19.*

longer appointed, at least are not found in the records, till the time when the office of captain of the people was created. This institution in Pistoia happened when the Guelph party, by an increase of their numbers and strength, acquired the superiority of the Ghibellines; at which time, with a great concourse and tumult of the people, the lordship was taken from the podesta, nothing was left him but the burden of hearing and determining civil causes, and the twelve anziani of the people were instituted, and the authority of the consuls was transferred to them.

The last appearance of the consuls in the records of Pistoia is in 1248, and the first of the captain of the people in 1267; when it is said in the statute, that the captain of the people was the first ruler of the city, and the primary defender of its rights, and that he ought chiefly to watch over the conservation of the peace; that he was the judge of appeals, and of all causes in the second instance; that he had cognizance of crimes; that he governed with supreme authority, united with that of the anziani; that he kept a court, of the same kind as that of the podesta, but more numerous; and that the city gave him, for ornament and defence, three hundred of the best and ablest men, who, taking an oath of fidelity to him, stood continually in his service. * The election of this ruler was to be made by the anziani, in the person of some foreigner, and not of any citizen of Pistoia. Notwithstanding that some of the primary citizens did in fact obtain this office, as appears by the records, the anziani were

* Volumus quod eligantur 300 boni homines de populo Pistoriense, de melioribus et potentioribus, pro manutentione et defensione capitanei. Rubrica cento delle Legge del 1274.

sworn not to elect any man of Tuscany, or Pistoia, its district, or other place adjoining to the city or its bishopric. The words of the law, in the twelfth rubric of 1267, are, “ Nos anthiani populi Pistoriensis, juramus, sine aliquo intellectu nobis dato, vel dando eligi, vel eligi facere nobis, ob Pist. unum bonum et virum prudentem majore 30 ann. in nostrum capitaneum populi devotum, et fidelem ecclesiæ, qui non sit de civitate Pistorii, vel districtu, et qui non sit de Tuscia vel de aliqua terra, quæ confinet cum civitate, vel episcopatu, vel districtu Pistorii.” And this dignity of captain of the people was in such reputation, that, in many places, princes were chosen, and sometimes even the pontiffs; and such personages, by means of their vicars, often exercised it. The captain of the people, therefore, being the conservator of the peace, and the defender of the rights of the city, the Pistoians, to give him a strong arm to bridle those who had unquiet and restless brains, thought it necessary to create certain companies of armed men, who, at the sound of a bell, should be obliged to run together into the piazza, there to receive and execute the orders which should be given them by this officer and the anziani, without whose permission they were not allowed to depart. These companies were called by the name of the Equestrian and Pedestrian Orders, because they were composed both of horsemen and footmen. These companies were afterwards augmented to twelve, in the proportion of three for each quarter, which embraced an infinite number of people; and every company had two captains, one gonfalonier, whose office was to carry the standard of his company, and four counsellors; and it was the duty of the captain of the people to procure the election of these officers, as
is

is asserted in the statute of 1267, rubric 19 :
“Teneatur capitaneus del popolo, primo mense
sui regiminis, eligi facere duos capitaneos, unum
gonfalonarium, et quatuor consilarios pro quali-
bet compagna civit. Pist. pro factis ipsius com-
pagnia.” And in the additional laws of 1286,
eight priors were added to these companies, two
for each quarter ; and other orders were made for
the good regulation of this militia.

- The twelve anziani were created with the same
authority and full power which the consuls had
held ; but the precise year when the former were
appointed and the latter laid aside cannot be as-
certained. The last memorial on record of the
1248. consuls is in 1248 ; the first of the anziani in 1263 ;
1263. so that the change must have been made in the
course of these fifteen years. The number of
members of which the new magistrature was com-
1267. posed, appears by a law of 1267 : “Ordinamus
quod 12 anziani populi civit. Pist. sint et esse de-
beant in civitate Pistoria.” These twelve magis-
trates were renewed every two months ; and after-
1277. wards, as appears by a law of 1277, it was esta-
blished, that the anzianate should not continue
longer than one month ; and this magistrature of
the anziani was elected by a council of the people
of two hundred, by the rectors of the arts, and by
their counsellors, and by the captains, gonfalo-
niers, and counsellors of the companies of the
people, and by the anziani pro tempore. The
head of the anziani was, in the primitive times,
called prior, and not gonfalonier. The prior
being the first dignity among the anziani, each
member enjoyed it in rotation for an equal number
of days, as the president's chair of the States Ge-
neral is filled by all the members in turn for one
week, at the Hague. This prior hath great autho-
rity,

rity, as appears by a law of 1267, written in the 37th rubric: "Anthiani teneantur facere, et faciant inter se, unum priorem de ipsis anthianis adjectum ipsis, sicut eis videbitur de tempore, cui cæteri anthiani pareant, et parere debeant, et obedire; et qui contrafecerit puniatur a priore anthianorum." Although the name of gonfalonier appears in the records of some of these years, yet certainly he was not the head of the anziani, but of the arts: thus, in the law of 1283, "Item capitaneus debeat spendere et assignare gonfalonem gonfaloneriis electis, vel eligendis, ab unaquaque arte et populo . . . ita quod unaquæque ars suos gonfaloneros et officiales habeat." From this it clearly appears, that these gonfaloniers were the heads of the arts, and not of the supreme magistrature of the anziani; which gonfaloniers were elected by the council of the people of two hundred, by the rectors of the arts, and by their counsellors, and by the captains, gonfaloniers, and counsellors of the companies of the people, and by the anziani for the time being. These anziani, sitting together with the captain of the people, and the general council of the people, promulgating laws and statutes, gave execution to all the laws, civil and criminal, performed and conducted all the most important affairs relating to the government, and restrained the nobles and plebeians with the fear of punishment, within the limits of respect and obedience: * that is to say, all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial, was collected together in one single assembly. But how they restrained the nobles and plebeians to obedience we shall soon see.

1283

In the year 1329, these anziani are called in 1329.

* Fioravanti, p. 21.

the records Imperial Counsellors (*Configlieri Imperiali*), a remarkable title, obtained probably from the emperor Louis of Bavaria, when, after the death of Castruccio, he placed one of his imperial vicars over the custody of the city of Pistoia.

1296. The dignity of gonfalonier of justice was probably instituted in the year 1295, because in the next year, 1296, in the acts of council it is recorded, "*De consilio et consensu et auctoritate dominorum anthianorum et vexilliferi justitiæ populi, et auctoritate ducentorum consiliarorum.*"

1330. The new laws of 1330 name a gonfalonier of justice, and eight anziani. It is resolved, that the anziani of the commons, and people of the city of Pistoia, are and ought to be eight only, viz. two for each gate or quarter, and one gonfalonier of justice for the whole city . . . The said lords, the anziani, and the gonfalonier of justice, and their notaries, are and ought to be of the best popular men and artificers of the city, and not of any house of the grandees.* And the authority of the gonfalonier of justice was placed upon an equality with that of the anziani. The law ordained, that whenever, in the statutes of the commons and people, mention is made of the anziani, the same shall be understood of the gonfalonier of justice, although he be not written; and in all things and every where, he shall have the same authority, and full power (*balia*) as has one of the anziani, besides his proper office. And to show that the gonfalonier of justice was not, in the beginning, superior to the anziani, it appears that,

* *Dicti domini anthiani, et vexilliferi justitiæ, et eorum notarii, sint et esse debeant de melioribus popularibus et artificibus dictæ civitatis, et non de aliqua domo magnata.*
Fioravanti, p. 21.

after the introduction of that office, they continued to appoint, in the usual manner, a prior of the anziani, with the same authority and pre-eminence before described. The law of 1330 says, 1330.
“And the anziani and gonfalonier of justice, after they shall be congregated in their palace, and shall have taken their usual oaths, ought to constitute one prior from among themselves, for such time as they please, to whom all the others ought to obey, under the penalty, &c. So that each of the anziani and gonfaloniers of justice shall be prior, according to the proportion of time they shall be in office.”

The gonfalonier, by the duty of his office, was bound to send out, with the consent and participation of the anziani, the standard of justice, to assemble together the armed militia, and go out to do execution against any of the grandees (magnati); which gonfalonier of justice, says the law, shall be bound by the obligation of an oath, and under the penalty of five hundred pounds, upon the commission of any homicide, to draw forth the standard of justice, and, together with the captain of the people, to go to the house of the grandee committing such homicide, or causing it to be committed, and to cause his goods to be destroyed, and not to suffer the said standard to repose, until all the property of such delinquent shall be totally destroyed and laid waste, both in the city and the country; and to cause the bell of the people to be rung, if to the lords, the anziani and the gonfalonier of justice, it shall seem expedient, or the major part of them; and all the shops, stores, and warehouses, shall be shut immediately upon the commission of such homicide, and shall not be opened till execution shall be done as aforesaid. But in all other offences perpetrated
against

against the person of any popular man by any grandee, it shall be in the discretion of the said lords, the anziani and the gonfalonier of justice, or the major part of them, to draw out the said standard or not. Such a rigorous kind of justice, as it regarded the grantees, who gave themselves a licence to commit excessive disorders against the popular men, was thought to be the best adapted to their insolence. And to undeceive those who may imagine that in Pistoia, at that time, the title of grantees was a respectable title, and distinctive of the true nobility of the place, it is necessary to have recourse to the usual municipal laws, which say, that the magnati (grantees) were all those, of whatever condition, who, abandoned to an ill life, offended the popular men, and held the city and country in inquietude; and for this reason were called Magnates, became separated from all public affairs, and excluded entirely from all magistracies and offices, and subjected to penalties still more rigorous. By the laws of the years 1330 and 1344, to be declared a grandee was rather an infamy than an honour. The words of the law are these; viz. "But if it shall happen that men of any race, or noble house, or any one of them from such a noble house or stock, born of the male line, or any others, live wickedly and flagitiously against the people, hurt the popular men, and terrify and disturb the peaceful state of the people, or shall endeavour to do so by himself or by others, and this shall be made known by public fame to the captain of the people, and the anziani and gonfalonier of justice for the time being, these magistrates, at the petition of any of the people of Pistoia, shall be obliged to propose to the council of the people, that such a noble house or progeny, such a man or number of men, thus defamed, be written and placed

placed in the number of grandees, and as such be accounted."* And as the Pistoians were driven to great perplexities to maintain, in peace and quiet, their popular government, and in order to punish severely all those who should take the licence to disturb the pacific state of their city, they proclaimed this penalty on all delinquents, by a law of the year 1418, rubric 9. "But if it shall happen that any one of any noble house or race, or any one of any other condition, shall live wickedly and profligately, or shall commit, or attempt to commit, any such crime or misdemeanor against the people, and the pacific state of the people of the city of Pistoia, they shall be recorded in the number of grandees, and accounted as such." To such extremes of caprice and violence, destructive of all liberty and safety, are such governments naturally and necessarily reduced.†

1418.

The city of Pistoia had also in its regimen a syndic. This was an officer who was called an Elder, or Syndic General, who must be forty years of age, and live forty miles from the city. His duty was to look over the accounts of the podesta, the captain of the people, the anziani, and all the magistrates and officers of the city and its district, when they resigned or were dismissed

* *Scribantur et ponantur in numero magnatum et potentum, et pro magnatibus et potentibus habeantur. Fioravanti, p. 22.*

† The devices on the standards, seals, and coins of the republic, as well as all other antiquities, are not within the design of this essay; but there was on one of their standards an idea that contained the truest emblem of their government—a lamb pursued by a wolf, with the motto, Pace, ricchezza, superbia; guerra, povertà, umiltà: Peace, riches, and pride; war, poverty, and humility. If the wolf is construed to signify the majority, and the lamb the minority, as there was neither a shepherd nor shepherd's dog to interpose between them, the resemblance is perfect.

from their charges. There were, moreover, according to the law of 1402, judges of appeals in all causes, civil, criminal, and mixed; and to them belonged the cognizance of all disputes and regulations concerning provisions: they also superintended the sumptuary laws, against all luxurious excesses in the dress and ornaments of the ladies; and they entertained a number of notaries, and a numerous family and court, for the execution of all services appertaining to their offices.

1355. The city of Pistoia being in this state of government, in 1355 the emperor Charles the Fourth arrived at Pisa, and the citizens appeared before his Imperial majesty, and gave him the demonstrations of vassalage and obedience due to the sovereignty which he held over their city. The emperor confirmed to them all the privileges granted by his august predecessors; and desirous of fixing the reputation and reverence for the dignity of the gonfaloniers of justice, he enlarged their authority, as well as that of the anziani; and wishing to make the Pistoians enjoy, quietly, some species of liberty, he gave them, by a diploma of the 26th of May, the faculty of living and governing themselves, according to their laws and laudable customs, in a free, popular state, under the regency of the anziani and the gonfaloniers of justice, declaring both the anziani and the gonfaloniers, for the affairs of Pistoia and its dominion, his vicars, and vicars of the empire, for the whole term of his own life. "The anziani," says the diploma, "and the gonfalonier of justice of the people, and commons of Pistoia, who now are, and for the time to come shall be, in office, and no others, we constitute our general and irrevocable vicars, for the whole term of our life, with the full administration in the city, country, and district

district of Pistoia, and in all its lands, castles, and places." Pistoia maintained itself in this state of a republic as long as Charles the Fourth lived; and, taking advantage of the distance and negligence of his successors, they persevered in the same government until the year 1401, when the emperor Robert, by his charter, declared the gonfalonier and priors of the arts of the city of Florence his vicars, and vicars of the empire, and gave them the government of Arezzo, Volterra, Pistoia, and the other places of Tuscany. But in the interval between these periods, the Pistoians were never quiet; for, governing themselves in what they called a free popular state, they were for reducing all to a level, and thought, or pretended, to make all the citizens enjoy equally the public honours and offices of their city. In this state of things, the rebellion of Sambuca was fomented by some of the citizens of Pistoia, at the head of whom was Riccardo Cancellieri, who had made himself master of several castles in the mountains; from whence he made inroads on the whole territory of Pistoia, and kept the inhabitants in continual alarms, with the design of delivering his country into the hands of John Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan. Upon this occasion the imperial vicars in Florence sent, for the protection of Pistoia, two thousand infantry, some cavalry, and three commissaries, who, calling together the general council, imposed upon the counsellors the necessity of doing whatever was required of them, that they might not incur still greater miseries. In the first place, they required that every resolution and statute of liberty, and every condition, article, and confederation, which the city had, should be annulled; and then, by another resolution, that they should subject themselves to the people of Florence,

Florence, with liberal authority to govern Pistoia at their discretion. This proposition of the Florentines was ill relished by the Pistoians; and while the council was debating on it, the soldiery took possession of the piazza and palace of the anziani; and having understood that no resolution had passed, they began, with drawn swords in their hands, to cry, "Florence for ever!" (Viva Firenze!) and to threaten the counsellors, who, thus intimidated, by an ample resolution suddenly surrendered the liberty of their city to the Florentines, from that day, the 10th of September 1401, 1402. to the calends of January 1402, to the end that they might apply a summary remedy to the evils with which they were agitated and oppressed, as say the books of reformations in Florence; and then were painted the lions, the ensigns of Florence, upon the palace of the syndic of the city of Pistoia. It was not long before these imperial vicars, availing themselves of the authority given them by the emperor, and of that given them by the Pistoians themselves, sent to Pistoia four commissaries to reform the public offices; who, desirous, as they said, of discovering the inclinations of their principals to raise the dignity of the city of Pistoia, proposed that the forms and orders of the city of Florence should, as much as possible, be imitated; and that the twelve buonhomini should be called the Twelve of the College; and that the supreme magistracy of the anziani should be no longer denominated the Anziani of the People, but the Priors of the People; and, not making any innovation in the gonfalonier of justice, that he should retain the same name. The prior of the anziani was to be called Provost or President of the Priori, according to the words of the reform, "And the priors shall have among themselves

themselves one president continually, who shall continue three days in this manner. After the oaths of office shall be taken, they shall cause nine votes, with their names, to be put into a purse by a notary, one of which shall be drawn out for a president, and so successively during the term of their office."

The Florentines having thus limited and restrained the privileges of the Pistoians, or made the election of the anziani, and given them the name of priors, they made eight purses, in the proportion of two to each gate, and regulated themselves according to the plan in 1376; in which year, to take away the scandalous names of the two factions of Bianchi and Neri, Whites and Blacks, were instituted two companies, one called the Company of St. John, and the other of St. Paul, and one prior was drawn for the gate of one company, and another for the other; and the gonfalonier of justice was drawn, at one time from the company of St. John, and at another from that of St. Paul. This manner of drawing the magistracy of the priori was changed in 1417, when the priori began to be drawn from two purses, the first and the second.

In 1417 the Pistoians, considering that in so great a change of affairs they ought to make some advancement of the dignity of the gonfalonier of justice, ordained that the first place in rank should no longer be held by the president and rector of the city, but by the gonfalonier. Thus says the law, "That the gonfalonier of justice shall always hold the more dignified place, and after him the president; and in like manner, in going out, with the rector and other officers of the city of Pistoia." This law was ratified by the law of 1437; and from this it followed, that in 1463 they began to make

- make for the president, who was to continue and reside in that office, a purse by itself, as it was determined by the other officers, in 1471, that from that purse should be drawn two, and the oldest man of them should be the first to occupy the president's place, unless the younger were a doctor of laws: and this was called the purse of the president, the first of whom had the faculty of speaking and answering first in all congresses; which faculty however ceased, in the first president, in 1492. the year 1492, when it was determined, that the right of sitting and speaking first should, in all occurrences, be enjoyed by the gonfalonier of justice: and thus this office of gonfalonier of justice, rising continually in dignity, began by little and little to be desired by the nobles, and, by common consent and a public decree, to be confined to the nobles alone. The supreme magistracy of the priori becoming a little civilized, it grew into a custom, that the purse of the president was considered as the first after that of the gonfalonier of justice, and that which was the first of the priors became the second; but, because from this were drawn four subjects, it was called the Purse of Four; and the other, which was called the Second of the Priori, became the third, and was called, from this time, the Common Purse, in which all citizens qualified for offices ought to remain, at least for the period of one reform, although by his condition of birth, merit, and age, he was qualified for a purse of higher rank. When afterwards it was established, that the descendants of men of rank and distinction, by the male line, should no longer begin to enjoy the priori by that purse, but by that of four, the same was called no longer the Common Purse, but the Third; whence, by virtue of this new order of magistrature, we read, in

1580. elected certain citizens, of the other noble and popular families, and the name of Arruotì; and it was established as the duty of these to intervene in making the reform; and this lasted till 1580.

In the times of the consuls we read, that there was a council of an hundred citizens, who were chosen by four men of good fame, twenty-five for each of the four gates of the city; without this council, neither the consuls nor the podestà could determine any thing; and when there arose a question of peace, war, or taxes, besides the council of an hundred, all the rectors of the chapels and arts intervened; and as upon these occasions the consuls, podestà, counsellors of the hundred, and rectors of chapels and arts, all met in one assembly, and determined all things by a majority of votes, which, as has been before observed, made it a government in one center (an aristocracy in reality, though a popular state in name) and consequently some two or three families must always be at the head of it, and constantly contending for the superiority, kept the people in perpetual contention.

There was another council, as appears by the records, formed of fourteen citizens, and of all the doctors and advocates, which was destined to counsel the podestà; as he himself, after having made his election of them, was obliged to govern by their advice; such was his oath; "And I will submit to my counsellors, through the whole time of my dominion, in things which shall appear to me to regard the common honour and utility of our city of Pistoia." As neither the podestà nor this council had any negative on the legislative council of an hundred, but, since the podestà had the choice of its members, was no doubt composed of his friends in the council of

an hundred, it is plain that the same person and families must have the chief influence and direction of affairs in both; so that this executive council had the same center with the legislative council.

It is further found, that in the first times of the government of the twelve anziani, viz. in 1267, there were two councils, one of forty counsellors of the captain of the people and of the anziani, who ought to be of an age above forty years, and their office continued six months; and they resolved upon all propositions which by the captain of the people and the anziani were proposed to them, provided they were not contrary to the laws and the reform of the commons and people. The other council was called the Council of Two Hundred Counsellors of the People; and in the assemblies of this council intervened all the aforesaid forty, and, moreover, all the captains, gonfaloniers, and counsellors of the companies of the people, and all the rectors and counsellors of the arts, and all those who had been anziani. The fabric of this government, and its spirit, was the same with the former, only the name of captain of the people was substituted for that of podesta, and a council of forty was substituted to that of fourteen, and a council of two hundred to that of one. The alteration therefore was not at all for the better.

After 1330 there was one council, called the General Council; this was formed of an hundred citizens, viz. fifty popular men, and fifty grandees (magnati). In this council intervened all the members of the council of the people, all the chevaliers, all the doctors of laws, and all the physicians of Pistoia, matriculated in the college of physicians. But this council had of itself no authority,

1330.

thority, and could do nothing without the council of the people. In like manner, after the same year 1330, the principal council of Pistoia was that of the people, in which intervened all the anziani, gonfaloniers of justice, and their notaries, and two hundred popular citizens; and none of the grandees could be of this council. They were elected fifty for each gate. The authority of this council was supreme and sovereign, to make and repeal laws, impose and take off taxes, &c. In more ancient times, as appears by the rubric 62, of the law of 1267, the council of the people had consisted of six hundred citizens; but because such a multitude generated confusion, it was reduced to two hundred in 1270.

But the government of longest duration in Pistoia was that of the eight priors of the people, and one gonfalonier of justice; and this body was called the Supreme Magistracy of the City, and was renewed every two months, from the four purses, in the palace of its residence. When they proceeded to draw these magistrates, with solemn pomp was raised up, from the treasury of St. James, the box, within which were locked up, with four keys, all the votes of the magistrates of the city, and was carried in procession, accompanied by the magistrates of all the colleges, with the trumpets sounding, into the public palace; where, from the first purse, was drawn the gonfalonier of justice, who was the head of this magistracy, and not only enjoyed the supreme dignity, and the pre-eminence in place, robes, habitation, and in all other respects, but answered in the name of the public: and although in public affairs he could not rule alone, there was always allowed him a right of freely entering when he would into the greater council, and into all other councils and colleges where
any

any matters of importance were under deliberation, and there give his opinion, his reasons, and his vote. This gonfalonier was a man of gravity from his age; and that he might be respectable in all points, it was required that he should be of an ancient family: * and he who enjoyed this supreme post enjoyed a jewel, held in veneration by the people, and in great esteem by the nobility. There were then drawn from the other purse two subjects, who were called presidents; and these were sometimes of a middle age, and sometimes old men, and for the most part, after giving proofs of their wisdom in this station, they ascended, either by means of their birth or their merit, to the rank of the gonfalonierate. From the other purse, called the purse of four, were successively drawn four subjects of the prime nobility, or at least of middling condition, who, for the most part, were in younger age; and from this purse, some by their birth, and some by their merit and their age, passed up to the more dignified purse of the presidents, and sometimes to the rank of graduati, or men of distinction. In the last place were drawn two persons from the third purse, in which were contained all the citizens who had not made any advancement in the other purses, or had been of families worthy only of the purse of four, and among these were found those who exercised civil and liberal arts; and these did not diminish the dignity of the magistracy, but rather gave occasion to maintain the union between the plebeians and the nobility; for with this consolation, the former remained long quiet without any insurrection. This magistracy had in the service of its ministry a chancellor, who was a notary public, and

* Si richiede lunga, e continovata chiarezza di sangue.

was drawn from a purse destined for that purpose. This magistracy began their offices on the morning of the first day of the month, in their senatorial robes. Each of the priors wore a robe of scarlet linen with red damask, vulgarly called a gown (*lucco*), with a hat or bonnet lined with a cloth of black silk, with its ribbon and tassel of black crape, and upon the left shoulder a large knot of crimson satin, which was commonly called *la becca*; and the chancellor wore a gown of black cloth, lined with red cloth, without the knot upon the shoulder, but with a hat similar to those of the priors, whose duty it is to draw up and sign the acts of this magistracy; but the gonfalonier of justice is clothed with a robe of red velvet, with a similar shoulder-knot, and his head is covered with a broad hat, of a noble appearance, the name of which is *tocco*, a bonnet. This magistracy, thus clothed and ornamented, before the syndic of the old magistracy took the oaths of their offices, in the public view of the people, in the larger piazza, and under the ample covering of it, built in 1332 with the revenues of the excise, or *gabelles*, of the four quarters of the city; and, after having taken their oaths, they went in procession, with the standard of justice, to the chapel of St. James the apostle, protector of the city, and thence to the palace of their residence, which was spacious enough to receive, in the year 1536, the emperor Charles the Fifth in all the forms of majesty. None of the component members of that magistracy could go out privately; but only in some determined function was it permitted to the whole body of the magistracy to go out of their palace with solemn pomp. This magistracy resided with their chancellor, night and day, in the palace, to the end that all public business might be

be dispatched and attended to with the greater vigilance, for the good government of the city ; and they drew from the commons a sufficient appointment, both for the maintenance of their tables, and of six and twenty persons destined to their service, and for the honourable management of the furniture of their palace, the linen for their persons and households, and of their plate, and all other things necessary for their use in the time of the government. This magistracy also entertained a chaplain, with a handsome salary. We may pass over the tedious description of feasts and public processions, and return to the former discourse, and say, that the gonfalonier of justice was the head, not only of the supreme magistracy, but also of all other subaltern magistracies which were in the commonwealth, and without him there could not be convened any council of the citizens to engage in any public deliberation. This magistrate, while the public residence continued, was attended, whenever he went out of the palace, by a retinue consisting of one person, who, with the title of fiscal, resided in Pistoia, by one assessor versed in the profession of the law, by the captain of infantry, by two architects of the palace, by the steward of provisions, by the chancellor del danno dato, by the master of the house, and by six and twenty servants : and in the performance of religious ceremonies, and in some of the principal assemblies, this magistrate had a retinue of magistrates and nobility, which gave him more splendour than a crown.

The magistrates, upon whom depended the right government of the city of Pistoia, are, besides those already named, all these which follow : some determine upon public affairs, others preside in judicature, others superintend the common interests, others

others private ; these watch over health, those over plenty ; some attend to the conservation of the peace, and others to politics. These magistrates are the twelve colleges ; six for petitions ; two for the works in the palace of the supreme magistrates ; the two companions ; the captain of infantry, who in ancient times was called by the name of captain of the families of the anziani, and who, in primitive times, was called by the name of votalarche—the institution of this office was most ancient ; the six labourers of St. James, who, besides other commissions, held that of provisions, and are, exclusively of all other magistrates, lawgivers, judges, and overseers of all the transgressions dependent upon matters of provisions, and is the first magistracy of the nobles, because he who is denominated a labourer of St. James enjoys the noble rank of the graduati, a dignity and charge of equal nobility, although of different function and command with that of gonfalonier of justice, as this office confers the character and distinction of nobility both upon the person and the family. There are also the four officers of the pious and charitable house of wisdom ; the four workmen of the holy virgin of humility ; the magistrates over the rivers and roads ; the labourers of St. John and St. Zenone ; the magistracy of buonhomini over the prisons ; the ministers of the mount of piety ; the ministers of salt ; the ministers of pledges deposited ; the approvers of the excises ; the purveyors for the commons ; the four over civil contests ; the two over the restitutions of gabelles ; the two over the public schools ; the deputies superintending the poor ; the deputies for the assessment of taxes ; the magistrates of abundance ; the magistrates of health ; the judges of controversies relative to beasts ; the four peace-makers ; the ministers

ters of the trumpet ; the eight reformers ; the ministers of the commons ; the ministers of the custom-house ; the syndics of the rectors ; the deputies over the workhouse of the poor ; the prison keepers ; the college of judges ; the notaries ; the rectors of arts ; the tribunal of damages done ; the registers who assisted in civil contests ; the magistracy of three judges, who are foreigners : but at present, as the public revenues are farmed out, these are suspended, and in their place the fiscal of the city is introduced to decide the controversies of the people, with the liberty of recurring to the grand ducal chamber at Florence, in cases of appeals and denials of justice. The appeal from civil causes, determined by these magistrates, is sometimes to the supreme magistracy of the priori and the gonfalonier of justice of the city, in the name of whom the public decrees are dispatched, and under the impression of his seal.

There is, moreover, a council general of the people, formed of sixty citizens, and their office continues six months ; into this council intervene the priors of the people, the gonfalonier of justice, the twelve colleges, and the six for petitions. This council holds the supreme authority of the city, and has jurisdiction over all the magistrates who transgress their offices, and has the faculty to treat and dispatch the most important affairs of the state of Pistoia, to make and repeal laws, name ambassadors, dispense offices, lay on and take off taxes, and to give all the assistance to other magistrates, who all have their peculiar incumbent duties ; and each member may oppose a decision on any question under deliberation, that it may be referred to another session, to be approved or rejected on mature consideration.

For the most weighty business of the government,

ment, there is a council composed of the old and new council of the people, the priors of the people, the gonfalonier of justice, the twelve of the colleges, the six of petitioners, all the graduati, the resident officers of the pious house of wisdom, and all the resident gonfaloniers, and resolve as to the majority appears most useful and advantageous for the public good, where all the most momentous affairs and causes most interesting to the public are digested.

There is also a council of graduati, which had its beginning in 1483, and is composed of two persons for each family, of those persons, however, who actually enjoy the dignity of the graduati, which is the first of the honours of the city; and three and thirty members are sufficient to form a valid council, to which it belongs to promote persons and families to the citizenship of Pistoia, and to public offices and honours. Every five years this council, together with the gonfalonier of justice, and the eight reformers, put to a secret vote all the persons who enjoy the citizenship of Pistoia, and reward or condemn them as justice requires. They renew the imbursements of public offices and honours, and give or take away from all as they please; examining well the ranks of the citizens, the nobility, antiquity, merits and demerits of all persons and families, over whom they keep a watchful eye, in order to prevent all occasion of confusion, disorder, and disturbance, which might happen through the discordant pretensions of the citizens; and thus guarded and established, they come from time to time to the distribution of those offices for which there is occasion.

Pistoia has also its dispenser of laws (*giusdicente*), the duty of whom is to procure the peace and tranquillity of the citizens, and to distribute justice,

justice, both according to the municipal laws, and conformably to the will of the sovereign; and from ancient times his post was occupied by the podesta, introduced by the emperors into all the cities of Italy; and because that, in the league that was called the confederation of Tuscany, concluded in 1197 between many places and cities of that province, for their common defence against the rights, or at least claims, of the emperor, to dilate the limits of their liberty, Pistoia had her place, and elected, according to the tenor of the association, her head, with the title of captain, to whom were confided; as the law required, all their affairs and pretensions, therefore, in 1200, it is said that Pistoia had for her captain one by the name of Gualdaccio; from which year, until 1529, there was always elected by the Pistoians, and by those who had the government of Pistoia, a rector, together with the podesta, for the good direction of the affairs of that city. It happened afterwards, that in the great tumults between the factions of the Panchiatica and the Cancelliera, there were elected by the Florentines thirteen commissaries, to establish the peace between those factions; and they annulled, among the multitude of things which they did in 1502, the office of captain, and created that of commissary; and thus in some years he was called commissary, and in others captain commissary, and in others they returned to the old name of captain. In 1529 the Pistoians, finding themselves in great difficulties, doubtful whether they should be able to govern themselves, and dreading the devastations of the army of the emperor Charles the Fifth, which was near their confines, sent ambassadors to Bologna to supplicate Clement the Seventh, who was then in that city, that he would condescend to defend their city from the imminent

Panchia-
tica.
Cancel-
liera.

Vol. III. D danger,

danger, and take it under his protection, and delivered him the keys of it ; which the pontiff, in his own name, and in the name of the emperor, who sought for the obedience of the Florentines and the other cities of Tuscany, having with great alacrity accepted, he sent suddenly, for the government and custody of Pistoia, Alexander di Gerardo Corsini, with the title of commissary ; and therefore it followed that no podesta or captain was elected afterwards, excepting for three years, but one magistrate alone, with the title of commissary general, as was ever after the custom.

The emperor Charles the Fifth having, in 1530, reduced by force the Florentines, and their confederates, to submission to the empire, and restored in Florence the house of Medici, who had been banished by their fellow-citizens, consigned to them the government and dominion of Tuscany. Pistoia did not hesitate a moment from its obedience to the new regent of the province, by which ready submission they obtained from him the faculty of continuing to govern themselves according to their own laws and laudable customs ; and they continued to receive, in place of a podesta and captain, a commissary general for their defender and governor ; for all the time that the government of the house of Medici lasted, to maintain the government in suitable dignity, it was their custom always to confer it on some senator of Florence.

1737. The government of the house of Medici terminating in the year 1737, by the failure of the succession, it was conferred, by the emperor Charles the Sixth, on Francis, the third duke of Lorraine and Bar. This new lord of Tuscany, pursuing the same system of government of the house of Medici, has continued to furnish the city of Pistoia with

with a commissary general, if not a senator, at least respectable for his nobility, who, regulating the government by the laws of the city, has always enabled it to enjoy a perfect tranquillity.

Francis, the second grand duke of Tuscany, in 1749, conceiving a good opinion of Pistoia, as a city of merit, and in all things respectable, wishing to raise its dignity and honour, as he pretended, annulled the office of commissary general, and confided the government to a minister, with the title of governor. *

1749

In a city, where every interest seemed to be guarded by particular magistrates, where so many changes were made in their form of government, in order to find one which would please and satisfy the people, one might expect to find happiness, if it were possible that it should exist where legislative and executive powers were confounded together in one assembly. But if we go over again the several periods of the history of Pistoia, we shall find that similar causes had the same effects.

