Redactor's Note: This version of Burckhardt is from the 2nd edition. Many later editions were issued, but this is the last with Burckhardt's own input. Burckhardt received nothing for his labors for this book, and so it is fitting that it is returned to the public domain. Italics are preserved and are bracketed by underscores (_).
1-7 The Republics: Venice and Florence
1-8 Foreign Policy
1-9 War as a Work of Art
1-10 The Papacy
1-11 Patriotism
Part Two: The Development of the Individual
2-1 Personality
2-2 Glory
2-3 Ridicule and Wit
Part Three: The Revival of Antiquity
3-1 Introductory
3-2 The Ruins of Rome
3-3 The Classics
3-4 The Humanists
3-5 Universities and Schools
3-6 Propagators of Antiquity
3-7 Epistolography: Latin Orators
3-8 The Treatise, and History in Latin
3-9 Antiquity as the Common Source
3-10 Neo-Latin Poetry
3-11 Fall of the Humanists in the Sixteenth Century
Part Four: The Discovery of the World and of Man
4-1 Journeys of the Italians
4-2 The Natural Sciences in Italy
4-3 Discovery of the Beauty of the Landscape
4-4 Discovery of Man
4-5 Biography in the Middle Ages
4-6 Description of the Outward Man
4-7 Description of Human Life

Part Five: Society and Festivals

5-1 Equality of Classes
5-2 Costumes and Fashions
5-3 Language and Society
5-4 Social Etiquette
5-5 Education of the ‘Cortigiano’
5-6 Music
5-7 Equality of Men and Women
5-8 Domestic Life
5-9 Festivals

Part Six: Morality and Religion

6-1 Morality and Judgement
6-2 Morality and Immorality
6-3 Religion in Daily Life
6-4 Strength of the Old Faith
6-5 Religion and the Spirit of the Renaissance
6-6 Influence of Ancient Superstition
6-7 General Spirit of Doubt

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY

By Jacob Burckhardt

Translated by S. G. C. Middlemore, 1878
Part I

THE STATE AS A WORK OF ART

INTRODUCTION

This work bears the title of an essay in the strictest sense of the word. No one is more conscious than the writer with what limited means and strength he has addressed himself to a task so arduous. And even if he could look with greater confidence upon his own researches, he would hardly thereby feel more assured of the approval of competent judges. To each eye, perhaps, the outlines of a given civilization present a different picture; and in treating of a civilization which is the mother of our own, and whose influence is still at work among us, it is unavoidable that individual judgement and feeling should tell every moment both on the writer and on the reader. In the wide ocean upon which we venture, the possible ways and directions are many; and the same studies which have served for this work might easily, in other hands, not only receive a wholly different treatment and application, but lead also to essentially different conclusions. Such indeed is the importance of the subject that it still calls for fresh investigation, and may be studied with advantage from the most varied points of view. Meanwhile we are content if a patient hearing is granted us, and if this book be taken and judged as a whole. It is the most serious difficulty of the history of civilization that a great intellectual process must be broken up into single, and often into what seem
arbitrary categories in order to be in any way intelligible. It was
formerly our intention to fill up the gaps in this book by a special
work on the 'Art of the Renaissance'--an intention, however, which we
have been able to fulfill only in part.

The struggle between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen left Italy in a
political condition which differed essentially from that of other
countries of the West. While in France, Spain and England the feudal
system was so organized that, at the close of its existence, it was
naturally transformed into a unified monarchy, and while in Germany it
helped to maintain, at least outwardly, the unity of the empire, Italy
had shaken it off almost entirely. The Emperors of the fourteenth
century, even in the most favourable case, were no longer received and
respected as feudal lords, but as possible leaders and supporters of
powers already in existence; while the Papacy, with its creatures and
allies, was strong enough to hinder national unity in the future, but
not strong enough itself to bring about that unity. Between the two lay
a multitude of political units--republics and despots--in part of long
standing, in part of recent origin, whose existence was founded simply
on their power to maintain it. In them for the first time we detect the
modern political spirit of Europe, surrendered freely to its own
instincts. Often displaying the worst features of an unbridled egotism,
outraging every right, and killing every germ of a healthier culture.

But, wherever this vicious tendency is overcome or in any way
compensated, a new fact appears in history--the State as the outcome of
reflection and calculation, the State as a work of art. This new life
displays itself in a hundred forms, both in the republican and in the
despotic States, and determines their inward constitution, no less than their foreign policy. We shall limit ourselves to the consideration of the completer and more clearly defined type, which is offered by the despotic States.

The internal condition of the despotically governed States had a memorable counterpart in the Norman Empire of Lower Italy and Sicily, after its transformation by the Emperor Frederick II. Bred amid treason and peril in the neighbourhood of the Saracens, Frederick, the first ruler of the modern type who sat upon a throne, had early accustomed himself to a thoroughly objective treatment of affairs. His acquaintance with the internal condition and administration of the Saracenic States was close and intimate; and the mortal struggle in which he was engaged with the Papacy compelled him, no less than his adversaries, to bring into the field all the resources at his command. Frederick's measures (especially after the year 1231) are aimed at the complete destruction of the feudal State, at the transformation of the people into a multitude destitute of will and of the means of resistance, but profitable in the utmost degree to the exchequer. He centralized, in a manner hitherto unknown in the West, the whole judicial and political administration. No office was henceforth to be filled by popular election, under penalty of the devastation of the offending district and of the enslavement of its inhabitants. The taxes, based on a comprehensive assessment, and distributed in accordance with Mohammedan usages, were collected by those cruel and vexatious methods without which, it is true, it is impossible to obtain any money from Orientals. Here, in short, we find, not a people, but
simply a disciplined multitude of subjects; who were forbidden, for example, to marry out of the country without special permission, and under no circumstances were allowed to study abroad. The University of Naples was the first we know of to restrict the freedom of study, while the East, in these respects at all events, left its youth unfettered. It was after the examples of Mohammedan rules that Frederick traded on his own account in all parts of the Mediterranean, reserving to himself the monopoly of many commodities, and restricting in various ways the commerce of his subjects. The Fatimite Caliphs, with all their esoteric unbelief, were, at least in their earlier history, tolerant of all the differences in the religious faith of their people; Frederick, on the other hand, crowned his system of government by a religious inquisition, which will seem the more reprehensible when we remember that in the persons of the heretics he was persecuting the representatives of a free municipal life. Lastly, the internal police, and the kernel of the army for foreign service, was composed of Saracens who had been brought over from Sicily to Nocera and Lucera--men who were deaf to the cry of misery and careless of the ban of the Church. At a later period the subjects, by whom the use of weapons had long been forgotten, were passive witnesses of the fall of Manfred and of the seizure of the government by Charles of Anjou; the latter continued to use the system which he found already at work.

At the side of the centralizing Emperor appeared a usurper of the most peculiar kind; his vicar and son-in-law, Ezzelino da Romano. He stands as the representative of no system of government or administration, for all his activity was wasted in struggles for supremacy in the eastern
part of Upper Italy; but as a political type he was a figure of no less
importance for the future than his imperial protector Frederick. The
conquests and usurpations which had hitherto taken place in the Middle
Ages rested on real or pretended inheritance and other such claims, or
else were effected against unbelievers and excommunicated persons. Here
for the first time the attempt was openly made to found a throne by
wholesale murder and endless barbarities, by the adoption in short, of
any means with a view to nothing but the end pursued. None of his
successors, not even Cesare Borgia, rivalled the colossal guilt of
Ezzelino; but the example once set was not forgotten, and his fall led
to no return of justice among the nations and served as no warning to
future transgressors.

It was in vain at such a time that St. Thomas Aquinas, born subject of
Frederick, set up the theory of a constitutional monarchy, in which the
prince was to be supported by an upper house named by himself, and a
representative body elected by the people. Such theories found no echo
outside the lecture - room, and Frederick and Ezzelino were and remain
for Italy the great political phenomena of the thirteenth century.
Their personality, already half legendary, forms the most important
subject of 'The Hundred Old Tales,' whose original composition falls
certainly within this century. In them Ezzelino is spoken of with the
awe which all mighty impressions leave behind them. His person became
the centre of a whole literature from the chronicle of eye-witnesses to
the half-mythical tragedy of later poets.

Despots of the Fourteenth Century
The tyrannies, great and small, of the fourteenth century afford constant proof that examples such as these were not thrown away. Their misdeeds cried forth loudly and have been circumstantially told by historians. As States depending for existence on themselves alone, and scientifically organized with a view to this object, they present to us a higher interest than that of mere narrative.

The deliberate adaptation of means to ends, of which no prince out of Italy had at that time a conception, joined to almost absolute power within the limits of the State, produced among the despots both men and modes of life of a peculiar character. The chief secret of government in the hands of the prudent ruler lay in leaving the incidence of taxation as far as possible where he found it, or as he had first arranged it. The chief sources of income were: a land tax, based on a valuation; definite taxes on articles of consumption and duties on exported and imported goods: together with the private fortune of the ruling house. The only possible increase was derived from the growth of business and of general prosperity. Loans, such as we find in the free cities, were here unknown; a well-planned confiscation was held a preferable means of raising money, provided only that it left public credit unshaken—an end attained, for example, by the truly Oriental practice of deposing and plundering the director of the finances.

Out of this income the expenses of the little court, of the bodyguard, of the mercenary troops, and of the public buildings were met, as well
as of the buffoons and men of talent who belonged to the personal attendants of the prince. The illegitimacy of his rule isolated the tyrant and surrounded him with constant danger, the most honorable alliance which he could form was with intellectual merit, without regard to its origin. The liberality of the northern princes of the thirteenth century was confined to the knights, to the nobility which served and sang. It was otherwise with the Italian despot. With his thirst for fame and his passion for monumental works, it was talent, not birth, which he needed. In the company of the poet and the scholar he felt himself in a new position, almost, indeed, in possession of a new legitimacy.

No prince was more famous in this respect than the ruler of Verona, Can Grande della Scala, who numbered among the illustrious exiles whom he entertained at his court representatives of the whole of Italy. The men of letters were not ungrateful. Petrarch, whose visits at the courts of such men have been so severely censured, sketched an ideal picture of a prince of the fourteenth century. He demands great things from his patron, the lord of Padua, but in a manner which shows that he holds him capable of them. 'Thou must not be the master but the father of thy subjects, and must love them as thy children; yea, as members of thy body. Weapons, guards, and soldiers thou mayest employ against the enemy---with thy subjects goodwill is sufficient. By citizens, of course, I mean those who love the existing order; for those who daily desire change are rebels and traitors, and against such a stern justice may take its course.'
Here follows, worked out in detail, the purely modern fiction of the omnipotence of the State. The prince is to take everything into his charge, to maintain and restore churches and public buildings, to keep up the municipal police, to drain the marshes, to look after the supply of wine and corn; so to distribute the taxes that the people can recognize their necessity; he is to support the sick and the helpless, and to give his protection and society to distinguished scholars, on whom his fame in after ages will depend.

But whatever might be the brighter sides of the system, and the merits of individual rulers, yet the men of the fourteenth century were not without a more or less distinct consciousness of the brief and uncertain tenure of most of these despotisms. Inasmuch as political institutions like these are naturally secure in proportion to the size of the territory in which they exist, the larger principalities were constantly tempted to swallow up the smaller. Whole hecatombs of petty rulers were sacrificed at this time to the Visconti alone. As a result of this outward danger an inward ferment was in ceaseless activity; and the effect of the situation on the character of the ruler was generally of the most sinister kind. Absolute power, with its temptations to luxury and unbridled selfishness, and the perils to which he was exposed from enemies and conspirators, turned him almost inevitably into a tyrant in the worst sense of the word. Well for him if he could trust his nearest relations! But where all was illegitimate, there could be no regular law of inheritance, either with regard to the succession or to the division of the ruler's property; and consequently the heir, if incompetent or a minor, was liable in the interest of the
family itself to be supplanted by an uncle or cousin of more resolute
character. The acknowledgment or exclusion of the bastards was a
fruitful source of contest and most of these families in consequence
were plagued with a crowd of discontented and vindictive kinsmen. This
circumstance gave rise to continual outbreaks of treason and to
frightful scenes of domestic bloodshed. Sometimes the pretenders lived
abroad in exile, like the Visconti, who practiced the fisherman's craft
on the Lake of Garda, viewed the situation with patient indifference.
When asked by a messenger of his rival when and how he thought of
returning to Milan, he gave the reply, 'By the same means as those by
which I was expelled, but not till his crimes have outweighed my own.'
Sometimes, too, the despot was sacrificed by his relations, with the
view of saving the family, to the public conscience which he had too
grossly outraged. In a few cases the government was in the hands of the
whole family, or at least the ruler was bound to take their advice; and
here, too, the distribution of property and influence often led to
bitter disputes.