At the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, civil discords in Pistoia generated much misery, and many families, fearing that they should have still greater evils to suffer, determined to abandon their country; and, as a lesson to their mad and cruel fellow-citizens whom they left behind them, they caused an inscription to be engraved on the gates, "Habbi pazienza" (have patience), a motto that ought to be written over the door, and engraven on the heart, of every citizen in such a government, and went to inhabit other countries.

1104

Italy beginning, in 1112, to be infected with the contagious disease of the factions of the Guelphs

1112.

* Fioravanti, p. 38.

and Ghibellines, destructive insurrections and tumults were raised in Pistoia ; and the citizens, infected with a spirit of cruelty against each other, without fear of human or divine chastisement, attended to nothing but party quarrels, and mutual slaughter and murder : and these contests involved the city in continual wars, foreign and domestic, till the year 1235. 1235. when the podesta, a wise man and a nobleman of high rank, exerted all his prudence, vigilance, and sollicitude, to repress and compose the tumults of the nobles and popular party, who, on account of the government, were grown unusually fierce and insolent ; but not being able to reconcile differences so inveterate, nor prevent the cruelties which both parties, regardless of his menaces and punishments, daily committed, the city was thought to be in evident danger of total desolation. As some of the citizens had given assistance to the Conte Guido de Conti Guidi, who was become odious to other citizens as the fautor of Ghibellines, tumults were increased and multiplied, till the city was at length divided into two, came to a fierce battle, and, as one party would not mix with or depend upon the other, each one elected its podesta and consuls, as if they had been two separate cities and independent governments ; and a war was maintained between them for years with such fury, as set all laws, human and divine, at defiance, till, exhausted and humbled on both sides, they were forced to have recourse to Rubaconte, podesta of Florence, under whose mediation a peace between them was concluded, with a detail of articles, to the performance of which Florence became warrantee. In consequence of this mediation and peace, Pistoia returned, for a short time, to her flourishing condition ; so that not only the greater powers admired

mired her felicity, but the most formidable of the other cities stood in awe of her. But, oh miserable vicissitudes of ill-constituted governments ! * to the confusion of the citizens of Pistoia, the other cities, by some intervals of peace and union, grew more powerful, and Pistoia alone, by the continuance of quarrels, factions, and civil wars, was meanly reduced in command, honour, and fortune. It was not long before the old disputes revived, and continued till 1251, when the pope 1251. was obliged to interpose, and negotiate a new peace between the parties in Pistoia. But this peace could not be effected till long wars, a great destruction of lives, and a general desolation of the lands and cities, by the various leagues and alternate confiscations of the rich and the poor, the nobles and commons, Guelphs and Ghibellines, had fatigued and exhausted all parties.

In 1260 the Ghibellines of Pistoia, Florence, 1260. Volterra, and Prato, could no longer bear the insolence and impertinence of the contrary faction : they therefore formed an union with their friends in the other cities, raised armies, and renewed the wars ; and, after many sharp conflicts, and at length the sanguinary battle of Montaperto, they Montaperto. turned the tide of fortune and the torrent of popular passions in their favour, till all Tuscany became Ghibelline, excepting Lucca and the Florentine exiles. At the instigation of the Conte Novello, 1260. vicar of the king Manfred, Pistoia, Florence, Sienna, Pisa, Volterra, Samminiato, Colle, Prato, and Poggibonfi, raised a standing army to make war upon Lucca, because this city was the asylum of their fugitives. This army was maintained only by the imposition of universal and very heavy

* Ma oh misere vicende del mondo ! Fioravanti, p. 219.

- taxes, did infinite damage in the country, and at
 1267. last, in 1267, obtained a peace between Pistoia and Lucca, upon conditions, one of which was, that each city should pardon the other all the injuries, molestations, discords, offences, damages, rapines, homicides, devastations, and conflagrations, that had been committed.
1268. In 1268 the Guelphs in Pistoia were much displeased that the heads of the Ghibellines, banished and driven out from their city, should, under Astancollo Panciatichi, have fortified themselves at Lucciano, a castle under the eyes of Pistoia; therefore they ordered Cialdo Cancellieri, their podesta, to go out with an armed force and dislodge them. Panciatichi, having penetrated the designs of the Guelphs in Pistoia, fearing that he could not resist the assault of his enemies, because he was inferior in force, and without hopes of succour, abandoned the post, and went to Pisa, where he united himself with his confederates: so that Cancellieri, finding the castle empty of inhabitants, plundered and demolished it, and caused the Panciatichi to be banished as the heads of that faction, whose estates were all confiscated,
- Panciatichi.
Cancellieri.
1270. The partialities of the citizens of Pistoia having, in 1270, in some measure subsided, by means of the government of the Universal Pacificators of Tuscany, they set about a reformation of their magistrates, and, considering that a multitude always generated confusion, they reduced to two hundred their general council, which had been composed before of six hundred members, and created many new magistracies and jurisdictions, in order to bring into order the affairs of their government.*
1284. But in 1284 there arose again most grievous dis-

* Fioravanti, p. 230.

orders, by reason of the ill administration of justice; and the general council elected the wisest citizens to make another reformation and new laws, and to bring about a reconciliation among the principal citizens who disturbed the public tranquillity. But all their regulations were ineffectual; for in the next year, 1285, fresh disturbances were perceived in the city of Pistoia, occasioned by certain families, who, by means of copious wealth, and the adherence of numerous friends, followers, and relations, aspired, at their discretion, to govern the city; but as the wisest men exerted themselves, that their public affairs should depend only on law and justice, not upon the passions and caprice of individuals, they called together the general council. These endeavoured to render those families odious and unpopular, as well as the title by which they were distinguished; and to this end ordered, that those families should be declared "grandeas" (magnati), who by their influence and power disturbed the public tranquillity; and to be declared a grandee became equivalent to being declared a seditious person, an arrogant, an impertinent, and separated from the government of the commons of the city. 1285.

The dominant party ruled so arbitrarily the Guelphs, committed so many robberies upon them, and burnt and destroyed so much of their property, that these became desperate, and the exiles from many cities raised an army, which obliged the Pistoians, and the governors of other cities, to raise another to oppose it, at an expence of an universal imposition of taxes upon all the necessaries of life. The two armies met in the plain of Campaldino, and a memorable victory was gained by the Guelphs; and fire and sword were again scattered wide in consequence of this. 1288. Campaldino.

1290. In 1290 another fierce tumult arose in Pistoia, between the most illustrious families, occasioned by a stroke of a sword given by Mone Sinibaldi, upon the face of Gio. Vergiolesi. Upon this signal there was a general insurrection; and it cost all the art and resolution of the government, to do justice, to prevent another general battle; for civil discords were beyond measure increased, and the people, without any bridle, were in the utmost danger of desolating the city, and leaving it empty of inhabitants. The exiles in the mean time took their stations among the mountains, where they fortified themselves, and made incursions from time to time, robbing, plundering, burning, and murdering, without controul.

1296. Another insurrection, in 1296, came very near to accomplish the final ruin of Pistoia; it ended in a bloody battle, in which many persons lost their lives, and the parties remained as inveterate and cruel after as they had been before it. Insurrections and tumults continued so frequent, that the bishop fled for fear, the merchants could do no business, and revolutions, insolence, robberies, assassinations, daily happened;* and such diffidence and distrust was fixed in the minds of all men, that all lived in continual fear and suspicion. These apprehensions were carried to such a length, that each one shut himself up in his house, with the friends he could collect, where he fortified himself; and those who had not towers to their habitations erected them.† Sixty towers were erected in this single city, some of which still remain ele-

* Le rivoluzioni, le insolenze, le rubberie, li assassina-
menti, che giornalmente accadevano, &c. Fioravanti,
p. 243.

† Fioravanti, p. 244.

vated on the roofs of the houses, some are now covered with roofs, others since included in the buildings as they have been enlarged, and others, from time to time, have been ruined and destroyed in the subsequent wars. It is to be noted, that, by law or by custom, towers might not be erected but by the nobility, and these had their measure; so that, to avoid envy, they could not exceed a limited height. But at this time the insurrections of the citizens and of the people of the castles in the high lands increasing, seditious and perverse people were found every where, which gave occasion and motives to all the citizens to think of their houses; and they began, through the whole state, to proceed to exemplary punishments, without regard to the age, condition, or sex of the persons, and thus, in a short time, to so many evils and tumults: and besides the quiet that resulted to the city, the stimulus had an effect on the castles in the mountains, viz. Cavinano, Lizzano, Popillio, Piteglio, St. Marcello, Mammiانو, and others, to make that universal peace which is mentioned in the archives of the city.

But the disorder was not confined to the common citizens in town or country, it originated in the divisions among the men of birth, fortune, and abilities, in the government; and contests for superiority among the anziani themselves, in 1298, 1298. arose to such a degree, that from argument, intrigue, and oratory, they proceeded to blows, and, after a rude encounter, the weaker party fled to the public archives, and shut and secured the door in the faces of their pursuers: those without, finding it impossible to pursue the affray, determined to take their vengeance by fire; accordingly, setting fire to the archives, those within remained, together with all the papers, files, and records, a prey and

1299.

Cancel-
lieri.

and a triumph to devouring flames. This terrible event, as may well be believed, produced still greater tumults and confusions, which were terminated at last by a calamity of another kind, more terrible, if not more destructive, a continuance of earthquakes for eight days together, which shook down houses and towers more effectually than the inhabitants were able to do. This event, which was believed by some to be a judgement of Heaven for the animosities of the citizens, it was hoped would promote peace and benevolence among them; but they soon revived, with more wickedness than ever, their ancient dissensions. The family of Cancellieri, at this time having most influence, both by the riches they possessed, and by their great numbers, amounting to an hundred men in arms, as brave as they were haughty, were become formidable to all the other families in Pistoia, to such a degree that all, both in the city and country, stood in fear of them. It happened that Carlino di Gualfredi, and Dore, or Amadore, the son of William Cancellieri, being together in a cellar, where they had drunk too freely, fell into a squabble, in which Dore was beaten, and insulted with outrageous language, which offended him so highly that he meditated a cruel revenge. Going out of the wine cellar in this temper of mind, Dore went, late as it was at night, and laid himself down in a corner of the street by which Carlino was used to pass, and there happening to see Vanni, the brother of Carlino, on horseback, without thinking of his innocence, gashed him in the face by a blow with a target, and by another stroke cut off part of his left hand. In this deplorable condition Vanni was carried to his father, who, seeing his son so barbarously treated, was so inflamed with resentment, that, disregarding

Fioravanti.

45

ing all laws divine and human, he began to meditate his revenge. At this moment the extravagance of his son was reported to William, and affected him with such grief and disgust, that he thought of averting any unfortunate consequences by an act of submission; and he sends his guilty son to the father and brothers of the man he had injured, to ask their pardon in his own name and in that of his afflicted father. But all in vain; for scarcely had Gualfredi cast his eyes on Dore, when he seized him, and, without regard to the goodness of his father, cut off one of his hands upon a horse manger, and gashed him in the face, in the same manner as had been done to Vanni his son. By this atrocious deed, done in cool blood and a sober hour, the father and brothers of Dore were so exasperated, that, in order to obtain some signal revenge, they united the force of their friends and relations, filled the city with brawls, discords, and murder, and divided not only the family of Cancellieri, but the whole city, into two parties. The Cancellieri were at that time very numerous, very rich, and in near degrees of blood related and allied; some of them were derived from the lady Nera, and others from the lady Bianca, both of them wives of M. Cancelliero, the first author of the surname of his family; but now no longer regarding their consanguinity, they became so perverse as to attend to nothing but the destruction of each other; and reviving the memory of the ladies, from whom the ancestors of Carlino and Dore had their original, the followers of Carlino took the name of Bianchi, and the followers of Dore that of Neri: and the people being already infected with diabolical passions, the Ghibellines took the part of the Bianchi, and the Guelphs that of the Neri: and from this time the two factions

of

of the city began to be called Bianchi and Neri, and frequent bloody battles were fought in the city between them.

* The whole people in the city and country became divided into Bianchi and Neri, and the mutual slaughters of men and burning of houses came very near to ruin the country. There was not a person who was not obliged to assume one of these names, and side with one of the parties. Recourse at last was had to Florence, to assist the magistrates in countrouling these parties; and the heads of the parties were banished, all except Bertacca, far advanced in age, and one of the knights of St. Mary, an order which had been instituted by Urban the Fourth to pacify the factions. It was confined to the nobility, invested with white robes with a red cross, and two red stars in a white field; but with all its pomp and sanctity, had very little influence to correct the errors of an imperfect government. The Cancellieri took refuge in Florence, those of the Neri in the house of the Donati, and those of the Bianchi in that of the Cerchi; and infected Florence at last to such a degree, that those party distinctions became as
1301. common and as mischievous in that city as in Pistoia. At this time the Tuscans, holding themselves free from all subjection to the empire, and regulating all things according to the caprice of parties unbalanced in their governments, the pestiferous venom spreading wider every day in the minds of the people, the two factions aiming at nothing less than each other's total destruction, had for their object the ambitious desire of do-

* Vid. Ferreti Vicentino, lib. ii. apud Muratori, tom. ix.—*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Muratori Annal. tom. viii, p. 2, 3.—Cosi le maledette Sette, si andavano dilatando per tutta la Toscana.

mineering without controul. With this maxim, which is characteristic of the seditious, these factions joined in the city of Florence to trample on the laws; and the party Bianchi succeeded to drive out by force the party Neri, and assumed the dominion of the city.

But before the end of the year, another revolution was effected both in Florence and Pistoia, and the houses of many of the principal people levelled with the ground. The Florentines, among whom the party Neri governed, in 1301, suspecting that the Bianchi, now banished from their city, would, with the assistance of the Bianchi who ruled in Pistoia, rise again with new force, entered into a combination with Lucca for the total destruction of Pistoia; and a war succeeded, which lasted many years, and extended to all the cities of Tuscany, introducing the distinctions of Neri and Bianchi, and several revolutions, in all of them. But the war against Pistoia was maintained by Florence and Lucca in concert, till Pistoia was taken, its country divided, and its people persecuted and oppressed, when, finally, they refused to receive a podesta from Lucca and Florence. This occasioned another army to be sent against them. The Pistoians then called in the mediation of Sienna; by whose decision it was ordained, that the podesta and captain of the people for Pistoia should not be chosen by the Lucchese and Florentines, but by the Pistoians themselves, provided that the election should always fall upon some citizen of Florence or Lucca. This award was supported by the Tedici, Ricciardi, Roffi, Lazzari, and Sinibaldi, and others their followers, against the will of the Taviani, Ughi, and Cancellieri, and their adherents both among the grandees and popular citizens. This difference of opinion occasioned

fioned quarrels and dissensions. The three families could not bear that the five families should *lord it over the city ; each of these parties, therefore, striving to drive out the other, without regarding the expence or inconvenience, assembled their friends and forces, marched through the country, laid waste, combated, and assassinated, in defiance of all government. But in the end, the Taviani having fallen into an ambuscade in the midst of their enemies, near a river, some were killed, others made prisoners, and the rest dispersed as fugitives ; and their fortrefs delle Piere di Montecuccoli, now called Valdibura, and the church of St. Simon, where they had been used to retreat, were sacked and burnt.

1316. In 1316, the Pistoians conceived a jealousy of the prosperous fortune of Uguccione, not only on account of a signal victory he had obtained against the Guelphs, but because he had been made lord of Pisa and Lucca, and had it in contemplation to reduce Pistoia to his power. But dissimulating their fears, and to make him friendly and benevolent to their city, the Pistoians chose him for their podesta. Coming to Pistoia, he restored the Cancellieri, the Taviani, the Ughi, and Sinibaldi.

1317. In 1317 the Pistoians, by reason of the turbulence in Tuscany, put themselves under the protection of Robert, king of Naples. Castruccio

1318. Antelminelli, captain general of the wars of the Lucchese, having conducted to a happy issue many enterprizes for that community, thought of reducing to its dominion the city of Pistoia by the means of its Bianchi exiles : but, after many skirmishes and mutual ravages of each other's terri-

* Signoreggiassero la citta.

tory, a battle fought between him and Giulione, who commanded the Pistoian forces against him, in which a decisive victory was obtained by the latter, produced a treaty of peace between them, one article of which was, that the exiles should be restored; the Neri consenting to this rather than risk a renewal of the war.

In 1321, Uberto Cancellieri executed the office of podesta in the city of Padua, to the greatest satisfaction of that people. And the same year, Gio. Panciatici gave clear proofs of fidelity and courage in the office of commissary of Romagna, under Clement the Fifth and the people of Florence. 1321.

From 1321 to 1330, the history of this republic is filled with wars, seditions, and intrigues, all set on foot by the different contending parties, in order to elevate some individual, a favourite, or a tool of their own, for the sovereign of the state. The simple heads of the story must suffice.—Castruccio commences a destructive war upon the frontiers to obtain the sovereignty of Pistoia for himself. Pittecciani betrays many castles into his hands to favour his designs, being probably inclined to that party; Pittecciani, however, is beheaded for treason by the Pistoians. Amidst these calamities, Ormanno Tedici conceives the design of making himself the sovereign of Pistoia. The want of rain for eight months, and the devastations of war, had occasioned a famine in Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoia. Upon this occasion Tedici, and Vanni Laz- Tedici.
zari, both rich and powerful, as well as proud and Vanni
ambitious men, and consequently jealous of each Lazzari.
other as rivals, appear upon the stage; their intrigues are full of all that duplicity and hypocrisy which is universal on such occasions.* Tedici

* Fioravanti, lib. xix.

persuades the Pistoians to a truce with Castruccio, and seizes the piazza and palace of the anziani with his partisans; is made lord of Pistoia, and reforms the magistrates of the city, and concludes the truce with Castruccio, much against the will of the other party. Having gone through all the ceremonies of a revolution, that is to say, reversed every thing, recalled exiles, &c. and governed the city fourteen months, his nephew, Philip di For-tebraccio Tedici, a youth full of ambition, conspired to take away the sovereignty from his uncle, and assume it to himself. To this end he began by corresponding with the Guelphs in exile, and by infusing into them a belief that his uncle entertained a secret correspondence with Castruccio to deliver Pistoia in his hands. The nephew, by other artificial discourses and simulated manners, exerted himself with the Guelphs to depose his uncle, and restore all the banished and scattered members of the Guelph party. His fictions were credited, the resolution was taken with alacrity, they united themselves with the impostor, and, the better to obtain their desires, communicated their intentions to Neruccio Conte de Sarteano, a Guelph gentleman of prudence and sagacity, and requested his counsel and assistance; who, deceived by the relation of facts, so well invented and coloured by Philip, acknowledged, that if remedy was not immediately provided, Pistoia would fall into the hands of Castruccio; and offered them his cavalry, and promised to exert all his force to obtain the ends they desired. The uncle discovering the conspiracy, complained to his nephew, who roundly asserted it to be a fiction of malice; and went immediately to the heads of the plot, told them that the abbé his uncle was informed of all, held a short consultation with them, in which it was re-
solved

solved to rise at once, and carry into execution what they had intended. The conspirators assembling in the morning, and taking arms in season, rushed with Philip to the piazza, scattered the guards, by putting to death all who resisted, took the place, ran through the city, assaulted the palace of the anziani, occupied the gates, and garnished the walls with their people, and Philip remained lord and sovereign of Pistoia. This done, Philip called together the council of the people, obtained the title of captain, and taking the sovereignty of the city on himself, reformed it with new anziani and magistrates, and, governing severely, made himself feared by all men. The abbé Tedici, having lost the lordship of Pistoia, and eager to regain the possession of it, machinated with his other nephews and adherents to throw out of the window of the public palace his nephew Philip; and going with his followers to the palace, he was introduced alone to a conference with the artful Philip, by his express order, who immediately ordered the gates to be shut against the other conspirators, and with a very few words again imposed on his uncle, and made him prisoner. Philip, thus liberated from the snares of his uncle, suddenly renewed the truce with Castruccio. He conducted his negotiations, both with Florence and Castruccio, with so much duplicity, that he deceived both: there are few examples of deeper simulation, more exquisite address, or of selfish knavery of a blacker dye, than he practised with his uncle, with the Florentines, and Castruccio. After obtaining of the Florentines the creation of his son a knight of the golden spur, three thousand golden florins for himself, and noble matches and rich dowries for his two daughters, of the Florentines, he married himself to Dialta,

Panciati-
ca.

the daughter of Castruccio, and delivered Pistoia into his hands. Castruccio immediately informs the emperor Louis of Bavaria of his new acquisition ; and Louis sends to this great man, so faithful and ardent in his service, a commission to govern Pistoia as his imperial vicar. Florence makes war to recover the city ; but are beaten by Castruccio, who receives the emperor afterwards in Pistoia, and is made by him duke both of Lucca and Pistoia, and soon after dies. If he had lived, the example would probably have here been complete ; the continual altercations of the principal families having completely overturned the constitution, and introduced an absolute monarchy : but his death opened a door for still further contentions. M. Vinciguerra di Aftancallo Pancia-tica, prefect of the royal militia of France, and a general in the wars of Normandy, came into the service of the Florentines at this time, with the character of general, and rendered himself memorable to posterity, and most grateful to his family, by having built, in four years, his superb palace in Pistoia, in the parish of St. Matthew. The sons of the deceased Castruccio thought, by the favour of the Vergiolesi, Chiarenti, Tedici, and other powerful families in Pistoia, to get themselves acknowledged as sovereigns of that city ; and to this end procured an armed force to take possession of the piazza and palace of the anziani : but the imperial vicar, with his 400 German guards, and by the favour of the Muli, Gualfreducci, and Panciatichi, families sufficiently powerful, gave battle to the sons of Castruccio, and drove them out of Pistoia into the mountains of Lucca. The Florentines, taking advantage of the divisions and confusions in Pistoia, excited their people suddenly to war, and went and laid siege to Carmignano ;

gnano; and after many fierce battles for fifteen days it surrendered, which made the Florentines, with the Guelph exiles, very insolent, ravaging the country, preventing the farmers from sowing their grounds, and threatening even the walls of Pistoia.

In this state of things, there arose in Pistoia two potent factions; one denominated from the house of Vergiolesi, and the other from that of Panciatichi. The Vergiolesians adhering to the government of the imperial vicar, by means of the fear of the 400 Germans who were in Pistoia, induced a good part of the people to refuse their consent to a peace with the Florentines and Guelphs. The Panciatichans, with their followers, not judging good and useful for the city the sentiment of the Vergiolesians, esteemed it more advantageous to make peace than to maintain the country in subjection to the avidity of the Bavarian and his ministers. But the other party determined to interrupt the treaty, by exciting the city to an uproar, and by parading the streets with their Germans, by whom many of their people were assassinated. The people, finding themselves thus ill-treated, collecting together, fell upon these Germans: there followed a skirmish, so serious, that many were killed, many surrendered prisoners, and those who escaped were obliged to fly with their vicar to Lucca. In the mean time Ricciardo di Lazzaro Cancellieri, a Guelph exile from Pistoia, secretly assisted by the Florentines, and rendered powerful both by the money and the bravery of his Guelphs, understanding the disunion in Pistoia, marched into the mountains of Pistoia with great terror, to acquire possession of some confiscated castles of his party. This occasioned great disgust and alarm to all in the city, and occasioned Giovanni Panciatichi

ciaticchi to go out with his faction to oppose him ; who attacking his enemy with great spirit, prevented him from making himself the lord of that extensive country. The Panciaticchi, then, the Muli, and the Gualfreducci, pushing the advantage they had gained, and suspecting some treason from the Vergiolesi, applying themselves at once to cut off all the means to such designs, with all diligence applied to the anziani to assemble the general council, by whom were banished and imprisoned out of Pistoia all the sons and relations of Castruccio, Philip Tedici, Charles his son, with all their families, and confiscated all their goods and estates : and to make sure of the imprisonment or the deaths of the Tedici, a reward was offered of five hundred florins of gold. This done, they made the peace with Florence, and four knights of the golden spur were made by the Florentines, two of the family of Panciaticchi, one of the family of Muli, and one of the Gualfreducci, in gratitude for their important services ; and both cities submitted to the church, and banished the emperor.

The common people about this time began to be weary of the cabals of the principal families, but were too ignorant to contrive any method to restrain them, but that which always renders them still more desperate and destructive to the community, an attempt to bring all upon a level.

The fashion at funerals had become so expensive, that every one exceeded his proper abilities in making a show ; and the Pistoians, not without giving occasion for ridicule, attempted to regulate the expence upon such occasions, by decreeing a rigorous uniform for the use of all. At the same time, considering the blessings and advantages of uniform and clear laws, and that the people by
the

the means of them are rendered tractable, and less haughty and audacious, they prepared certain statutes and provisions for the good government of their city. And as it appeared to them that some of the principal families arrogated to themselves an undue share in the management of public affairs, and were disposed by force to oppress the popular men, they determined that all offences against the popular men should be severely punished, and that the next noble relation of any grandee should be obliged to pay any pecuniary mulct which should be inflicted, in case his estate was not sufficient to discharge it; and in case the delinquent was sentenced to a capital punishment, and escaped by any means from justice, his next relation among the grandees should pay a thousand pounds. Although nothing can be conceived more inconsistent with liberty, equity, or humanity, than these laws, yet the terror of them is said to have procured a momentary tranquillity; especially as certain companies of armed militia of the popular party were instituted in the four quarters of the city, to force them, arbitrary, oppressive, and cruel as they were, into execution. But this militia was not long able to controul the spirit of disorder, and it being necessary to provide a stronger bridle for unquiet and seditious spirits, a new and most rigorous law must be made to beat down their arrogance and insolence. The plebeians at this time feeling themselves the true and real grandees, and at the highest summit of power, ordained by a law, that all those, of whatever condition they might be, who should give themselves up to an evil life, and give offence to the popular party, and disturb the quiet of the city or country, should be, as a punishment for their actions, denominated "grandees" (*grandi, e magnati*).

magnati), and excluded from the magistracies, and all management of public affairs, and be subjected to other punishments. It is true that the gentlemen had still some share in the government, because the plebeians, that they might not make too many enemies at once, did not seek to exclude from public offices all the nobles, but selected from the number divers houses of the most pacific, and the greatest lovers of justice, as it was pretended, and placed them among the popular men, to take away their power from the others, and secure it to themselves. No gentleman however of the popular party was permitted to make any ostentation of his nobility ; so that if any one of the popular men was made a knight by any prince or republic, he was suddenly deprived of his office ; whence many of the nobles, who wished to enjoy all the benefits of the popular men, were obliged, by a simulated respect to the plebeians, to lay aside their arms and surnames, to distinguish themselves from their peers recorded for grandees. Other nobles there were, who chose rather to be excluded from all public offices, and live exposed to the rigorous laws of the grandees, than to lay aside their arms or surnames, jealous of obscuring the ancient hereditary splendour of their ancestors. In this however they were deceived, for the principal popular men took care to preserve their distinction, by a law, " That if by a statute nobles were made populars, they do not lose by that their nobility : " and by another law, declaring many to be magnati, it is subjoined, " the rest we understand to be populars, although born of noble race and progeny." From this it was contended, that those were deceived who measured the antiquity and nobility of their own or other families by the

the rule of the enjoyment of the principal magistracies.

In 1332 several of the most powerful families, 1332.
arrogating too much authority in public affairs, or, in other words, being found by the plebeians to have too much influence for them to be able to controul, such diffensions and disturbances arose, that it was thought necessary to declare them in the number of the grandees; and accordingly it appears by the records, that the Cancellieri, Gualfreducci, Muli, Ughi, Panciatichi, Taviani, Ricciardi, Tedici, Sinibaldi, Zebertelli, Vergiolesi, Roffi, Lazzari, Forteguerrri, Visconti, Foresi, and others, that is, all the principal families in the nation, were declared to be magnati, stigmatized with that odious appellation, and excluded from all share in public offices. In this year severe sumptuary laws against effeminate luxury were made by the council, the solemnities and expences of weddings were regulated, and the cloathing of men. Extravagant fashions in these things had tempted most people to exceed their revenues, had multiplied debtors, and rendered dubious and difficult the credit of merchants: certain wise citizens were authorised to prepare regulations of this kind; and they succeeded to make such wise laws, that frauds and abuses became less common. Yet the caprice and instability of this government appears very remarkable at this time; for although the Cancellieri were the year before recorded for grandees, yet in 1333 Ricciardo Cancellieri was 1333.
declared a knight by the council of the people of Pistoia, and was feasted at the public expence. When any one was made a knight by any sovereign, or any city, he became suddenly noble, although he had not been so by birth; for birth, at that time, was neither necessary to nobility nor to
E 4 knighthood.

knighthood. The ceremony of arming the knight was made with great solemnity, receiving the military girdle from the other knights.*

1336. In 1336 the Pistoians lamented the death of their most beloved citizen Cino, their greatest lawyer and judge, the master of Bartolo and Petrarch.

1342. In 1342 Pistoia was obliged to capitulate with the duke of Athens, who held the government of it three years, and ruled it as tyrannically as he did Florence.

1344. In 1344 the government was recovered from the duke of Athens; and, to remedy the infinite tumults which were daily excited by the power of the families of the magnati, who by their riches and adherents made their authority and influence prevail, it was ordained, that in time of any rumour or uproar it should not be lawful for any popular man to enter the house of any grandee, and if by chance any one should be in such a house at such a time, he should immediately quit it, that he might not be under the temptation to assist the grandee, upon pain of the loss of all public offices, and confiscation of all his goods. And none of these powerful families, whom they branded with the name of grantees, could go into the service of any prince, city, or republic, if he had not first obtained the permission of the general council, on pain of being declared rebels: and that the families of the grantees might be known to all, the following description and declaration of them was made and published by authority; viz. "Omnes de domo Cancellariorum, omnes de domo Guafreducciorum, Tediciorum, Lazarorum, Viscontorum, Panciaticorum, Ugorum, Mulorum, Ta-

* Fioravanti, p. 301.

vianorum, Sinibaldorum, Vergiolensium, Rubeorum, Ricciardorum ;" which grandees, in time of any rumour or strife, may not go out of their houses, unless called by the captain gonfalonier and anziani.

The Pistoians, informed of the robberies, assassinations, and havock, which were daily committed by certain rebels in the superior mountains, and of the treasons plotting by those of Serravalle against the peace and quiet of the commons of Pistoia, they did not neglect to use the necessary expedition to chastise the insolence of the former, and to divert the malignity of the latter : against the former they sent out a body of soldiers, who put the rebels to flight, and pulled down their houses ; against the latter they promulgated severe laws, with a promise of a thousand pounds reward to any one who would accuse an accomplice of treason. 1345.

To shew the inefficacy of all such democratical despotism against the principal families in a community, as the declarations of grandeeism were, Frederick Cancellieri, surnamed for his great valour Barbarossa, had influence enough to obtain so great a distinction and so popular and honourable a post as the command of the troops, raised and paid by Pistoia, to go upon the expedition for the conquest of the Holy Land ; Angiolo Cancellieri was made a bishop, and rose fast in the church ; and Nicholo Cancellieri, as captain of the Florentines, acquired immortal glory by besieging in his own palace, and deposing from the government of Florence, Walter duke of Athens ; and Marcello Cancellieri also made himself illustrious as a divine, and obtained the place of auditor of the tower of Rome. 1346.

So much of the time of the husbandman, the artisan, 1349.

artisan, and the people in general, was taken up in war at home and abroad, and the fields were so often laid waste, that it was impossible to obtain a constant and certain supply of provisions for the people. The consequence of this was famine and the plague, two other evils in those days springing, with innumerable others, from their imperfect government. The plague and famine, which, in the course of the past year, had nearly deprived Pistoia of inhabitants, at length ceasing, and the few that remained were so grieved and astonished at such a calamity, that one would have thought their minds too much softened and humbled to engage again for some time in their nefarious tumults: but the few surviving citizens found as much disunion and animosity among them as ever. Fresh disorders arose, and there was no possibility of restraining the indignation and fury of the two families of Panciatica and Cancellieri, who, upon some dissatisfaction arising among them, fell into such quarrels, that, as each party had many adherents, many murders and much slaughter followed; and much greater would have ensued, if the people had not run together to separate the combatants, and compelled them to retire to their houses. To prevent the prevalence and increase of these disorders, the citizens called together the general council, by whom it was ordered that diligent inquiry should be made after the heads of the tumult, and a rigorous prosecution was commenced against Richard Cancelliero and Gio. Panciaticchi, the heads of the two families; who, although they humbled themselves, and asked pardon for the error they had committed, and made an entire reconciliation with each other, were condemned in a fine of 500 pounds each, to be paid to the commons of Pistoia, and were obliged to ratify by

an oath, in full council, the peace they had made between them. But notwithstanding all this, neither of the families really laid aside their envy, jealousy, hatred, and malice against the other; for their principals having rather from the fear of justice than desire of tranquillity, made the peace between them, they applied themselves daily to provide arms and men, and finally proclaimed themselves openly to be mortal enemies to each other, and gave rise to the factions of the Panciatichi and Cancellieri, from whence arose such actions and events as brought a final ruin on themselves, their relations, their friends, and the city itself.

“ I reflect, with astonishment and stupefaction,” says Fioravanti, “ that the Pistoians, abandoning, without cause or reason, their native sagacity, and becoming factionaries, should have fomented the passions of these two particular families; have contended for the vanity of pre-eminence, at an expence of so many crimes against the public peace; and have employed all their forces against the tranquillity of liberty in that city, celebrated through the whole world for men illustrious in arms, in letters, in sanctity, and wisdom; prudent in her laws and in her government to such a degree, that foreign republics had followed her example in their laws. Nevertheless, thus it was, for giving themselves up a prey to their griefs and afflictions, they deprived themselves of all repose, and making the passions of a few common to them all, lost their liberty and their government; blessings which till this time had been preserved not without the envy of their rival cities!” This writer needed not, however, have been so much surprised, if he had considered the nature of man, and compared it with the nature of a government in which all authority is collected into one center. An attentive reader will

will be surprised at the boast of that tranquillity and liberty hitherto enjoyed ; and will be at a loss to find one moment in the whole history where there could have been any degree of either.

1350. Arbitrary laws of exclusion and disqualification, and awkward attempts to expose to popular odium the principal families, made without the least modesty or equity by a popular majority, will never have weight enough with the people to answer the design of them. Those families will still retain an influence with the people, and have a party at their command, very nearly equal to that of the majority ; and being justly irritated and provoked at the injustice done them, will never want a disposition to attempt dangerous enterprises. The family of the Cancellieri, though stigmatized and disqualified as grandees, were still held in great esteem among all ranks for their riches and numerous adherents. Richard, the head of the family, stimulated by his own resentment and ambition, and no doubt excited by his partisans, had the presumption to entertain thoughts of making himself sovereign lord of his country. Courting the people to this end by his liberality, affability, and courtesy, he waited only for a favourable opportunity to acquire it. Having filled his house with a large number of persons, his countrymen and foreigners, he suddenly marched out with these and his relations to assault the piazza and the palace of the anziani ; but being met by the captain of the families of the anziani, with his men, and with these many of the grandees, and a multitude of the little people, adherents of the Panciatichi, the Cancellieri were repulsed with great spirit, and perceiving their lives in great danger, they fled and shut themselves up in the house of the Bonducci their friends

friends. Their factionaries, seeing themselves without an head, in disorder and defeated, fled in despair out of the city by the gate of St. Mark. The Panciatichi, having thus conquered Richard, proceeded with great violence to burn the houses of the Cancellieri. Richard was outrageous at the destruction of his houses and the flight of his followers; but being informed that they were waiting for him in the country, he scaled the wall in the night, went out to meet them, took the castle of Mariana, and there fortified himself. With the Cancellieri on their flank, and Gio. Visconti of Milan, and lord of Bologna and all Lombardy, in their neighbourhood, each with a party desirous of making them lords of Pistoia, the Pistoians were obliged to put themselves under the protection of Florence, upon certain conditions. Richard Cancellieri hearing this, went to Florence, and with plausible reasons made it there believed that the Panciatichi held a secret correspondence with Visconti, to deliver Pistoia into his hands. The Florentines thought they might as well govern Pistoia themselves, and have it wholly at their devotion, and immediately gave Richard the command of horse and foot, to go and subdue it. The attack was made in the night, and would probably have succeeded, if the ensigns of Florence had not been imprudently displayed, which so enraged the Pistoians, that resolving to die rather than submit, they repulsed their invaders. The Florentines sent a formidable reinforcement; but the Pistoians defended themselves with intrepidity till they assembled their general council; and although Gio. Panciatichi was an infamous grandee, he was still the soul of the public, and no other man had enough of the confidence of his fellow-citizens

- citizens to be sent ambassador and entrusted with their salvation. He executed his commission, convinced the Florentines that they had been deceived by Cancellieri, and made an honourable
1352. peace; and in 1352 the Pistoians assisted Florence effectually in defending itself against the army of Visconti of Milan.
1353. In 1353 the attention of all parties was turned to peace, to put an end for once to all the troubles of Italy, and it was finally concluded between all the Guelph cities of Tuscany, viz. Florence, Sienna, Pistoia, Peragia, Arezzo, city of Castello, and others, of one side, and Gio. Visconti on the other, with certain pacts and conditions; among which Visconti released freely into the hands of Pistoia the castles and fortresses of Piteccio, Torri, Trepio, Fossato, Montecelli, and Sambuca; and on all sides were released all the exiles. By virtue of which article were restored to Pistoia the families of the Ammanati, Tedici, Vergiolesi, Gualfreducci, and others, and all their property was restored to them.
1354. Richard Cancellieri, nevertheless, in 1354, being still obnoxious to the Panciaticchi, did not cease to strengthen his party, by soliciting the friendship of those who might be useful to his views. To this end he formed an intimate friendship with the captain of the guards at Florence, of whom he expected to make an essential use in all occurrences. But the Panciaticchi, jealous of this intimacy, complained of it bitterly to the Florentines, who, to please them, dismissed their officer, but at the same time exhorted the complainants to live quietly, and lay down their arms; for that at all events, and at any expence, as authors of the peace between the two families, they were determined to maintain it. At this time some disquiet arose between

tween the different members of the Cancellieri family, one of whom, Pievano, joined the Panciatichi, and brought an accusation before the Florentines against Richard, that he meditated against them some great treason. A process was instituted, Richard was found innocent, and the accuser and the heads of the insurrection were severely punished, while Richard was honourably acquitted.

The emperor Charles the Fourth made a grant to the Pistoians to govern themselves by their own laws and laudable customs, in a free popular state, under the guidance of the anziani and gonfalonier of justice, whom he made perpetual vicars of the holy Roman empire. That this sketch may not be protracted to an immeasurable length, we may pass over the rebellions and wars between 1355 and 1376, when the dissatisfactions among the citizens of Pistoia were so increased, by the reform of officers in 1373, that tumults arose to such a height, that the Florentines, who desired nothing more than to become lords of Pistoia, or to see it destroyed, because it was rich, noble, and powerful, thought it a favourable opportunity to insinuate themselves with their meditated designs. Under the specious colour of peace and quiet, they annulled the late reform; and by new laws, under pretence of taking away the scandalous names of the two factions of the Panciatichi and Cancellieri, divided the offices into two orders, calling one the company of St. John, and the other the company of St. Paul; so that the moiety of the citizens, exclusively of the grandees, who could not enjoy before the benefit of the imbursement, were now imbrorsed in the purse of the company of St. John, and the other moiety in the purse of the company of St. Paul; and to obtain the supreme magistrate there were drawn four, one for the quarter of the purse

1355.

1376.

purse of St. John, and four, in the proportion of one for each quarter, for the purse of St. Paul; and the gonfalonier was to be drawn alternately, once from one purse, and another time from the other. And because the company of St. John was protected by the Cancellieri, it immediately followed that it declared itself of that faction; and that of St. Paul, protected by the Panciatichi, declared itself openly of the faction of Panciatichi: and in this manner, instead of extinguishing the fire, it increased to such a degree, that it spread not only in the city, but through all its territory; and Pistoia was reduced to a condition so deplorable, as to be obliged to abandon all domestic society and familiarity, every one being suspicious not only of his neighbours and relations, but of his bosom friends.

1383. In 1383 all ranks of people exceeded their abilities in expences at funerals, and in other effeminate luxury: sumptuary laws were made against extravagant expences; but the historian confesses, that although he thought that there was reason for them, yet, as he could not read them himself without laughing, he feared he should do no good by relating them.

The Pistoians having bestowed all their endeavours and studies to obtain a peace with Bologna, with whom they had long been at war on account of boundaries, now hoped to live happily; but they were again tormented with insurrections, attended with rapine, burnings, and murders innumerable.

1390. The news arrived in Pistoia, in 1390, that John Galeazzo Visconti had sent against the Florentines an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of Jacoppo de Verme. This war lasted several years, and was brought upon the city by its divisions.

The

The Pistoians had now been eight and thirty years in some sense dependent on Florence; for in 1350, after the great commotions, they had entered into a stipulation, by Richard Cancellieri their fellow-citizen, with the people of Florence, to keep for ever a purse of six popular Florentine citizens, from which should be drawn their captain of the people. In this year, 1398; for the sake of a more intimate connection and familiarity with the commons of Florence, it was farther stipulated, that for the future the podesta of Pistoia should be a Florentine.

Continual animosities had occasioned in the minds of the citizens such weariness, grief, and compunction, that it is impossible to read without commiseration their awkward attempts to reconcile themselves with one another, and to extirpate their civil discords, with which Pistoia was furiously agitated. The whole people, of every age, sex, and condition, were persuaded to go in procession through the city, cloathed in white sacks, to ask mutually each other's pardon, and to cry, "Misericordia e pace!" (mercy and peace!) and there can be no doubt that a momentary benevolence, and many acts of Christian charity, must have been produced by a pilgrimage so solemn and affecting; but the defects in the constitution of their government were not amended by it, and the troubles of the people soon revived.

The jealousies of the Cancellieri and Panciatichi revived, and proceeded to such lengths, that in 1401 Richard Cancellieri, to revenge himself, began a secret treaty with Visconti duke of Milan, to deliver the city of Pistoia into his hands, that he might govern it with his absolute power, and exterminate the faction of the Panciatichi. The plot was discovered, and Richard and all his children

dren declared rebels, and their houses reduced to ashes. Richard in the country joined with other exiles, and burned the houses of the Panciatichi. The Pistoians were now alarmed with the danger, from the Visconti and Cancellieri in concert, that they were obliged to put themselves into the hands of the Florentines. The Cancellieri carried on the war however with so much spirit and success, that, although the duke of Milan died in 1402, Richard was able, in 1403, to obtain a peace, by which the state of Pistoia was obliged to restore his family to all their estates, and make good all their losses. The Panciatichi agreed to this, that the consent of all the leaders might be obtained to lay this burden on the people, by whom the damages done to the Panciatichi too were to be repaired.

1420. In 1420 it was ordained, that in the new reform of magistrates and public offices, the families who had been stigmatized with the opprobrious name of grandees should be restored to the rights of citizens, and share in the management of public affairs. But these beginning, with their usual impertinence, to procure that every thing should be done as they would have it, and all offices disposed by their influence, quarrels and dissensions among the citizens arose, by which the whole city fell into the greatest agitation: whence it was necessary, for the maintenance of the public peace, to exclude them afresh from public affairs. These families were the Panciatichi, Rossi, Sinibaldi, Ughi, Taviani, Vergiolesi, Lazari, Cancellieri, Ricciardi, Visconti, Gualfreducci, and Tedici.

1439. The ladies indulged in great expences in the furniture of their houses, and in the superfluous ornaments of their persons and families. The general council thought it necessary to interpose, and prohibit

prohibit all clothes to be lined with foreign furs, or to be embroidered with pearls, gold, or silver, or other expensive and superfluous decorations; and because that all former laws for the same purpose had been found ineffectual, they were now renewed with the most rigorous penalties.

In 1455 a civil war broke out in the territory of Pistoia, called Alliana, between the Cancellieri and Panciatici, which spread into the city, and went to such furious lengths that the ladies themselves took arms, and fought with as much bravery as the gentlemen, to revenge the slaughter of their relations; and before this commotion was ended, the slaves, or what they call their vassals or villains, took arms. And no method to restore peace could be devised, till Florence was requested to send for commissaries, who compelled the Cancellieri and Panciatici to take an oath to be peaceable, and who feasted the villains till they were quieted. 1455.

Insurrections, tumults, and civil wars, continued in 1476, and indeed, with very little intermission, till 1485. 1476.

In 1485 Baldinotto Baldinotti, foreseeing that Lorenzo de Medici might possibly arrive at the sovereignty of Pistoia, considering the great reputation, influence, and authority, which he enjoyed in that city, laid a plot to take him off. As a lover of the liberty of his country, he thought it just and honourable to go with his own son, and lie in wait in the way between Poggio and Cajano, by which he knew Lorenzo was to pass, in his journey to Pistoia, to the feast of St. James. But the confidants of Lorenzo having discovered the design, the conspirators were without delay apprehended, carried prisoners to Florence, and there punished with death. Boldinotti. Lorenzo de Medici.

1488. Another civil war between the Cancellieri and Panciatichi, attended with its customary cruelty and devastation, occurred, and was not composed till the Florentines summoned four of each party, and compelled them to give security, that for the future no quarrels, murders, burnings, or robberies, should be committed in Pistoia. But this answered the end only in part, for the parties went out of the limits of the state, and there committed
1490. all sorts of cruelties on one another; and in 1490 the civil war was renewed in the city.
1494. On the death of the emperor Frederick the Third, Maximilian his son succeeded to the throne of the empire; but delaying his entry into Italy, gave occasion to Louis Sforza, tutor of the duke of Milan, to invite Charles the Eighth, king of France, to come to the conquest of Naples. Upon this occasion the Pistoians threw off their subjection to Florence, or rather broke off the connection. But this acquisition of liberty and independence had a short duration; for the Pistoians knew they could enjoy no tranquillity under their own government, and with their own parties: after two years negotiation, they agreed to a new convention in 1496.
- 1496.
1497. The families of the grandees, or impertinents, as they were called, revived their pretensions to be admitted to the honours and public offices of the commonwealth; but as this was contrary to the popular will, and the passions and interest of their leaders, tumults ensued. The pretensions of these families were countenanced by the Florentines; but the popular men, in the plenitude of their power, opposed it with so much resolution, that nothing new was effected.
1498. Plague and famine raged in Pistoia to such a degree, that some were in hopes that the citizens would

would put an end to discord and sedition, and at least endeavour to enjoy peace; but the people, trampling under foot all laws, human and divine, began to renew, both in the city and the country, their oppositions and enmities, which proceeded to such feats of arms and mutual slaughter, that they were again obliged to have recourse to the Imperial vicars in Florence, to interpose and put an end to those strange accidents which threatened the total destruction of the country.

The dissensions of parties in the city and its territory being somewhat abated, the citizens began to flatter themselves with the hopes of quiet; but neglecting to provide a remedy against the emulations of private interest in individuals and families, by separating the executive power from the legislative, rivalries arose, which produced such ruin, both to the country and the contending families, as has been deplored by all subsequent generations. The fact was, that by the death of Buonaccorsi, a director of an hospital of St. Gregory, it was necessary to proceed to the election of a successor. On the 10th of October, 1499, had been balloted for, and approved as suitable, by the general council, four subjects or persons, among whom one, who should be confirmed and approved by the bishop of Pistoia according to the law, should obtain the office. The council having discharged their duty in the nomination of the four, the ordinary proceeded to reject two of them, one after another, and left the competition undecided between Piero Terchio and Barnardo Nutini, each of whom endeavoured to interest his friends in his favour. Terchio was protected by the Panciatichi, and Nutini by the Cancellieri. The bishop was at Florence, whence it happened that Salimbene Panciatichi

chi caused to be confirmed, as director of the hospital, his friend Terchio, by the canonical Jacob Panciatichi, under colour of his being the apostolical legate; and sending to Florence for the approbation of the bishop, the good prelate promised to comply. The Cancellieri hearing of this, went also to Florence to supplicate the bishop not to approve the election; but the bishop, who was determined to keep his word, would not listen to them. Seeing that they could not move him from his promise, they applied themselves to obtain the sollicitations of his friends and relations, with such assiduity and importunity, that the irresolute prelate was at last induced to comply with their request. The Panciatichi, understanding the strange resolution of the prelate, had recourse to the priori of the people and the gonfalonier of justice of their country, and obtained an order, that to Nutini, who had the smaller number of votes, the possession of the hospital should not be given, but to Terchio, who for good reasons ought to have it; and Terchio, accompanied by some of the Panciatichi, was placed in the government of the hospital. The Cancellieri, returning from Florence with the confirmation of the bishop in the person of Nutini, carried him to the hospital to give him possession, but found the place occupied; whereupon, returning to Florence, they carried their complaint to the rector; and, after much altercation between the parties, it was determined that the affair should be decided in a court of justice, and the cause committed to two lawyers. The judges determined that Nutini had been elected and canonically confirmed, and he was accordingly put into the office, against all that could be said or done by the Panciatichi, who, upon pain of being declared rebels, were obliged to

to abandon the hospital, which they had held well guarded, and give way to the execution of the sentence. The Cancellieri were made insolent by their victory, and sometimes by their words, and sometimes by their actions, assumed an haughty superiority over the contrary party; who, finding themselves deceived, offended, and derided, not only by the Cancellieri but by the bishop, went about venting and propagating their passions among the people: whence it happened, that hostilities beginning between these two families, they never ceased till they ruined the city of Pistoia.

The Panciatichi could not cancel from their minds the many and enormous injuries they had received from the Cancellieri, and now meditated a cruel revenge. On the 5th of February, 1500, they unexpectedly assaulted, in the piazza, Baccino Nutini and others, and having mortally wounded Georgio Tonti, they ran hastily through the city, and murdered all the Cancellieri, excepting some who had taken refuge in the palace of the lords priors. The Cancellieri who survived were not at all intimidated, because, having many adherents, it was easy for them to stir up against the Panciatichi the plebeians, who, alert at their instigation, shewed themselves such fierce prosecutors of the faction of the Panciatichi, that, appearing in arms, they all cried, "Vengeance! vengeance!" and in the tumult a multitude of the Panciatichi and their fautors were killed upon the spot; and their spirits became so exasperated, that both parties thought of nothing but making proselytes, and gaining followers. In May the Panciatichi assembled a great body of men, and seized the piazza, and more than half the city fortified themselves in the balconies, steeples, and towers, and devoted their whole time and attention to preparations for war.

1500.

The Cancellieri on their part, equally numerous in followers, fortified themselves in the other side of the city, and were assisted by such numbers of men, who came in from the mountains and plains in the country, that they composed a large army. In such a scene of turbulence, suspicions were so frequent and dangerous, that it became necessary for every man to declare himself; for both parties adopted the same maxim towards the moderate men and neutrals, "If you don't shew yourself our friend, we will shew ourselves your enemy." There was not a man, finally, who did not insert himself into all the injuries and insolence of a party; and frequent battles, sometimes in one street, and sometimes in another, both by night and by day, tormented the whole city, so that there was no time for the people to take any repose.

In this state of things arrived at Pistoia two commissaries, with five hundred men, sent by the Imperial vicars in Florence to put a check to the impetuosity of faction, who entered by the gate of Caldatica, and taking possession of the most important and advantageous posts, they gave orders to all to retreat and abandon their arms. These orders were scarcely promulgated, when there unexpectedly appeared a large body of armed men to the assistance of the Cancellieri, which by their adherents in Bologna had been sent; and, on the other side, a number of men from St. Marcello, and other neighbouring countries, to the succour of the Panciatici; and neither party being willing to give way to the other, they began, in the face of the Florentine guards, to strike each other so cruelly, that the faster their forces increased, the more were multiplied their insults, arsons, murders, and slaughters. The commissaries seeing all things

things rushing to destruction, ordered the heads of both parties to appear at Florence, and that the soldiers, both foreign and domestic, should go out of the city upon pain of rebellion, and extending the same threat to all who should entertain them in their houses. The Panciatichi were disposed to obey; but the Cancellieri, who were favoured by one of the commissaries, proceeded in their insolence, and making a jest of the orders, would not move: whence those ministers, seeing themselves little respected, and less obeyed, returned to Florence. The soldiers were gone out of the city, and the heads of the factions seeing themselves deprived of their strength, they set themselves to collecting the plebeians to their side, and studious of slaughter, a great body of people stood ready to begin a new affray. As the death of Georgio Tonti had been displeasing to the Cancellieri, they could not forget it, nor conquer their desire of revenge; with this view they occupied, with all their people, the piazza della Sala, and leaving a number to guard it, went with the rest to the little square of the Trinity, to pull down the houses of the Collesi, and then one of the Panciatichi; then they laid siege to the palace of Gualtieri Panciatichi; running through the streets, they killed Francis Nutini, and plundered his house, with that of Gabriel Visconti, Bernard Collesi, Matthew Collesi, and setting fire to all of them, they ran to attack the house of Astorre Panciatichi, from whence those of its faction having fled, this house remained in the power of its enemies, who stripped and robbed it. They then burned the houses of the Conti, those of Francisco Thomas Balducci, and that of Gori, archdeacon of St. Zenone, and auditor of the bishop Pandolfini. After so many pillages, burnings, and demolitions, they re-
turned

turned to the piazza, and rifled all the shops and stores of the Panciatichi, with whom coming to a cruel conflict, a large number on both sides perished. At this instant a powerful reinforcement of men arrived to the Panciatichi, who without loss of time renewed the attack upon the Cancellieri, and both parties fought in the parish of Our Lady of the Lily, and in that of St. Michael, with such desperation, that a great number on both sides were killed and wounded, and if a great rain had not parted the combatants, it seemed as if the whole race would have been here exterminated. But upon this occasion a truce was concluded. The heads of these factions were now summoned to Florence : thirty of them went, and were suddenly thrown into prison. A rigorous prosecution, as it is called, was commenced against them. Some were acquitted without any conditions of peace or truce ; others were punished by imprisonment ; some by sequestration of their property, and some were banished. This decision extinguished no part of the flames of revenge ; on the contrary, the rigour practised against some, and the lenity to others, gave rise to still greater insolence ; and in the face of the Florentines themselves, and in their own city, some of the acquitted Cancellieri committed excesses as outrageous as the former. Introduced by their friends, the malignants in Florence, secretly, at the shutting of the gates, set themselves to search for Andrew and Salimbe Panciatichi, to assassinate them ; and favoured by the obscurity of a foggy air, after two o'clock at night, they found it easy to put Salimbe to death, though Andrew had the good fortune to escape, by hiding himself in a joiner's shop. For this atrocious delinquency the faction was banished ; but having returned, and reinstated themselves

themselves in Pistoia, in defiance of justice, the factionaries soon came to another rupture: they confounded all things in such a manner, that there no longer remained any who dreaded any justice, divine or human; but scattering through the plains and mountains their execrable factions, nothing was heard of but quarrels, treasons, conflagrations, and murders. The two factions were at length weary of such inconveniencies and fatigues, and, to prepare themselves to combat with fresh breath, they made for a short time, and with common consent, a truce, each party providing themselves with arms, men, and provisions; and the Panciatichi, desirous of overcoming their enemies by any means, invented several new instruments and machines of war, and fortifying themselves with these, thought themselves invincible.

The Cancellieri fortified themselves, as well as the Panciatichi, with forts and bastions of timber, and machines of war, standing well upon their guard in their posts. The Panciatichi, no longer able to contain themselves, put in order all their people, made Palamidesse Panciatichi and Bartolomeo Collesi, their leaders, and arranged all their posts, officers, and soldiers. But while they were occupied in these dispositions, they unexpectedly found the opposite faction ready to meet them; the battle was fought, and the Cancellieri obtained a bloody victory, because the Panciatichi were abandoned by a large body of Lombards, whom they had hired for their defence. They did not, however, lose their courage, but re-assembling their partisans, and rallying their soldiers, they appeared again in a short time with greater numbers and ferocity than ever; and the engagement being renewed, for the short time that it lasted was so terrible and fatiguing, that both parties
were

were so exhausted and weakened, that they were constrained to retire with their wounded men to their posts. The Cancellieri having taken some repose, and, considering that they had the protection, or at least the countenance, of the new Florentine commissaries, by whose advice their associates had been restored to Pistoia, instead of being banished for the murder of Salimbe Panciatichi in Florence, they assumed fresh courage to attempt every means for the destruction of the Panciatichi. On the 9th of August they scoured all the streets and squares of the city, and wherever they found a Panciatichi they murdered him. They put to death also Bernardino Gai, and mortally wounded the Comte di Rigolo Bisconti; but many thinking it their duty to vindicate the Panciatichi, they fell with such impetuosity upon the rear of the Cancellieri, as obliged them to retire. In this state of things the Florentine commissaries cited to appear before them ten persons of each party; who, though they made their appearance, were detained in the palace of justice, and exhorted to peace, or at least to a temporary truce, would not accept of any of these proposals; and therefore the commissaries, not knowing what to do with them, dismissed them. Animated rather than terrified by this weakness of authority and the judicial power, they demanded all their followers confined in various places, and, providing themselves again with arms and assistants, renewed the war. Such was the ardour, violence, and force of the Cancellieri and their party, that they excited great terror, not only in the country parts, but in all the city. Not content to have taken possession of all the councils, and assembled them to govern as they pleased, and rendered their people disobedient to all law, but they also sent them, with the
utmost

utmost licence, through the country, to ravage, plunder, and burn the villages and habitations. The men of prudence and reflection seeing so many precipices and so much ruin, and foreseeing more, exerted themselves to obtain an election of eight citizens, to whom were given the whole authority of the general council, or, in other words, were made dictators, that they might find a remedy for so great confusions, and do whatever should be necessary or convenient for restoring the public tranquillity. On this opportunity the clergy were aroused, and with uncommon zeal exhorted the people in private conversation, and fulminated from the pulpit against all this ungodliness and unrighteousness of men; but all this apostolical benevolence, added to the unlimited power of the eight dictators, were insufficient: men's ears were deaf, and their eyes blind, to every thing but the malignity of their own passions, and every one continued to do whatever seemed right in his own eyes. They recalled into Pistoia all the banished men, with numerous troops of their adherents; these filling the city with bad men, and bringing fresh force and vigour to the respective parties, they prepared to commit new excesses. The Panciatichi, finding themselves at liberty, and loosened from all restraint, went, on the 13th of August, unexpectedly, to batter down the houses of William Fioravanti, those of Jacob Peri, those of Antonio Popoleschi, and many others, upon which occasion many were wounded, and Francis Panciatichi, and John Astesi, with many others of inferior condition, were killed. On the 15th of August they went to batter down the house of Biagio Odaldi, but these making a resolute resistance, many were wounded, and the rest obliged to retreat: but returning the next day, with

with a reinforcement of people under the influence of the family of Brunozzi, they laboured to such purpose, that partly with force, and partly with fire, they took possession of the house. They went next to the palaces of the Neri and Fioravanti, and finding no resistance, they took them, and filled them with their men. They assaulted too the houses of the Colate, Salincerni, and Curradi, and not being able to take them, set fire to them, and burnt five warehouses of the Ambragi: they entered into the houses of the Gatteschi, but there they were obliged to fight a long time, and the engagements became general, so that it was impossible to ascertain the number of the killed and wounded of the two factions; but there was not a street in the city which was not incumbered with dead bodies, and polluted with human blood.

Intelligence of the strength of the Panciatichi had been communicated by the Cancellieri to their friends, who, on the morning of the 17th of August, with an hundred cavalry and two hundred infantry, appeared suddenly at the houses of the Collesi, by whom so brave a defence was made, that they were repulsed; but after taking a short repose, returned to the assault, took the house, plundered it, and left it on fire. They went next to the houses of Antonio Ambrogi, to the two houses of the Cioci, to that of Vincenzo Mati, and burned them, with many others, and retook those which had been hitherto occupied by the Panciatichi, who finding themselves obliged to abandon the houses of Andrea Fioravanti, and Antonio Popoleschi, consigned them, in a fit of despair, to the flames. But while the party of the Cancellieri were attentive to the mischief they were doing, they were attacked, in two places at once, by the Panciatichi; and scarcely was the action begun, when,

when, perceiving their disadvantage, they retreated behind the church of St. Anthony, and set fire to the house of Nicholas Godemini; from thence they went to the Old Gate, and attacked the houses of the Bracciatini in the piazza, where, meeting with a bold resistance, they went with great solicitude to find the commissaries, and demanded of them the possession of the hospital del Ceppo, which was then governed by one of the Panciatichi, otherwise they would have set fire to it. The Panciatichi had already two hundred countrymen of the Plain, under the command of Michelino Jozzeli, and that of Lisca, who, posted for the guard of the hospital, were determined to perish rather than abandon it. The commissaries seeing so many people assisting the Panciatichi, would not openly espouse the request and attempt of the Cancellieri, but pacifying them with soothing words, they gave orders to M. Criaco, the captain, who, in behalf of the Florentine Imperial vicars, with 500 soldiers guarded the piazza, that in their name he should take possession of the hospital, under the pretence of preserving it from so much fury. The captain, with one hundred of his soldiers, marched to the hospital, and employed all his art to obtain possession of it, but was answered by the Panciatichi, that they would not go out of the place alive. Upon this the commissaries in person went to the hospital, and acknowledging that it must require great feats of arms to take it, gave good words to the Panciatichi, who delivered up to them the hospital, which was, however, unexpectedly pillaged by the Cancellieri, but left, by the orders of the commissaries, in the power of the supreme magistrate of the city, by whom possession being taken, regulations were made

made for the good government of it, and the administration given to four prudent citizens.

A little afterwards the commissaries and the bishop undertook to persuade the party of the Panciatichi not only to insist upon the direction of the hospital, but also to absent themselves some time from the city, and in that manner to remove the cause of so many disorders and endless evils which threatened to succeed. These orders, or this recommendation, were given to Bastiano and Vincenzo Bracciolini, of that faction, who held immediately a conference with Andrew and Antonio Panciatichi, their leaders, who thought fit to obey, first demanding security for their houses and other property, which was promised them by the commissaries. They made haste to communicate these particulars to all their factionaries, who, adhering to the opinions of their principals, collected together all their property of value, and carried it towards the church of St. Paul, and there filled up the whole street which leads to the gate Caldatica, and stood well upon their guard. The Cancellieri were in the contiguous street, with four hundred soldiers from Bologna; and fearing to risque a battle, the Panciatichi marched out of Pistoia without receiving injury or insult from the inhabitants, followed by the Collesi, Rossi, Franchini, Forteguerri, Fabroni, Bisconti, Bracciolini, Brunozzi, and many others of equal rank and condition. The gates were instantly shut, and the walls lined with men by the Cancellieri, who insulted and ridiculed, from that eminence, the retreating faction, with impunity and without danger.

The Cancellieri remained in Pistoia, and it is not possible to relate the abominable iniquities and cruelties committed by them in the height of their

their triumph, insolence, and power: ranging the whole city without controul, they attended no other business or amusement but to ruin, burn, plunder, and ravish, whatever of the Panciatichi they could find; and he who could commit the most atrocious deeds was the most esteemed, admired, and applauded. In this manner was the public faith, and the solemn promise made to the Panciatichi, fulfilled and performed! To the principal palace of the Panciatichi they set fire; the houses of the Brunozzi, Collesi, and many others contiguous to them, were dismantled: the beautiful habitations of John, Oliver, and Virgil Panciatichi, with many other places and houses filled with grain, corn, wine, oil, and timber, were burned; and all the summer-houses, shops, and stores, and every other building which belonged to the Panciatichi; in one of which was found in bed the Count di Rigolo Bisconti, ill of the wounds he had received in some of the late engagements; the count was, without ceremony, thrown out of the window into the street, not by a common rabble, but by Ceccone Beccano and Gio. Taviani, men of distinction and consequence. They afterwards made search in all the steeples and towers, as well as through all the churches, for refugees of the other faction, and wherever they found any, they drove them out, robbed them, and sent them to their houses; and so enormous was the evil committed by the Cancellieri factionaries, that by the end of the 20th of August they had burned more than two hundred houses and stores, all of the principal sort, contrary to the promises and solemn faith to the Panciatichi by the commissaries; and thus a beautiful and charming city was become a receptacle of assassins, of robbers,

bers, of murderers, and labourers in every evil work.