The whole of this system excited the deep and persistent hatred of the
Florentine writers of that epoch. Even the pomp and display with which
the despot was perhaps less anxious to gratify his own vanity than to
impress the popular imagination, awakened their keenest sarcasm. Woe to
an adventurer if he fell into their hands, like the upstart Doge
Agnello of Pisa (1364), who used to ride out with a golden scepter, and
show himself at the window of his house, 'as relics are shown,'
reclining on embroidered drapery and cushions, served like a pope or
emperor, by kneeling attendants. More often, however, the old
Florentines speak on this subject in a tone of lofty seriousness. Dante saw and characterized well the vulgarity and commonplace which marked the ambition of the new princes. 'What else mean their trumpets and their bells, their horns and their flutes, but "come, hangmen come, vultures!"' The castle of the tyrant, as pictured by the popular mind, is lofty and solitary, full of dungeons and listening-tubes, the home of cruelty and misery. Misfortune is foretold to all who enter the service of the despot, who even becomes at last himself an object of pity: he must needs be the enemy of all good and honest men: he can trust no one and can read in the faces of his subjects the expectation of his fall. 'As despotisms rise, grow, and are consolidated, so grows in their midst the hidden element which must produce their dissolution and ruin.' But the deepest ground of dislike has not been stated; Florence was then the scene of the richest development of human individuality, while for the despots no other individuality could be suffered to live and thrive but their own and that of their nearest dependents. The control of the individual was rigorously carried out, even down to the establishment of a system of passports.

The astrological superstitions and the religious unbelief of many of the tyrants gave, in the minds of their contemporaries, a peculiar color to this awful and God-forsaken existence. When the last Carrara could no longer defend the walls and gates of the plague-stricken Padua, hemmed in on all sides by the Venetians (1405), the soldiers of the guard heard him cry to the devil 'to come and kill him.'
The most complete and instructive type of the tyranny of the fourteenth century is to be found unquestionably among the Visconti of Milan, from the death of the Archbishop Giovanni onwards (1354). The family likeness which shows itself between Bernabo and the worst of the Roman Emperors is unmistakable; the most important public object was the prince's boar-hunting; whoever interfered with it was put to death with torture, the terrified people were forced to maintain 5,000 boar hounds, with strict responsibility for their health and safety. The taxes were extorted by every conceivable sort of compulsion; seven daughters of the prince received a dowry of 100,000 gold florins apiece; and an enormous treasure was collected. On the death of his wife (1384) an order was issued 'to the subjects' to share his grief, as once they had shared his joy, and to wear mourning for a year. The _coup de main_ (1385) by which his nephew Giangaleazzo got him into his power--one of those brilliant plots which make the heart of even late historians beat more quickly was strikingly characteristic of the man.

In Giangaleazzo that passion for the colossal which was common to most of the despots shows itself on the largest scale. He undertook, at the cost of 300,000 golden florins, the construction of gigantic dikes, to divert in case of need the Mincio from Mantua and the Brenta from Padua, and thus to render these cities defenseless. It is not impossible, indeed, that he thought of draining away the lagoons of Venice. He founded that most wonderful of all convents, the Certosa of Pavia and the cathedral of Milan, 'which exceeds in size and splendor all the churches of Christendom.' The palace in Pavia, which his father
Galeazzo began and which he himself finished, was probably by far the most magnificent of the princely dwellings of Europe. There he transferred his famous library, and the great collection of relics of the saints, in which he placed a peculiar faith. It would have been strange indeed if a prince of this character had not also cherished the highest ambitions in political matters. King Wenceslaus made him Duke (1395); he was hoping for nothing less than the Kingdom of Italy or the Imperial crown, when (1402) he fell ill and died. His whole territories are said to have paid him in a single year, besides the regular contribution of 1,200,000 gold florins, no less than 800,000 more in extraordinary subsidies. After his death the dominions which he had brought together by every sort of violence fell to pieces: and for a time even the original nucleus could with difficulty be maintained by his successors. What might have become of his sons Giovanni Maria (died 1412) and Filippo Maria (died 1447), had they lived in a different country and under other traditions, cannot be said. But, as heirs of their house, they inherited that monstrous capital of cruelty and cowardice which had been accumulated from generation to generation.

Giovanni Maria, too, is famed for his dogs, which were no longer, however, used for hunting but for tearing human bodies. Tradition has preserved their names, like those of the bears of Emperor Valentinian I. In May, 1409, when war was going on, and the starving populace cried to him in the streets, _Pace! Pace!_ he let loose his mercenaries upon them, and 200 lives were sacrificed; under penalty of the gallows it was forbidden to utter the words pace and guerra, and the priests were ordered, instead of _dona nobis pacem_, to say _tranquilitatem_! At
last a band of conspirators took advantage of the moment when Facino Cane, the chief Condotierre of the insane ruler, lay in at Pavia, and cut down Giovanni Maria in the church of San Gottardo at Milan; the dying Facino on the same day made his officers swear to stand by the heir Filippo Maria, whom he himself urged his wife to take for a second husband. His wife, Beatrice di Tenda, followed his advice. We shall have occasion to speak of Filippo Maria later on.

And in times like these Cola di Rienzi was dreaming of founding on the rickety enthusiasm of the corrupt population of Rome a new State which was to comprise all Italy. By the side of rulers such as those whom we have described, he seems no better than a poor deluded fool.

Despots of the Fifteenth Century

The despotisms of the fifteenth century show an altered character. Many of the less important tyrants, and some of the greater, like the Scala and the Carrara had disappeared, while the more powerful ones, aggrandized by conquest, had given to their systems each its characteristic development. Naples for example received a fresh and stronger impulse from the new Aragonese dynasty. A striking feature of this epoch is the attempt of the Condotieri to found independent dynasties of their own. Facts and the actual relations of things, apart from traditional estimates, are alone regarded; talent and audacity win the great prizes. The petty despots, to secure a trustworthy support, begin to enter the service of the larger States, and become themselves
Condottieri, receiving in return for their services money and immunity for their misdeeds, if not an increase of territory. All, whether small or great, must exert themselves more, must act with greater caution and calculation, and must learn to refrain from too wholesale barbarities; only so much wrong is permitted by public opinion as is necessary for the end in view, and this the impartial bystander certainly finds no fault with. No trace is here visible of that half-religious loyalty by which the legitimate princes of the West were supported; personal popularity is the nearest approach we can find to it. Talent and calculation are the only means of advancement. A character like that of Charles the Bold, which wore itself out in the passionate pursuit of impracticable ends, was a riddle to the Italians. 'The Swiss were only peasants, and if they were all killed, that would be no satisfaction for the Burgundian nobles who might fall in the war. If the Duke got possession of all Switzerland without a struggle, his income would not be 5,000 ducats the greater.' The mediaeval features in the character of Charles, his chivalrous aspirations and ideals, had long become unintelligible to the Italians. The diplomatists of the South, when they saw him strike his officers and yet keep them in his service, when he maltreated his troops to punish them for a defeat, and then threw the blame on his counsellors in the presence of the same troops, gave him up for lost. Louis XI, on the other hand, whose policy surpasses that of the Italian princes in their own style, and who was an avowed admirer of Francesco Sforza, must be placed in all that regards culture and refinement far below these rulers.

Good and evil lie strangely mixed together in the Italian States of the
fifteenth century. The personality of the ruler is so highly developed, often of such deep significance, and so characteristic of the conditions and needs of the time, that to form an adequate moral judgement on it is no easy task.

The foundation of the system was and remained illegitimate, and nothing could remove the curse which rested upon it. The imperial approval or investiture made no change in the matter, since the people attached little weight to the fact that the despot had bought a piece of parchment somewhere in foreign countries, or from some stranger passing through his territory. If the Emperor had been good for anything, so ran the logic of uncritical common sense, he would never have let the tyrant rise at all. Since the Roman expedition of Charles IV, the emperors had done nothing more in Italy than sanction a tyranny which had arisen without their help; they could give it no other practical authority than what might flow from an imperial charter. The whole conduct of Charles in Italy was a scandalous political comedy. Matteo Villani relates how the Visconti escorted him round their territory, and at last out of it; how he went about like a hawker selling his wares (privileges, etc.) for money; what a mean appearance he made in Rome, and how at the end, without even drawing the sword, he returned with replenished coffers across the Alps. Sigismund came, on the first occasion at least (1414), with the good intention of persuading John XXIII to take part in his council; it was on that journey, when Pope and Emperor were gazing from the lofty tower of Cremona on the panorama of Lombardy, that their host, the tyrant Gabrino Fondolo, was seized with the desire to throw them both over. On his second visit Sigismund
came as a mere adventurer; for more than half a year he remained shut up in Siena, like a debtor in gaol, and only with difficulty, and at a later period, succeeded in being crowned in Rome. And what can be thought of Frederick III? His journeys to Italy have the air of holiday-trips or pleasure-tours made at the expense of those who wanted him to confirm their prerogatives, or whose vanity is flattered to entertain an emperor. The latter was the case with Alfonso of Naples, who paid 150,000 florins for the honour of an imperial visit. At Ferrara, on his second return from Rome (1469), Frederick spent a whole day without leaving his chamber, distributing no less than eighty titles; he created knights, counts, doctors, notaries—counts, indeed, of different degrees, as, for instance, counts palatine, counts with the right to create doctors up to the number of five, counts with the rights to legitimize bastards, to appoint notaries, and so forth. The Chancellor, however, expected in return for the patents in question a gratuity which was thought excessive at Ferrara. The opinion of Borso, himself created Duke of Modena and Reggio in return for an annual payment of 4,000 gold florins, when his imperial patron was distributing titles and diplomas to all the little court, is not mentioned. The humanists, then the chief spokesmen of the age, were divided in opinion according to their personal interests, while the Emperor was greeted by some of them with the conventional acclamations of the poets of imperial Rome. Poggio confessed that he no longer knew what the coronation meant: in the old times only the victorious Imperator was crowned, and then he was crowned with laurel.

With Maximilian I begins not only the general intervention of foreign
nations, but a new imperial policy with regard to Italy. The first step
-- the investiture of Lodovico il Moro with the duchy of Milan and the
exclusion of his unhappy nephew -- was not of a kind to bear good
fruits. According to the modern theory of intervention when two parties
are tearing a country to pieces, a third may step in and take its
share, and on this principle the empire acted. But right and justice
could be involved no longer. When Louis XI was expected in Genoa
(1507), and the imperial eagle was removed from the hall of the ducal
palace and replaced by painted lilies, the historian Senarega asked
what, after all, was the meaning of the eagle which so many revolutions
had spared, and what claims the empire had upon Genoa. No one knew more
about the matter than the old phrase that Genoa was a _camera imperii_.
In fact, nobody in Italy could give a clear answer to any such
questions. At length when Charles V held Spain and the empire together,
he was able by means of Spanish forces to make good imperial claims:
but it is notorious that what he thereby gained turned to the profit,
not of the empire, but of the Spanish monarchy.

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Closely connected with the political illegitimacy of the dynasties of
the fifteenth century was the public indifference to legitimate birth,
which to foreigners -- for example, to Commines -- appeared so
remarkable. The two things went naturally together. In northern
countries, as in Burgundy, the illegitimate offspring were provided for
by a distinct class of appanages, such as bishoprics and the like: in
Portugal an illegitimate line maintained itself on the throne only by
constant effort; in Italy. on the contrary, there no longer existed a princely house where even in the direct line of descent, bastards were not patiently tolerated. The Aragonese monarchs of Naples belonged to the illegitimate line, Aragon itself falling to the lot of the brother of Alfonso I. The great Federigo of Urbino was, perhaps, no Montefeltro at all. When Pius II was on his way to the Congress of Mantua (1459), eight bastards of the house of Este rode to meet him at Ferrara, among them the reigning duke Borso himself and two illegitimate sons of his illegitimate brother and predecessor Lionello. The latter had also had a lawful wife, herself an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso I of Naples by an African woman. The bastards were often admitted to the succession where the lawful children were minors and the dangers of the situation were pressing; and a rule of seniority became recognized, which took no account of pure or impure birth. The fitness of the individual, his worth and capacity, were of more weight than all the laws and usages which prevailed elsewhere in the West. It was the age, indeed, in which the sons of the Popes were founding dynasties. In the sixteenth century, through the influence of foreign ideas and of the counter-reformation which then began, the whole question was judged more strictly: Varchi discovers that the succession of the legitimate children 'is ordered by reason, and is the will of heaven from eternity.' Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici founded his claim to the lordship of Florence on the fact that he was perhaps the fruit of a lawful marriage, and at all events son of a gentlewoman, and not, like Duke Alessandro, of a servant girl. At this time began those morganatic marriages of affection which in the fifteenth century, on grounds either of policy or morality, would have had no meaning at all.
But the highest and the most admired form of illegitimacy in the
fifteenth century was presented by the Condottiere, who whatever may
have been his origin, raised himself to the position of an independent
ruler. At bottom, the occupation of Lower Italy by the Normans in the
eleventh century was of this character. Such attempts now began to keep
the peninsula in a constant ferment.