While the faction of the Cancellieri thus tyrannically domineered in Pistoia, that of the Panciatichi would have done the same if they had been in the city, equally without controul. In their state of banishment, they still meditated the oppression and destruction of their rivals, and to this purpose collected men, and fortified themselves on the plains in the country. Not being able to obtain the countenance and assistance of the Florentines, but rather being threatened by them with their displeasure and chastisement, they set themselves, with all their forces, to ill treat the country with their robberies, arsons, homicides, and imprisonments, in such a manner, that making frequent excursions into the mountains, they soon reduced all the territory of the Pistoians to a miserable and deplorable state. At the same time the Cancellieri, no longer knowing what to steal, or whom to rob, proceeded in inventing new insults for the Panciatichi, or those whom they suspected to favour that party, who remained in Pistoia. As the city was full of malicious people who could not contain themselves, they went frequently out of the gates, and stole cattle and other property from the Panciatichi in the country, till all the Panciatichi, who were near the bounds of the city, were obliged to retreat into the plain, and unite with their associates: here they began to think of checking the power of their enemies; and all being eager to return to their houses, they thought it a duty to restrain by force the arrogance of their adversaries, and reduce them, once for all, to subjection. To this purpose they erected a strong bastion near the bridge

Bridge à Bonelle, and another in the neighbourhood of the bridge Alla Pergola, and fortified themselves at St. Angiolo, at St. Bastiano, at the great houses of the Forteguerri, at Zenuta, at Magia, at St. Nuovo, at Tizzana, and made other fortifications, with preparations of munitions of arms, provisions, and men, from the mountains and from Lucca, who came to lend them assistance; and by these means held in subjection all the country, and in terror all the contrary faction. The Cancellieri seeing the preparations made by the Panciatichi, and apprehending some unexpected assault, made, without delay, preparations necessary to remove these factionaries effectually from the country. Collecting together a body of 4000 men, of their own and the Bolognese, they went out to attack at the same time, the two bastions near the bridges. The Panciatichi were astonished and panic-struck at the sight of so many men, and giving themselves up most shamefully to flight, the assailants, in less than one hour, had complete possession of both bridges, and dismantled both the bastions. Proceeding to St. Angiolo, which was guarded by Bartolemeo Collefi, an intrepid officer, and experienced in arms, they fought a most bloody battle, in which Collefi himself was killed under his horse; for this brave commander falling from his horse, was assassinated, and his head, severed from his body, was fixed on the bow of a saddle, and carried to Pistoia, there to be exposed to mockery and insult: at the sound of the trumpets it was placed upon the architrave of the well of the great market, that the people might demonstrate their joy and triumph over it; and there it was kept three days. This inhuman exultation was the beginning of ill fortune to the Cancellieri:

the indignation of the Panciatichi was excited by the scoffs and taunts offered to their Collefi, and by the shameful repulse in the assault of an enemy's bastion near the river Brana. At this action the Cancellieri were so confident, that they cried out, "Victory !" and returned without order through the streets, with a great booty, to Pistoia. The Panciatichi made a commander of Meo Gori, of a very numerous family in Terruccia, proud and terrible, but fortunate, who, with four of his brothers, and other relations, who in all were about an hundred persons, in the rear of those who thought themselves victorious, followed them to the grove of elms, and retaking the plunder, routed the party. Many were slain, more made prisoners, and the rest, scattered in various places, returned late and in disorder to Pistoia. The Panciatichi having obtained so signal a victory, they proceeded, under their glorious captain Franco, to Tizzana and Magia, and there summoned to arms all the people of the party, and stood night and day in good order and well guarded. The Cancellieri, seeing the increasing force of the Panciatichi, despaired of dispossessing them of the plain, and therefore employed all their craft to effect a separation between the Panciatichi in the country, and the Panciatichi in the city, in order to weaken the faction : in the course of two months they accomplished their design, and a truce was concluded between the Panciatichi in the country and the Cancellieri in the country, which occasioned great feasts and rejoicings in Pistoia. This truce, however, had but a short duration ; parties began again to rage, and mutual slaughters were renewed ; and although the Florentines knew that the territory of the Pistoians was no longer practicable, on account of the con-
tinual

tinual murders and assassinations committed in it by night and by day, yet they would not, or knew not how to put their hands to any effectual remedy: and although they ordered into confinement for three years, upon pain of rebellion for returning to Pistoia, all the families of Bi'conti, Panciatici, Collesi (except Bernardo), Fabbroni, Brunozzi, Rossi, Forteguerri, Bracciolini, Ciaci, and Gherardi, and many others, specified to the number of two hundred, yet it was not possible that this banishment should have any effect; because that many Florentines, their friends, besides favouring and assisting them with money and other effects, obstructed the execution of it, which was the principal cause that the Panciatici consolidated themselves on the plain, with the firm resolution not to depart from it. The Panciatici, nevertheless, were not a little anxious, when they knew that the commons of Florence were against them; and the Cancellieri were not less disturbed with fears when they saw their enemies in possession of the dominion of the country; so that they were obliged to consider themselves as besieged in Pistoia, rather than as lords of it: wherefore, reflecting that there was no blessing more necessary than peace, it was determined by the general council, that they ought to have recourse to the Most High in holiness and good works, and to this end orders were given to the labourers of St. James the apostle, that adequate alms should be given to all the religious orders, that they might by their prayers supplicate Heaven to send peace and union among the citizens. All this was very commendable and proper; but to depend upon these prayers alone, without changing their constitution, was as irrational and presumptuous, as for the crew of a

G 3

sinking

sinking ship to pray for preservation, without working the pumps or stopping the leaks.

1501. Accordingly, in 1501, they were found to have been inefficacious ; for the execrable factions, in a still greater effervescence of cruelty, made use of every cunning stratagem, and attempted every means, to destroy themselves and their country. The Cancellieri, dreading that the Panciatichi might return to Pistoia, determined not only to hold them at a distance from the city, but to chase them, with all the force they could possibly assemble, quite out of the country ; and to this purpose, having taken into their pay three thousand foot, drawn from the country, the mountains, from Veldinievole, from Prato, and other places, and fifty cavalry, early in the morning of the 5th of February they sallied out with these forces, well armed, from the gate Caldatica, and went, one thousand men towards Montemagno, and two thousand towards St. Angiolo. These last arrived at St. Angiolo, entered the church, spoiled it of every thing valuable, and set it on fire ; and because thirty of the Panciatichi, who were posted as guards in the steeple, knew it was impossible in any manner to defend it, they gave the signal of their being besieged by a flag, as had been previously concerted with their friends in the neighbourhood. Suddenly three hundred Panciatichi, compacted together in the form of a squadron, under the command of their captain, Franco Gori, using every artifice to avoid being discovered by the enemy, threw themselves by surprise into the middle of the Cancellieri, and in a short time broke and defeated to the number of two thousand persons. This victory was so advantageous to the Panciatichi, that three of them only were wounded, and one killed, while the Cancellieri lost
more

more than three hundred and fifty killed, and a proportionable number wounded, and many were made prisoners; and those few who escaped, threw down their arms, and in small numbers and great disorder fled towards Pistoia. This splendid victory, with the acquisition of a great booty, obtained by the Panciatichi, animated them not to shrink from any inconvenience or fatigue to prosecute the abasement of their enemies: wherefore without loss of time, taking, to deceive their antagonists, a pair of colours which had been seized in the last battle, they paraded with this on their march, and went to attack the other Cancellieri, who, at Santo Nuvo, had besieged their associates, the Panciatichi who guarded it; but the Cancellieri, advertised of the artifice by means of a lady, fled with the enemy, almost shoulder to shoulder, and coasting along by the cliffs of Casale, took the road towards Collina Fontana, and routed, disbanded, and covered over with mire, arrived at Pistoia. This retreat took up the whole night. This flight of the Cancellieri occasioned no small damage to the innocent Panciatichi who had remained in security in Pistoia; because, returned as were the fugitive Cancellieri to their country, they had no other thoughts than to revenge themselves wherever they could, by scouring the city, with their arms in their hands, and falling upon those unhappy people; they assassinated in the piazza a country gentleman, and Felice di Mareo, who were of the Panciatic faction, and the others, wounded and beaten, by flying into the fortresses and palace of the rectors, escaped their fury, and saved their lives.

The Panciatichi upon the plain in the country, having been informed of the treachery committed
G 4 upon

upon their companions in Pistoia by the Cancellieri, conceived against that faction an indignation beyond all credibility greater than ordinary; so that, after a little repose from the fatigues lately suffered, they prepared to persecute their enemies with greater ferocity. Hearing that some of them had built a strong bastion on the common at Casale, from which fortification they daily made inroads among the inhabitants, and committed much mischief, they went, on the 24th of March, and took the bastion, the Cancellieri who guarded it shamefully flying. Others of the Cancellieri, in Casale itself, taking post in the church and in the balcony, after a sharp conflict were overcome by Michelino Jozzelli and Charles Nicolai, many of them cut to pieces, many others wounded, and the rest pursued over the mountains, where they left their arms, and fled with precipitation: others, in the meadows of Vignole and of Agliana, were pillaged and totally dispersed: others, at the bridge of Bonelle, suffered a perfect defeat, in which many were assassinated, and the rest fled in disorder. The Panciatichi seeing their affairs succeed so happily, prepared themselves for greater enterprises, and calling together all their people, they went against the castle of Momigno, took it, and set it on fire. They then took Vinacciano, and burnt all the houses of the Cancellieri; and the houses of the Panciatichi having been a little before burnt by the Cancellieri, this place by the last conflagration became entirely desolate and destroyed. Nor was the damage less that was done at Montegastoli, the country of Fontana, Collina, and Gabbiano. The Panciatichi then fortified themselves at Montebuono, and did infinite damage from thence to the party of the Cancellieri, who taking Giaccherino, built by the families

families of the Panciatichi, made a stand against their enemies, and there followed in this neighbourhood burnings of houses and murders of people. At length the two factions descended towards the long bridge, and came to battle, which was continued for some time with obstinacy; but the Cancellieri having the worst of it, at last fled.

The few good and wise men who remained, considering the miseries and destruction which resulted to the city of Pistoia and its territory from the two unbridled factions, exerted themselves to assemble the general council, by whom were elected two citizens, to see that all malefactors should be chastised and punished. But a provision of this sort could never be sufficient to intimidate a number of factionaries so powerful; it accordingly only animated them to greater fury; for the persons elected being poorly attended, and provided with little power or force, how could they be able to restrain a desperate people, who required extraordinary rigour, and much greater energy, to render them quiet, pacific, and obedient? This was so well known to those ungovernable people, that it rendered them more fierce, proud, and insatiable of revenge, so that the Cancellieri, seeing themselves overcome in battle, determined to accumulate a great quantity of money, in order to provide men to conquer the force of their enemies. To this end they burthened the city of Pistoia with the payment of twenty thousand ducats of gold; they sold the effects of St. James, to the amount of four thousand crowns; they pawned, for eighteen thousand crowns more, at Bologna, the chalices of gold of the chapel of St. James, which weighed twenty-two pounds; they sold two golden angels, a fathom and an half
in

in height, and a pair of candlesticks which were worth five hundred crowns; they took a most beautiful bason, and an ewer of silver, of the value of four hundred crowns: moreover, they coined into money other silver basons, and an image of the Virgin, and another of St. John, of pure silver, which were of St. Zeno, and all the dishes and basons of silver which were in the palace of the supreme magistrate; they took from the Monte di Pieta six thousand ducats, and one thousand five hundred from the House of Wisdom, and made up a sum of forty thousand crowns. In the age and country where these things were done, this robbery of churches, of saints, and angels, this plunder of holy relics, was sacrilege and impiety of the deepest dye, enough to have shocked and revolted the whole city in any other circumstances; but the spirit of party made it all lawful to the Cancellieri and their followers, who made Mancino of Bologna their captain, one of the bravest soldiers of those times, hired fifteen hundred foreigners, and infantry and cavalry, and called in all their friends from the mountains and country, so that Pistoia was so full of soldiers, that all the houses could scarcely hold them.

In the mean time the party Panciatichi neglected not to procure all the advantages in their power; and animated by one Pazzaglio, of Seravalle, they attempted to take that castle, and by means of that traitor succeeded, fortified themselves in the post which guarded Valdinievole, and in the steeples of the churches of St. Stephen and St. Michael; and being in want of provisions, made excursions to the adjacent country, reaped the grain, pillaged cattle, and sometimes burnt houses and killed inhabitants, till they reduced the place to a most miserable and deplorable state. The parties

parties having in this manner provided themselves with men, arms, and provisions, the Cancellieri were anxious to undertake some enterprize with that body of men, which they had hitherto kept in pay at so great an expence, and with so little effect. After a consultation, part remained as a guard in the city, and part went out to the mountains. Six hundred infantry and fifty cavalry went out, well armed and in good order, and attempted an assault, in two divisions, upon Brandeglio and Castellaccio, but were discouraged by a brave defence. They advanced towards Cireglio, and making a fierce attack, they easily carried it, plundered it of all that was valuable, and destroyed the rest by fire. They then went to the church, which, with its steeples, was full of people and of property: they laid siege to it in such a manner, that those who guarded it despaired of defending it; but, encouraged by the women who had taken refuge there, who, like generous Amazons, took arms, repulsed the enemy, and having placed in security the goods, regained in a short time those places which by the men had been abandoned. The Cancellieri, covered with blushes and disgrace, returned to their main body, and advised their companions to return to Pistoia; but when they began their march, they were so persecuted by the Panciatichi, that the killed and wounded exceeded by far those who in confusion returned to the city. Then it was that the Panciatichi hastened to Berrignardo, Borghetto, and Piazza, and burnt all the houses of the Cancellieri: and such were the damages done that day by the factionaries, that more than one hundred and fifty houses of both parties were burnt down.

Those of the party Panciatichi, who had entered into the castle of Serravalle, thinking themselves
in

in security, stood negligently on their guard in that post ; intelligence of which being sent to the contrary party, they sent, with great haste, six hundred soldiers upon an enterprize against it. Two hundred surrounded it, and the four hundred others, introduced into some places about the castle, began to rush without controul into all the apartments, so that the Panciaticchi, taken by surprise, retired into some other forts in the neighbourhood. Early in the morning the Cancellieri approached the steeple of Michael, and took it by a vigorous assault. They battered afterwards that of the church of St. Stephen : but perceiving that it was not to be carried without some delay, they set fire to the church, from whence the flames ascending to the balcony, soon burnt those who held it. They intended, moreover, to have attempted the acquisition of the fortress, in which the greater part of the Panciaticchi were shut up ; but a reinforcement of five hundred infantry, and one hundred cavalry, arriving to those in the fort, and reinforced farther with three hundred men from the mountains, and two hundred from Lucca, conducted by Michael Jozzelli, who had taken the most important posts without the walls, the castle was besieged in such a formidable manner, that the Cancellieri lost all hopes of expelling the contrary faction from that place. The Cancellieri in Pistoia, however, hearing the situation of their companions in the castle of Serravalle, sent, at the approach of evening, three hundred infantry and fifty cavalry, with plenty of provisions, to reinforce and refresh them ; but scarcely had these soldiers met the others at the foot of the mountain, when, repulsed and pursued by the Panciaticchi as far as the long bridge, they were obliged to submit to the loss of twenty persons, many arms, and all their

their provisions. In the mean time came to the assistance of the Panciatichi, Martino Ciuti with two hundred men, and the captain Franco Gori with three hundred, and many others, who uniting with those already there, amounted to three thousand, who attacked that castle on the side of the fort in which the companies had taken refuge; but seeing all their attempts were rendered vain, one hundred of the most alert approached to the gate with such impetuosity, that they made a breach, and let four hundred men into the castle, who attacking the Cancellieri in the rear, in less than an hour killed more than three hundred, and made more than one hundred prisoners, and permitting the foreigners to escape by a shameful flight, gained a large booty of goods, money, arms, and horses. The Panciatichi having obtained this noble victory, the citizens of that faction began to think of endeavouring to return to Pistoia; but were dissuaded by the Panciatichi who were inhabitants of the country, and would not consent. They went therefore all together to their usual posts upon the plain, with their prisoners and rich plunder. If they had attempted to return to Pistoia, they would not have been opposed, for the factionaries in the city were so impoverished and discouraged, that many had gone out of the place; and although the bells of the people were rung that day, not one person appeared in the piazza.

There succeeded many more affrays and slaughters, burnings and depredations, to relate all of which in detail would be endless. Great were the damages done the same day by the Panciatichi in Alliana; but by the treacherous misconduct of their captain, Martino Francese, they were disgracefully repulsed, had many killed and many wounded; and what was more to be dreaded, the
Cancellieri

Cancellieri carried thirteen of their heads in triumph to Pistoia, and by that means revived the courage of their companions, almost sunk in terror and despair. Great was the slaughter of their enemies, and numerous the burnings of houses committed by the Panciatichi of Montagnana, the 7th of July, at Momigno. The 10th of July the Panciatichi of Brandeglio collected a large number of men from the plain and the mountains, and burnt all the houses of the Cancellieri which were at Sartornana, at St. Felice, and there plundered all the property and all the cattle. The 20th of July the Cancellieri burnt in Pistoia eight houses and six stores of the Braccioli, and set fire to three houses of M. Gio. di Franco, and demolished the house of Francisco Collesi, near to St. Prospero. The 28th of July the Cancellieri went to Montebuono, a town of the Panciatichi, took it by stratagem, and burnt it, after having made twelve prisoners; whom they conducted to Pistoia, led into the hall of an house inhabited by Giuliano Dragucci, where they strangled them, and threw them out of the window. This, which they called justice, they compelled to be executed by the hands of a priest who was in the number of the prisoners, and then they put the priest to death in the same manner. Much destruction was made by fire, on the 30th of July, in the commons belonging to the houses of the bishop, and in other places, by the Panciatichi: but no less were the evils committed the same day by fire by the Cancellieri in the commons of Bonelle: and in so many other places were such excesses committed by the two factions, that they had reduced Pistoia to be the most unhappy among all the miserable cities of Italy; its whole territory was one scene of burnings, murders, and captivity of men, and the

the citizens themselves were become the fable and the scorn of the whole world. The Florentines, who, as Imperial vicars, had some pretensions to interfere in the government of Pistoia, derived from the emperor Robert, had neglected, till they reproached themselves, to attempt any salutary remedy to so many evils. In the beginning of August the Cancellieri, the faction which had now the dominion in Pistoia, considering that the Panciatichi were masters of the country, and were well furnished with provisions, while the city was in danger of famine, assembled in the public palace to deliberate; and they concluded it would be for the advantage of their country, and of both parties, to make peace with the Panciatichi. This resolution was soon communicated to the Panciatichi, who suddenly consented to treat. At this time the Florentines offered their mediation, proposed articles, and sent troops to keep order, &c. The particulars of this negotiation were curious enough, but this essay is already too long. The wisest and most prudent men in the city held secret communications, sometimes with one party, sometimes with the other, and then with the Florentines, till at last they prevailed to have a general council called. This consisted wholly of Cancellieri, for the Panciatichi were still in the country, and consequently the demands of the latter were thought too considerable. Such controversies arose, even among the Cancellieri, that it was feared nothing would ever be concluded. Some juggling monkish trick at last succeeded: a dove, white and black (*bianca & neri*), after the similitude of the arms of the Panciatichi family, flew down upon the seat of the supreme magistrate, and gave manifest signs that the Most High was in favour of peace; the hard hearts of the Cancellieri relented,

lented, and peace was made. The great affair of the appointment of a director of the hospital was settled, by giving each party alternately the appointment. The Panciatichi were restored to the city; all crimes and atrocities were pardoned, and to be forgotten. Eight citizens were to reform the government in such a manner, that the gonfalonier, and all the other officers, should be equally drawn from each faction; and the families insisted under the Panciatichi on one side, and under the Cancellieri on the other, were all named and recorded.

1502. Rumours and tumults were ceased; the two factions enjoyed in Pistoia a tranquillity that they believed would be lasting; but the habits of discord were not eradicated, passions were not extinguished, and the parties were not balanced. Accordingly, in 1552, the symptoms were discovered of an hidden gangrene: the Cancellieri pretended to have been, by the general council, exempted from accounting for what they had taken from the commons and from pious places; and the Panciatichi demanded to be refunded in part, if not in the whole, of the damages done by fire to their houses; but as the general council, and the other offices of the city, were composed of an equal number of subjects of the two factions, one party refused to approve of the petition of the other. This exasperated their minds to such a degree, that the usual factions arose, and proceeded to blows and to arms. They were separated soon by the Florentine troops of cavalry and infantry, who were posted as guards in Pistoia, and obliged, without discharging their hatred, indignation, and rancour, to return to their houses: there they prepared to give a fresh scope to their passions; and the Cancellieri, as the most powerful, causing to be

be taken out of the hands of the Panciatichi the fortresses they held, began anew to prepare for driving them altogether out of the state of Pistoia. The Panciatichi, penetrating the designs of the Cancellieri, did not delay to provide men, and each party, introducing men in the night, stood in hourly expectation of a favourable opportunity. On the 24th of February the Cancellieri, in three divisions, fortified themselves, with 300 men at the gate of Guidi, with 250 on the hill in the street of St. John, and with 250 in the streets near St. Dominick. A party of the Panciatichi coming in from the country occasioned the battle to begin; but the Panciatichi, out-numbered, and almost surrounded by their enemies, were compelled again to abandon the town with precipitation and disorder. The Panciatichi, thus expelled a second time from the city, dispersed in diverse places on the plain; and the Cancellieri remaining as lords of Pistoia, suddenly shut the gates, and went with unbridled rage to plundering, burning, and destroying all the remaining houses and substance of the Panciatichi. They robbed and burned the houses of the Rossi, Forteguerri, Collesi, Radda, Bambolino, Doffo, Gualfreducci, as well as the Panciatichi, and many others. Meditating still greater cruelties, they ran in great fury to the public palace, and all those of the magistracy who were of the party of the Panciatichi, whom they could find, they most cruelly put to death. In this state of things, those who presided over the administration of justice, supported by the Florentines, attempted to provide a remedy against new combinations, and made the tumultuous lay down their arms. To make an example, they hanged Puccino Puccini, whom they found guilty of the murder of the

VOL. III. H supreme

supreme magistrates; and declared rebels thirteen others, whom they condemned for high treason, for the contempt shewn to the supreme authority: these were driven out of Pistoia, and fled to Montale. This rigour of justice, however, instead of restoring quiet to Pistoia, served rather to hasten its ruin; because the Panciatichi, fortified themselves with bastions of wood, well furnished with arms and men, near the bridge di Bonelle, by means of which they domineered over the whole city, and kept the minds of the Cancellieri in constant agitation, till the pride and ferocity of the two parties suffered not a day to pass in the city or the country without rencounters, burnings, and slaughter. The Panciatichi being fortified at Bonelle, and other places of the plain, deliberated to make an exertion of all their possible strength to destroy totally the contrary party: to this purpose, early one morning, they separated into several divisions, traversed that extensive country by different routes, and after a few hours met all together at the assault of sixteen houses belonging to the Tesi, Mati, and other Cancellieri families, stripped them of the most valuable effects, and burnt the rest to the ground. The Cancellieri hastened in great numbers to prevent or repair so great a misfortune; but the fury and the strength of the Panciatichi was such, that, after having killed and wounded many, they obliged the rest to fly. Their flight animated the Panciatichi to set fire without delay to all the houses in that vast plain, and produced a conflagration, which the historian could compare to nothing better than the opening of one of the mouths of hell.*

* Sembrava essersi aperta in quelle parti, una bocca di inferno. P. 394.

Pistoia being in this deplorable condition, deprived of all succour and assistance, was full of people given up to a licentious way of living, without fear of divine, and much less of human justice, who committed continual insolence and wickedness of every kind: wherefore many, knowing the great damage which resulted to their country, instigated the general council to elect one of the wisest and most learned citizens to administer, with supreme authority, full and summary justice, to the end to find a remedy for so great disorders, to extinguish so great a fire by punishing every fault, and reducing the people to the necessity of embracing peace and tranquillity. The council complied with the petition of the principal citizens of the place, and taking all authority from the podesta and captain, gave the title of doge to Mariotto di Peraccino del Guida, a doctor of laws living at Porta Guidi, and gave him all the authority of the council itself. Mariotto assumed the government of the city, and conducted with so much rectitude, that no man could complain of his partiality, and introduced as much tranquillity into the city as he excited jealousy in Florence. But the Cancellieri, as those who had been the occasion of the exaltation of Mariotto, desirous of demonstrating their superiority in every affair, soon gave occasion to the general council to apprehend fresh evils. They therefore appointed for the doge three of the wisest and most prudent citizens for his counsellors, that, amidst such dangers, he might be animated and assisted not to relax in repressing the pride of restless spirits, and that he might be more ardent in reducing the people to order and quiet. All these endeavours, however, availed but little; for Jacopo Savello,

H 2

coming

coming to Pistoia with an hundred men in arms, on foot and on horseback, in aid of the Cancellieri, these determined to go out in search of the Panciatichi. Uniting three hundred men to the soldiers of Savello, they issued out of the city in two squadrons, one of which went to assault the houses of the Giacomelli, and the other went towards Badia à Pacciana, where having routed an hundred cavalry of the Panciatichi, they returned to unite with the other division, and both went to work to rob the houses of all that was good for any thing, and then to set them on fire, and put the inhabitants to the sword. In the mean time the party of the Panciatichi, numerous in armed men, marching suddenly in front of the enemy, thought to revenge themselves for their past defeat, by the total extermination of the Cancellieri: but because the river Ombrone, which lay between, hindered the two parties from coming cruelly to a battle, there ensued frequent skirmishes on its banks, which by length of time terminated to the disadvantage of the Cancellieri, and was the reason that, intimidated by the force of the contrary party, they hastily retired, with Jacopo Savello, towards Alliana, and in the confusion abandoned the greatest part of their arms. The general depredation had ruined the crops, and the country was afflicted with a severe famine, which obliged Savello to leave Pistoia.

The Cancellieri of Cavinana, desirous of restoring to Igno the Cancellieri their companions, who had been banished from thence, assembled a body of men, who, united with two hundred and sixty persons, on horseback and on foot, who came out to their assistance from the city, advanced to make trial of their strength; but meeting with their fellow

fellow factionaries from the mountains, and making up five hundred foot, and one hundred horse, they all directed their march towards Pitellio, and encamped near the old parish church, where they waited two days the arrival of other forces, to make an united assault upon the castle: but not seeing them arrive, and fearing that succour might come to the Pitellians from their friends in St. Marcello, they laid aside their meditated enterprize, and returned to their places.

The Panciatichi of the mountains, finding themselves disturbed by the Cancellieri, thought it a duty to revenge themselves; and collecting for that purpose one hundred and fifty men at Cutigliano, began to scour the country and commit depredations. They were encountered with a great booty, and a sharp engagement ensued, and, after three hours, the Panciatichi thought it convenient to leave their prey, and retreat, to save their lives, to Lizzano. The Cancellieri having recovered their property, and observing the retreat of the Panciatichi into certain houses of Lizzano, marched into it. Then the Panciatichi of Lizzano, for fear of the contrary party, who were increased to five hundred persons, and thinking to save their property and the furniture of their houses, deposited them in the church and its steeple, to which also the women and the men retired. The Cancellieri arriving in Lizzano, and finding all the houses abandoned, pillaged all that was left in them, and then burnt them. They then laid siege to the church and steeple in so close a manner, that there was no space left for the Panciatichi to escape. The Cancellieri sent notice to their comforts in the city, country, and mountains, to send them immediate succour, that they might have dead, or prisoners, their confined enemies. One

thousand five hundred men appeared, and took away from the besieged all hope of assistance. In this desperate situation there was no proposal of surrender or capitulation. The Cancellieri repeatedly assaulted their enemy; but these obstinately defended themselves, and often wounded the assailants. These at length renewed the enterprize by fire, and attacked both the church and steeple in that manner. Those in the church could no longer endure the raging flames, and all retired into the steeple. This place not being capacious enough for all, many were suffocated with the heat and smoke. The Panciatichi, reduced to this state of misery, were by some of the Cancellieri promised their lives, if they would surrender. Eighteen of the besieged took advantage of these fair words; but scarcely were they in the power of their enemies, when they were perfidiously put to death: none of the rest would surrender, but resolved to perish in the balcony. The besiegers, seeing this courageous resolution, increased the fire under the balcony in such a degree, that the flames arising around and above it, many of the poor wretches within it, tormented with smoke, and heat, and pain, sunk under their misery; and the more they deafened the square below with their cries, the more their inhuman enemies exerted themselves to distress them.

The party of the Panciatichi of the plain, advised of these miseries in which their friends of the mountains were involved, and not able to endure the horrid excesses which were committed, expedited, under the command of Toso, the brother of the captain Franco Gori, at once to Pupillio four hundred infantry, and one hundred cavalry, who giving notice to all the factionaries of the mountains, that they might come to the relief of their friends,

friends, in a short time had an army of a thousand men and more, besides a large number of cavalry. Taking possession of proper posts, and making suitable fortifications, Toso, by a great shout, gave a signal of the succour arrived to the poor victims besieged in the balcony. The Cancellieri, when they discovered this reinforcement, sent parties suddenly to repulse them, who found them so well fortified, that any attempt against them must be ineffectual. Succours from all parts arriving to the Panciatichi, the Cancellieri found it necessary to raise the siege, and retire without risking a battle. The besieged who survived the pain, hunger, and other miseries, came out of that steeple and balcony, where more than one hundred and twenty were found dead by the heat, thirst, and hunger; and their liberators not caring to pursue their fugitive enemies, only set fire to their houses, by which new conflagration there was not an house left in these two beautiful villages which was not burnt and demolished.

The Panciatichi having vindicated the wrongs done to their consorts, took the road of St. Marcello to return to the plain; but one hundred and fifty of them deviating without military order, they were unexpectedly attacked by the people of Calamecca, and not being able to defend themselves, they found it convenient to save their lives by taking their flight in the night. This event instigated the Panciatichi to multiply their forces, to destroy entirely the contrary party, and to this purpose hiring troops from Ferrara, Modena, and Lucca, brought together four hundred infantry, and one hundred cavalry, and these increasing daily, gave occasion to the Cancellieri to prepare for new battles, and the whole country was so ex-

cited, that both parties making great preparations for war, nothing remained to be hoped for but to see the utter ruin of those places. In this miserable state of things, Louis, king of France, excited the Florentines to interpose. They elected thirteen commissaries, and gave them full power. These prohibited all to wear arms, and cited all the heads of the factions, both of the Panciatichi and Cancellieri, in the city, country, and mountains, to appear at Florence on the 20th of August. Of the heads of the Panciatic faction, who appeared at Florence in obedience to the order, were six of the principal men of the Panciatichi family, four of the Collesi, four of the Bisconti, seven of the Brunozzi, three of the Gherardi, and four of the Roffi: Bartolomeo Panciatichi, M. Goro Ghieri, and captain Guiliano Gherardi, with seven others, refused to go, and incurred the penalty of punishment as rebels. Of the heads of the Cancellieri party appeared in Florence, in obedience to the citation, two of the Cancellieri, three of the Gatteschi, three of the Ambrogi, eight of the Perracino, three of the Melocchi, three of the Tonti, and five of the Odaldi: nine refused to go, and were declared rebels. Six of the heads of the Panciatichi on the plain appeared, and four of those on the mountains, and an equal number of the Cancellieri from each. As soon as they appeared in Florence, seven of the Cancellieri, and six of the Panciatichi, were committed to prison, and all the rest forbidden to leave Florence on pain of banishment as rebels. The Florentine commissaries then took all public offices, and the public revenue, out of the hands of the Pistoians, and imposed heavy fines on the leaders for breaking the peace. Upon examination it was found, that more than four hundred

hundred houses had been burnt in the city, and more than sixteen hundred in the country.

The rigour of the Florentines preserved the peace but a short time, for in the next year the two factions of the Cancellieri and Panciatichi broke out into another civil war, as violent and destructive as ever. But let us pass over the particulars, and mention only a few circumstances. 1503.

The Florentines again made peace in Pistoia by their commissaries, imprisonment, fines, and other severities, which the Pistoians were too much exhausted to resist. In 1505 the Pistoians petitioned Florence to be restored to the honours, offices, and revenues of the city; and it was granted. 1505.

The Pistoians were such friends of the house of Medici, that they had the address to escape, at the time when the Spanish army invaded Prato, and committed such cruelties and devastations there. 1512.

John di Medici was made pope, and assumed the name of Leo the Tenth, and the Pistoians made such rejoicings upon this occasion, and sent such congratulations by their ambassadors to the pope, and to Julian his brother, and Lorenzo his nephew, as recommended them to favour. 1513.

In 1514 the families of Panciatichi, Cancellieri, Ricciardi, Gualfreducci and Vergiolesi, who in 1369 had been prohibited to have, obtain, or exercise the offices and dignities of the city of Pistoia, its country, or mountains, supplicated, with others, to be admitted to public offices and honours. Their petition was repeatedly rejected by the council; but at length, by the influence and intercession of the pope, Leo the Tenth, they, their children, and descendants, were restored and admitted to all the honours demanded. Is there in history a more curious fact? These families were,

were, by an obstinate, arbitrary, and stupid law, excluded from all offices and share in government; yet it was impossible to establish a government that could controul them, and they disposed of all offices, and the whole government, divided as they were into two parties, struggling for the whole time, and butchering each other, that one of them might rule the whole.

1515. Some sparks of malignity remained concealed in the minds of the factionaries, the Panciatichi and Cancellieri, which in 1515 broke out in a furious flame, and extended into the plain and the mountains. From tumults and murders both parties proceeded to make preparations of men and arms, to revive the civil wars in all their horrors. But the Florentines, that is to say the Medici family, interposed with such energy, as restored the public tranquillity; in order to preserve which they drew off many of the turbulent spirits, by taking them into their service as guards, &c.

1520. After the death of the emperor Maximilian, Charles of Austria, king of Spain, was elevated to the throne of Cæsar, and was called Charles the Fifth. Upon this event the Pistoians expected some innovations, but the emperor was prevailed upon, by Leo the Tenth, to make no change in the government of Tuscany: on the contrary, the emperor confirmed to the Florentines the privileges of their state, authority, and lands, which they were in possession of.

1523. Guilio de Medici was seated on the pontifical throne, and called Clement the Seventh. The Pistoians did honour to his elevation by great rejoicings, and by an embassy of congratulation; which produced a letter from the pope full of paternal

ternal affection for the city of Pistoia, and abounding in praises of the citizens who composed it.

The ascendancy of the Medici family was not, however, sufficiently established to prevent a civil war from breaking out again in Pistoia between the Cancellieri and Panciatichi : an obstinate battle was fought between them, which lasted seven hours, and the Panciatichi were again obliged to leave the city, and go into the country to their usual mischief. They returned in a short time with additional force, fought the Cancellieri again, and obtained a victory, not without a multitude of killed and wounded on both sides. After this new tumult many orations were instituted in Pistoia, to obtain the extirpation of civil discords. The insurrection was soon heard of in Florence, and Niccolo Capponi, whose prudence was esteemed equal to his valour, was sent as commissary, with an army, to suppress it. With great difficulty, and much severity, he succeeded to make a peace, or a truce, between the two parties.

1524.

But in 1527 the same factions revived their hostilities, but the leaders were seized and sent to Florence, and imprisoned, and mulcted in fines so severe as intimidated others. Charles, duke of Bourbon, with a large army of Spaniards and Germans, approached the Alps of Tuscany, and threw the Pistoians into an uncommon agitation ; but a great fall of snow obliged him to divert his course from Pistoia to Rome.

1527.

The Florentines having, in 1527, banished the Medici, and taken down, with great impetuosity, the arms of that family from every place in the city, Charles the Fifth, in 1529, took upon himself the obligation of re-establishing entirely that family in that city : and to this end he commissioned Filibert, prince of Orange, to lay siege to Florence

1529.

Florence with a large army of Italians and Germans. The Florentines made great preparations for defence, not only of their city, but also of Pistoia. They sent into it five companies of infantry, and placed each gate of the city under a company, and the piazza under the fifth, all under commanders in whom they had confidence. But all these exertions of the Florentines for the security of the city of Pistoia, and to maintain it at their devotion, appeared, even to themselves, to be vain and of little moment, if the good-will of the two factions of the Panciatichi and Cancellieri could not be obtained; and as the Cancellieri were already naturally inclined to their views, they courted and complimented the Panciatichi as the most powerful, and as the adherents of the Medici; and to accomplish their purpose, they called to Florence some of the heads of that party, and admitting them into their council of war, affected a great esteem for their judgements and opinions in things of the greatest importance. The Panciatichi in Pistoia, however, having the greatest share of influence, by the favour of the pope and the Medici family, placed little confidence in those who at this time had the sway in Florence; they therefore created a new magistrate over all affairs of the war, and gave him ample authority to do every thing for the advantage of the city. This magistrate esteemed the five companies insufficient for the defence of the city, and sent to Florence for more; but he was answered, that the troops of Charles the Fifth were approaching to lay siege to Florence, and that the forces of their enemies increased every day, so that they had enough to think and to do for their own defence; that the Pistoians must therefore make use of the means they had for their own salvation: and to this end

end they gave orders to their commissary, who resided in Pistoia in behalf of the commons of Florence, that he should release freely into the hands of the Pistoians the balia of their city, that they might both govern and defend themselves; and to their soldiers, posted as guards, to return with all possible expedition to Florence. These orders of their principals were suddenly executed by the commissary and podesta. Pistoia remained free from the yoke of the Imperial vicars, and provided itself with men, arms, and provisions: but dreading the army of Charles the Fifth on one side, and the Panciatichi at least courting the Medici, they sent four ambassadors of the Panciatichi party to offer the keys of the city to the pope, and pray his intercession with the emperor that his army might not enter their territory. Many of the citizens, intimidated by the uncertainty of the times, absented themselves. The opposite party prevailed too in another measure, the appointment of ambassadors to Florence to obtain a re-consideration of their resolution. This produced such a rage in the Panciatichi party, that one of the ambassadors, Tonti, was assassinated, and a riot instantly ensued, in which eighteen of the Cancellieri lost their lives, and the whole party was driven out of the city, and their houses plundered and burnt, particularly the celebrated palace of that family near St. Luke's. The principal actors in this mischief made a rich booty of money and jewels, fled to Bologna, where they were most graciously received and pardoned by the pope.

At this time followed the real extinction of the faction of the Cancellieri; because the Panciatichi, favourites of the pontiff, as adherents of the house of Medici, assumed such vigour, that enraged not only

against the Cancellieri of the city, but of the country, both on the plain and in the mountains, they sacked, burnt, and destroyed, the greater part of their houses, spreading ruin and devastation as they went, in Cavinana, Lanciole, Castigliano, Spignano, and all the other castles and possessions of the Cancellieri. The people of Serra, followers of the Panciatichi, burnt the castle of Calamecca, which held for the party of the Cancellieri; these were so inflamed with resentment, that, with the help of some companies of Lombards, they compelled their enemy to fly, some of whom retreating, to secure the church of Crespole, were there besieged, and finally all put to death: others retired to the balcony, and there fortified themselves, so as to hope to escape the fury of their persecutors, but in vain, for the assailants, disappointed of their vengeance by the sword, resolved to obtain it by famine. The Panciatichi being reduced to this state, one of their most daring soldiers, named Appollonio di Dante, to deliver his companions from the hands of their enemies, precipitated himself from the tower, and his cloak taking the wind, he descended with no other injury than a slight hurt in one of his arms. Running first to Serra, and then to Pistoia, he excited one of the Collesi to march, with a good body of soldiers, to the relief of the besieged. After this Pitellio, Pupillio, and Mammiano, by revolting to the party of the Panciatichi, suffered no other damage than the loss of a multitude of their inhabitants, who were chased from their habitations as adherents to the Cancellieri.

1530. The pope, Clement the Seventh, accepted the gift of the city, and by a letter or charter, directed to his beloved sons the priors, gonfalonier, and people of the city of Pistoia, sent his pontifical com-

commissary to take possession. The Panciatichi had now exterminated the Cancellieri, and obtained the power of governing; but it was at the expence of subjecting both themselves and their country to a foreign power and another rival family.

Charles the Fifth, the 28th of October, 1530, 1530.
constituted Alexander de Medici governor, not only of Florence, but of all Tuscany, to the extreme joy and satisfaction of Clement the Seventh. Thus pope and emperor, Guelphs and Ghibellines, Bianci and Neri, Panciatichi and Cancellieri, were at last all brought to unite, as all such constitutions of government ever have united, at last, in a government of all authority in one center, but that center a worthless, however artful, despot.

The Pistoians were in hopes, that at least under 1531.
an absolute prince they might enjoy a little tranquillity: but in 1531 the usual disgusts between the two factions of Panciatichi and Cancellieri began to spring up. Although the former, by the partiality of the house of Medici, were indulged in all their caprices, yet, finding themselves now increasing in strength, nothing would satisfy them but the total expulsion from the city, and the complete destruction of all that belonged to the Cancellieri. Tumults and slaughter arose, and no man had the knowledge or the will to provide a remedy.

Alexander de Medici took possession of his 1532.
principality in Florence, and great rejoicings were made in Pistoia, and four ambassadors sent to present the congratulations of their city, and recommended it as having been always faithful lovers of his family. The forty-eight senators, instituted in Florence this year under Alexander, pacified the two factions of Panciatichi and Cancellieri, and those persons and families who remained

mained of the latter faction, returned to the city, to the joy of all.

1534. Alexander distinguished Pistoia from all other places under his dominion, for its great affection and sweet love to his family, by giving orders that all the business of Pistoia should be addressed immediately to himself in person.

1535. Charles the Fifth, having determined the untruth of the accusations of tyranny brought against Alexander de Medici by the Florentine exiles, made a visit to Pistoia, where he was received and entertained in the public palace.

1536. Alexander took it into his head that commissaries and governors were destructive to a state, and therefore abolishing the office, he disarmed the inhabitants as inclined to tumults, and destined ten noble Pistoians to govern their city. On the 6th of January, this year, Alexander was assassinated by Lorenzo, and Cosimo succeeded. When the news of this assassination arrived in Pistoia, the heads of the Panciatichi party assembled, and, after mature deliberation, concluded that the present was a convenient opportunity for destroying totally all remnants of the Cancellierian party. To this purpose they excited an insurrection of all their factionaries, under colour of maintaining the city of Pistoia in its devotion to the house of Medici. They made leaders of Gio. Collesi and some others, and with a great multitude scoured the city, and in a very short time assassinated fifteen. Many others, hoping to secure themselves, took post in the fortresses, but, betrayed by the commanders, who let in the Panciatichi, they were miserably deprived of their lives. The partisans of the Cancellieri, seeing that they could not resist the fierce assaults of the contrary faction, went to hide themselves, some in the towns, some in
in

in the monasteries, and others in subterraneous places; others went out of the city, found a leader, and hazarded a battle with their enemies, in which many were killed, and others afterwards burnt in steeples. Many, who had foreseen such an event, had before retired to Montale and Montenurlo, places of their faction: so that the Panciatichi remaining dominators without controul in Pistoia, sacked, burnt, and destroyed all the houses, shops, and stores, which remained of the contrary party in the city.

Cosimo the First had ascended the throne of 1537.
Tuscany, and ambassadors were sent from Pistoia to congratulate him. At the same time the factionaries of the Cancellieri, who had taken refuge in Montale, constituting their leader the captain Guidotto Pazzaglia, their compatriot, and a head of the Cancellierian faction (whom, though aged, and weakened by so many military fatigues, was retired to his estate called the House in the Wood,* fortified by a thick and high wall, and defended by an high and strong tower) they intreated him to engage in their defence, and obstruct the approaches of the Panciatichi. Pazzaglia took under his command all the factionaries of his party, and, by a secret correspondence which he had with Philip Strozzi, increased his numbers to four hundred men, whom he quartered in his own habitation. From this post they took the licence to go out frequently to the annoyance of the Panciatichi, and gave them much disturbance and many apprehensions. The Panciatichi, to make a diversion and division of the forces of the country party, which every day increased in power, went and commenced a cruel warfare with

* La Casa al Bosco.

the Cancellieri of Cavinana. These were made uneasy, and retired to their steeples, where they made a brave defence. At this time the commissary took the resolution of bridling the parties by authority and with rigour; but the Panciatichi, who were more than a thousand men in number, in contempt of justice, and sparing neither age, nor condition, nor sex, executed in a short time a cruel vengeance on their adversaries by fire and sword; and going on every day increasing in ferocity, they increased their murders, rapines, and fires, till they reduced Cavinana, St. Marcello, Crespole, Calamecca, Lanciole, Pupillio, and other places, to horrid spectacles of desolation. Many of the Cancellieri, perceiving that fortune was not favourable to them, retired to the parish church of Cutigliano, and there fortified, stood upon their defence, without losing their presence of mind, waiting from the brave captain Luca Giacomelli some convenient succour, by which they might once attempt an attack upon the rear of the Panciatichi, who, to increase their power both in numbers and situation, had taken a post very near them. These disorders were very displeasing to the duke Cosimo de Medici, and he took great pains, by means of his commissary, to restore quiet to the Cancellieri, to which the Panciatichi at length consented. Nevertheless the church was scarcely opened, when they fell into such a furious rage, that they fell upon every one of the Cancellieri, and cut them to pieces. Cosimo was not discouraged, even by this outrage, from using other means to restore quiet to Pistoia, and at last reduced some part of it to good order. But the faction of the Panciatichi, having no longer any of the Cancellieri on whom to vent their rage, turned all their hatred and indignation
against

against one another. The faction became divided into two, which rushed into such persecutions of each other, that innumerable quarrels and murders succeeded. The example was followed among their connections in Florence, which gave occasion to the rectors of that city, who dreaded greater disorders, to draw the two parties to a truce. At the same time the duke Cosimo was exactly informed, that the captain Pazzaglia received daily additions to the numbers in his house: by the assistance of Philip Strozzi, and the other exiles, many were induced daily to go into his service, and increased the terror which they had of this great captain. Desirous of providing against every sinister event which he foresaw might occur, not only from the great number of men who were assembled at the house in the Wood, but from the thousands of men which Pazzaglia at the sound of a bell was able to raise, the duke, after having in vain attempted to gain him by means of some friends, sent Otta da Montauto, with a thousand infantry, to attack the House in the Wood, and make prisoners of its garrison. Montauto by forced marches sat down before the place, but, discovered early by Pazzaglia, who, always vigilant, saw every thing, and thought of every danger, he was fiercely repulsed. Montauto, perceiving the enterprize to be difficult which he had thought so easy, sent to his brother Frederick, who commanded the guards in Pistoia, for immediate succour. The prompt arrival of this aid alarmed Pazzaglia, who, finding himself besieged by a great number of soldiers, and not hearing the bell of Montale, which he had ordered one of his officers to ring, to assemble the assistance he expected from that and other places, he ventured out of his habitation, cloathed and armed like a soldier,

dier, and, with a joyful countenance, went to meet his besieger, and demanding safety for himself and his soldiers, put himself into his hands. Montauto received Pazzaglia with a smiling countenance, and knowing him to be humane, generous, and polite, he knew not how to refuse his demand. They both entered the House in the Wood, where they refreshed themselves so splendidly, that Montauto, admiring still more the greatness of soul of Pazzaglia, could not without tears conduct him to the presence of the duke. Cosimo had enough of policy as well as generosity to receive him like an intimate and confidential friend. He took him to his most confidential consultations, and decided on no affair of state without his advice. The duke perceiving that the ten noble Pistoians, destined to govern the city, had not fulfilled the obligations enjoined upon them, nor preserved good order, restored the use of the ancient offices of podesta and commissary. He promoted to these offices men of moderation as well as of spirit, and thought by their means to remedy all disorders; but there still remained enough of the citizens inclined to quarrel, to keep the city in tumults, and to vilify all justice.

Niccolo Braccioli had insinuated himself into favour with the duke, by having revealed to him a conspiracy of the Salviati, Ridolfi, Strozzi, and Valori, and was appointed to the command of certain companies of infantry which were in garrison there. This officer, recollecting that Francesco Brunozzi had been averse to include him in the last truce made between the factions by the mediation of the Florentines, conceived the design of taking a rough revenge of all the Brunozzi family. For this purpose he put himself at the head of his adherents, collected a considerable
body

body of armed men, besides those which Gio. Collesi held concealed in his house ready for any orders of Bracciolini, went through the city in search of Brunozzi, and having found him, deprived him of his life. He proceeded to set fire to his house, and all the other houses of the family, but was obliged to get possession of them at the point of the sword. The Brunozzi made a brave defence, but were inferior in numbers, and three sons of Francesco were left dead, and the rest fled to some obscure place. Not satisfied with this, Bracciolini proceeded to the country houses of the family, with a soldiery as tyrannical as himself, and there committed all imaginable cruelty, burning and destroying every thing. For this cruel revenge he was afterwards condemned to pay to the surviving Brunozzi only two thousand five hundred ducats for damages. At the same time many exiles from Florence, desirous of deposing from the throne of Tuscany the duke Cosimo de Medici, in order, as they pretended, to set their country at liberty, collected together at Mirandola four thousand infantry, and three hundred cavalry, and gave the command of them to Piero Strozzi, who took for his colleague Baccio Valori, and came with one division towards Pistoia, and halting at Montemurlo, waited for the rest of the army. The party of the Cancellieri, who there expected them, received them with transports of joy; and, having repaired the fortifications, and furnished the cattle with every necessary, they all, being fifteen hundred men in number, thought of nothing else but doing infinite mischief to the party of the Panciatichi. They burned Saturnana, Valdibura; Uzzo, and Capo di Strada, carrying off from all places a rich booty. Making no account of the government of Flo-

rence, the Cancellieri made all their efforts to re-enter Pistoia, and the exiles from Florence had no other view than to deliver their country from the government of the Medici; so that all were agreed to assemble men, provide arms, and collect money, that they might be able by force to wrest the command from the duke Cosimo. That sovereign, informed of this, and that those in rebellion against him were with much solicitude fortified, every day increased in force, and did very great damage, ordered Alexander Vitelli, Otto da Montauto, and Piero Pipicciano, that in the night they should depart from Florence with their troops, with three thousand Spaniards, and two regiments of Germans, and go to the assault of Montemurlo: and that the force of the enemy might be diverted and disunited, he ordered the captain Frederick da Montauto, then in Pistoia, to unite the force of his companies with those of the party of the Panciatichi; and the same night, with cries and fires, spread terror in the neighbourhood of Montemurlo, that the party of the Cancellieri might be necessitated to abandon it. The party of the Panciatichi, adhering in all things to the will of the duke, united with the forces of Frederick de Montauto, and in a dark night set all in an uproar the country of Alliana, and from thence went to burn the houses of the abbey of Pacciana. Setting fire to a multitude of ricks of hay and stacks of corn belonging to the common people, they constrained the captain Bati Rospigliosi, the captain Francesco Gatteschi, the captain Francesco Arferuoli, the captain Luca Giacomelli, with many others of the exiles, to abandon Montemurlo and the neighbouring places, to go and succour their factionaries of the abbey at Pacciana. A severe and obstinate battle ensued, in which, in the end, the

the Panciatichi were superior, with the death of sixty persons of both parties, among whom were numbered the captain Mattana, with five soldiers of Cutigliano, who were enough to put in doubt the victory. The head of Mattana was carried to Pistoia, and, amidst the exultations and rejoicings of his adversaries, carried to the piazza as a spectacle to all. This detachment of the exiles being at break of day, the 1st of August, 1537, defeated, 1537. Vitelli and Montauto, knowing that the principal heads of the rebels were in the castle, went to the attack of Montemurlo, and finding it in all parts ill manned, they animated their people, and assaulted the fortress, which, after a resistance of five hours, was carried. Piero Strozzi, attempting to make his escape, fell into the hands of the besiegers; a thousand men of both parties were slain, and Philip Strozzi, Baccio Valori, Francesco degli Albizzi, and many others, were conducted prisoners to Florence, where, as rebels both to the state and the empire, they were put to death. This was the establishment and the basis of the grandeur of Cosimo the First de Medici, who, afterwards, on the 30th of September, obtained a most ample diploma of the emperor Charles the Fifth. Upon this memorable victory the Pistoians congratulated the duke with an excess of joy by their ambassadors; and the party of the Panciatichi, who had rendered all possible assistance, recollecting that the Cancellieri of the House in the Wood had taken refuge in the parish church of Cutigliano, when that place was sacked by the captain Vincenzo di Poggio, and the proud towers which were there were ruined to the foundation, they now hastened with such ferocity to the assault of that church, that, after a long and good defence, the besieged, without hope of succour, surrendered at

Piero
Strozzi.

Philip
Strozzi
executed.

discretion to their enemies, who uniting with those of Valdibura, of Cireglio, and of Uzzo, their adherents, burned of the Cancellieri more than thirteen hundred houses in the commons of Bigiano, in the abbey of Pacciana, in Chiazzano, Satornana, Calamecca, Crespole, and Lanciole.

The emperor preparing in Lombardy for battle against Francis the First, king of France, and relying on the valour of Piero Strozzi, general of the Italian infantry, the Pistoians were agitated with fears, and made great preparations for defence.

1538. The controversy between Pistoia and Lucca, about the boundary between them near Pupillio, being adjusted, the duke Cosimo was desirous of establishing the peace of the city; and for this object, with menaces and efficacious admonitions, he did not cease to press the obstinate citizens to submit to a regular life, and reduce their affairs for once to good order and a state of tranquillity; but as the Pistoians, in their unbalanced state, had no other consolation than to stand immersed in dissensions, quarrels, and discords, they gave no attention to the sovereign councils, but went on more tumultuous, wicked, and seditious, destroying the good order of government, reducing every thing, without controul, to the advantage of their private interests, and the wantonness of their wild caprices.* The indignation of the duke was at last excited against these obstinate brains, whom he thought it his duty to tame, by taking from them all the honours, public offices, and revenues of the city, as well as the institutions of charity, and to shut up the palace, the residence of

* Sempre piu tumultuanti, e facinorosi, e seditiosi, querelando il buon ordine del governo, riducevano quello, senza freno, ai vantaggi dei propri interessi, e disordinati capricci.

the supreme magistrates. With this view he elected four commissaries for the affairs of Pistoia, and gave them full authority to fulfil his determination. All this was ordained and established at the instigation of certain citizens of Pistoia, and rendered vain all the efforts of the people; since, by the tenor of the sovereign command, all the magistracies and offices of the city were suppressed, and the administration of all the revenues and institutions of charity was consigned to Taddeo Guiducci, and Christopher Ranieri, with the title of Proveditors General, who received into their possession all the moveables of the public palace, and the supreme magistrates who had resided in it were dismissed. Six citizens were deputed, with the title of Proveditors of the Commons, to whom the palace was committed: these, with the resident commissary, and not otherwise, assembled to treat of the affairs of their city. These having held the office a certain time, it was permitted to the Pistoians to draw six subjects from a purse destined to that use; but the duke apprehending that these new regulations would excite insurrections, he sent a body of soldiers, only three hundred and fifty in number, to disarm the citizens, and rein-in the seditious and the wicked; amplified the fortifications, and furnished them with every necessary.—Many of the Pistoians now considered themselves as slaves, and thought their nobility debased by the privation of all the honours, public offices, and revenues: they thought it inconsistent with the dignity of their blood to lead a life so obscure and inglorious; many therefore retired from the city, and went to inhabit in other places; hence the city was in danger of depopulation, became defective in many arts of convenience and necessity, and nothing was

1539.

was heard but sighs, groans, and lamentations. The few inhabitants who remained, knowing the great damage which had resulted to their country from this resolution of the duke, were never satisfied with venting their reproaches and curses against those who had advised it; and they would have attempted more such great things as compose the whole history of their country, if many had not been disheartened by the rigour of the new government.

All the soldiers in garrison at Pistoia being, in obedience to the orders of the sovereign, gone, with all those in the state of Florence, to make their honours and acclamations on the happy marriage of the duke Cosimo with Leonora, the daughter of don Peter of Toledo, marquis of Villa Franca, and viceroy of Naples, the Cancellieri esteemed the opportunity convenient to rise and take vengeance on the Panciatichi. As all the soldiers, and many of the citizens, were gone to Florence, the Cancellieri resolved to enter the city in the night, and kill all the Panciatichi, without pardoning or sparing one, that there might not remain the least memorial of them. They hired people from various places, of every quality, and some of the most brave, intrepid, and desperate; and having gained over to their party many in the city, that they might, at a critical moment, open the gates, they introduced, in small numbers at a time, many of their most desperate men, and quartered them in perfect secrecy, in the houses of their adherents and partisans. They elected for their captain Gio. Tonti, who entered the service in the night of the 15th of June, and put in order more than four hundred soldiers, and marched with them to the gate of St. Mark, at Pistoia, where the walls were lowest,
gave

gave the concerted signal to those within, that with their knowledge he might enter the city unknown to their enemies. At the signal of Tonti, those who were upon the walls let down suddenly one of their men, with orders to say to those without, that they had waited for hours, and because day approached, many had retired to their houses for fear of a discovery; and that therefore it would be advisable to delay the enterprize till the next night. Hearing this, Tonti sent immediately one of his aids to desire those upon the walls not to depart, and instantly consulting his colleagues, he found but one for waiting till the next night. Transported with impatience, Tonti at once cried out to his soldiers, "Now is the time to shew our courage!" and placing a ladder against the wall, mounted to the top, and hastily moving the ladder to come near a certain stone, in order to leap out upon the wall, he fell with it into the ditch. His people hearing the noise of his fall, but not seeing, by reason of the thickness of the air, what had happened, they suspected that they were discovered, and that Tonti had been repulsed by the contrary party. Those therefore who had ascended on other ladders turned back, and gave themselves to flight, very few remaining for the defence of Tonti; among these the most spirited and the most faithful pressed to see what had happened, and discovered Tonti, with one thigh broken, half dead in the ditch; understanding the truth from him, they placed him on a ladder, and, with the assistance of his brother, carried him to a house in the neighbourhood as a place of security. In this unfortunate circumstance, Simon Gatteschi, and Philip Ghelardini, persons of great zeal and activity, prepared to carry on the enterprize.

Confiding

Confiding much in the assistance of those in the city, they hastened early, with thirty followers, to the gate of St. Mark, and finding it open, entered the city, and marched to the piazza. As many of the Panciatichi as they found they killed, which raised a great uproar in the city, and intimidated the people so much, that all retired to their habitations. The heads of the Panciatichi observing that the rioters were very few, and that none in the city gave them assistance, took courage, and making, by order of the commissary, a hasty collection of men, they began with these to pursue the others with so much spirit, that some of them fled out of the city, went towards Cireglio and Cavinana, there made a rich prey, and escaped into Lombardy. Others were taken and severely punished, and afterwards all the accomplices of the conspiracy were by public proclamation declared rebels: thus ended the tumult. The commissary afterwards ordered to be arrested many of the Cancellieri party, which was about fifty in number, held them three months in prison, put some of them to the torture, by which he discovered the truth of the fact, and then set all at liberty, without condemning any.

1541. All contradiction and opposition being suppressed, and the harvest being plentiful, the Pistoians thought no felicity superior to theirs, and they thought it lawful to forget the past by immersing themselves in a sea of pleasures, by the allurements of which they were seduced into a very vicious and expensive life.

1547. Cosimo acknowledged that the privation of honours and offices had decreased the population of the city, diminished commerce and the revenue, and therefore esteemed it his interest, as well as that of the public, that the city should be restored
to

to its primitive state. On the 30th of March, 1547, he granted, in favour of the Pistoians, all the honours and public offices, and all the privileges, which were established in the year 1496, in the convention with the Florentines. The purses were soon formed of the usual magistrates, and all the persons worthy of that pre-eminence and those honours had their names imborfed, and the subjects were drawn with universal rejoicings.

The representatives of the factions of Cancellieri, under the name of Dormentoni, and those of the Panciatichi, under that of Risoluti, made by some among the sports and shows of the Carnival, with habits and ornaments proper to that age, excited some injurious words and confusions, of so serious a nature, that there was great danger of reviving the ancient animosities and insurrections: but the duke Cosimo caused to be arrested the inventors of those masquerades, intimidated their followers, and restored the public tranquillity; and, to make the greater impresson on the people, and secure their quiet for the future, he punished the prisoners in an exemplary manner.

1555.

The government continued absolute in the family of Medici till the year 1737, when, upon the death of John Gaston the First, the last grand duke of that family, without issue, the family became extinct. Don Carlos, king of Naples, in his own name, and Philip the Fifth, king of Spain, not only in his own name, but also in the name of the infant don Philip, and don Louis, and the other sons whom he might have by the queen of Spain, renounced all right and pretence, which they or their descendants might have, to the succession of the grand dukedom of Tuscany, and transferred all such rights, actions, or pretences, to Francesco di Leopoldo, duke of Lorrain and Bar, his heirs

1737.

and successors ; and Pistoia soon swore allegiance to the new sovereign. And here ends another most splendid example of the blessings and felicities of a republic without three orders forming a mutual balance !—It is quite unnecessary to excite the resentment, or flatter the vanity, of any individuals or families in America, by mentioning their names : but if you begin at New Hampshire, and proceed through all the states to Georgia, you will at once be able to fix your thoughts upon some five or six families in each state, some two of whom will, in the course of fifty years, perhaps of five (unless they are restrained by an independent executive power, three independent branches in the legislature, and an independent judicial department) be able to divide the state into two parties, one generally at the head of the gentlemen, the other of the simplemen, tear one another to pieces, and rend the vitals of their country with as ferocious animosity, as unrelenting rancour and cruelty, as ever actuated the Cancellieri and the Panciatici in Pistoia. And it will not be the fault of these individuals or families ; they will not be able to avoid it, let their talents or virtues be what they may : their friends, connections, and dependents, will stimulate and urge them forward, by every provocation of flattery, ridicule, and menaces, until they plunge them into an abyss, out of which they can never rise :—It will be entirely the fault of the constitution, and of the people who will not now adopt a good one : it will be the misfortune of those individuals and families as much as of the public ; for what consolation can it be to a man, to think that his whole life, and that of his son and grandson, must be spent in unceasing misery and warfare, for the sake only of a possibility that his great grandson may become a despot !

L E T T E R

L E T T E R II.

C R E M O N A .

DEAR SIR,

C R E M O N A had persevered under the government of consuls until 1180, when she 1180.
changed the form of her government, reducing all the authority of the consuls to one person alone, who, from the supreme power which was given him, was denominated a podesta. The elections of consuls had occasioned such contests among the principal families (as none could be elected to that dignity who were not citizens) that it was now ordained by law, that none should be elected to the office of podesta who was not a foreigner, and a citizen of any other city, as should be agreeable to the council, provided he was not related by blood to any of the electors, had a real estate in the city or country, and was arrived at least to thirty-six years of age: and, above all things, they sought for men of prudence and most eminent reputation, to whom, as soon as they were elected, they sent letters by a public order, praying them to accept the dignity offered them; and on the day when they made their entry into the city, with a public concourse and acclamations, they were by the whole people solemnly met and received. They carried in ceremony the ensigns of their authority, the furred cap, the long sword, the rod, and the scepter:* and because for the

* Il capello, et il stovo, et la verga, o scettro.

most part they were men of military talents, as well as skilful in the laws, they conducted with them judges expert in the legal science, by whose means they heard and tried all causes civil and criminal, and assembled the council when it was necessary. After this change of magistracy from consuls to a podesta, which, however, was of short duration and little stability, such was their inconstancy, that they created sometimes a podesta, sometimes consuls, and at other times both consuls and a podesta together; and there occurred to the state and republic of Cremona many and very great disturbances.

1183. *Peace of Constance.* Cremona, in 1183, sent her ambassadors to Placentia, where were assembled all the ambassadors of the other cities of Lombardy, Marca, and Romagna, together with the ambassadors of the emperor, and king Henry his son, in May. At this assembly it was concluded, that all the cities should send their ambassadors to the diet of Constance, a principal city of Germany, to establish the peace negotiated between the emperor and the cities. The twenty-fifth of June, 1183, was established, ratified, and confirmed, that peace, so solemn and so celebrated, which from the name of the city where it was made, was called the peace of Constance; a correct copy of which treaty is to be found at the end of the fourteenth book of Sigonius, of the kingdom of Italy.*

1190. Such was the instability of the government, that the city returned, in 1190, to the administration of consuls.

1191. They in the next year elected a podesta again, who led them out to war, but was unfortunate, and this made them weary of a podesta; and the

* Muratori, *Annal.* anno 1183.

next year they created consuls, and consuls were annually elected until 1195, when they returned to a podesta. All this is perfectly natural: the people were distressed by the contest of the principal families when they had consuls, and therefore wished to have a foreigner as a podesta to keep them in order. The principal families, however, struggled for consuls, that they might have the rule; and one party prevailed this year, and the other the next.

1192.

1195.

The consuls, in 1198, to supply the city with water, dug a well, and built a conduit of water, which was afterwards called the Murmur, from the complaints of the people against the expence of it, which was so great, that they rose in tumults, and insisted in choosing a podesta. Cremosino Oldrino was accordingly appointed, and governed jointly with the consuls to the end of the year.

1198.

Any one may pursue at his leisure the particulars of the changes from consuls to podesta, and from podesta to consuls, till the year 1209, when, upon the appointment of consuls, there arose discords and civil seditions, which brought the republic to the brink of ruin. The city became divided as it were into two, by a rivulet that passes through it; on one side it was called the New City, and on the other the Old, though all the popular men of the old city joined with the new: in short, the division was between the gentlemen and the populars at bottom. The new city arose in tumults, and were joined by all but the gentlemen in the old, made new magistrates and governors, and congregated together to constitute a new general council at Sant' Agata.

1209.

The old city and the new, each, made its podesta, and many quarrels and civil wars fol-

1210.

lowed; and the hatred between persons and parties increasing, as if they had not been born in the same city, but had been most cruel enemies, they soaked the bosom of their common mother with blood, and had no mercy on her houses or riches, which they consumed by fire. But with much pains and intercessions of the bishop a peace was made, by which the podesta of the new city submitted to the podesta of the old, and swore obedience to him, with this reservation, however, that he was to be podesta of the people.

1121. The civil war was renewed in 1211, between the citizens of the old and the new city. The two factions proceeded to a sharp conflict, and after having killed an infinite number of citizens, those of the old city set fire to the houses in the neighbourhood of the scene of action, and consumed every thing in them. The year before, Otto had been excommunicated by Innocent, the pope, and deprived of the empire, and Frederigo Rogerio was elected in his place: for this reason the Cremonese went this year in favour of the marquis of Este, and drove out of Ferrara Uguccione de Guarnesi, who was podesta there in the name of Otto.

1212. In 1212 civil discords were somewhat appeased, and consuls were appointed. The wars between Cremona, Milan, and Placentia, may be read by those who are curious, but are not to our

1217. purpose. They lasted till 1217, in the beginning of which year civil discords and seditions increased, because the people could not agree in creating the magistrates; and it was not till after a long delay, and the interposition of the pope, with apostolical exhortations by letter, that they were persuaded to lay aside their hatreds and discords, so far as to appoint a podesta.

In 1221 the most terrible discords and civil wars, between the gentlemen and the common people in Placentia, were accommodated for a time, under the mediation of Sozzo Coglioni, podestà of Cremona. The substance of the peace, to which each party swore, was to lay aside their discords and contentions, and forgive the injuries, damages, and mischiefs, mutually committed and received. But of what avail are oaths and treaties, which the nature of man and the form of the government will not permit to be observed?

This year two noble citizens of Cremona were made, one after another, podestàs of Placentia. 1222.

In the beginning of the year 1229 the discords among the citizens prevailed so far, that they created consuls, and those only for six months; and this year there was a confederacy of Verona, Modena, and Parma, against Cremona. 1229.

There arose, in 1232, in the city of Cremona, seditions and civil wars. 1232.

The Cremonese united with the popular party in Placentia, in favour of whom Uberto Pallavicino, from Cremona, went with an hundred light-horse, to oppose the noble exiles. 1233.

The Milanese and Brescians, joining the noble exiles from Placentia, went with a powerful army against Cremona, and deformed the whole country with blood and fire. 1234.

In the year 1242 began to take root in Cremona those abominable and pernicious factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, and infected it to such a degree, as occasioned an infinite expence of the blood of the citizens, and inestimable destruction of wealth, an unspeakable perdition of families, and a most melancholy and miserable ruin of the country. 1242.

1246. The city was, in 1246, divided between the two factions; but the Ghibellines had the majority, and obtained the appointment of a podesta. This year the emperor Frederick was excommunicated by the pope and council at Lyons, in France, and Henry duke of Thuringia was elected.