It was possible for a Condottiere to obtain the lordship of a district
even without usurpation, in the case when his employer, through want of
money or troops, provided for him in this way; under any circumstances
the Condottiere, even when he dismissed for the time the greater part
of his forces, needed a safe place where he could establish his winter
quarters, and lay up his stores and provisions. The first example of a
captain thus portioned is John Hawkwood, who was invested by Gregory XI
with the lordship of Bagnacavallo and Cotignola. When with Alberigo da
Barbiano Italian armies and leaders appeared upon the scene, the
chances of founding a principality, or of increasing one already
acquired, became more frequent. The first great bacchanalian outbreak
of military ambition took place in the duchy of Milan after the death
of Giangaleazzo (1402). The policy of his two sons was chiefly aimed at
the destruction of the new despotisms founded by the Condottieri; and
from the greatest of them, Facino Cane, the house of Visconti
inherited, together with his widow, a long list of cities, and 400,000
golden florins, not to speak of the soldiers of her first husband whom
Beatrice di Tenda brought with her. From henceforth that thoroughly
immoral relation between the governments and their Condottieri, which
is characteristic of the fifteenth century, became more and more
common. An old story--one of those which are true and not true,
everywhere and nowhere--describes it as follows: The citizens of a
certain town (Siena seems to be meant) had once an officer in their
service who had freed them from foreign aggression; daily they took
counsel how to recompense him, and concluded that no reward in their
power was great enough, not even if they made him lord of the city. At
last one of them rose and said, 'Let us kill him and then worship him
as our patron saint.' And so they did, following the example set the
Roman senate with Romulus. In fact the Condottieri had reason to fear
none so much as their employers: if they were successful, they became
dangerous, and were put out of the way like Roberto Malatesta just
after the victory he had won for Sixtus IV (1482); if they failed, the
vengeance of the Venetians on Carmagnola showed to what risks they were
exposed (1432). It is characteristic of the moral aspect of the
situation that the Condottieri had often to give their wives and
children as hostages, and notwithstanding this, neither felt nor
inspired confidence. They must have been heroes of abnegation, natures
like Belisarius himself, not to be cankered by hatred and bitterness;
only the most perfect goodness could save them from the most monstrous
iniquity. No wonder then if we find them full of contempt for all
sacred things, cruel and treacherous to their fellows men who cared
nothing whether or no they died under the ban of the Church. At the
same time, and through the force of the same conditions, the genius and
capacity of many among them attained the highest conceivable
development, and won for them the admiring devotion of their followers;
their armies are the first in modern history in which the personal
credit of the leader is the one moving power. A brilliant example is
shown in the life of Francesco Sforza; no prejudice of birth could
prevent him from winning and turning to account when he needed it a
boundless devotion from each individual with whom he had to deal; it
happened more than once that his enemies laid down their arms at the
sight of him, greeting him reverently with uncovered heads, each
honoring in him 'the common father of the men-at-arms.' The race of the
Sforza has this special interest that from the very beginning of its
history we seem able to trace its endeavors after the crown. The
foundation of its fortune lay in the remarkable fruitfulness of the
family; Francesco's father, Jacopo, himself a celebrated man, had
twenty brothers and sisters, all brought up roughly at Cotignola, near
Faenza, amid the perils of one of the endless Romagnole 'vendette'
between their own house and that of the Pasolini. The family dwelling
was a mere arsenal and fortress; the mother and daughters were as
warlike as their kinsmen. In his thirtieth year Jacopo ran away and
fled to Panicale to the Papal Condottiere Boldrino -- the man who even
in death continued to lead his troops, the word of order being given
from the banneared tent in which the embalmed body lay, till at last a
fit leader was found to succeed him. Jacopo, when he had at length made
himself a name in the service of different Condottieri, sent for his
relations, and obtained through them the same advantages that a prince
derives from a numerous dynasty. It was these relations who kept the
army together when he lay a captive in the Castel dell'Uovo at Naples;
his sister took the royal envoys prisoners with her own hands, and
saved him by this reprisal from death. It was an indication of the
breadth and the range of his plans that in monetary affairs Jacopo was
thoroughly trustworthy: even in his defeats he consequently found
credit with the bankers. He habitually protected the peasants against
the license of his troops, and reluctantly destroyed or injured a
conquered city. He gave his well-known mistress, Lucia, the mother of
Francesco, in marriage to another, in order to be free for a princely
alliance. Even the marriages of his relations were arranged on a
definite plan. He kept clear of the impious and profligate life of his
contemporaries, and brought up his son Francesco to the three rules:
'Let other men's wives alone; strike none of your followers, or, if you
do, send the injured man far away; don't ride a hard-mouthed horse, or
one that drops his shoe.' But his chief source of influence lay in the
qualities, if not of a great general, at least of a great soldier. His
frame was powerful, and developed by every kind of exercise; his
peasant's face and frank manners won general popularity; his memory was
marvelous, and after the lapse of years could recall the names of his
followers, the number of their horses, and the amount of their pay. His
education was purely Italian: he devoted his leisure to the study of
history, and had Greek and Latin authors translated for his use.
Francesco, his still more famous son, set his mind from the first on
founding a powerful State, and through brilliant generalship and a
faithlessness which hesitated at nothing, got possession of the great
city of Milan (1450).

His example was contagious. Aeneas Sylvius wrote about this time: 'In
our change-loving Italy, where nothing stands firm, and where no
ancient dynasty exists, a servant can easily become a king.' One man in
particular, who styles himself 'the man of fortune,' filled the
imagination of the whole country: Giacomo Piccinino, the son of
Niccolo. It was a burning question of the day if he, too, would
succeed in founding a princely house. The greater States had an obvious interest in hindering it, and even Francesco Sforza thought it would be all the better if the list of self-made sovereigns were not enlarged. But the troops and captains sent against him, at the time, for instance, when he was aiming at the lordship of Siena, recognized their interest in supporting him: 'If it were all over with him, we should have to go back and plough our fields.' Even while besieging him at Orbetello, they supplied him with provisions: and he got out of his straits with honour. But at last fate overtook him. All Italy was betting on the result, when (1465) after a visit to Sforza at Milan, he went to King Ferrante at Naples. In spite of the pledges given, and of his high connections, he was murdered in the Castel Nuovo. Even the Condottieri who had obtained their dominions by inheritance, never felt themselves safe. When Roberto Malatesta and Federigo of Urbino died on the same day (1482), the one at Rome, the other at Bologna, it was found that each had recommended his State to the care of the other. Against a class of men who themselves stuck at nothing, everything was held to be permissible. Francesco Sforza, when quite young, had married a rich Calabrian heiress, Polissella Ruffo, Countess of Montalto, who bore him a daughter; an aunt poisoned both mother and child, and seized the inheritance.

From the death of Piccinino onwards, the foundations of new States by the Condottieri became a scandal not to be tolerated. The four great Powers, Naples, Milan, the Papacy, and Venice, formed among themselves a political equilibrium which refused to allow of any disturbance. In the States of the Church, which swarmed with petty tyrants, who in part
were, or had been, Condottieri, the nephews of the Popes, since the
time of Sixtus IV, monopolized the right to all such undertakings. But
at the first sign of a political crisis, the soldiers of fortune
appeared again upon the scene. Under the wretched administration of
Innocent VIII it was near happening that a certain Boccalino, who had
formerly served in the Burgundian army, gave himself and the town of
Osimo, of which he was master, up to the Turkish forces; fortunately,
through the intervention of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he proved willing
to be paid off, and took himself away. In the year 1495, when the wars
of Charles VIII had turned Italy upside down, the Condottiere Vidovero,
of Brescia, made trial of his strength; he had already seized the town
of Cesena and murdered many of the nobles and the burghers; but the
citadel held out, and he was forced to withdraw. He then, at the head
of a band lent him by another scoundrel, Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini,
son of the Roberto already spoken of, and Venetian Condottiere, wrested
the town of Castelnuovo from the Archbishop of Ravenna. The Venetians,
fearing that worse would follow, and urged also by the Pope, ordered
Pandolfo, 'with the kindest intentions,' to take an opportunity of
arresting his good friend: the arrest was made, though 'with great
regret,' whereupon the order came to bring the prisoner to the gallows.
Pandolfo was considerate enough to strangle him in prison, and then
show his corpse to the people. The last notable example of such
usurpers is the famous Castellan of Musso, who during the confusion in
the Milanese territory which followed the battle of Pavia (1525),
improwised a sovereignty on the Lake of Como.

The Smaller Despotisms
It may be said in general of the despotisms of the fifteenth century that the greatest crimes are most frequent in the smallest States. In these, where the family was numerous and all the members wished to live in a manner befitting their rank, disputes respecting the inheritance were unavoidable. Bernardo Varano of Camerino put (1434) two of his brothers to death, wishing to divide their property among his sons.

Where the ruler of a single town was distinguished by a wise, moderate, and humane government, and by zeal for intellectual culture, he was generally a member of some great family, or politically dependent on it. This was the case, for example, with Alessandro Sforza, Prince of Pesaro, brother of the great Francesco, and stepfather of Federigo of Urbino (d. 1473). Prudent in administration, just and affable in his rule, he enjoyed, after years of warfare, a tranquil reign, collected a noble library, and passed his leisure in learned or religious conversation. A man of the same class was Giovanni II Bentivoglio of Bologna (1463-1508), whose policy was determined by that of the Este and the Sforza. What ferocity and bloodthirstiness is found, on the other hand, among the Varani of Camerino, the Malatesta of Rimini, the Manfreddi of Faenza, and above all among the Baglioni of Perugia. We find a striking picture of the events in the last-named family towards the close of the fifteenth century, in the admirable historical narratives of Graziani and Matarazzo.

The Baglioni were one of those families whose rule never took the shape of an avowed despotism. It was rather a leadership exercised by means of their vast wealth and of their practical influence in the choice of
public officers. Within the family one man was recognized as head; but
depth and secret jealousy prevailed among the members of the different
branches. Opposed to the Baglioni stood another aristocratic party, led
by the family of the Oddi. In 1487 the city was turned into a camp, and
the houses of the leading citizens swarmed with bravos; scenes of
violence were of daily occurrence. At the burial of a German student,
who had been assassinated, two colleges took arms against one another;
sometimes the bravos of the different houses even joined battle in the
public square. The complaints of the merchants and artisans were vain;
the Papal Governors and nipoti held their tongues, or took themselves
off on the first opportunity. At last the Oddi were forced to abandon
Perugia, and the city became a beleaguered fortress under the absolute
despotism of the Baglioni, who used even the cathedral as barracks.
Plots and surprises were met with cruel vengeance; in the year 1491
after 130 conspirators, who had forced their way into the city, were
killed and hung up at the Palazzo Communale, thirty-five altars were
erected in the square, and for three days mass was performed and
processions held, to take away the curse which rested on the spot. A
nipote of Innocent VIII was in open day run through in the street. A
nipote of Alexander VI, who was sent to smooth matters over, was
dismissed with public contempt. All the while the two leaders of the
ruling house, Guido and Ridolfo, were holding frequent interviews with
Suor Colomba of Rieti, a Dominican nun of saintly reputation and
miraculous powers, who under penalty of some great disaster ordered
them to make peace naturally in vain. Nevertheless the chronicle takes
the opportunity to point out the devotion and piety of the better men
in Perugia during this reign of terror. When in 1494 Charles VIII
approached, the Baglioni from Perugia and the exiles encamped in and
near Assisi conducted the war with such ferocity that every house in
the valley was levelled to the ground. The fields lay untilled. the
peasants were turned into plundering and murdering savages, the fresh-
grown bushes were filled with stags and wolves, and the beasts grew fat
on the bodies of the slain, on so-called 'Christian flesh.' When
Alexander VI withdrew (1495) into Umbria before Charles VIII, then
returning from Naples, it occurred to him, when at Perugia, that he
might now rid himself of the Baglioni once for all; he proposed to
Guido a festival or tournament, or something else of the same kind,
which would bring the whole family together. Guido, however, was of
opinion 'that the most impressive spectacle of all would be to see the
whole military force of Perugia collected in a body,' whereupon the
Pope abandoned his project. Soon after, the exiles made another attack
in which nothing but the personal heroism of the Baglioni won them the
victory. It was then that Simonetto Baglione, a lad of scarcely
eighteen, fought in the square with a handful of followers against
hundreds of the enemy: he fell at last with more than twenty wounds,
but recovered himself when Astorre Baglione came to his help, and
mounting on horseback in gilded amour with a falcon on his helmet,
'like Mars in bearing and in deeds, plunged into the struggle.'