1247. The two factions daily increased in violence. The old city, that is, the gentlemen, were favourers of the Ghibellines, and adherents of Frederick, the schismatical emperor; and the new city, that is, the common people, were partisans of the Guelphs, who adhered to the holy see. The bloody wars occasioned by this division, between Frederick and Innocent, and their respective followers, you will read at your leisure, and you will laugh at the terrible disgrace of Cremona in the loss of their triumphal chariot, an infamy which none but the gentlemen could obliterate. The marquis Uberto Pallavicino, a most powerful man, and of great reputation, but a zealous Ghibelline and old-city-man, was appointed podesta: he fought a memorable battle, made two thousand prisoners, retook the carroccio, and returned in triumph to Cremona.

Pallavicino.

Campo begins his third book in the manner of Machiavel, with deep, grave, and formal reflections, as if a diversity of sentiments, contradictory principles, inconsistent interests, and opposite passions among the citizens, could be reconciled and united by declamations against discord, and panegyrics upon unanimity, without a balance, in a government possessed of sufficient force. Disunion of the citizens is, indeed, according to him, the worst evil in a city; for what mortal pestilence can bring upon them greater damage than discord? This not only precipitates noble and illustrious

rious families to ruin, but exterminates powerful and famous cities : nor is there any principality or kingdom so stable or well-founded that it may not be torn up by factions. If this is true, it is still an argument against constituting a city in such a manner that it must necessarily be destroyed by factions. All things are maintained and increased by concord, and go to ruin by disunion ; union brings victory, and discord defeat : enemies are easily resisted when you agree among yourselves ; when the members are disunited from the body, the person loses both strength and beauty. When Cyrus divided the Euphrates into three hundred rivulets, a child might ford the largest of them, though his favourite had been drowned in attempting the united water. Italy, the lady and the queen of the world, after infinite conflagrations, sacks, slaughters, pillages, subversions, and ruins, has finally been degraded, by the discords of her sons, into a servant and a handmaid. All this may be true ; but how long will republicans be the dupes of their own simplicity ! how long will they depend upon sermons, prayers, orations, declamations, in honour of brotherly love, and against discords, when they know that, without human means, it is but tempting and insulting Providence to depend upon them for the happiness of life, or the liberty of society !—The city of Cremona, to come to the present point, by its discords and divisions suffered intolerable evils, and ultimately lost her liberty, falling under the power and domination of Uberto Pallavicino ; who, taking the opportunity from the controversies which went on every day increasing among citizens, disunited and divided into divers factions of new city and old, gentlemen and common people, Guelphs and Ghibellines,

1251. of Capelletti, of Barbarasi, and of Maltraversi, in the year 1251, from podesta, made himself absolute lord, patron, and master, of the commonwealth, by the assistance of the Ghibellines, who in the old city were very numerous and powerful.

Sozzo Vistarino, a principal nobleman of the city of Lodi, maintained, as a guard of his person, a company of soldiers from Cremona: but the whole family of Vistarino being soon afterwards banished and expelled by the people of Lodi, pope Innocent endeavoured to negotiate their restoration. But the people would accept of no conditions of peace until Milan and Cremona made war upon them, and unitedly compelled the people of Lodi to receive the Vistarini into their city. At the end of the same year the marquis Pallavicino, at the requisition of the people of Placentia against their noble exiles, went, with many ceremonies, to the siege of Rivergaro, to which those nobles had retired.

1252. The Cremonians about Rivergaro, in 1252, compelled the noble exiles of Placentia to surrender, and their castles and lands were destroyed. Pallavicino, not content with having made himself master of Cremona, or rather of the old city, aspired to the dominion of Placentia, and to this end gave trouble enough to the podesta of that city. While Pallavicino was master of the old city, his rivals Boffio Dovara, first, and Azzolino Dovara, of the same family, were successively made lords of the new city.

1253. Uberto Pallavicino, in 1253, was by the Placentians created podesta of that city: but as the affairs of Cremona were in a critical and fluctuating posture, he left a vice-podesta at Placentia.

The

The marquis Pallavicino, having arranged affairs as he would in Cremona, returned to Placentia in 1254, and, by favour of the Ghibellines, was created perpetual governor and lord of that city. 1254.

Uberto Pallavicino, with the Ghibellines of Cremona and Placentia, went to the assistance of Ezelino of Romagna, the most cruel of tyrants, and confederating with him against the Mantouans, consigned to fire and sword the whole territory, and laid siege to the city for three weeks, and would have taken it, if the marquis of Este, and the Bolognese, had not come to its relief. 1256.

A kind of triumvirate was formed between Ezzelino, Pallavicino, and Dovara, who aspired at the domination of Lombardy. 1258.

The triumvirate disagreed, and a new league was formed between Pallavicino, Dovara, Azzone marquis of Este and Ancona, Louis count of Verona, Ferrara, and Padoua, on the one part, against Ezzelino. The particulars of the war, and the success of Pallavicino against Ezzelino, the conquest of Bressia, and the subsequent persecutions of the Guelph party in that kingdom, may be omitted; but in the year 1260 the rage of factions and seditions were so distressing to all the cities, that there arose a new species of pilgrimage and penitence, whose object was to restore peace among the parties, and obtain the return of the exiles to their proper cities. The number of these pious and charitable people grew to be prodigious in Tuscany, Romagna, and Lombardy, and very austere were their penitences, and very affecting their cries of "Mercy! mercy!" Pallavicino was alarmed, and prohibited, under severe penalties, these kind of pilgrimages in Cremona 1259. 1260.

and Bressia, because he feared they would prove the ruin of those seditions and divisions by which he maintained the domination of those cities. He grew proud and insolent, plundered the bishopric, and drove the bishop into exile.

1261. Pallavicino having recovered the city of Placentia by means of the Ghibellines, went with a noble company of Cremonians, and established a government, making podesta Visconte Pallavicino, a son of one of his brothers.

1263. Gandione Dovara, a noble Cremonese, was, in the name of Pallavicino, podesta of Placentia; but the Guelph exiles making an insurrection, he was driven out with his garrison. Pallavicino began at this time to be uncommonly jealous of Bossio Dovara.

1264. Pallavicino fell into a controversy with Philip della Torre, and detained in Cremona all the merchants of Milan, with their effects, pretending that Philip was his debtor, for having given him assistance, with his Cremonese soldiers, to recover the castle of Arona, occupied by Ottone Visconte, archbishop of Milan.

1266. Pallavicino, in 1266, grew odious, and the factions of the Barbarasi, as well as the Ghibellines, had plundered the church, so that the city was laid under an interdict; and the pope's nuncios had influence enough with the people to produce a revolution, a deposition of Pallavicino, and a restoration of all the exiles, by the general council.

1267. After the deposition of Pallavicino, Bossio Dovara occupied the dominion of Cremona; for, upon the return of Amatino Amati, the proper head of the contrary faction, from exile, Dovara, with his followers, were driven out of the city; but he went only to Placentia, and there held the dominion,

nion, and appointed to the government a podesta, Gerardino Dovara, a relation.

Uberto Pallavicino having lost the lordship of the principal cities of Lombardy, died miserably in his Sisalgio castle, in which he was besieged by the Parmesans and Placentians. 1269.

Bossio Dovara, with the Ghibelline exiles from Cremona, went in favour of Napoleone della Torre, against his enemies at Lodi. This year they began in Cremona to create captains of the people. 1270.

Pontio Amato, a citizen of Cremona, being podesta of Milan, was killed in a battle between the Torriani, and Ottone Visconte, archbishop of Milan. 1273.

The Torriani having taken Crema, set fire to it. The Cremonese of the Guelph faction gave assistance to those of Torre, against Ottone and the other Visconti, with whom were Bossio Dovara of the Ghibelline faction, who prepared employment enough to the Torriain. 1278.

The Cremonese and Parmesans, desirous of effacing the memory of the injuries done them in times past, restored their triumphal chariot of the podesta, which had been laid aside. Great joy was discovered upon this occasion, and the two cities entered into a strict confederation with the Modenese and Reggians, and the marquis of Este. The principal article of this league was, that they should assist the inhabitants of Lodi, who were molested by the Milanese, who favoured the party of the Visconti, of which the marquis of Monferrato was captain. Bossio Dovara, and Gabrino di Monza, who were also of the faction of the Visconti, entered into Crema with four hundred soldiers on horseback, and as many on foot, the Guelphs having fled. 1281.

The

1282.

The Torriani being exiled from Lodi, took refuge in Cremona, and at the same time Bossio Dovara, sallying out from Crema, took by stratagem Soncino and Romanengo, castles in the jurisdiction of Cremona. The Cremonese of the Guelph faction, then dominant, fearing that their affairs would grow worse, assembled their army, and called a diet of the cities their confederates. The ambassadors therefore of Placentia, Reggio, Parma, Modena, Brescia, Bologna, and Ferrara, assembled at Cremona; and the marquis of Este came in person. Florence, and the other cities of Tuscany, offered to lend their aid; the same offer was made by John Appiano, procurator of Romagna. They sent also a noble embassy to the pope, to inform him of the situation of affairs in Lombardy, and in how much danger were the cities affectionate to his highness. Ottone Visconte perceiving these movements, entered into a closer league with the marquis of Monferrato, and collecting as many armed men as they could, marched out with the triumphal chariot of Milan, and united with Bossio Dovara. The Cremonese conducted their army, now very powerful by the additions of the confederates, partly to Castellione, and partly to Paderno, castles of Cremona; and while the two armies stood fronting each other, they began to treat of peace, which was finally concluded, by means of the ambassadors of Placentia and Brescia. The conditions of this peace were, that all the cities should expel each other's exiles. Ottone Visconte easily complied with the conditions of this convention, because he had already conceived no small jealousy of the marquis of Monferrato, and a most violent hatred against Bossio Dovara, who, being excluded from this confederation and peace, and having too much confidence

confidence in himself, refused to surrender Soncino and Romanengo. The Cremonese therefore called another diet, who sent an army and expelled him, not only from those two castles, but from Crema. William and Ugolino Rossi, noble and most powerful citizens of Parma, having contracted marriage, the first with Donella Carrara, of the signori of Padoua, and the other with Elena Cavalcabo, of the family of the marquis of Viadana, these cities had made peace, and were full of rejoicings on the union.

William, marquis of Montferrato, having made war upon Ottone Visconte, archbishop of Milan, the Cremonese sent some companies of soldiers to his assistance. At this time the triumphal chariot began to be disused, as very inconvenient in battle: they retained only the general standard in white, with a red cross, to which Ottone, who was the first to use it, added the image of St. Ambrose. 1285.

A peace was concluded, in 1286, between the Visconte, the archbishop, and the exiles of Milan. 1286.

The numerous family of Sommi had a confirmation of certain rights, anciently granted to the family by the bishop of Cremona.

A new confederation was formed, in 1288, between Ottone Visconte, archbishop of Milan, and the cities of Cremona, Pavia, Placentia, Brescia, Genoa, and Asto, against the marquis of Monferrato: but the marquis of Monferrato having made himself sovereign lord of Pavia, a new diet was assembled at Cremona, and another confederation formed. 1288.

Matthew Visconte, who by Adolphus, king of the Romans, had been declared Imperial vicar of the city of Milan, called a diet in that city, to deliberate on a war against the Torriani. The ambassadors 1294.

bassadors of Cremona were there, and promised to send their forces to the aid of Visconte: but the Torriani made no movement, and Visconte did not long hesitate to break with Cremona and Lodi; for, impatient to enrich his followers, he began to discover an intention to impose taxes on those cities. The Torriani too began to complain, and were supported by the patriarch of Aquileia: the Torriani came to Cremona, and began to prepare war against Matthew Visconte.

1295. The Torriani removed from Cremona to Lodi, where they met many of their friends, and soon received the news that Matthew Visconte had taken Castellione from the Cremonese: the Torriani, with some soldiers from Cremona and Lodi, and a gross multitude of Milanese exiles, their adherents, went to meet Visconte, but were attacked and routed by him.

1299. The ambassadors of Cremona, of the marquis of Monferrato, of the marquis d'Este, of Novara, of Casale, of Bergamo, and of Vercelli, all congregated at Pavia, and made a league against Matthew Visconte. The Cremonese, not long afterwards, with the marquis d'Este, were routed by Visconte. This year, however, a peace was concluded between Milan and Cremona, in which no mention is made of Visconte.

1302. A league was made, in 1302, between Cremona, Placentia, and Pavia, and they chose for their captain-general Alberto Scotto, then lord of Placentia: these having hired a good body of soldiers, and united with the Torriani, went under the walls of Milan. Matthew Visconte, seeing that he was hated by his fellow-citizens, went out of Milan, and renounced all his authority to Scotto; and while they were treating of peace, the Torriani entered Milan, and drove off Matthew and all his partisans.

partisans. After having expelled the Visconti from Milan, a new congress met at Placentia, of ambassadors from Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Como, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Crema, Casale, and Bergamo, and concluded to hire, at the common expence, and for the common defence, a thousand horse and a thousand foot.

A tumult in Parma, in 1303, was occasioned by 1303.
an attempt of Giberto di Correggio to restore the Parmesan exiles. Giacompo Cavalcabo, lord of Viadana, Amato, Perscio, and Sommo, all noble citizens of Cremona, and old friends of Correggio, transported themselves to Parma, were elected arbitrators, and soon decided the controversy in favour of their friend Correggio. This year controversies and enmity arose between the Cremonese, and Alberto Scotto, lord of Placentia.

There was a diet of confederate cities, in 1304, 1304.
against Alberto Scotto. A powerful army was collected, and the marquis of Monferrato, and the marquis of Saluzzo, were created captains; and having passed the Po, and taken many castles in the neighbourhood, laid siege to Placentia: but the Cremonians and Lodians, considering the danger they might be exposed to if that noble and powerful city should fall into the hands of the marquis of Monferrato, they began to withdraw their troops. They were followed by those of Pavia, and the others, and the army was dispersed, and Placentia delivered from the siege. A new league was made against Scotto, the head of which was Visconte Pallavicino; and the next year the Torriani made themselves masters of Placentia.

Giacopo Cavalcabo, a most noble citizen of 1307.
Cremona, and lord of Viadana, a man of ingenuity, and an elevated spirit, was created podesta of Milan.

Milan. The Fulgosi, Scotti, and Palastrelli, noble families of Placentia, with the assistance of William Cavalcabo and the Cremonians, expelled Lando and Visconte Palavicino from Placentia.

1308. Guido della Torre, lord of Milan, made Perfico, a noble Cremonian, podesta of that city. This year a controversy arising between the Parmesans and Giberto di Correggio, the Rossi, the Lupi, and other noble exiles, who had taken refuge in Cremona, were summoned by their countrymen to return; and they instantly obeyed, and carried with them the assistance of Tignaca Pallavicino, who at that time was podesta of Cremona, and the Cremonian soldiers, and having driven Correggio from Parma, Giacobbo Cavalcabo was created podesta of that city. A confederation was also made between Guido della Torre, and the city of Cremona, to which Lodi, Bergama, Placentia, and Crema, acceded.

1309. Guiliano Sommo, a noble Cremonian, was made podesta, and captain of the commons and people of Placentia, for six months, according to the custom of those times.

1310. Henry the Seventh, the emperor, came, at the end of 1310, into Italy to be crowned, and he called together all the Ghibellines of Lombardy, among whom Matthew Visconte held the first place. At that time the authority and influence of William Cavalcabo, brother of Giacopo, was so great in Cremona, that all public affairs were administered according to his will; but as these brothers were the heads of the Guelph faction, they were little friendly to the emperor.

1311. Cremona, in 1311, tasted more than ever the bitter fruits of faction, civil discord, and unbalanced government, with which, however, it had been vexed and distressed for many years: it was
now,

now, besides infinite proscriptions of property and slaughter of citizens, upon the brink of total ruin from Henry. Fachetto, marquis of Canossa, had been sent with the title of Imperial vicar, but had been refused and expelled by the Guelphs, who then had the domination in Cremona: the emperor's indignation was excited, and he gave orders to Matthew Visconte to pass the Adda, and assault Cremona with an army of Ghibellines, who, collecting together from every quarter, were increased to a great number. The emperor himself, with the empress his consort, departing from Milan, removed to Lodi. Gulielmo Cavalcabo, to whom had been given by the Guelphs the absolute dominion of Cremona, perceiving such formidable preparations for war, knowing his own city to be nearly divided into equal parties, and having little confidence in his own faction, quitted the city, and went to Viadana, followed by the Picenardi, Sommi, and Perfichi, with many others, nobles and populars, his adherents: and the city would have been wholly evacuated and abandoned, if the citizens had not been dissuaded by Sopramonte Amato, who went into the middle of the multitude, exhorted them to stay, and throw themselves on the mercy of the emperor, whom he painted as pious and clement, and offered himself as one of the principal intercessors. The people being comforted by his speech, it was ordered, that two hundred of the principal men should go to meet Henry, who, hearing of the flight of Cavalcabo and his adherents, removed towards Cremona, and was already arrived at Paderno, eight miles distant from that city: there he was found by the Cremonians, who had been sent with Sopramonte Amato, who, in miserable habits, with their heads uncovered, with naked feet, and cords about

about their necks, when they came before the emperor, fell upon their knees, and cried out, "Mercy!" (*misericordia!*) and, with tears and lamentations, endeavoured to recommend themselves and their country to the clemency of the conqueror. Such a spectacle of misery might have moved to compassion the heart of cruelty itself: it had not, however, the force to move in the smallest degree to mercy the most inhuman soul of Henry, who, with a cruelty more than barbarous, rolling his eyes another way, that he might not see them, commanded, with a voice of ferocity, that they should be all sent to prison; which was instantly executed by his ministers, and they were soon after put to death. Henry entered Cremona, assembled the council, and ordered that the walls of the city should be thrown down. This order was executed: and Henry desired to have the houses demolished; but at the prayer of some of his lords and barons, he was diverted from this malicious purpose; but they could not hinder many from being burned by Cremonian citizens, who had been exiles for being of the Ghibelline faction, and who sought every cruel method of revenge for the injuries they had received. The city was therefore filled with misery; the *Tedesques* and *Italians* all robbed alike; and nothing was heard but violence, murder, rapine, and extortion. The most rich were sure to be declared guilty, and their estates to be confiscated.—The emperor at last came to the public palace, and caused to be published a most severe sentence, in which he condemned the *Cremonians* to pay an hundred thousand golden florins, confiscated the public revenue, and ordered that the walls and bulwarks of the city should be ruined, and the ditches filled up. These hard conditions were
accepted,

accepted, and the observation of them sworn to by Frederick Artezaga, syndic of the commons of Cremona, in whom was left the government of the faction of Ghibellines, favoured and exalted by the emperor, who now left one of his vicars, and departed. The Guelphs, thus ill treated, now concerted another confederation, and called in to their aid Robert, king of Puglia: into this league entered all the cities of Romagna and Tuscany. The principal were Florence, Lucca, and Sienna; and of those of Lombardy, Bologna, Reggio, and Parma, whose sovereign lord was Giberto di Correggio. The Torriani, and the Cavalcabos, with the rest of the Milanese and Cremonian exiles, joined the confederacy; and all these united, after having made themselves masters of the bridge of Dossolo over the Po, took also Casalmaggiore, driving out the Ghibellines.

William Cavalcabo, having learned that John Castiglione, podesta of Cremona, in the name of the emperor, was gone with the militia to Pozzoboronzio, a place subject to the Cremonians, in which were some Guelphs, taking advantage of this opportunity, flies with admirable rapidity to Cremona, and entering the city by the gate della Mosa, arrived without opposition to the piazza, where he was encountered by Galeazzo Visconte, and Manfredino Pallavicino; but these not being able to sustain the impetuosity of the soldiers of Cavalcabo, not without a great slaughter of Ghibellines, among whom was slain Giacomo Redenasco, they resigned themselves to flight, and Galeazzo saved himself in Crema. Soon afterwards, as an insurrection was expected in Cremona, Giberto di Reggio went thither from Parma, where he was received with tokens of the greatest joy; and having quieted with great prudence the controversies,

troverfies, he eftablifhed Cavalcabo in the lordfhip of the city, making Quirico Sanvitale, his fon-in-law, podetta. The inhabitants of Soncino having alfo expelled the Imperial governor, furrendered to Cavalcabo, who, fearing that the enemy would encamp at that poft, went thither fuddenly with Venturino Benzzone, head of the Guelphs of Crema, and with Venturino Fondulo, one of the principal men of Soncino. The Barbufi, and other families of Soncino, of the oppofite faction, having conveyed intelligence of this to the emperor, he gave Soncino to the count Guarnero, his general in Lombardy, who went and laid fieve to the place. There were in Soncino, befides the Terrazzani, the Guelphs of Cremona, Crema, and Bergamo; and with the count Guarnero, befides the Tedefque troops, were the Ghibellines of Cremona, Bergamo, and Crema. The inhabitants of Soncino defended themfelves on the firft affault with great activity, encouraged by the valour of Cavalcabo, Benzzone, and Fondulo; but feized with a panic, upon fome advantage gained by Galeazzo Vifconte, the foldiers, who came to their affiftance from Cremona, abandoned fhamefully their defence, and retreated into the houfes. Cavalcabo, feeing fuch cowardice or treachery, confulted with Benzzone to get out of that place as foon as poffible: collecting their foldiers in a compact body, they rufhed into the midft of the enemy, combating with wonderful intrepidity; but Cavalcabo being killed, and Benzzone, and Venturino Fondulo, with his two fons, made prifoners, the Ghibellines remained victorious. Benzzone, falling into the hands of the Ghibellines of Crema, was miferably affaffinated; and Fondulo, with his two fons, by the orders of Guarnero, were hanged before the gate of Soncino. The news of this defeat

defeat filled Cremona with terror and confusion: but Giberto Correggio, with a company of Parmesans, coming in, their fears subsided, and the enemy having intelligence of this succour, had not the courage to approach the walls. The Cremonians, to recompense the benefit received from Correggio, gave him the dominion of the city for five years. The Guelphs took Castellione, in which was Manfredino Pallavicino, who was made prisoner: and Castelnovo, the mouth of the Adda to the Guelphs, was taken by the Ghibellines.

Passarino della Torre had the government of Cremona in 1313, with the title of vicar of Robert, king of Puglia. 1313.

Giacopo Cavalcabo, marquis of Viadana, was, in 1315, by the common consent of the people, elected to the dominion of Cremona. Ponzino de Ponzoni, his brother-in-law, whether from private envy or republican jealousy, was enraged beyond all measure at this, and he stirred up insurrections against Cavalcabo, many other noble families, the Ponzoni, the Guazoni, the Amati, and the Picenardi, who went out of Cremona, and made a league with the Visconte, and occasioned much mischief and ruin to their country, against which they took up arms. 1315.

Ponzino Ponzone, and all his adherents, having made a league with Cane della Scala, lord of Verona, and with Passarino Buona Cossi, lord of Mantoua, came to Cremona, and laid siege to it; but by the valour of those within were repulsed; yet they did much damage in the territory. A peace, or the appearance of a peace, between those in the city and the exiles, was then made; and by common consent was deputed to the government of the city Egidiolo Piperano, with the title of abbate 1316.

abbate of the people : and then the Ponzoni, with their partisans, returned to the city.

1317. The whole city, in 1317, arose in arms, excited by Giacopo and Luigi Cavalcabo, and Gregorio Sommo, and others their partisans of the Guelph faction, with whom were the Brusati, lords of Brescia, with all their followers : these, entering the great piazza of Cremona, assassinated Egidiolo Piperano, who had mounted the rostrum to still the tumult. Leonard and Baccanino Picenardi, though one of them was a brother-in-law of Louis Cavalcabo, were both assassinated ; the Pedecani, Malombra, Alemanni, and others innumerable, both of the noble and popular families of the Ghibelline faction, were murdered ; and the whole faction was in fact driven out of the city, Ponzone taking his flight with some others of the principal citizens who held with him. He was received into Soncino by Philip Barbuo, and soon obtained Castellione, and all the Guelphs were chased out of both these places. Ponzone, who had first holden with the Guelph party, now conjured up another faction, by the name of the Maltraversi, of whom he was the head (for every faction has its podesta, little council, and great council, its king, lords, and commons), and in a short time made himself master of almost all the Cremonese territories in the country. Finally, the Ghibellines and Maltraversi made a coalition, and constituting Ponzino their head, entered into close alliance with Cane della Scala, lord of Verona, and Passarino Buonacossi, lord of Mantoua, and with Matthew Visconte, vicar-general of Milan : there came, therefore, to the assistance of the Ghibellines and Maltraversi, against the Guelphs, in Cremona, Cane and Passarino, with their people, and Matthew sent them Luchino, his son, with the Milanese

Milanese cavalry and infantry, with whom were some companies of Pavians, Placentians, Parmesians, Bergamans, and others from Coma, Novara, Vercella, Crema, and Monferrato. All these people uniting together, encamped against Cremona. The siege continued twenty-eight days, without any event of consequence, excepting their depredations upon the territory in the country, and destruction of all the estates of the Guelphs.

Ponzone, having made a breach in the wall, entered the city with his Ghibellines and Maltraversi, and reached the piazza without being discovered. The Guelphs when they saw him were astonished and fled, and with them Giacopo Cavalcabo and Gregorio Sommo. Ponzone was proclaimed lord of Cremona by the Ghibellines and Maltraversi. At the same time the partisans of Cavalcabo took Robecco, and went to Olmeneta, eight miles from Cremona, and ruined certain towers of the Zucchelli, in which was Nicolo Borgo, with some others of the faction of Ponzone, who, upon hearing of the destruction of his friends, went with a body of soldiers to those places, and made much havoc among the people of Cavalcabo. 1318.

Giberto Correggio, captain-general of the Guelph league, with Cavalcabo, and all those of their faction, broke down the walls of the city in 1319, entered, and by force of arms drove out the Ghibellines, and Ponzino Ponzone with his league of Maltraversi Guelphs. 1319.

This Ponzone appears to have joined any side, as his circumstances gave him opportunity; for in 1319 he made a coalition with Galeazzo Visconte, son of Matthew, and lord of Placentia, with the Ghibelline faction entered by force of arms into Cremona, and chased away the Cavalcabos, with all

the real Guelphs, their partisans. There was afterwards published a proclamation in the name of Galeazzo, that it should be lawful for all, of whatever faction, to inhabit the city of Cremona, excepting the Cavalcabos, and certain other citizens suspected of having concerted a plot against Galeazzo and his partisans.

1324. Alberto Scotto, of Placentia, head of the Guelphs, was killed, amidst three hundred Ghibellines, in taking the castle of Malamorte. Raimondo Cordona was sent by the pope, John XXII. with a powerful army, to the assistance of the Guelphs, who assembling all of his faction in Lombardy, went against Galeazzo Visconte, and shutting him up in Milan, laid siege to it.

1327. Louis the Fourth, of Bavaria, set up an anti-pope against John.

1329. Louis confirmed to the Cremonians all the privileges granted to them by his predecessors.

1330. Guido de Camilla, Imperial vicar, had the government of the city, and a truce was established between the community of Cremona and Gregory de Sommi, by which it appears, that Cremona was not at that time subjected to the Visconte. The city was governed by Ghibellines, who were the majority or predominant party; and Gregory Sommo was one of the principal heads of the Guelph party.

1335. Azzo Visconte, son of Galeazzo, having made a peace with the Cremonians, gave them the dominion of Crema, which, after the death of pope John, had subjected itself to the Visconti. This year, according to some historians, the lordship of Cremona was given by its inhabitants to the same Azzo Visconte.

Azzo Visconte, lord of Cremona, died without sons, and to him succeeded in the dominion of Milan,

Milan, and of Cremona, Luchino Visconte, and John his brother, who, from bishop of Novara, was a little afterwards made archbishop of Milan, so that he became in that city lord both in spiritual and temporal affairs. Cremona enjoyed a state of tranquillity under the joint lordship of Luchino, and John the archbishop.

Luchino Visconte died in 1338, and for his rare and excellent qualities very much regretted by the people his subjects: he left no son, and therefore the archbishop obtained the sole lordship of Milan and Cremona, and of many other cities acquired by the virtue of Luchino. John and Luchino had obtained from Benedict the Twelfth, pope, the title of vicars of the holy apostolical see. 1338.

Bernabo and Galeazzo, brothers of the Visconti, nephews of John, the archbishop and lord of Milan and Cremona, both married; the first to Regina della Scala, daughter of the lord of Verona and Vicenza; and Galeazzo married a sister of the duke of Savoy, named Bianca. 1350.

John Visconte, archbishop and lord of Milan, after having greatly amplified his dominions, died in 1354, leaving as his heirs Matthew, Bernabo, and Galeazzo, sons of Stephen his brother. The extent of absolute dominion, already acquired by this family over the ruins of so many commonwealths, ruined by their unbalanced factions, appears by the division made upon this occasion: To Matthew were assigned Placentia, Lodi, Bologna, Massa, Lugo, Bobio, Pontremelo, and Borgo San Donino; to Galeazzo, the cities of Coma, Novara, Vercelli, Asti, Alba, Alessandria, Tortona, Castelnovo di Scrivia, Bassignana, Vigevano, St. Angelo, Montebuono, and Mairano; to Bernabo were given Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Valcamonica, Lonato, with all the river dal Lago di Garda, and other places. 1354.

The lordship of Milan and Genoa remained to them all united.

1355. The emperor, Charles the Fourth, came into Italy to receive the Imperial crown, and was crowned with the crown of iron at Milan, by Robert Visconte, archbishop of that city, and he there created knights, John Galeazzo, a boy of two years old, who was afterwards the first duke of Milan; and Marco, who was not two months old, both sons of Galeazzo Visconte: the emperor gave also the title of Imperial vicars in Italy to the three brothers, Galeazzo, Matthew, and Bernabo. The dominion of Cremona remained alone in Bernabo.
1365. Bernabo married Verde, his daughter, to Lupoldo, brother of the archduke of Austria; and the wedding was celebrated in Milan, before a congress of ambassadors from Cremona, and all the other cities subject to him; and he gave his daughter a dower of an hundred thousand florins.
1368. Violante, daughter of Galeazzo, was married to a son of the king of England, with another dower of an hundred thousand florins, and an annual pension of twenty-four thousand more, assigned upon some city of Piedmont.
1372. Isabella, the first wife of John Galeazzo, conte di Virtù, the first-born son of Galeazzo Visconte before mentioned, died, and left an only daughter, called Valentina. At this time Bernabo gave great signs of an inhuman and cruel nature.
1377. La Verde, daughter of Galeazzo, was married to a son of the marquis of Monferrato, who was assassinated by his subjects. She was then married by her father, with a dispensation from the pope, to a son of Bernabo.
1378. Galeazzo died, and left two sons, John Galeazzo, conte di Virtù, and Azzo. John Galeazzo, who

who was the eldest, succeeded his father in the dominion of the state.

Catharine Visconte, daughter of Bernabo, was by her father married to John Galeazzo, conte di Virtù, her cousin, with a dispensation from the pope. 1380.

Azzo died, brother of John Galeazzo, to whom alone remained the government of their paternal state. 1381.

Cremona gave itself voluntarily to John Galeazzo Visconte, conte di Virtù, under whose dominion came all the other cities and places subject to Bernabo, his uncle and father-in-law, Bernabo having been made a prisoner, with Lodovico and Rodolfo his sons, by the same John Galeazzo, who having learned from his wife, the daughter of Bernabo, that her father had several times attempted to put him to death in order to rule alone, resolved to relieve himself from anxiety and suspicion. To this end he went to Pavia, and affected a retired life, and pretended to go a pilgrimage to St. Mary del Monte. Bernabo, with his two sons, went to meet him, and were all three taken by the soldiers of John Galeazzo, and confined in the castle of Trezzo, where they all died of poison, as it is supposed, sent them by his nephew and son-in-law. John Galeazzo was immediately accepted by the Milanese as their lord; and the Cremonians spontaneously gave themselves up to Giacompo Virino, the captain and counsellor of the same John Galeazzo, and soon after sent sixteen ambassadors to Milan with a capitulation, which was accepted and confirmed by him, article by article, with some limitations. The first article was, that the city of Cremona gave itself voluntarily and by a common concord of all the people. 1385.

Bianca,

1388. Bianca, mother of John Galeazzo, died, and Valentina his daughter, by Isabella his first wife, was married to Louis, duke of Orleans, brother of Charles the Sixth, king of France; and this year was born Gio. Maria, son of John Galeazzo by Catharine his consort.
1392. Philippo Maria, second son of John Galeazzo, was born in Milan, in 1392.
1395. John Galeazzo, conte di Virtù, obtained the title of duke of Milan, of Vencilaus the emperor. He received all the ensigns of the ducal dignity, and that with admirable pomp, before a congress of the ambassadors from all the cities subject to him, among whom were those from Cremona, those from Venice, Florence, the marquis di Ferrato, the lords of Forli and Urbino, and the sons of the lords of Padoua, with a multitude of others. He gave to the emperor an hundred thousand ducats for the ducal dignity.
1399. In 1399 the duke obtained the domination of the city of Pisa; in 1400 that of Perugia; and in 1402. 1402 Bologna.
1403. Factions arose again in this province, out of which were engendered seditions, civil discords, and rebellions, by which Gio. Maria, second duke of Milan, lost so ample a dominion as was left him by his father. Seditions arose in Milan, in which they chased away the ducal lieutenant; which being understood by the other cities, they all rose, driving off the ducal officers. John Castiglione, a Milanese, was then in Cremona, with the title of ducal vicar, but he was now expelled by the fury of the people: and at the same time John Ponzone, and Ugolino Cavalcabo, marquis of Viadana, most noble and powerful citizens, and heads of the factions of Guelphs and Maltraversi, drove the Ghibellines from the city, and made themselves

selves masters of it. There followed at this time innumerable homicides and burnings of houses, both in the city and country, there not being a village in which there were not the two parties.