At that time Raphael, a boy of twelve years of age, was at school under
Pietro Perugino. The impressions of these days are perhaps immortalized
in the small, early pictures of St. Michael and St. George: something
of them, it may be, lives eternally in the large painting of St.
Michael: and if Astorre Baglione has anywhere found his apotheosis, it
is in the figure of the heavenly horseman in the Heliodorus.
The opponents of the Baglioni were partly destroyed, partly scattered in terror, and were henceforth incapable of another enterprise of the kind. After a time a partial reconciliation took place, and some of the exiles were allowed to return. But Perugia became none the safer or more tranquil: the inward discord of the ruling family broke out in frightful excesses. An opposition was formed against Guido and Ridolfo and their sons Gianpaolo, Simonetto, Astorre, Gismondo, Gentile, Marcantonio and others, by two great-nephews, Grifone and Carlo Barciglia; the latter of the two was also nephew of Varano Prince of Camerino, and brother-in-law of one of the former exiles, Gerolamo della Penna. In vain did Simonetto, warned by sinister presentiment, entreat his uncle on his knees to allow him to put Penna to death: Guido refused. The plot ripened suddenly on the occasion of the marriage of Astorre with Lavinia Colonna, at Midsummer, 1500. The festival began and lasted several days amid gloomy forebodings, whose deepening effect is admirably described by Matarazzo. Varano himself encouraged them with devilish ingenuity: he worked upon Grifone by the prospect of undivided authority, and by stories of an imaginary intrigue of his wife Zenobia with Gianpaolo. Finally each conspirator was provided with a victim. (The Baglioni lived all of them in separate houses, mostly on the site of the present castle.) Each received fifteen of the bravos at hand; the remainder were set on the watch. In the night of July 15 the doors were forced, and Guido, Astorre, Simonetto, and Gismondo were murdered; the others succeeded in escaping.
As the corpse of Astorre lay by that of Simonetto in the street, the spectators, 'and especially the foreign students,' compared him to an ancient Roman, so great and imposing did he seem. In the features of Simonetto could still be traced the audacity and defiance which death itself had not tamed. The victors went round among the friends of the family, and did their best to recommend themselves; they found all in tears and preparing to leave for the country. Meantime the escaped Baglioni collected forces without the city, and on the following day forced their way in, Gianpaolo at their head, and speedily found adherents among others whom Barciglia had been threatening with death. When Grifone fell into their hands near Sant' Ercolano, Gianpaolo handed him over for execution to his followers. Barciglia and Penna fled to Varano, the chief author of the tragedy, at Camerino; and in a moment, almost without loss, Gianpaolo became master of the city.

Atalanta, the still young and beautiful mother of Grifone, who the day before had withdrawn to a country house with the latter's wife Zenobia and two children of Gianpaolo, and more than once had repulsed her son with a mother's curse, now returned with her daughter-in-law in search of the dying man. All stood aside as the two women approached, each man shrinking from being recognized as the slayer of Grifone, and dreading the malediction of the mother. But they were deceived: she herself besought her son to pardon him who had dealt the fatal blow, and he died with her blessing. The eyes of the crowd followed the two women reverently as they crossed the square with blood-stained garments. It was Atalanta for whom Raphael afterwards painted the world-famous 'Deposition,' with which she laid her own maternal sorrows at the feet
of a yet higher and holier suffering.

The cathedral, in the immediate neighbourhood of which the greater part of this tragedy had been enacted, was washed with wine and consecrated afresh. The triumphal arch, erected for the wedding, still remained standing, painted with the deeds of Astorre and with the laudatory verses of the narrator of these events, the worthy Matarazzo.

A legendary history, which is simply the reflection of these atrocities, arose out of the early days of the Baglioni. All the members of this family from the beginning were reported to have died an evil death twenty-seven on one occasion together; their houses were said to have been once before levelled to the ground, and the streets of Perugia paved with the bricks and more of the same kind. Under Paul III the destruction of their palaces really took place.

For a time they seemed to have formed good resolutions, to have brought their own party into power, and to have protected the public officials against the arbitrary acts of the nobility. But the old curse broke out again like a smoldering fire. In 1520 Gianpaolo was enticed to Rome under Leo X, and there beheaded; one of his sons, Orazio, who ruled in Perugia for a short time only, and by the most violent means, as the partisan of the Duke of Urbino (himself threatened by the Pope), once before repeated in his own family the horrors of the past. His uncle and three cousins were murdered, whereupon the Duke sent him word that enough had been done. His brother, Malatesta Baglione, the Florentine
general, has made himself immortal by the treason of 1530; and
Malatesta's son Ridolfo, the last of the house, attained, by the murder
of the legate and the public officers in the year 1534, a brief but
sanguinary authority. We shall meet again with the names of the rulers
of Rimini. Unscrupulousness, impiety, military skill, and high culture
have been seldom combined in one individual as in Sigismondo Malatesta
(d. 1467). But the accumulated crimes of such a family must at last
outweigh all talent, however great, and drag the tyrant into the abyss.
Pandolfo, Sigismondo's nephew, who has been mentioned already,
succeeded in holding his ground, for the sole reason that the Venetians
refused to abandon their Condottiere, whatever guilt he might be
chargeable with; when his subjects (1497), after ample provocation,
bombed him in his castle at Rimini, and afterwards allowed him to
escape, a Venetian commissioner brought him back, stained as he was
with fratricide and every other abomination. Thirty years later the
Malatesta were penniless exiles. In the year 1527, as in the time of
Cesare Borgia, a sort of epidemic fell on the petty tyrants; few of
them outlived this date, and none to t heir own good. At Mirandola,
which was governed by insignificant princes of the house of Pico, lived
in the year 1533 a poor scholar, Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, who had fled
from the sack of Rome to the hospitable hearth of the aged Giovanni
Francesco Pico, nephew of the famous Giovanni; the discussions as to
the sepulchral monument which the prince was constructing f or himself
gave rise to a treatise, the dedication of which bears the date of
April of this year. The postscript is a sad one. In October of the same
year the unhappy prince was attacked in the night and robbed of life
and throne by his brother's son; and I myself escaped narrowly, and am
now in the deepest misery.'
A near-despotism, without morals or principles, such as Pandolfo Petrucci exercised from after 1490 in Siena, then torn by faction, is hardly worth a closer consideration. Insignificant and malicious, he governed with the help of a professor of jurisprudence and of an astrologer, and frightened his people by an occasional murder. His pastime in the summer months was to roll blocks of stone from the top of Monte Amiata, without caring what or whom they hit. After succeeding, where the most prudent failed, in escaping from the devices of Cesare Borgia, he died at last forsaken and despised. His sons maintained a qualified supremacy for many years afterwards.

The Greater Dynasties

In treating of the chief dynasties of Italy, it is convenient to discuss the Aragonese, on account of its special character, apart from the rest. The feudal system, which from the days of the Normans had survived in the form of a territorial supremacy of the Barons, gave a distinctive color to the political constitution of Naples; while elsewhere in Italy, excepting only in the southern part of the ecclesiastical dominion, and in a few other districts, a direct tenure of land prevailed, and no hereditary powers were permitted by the law. The great Alfonso, who reigned in Naples from 1435 onwards (d. 1458), was a man of another kind than his real or alleged descendants. Brilliant in his whole existence, fearless in mixing with his people, dignified and affable in intercourse, admired rather than blamed even
for his old man's passion for Lucrezia d'Alagno, he had the one bad quality of extravagance, from which, however, the natural consequence followed. Unscrupulous financiers were long omnipotent at Court, till the bankrupt king robbed them of their spoils; a crusade was preached as a pretext for taxing the clergy; when a great earthquake happened in the Abruzzi, the survivors were compelled to make good the contributions of the dead. By such means Alfonso was able to entertain distinguished guests with unrivalled splendor; he found pleasure in ceaseless expense, even for the benefit of his enemies, and in rewarding literary work knew absolutely no measure. Poggio received 500 pieces of gold for translating Xenophon's 'Cyropaeedia' into Latin.

Ferrante, who succeeded him, passed as his illegitimate son by a Spanish lady, but was not improbably the son of a half-caste Moor of Valencia. Whether it was his blood or the plots formed against his life by the barons which embittered and darkened his nature, it is certain that he was equalled in ferocity by none among the princes of his time. Restlessly active, recognized as one of the most powerful political minds of the day, and free from the vices of the profligate, he concentrated all his powers, among which must be reckoned profound dissimulation and an irreconcilable spirit of vengeance, on the destruction of his opponents. He had been wounded in every point in which a ruler is open to offence; for the leaders of the barons, though related to him by marriage, were yet the allies of his foreign enemies. Extreme measures became part of his daily policy. The means for this struggle with his barons, and for his external wars, were exacted in the same Mohammedan fashion which Frederick II had introduced: the
Government alone dealt in oil and corn; the whole commerce of the country was put by Ferrante into the hands of a wealthy merchant, Francesco Coppola, who had entire control of the anchorage on the coast, and shared the profits with the King. Deficits were made up by forced loans, by executions and confiscations, by open simony, and by contributions levied on the ecclesiastical corporations. Besides hunting, which he practiced regardless of all rights of property, his pleasures were of two kinds: he liked to have his opponents near him, either alive in well-guarded prisons, or dead and embalmed, dressed in the costume which they wore in their lifetime. He would chuckle in talking of the captives with his friends, and make no secret whatever of the museum of mummies. His victims were mostly men whom he had got into his power by treachery; some were even seized while guests at the royal table. His conduct to his prime minister, Antonello Petrucci, who had grown sick and grey in his service, and from whose increasing fear of death he extorted 'present after present,' was literally devilish. At length a suspicion of complicity with the last conspiracy of the barons gave the pretext for his arrest and execution. With him died Coppola. The way in which all this is narrated in Caracciolo and Porzio makes one's hair stand on end.

The elder of the King's sons, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, enjoyed in later years a kind of co-regency with his father. He was a savage, brutal profligate, who in point of frankness alone had the advantage of Ferrante, and who openly avowed his contempt for religion and its usages. The better and nobler features of the Italian despotisms are not to be found among the princes of this line; all that they possessed
of the art and culture of their time served the purpose of luxury or
display. Even the genuine Spaniards seem to have almost always
degenerated in Italy; but the end of this cross-bred house (1494 and
1503) gives clear proof of a want of blood. Ferrante died of mental
care and trouble; Alfonso accused his brother Federigo, the only honest
member of the family, of treason, and insulted him in the vilest
manner. At length, though he had hitherto passed for one of the ablest
generals in Italy, he lost his head and fled to Sicily, leaving his
son, the younger Ferrante, a prey to the French and to domestic
treason. A dynasty which had ruled as this had done must at least have
sold its life dear, if its children were ever to hope for a
restoration. But, as Comines one-sidedly, and yet on the whole rightly
observes on this occasion, '_Jamais homme cruel ne fut hardi_': there
was never a more cruel man.

The despotism of the Dukes of Milan, whose government from the time of
Giangaleazzo onwards was an absolute monarchy of the most thorough-
going sort, shows the genuine Italian character of the fifteenth
century. The last of the Visconti Filippo Maria (1412-1447), is a
character of peculiar interest, and of which fortunately an admirable
description has been left us. What a man of uncommon gifts and high
position can be made by the passion of fear, is here shown with what
may be called a mathematical completeness. All the resources of the
State were devoted to the one end of securing his personal safety,
though happily his cruel egotism did not degenerate into a purposeless
thirst for blood. He lived in the Citadel of Milan, surrounded by
magnificent gardens, arbors, and lawns. For years he never set foot in
the city, making his excursions only in the country, where lay several
of his splendid castles; the flotilla which, drawn by the swiftest
horses, conducted him to them along canals constructed for the purpose,
was so arranged as to allow of the application of the most rigorous
etiquette. Whoever entered the citadel was watched by a hundred eyes;
it was forbidden even to stand at the window, lest signs should be
given to those without. All who were admitted among the personal
followers of the Prince were subjected to a series of the strictest
examinations; then, once accepted, were charged with the highest
diplomatic commissions, as well as with the humblest personal services
both in this Court being alike honorable. And this was the man who
conducted long and difficult wars, who dealt habitually with political
affairs of the first importance, and every day sent his
plenipotentiaries to all parts of Italy. His safety lay in the fact
that none of his servants trusted the others, that his Condottieri were
watched and misled by spies, and that the ambassadors and higher
officials were baffled and kept apart by artificially nourished
jealousies, and in particular by the device of coupling an honest man
with a knave. His inward faith, too, rested upon opposed and
contradictory systems; he believed in blind necessity, and in the
influence of the stars, and offering prayers at one and the same time
to helpers of every sort; he was a student of the ancient authors, as
well as of French tales of chivalry. And yet the same man, who would
never suffer death to be mentioned in his presence, and caused his
dying favorites to be removed from the castle, that no shadow might
fall on the abode of happiness, deliberately hastened his own death by
closing up a wound, and, refusing to be bled, died at last with dignity
and grace.
His son-in-law and successor, the fortunate Condottiere Francesco Sforza (1450-1466), was perhaps of all the Italians of the fifteenth century the man most after the heart of his age. Never was the triumph of genius and individual power more brilliantly displayed than in him; and those who would yet recognize his merit were at least forced to wonder at him as the spoilt child of fortune. The Milanese claimed it openly as an honour to be governed by so distinguished a master; when he entered the city the thronging populace bore him on horseback into the cathedral, without giving him the chance to dismount. Let us listen to the balance-sheet of his life, in the estimate of Pope Pius II, a judge in such matters: 'In the year 1459, when the Duke came to the congress at Mantua, he was 60 (really 58) years old; on horseback he looked like a young man; of a lofty and imposing figure, with serious features, calm and affable in conversation, princely in his whole bearing, with a combination of bodily and intellectual gifts unrivalled in our time, unconquered on the field of battle - such was the man who raised himself from a humble position to the control of an empire. His wife was beautiful and virtuous, his children were like the angels of heaven; he was seldom ill, and all his chief wishes were fulfilled. And yet he was not without misfortune. His wife, out of jealousy, killed his mistress; his old comrades and friends, Troilo and Brunoro, abandoned him and went over to King Alfonso; another, Ciarpollone, he was forced to hang for treason; he had to suffer it that his brother Alessandro set the French upon him; one of his sons formed intrigues against him, and was imprisoned; the March of Ancona, which he had won in war, he lost again the same way. No man enjoys so unclouded a
fortune that he has not somewhere to struggle with adversity. He is happy who has but few troubles.' With this negative definition of happiness the learned Pope dismisses the reader. Had he been able to see into the future, or been willing to stop and discuss the consequences of an uncontrolled despotism, one pervading fact would not have escaped his notice the absence of all guarantee for the future. Those children, beautiful as angels, carefully and thoroughly educated as they were, fell victims, when they grew up, to the corruption of a measureless egotism. Galeazzo Maria (1466-1476), solicitous only of outward effect, too k pride in the beauty of his hands, in the high salaries he paid, in the financial credit he enjoyed, in his treasure of two million pieces of gold, in the distinguished people who surrounded him, and in the army and birds of chase which he maintained. He was fond of the sound of his own voice, and spoke well, most fluently, perhaps, when he had the chance of insulting a Venetian ambassador. He was subject to caprices, such as having a room painted with figures in a single night; and, what was worse, to fits of senseless debauchery and of revolting cruelty to his nearest friends. To a handful of enthusiasts, he seemed a tyrant too bad to live; they murdered him, and thereby delivered the State into the power of his brothers, one of whom, Lodovico il Moro, threw his nephew into prison, and took the government into his own hands. From this usurpation followed the French intervention, and the disasters which befell the whole of Italy.

Lodovico Sforza, called 'il Moro,' the Moor, is the most perfect type of the despot of that age, and, as a kind of natural product, almost
disarms our moral judgement. Notwithstanding the profound immorality of the means he employed, he used them with perfect ingenuousness; no one would probably have been more astonished than himself to learn that for the choice of means as well as of ends a human being is morally responsible; he would rather have reckoned it as a singular virtue that, so far as possible, he had abstained from too free a use of the punishment of death. He accepted as no more than his due the almost fabulous respect of the Italians for his political genius. In 1486 he boasted that the Pope Alexander was his chaplain, the Emperor Maximilian his Condottiere, Venice his chamberlain, and the King of France his courier, who must come and go at his bidding. With marvelous presence of mind he weighed, even in his last extremity (1499), a possible means of escape, and at length he decided, to his honour, to trust to the goodness of human nature; he rejected the proposal of his brother, the Cardinal Ascanio, who wished to remain in the Citadel of Milan, on the ground of a former quarrel: 'Monsignore, take it not ill, but I trust you not, brother though you be'; and appointed to the command of the castle, 'that pledge of his return,' a man to whom he had always done good, but who nevertheless betrayed him. At home the Moor was a good and useful ruler, and to the last he reckoned on his popularity both in Milan and in Como. In later years (after 1496) he had overstrained the resources of his State, and at Cremona had ordered, out of pure expediency, a respectable citizen, who had spoken again against the new taxes, to be quietly strangled. Since that time, in holding audiences, he kept his visitors away from his person by means of a bar, so that in conversing with him they were compelled to speak at the top of their voices. At his court, the most brilliant in Europe, since that of Burgundy had ceased to exist, immorality of the worst
kind was prevalent; the daughter was sold by the father, the wife by the husband, the sister by the brother. The Prince himself was incessantly active, and, as son of his own deeds, claimed relationship with all who, like himself, stood on their personal merits with scholars, poets, artists, and musicians. The academy which he founded served rather for his own purposes than for the instruction of scholars; nor was it the fame of the distinguished men who surrounded him which he heeded, so much as their society and their services. It is certain that Bramante was scantily paid at first; Leonardo, on the other hand, was up to 1496 suitably remunerated and besides, what kept him at the court, if not his own free will The world lay open to him, as perhaps to no other mortal man of that day; and if proof were wanting of the loftier element in the nature of Lodovico il Moro, it is found in the long stay of the enigmatic master at his court. That afterwards Leonardo entered the service of Cesare Borgia and Francis I was probably due to the interest he felt in the unusual and striking character of the two men.

After the fall of the Moor, his sons were badly brought up among strangers. The elder, Massimiliano, had no resemblance to him; the younger, Francesco, was at all events not without spirit. Milan, which in those years changed its rulers so often, and suffered so unspeakably in the change, endeavored to secure itself against a reaction. In the year 1512 the French, retreating before the arms of Maximilian and the Spaniards, were induced to make a declaration that the Milanese had taken no part in their expulsion, and, without being guilty of rebellion, might yield themselves to a new conqueror. It is a fact of
some political importance that in such moments of transition the unhappy city, like Naples at the flight of the Aragonese, was apt to fall a prey to gangs of (often highly aristocratic) scoundrels.

The house of Gonzaga at Mantua and that of Montefeltro of Urbino were among the best ordered and richest in men of ability during the second half of the fifteenth century. The Gonzaga were a tolerably harmonious family; for a long period no murder had been known among them, and their dead could be shown to the world without fear.7 The Marquis Francesco Gonzaga and his wife, Isabella of Este, in spite of some few irregularities, were a united and respectable couple, and brought up their sons to be successful and remarkable men at a time when their small but most important State was exposed to incessant danger. That Francesco, either as statesman or as soldier, should adopt a policy of exceptional honesty, was what neither the Emperor, nor Venice, nor the King of France could have expected or desired; but certainly since the battle of the Taro (1495), so far as military honour was concerned, he felt and acted as an Italian patriot, and imparted the same spirit to his wife. Every deed of loyalty and heroism, such as the defence of Faenza against Cesare Borgia, she felt as a vindication of the honour of Italy. Our judgement of her does not need to rest on the praises of the artists and writers who made the fair princess a rich return for her patronage; her own letters show her to us as a woman of unshaken firmness, full of kindliness and humorous observation. Bembo, Bandello, Ariosto, and Bernardo Tasso sent their works to this court, small and powerless as it was, and empty as they found its treasury. A more polished and charming circle was not to be seen in Italy, since the
dissolution (1508) of the old Court of Urbino; and in one respect, in freedom of movement, the society of Ferrara was inferior to that of Mantua. In artistic matters Isabella had an accurate knowledge, and the catalogue of her small but choice collection can be read by no lover of art without emotion.

In the great Federigo (1444-1482), whether he were a genuine Montefeltro or not, Urbino possessed a brilliant representative of the princely order. As a Condottiere he shared the political morality of soldiers of fortune, a morality of which the fault does not rest with them alone; as ruler of his little territory he adopted the plan of spending at home the money he had earned abroad, and taxing his people as lightly as possible. Of him and his two successors, Guidobaldo and Francesco Maria, we read: 'They erected buildings, furthered the cultivation of the land, lived at home, and gave employment to a large number of people: their subjects loved them.' But not only the State, but the court too, was a work of art and organization, and this in every sense of the word. Federigo had 500 persons in his service; the arrangements of the court were as complete as in the capitals of the greatest monarchs, but nothing was built quarters sprang up at the bidding of the ruler: here, by the concentration of the official classes and the active promotion of trade, was formed for the first time a true capital; wealthy fugitives from all parts of Italy, Florentines especially, settled and built their palaces at Ferrara. But the indirect taxation, at all events, must have reached a point at which it could only just be borne. The Government, it is true, took measures of alleviation which were also adopted by other Italian
despots, such as Galeazzo Maria Sforza: in time of famine, corn was brought from a distance and seems to have been distributed gratuitously; but in ordinary times it compensated itself by the monopoly, if not of corn, of many other of the necessaries of life fish, salt, meat, fruit and vegetables, which last were carefully planted on and near the walls of the city. The most considerable source of income, however, was the annual sale of public offices, a usage which was common throughout Italy, and about the working of which at Ferrara we have more precise information. We read, for example, that at the new year 1502 the majority of the officials bought their places at 'prezzi salati' (pungent prices); public servants of the most various kinds, custom-house officers, bailiffs (massari), notaries, 'podesta,' judges, and even governors of provincial towns are quoted by name. As one of the 'devourers of the people' who paid dearly for their places, and who were 'hated worse than the devil,' Tito Strozza let us hope not the famous Latin poet is mentioned. About the same time every year the dukes were accustomed to make a round of visits in Ferrara, the so-called 'andar per ventura,' in which they took presents from, at any rate, the more wealthy citizens. The gifts, however, did not consist of money, but of natural products.

It was the pride of the duke for all Italy to know that at Ferrara the soldiers received their pay and the professors at the University their salary not a day later than it was due; that the soldiers never dared lay arbitrary hands on citizen or peasant; that the town was impregnable to assault; and that vast sums of coined money were stored up in the citadel. To keep two sets of accounts seemed unnecessary: the
Minister of Finance was at the same time manager of the ducal household. The buildings erected by Borso (1430-1471), by Ercole I (till 1505), and by Alfonso I (till 1534), were very numerous, but of small size; they are characteristic of a princely house which, with all its love of splendor Borso never appeared but in embroidery and jewels indulged in no ill-considered expense. Alfonso may perhaps have foreseen the fate which was in store for his charming little villas, the Belvedere with its shady gardens, and Montana with its fountains and beautiful frescoes.

It is undeniable that the dangers to which these princes were constantly exposed developed in them capacities of a remarkable kind. In so artificial a world only a man of consummate address could hope to succeed; each candidate for distinction was forced to make good his claims by personal merit and show himself worthy of the crown he sought. Their characters are not without dark sides; but in all of them lives something of those qualities which Italy then pursued as its ideal. What European monarch of the time labored for his own culture as, for instance, Alfonso I? His travels in France, England, and the Netherlands were undertaken for the purpose of study: by means of them he gained an accurate knowledge of the industry and commerce of these countries. It is ridiculous to reproach him with the turner's work which he practiced in his leisure hours, connected as it was with his skill in the casting of cannon, and with the unprejudiced freedom with which he surrounded himself by masters of every art. The Italian princes were not, like their contemporaries in the North, dependent on the society of an aristocracy which held itself to be the only class
worth consideration, and which infected the monarch with the same
conceit. In Italy the prince was permitted and compelled to know and to
use men of every grade in society; and the nobility, though by birth a
caste, were forced in social intercourse to stand up on their personal
qualifications alone. But this is a point which we shall discuss more
fully in the sequel. The feeling of the Ferrarese towards the ruling
house was a strange compound of silent dread, of the truly Italian
sense of well-calculated interest, and of the loyalty of the modern
subject: personal admiration was transferred into a new sentiment of
duty. The city of Ferrara raised in 1451 a bronze equestrian statue to
their Prince Niccolo, who had died ten years earlier; Borso (1454) did
not scruple to place his own statue, also of bronze, but in a sitting
posture, hard by in the market; in addition to which the city, at the
beginning of his reign, decreed to him a 'marble triumphal pillar'. A
citizen who, when abroad in Venice, had spoken ill of Borso in public,
was informed against on his return home, and condemned to banishment
and the confiscation of his goods; a loyal subject was with difficulty
restrained from cutting him down before the tribunal itself, and with a
rope round his neck the offender went to the duke and begged for a full
pardon. The government was well provided with spies, and the duke
inspected personally the daily list of travellers which the innkeepers
were strictly ordered to present. Under Borso, who was anxious to leave
no distinguished stranger unhonored, this regulation served a
hospitable purpose; Ercole I used it simply as a measure of precaution.
In Bologna, too, it was then the rule, under Giovanni II Bentivoglio,
that every passing traveller who entered at one gate must obtain a
ticket in order to go out at another. An unfailing means of popularity
was the sudden dismissal of oppressive officials. When Borso arrested
in person his chief and confidential counsellors, when Ercole I removed
and disgraced a tax-gatherer who for years had been sucking the blood
of the people, bonfires were lighted and the bells were pealed in their
honour. With one of his servants, however, Ercole let things go too
far. The director of the police, or by whatever name we should choose
to call him (Capitano di Giustizia), was Gregorio Zampante of Lucca, a
native being unsuited for an office of this kind. Even the sons and
brothers of the duke trembled before this man; the fines he inflicted
amounted to hundreds and thousands of ducats, and torture was applied
even before the hearing of a case: bribes were accepted from wealthy
criminals, and their pardon obtained from the duke by false
representations. Gladly would the people have paid any sum to their
ruler for sending away the 'enemy of God and man.' But Ercole had
knighted him and made him godfather to his children; and year by year
Zampante laid by 2,000 ducats. He dared only eat pigeons bred in his
own house, and could not cross the street without a band of archers and
bravos. It was time to get rid of him; in 1496 two students, and a
converted Jew whom he had mortally offended, killed him in his house
while taking his siesta, and then rode through the town on horses held
in waiting, raising the cry, 'Come out! come out! we have slain
Zampante!' The pursuers came too late, and found them already safe
across the frontier. Of course it now rained satires some of them in
the form of sonnets, others of odes.