But passing over the horrid detail of particulars, we may pass to the year 1404, when Ugolino Cavalcabo, having seized the dominion of Cremona, conceived suspicions of some of the principal citizens, and caused their heads to be struck off, as guilty of plotting against him, and endeavouring to restore the city to the duke. Tyranny and cruelty are always the effect of such a state of affairs in all parties; and the duke John Maria grew every day more cruel: he imprisoned his own mother, Catharine Visconte, in the castle of Monza, and caused her to be there strangled. Ugolino, coming to battle near Brescia with Estore Visconte, was taken prisoner, with Marsilio and Cæsar Cavalcabo, and many other citizens of their faction. Ugolino was conducted to Soncino, and then to Milan, where he remained many months in prison; and Cabrino Fondulo, his captain, saved himself in that conflict by flight to Cremona. The captivity of Ugolino being known, Charles Cavalcabo, of the same family, seized the dominion of Cremona.

1404.

Francesco Gasoni, a knight, and heretofore podesta of Cremona for Ugolino Cavalcabo, and afterwards by Charles, his successor, made captain-general in that city, was beheaded, for being suspected of holding a correspondence and concerting a conspiracy with Estore Visconte. A league was published this year between Charles Cavalcabo, Pandolfo Malatesta, Vignati, lord of Lodi, and Bartolomeo and Paolo Benzoni, lords of Crema; and Charles took Piadena, whose fortress was surrendered to him by William Picenardo.

1405.

The

1406. The Visconte castle was this year fortified by Charles Cavalcabo, and Ugolino, escaping from prison, went to Mancaforma to find Cabrino Fondulo, who came with him to Cremona, to enter into the castle, in which was Charles, who had an understanding with Fondulo: Ugolino was therefore received into the castle, but his foot was scarcely within the gate before he was made prisoner; for these people were not much more inclined to surrender their power to their own families than to strangers. A little afterwards Fondulo, having fraudulently invited to supper with him, in the castle of Mancaforma, Charles and Andrea Cavalcabo, made them both prisoners, and cruelly murdered them. He came soon after to Cremona with many armed men, entered the castle and the other fortresses, and made himself master of the city, and of all the lands and castles possessed by Cavalcabo, except Viadana, which would not submit to him. Cabrino, little grateful to that family by whom he had been elevated to an honourable rank, defaced all the arms of the Cavalcabos which appeared in public places, and miserably murdered Ugolino, by whom he had been made captain.

1407. Fondulo, in 1407, caused to be beheaded two sons of Picenardo, in the piazza of Cremona, and cast cruelly from the ruins of a tower two of the family of Barbuo. This year Pandolfo, the son of Fondulo, was born. A truce, made between the duke of Milan, and Cabrino Fondulo, lord of Cremona, was renewed for four months.

1409. John Maria, duke of Milan, married, in the city of Brescia, Antonia Malatesta, daughter of Malatesta, lord of Rimini. Cabrino Fondulo caused to be burned John de Sesto, for having made false money; and buried alive John Lantero, for having slandered Cabrino; and hanged Lorenzo

renzo Guazzone, and beheaded Rubertino of the same family, for having been seen on the land of Gazzo, which had rebelled against him.

Another son was born to Cabrino Fondulo, lord of Cremona. He had taken Gazzo, which had rebelled against him, and destroyed it; and was this year made a knight in the city of Milan, by Bucicaldo Francese, governor of Genoa for the king of France. 1409.

John da Terfo, lord of Soncino, was taken and assassinated by the people of Cabrino near Brescia; and Cabrino obtained from the inhabitants of Soncino the land and fort. 1411.

John Maria Visconte, duke of Milan, while he was at mass, was murdered by Trivulcio, Guerino, and Baruchino, and other conspirators of several conspicuous families, and Estore Visconte, son of Bernabo, maternal grandfather of John Maria, was proclaimed by the conspirators lord of Milan; but these were driven out by Philip Maria, lord of Pavia, brother of the deceased duke, who entered Milan with the forces of Facino Cane, and Estore being fled to Monza, was pursued by Philip, besieged, fought, and slain: whereupon Philip Maria was proclaimed duke of Milan, and married Beatrice, formerly wife of Ficino Cane, and availed himself of her dower, and of the soldiers of her late husband, to recover the state from the hands of the tyrants who, from the death of his father, had possessed it. At the end of this year a truce was made between the duke Philip Maria and Cabrino Fondulo. 1412.

A confederation was made between Fondulo, Malatesta, the marquis of Ferrara, and Philip Arcelli, lord of Placentia, on one part, and Philip Maria, duke of Milan, and his adherents, on the other. The friends of the duke were Vignati, lord of Lodi, Rusca, lord of Como, Benzzone, lord of 1416.

of Crema, and Orlando, marquis Pallavicino. This convention lasted not long, though it was made for two years.

1417. The duke Philip Maria, having broken the truce and confederation, sent his forces, under Carmagnuola, his captain-general, to commit depredations on the Cremonians. Going afterwards to Placentia with part of his people, he was met by Cabrino, lord of Cremona, with a few infantry of Malatesta, and defeated.

1418. Philip Maria, duke of Milan, caused to be beheaded Beatrice his wife, for no other reason but because she was grown old and he was weary of her, although he propagated against her suspicions of adultery.

1419. The count Carmagnuola returned to the Cremonian territory with the ducal army, took Castellione and all the other castles, destroyed the vines and corn, and laid siege to the city. Cabrino Fondulo, seeing that he could not resist the forces of the duke, endeavoured to sell the city of Cremona to Pandolfo Malatesta: but the duke sent Carmagnuola upon the territory of Brescia, and soon had all its fortresses in his possession. Cabrino, seeing that the assistance of Malatesta would fail him, began, by the means of Carmagnuola, to treat of an agreement with Philip Maria, who knowing the difficulty of taking the city from so powerful and sagacious a man as Fondulo, finally agreed with him.

1420. Cabrino agreed with the duke to surrender Cremona and all its country, reserving only Castellione, of which he was invested in fee, with the title of marquis, by the duke, for which he paid forty thousand ducats.

1421. The duke recovered Genoa, Albenga, Savona, and Brescia.

1424. Fondulo, desirous of regaining the domination, made

made an agreement with the Florentines against the duke.

The duke condemned to death Cabrino Fondulo, and beheaded him. 1425.

The rest of this history you will consult at your leisure. It was at this time, and had been long, an absolute monarchy. While it was a republic it was a continual struggle between the families of Pallavicini and Dovara, Cavalcabo and Visconte, Ponzoni and Cavalcabo, Visconte and Fondulo. The family of Visconti acquired in Lombardy a sovereignty like that of the Medici in Tuscany, and by the same means: and both because there was no balance in the governments, and because the executive power and judiciary power were elected in the legislative assembly; that is, precisely, because all authority was attempted to be placed in the same center. Is it worth while, merely for the whistling of the name of a republic, to undergo all the miseries and horrors, cruelties, tyrannies, and crimes, which are the natural and inevitable fruits of such a constitution?

LETTER III.

PADOUA.

DEAR SIR,

THE elements and definitions in most of the arts and sciences are understood alike, by men of education, in all the nations in Europe; but in the science of legislation, which is not of the least importance to be understood, there is a confusion of languages, as if men were but lately

lately come from Babel. Scarcely any two writers; much less nations, agree in using words in the same sense. Such a latitude, it is true, allows a scope for politicians to speculate, like merchants with false weights, artificial credit, or base money, and to deceive the people, by making the same word adored by one party, and execrated by another. The union of the people, in any principle, rule, or system, is thus rendered impossible; because superstition, prejudice, habit, and passions, are so differently attached to words, that you can scarcely make any nation understand itself. The words monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, king, prince, lords, commons, nobles, patricians, plebeians, if carefully attended to, will be found to be used in different senses, perpetually, by different nations, by different writers in the same nation, and even by the same writers in different pages. The word king, for example: Ask a Frenchman what is a king? his answer will be, A man with a crown and scepter, throne and footstool, anointed at Rheims, who has the making, executing, and interpreting of all laws. Ask an Englishman; his idea will comprehend the throne, footstool, crown, scepter, and anointing, with one third of the legislative, power, and the whole of the executive, with an estate in his office to him and his heirs. Ask a Pole; and he tells you, It is a magistrate chosen for life, with scarcely any power at all. Ask an inhabitant of Liege; and he tells you, It is a bishop and his office is only for life.—The word prince is another remarkable instance: In Venice it means the senate, and sometimes, by courtesy, the doge, whom some of the Italian writers call a mere *testa di legno*: in France, the eldest sons of dukes are princes, as well as the descendants of the blood royal: in Germany, even the rhingraves are princes; and in Russia, several families, who were not descended

scended from, nor allied to royal blood, anciently obtained, by grant of the sovereign, the title of prince, descendible to all their posterity; the consequence of which has been, that the number of princes in that country is at this day prodigious; and the philosopher of Geneva, in imitation of the Venetians, professedly calls the executive power, wherever lodged, The Prince.—How is it possible that whole nations should be made to comprehend the principles and rules of government, until they shall learn to understand one another's meanings by words? But of all the words, in all languages, perhaps there has been none so much abused in this way as the words *republic*, *commonwealth*, and *popular state*. In the *Rerum Publicarum Collectio*, of which there are fifty and odd volumes, and many of them very **incorrect**, France, Spain, and Portugal, the four great empires, the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman, and even the Ottoman, are all denominated republics. If, indeed, a republic signifies nothing but public affairs, it is equally applicable to all nations; and every kind of government, despotisms, monarchies, aristocracies, democracies, and every possible or imaginable composition of them, are all republics: there is, no doubt, a public good and evil, a commonwealth, and a common impoverishment, in all of them. Others define a republic to be a government of more than one: this will exclude only the despotisms; for a monarchy administered by laws, requires at least magistrates to register them, and consequently more than one person in the government. Some comprehend under the term only aristocracies and democracies, and mixtures of these, without any distinct executive power. Others again, more rationally, define a republic to signify only a government, in which all men, rich and poor, magis-

trates and subjects, officers and people, masters and servants, the first citizens and the last, are equally subject to the laws. This indeed appears to be the true, and only true definition of a republic. The word *res*, every one knows, signified, in the Roman language, wealth, riches, property; the word *publicus*, quasi *populicus*, and per Sync. *pôplicus*, signified public, common, belonging to the people; *res publica* therefore was *publica res*, the wealth, riches, or property of the people.* *Res populi*, and the original meaning of the word republic, could be no other than a government, in which the property of the people predominated and governed; and it had more relation to property than liberty; it signified a government, in which the property of the public, or people, and of every one of them, was secured and protected by law. This idea, indeed, implies liberty; because property cannot be secure, unless the man be at liberty to acquire, use, or part with it, at his discretion, and unless he have his personal liberty of life and limb, motion and rest, for that purpose: it implies, moreover, that the property and liberty of all men, not merely of a majority, should be safe; for the people, or public, comprehends more than a majority, it comprehends all and every individual; and the property of every citizen is a part of the public property, as each citizen is a part of the public, people, or community. The property, therefore, of every man has a share in government, and is more powerful than any citizen, or party of citizens; it is governed only by the law. There is, however, a peculiar sense in which the words republic, commonwealth, popular state, are used by English and

* See any of the common dictionaries, Soranus, Stephens, Ainsworth.

French writers ; who mean by them a democracy, or rather a representative democracy ; a government in one center, and that center, the nation ; that is to say, that center a single assembly, chosen at stated periods by the people, and invested with the whole sovereignty ; the whole legislative, executive, and judicial power, to be exercised in a body, or by committees, as they shall think proper. This is the sense in which it was used by Marchamont Nedham, and in this sense it has been constantly used from his time to ours, even by writers of the most mathematical precision, the most classical purity, and extensive learning. What other authority there may be for this use of those words is not known : none has been found, except in the following observations of Portenari, in which there are several other inaccuracies ; but they are here inserted, chiefly because they employ the words republic, commonwealth, and popular state, in the same sense with the English and French writers.

“ We may say with the philosopher, * that six things are so necessary to a city, that without them it cannot stand. 1. The first is provisions, without which its inhabitants cannot live. 2. The second is clothes, habitations, houses, and other things, which depend upon the arts, without which civil and political life cannot subsist. 3. The third is arms, which are necessary to defend the city from its enemies, and to repress the boldness of those who rebel against the laws. 4. The fourth is money, most necessary to a city in peace and in war. 5. The fifth is the care of divine

* Della Felicità di Padova, di Angelo Portenari Padovano Augost. edit. in Padova per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1623, p. 115.

worship. 6. The sixth is the administration of justice, and the government of the people.—For the first are necessary, cultivators of the land; for the second, artificers; for the third, soldiers; for the fourth, merchants and capitalists; for the fifth, priests; and for the sixth, judges and magistrates. Seven sorts of men, therefore, are necessary to a city, husbandmen, artificers, soldiers, merchants, rich men, priests, and judges.*—But, according to the same philosopher, † as in the body natural not all those things, without which it is never found, are parts of it, but only instruments subservient to some uses, as in animals the horns, the nails, the hair, so not all those seven sorts of men are parts of the city; but some of them, viz. the husbandmen, the artificers, and the merchants, are only instruments useful to civil life, as is thus demonstrated:—A city is constituted for felicity, as to its ultimate end; and human felicity, here below, is reposed, according to the same philosopher, in the operations of virtue, and chiefly in the exertions of wisdom and prudence; those men, therefore, are no parts of a city, the operations of whom are not directed to those virtues; such are the husbandmen, who are occupied, not in wisdom and prudence, but in labouring the earth; such are the artisans, who fatigue themselves night and day to gain a livelihood for themselves and their poor families; such, finally, are the merchants, who watch and labour continually, not in wisdom and prudence, but in the acquisition of gold. It is therefore clear, that neither husbandmen, artificers, nor merchants, are parts of a city, nor ought to be numbered among the citizens, but only as instruments which sub-

* Arist. Polit. lib. vii. c. 8. † Arist. Polit. lib. vii. c. 9.
serve

serve to certain uses and conveniencies of the city.” —We must pause here and admire! The foregoing are not only the grave sentiments of Portenari and of Aristotle, but it is the doctrine almost of the whole earth, and of all mankind: not only every despotism, empire, and monarchy, in Asia, Africa, and Europe, but every aristocratical republic, has adopted it in all its latitude. There are only two or three of the smallest cantons in Switzerland, besides England, who allow husbandmen, artificers, and merchants, to be citizens, or to have any voice or share in the government of the state, or in the choice or appointment of any who have. There is no doctrine, and no fact, which goes so far as this towards forfeiting to the human species the character of rational creatures. Is it not amazing, that nations should have thus tamely surrendered themselves, like so many flocks of sheep, into the hands of shepherds, whose great solicitude to devour the lambs, the wool, and the flesh, scarcely leave them time to provide water or pasture for the animals, or even shelter against the weather and the wolves?

It is indeed impossible that the several descriptions of men, last enumerated, should, in a great nation and extensive territory, ever assemble in a body to act in concert; and the ancient method of taking the sense of an assembly of citizens in the capital, as in Rome for example, for the sense of all the citizens of an whole republic, or a large empire, was very imperfect, and extremely exposed to corruption: but, since the invention of representative assemblies, much of that objection is removed, though even that was no sufficient reason for excluding farmers, merchants, and artificers, from the rights of citizens. At present an husbandman, merchant, or artificer, provided he has

any small property, by which he may be supposed to have a judgement and will of his own, instead of depending for his daily bread on some patron or master, is a sufficient judge of the qualifications of a person to represent him in the legislature. A representative assembly, fairly constituted, and made an integral part of the sovereignty, has power for ever to controul the rich and illustrious in another assembly, and a court and king where there is a king: this too is the only instrument by which the body of the people can act; the only way in which their opinions can be known and collected; the only means by which their wills can be united, and their strength exerted, according to any principle or continued system. It is sometimes said, that mobs are a good mode of expressing the sense, the resentments, and feelings of the people. Whig mobs to be sure are meant! But if the principle is once admitted, liberty and the rights of mankind will infallibly be betrayed; for it is giving liberty to Tories and courtiers to excite mobs as well as patriots: and all history and experience shews, that mobs are more easily excited by courtiers and princes, than by more virtuous men, and more honest friends of liberty. It is often said too, that farmers, merchants, and mechanics, are too inattentive to public affairs, and too patient under oppression. This is undoubtedly true, and will for ever be so: and, what is worse, the most sober, industrious, and peaceable of them, will for ever be the least attentive, and the least disposed to exert themselves in hazardous and disagreeable efforts of resistance. The only practicable method therefore of giving to farmers, &c. the equal right of citizens, and their proper weight and influence in society, is by elections, frequently repeated, of an house of commons,

mons, an assembly which shall be an essential part of the sovereignty. The meanest understanding is equal to the duty of saying who is the man in his neighbourhood whom he most esteems, and loves best, for his knowledge, integrity, and benevolence. The understandings, however, of husbandmen, merchants, and mechanics, are not always the meanest: there arise, in the course of human life, many among them of the most splendid geniuses, the most active and benevolent dispositions, and most undaunted bravery. The moral equality that Nature has unalterably established among men gives these an undoubted right to have every road opened to them for advancement in life and in power that is open to any others. These are the characters which will be discovered in popular elections, and brought forward upon the stage, where they may exert all their faculties, and enjoy all the honours, offices, and commands, both in peace and war, of which they are capable. The dogma of Aristotle, and the practice of the world, is the most unphilosophical, the most inhuman and cruel, that can be conceived. Until this wicked position, which is worse than the slavery of the ancient republics, or modern West Indies, shall be held up to the derision and contempt, the execration and horror of mankind, it will be to little purpose to talk or write about liberty. This doctrine of Aristotle is the more extraordinary, as it seems to be inconsistent with his great and common principles, * "that an happy life must arise from a course of virtue; that virtue consists in a medium; and that the middle life is the happiest. In every city

* Aristot. Pol. lib. iv. c. 11.

the people are divided into three sorts, the very rich, the very poor, and the middle sort. If it is admitted that the medium is the best, it follows that, even in point of fortune, a mediocrity is preferable. The middle state is most compliant to reason: those who are very beautiful, or strong, or noble, or rich; or, on the contrary, those who are very poor, weak, or mean, with difficulty obey reason. The former are capricious and flagitious; the latter, rascally and mean; the crimes of each arising from their different excesses. Those who excel in riches, friends, and influence, are not willing to submit to command or law: this begins at home, where they are brought up too delicately, when boys, to obey their preceptors. The constant want of what the rich enjoy makes the poor too mean: the poor know not how to command, but are in the habit of being commanded, too often as slaves. The rich know not how to submit to any command; nor do they know how to rule over freemen, or to command others, but despotically. A city composed only of the rich and the poor, but consists of masters and slaves, not freemen; where one party must despise, and the other hate; where there is no possibility of friendship, or equality, or community, which supposes affection. It is the genius of a free city to be composed, as much as possible, of equals; and equality will be best preserved when the greatest part of the inhabitants are in the middle state. These will be best assured of safety as well as equality: they will not covet nor steal, as the poor do, what belongs to the rich; nor will what they have be coveted or stolen: without plotting against any one, or having any one plot against them, they will live free from danger.

For

For which reason Phocilides * wisely wishes for the middle state, as being most productive of happiness. It is plain then that the most perfect community must be among those who are in the middle rank; and those states are best instituted wherein these are a larger and more respectable part, if possible, than both the other; or, if that cannot be, at least than either of them separate: so that being thrown into the balance, it may prevent either scale from preponderating. It is therefore the greatest happiness which the citizen can enjoy, to possess a moderate and convenient fortune. When some possess too much, and others nothing at all, the government must either be in the hands of the meanest rabble, or else a pure oligarchy. The middle state is best, as being least liable to those seditions and insurrections which disturb the community; and for the same reason extensive governments are least liable to these inconveniencies: for there those in the middle state are very numerous, whereas, in small ones, it is easy to pass to the two extremes, so as hardly to have any medium remaining, but the one half rich, and the other poor. We ought to consider, as a proof of this, that the best lawgivers were those in the middle rank of life, among whom was Solon, as is evident from his poems, and Lycurgus, for he was not a king, and Charondas, and indeed most others. Hence so many free states have changed either to democracies or oligarchies: for whenever the number of those in the middle state has been too small, those who were the more numerous, whether the rich or the poor, always overpowered them, and assumed to themselves the administration. When, in conse-

* After Agur.

quence of their disputes and quarrels with each other, either the rich get the better of the poor or the poor of the rich, neither of them will establish a free state, but, as a record of their victory, one which inclines to their own principles, and form either a democracy or an oligarchy. It is indeed an established custom of cities not to desire an equality, but either to aspire to govern, or, when they are conquered, to submit."—These are some of the wisest sentiments of Aristotle; but can you reconcile them with his other arbitrary doctrine, and tyrannical exclusion of husbandmen, merchants, and tradesmen, from the rank and rights of citizens? These, or at least those of them who have acquired property enough to be exempt from daily dependence on others, are the real middling people, and generally as honest and independent as any: these, however, it must be confessed, are too inattentive to public and national affairs, and too apt to submit to oppression; when they have been provoked beyond all bearing, they have aimed at demolishing the government, and when they have done that, they have sunk into their usual inattention, and left others to erect a new one as rude and ill-modelled as the former. A representative assembly, elected by them, is the only way in which they can act in concert; but they have always allowed themselves to be cheated by false, imperfect, partial, and inadequate representations of themselves, and have never had their full and proper share of power in a state.—But to proceed with Portenari. "The other kinds of men," says he, "viz. the rich, the soldiers, the priests, and the judges, are parts of the city, and properly citizens. The first, because riches are instruments for generating and conserving virtue in the citizens. The second, because it is necessary

fary that military men, besides the virtue of fortitude, should be adorned with prudence, to know the times and occasions proper for undertaking an enterprize. The third, because the priests ought to be examples of every virtue to the people, and give themselves to the contemplation of divine things. The fourth, because the judges and rectors of a city, to judge and govern rightly, have occasion more than all the others for science and prudence, which are the true lights and guides of human actions."—If these are proper arguments for admitting these descriptions of men into the order of citizens, instead of being reasons for excluding merchants, &c. they are of proportional weight for admitting them.—“As to the form of government, which is the other part of the animated city, let us say with those wise men who have written of civil dominion and public administration, as Plato, * Aristotle, † Polybius, ‡ Plutarch, § and others, || that the simple forms of good government are three, to which are opposed three other forms of bad government. The first form of good government is monarchy, or kingdom, and is the absolute and independent dominion of one man alone, who has for the ultimate end of his operations the public good, and the best state of the city, and who has the same relation to his subjects that the shepherd has to his flock, and the father to his children. Such were the monarchies of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Scythians, Egyptians, and Romans, from the beginning of their reign to the creation

* 4 & 8 de Leg. & in Civili, seu de Regno.

† 3 Polit. c. 7, 8. & 8 Eth. c. 10.

‡ Lib. vi.

§ De Unius in Repub. Domin.

|| Sigon. de Ant. Jur. Civ. Rom. lib. i. c. 1.

of the consuls, and after the extinction of the Roman republic, under the empire of the Cæsars. To monarchy is opposed * that form of government which is called tyranny, in which one alone domineers, who has no thoughts of the public good, but whose scope is to depress and exterminate the citizens, to whom he shows himself a rapacious monster after their property, and a cruel beast of prey after their lives; such as were Phalaris in Agrigentum, † Dionysius in Syracuse, ‡ and Nero in Rome. § The second form of good government is aristocracy, according to which the dominion is held by those who, above all others, are adorned with virtue, prudence, and benevolence; who directing all their actions to the utility and common dignity of the city, procure it an happy and blessed state. This species of government is called also, the regimen of the better sort (optimates), either because the best men of the city bear rule, or because they look, in all their operations, to the best and most perfect state of the city. This manner of government was used by the Spartans. To this form of government is opposed oligarchy, which is a principality of the most rich and powerful, who, for the most part are few; who, depressing and robbing of their property the less rich, and crushing with intolerable weight the poor, make a regimen full of arrogance and of violence, and are like wolves among lambs. Such was the dominion of the Triumvirs in Rome, who having oppressed the

* Plutar. Loc. Cit. Berof. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. i. 3. 10. Justin. lib. i. 2. 3. Oros. lib. i. & seq. Herod. lib. i. 2. Liv. et alii script. Rom. Hist.

† Val. Max. lib. ix. c. 2. Cic. Verr. 5.

‡ Cic. 2 de Offic. Plat. Epist. vii. Diodor. lib. xiv.

§ Suet. in Neron. Tacit. 14 Annal.

republic, proscribed and put to death many good citizens, and plundered their property: exalting the seditious and perverse, and abasing good men, they distempered Rome with their contagious wickedness; and of a city, the capital of the world, they made it a den of robbers.* The third form of good government, not having a proper name, was called by the Greeks *politia*, and by the Latins, *respublica*, a name common to every species of government. *This is the dominion of the multitude, viz. of the whole body of the city, composed of all sorts of citizens, rich and poor, nobles and plebeians, wise and foolish, which is also called a popular government.* All this body, which contains men, some endowed with prudence and wisdom, some inclined to virtue and persuadable to all good works, by the conversation and familiarity which they have with the prudent and learned, employ all their care, labour, and industry, to the end that the city flourish in all those things which are necessary and convenient for living well and happily, such as was at one time the government of the Athenians.† To this species of good government is opposed democracy; according to which the most abject plebeians, and the vilest vulgar, hold the domination for their own private interest, by which they oppress the rich and the noble, and aggrandize and enrich the poor and the ignoble, as the two brothers, the Gracchi, began to do in Rome.‡

“ Three, therefore, are the simple forms of good government, monarchy, aristocracy, and that which by a common name is called a republic;

* Appian. 4 de Bel. Civ. Plut. in Ant.

† Plut. de Unius in Rep. Dominio. Thucid. lib. ii. in Orat. Periclis. Sig. de Repub. Athen. lib. i. c. 5.

‡ Appian. 1 de Bel. Civ. Plutarch in Gracchis.

from

from which, mixed together, four others may result. The first of the three all compounded, as was that of the Lacedemonians, instituted by Lycurgus,* which, *selecting the good from the three former, composes one of the most perfect kind*. Such also was the Roman republic,† in which the power of the consuls was like the regal authority; that of the senate was aristocratical; and that of the people resembled the popular state. The second form of mixed government is composed of monarchy and aristocracy, such as, according to some, is the most serene republic of Venice,‡ in which the annual podestas have a power similar to a regal authority, and the senate are an assembly or collection of the optimates; although others contend that it is a perfect aristocracy. The third is mixed of a monarchy and a republic; and the fourth of a republic and an aristocracy: of which two species of mixed government we have no examples to alledge.

“ But to return to the three simple forms; it is the common opinion of the learned,§ that monarchy holds the first rank above all others, resembling the power of God Almighty, who alone governs the world; resembling the heart, which alone vivifies all the parts of the animal; and resembling the sun, which alone illuminates the celestial bodies, as well as the lower world. It is very true, that to a monarchy ought to be elevated only

* Polyb. lib. vi. Sigon. de Ant. Jure Civ. Rom. lib. i. c. 1.

† Bellarm. de Roma.

‡ Boter. Relat. Venet. p. 1. Sabellic. lib. iii. lec. 2.

§ Plat. in Civili vel de Reg. Arist. 8 Ethic. c. 10. & 3 Polit. c. 10. Philo. lib. de Conf. Linguar. Senec. 2 de Benef. Herod. lib. iii. Hom. 2 Iliad. v. 204.

that citizen, according to the philosopher,* who, exceeding the others in the ordinary course, in riches, wisdom, prudence, and benevolence, is like a god upon earth; such as would be the man who should be adorned with heroic virtue, according to which, performing all the labours of virtue in the utmost perfection and supreme excellency, he would appear to be not the son of a mortal,† but of God. But it being impossible, or at least most difficult, to find a man so rare, hence it has happened, that, laying aside monarchy, the philosophers have disputed which of the other two forms of good government is better accommodated, more practicable, and more profitable, for the regimen of cities and of peoples. Some were of opinion that this praise was due to an aristocracy: nevertheless Aristotle confutes them, because in the aristocratical government the magistracies and the honours being always in the hands of a few, there is great danger that the multitude, perpetually excluded from public management, should be tumultuous, and conspire against the lives of the principal men, to the great damage of the whole city; because in these revolts the force and violence of the people regards neither friends nor enemies; it is mad, and most horribly pillages, murders, and abuses, all that comes in its way. It remains then, that the third species of good government, which is the popular government, in which alternately the citizens command and obey, is the most useful, and better adjusted to the nature of man, in whose soul the Divinity has stamped the desire of dominion; with such limitations and temperaments, however, as, says the same philosopher, that the vile plebeians

* 3 Polit. c. 11.

† 7 Eth. c. 1.

may not have magistrates appointed for their ignorance and imprudence, which are the two fountains of all civil calamities; but that the plebeians may not be totally despised, and that all occasion of insurrections may be taken away, that the faculty be given them of joining with the other citizens in the election of magistrates, and in calling them to account for their administration."—All these opinions appear to be not unbecoming; for, although the plebeians be not qualified of themselves to judge who are fit for the administration of the affairs of the city, and to know the failings of those who have governed, nevertheless, by the conversation and practice which they have in such things with the wise men, it is presumed that, from daily intercourse with these, and from common fame and public reputation, which daily circulates concerning men who are wise and good in government, they may have so much light, that they may discern the apt from the inept, and good behaviour from bad.—This may suffice to have said concerning the different forms of government, according to the writers before cited, in order to explain the following account of the form of government in Padoua, and the various changes it passed through.

452. In the four hundred and fifty-second year of the Christian æra Padoua was miserably destroyed by Attila, king of the Huns.

The Padouans, who then fled for safety to the islands in the Adriatic, could not for fifty years return to rebuild their city, for the many armies of barbarians who infested Italy till 493, when Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, killed Odoacer, king of the Heruli, and remained unrivalled in the dominion of Italy. But Justinian the emperor, having,

having, in 535, sent Belisarius, and afterwards, in 535.
552, Narfitte, to drive away the Goths from 552.
Italy, Padoua, in that war, which, with alternate
victories and defeats of the Goths and the Greeks,
lasted eighteen years, was sometimes by one and
sometimes by the other subjected. Afterwards,
under the government of exarchs, till 601, it 601.
was a second time burned and destroyed by Agi-
nolphus, king of the Longobards. It was after-
wards restored by the Padouans, assisted by the
Venetians, and remained under the dominion of the
Longobards, till they were exterminated by Char-
lemain, king of France, in 774. It continued 774.
subject to the kings of France of the race of Char-
lemain, and after them to the Berengarii, and
finally to the emperors of Germany, from Otto the
First to Henry the Fourth, according to the
German, and the Third according to the Italian
historians. In a word, Padoua lived under foreign
laws six hundred and twenty-nine years, viz. from
452 to 1081; thirty-three years before which 1081.
period, viz. in 1048, began to dawn a few rays of 1048.
liberty, since the emperor, Henry the Third, as
appears by public instruments preserved in the
archives of the cathedral of Padoua, granted, for
the repose of his soul, and that of Agnese his wife,
to Bernard Maltraverse, bishop of Padoua, the pre-
rogative of coining money, building fortresses and
castles with towers and ramparts, erecting mills,
and to be as it were prince of the city. After-
wards Henry the Fourth, his son, at the sollicita-
tion of the queen Bertha, his wife, and for the
prayers of Milo, bishop of Padoua, his relation, in
1081, gave liberty to the Padouans, with this 1081.
concession, that for the future they might live
according to their own laws, and have a trium-

phal chariot (*carroccio*), which was the principal sign of a free city.*

This *carroccio*, for a perpetual memorial of the benefit received by the intercession of queen Bertha, was by the Padouans called by her name. Henry also granted them the faculty of making of the body of their nobility a senate, who, for the government of the city, created annually two consuls.† There was therefore formed a government mixed of monarchy and aristocracy, says the historian; of monarchy, because the consuls, according to the manner of kings, had the power of life and death; and of aristocracy, because the senate, exclusively of the plebeians, was composed only of patricians or nobles. These, as the desire of enlarging dominion is insatiable, not contented to have the government of the city, procured, partly by Imperial grants, and partly by other means, to have jurisdiction of blood in their castles situated in the country of Padoua, assuming the titles of *proceri*, peers or barons, and a little afterwards of *marquisses*, counts, and *castellans*. Padoua was ruled by this form of government about eighty years, in peace and tranquillity: but peace being the nurse of riches, and riches of ambition, the consular dignity began to be ardently desired by all men, and caballed for by every artifice. In the progress of these contests, as one would not give way to another, and the whole depending on a few of the most powerful, the city became divided into factions, which finally, in 1177, came to arms, and civil wars ensued, which for some years filled

1177.

* See a description and stamp of the Padouan *carroccio*, in Portenari, lib. v. c. 5 and 6.

† Sigonius, de Reg. Ital. lib. ix. an. 1081.

the city with mutual slaughter, burnings, revolt, and confusion; so that the consulate becoming feeble, was now intermitted, and then exercised, according as the power of different parties prevailed. But, finally, this magistracy serving no longer for the maintenance of the public good, but merely as an instrument of revenge against enemies, and having become most pernicious, not only to the plebeians, but to the patricians, it was, in 1194, abrogated and totally extinguished.