It was wholly in the spirit of this system that the sovereign imposed
his own respect for useful servants on the court and on the people.
When in 1469 Borso's privy councillor Lodovico Casella died, no court
of law or place of business in the city, and no lecture-room at the
University, was allowed to be open: all had to follow the body to San
Domenico, since the duke intended to be present. And, in fact, 'the
first of the house of Este who attended the corpse of a subject'
walked, clad in black, after the coffin, weeping, while behind him came
the relatives of Casella, each conducted by one of the gentlemen of the
court: the body of the plain citizen was carried by nobles from the
church into the cloister, where it was buried. Indeed this official
sympathy with princely emotion first came up in the Italian States. At
the root of the practice may be a beautiful, humane sentiment; the
utterance of it, especially in the poets, is, as a rule, of equivocal
sincerity. One of the youthful poems of Ariosto, on the Death of
Leonora of Aragon, wife of Ercole I, contains besides the inevitable
graveyard flowers, which are scattered in the elegies of all ages, some
thoroughly modern features: This death had given Ferrara a blow which
it would not get over for years: its benefactress was now its advocate
in heaven, since earth was not worthy of her; truly the angel of Death
did not come to her, as to us common mortals, with blood-stained
scythe, but fair to behold (onestà), and with so kind a face that every
fear was allayed.' But we meet, also, with sympathy of a different
kind. Novelists, depending wholly on the favour of their patrons, tell
us the love stories of the prince, even before his death, in a way
which, to later times, would seem the height of indiscretion, but which
then passed simply as an innocent compliment. Lyrical poets even went
so far as to sing the illicit flames of their lawfully married lords,
e.g. Angelo Poliziano, those of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and Gioviano
Pontano, with a singular gusto, those of Alfonso of Calabria. The poem
in question betrays unconsciously the odious disposition of the
Aragonese ruler; in these things too, he must needs be the most fortunate, else woe be to those who are more successful! That the greatest artists, for example Leonardo, should paint the mistresses of their patrons was no more than a matter of course.

But the house of Este was not satisfied with the praises of others; it undertook to celebrate itself. In the Palazzo Schifanoia Borso caused himself to be painted in a series of historical representations, and Ercole (from 1472 on) kept the anniversary of his accession to the throne by a procession which was compared to the feast of Corpus Christi; shops were closed as on Sunday; in the centre of the line walked all the members of the princely house (bastards included) clad in embroidered robes. That the crown was the fountain of honour and authority, that all personal distinction flowed from it alone, had been long expressed at this court by the Order of the Golden Spur, an order which had nothing in common with medieval chivalry. Ercole I added to the spur a sword, a goldlaced mantle, and a grant of money, in return for which there is no doubt that regular service was required.

The patronage of art and letters for which this court has obtained a world-wide reputation, was exercised through the University, which was one of the most perfect in Italy, and by the gift of places in the personal or official service of the prince; it involved consequently no additional expense. Boiardo, as a wealthy country gentleman and high official, belonged to this class. At the time when Ariosto began to distinguish himself, there existed no court, in the true sense of the word, either at Milan or Florence, and soon there was none either at
Urbino or at Naples. He had to content himself with a place among the musicians and jugglers of Cardinal Ippolito till Alfonso took him into his service. It was otherwise at a later time with Torquato Tasso, whose presence at court was jealously sought after.

The Opponents of the Despots

In face of this centralized authority, all legal opposition within the borders of the State was futile. The elements needed for the restoration of a republic had been for ever destroyed, and the field prepared for violence and despotism. The nobles, destitute of political rights, even where they held feudal possessions, might call themselves Guelphs or Ghibellines at will, might dress up their bravos in padded hose and feathered caps or how else they pleased; thoughtful men like Machiavelli knew well enough that Milan and Naples were too 'corrupt' for a republic. Strange judgements fell on these two so-called parties, which now served only to give official sanction to personal and family disputes.

An Italian prince, whom Agrippa of Nettesheim advised to put them down, replied that their quarrels brought him in more than 12,000 ducats a year in fines. And when in the year 1500, during the brief return of Lodovico il Moro to his States, the Guelphs of Tortona summoned a part of the neighbouring French army into the city, in order to make an end once for all of their opponents, the French certainly began by plundering and ruining the Ghibellines, but finished by doing the same
to the Guelphs, till Tortona was utterly laid waste. In Romagna, the hotbed of every ferocious passion, these two names had long lost all political meaning. It was a sign of the political delusion of the people that they not seldom believed the Guelphs to be the natural allies of the French and the Ghibellines of the Spaniards. It is hard to see that those who tried to profit by this error got much by doing so. France, after all her interventions, had to abandon the peninsula at last, and what became of Spain, after she had destroyed Italy, is known to every reader.

But to return to the despots of the Renaissance. A pure and simple mind, we might think, would perhaps have argued that, since all power is derived from God, these princes, if they were loyally and honestly supported by all their subjects, must in time themselves improve and lose all traces of their violent origin. But from characters and imaginations inflamed by passion and ambition, reasoning of this kind could not be expected. Like bad physicians, they thought to cure the disease by removing the symptoms, and fancied that if the tyrant were put to death, freedom would follow of itself. Or else, without reflecting even to this extent, they sought only to give a vent to the universal hatred, or to take vengeance for some family misfortune or personal affront. Since the governments were absolute, and free from all legal restraints, the opposition chose its weapons with equal freedom. Boccaccio declares openly: ‘Shall I call the tyrant king or prince, and obey him loyally as my lord? No, for he is the enemy of the commonwealth. Against him I may use arms, conspiracies, spies, ambushes and fraud; to do so is a sacred and necessary work. There is no more
acceptable sacrifice than the blood of a tyrant.' We need not occupy ourselves with individual cases; Machiavelli, in a famous chapter of his 'Discorsi,' treats of the conspiracies of ancient and modern times from the days of the Greek tyrants downwards, and classifies them with cold-blooded indifference according to their various plans and results.

We need make but two observations, first on the murders committed in church, and next on the influence of classical antiquity. So well was the tyrant guarded that it was almost impossible to lay hands upon him elsewhere than at solemn religious services; and on no other occasion was the whole family to be found assembled together. It was thus that the Fabrianese murdered (1435) the members of their ruling house, the Chiavelli, during high mass, the signal being given by the words of the Creed, 'Et incarnatus est.' At Milan the Duke Giovan Maria Visconti (1412) was assassinated at the entrance of the church of San Gottardo Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1476) in the church of Santo Stefano, and Lodovico il Moro only escaped (1484) the daggers of the adherents of the widowed Duchess Bona, through entering the church of Sant' Ambrogio by another door than that by which he was expected. There was no intentional impiety in the act; the assassins of Galeazzo did not fail to pray before the murder to the patron saint of the church, and to listen devoutly to the first mass. It was, however, one cause of the partial failure of the conspiracy of the Pazzi against Lorenzo and Giuliano Medici (1478), that the brigand Montesecco, who had bargained to commit the murder at a banquet, declined to undertake it in the Cathedral of Florence. Certain of the clergy 'who were familiar with the sacred place, and consequently had no fear' were induced to act in his stead.
As to the imitation of antiquity, the influence of which on moral, and more especially on political, questions we shall often refer to, the example was set by the rulers themselves, who, both in their conception of the State and in their personal conduct, took the old Roman empire avowedly as their model. In like manner their opponents, when they set to work with a deliberate theory, took pattern by the ancient tyrannicides. It may be hard to prove that in the main point in forming the resolve itself they consciously followed a classical example; but the appeal to antiquity was no mere phrase. The most striking disclosures have been left us with respect to the murderers of Galeazzo Sforza, Lampugnani, Olgiati, and Visconti. Though all three had personal ends to serve, yet their enterprise may be partly ascribed to a more general reason. About this time Cola de' Montani, a humanist and professor of eloquence, had awakened among many of the young Milanese nobility a vague passion for glory and patriotic achievements, and had mentioned to Lampugnani and Olgiati his hope of delivering Milan. Suspicion was soon aroused against him: he was banished from the city, and his pupils were abandoned to the fanaticism he had excited. Some ten days before the deed they met together and took a solemn oath in the monastery of Sant' Ambrogio. 'Then,' says Olgiati, 'in a remote corner I raised my eyes before the picture of the patron saint, and implored his help for ourselves and for all his people.' The heavenly protector of the city was called on to bless the undertaking, as was afterwards St. Stephen, in whose church it was fulfilled. Many of their comrades were now informed of the plot, nightly meetings were held in the house of Lampugnani, and the conspirators practiced for the murder with the sheaths of their daggers. The attempt was successful, but
Lampugnani was killed on the spot by the attendants of the duke; the others were captured: Visconti was penitent, but Olgiati through all his tortures maintained that the deed was an acceptable offering to God, and exclaimed while the executioner was breaking his ribs, 'Courage, Girolamo! thou wilt long be remembered; death is bitter, but glory is eternal.'

But however idealistic the object and purpose of such conspiracies may appear, the manner in which they were conducted betrays the influence of that worst of all conspirators, Catiline, a man in whose thoughts freedom had no place whatever. The annals of Siena tell us expressly that the conspirators were students of Sallust, and the fact is indirectly confirmed by the confession of Olgiati. Elsewhere, too, we meet with the name of Catiline, and a more attractive pattern of the conspirator, apart from the end he followed, could hardly be discovered.

Among the Florentines, whenever they got rid of, or tried to get rid of, the Medici, tyrannicide was a practice universally accepted and approved. After the flight of the Medici in 1494, the bronze group of Donatello Judith with the dead Holofernes was taken from their collection and placed before the Palazzo della Signoria, on the spot where the 'David' of Michelangelo now stands, with the inscription, 'Exemplum salutis publicae cives posuere 1495. No example was more popular than that of the younger Brutus, who, in Dante, lies with Cassius and Judas Iscariot in the lowest pit of hell, because of his treason to the empire. Pietro Paolo Boscoli, whose plot against
Giuliano, Giovanni, and Giulio Medici failed (1513), was an enthusiastic admirer of Brutus, and in order to follow his steps, only waited to find a Cassius. Such a partner he met with in Agostino Capponi. His last utterances in prison a striking evidence of the religious feeling of the time show with what an effort he rid his mind of these classical imaginations, in order to die like a Christian. A friend and the confessor both had to assure him that St. Thomas Aquinas condemned conspirators absolutely; but the confessor afterwards admitted to the same friend that St. Thomas drew a distinction and permitted conspiracies against a tyrant who bad forced himself on a people against their will.

After Lorenzino Medici had murdered the Duke Alessandro (1537), and then escaped, an apology for the deed appeared, which is probably his own work, and certainly composed in his interest, and in which he praises tyrannicide as an act of the highest merit; on the supposition that Alessandro was a legitimate Medici, and, therefore, related to him, if only distantly, he boldly compares himself with Timoleon, who slew his brother for his country's sake. Others, on the same occasion, made use of the comparison with Brutus, and that Michelangelo himself, even late in life, was not unfriendly to ideas of this kind, may be inferred from his bust of Brutus in the Bargello. He left it unfinished, like nearly all his works, but certainly not because the murder of Caesar was repugnant to his feeling, as the couplet beneath declares.

A popular radicalism in the form in which it is opposed to the
monarchies of later times, is not to be found in the despotic States of the Renaissance. Each individual protested inwardly against despotism but was disposed to make tolerable or profitable terms with it rather than to combine with others for its destruction. Things must have been as bad as at Camerino, Fabriano, or Rimini, before the citizens united to destroy or expel the ruling house. They knew in most cases only too well that this would but mean a change of masters. The star of the Republics was certainly on the decline.

The Republics: Venice and Florence

The Italian municipalities had, in earlier days, given signal proof of that force which transforms the city into the State. It remained only that these cities should combine in a great confederation; and this idea was constantly recurring to Italian statesmen, whatever differences of form it might from time to time display. In fact, during the struggles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, great and formidable leagues actually were formed by the cities; and Sismondi is of opinion that the time of the final armaments of the Lombard confederation against Barbarossa (from 1168 on) was the moment when a universal Italian league was possible. But the more powerful States had already developed characteristic features which made any such scheme impracticable. In their commercial dealings they shrank from no measures, however extreme, which might damage their competitors; they held their weaker neighbors in a condition of helpless dependence in short, they each fancied they could get on by themselves without the assistance of the rest, and thus paved the way for future usurpation.
The usurper was forthcoming when long conflicts between the nobility and the people, and between the different factions of the nobility, had awakened the desire for a strong government, and when bands of mercenaries ready and willing to sell their aid to the highest bidder had superseded the general levy of the citizens which party leaders now found unsuited to their purposes. The tyrants destroyed the freedom of most of the cities; here and there they were expelled, but not thoroughly, or only for a short time; and they were always restored, since the inward conditions were favourable to them, and the opposing forces were exhausted.

Among the cities which maintained their independence are two of deep significance for the history of the human race: Florence, the city of incessant movement, which has left us a record of the thoughts and aspirations of each and all who, for three centuries, took part in this movement, and Venice, the city of apparent stagnation and of political secrecy. No contrast can be imagined stronger than that which is offered us by these two, and neither can be compared to anything else which the world has hitherto produced.

Venice recognized itself from the first as a strange and mysterious creation the fruit of a higher power than human ingenuity. The solemn foundation of the city was the subject of a legend: on March 25, 1413, at midday, emigrants from Padua laid the first stone at the Rialto, that they might have a sacred, inviolable asylum amid the devastations of the barbarians. Later writers attributed to the founders the presentiment of the future greatness of the city; M. Antonio Sabellico,
t who has celebrated the event in the dignified flow of his hexameters, makes the priest who completes the act of consecration cry to heaven, 'When we hereafter attempt great things, S grant us prosperity! Now we kneel before a poor altar; but if our vows are not made in vain, a hundred temples, O God, of 6 gold and marble shall arise to Thee.' The island city at the end of the fifteenth century was the jewel-casket of the world. It is so described by the same Sabellico, with its ancient cupolas, its leaning towers, its inlaid marble facades, its compressed splendor, where the richest decoration did not hinder the practical employment of every corner of space. He takes us to the crowded Piazza before San Giacometto at the Rialto, where the business of the world is transacted, not amid shouting and confusion, but with the subdued hum of many voices; where in the porticoes round the square and in those of the adjoining streets sit hundreds of money changers and goldsmiths, with endless rows of shops and warehouses above their heads. He describes the great Fondaco of the Germans beyond the bridge, where their goods and their dwellings lay, and before which their ships are drawn up side by side in the canal; higher up is a whole fleet laden with wine and oil, and parallel with it, on the shore swarming with porters, are the vaults of the merchants; then from the Rialto to the square of St. Mark come the inns and the perfumers' cabinets. So he conducts the reader from one quarter of the city to another till he comes at last to the two hospitals, which were among those institutions of public utility nowhere so numerous as at Venice. Care for the people, in peace as well as in war, was characteristic of this government, and its attention to the wounded, even to those of the enemy, excited the admiration of other States.
Public institutions of every kind found in Venice their pattern; the pensioning of retired servants was carried out systematically, and included a provision for widows and orphans. Wealth, political security, and acquaintance with other countries, had matured the understanding of such questions. These slender fair-haired men, with quiet cautious steps and deliberate speech, differed but slightly in costume and bearing from one another; ornaments, especially pearls, were reserved for the women and girls. At that time the general prosperity, notwithstanding the losses sustained from the Turks, was still dazzling; the stores of energy which the city possessed, and the prejudice in its favour diffused throughout Europe, enabled it at a much later time to survive the heavy blows inflicted upon it by the discovery of the sea route to the Indies, by the fall of the Mamelukes in Egypt, and by the war of the League of Cambrai.

Sabellico, born in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, and accustomed to the frank loquacity of the scholars of his day, remarks elsewhere with some astonishment, that the young nobles who came of a morning to hear his lectures could not be prevailed upon to enter into political discussions: 'When I ask them what people think, say, and expect about this or that movement in Italy, they all answer with one voice that they know nothing about the matter.' Still, in spite of the strict imposition of the State, much was to be learned from the more corrupt members of the aristocracy by those who were willing to pay enough for it. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century there were traitors among the highest officials; the popes, the Italian princes, and even...
the second-rate Condottieri in the service of the government had
informers in their pay, sometimes with regular salaries; things went so
far that the Council of Ten found it prudent to conceal important
political news from the Council of the Pregadi, and it was even
supposed that Lodovico il Moro had control of a definite number of
votes among the latter. Whether the hanging of single offenders and the
high rewards such as a life-pension of sixty ducats paid to those who
informed against them were of much avail, it is hard to decide; one of
the chief causes of this evil, the poverty of many of the nobility,
could not be removed in a day. In the year 1492 a proposal was urged by
two of that order, that the State should spend 70,000 ducats for the
relief of those poorer nobles who held no public office; the matter was
near coming before the Great Council, in which it might have had a
majority, when the Council of Ten interfered in time and banished the
two proposers for life to Nicosia in Cyprus. About this time a Soranzo
was hanged, though not in Venice itself, for sacrilege, and a Contarini
put in chains for burglary; another of the same family came in 1499
before the Signory, and complained that for many years he had been
without an office, that he had only sixteen ducats a year and nine
children, that his debts amounted to sixty ducats, that he knew no
trade and had lately been turned into the streets. We can understand
why some of the wealthier nobles built houses, sometimes whole rows of
them, to provide free lodging for their needy comrades. Such works
figure in wills among deeds of charity.

But if the enemies of Venice ever founded serious hopes upon abuses of
this kind, they were greatly in error. It might be thought that the
commercial activity of the city, which put within reach of the humblest
a rich reward for their labor, and the colonies on the eastern shores
of the Mediterranean would have diverted from political affairs the
dangerous elements of society. But had not the political history of
Genoa, notwithstanding similar advantages, been of the stormiest? The
cause of the stability of Venice lies rather in a combination of
circumstances which were found in union nowhere else. Unassailable from
its position, it had been able from the beginning to treat of foreign
affairs with the fullest and calmest reflection, and ignore nearly
altogether the parties which divided the rest of Italy, to escape the
entanglement of permanent alliances, and to set the highest price on
those which it thought fit to make. The keynote of the Venetian
character was, consequently, a spirit of proud and contemptuous
isolation, which, joined to the hatred felt for the city by the other
States of Italy, gave rise to a strong sense of solidarity within The
inhabitants meanwhile were united by the most powerful ties of interest
in dealing both with the colonies and with the possessions on the
mainland, forcing the population of the latter, that is, of all the
towns up to Bergamo, to buy and sell in Venice alone. A power which
rested on means so artificial could only be maintained by internal
harmony and unity; and this conviction was so widely diffused among the
citizens that conspirators found few elements to work upon. And the
discontented, if there were such, were held so far apart by the
division between the noble and the burgher that a mutual understanding
was not easy. On the other hand, within the ranks of the nobility
itself, travel, commercial enterprise, and the incessant wars with the
Turks saved the wealthy and dangerous from that fruitful source of
conspiracies idleness. In these wars they were spared, often to a
criminal extent, by the general in command, and the fall of the city
was predicted by a Venetian Cato, if this fear of the nobles 'to give o
ne another pain' should continue at the expense of justice.

Nevertheless this free movement in the open air gave the Venetian
aristocracy, as a whole, a healthy bias.

And when envy and ambition called for satisfaction, an official victim
was forthcoming and legal means and authorities were ready. The moral
torture which for years the Doge Francesco Foscari (d. 1457) suffered
before the eyes of all Venice is a frightful example of a vengeance
possible only in an aristocracy. The Council of Ten, which had a hand
in everything, which disposed without appeal of life and death, of S
financial affairs and military appointments, which included the
Inquisitors among its number, and which overthrew Foscari, as it had
overthrown so many powerful men before this Council was yearly chosen
afresh from the whole governing body, the Gran Consiglio, and was
consequently the most direct expression of its will. It is not probable
that serious intrigues occurred at these elections, as the short
duration of the office and the accountability which followed rendered
it an object of no great desire. But violent and mysterious as the
proceedings of this and other authorities might be, the genuine
Venetian courted rather than fled their sentence, not only because the
Republic had long arms, and if it could not catch him might punish his
family, but because in most cases it acted from rational motives and
not from a thirst for blood. No State, indeed, has ever exercised a
greater moral influence over its subjects, whether abroad or at home.

If traitors were to be found among the Pregadi, there was ample
compensation for this in the fact that every Venetian away from home was a born spy for his government. It was a matter of course that the Venetian cardinals at Rome sent home news of the transactions of the secret papal consistories. The Cardinal Domenico Grimani had the dispatches intercepted in the neighbourhood of Rome (1500) which Ascanio Sforza was sending to his brother Lodovico il Moro, and forwarded them to Venice; his father, then exposed to a serious accusation, claimed public credit for this service of his son before the Gran Consiglio, in other words, before all the world.

The conduct of the Venetian government to the Condottieri in its pay has been spoken of already. The only further guarantee of their fidelity which could be obtained lay in their great number, by which treachery was made as difficult as its discovery was easy. In looking at the Venetian army list, one is only surprised that among forces of such miscellaneous composition any common action was possible. In the catalogue for the campaign of 1495 we find 15,526 horsemen, broken up into a number of small divisions. Gonzaga of Mantua alone had as many as 1,200, and Gioffredo Borgia 740; then follow six officers with a contingent of 600 to 700, ten with 400, twelve with 400 to 200, fourteen or thereabouts with 200 to 100, nine with 80, six with 50 to 60, and so forth. These forces were partly composed of old Venetian troops, partly of veterans led by Venetian city or country nobles; the majority of the leaders were, however, princes and rulers of cities or their relatives. To these forces must be added 24,000 infantry we are not told how they were raised or commanded with 3,300 additional troops, who probably belonged to the special services. In time of peace
the cities of the mainland were wholly unprotected or occupied by insignificant garrisons. Venice relied, if not exactly on the loyalty, at least on the good sense of its subjects; in the war of the League of Cambrai (1509) it absolved them, as is well known, from their oath of allegiance, and let them compare the amenities of a foreign occupation with the mild government to which they had been accustomed. As there had been no treason in their desertion of St. Mark, and consequently no punishment was to be feared, they returned to their old masters with the utmost eagerness. This war, we may remark parenthetically, was the result of a century's outcry against the Venetian desire for aggrandizement. The Venetians, in fact, were not free from the mistake of those over-clever people who will credit their opponents with no irrational and inconsiderate conduct. Misled by this optimism, which is, perhaps, a peculiar weakness of aristocracies, they had utterly ignored not only the preparations of Mohammed II for the capture of Constantinople, but even the armaments of Charles VIII, till the unexpected blow fell at last. The League of Cambrai was an event of the same character, in so far as it was clearly opposed to the interests of the two chief members, Louis XII and Julius II. The hatred of all Italy against the victorious city seemed to be concentrated in the mind of the Pope, and to have blinded him to the evils of foreign intervention; and as to the policy of Cardinal d'Amboise and his king, Venice ought long before to have recognized it as a piece of malicious imbecility, and to have been thoroughly on its guard. The other members of the League took part in it from that envy which may be a salutary corrective to great wealth and power, but which in itself is a beggarly sentiment. Venice came out of the conflict with honour, but not without lasting damage.
A power whose foundations were so complicated, whose activity and interests filled so wide a stage, cannot be imagined without a systematic oversight of the whole, without a regular estimate of means and burdens, of profits and losses. Venice can fairly make good its claim to be the birthplace of statistical science, together, perhaps, with Florence, and followed by the more enlightened despotisms. The feudal state of the Middle Ages knew of nothing more than catalogues of seignorial rights and possessions (urbaria); it looked on production as a fixed quantity, which it approximately is, so long as we have to do with landed property only. The towns, on the other hand, throughout the West must from very early times have treated production, which with them depended on industry and commerce, as exceedingly variable; but even in the most flourishing times of the Hanseatic League, they never got beyond a simple commercial balance-sheet. Fleets, armies, political power and influence fall under the debit and credit of a trader’s ledger. In the Italian States a clear political consciousness, the pattern of Mohammedan administration, and the long and active exercise of trade and commerce, combined to produce for the first time a true science of statistics. The absolute monarchy of Frederick II in Lower Italy was organized with the sole object of securing a concentrated power for the death struggle in which he was engaged. In Venice, on the contrary, the supreme objects were the enjoyment of life and power, the increase of inherited advantages, the creation of the most lucrative forms of industry, and the opening of new channels for commerce.

The writers of the time speak of these things with the greatest
freedom. We learn that the population of the city amounted in the year
1422 to 190,000 souls; the Italians were, perhaps, the first to reckon,
not according to hearths, or men able to bear arms, or people able to
walk, and so forth, but according to 'animae,' and thus to get the most
neutral basis for further calculation. About this time, when the
Florentines wished to form an alliance with Venice against Filippo
Maria Visconti, they were for the moment refused, in the belief,
resting on accurate commercial returns, that a war between Venice and
Milan, that is, between seller and buyer, was foolish. Even if the duke
simply increased his army, the Milanese, through the heavier taxation
they must pay, would become worse customers. 'Better let the
Florentines be defeated, and then, used as they are to the life of a
free city, they will settle with us and bring their silk and woollen
industry with them, as the Lucchese did in their distress.' The speech
of the dying Doge Mocenigo (1423) to a few of the senators whom he had
sent for to his bedside is still more remarkable. It contains the chief
elements of a statistical account of the whole resources of Venice. I
cannot say whether or where a thorough elucidation of this perplexing
document exists; by way of illustration, the following facts may be
quoted. After repaying a war-loan of four million ducats, the public
debt ('il monte') still amounted to six million ducats; the current
trade (it seems) to ten millions, which yielded, the text informs us, a
profit of four millions. The 3,000 'navigli,' the 300 'navi,' and the
45 galleys were manned respectively by 17,000, 8,000 and 11,000 seamen
(more than 200 for each galley). To these must be added 16,000
shipwrights. The houses in Venice were valued at seven millions, and
brought in a rent of half a million. These were 1,000 nobles whose
incomes ranged from 70 to 4,000 ducats. In another passage the ordinary
income of the State in that same year is put at 1,100,000 ducats; through the disturbance of trade caused by the wars it sank about the middle of the century to 800,000 ducats.