1194.

The good government, composed of monarchy and aristocracy (as our author calls it, though nobody will agree with him in opinion at this day), being changed, by the malice of men, into the bad one of oligarchy, and this by its noxious qualities being in a short time annihilated, there arose another species of government, mixed of monarchy and a republic, in this form:—The Padouans instituted four councils; the first was of eighteen, whom they called the Anciani, three of whom were drawn by lot every three months: they were afterwards reduced to the number of sixteen, and the drawn to the number of four every four months. The office of these magistrates was, together with the podesta, to exert themselves with all their influence and power to conciliate and appease all discords and dissensions among the citizens, not only in civil affairs, but in criminal prosecutions; to see that the decrees of the senate regarding the public utility were observed; that the buildings going to decay should be rebuilt or repaired; that the streets, public roads, and walks, should be kept adjusted, free, and unincumbered with obstructions; that in the principal quarters of the city should be provided engines for extinguishing or preventing the progress of fire, as casks, vases for drawing water, cordage for

making ladders, pickaxes, iron bars, &c.; and finally, to suggest to the other councils all those things which might be of public utility: and that they might be enabled to do this, all public letters from foreign princes, and from all magistrates within the dominion of Padoua, were read in their presence. No man was admitted to this council of the anciani who was not a Padouan by birth, and an inhabitant of the city, for at least thirty years without interruption, and who had not a foundation of property among his fellow-citizens of at least two hundred pounds a year.—The second council was called the Lesser Council, which at first consisted of forty citizens, partly noble, and partly plebeian, but afterwards was increased to the number of sixty. The authority of this council was such, that nothing could be treated in the greater council if it were not first discussed and agitated here, and from hence proposed to the greater council. The mode of discussing and consulting upon business was by the way of orations or harangues made by the senators, after which they proceeded to a vote, and two thirds of the suffrages determined the question. This rule was also observed in the greater council. This council was changed every four months, and the senators who had once been in it must be excluded for eight months. Father and son, brothers, and uncle, and nephew, were not permitted to sit together in it. To be of this council it was necessary to be a Padouan by origin, to have a father who was a Padouan by birth, to have inhabited in Padoua with a family at least for forty years continually, to have an estate of fifty pounds income, and to have submitted to the offices of the commons of the city.—
The

Greater
Council.

1277.

The third council was called the Greater Council, or Parliament: it was at first of three hundred senators, one moiety nobles, and the other moiety plebeians; it was afterwards increased to the number of six hundred, and finally, in 1277, to a thousand, in which were chosen the magistrates, and all affairs relative to peace and war were deliberated. By these two councils, the greater and the less, were made, at divers times, various municipal laws and statutes, of which, by a determination of 1263, were made four copies. The first was deposited in the monastery of St. Benedict, the second in that of St. John, the third in that of St. Mary, and the fourth in that of the fathers of St. Mary di Porciglia.—The fourth and last council was common to all the people of the city, into which, the doors being open, every one might enter: but this council was very seldom assembled, and never but for things of the utmost importance.—The Padouans, desirous of providing a remedy against the disorders and mischiefs occasioned by the consulate, and to extinguish in the citizens all occasions of ambition to enjoy the government of the city, invented the annual magistrate of the podesta, which was the best medicine that could be thought of by them to cure the disorders already felt, and prevent the greater that were apprehended. They created, therefore, for ruler of the city, a foreign personage, of noble blood, and excellent reputation for virtue, who, by the weight and eminence of his authority in cases of life and death, and from his superintendence over all the judicial authority, civil and criminal, from the more absolute obedience paid him as the supreme head of all the other magistracies, of the patricians, of the plebeians, and of the rustics, and, in a word,

from his absolute power, as it is called, over the city and its territory, was called, by way of eminence, by the name of Podesta.—This manner of government continued happily enough, as it is said, till 1237. 1237, when the city was subjected by Ezzelino, of Romagna, who most terribly afflicted and most cruelly tormented it for the space of nineteen years; in which time there was no sort of torment, inhumanity, or cruelty, which it did not suffer from that infernal monster, under whose tyranny that most malignant pestilence, the factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, which, under the name of the Imperial party, and the party of the Church, had infected many cities of Italy, and among others distempered Pistoia, and did inestimable mischief.—Before we pass on, it may be well, for the more complete information concerning this magistrate of the podesta, to relate a few particulars. The podesta was obliged, three months before the end of his government, which lasted one year, to assemble the greater council, and cause to be elected eight citizens, four noble and four plebeian, of more than thirty years of age; these elected twelve senators of the same council, and of the same age, six of the patricians and six plebeians; who, in like manner, elected eight others of the same council, age, and condition, the office of whom was to elect the new podesta. These were shut up together in one apartment, and could not speak to any one, or have more than one repast a day, that they might the sooner agree in the nomination of three personages, who were afterwards carried to the greater council, who proceeded to the election in this manner: All three were separately ballotted for, and he who had the most suffrages was the new podesta; he who had the next number of votes held the second place; and

and he who had fewest, the last in such election. The syndic of the city was sent in haste with public letters to him who had been honoured with most votes, who, if he accepted the charge, was understood to be podesta; but if in four days he did not accept it, the syndic was sent to the second; and if he refused, the third was sent to; and if he declined, a new election was made of other three persons; and of the acceptance or refusal of these a record was made by a notary.

This method of electing the podesta was changed in 1257, since the examination of the subjects fit for the podestare was committed to the lesser council, the election of whom afterwards was made by the greater council, with this condition, however, that the electors of the present podesta could not have a vote in the election of the subsequent podesta, by virtue of a statute made in 1236. No man could be elected podesta who had in Padoua relations, by consanguinity or affinity, within the fourth degree, nor who had been banished from his country for forgery or treason; and this was also understood of the court or retinue which the podesta brought with him, which consisted of four judges or assessors, two lieutenants of police, and some other satellites. The office of the first judge was to assist the podesta in all things belonging to the government of the city; the other three judges had the charge of hearing and trying the criminal causes, each one for three months, which was ordained to remove all occasion of suspicion that the accused by length of time might possibly corrupt the judges: but these orders were afterwards changed, and it was resolved that the first judge, who must be an eminent doctor of laws, should be the vicar of the podesta, that the second should judge in criminal causes, the third

should have the charge of the provisions, and that the fourth should be questor and receiver of the public money. The podesta, judges, and lieutenants, could not have with them in Padoua their wives, nor other ladies their relations, unless for fifteen days, on occasion of infirmity, nor even their brothers, sons, or nephews, more than twelve years of age, nor servants who should be Padouans. The podesta was obliged to bring with him his two lieutenants, twelve satellites, twelve horses, twelve valets and servants, and all this family and these horses maintain at his expence, for the public service of the city. His salary was two thousand five hundred pounds a year, and was afterwards increased to four thousand. The podesta was required to come to Padoua eight days at least before possession was given him of the podestarate, in which time he was obliged to take the oath of office, viz. to swear that he, with his judges, would govern without ambition, and justly, and that they would give the greatest attention to the affairs of the public, and with all their power would conciliate and pacify the controversies and discords of the citizens. The podestarate

1280. began on the first of July; but in 1280 it was decreed to begin the first of January. This magistracy at first continued for a year; but in 1294 a law was made that it should endure only six months, and that two podestas should be created each year, one of whom should begin his administration with January, the other with July; which law was observed as long as the republic of Padoua remained: but after that Padoua became subject, now to the emperor Henry the Seventh, now to Frederic, duke of Austria, now to his brother Henry, duke of Carinthia, now to the Scaligers, lords of Verona, and then to the duke of Milan,

Milan, and finally to the Carrarefi, this custom of two *podestas* went into desuetude. The *podesta*, when once in possession of his office, was bound to execute the following orders:—First, in the space of three days, to cause to be read, and afterwards to cause to be punctually observed, the papal constitutions against heretics. Secondly, to reside continually in the city, and rule it until the arrival of a successor. Thirdly, during the whole time of his administration, to hear the causes of all persons indifferently, to which end the gates of the palace, except at the hour of dinner, should always stand open. Fourthly, that, together with the *anciani*, he should use all his endeavours that the *canonicates*, and the other ecclesiastical benefices, of the bishopric and diocese of Padoua, should be conferred on citizens of Padoua, or of her district. Fifthly, to elect eight citizens, men of prudence and experience, two for each quarter, who should make choice of four or five hundred able men, who, when they should hear the sound of the palace bells, should come armed, under their standards, to the palace of the pretor, and to the piazza del Vino, for the defence of the *podesta*. Sixthly, to give orders that, at the sound of the great bell of the tower of the palace, all the citizens and inhabitants of Padoua, from sixteen to sixty years of age, should run armed to the piazza to defend the common liberty. Seventhly, to create a captain, who, with some soldiers, should have the custody of the city and its suburbs. Eighthly, to hold, night and day, guards at the gates of the city. Ninthly, to give orders that in the city and in the suburbs should be kept cross-bows, and other weapons, to exercise the soldiers. Tenthly, to cause to be enrolled in the militia many men of the villages, who, according to occurrences, should come armed to

to the city. Eleventhly, in all great tumults to order into the piazza the standards of the community ; in which case standard-bearers of the arts, at the found of the bells of the palace, were held to go to the piazza del Vino, with the men under their command, armed, ready to obey whatever orders the podesta should issue, and there assemble, to be formed into a body, under the ensigns of the community, which could not depart from the piazza without the express command of the podesta himself, for whose guard there were always five hundred soldiers elected, one hundred from the body of the patricians, and four hundred from the plebeians, distinguished into four squadrons, under four standards. Twelfthly, that for eight days before the arrival of a successor, the podesta cannot give sentence in civil or criminal causes. Thirteenthly, that having finished his podestarate, he, his assessors, and courtiers, should remain fourteen days in Padoua, to render an account before the syndic of their administration, which is done in this manner : For the three first days it was lawful to every one to accuse the podesta, assessors, and courtiers, before the syndics, of any wrongs or injuries done them : in the eight following days these complaints were determined by the votes of the major part of the syndics ; and if, by the multitude of complaints, or by differences of opinions among the syndics, or through other reasons, the business could not be finished, three other days were added, in which the syndics were obliged to determine it. From the defence against the complaints made against the podesta were excluded all his favourites, friends, and relations, and all advocates ; his own judges and assessors were alone admitted, and were thought sufficient for his defence. At the end of

the fourteenth day the podesta might depart with his family. He could not be confirmed in the podestarate for the next year, nor for the five following years; neither himself, nor any of his relations, could hold any office, dignity, or honours, in the city of Padoua; and this was understood of the assessors, lieutenants of police, and other officers: but this statute was very often not observed. As population augmented, and causes and controversies multiplied, and therefore the podesta and his assessors could not determine the whole, certain other judges were instituted, and called Judges of the Lower Courts, and were distinguished from each other by the names of animals, for the most part, as the bear, the horse, the leopard, and others. For the suits arising between relations, two judges were instituted as arbitrators, who, in the space of two months, were to give sentence, and terminate the controversy: and if they could not agree, they called in ten jurors for each party; and if these disagreed, the podesta himself, in the space of fifteen days, sat in judgement with the rest, and decided the cause.

As to the government of the territory, it is to be observed, that some of the most rich and powerful citizens of Padoua had the name of procures, noblemen or barons, and in some of their landed estates and places they exercised the jurisdiction of blood, that is, the power of life and death; and to ennoble their dominions, manors, or lordships, with the magnificence of titles, in the year 1196 they distinguished themselves into marquisses, counts, and castellans. The lords of Este were entitled marquisses; the lords of Anguillara, Abano, Argua, Baone, Bibano, Borgoricco, Calaone, Rusta, Cerro, Calcinara, Caldenazzo, Candiana, Carturo, Castelnovo,

1196.

- nuovo, Cortaloro, Fontaniva, Honara, Limena, Lozzo, Montebello, Montebuto, Montemerlo, Manchia, Nono, and Piazzola, were called counts; the lords of Carrara, Camposanpiero, Montagnone. Peraga, Pievedisacco, Publica, Revolone, Ronchi de Campanili, Stra, Selvazzano, Tortula, Villa Rapa, Tribano, Galzignano, Noventa, Treville, and Villa Nova, were denominated castellans. But the castellan of Selvazzano having caused to be cut out the eyes of a certain woman for theft, who afterwards came, deprived of her eyes, to Padoua, the cruelty of this action displeased the republic of Padoua so much, that, in the year 1200, a law was made, that, under pain of death, no man should, for the future, exercise any jurisdiction in the territory of Padoua, which law was re-enacted 1205. and confirmed in 1205. The jurisdiction of life and death, and all other jurisdiction, being taken away from these grandees (*magnati*), the whole territory was governed by the *podesta* of Padoua; and afterwards, in the course of time, the republic of Padoua sent a *podesta* into the following districts of land, viz. Conselve, Lonino, Montagnana, and twenty-four other districts. The custom of sending *podestas* into those districts continued till 1290, when a statute was made, that places which were not walled should not have a *podesta*, but that into some of them vicars only should be sent. Such, then, was the government of Padoua, from the year 1194 to the tyranny of Ezzelino, mixed of monarchy and a republic, and this constitution was restored after the delivery of the city from that fierce and cruel oppression, and lasted happily for fifty years, with a remarkable increase of the city in riches and power; and would have lasted much longer, if the cursed factions of Ghibellines and Guelphs had

had not disturbed the peace of the citizens, which afterwards, by little and little, by means of the poison of those factions creeping in their hearts, afflicted the city to such a degree, that, finally, in the year 1318, it took away their vital spirits, depriving them of their beloved liberty. 1318.

The parties of Ghibellines and Guelphs, under the names of the Empire and the Church, sown in the hearts of men by the enemy of the human race, had intoxicated Italy, and contaminated the city of Padoua. So says the historian; and without denying to the devil his share in the instigation of all such party distinctions and animosities, it must be still insisted on, that the essential defect in the constitution of every Italian republic was the greatest cause, and the instrument with which the infernal agent wrought. The parties of rich and poor, of gentlemen and simplemen, unbalanced by some third power, will always look out for foreign aid, and never be at a loss for names, pretexts, and distinctions. Whig and Tory, Constitutionalist and Republican, Anglomane and Francomane, Athenian and Spartan, will serve the purpose as well as Guelph and Ghibelline. The great desideratum in the government is a distinct executive power, of sufficient strength and weight to compel both these parties, in turn, to submit to the laws. The mischiefs of these contagious parties were greatest under the tyranny of Ezzelino, who, being standard-bearer and head of the Imperial or Ghibelline party, exerted all his force to extirpate the Guelph party, followed by the people, and a great part of the patricians. After his death the Guelph party rose, and with all their power persecuted the Ghibellines, driving them from the city, and spoiling them of all their goods; and as the plebeians of Padoua were devoted to the Guelph party, whether from

from their natural inclinations, or because the Guelphs had delivered the city from the empire of Ezzelino, upon this occasion certain profligate popular men became, by the favour of the plebeians, heads of the Guelph faction, became proud, arrogant, and presumptuous, desiring that all the affairs of the republic should depend upon their will; but suspecting that some of the principal gentlemen, to whom so much pride of the Guelphs had become disgusting, would oppose their ambitious enterprizes, gave the plebeians to understand that those gentlemen intended to make themselves sole masters of the government; and excited so great a commotion, that the plebeians, who, as in adverse fortune they are servile, so in prosperity are insolent, demanded in a turbulent manner, and obtained by threats and by force, the institution of a magistrate, according to the usage of the Roman republic, like a tribune of the people, (the Padouans called these magistrates *Gastaldi dell' Arti*), who should defend the rights of the plebeians, and have authority to rescind all those determinations of the senate, as was the custom in Rome, which could occasion any prejudice to the jurisdiction of the plebeians. Wherefore, in testimony of the power granted to the tribunes, it was, by a decree of the senate, in 1293. 1293, ordained, that every *podesta*, in the beginning of his administration, should consign to each of the *gastaldi* of the arts the standard of that art; and this tribunian magistracy advancing every day in power, caused to be made in its 1296. favour, in the year 1296, a statute, that on the first Sunday in every month the *gastaldi* should all assemble in the church of the palace of the commons, and treat fully of all things that belonged to the state of the city. The whole government of

of the city, by this alteration, devolved into the hands of the tribunes, because, as has been said before, they annulled or confirmed, at their pleasure, the determinations of the greater council, and because they carried up to the council whatever they had concluded among themselves, with a certainty of obtaining their concurrence, by the dependence which they had upon the popular senators, and also upon the less powerful of the noble senators, whom they had drawn to their devotion by electing them to the honours of the city, and by assuming some of them into the number of the tribunes, from which magistracy, and universally from all the greater honours, they always most arbitrarily excluded the most powerful of the nobles. From this disorderly and violent domination of the tribunes, who had for the most part greatly enriched themselves, grew intestine hatreds and terrible seditions between the primary persons and the heads of the popular party, of whom the patricians of middling power, exalted by the people to honours, became the factors; and, finally, some of the primary gentlemen and most powerful patricians, not being able any longer to bear to be neglected by the tribunian power, took up arms, killed the principal heads and defenders of the plebeians, and in such a manner intimidated those patricians who adhered to the plebeians, that, after many engagements, and a profuse effusion of blood, the tribuneship of the people was abolished in the year 1314, and the government and the public authority was transferred to the patricians, excluding totally the plebeians. These, in order to keep down the Ghibellines, increased the senate (which, from the time of the extinction of the house of Honara, had been only of three hundred members) to the number of a thousand, incorporating seven hundred Guelphs;

1314.

- Guelphs ; and wishing that all questions and matters relative to peace or war should depend wholly on the Guelph faction, and the better to establish the superiority of their party, they instituted another council, wholly of Guelphs, which had authority to approve or reject the decrees of the greater senate : from the body of this lesser council were created the four anciani conservators of the liberty, and eight secretaries for the custody of the city. This mode of government continued till the year
1318. 1318, when Padoua began to lose her liberty, which she afterwards wholly lost, remaining subject sometimes to the Germans, sometimes to the Scaligers, sometimes to the Carraresi, until, finally, after infinite calamities, she was benignly received into the pious bosom of the most serene republic of
1405. Venice, in the year 1405.* Such as have been related, were the vicissitudes of the government of the city of Padoua after the tyranny of Ezzelino, which may be recapitulated thus : According to the historian, at first it was a mixture of monarchy and a republic ; afterwards it was changed into a democracy, for such he denominates the tribuneship of the plebeians, in which the people attempted the abasement and annihilation of the grandees ; and finally it terminated in a government mixed of monarchy and aristocracy, having the senate of the optimates, and creating the podesta annually : for the major part of the time, from 1081 to 1318, it was governed by one or other of the two best species of mixed government, as our historian thought, which are composed of monarchy and aristocracy, and of monarchy and a republic.

This sovereignty of Padoua was, for the most part, in one assembly, for although a check was aimed at by the law, that nothing should be done

* Laugier, vol. v. p. 236.

in the great council, which had not been previously debated in the little council, yet, when any thing was proposed by the latter to the former, they sat together and voted as one assembly. At some times the sovereignty was clearly in one assembly of optimates or patricians; at another, in one assembly of plebeians, as that of the tribunes was: at last two assemblies were formed, with each a negative; but there being no third power to mediate between them, no balance could be formed or maintained between them. At no time had the monarchical power, either under the consuls, anciani, or podestas, a negative; for though the podesta was an office of great dignity and splendor, he never had the whole executive power, nor a negative on the legislative. The nobles and commons were mixed together in both councils; and the executive power, the appointment of officers, &c. was always in one or other of the assemblies; and the consequence was instability to the laws, insecurity to life, liberty, and property, constant rivalry between the principal families, particularly the Scaligeri and Carraresi, which ended in conquest and subjection to Venice. From 1103 to 1194 the government of consuls continued. From 1195 to 1236 the government of podestas under the republic of Padoua. From 1237 to 1256 the tyranny of Ezzelino was supported. From 1257 to 1294 the government of podestas, under the republic, was revived and maintained. From 1295 to 1311 they had two podestas. In 1312 Gerardo de gl' Inzola da Parma was Imperial vicar for the emperor Henry the Seventh, to whom the Padouans began to yield obedience; though they rebelled again this year against his authority, and the podestas and republic were revived and continued till 1318, in

which year Giacomo Grande da Carrara was made the first lord of Padoua: he governed one year and three months, and then renounced the dominion, and died in 1324. In 1319 a podesta again for one year. In 1320 the city of Padoua, to deliver itself from the siege of Cane Scaligero, lord of Verona, gave itself to Frederick the Third, emperor, and duke of Austria, who afterwards gave it to his brother Henry, duke of Carinthia, under whom they were governed by podestas, who were at the same time Imperial vicars, till 1328. The podesta of this year was dismissed by Marfilio da Carrara, who had been elected by the people lord of Padoua, who, however, made Pietro de i Roffi, of Parma, podesta; but he not being able longer to resist in the war with Cane della Scala, married Tadea, daughter of Giacomo Grande da Carrara, first lord of Padoua, to Mastino dalla Scala, nephew of Cane, giving him Padoua in dower. From 1329 to 1337 Padoua was governed by podestas, under the dominion of the Scaligers. In 1337 Marfilio da Carrara having expelled the Scaligers, was made the second lord of Padoua, and governed in 1338. In 1338 Marfilio da Carrara, second lord of Padoua, died, and to him succeeded Ubertino da Carrara, third lord of Padoua. From 1339 to 1345 the government of podestas continued under the princes Carraresi. In 1345 Ubertino da Carrara, third lord of Padoua, being sick, caused to be elected for his successor Marfiliotto Papa fava da Carrara, who was the fourth lord of Padoua, and died; but the same year Marfiliotto was killed by Giacomo da Carrara, who became the fifth lord of Padoua, and under him the government of podestas continued till 1350, when Giacomo da Carrara, the fifth lord of Padoua, was assassinated

affassinated by William da Carrara, a natural son of Giacomo Grande, the first lord ; to whom succeeded Giacobino da Carrara his brother, the sixth lord, and Francesco da Carrara, furnamed the Old, his son, and seventh lord of Padoua : under these the government by podestas continued till 1362, when Francesco da Carrara the Old imprisoned his uncle Giacobino da Carrara, because he had conspired his death, and reigned lord alone till 1388, when Francesco da Carrara renounced the dominion of this city to his son Francesco da Carrara, called the New, eighth and last lord of Padoua. The same year, in November, both the father and the son were deprived of the government of this state by John Galeazzo Visconte, first duke of Milan, who governed it by podestas for the years 1388 and 1389, when Francesco da Carrara, called the New, drove out the people of the duke of Milan, and recovered Padoua and its district, except Boffano. From 1390 podestas were continued till 1405, when the Carrara were conquered, and Padoua admitted into the republic of Venice. In 1393 Francesco da Carrara, furnamed the Old, seventh lord of Padoua, died in a prison in Monzo, to which he had been sent by John Galeazzo Visconte, duke of Milan.

1362.

1388

1405.

LETTER IV.

MANTOUA.

DEAR SIR,

EQUICOLA concurs with Leonardo Aretino, and all the other Italian writers, in his account of the antiquity, riches, and power of the Tuscans, Etruscans, Etrurians, Tyrrhenians, or Dodicapoli (for by all these names they were known), their original emigration from Lydia, their government of Lucumoni, their twelve confederated peoples, their subjection in a course of time to the Romans, Goths, Longobards, and Charlemain, who for his merit was, in the year 800. 800, created emperor, with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, by the pope Leo the Third, who understood the effects upon the minds of the people of words and titles so anciently beloved as well as dreaded in Italy. He gave him also the title of Great, which had been before given only to three princes, Alexander, Pompey, and Constantine. The authority which the Roman senate and people had anciently exercised, of electing and confirming the emperors, was now by Charlemain transferred to the Roman pontificate; and to prevent seditions, the power of confirming the pontiff was given to the emperor:—a promising alliance! 1002. Afterwards, in 1002, Gregory the Fifth ordained a constitution, which continues to this time, that the election of future emperors should be free in the power of the Germans, and the ecclesiastical

clesiastical and temporal electorates were then created. *

In 1111 Mantoua fell into discords, threw off 1111.
her subjection to Matilda, and assumed an inde-
pendence; but being besieged and reduced to great
distress, was obliged to submit again to that princess.

In 1114 Sigibert, an enterprising man, took 1114.
the opportunity of the troubles in Italy to ag- Sigibert.
grandize himself, and going from Lucca, he made
himself lord of Parma and Reggio. He was a
Lombard by descent, and was prefect or lord of
those cities. Sigibert had three sons, Sigibert the
Second, Atto, and Gerardo; two of them died,
and Atto alone remained, who by the change of
the letters was afterwards called Azzo. He for-
tified Canossa, in Reggiano, and there inhabited
as his principal seat, whence his descendants were
called da Canossa. He had two sons, the first
of whom was named Tedaldo, and the other,
uniting the names of his grandfather and father,
was called Sigibertazzo, although it was after-
wards corruptly called Albertazzo. This person
was sent into Germany, and recommended himself
to Otto, the emperor, so effectually, as to obtain a
grant for his services of Calabone, Monfelice,
Montagnana, Arquì, and *Este*, with the title of
marquis. He married Alda, a natural daughter
of the emperor. From this match there issued two
sons, Ugo and Falco: the latter remained in
Germany with his mother; Ugo came into Italy
with his father, and succeeded to the lands above
mentioned, and to the marquisate of Este. From
this Ugo are descended the illustrious lords of the
house of Este, who reigned so long in Ferrara;
and from them were descended the family that
was called the Canossi of Verona.

* Equicola, p. 25, Commentari Mantouani.

1265. There was in Mantoua, in 1265, four most powerful families, and four others their adherents, of somewhat less influence. The Bonacolsi and Grossolani inhabited one quarter; the Arlotti and the Poltroni another: these not long before had driven out the Calorosi. In a third quarter were the Casaloldi and those of Riva; and in the fourth, the Zenacalli and the Gaffari.

1266. The government was, as in all the other cities of Italy, in one center, a general council, who first appointed consuls, then podestàs, then gonfaloniers, captains of the people, &c. which produced the usual struggles for power; and in the year 1266 the Gaffari entered into a secret conspiracy to deliver the city of Mantoua into the hands of the Estensi, lords of Ferrara. The treason was discovered, and those who saved their lives by flight, were banished for ever, and the others instantly put to death, and the houses of all who were accomplices or privy to the crime were burnt and demolished. The power of individual citizens increased every day, and parties and factions in consequence. The podestà, though a foreigner, was usually created to that office, administered its functions according to the will and pleasure of a small number of the principal men. The justice of power, or the right of the strongest, was inculcated, and equity gave way to violence.* In such a tumult of the factious, the prudent men called a convention, to deliberate on a new form of government. Some were for ephori, as

* Cresceva ogni dì più la potenza de particolari, & augmentavansi le fattioni & parti. Il podestà, quale forestiere si solea creare, ad arbitrio di alcuni pochi amministrava, il suo officio: la gius titia dalla forza era conculcata, & l'equità cedeva alla violenza. *Commentari Mantouani, di Equicola, p. 47, 48.*

in Sparta; others for *cosmi*, as in Crete; others for *suffetes*, as in Carthage: but the most were for *hipati*, as in Greece, or rather for two consuls, as in Rome. Two magistrates were therefore created; and that they might be sure to guard against ambition, they must be chosen in rotation every six months, two at a time, from each of the four quarters of the city. These were to be called captains of the people, and were to be the protectors of the plebeians, and defenders of their liberties. Two magistrates, therefore, from the body of the nobility, were appointed, in the nature of tribunes of the people, and those were Pinamonte, of the family of Bonacolsi, and Ottone-
nello, of that of Zenecalli, in the year 1274.

1274.

These had not continued one month in office together, before such animosities arose between the two families, that Zenecallo was treacherously called in the night into the palace, under pretence of consulting upon some sudden affair of the last importance, and there murdered by the Bonacolsi. The next morning the Bonacolsi called together the principal nobility, and, with fictitious grief and pharisaical tears, communicated the fact, and exhorted the people to revenge, wishing that every one might believe that the deceased magistrate had been assaulted and put to death by some private enemy. An inquiry was ordered, which engaged so much attention, and took up so much time, that no man spoke of any successor, and therefore Pinamonte governed alone. The scramble for power was as yet altogether among the gentlemen. Benvenuto da Imola, in his Commentaries upon Dante, where he reasons of Mantoua, writes, that this city had been inhabited by gentlemen of Riva, of Mercaria, and of Casaloldi; and that Bonacolso had agreed with these houses to expel

from the city every other nobleman; and that afterwards, forming a particular agreement with two of them, he drove out the third; and then uniting with the Casaloldi, he banished the second; and, finally, driving out the Casaloldi, he remained alone, and by artifice, assisted with force, continued without a colleague in the magistracy; and taking for his podesta Alberto della Scala, for a stricter union he obtained the place of podesta in Verona for Giannino de Bonacolsi, not failing to maintain a good intelligence with the marquis of Este. By all these arrangements he easily obtained from his followers the prolongation of his own power for another six months; and when he had thus laid his foundations sufficiently strong to support any edifice, he assumed the title of captain-general. These encroachments were very uneasily supported by the nobles, who perceived that from free citizens they were become, by little and little, the subjects of a tyrant. Whereupon the Arlotti, the Casaloldi, the Agnelli, and the Grossolani, conspired together to throw off the yoke: but Pinamonte being informed of the plot on the very day on which it was to have been executed, and being well prepared, he fell unexpectedly on the conspirators, one after another, some of whom he took prisoners, others were killed, many wounded, and the great multitude saved themselves by flight; many suspected persons were sent out of their beloved home, and confined in various places. Pinamonte did not cease to persecute his adversaries, until all things in the city appeared to be quieted under his dominion. The miserable Mantouans were dispersed in various places, and particularly in Gonzaga: but the tyrant had the art to hold out temptations of lands, restitution of property, and restoration to

to their country, to these, till they surrendered to him that Gonzaga, which had often defended itself both against popes and emperors. Pinamonte then established a friendship with Venice and Padoua, but was interrupted in his career in 1289 by death. The family of Bonacolfi, with Pinamonte at their head, had, by forming a popularity among the vilest plebeians, been able to expel the other noble families, and make themselves absolute. So complete was their ascendancy over the minds of the rabble, that, upon the death of Pinamonte, the minority were not able to obtain any regular election or rational reform of the government; but Bardellone Bonacolfi was set up by his party for a successor, a man universally hated, a monster without virtue, absurd in the conduct of his whole life, unskilful, insolent, without judgement or experience; equally ignorant and arrogant, vile and suspicious, yet credulous, and a slave to adulation; devoted to cruelty and lust. This pestiferous tyrant governed in Mantoua five years, according to Platina; but the plebeians themselves could bear him no longer, and set up another of the same family against him. Bottigella Bonacolfi with little difficulty was able to expel him, and Tamo his brother, one of whom died miserably at Padoua, and the other at Ferrara. We pass over the actions of Bottigella, and his wars with Cremona and with Azzo Estense, &c.

1289.]

In 1308 Bottigella died, as well as his enemy Azzo: to the latter succeeded his son Flisco, and to the former Passarino, his brother; for this plebeian tyranny was already become hereditary in the family. Although the government of Passarino was not remarkable for folly or severity, yet Luigi Gonzaghi, who had connected himself in marriage with the Bonacolfi, being a man of abilities,

1308.

abilities, and knowing the general discontent of the people, and the universal hatred of the nobility against the family, entered into a concert with some of the neighbouring lords, as Cane della Scala, &c. found little difficulty to depose and expel Passarino, put him to death, and reign in his stead. The family of the Gonzaghi were named from the place of their ancient residence, which was Gonzaga. A multitude of conjectures and fables, collected from various authors, concerning the origin of this family, we pass over. Guido Gonzaga, who fought against Manfred, king of Naples, had five sons, the first of whom was Luigi, the author and founder of the lordship and marquisate of Mantoua.

1328. In 1328, it is said, that by the consent of the people, according to the laws, and good customs, one was elected, after the death of Passarino, in 1328, to whom, and to his successors, was given for perpetuity the whole empire, as was usual in the heroic times. The Mantouans reasoned in this manner :—The mode of making a commonwealth perpetual, or of any long duration, is by prudence, which disposes and rules with manly energy, as well as with wise discernment. This can alone be performed in a state by means of justice, which distributes to every one his deserts : to the good, rewards and honours ; to the wicked, punishment and infamy. As the virtue of clemency is the daughter of magnanimity, and participates of divinity, we always applaud it when it extends only to offences committed against ourselves ; and it is commended in princes whenever pardon and mercy cannot cause an injury to the public, and give insolence to the daring to rise against the laws. It should be a pleasure to princes to remit private injuries ; but, skilful in
the

the healing art, they should not be so partially compassionate as to heal one wound at the hazard of destroying the whole body. The liberty of the people consists in two things, in the laws and the tribunals: when these prevail in a city, without favour, respect, or partiality, that city and its citizens are free.—Upon these principles the Mantouans, finding that liberty never had been enjoyed by them under their uncouth government of a republic, strange to relate! adopted voluntarily an absolute monarchy. Louis was elected and constituted upon these principles and for these reasons, and began his reign by an assiduous attention to the revival of laws which had been trampled under foot, and by a diligent solicitude that all the good customs should be observed with equality. And this is sufficient for another example of the struggles of a few families, in an unbalanced government, for pre-eminence, and of the final triumph of the Gonzaghi over the Bonacolsi, in a monarchy erected on the ruins of a republic.