If Venice, by this spirit of calculation, and by the practical turn which she gave it, was the first fully to represent one important side of modern political life, in that culture, on the other hand, which Italy then prized most highly she did not stand in the front rank. The literary impulse, in general, was here wanting, and especially that enthusiasm for classical antiquity which prevailed elsewhere. The aptitude of the Venetians, says Sabellico, for philosophy and eloquence was in itself not smaller than that for commerce and politics. George of Trebizond, who, in 1459, laid the Latin translation of Plato's Laws at the feet of the Doge, was appointed professor of philology with a yearly salary of 150 ducats, and finally dedicated his 'Rhetoric' to the Signoria. If, however, we look through the history of Venetian literature which Francesco Sansovino has appended to his well-known book, we shall find in the fourteenth century almost nothing but history, and special works on theology, jurisprudence, and medicine; and in the fifteenth century, till we come to Ermolao Barbaro and Aldo Manuzio, humanistic culture is, for a city of such importance, most scantily represented. The library which Cardinal Bessarion bequeathed to the State (1468) narrowly escaped dispersion and destruction. Learning could be had at the University of Padua, where, however, physicians and jurists the latter for their opinion on points of law received by far the highest pay. The share of Venice in the poetical creations of the country was long insignificant, till, at the beginning
of the sixteenth century, her deficiencies were made good. Even the art of the Renaissance was imported into the city from without, and it was not before the end of the fifteenth century that she learned to move in this field with independent freedom and strength. But we find more striking instances still of intellectual backwardness. This Government, which had the clergy so thoroughly in its control, which reserved to itself the appointment to all important ecclesiastical offices, and which, one time after another, dared to defy the court of Rome, displayed an official piety of a most singular kind. The bodies of saints and other relics imported from Greece after the Turkish conquest were bought at the greatest sacrifices and received by the Doge in solemn procession.12 For the coat without a seam it was decided (1455) to offer 10,000 ducats, but it was not to be had. These measures were not the fruit of any popular excitement, but of the tranquil resolutions of the heads of the Government, and might have been omitted without attracting any comment, and at Florence, under similar circumstances, would certainly have been omitted. We shall say nothing of the piety of the masses, and of their firm belief in the indulgences of an Alexander VI. But the State itself, after absorbing the Church to a degree unknown elsewhere, had in truth a certain ecclesiastical element in its composition, and the Doge, the symbol of the State, appeared in twelve great processions ('andate') in a half-clerical character. They were almost all festivals in memory of political events, and competed in splendor with the great feasts of the Church; the most brilliant of all, the famous marriage with the sea, fell on Ascension Day.
The most elevated political thought and the most varied forms of human
development are found united in the history of Florence, which in this
sense deserves the name of the first modern State in the world. Here
the whole people are busied with what in the despotic cities is the
affair of a single family. That wondrous Florentine spirit, at once
keenly critical and artistically creative, was incessantly transforming
the social and political condition of the State, and as incessantly
describing and judging the change. Florence thus became the home of
political doctrines and theories, of experiments and sudden changes,
but also, like Venice, the home of statistical science, and alone and
above all other States in the world, the home of historical
representation in the modern sense of the phrase. The spectacle of
ancient Rome and a familiarity with its leading writers were not
without influence; Giovanni Villani confesses that he received the
first impulse to his great work at the jubilee of the year 1300, and
began it immediately on his return home. Yet how many among the 200,000
pilgrims of that year may have been like him in gifts and tendencies
and still did not write the history of their native cities? For not all
of them could encourage themselves with the thought: 'Rome is sinking;
my native city is rising, and ready to achieve great things, and
therefore I wish to relate its past history, and hope to continue the
story to the present time, and as long as any life shall last.' And
besides the witness to its past, Florence obtained through its
historians something further a greater fame than fell to the lot of any
other city of Italy.

Our present task is not to write the history of this remarkable State,
but merely to give a few indications of the intellectual freedom and independence for which the Florentines were indebted to this history.

In no other city of Italy were the struggles of political parties so bitter, of such early origin, and so permanent. The descriptions of them, which belong, it is true, to a somewhat later period, give clear evidence of the superiority of Florentine criticism.

And what a politician is the great victim of these crises, Dante Alighieri, matured alike by home and by exile! He uttered his scorn of the incessant changes and experiments in the constitution of his native city in ringing verses, which will remain proverbial so long as political events of the same kind recur; he addressed his home in words of defiance and yearning which must have stirred the hearts of his countrymen. But his thoughts ranged over Italy and the whole world; and if his passion for the Empire, as he conceived it, was no more than an illusion, it must yet be admitted that the youthful dreams of a newborn political speculation are in his case not without a poetical grandeur. He is proud to be the first who trod this path, certainly in the footsteps of Aristotle, but in his own way independently. His ideal emperor is a just and humane judge, dependent on God only, the heir of the universal sway of Rome to which belonged the sanction of nature, of right and of the will of God. The conquest of the world was, according to this view, rightful, resting on a divine judgement between Rome and the other nations of the earth, and God gave his approval to this empire, since under it He became Man, submitting at His birth to the census of the Emperor Augustus, and at His death to the judgement of Pontius Pilate. We may find it hard to appreciate these and other
arguments of the same kind, but Dante's passion never fails to carry us with him. In his letters he appears as one of the earliest publicists, and is perhaps the first layman to publish political tracts in this form. He began early. Soon after the death of Beatrice he addressed a pamphlet on the State of Florence 'to the Great ones of the Earth,' and the public utterances of his later years, dating from the time of his banishment, are all directed to emperors, princes, and cardinals. In these letters and in his book De Vulgari Eloquentia (About the Vernacular) the feeling, bought with such bitter pains, is constantly recurring that the exile may find elsewhere than in his native place an intellectual home in language and culture, which cannot be taken from him. On this point we shall have more to say in the sequel.

To the two Villani, Giovanni as well as Matteo, we owe not so much deep political reflection as fresh and practical observations, together with the elements of Florentine statistics and important notices of other States. Here too trade and commerce had given the impulse to economic as well as political science. Nowhere else in the world was such accurate information to be had on financial affairs. The wealth of the Papal court at Avignon, which at the death of John XXII amounted to twenty-five millions of gold florins, would be incredible on any less trustworthy authority. Here only, at Florence, do we meet with colossal loans like that which the King of England contracted from the Florentine houses of Bardi and Peruzzi, who lost to his Majesty the sum of 1,365,000 gold florins (1338) their own money and that of their partners and nevertheless recovered from the shock. Most important
facts are here recorded as to the condition of Florence at this time: the public income (over 300,000 gold florins) and expenditure the population of the city, here only roughly estimated, according to the consumption of bread, in 'bocche,' i.e. mouths, put at 50,000 and the population of the whole territory; the excess of 300 to 500 male children among the 5,800 to 8,000 annually baptized 18 the schoolchildren, of whom 8,000 to 10,000 learned reading, 1,000 to 1,200 in six schools arithmetic; and besides these, 600 scholars who were taught Latin grammar and logic in four schools. Then follow the statistics of the churches and monasteries; of the hospitals, which held more than a thousand beds; of the wool trade, with most valuable details; of the mint, the provisioning of the city, the public officials, and so on. Incidentally we learn many curious facts; how, for instance, when the public funds ('monte') were first established, in the year 1353, the Franciscans spoke from the pulpit in favour of the measure, the Dominicans and Augustinians against it. The economic results of the black death were and could be observed and described nowhere else in all Europe as in this city.20 Only a Florentine could have left it on record how it was expected that the scanty population would have made everything cheap, and how instead of that labor and commodities doubled in price; how the common people at first would do no work at all, but simply give themselves up to enjoyment, how in the city itself servants and maids were not to be had except at extravagant wages; how the peasants would only hill the best lands, and left the rest uncultivated; and how the enormous legacies bequeathed to the poor at the time of the plague seemed afterwards useless, since the poor had either died or had ceased to be poor. Lastly, on the occasion of a great bequest, by which a childless philanthropist left six 'denarii'
to every beggar in the city, the attempt is made to give a
comprehensive statistical account of Florentine mendicancy.

This statistical view of things was at a later time still more highly
cultivated at Florence. The noteworthy point about it is that, as a
rule, we can perceive its connection with the higher aspects of
history, with art, and with culture in general. An inventory of the
year 1422 mentions, within the compass of the same document, the
seventy-two exchange offices which surrounded the 'Mercato Nuovo'; the
amount of coined money in circulation (two million golden florins); the
then new industry of gold spinning; the silk wares; Filippo
Brunellesco, then busy in digging classical architecture from its
grave; and Leonardo Aretino, secretary of the republic, at work at the
revival of ancient literature and eloquence; lastly, it speaks of the
general prosperity of the city, then free from political conflicts, and
of the good fortune of Italy, which had rid itself of foreign
mercenaries. The Venetian statistics quoted above which date from about
the same year, certainly give evidence of larger property and profit
and of a more extensive scene of action; Venice had long been mistress
of the seas before Florence sent out its first galleys (1422) to
Alexandria. But no reader can fail to recognize the higher spirit of
the Florentine documents. These and similar lists recur at intervals of
ten years, systematically arranged and tabulated, while elsewhere we
find at best occasional notices. We can form an approximate estimate of
the property and the business of the first Medici; they paid for
charities, public buildings, and taxes from 1434 to 1471 no less than
663,755 gold florins, of which more than 400,000 fell on Cosimo alone,
and Lorenzo Magnifico was delighted that the money had been so well spent. In 1478 we have again a most important and in its way complete view of the commerce and trades of this city, some of which may be wholly or partly reckoned among the fine arts such as those which had to do with damasks and gold or silver embroidery, with woodcarving and 'intarsia,' with the sculpture of arabesques in marble and sandstone, with portraits in wax, and with jewelry and work in gold. The inborn talent of the Florentines for the systematization of outward life is shown by their books on agriculture, business, and domestic economy, which are markedly superior to those of other European people in the fifteenth century. It has been rightly decided to publish selections of these works, although no little study will be needed to extract clear and definite results from them. At all events, we have no difficulty in recognizing the city, where dying parents begged the government in their wills to fine their sons 1,000 florins if they declined to practice a regular profession.

For the first half of the sixteenth century probably no State in the world possesses a document like the magnificent description of Florence by Varchi. In descriptive statistics, as in so many things besides, yet another model is left to us, before the freedom and greatness of the city sank into the grave.

This statistical estimate of outward life is, however, uniformly accompanied by the narrative of political events to which we have already referred. Florence not only existed under political forms more varied than those of the free States of Italy and of Europe generally,
but it reflected upon them far more deeply. It is a faithful mirror of
the relations of individuals and classes to a variable whole. The
pictures of the great civic democracies in France and in Flanders, as
they are delineated in Froissart, and the narratives of the German
chroniclers of the fourteenth century, are in truth of high importance;
but in comprehensiveness of thought and in the rational development of
the story, none will bear comparison with the Florentines. The rule of
the nobility, the tyrannies, the struggles of the middle class with the
proletariat, limited and unlimited democracy, pseudo-democracy, the
primacy of a single house, the theocracy of Savonarola, and the mixed
forms of government which prepared the way for the Medicean despotism
all are so described that the inmost motives of the actors are laid
bare to the light. At length Machiavelli in his Florentine history
(down to 1492) represents his native city as a living organism and its
development as a natural and individual process; he is the first of the
moderns who has risen to such a conception. It lies without our
province to determine whether and in what points Machiavelli may have
done violence to history, as is notoriously the case in his life of
Castruccio Castracani--a fancy picture of the typical despot. We might
find something to say against every line of the 'Storie Fiorentine,'
and yet the great and unique value of the whole would remain
unaffected. And his contemporaries and successors, Jacopo Pitti,
Guicciardini, Segni, Varchi, Vettori, what a circle of illustrious
names! And what a story it is which these masters tell us! The great
and memorable drama of the last decades of the Florentine republic is
here unfolded. The voluminous record of the collapse of the highest and
most original life which the world could then show may appear to one
but as a collection of curiosities, may awaken in another a devilish
delight at the shipwreck of so much nobility and grandeur, to a third
may seem like a great historical assize; for all it will be an object
of thought and study to the end of time. The evil which was for ever
troubling the peace of the city was its rule over once powerful and now
conquered rivals like Pisa—a rule of which the necessary consequence
was a chronic state of violence. The only remedy, certainly an extreme
one and which none but Savonarola could have persuaded Florence to
accept, and that only with the help of favourable chances, would have
been the well-timed dissolution of Tuscany into a federal union of free
cities. At a later period this scheme, then no more than the dream of a
past age, brought (1548) a patriotic citizen of Lucca to the scaffold.

From this evil and from the ill-starred Guelph sympathies of Florence
for a foreign prince, which familiarized it with foreign intervention,
came all the disasters which followed. But who does not admire the
people which was wrought up by its venerated preacher to a mood of such
sustained loftiness that for the first time in Italy it set the example
of sparing a conquered foe while the whole history of its past taught
nothing but vengeance and extermination? The glow which melted
patriotism into one with moral regeneration may seem, when looked at
from a distance, to have soon passed away; but its best results shine
forth again in the memorable siege of 1529-30. They were ‘fools,’ as
Guicciardini then wrote, who drew down this storm upon Florence, but he
confesses himself that they achieved things which seemed incredible;
and when he declares that sensible people would have got out of the way
of the danger, he means no more than that Florence ought to have
yielded itself silently and ingloriously into the hands of its enemies.
It would no doubt have preserved its splendid suburbs and gardens, and the lives and prosperity of countless citizens; but it would have been the poorer by one of its greatest and most ennobling memories.

In many of their chief merits the Florentines are the pattern and the earliest type of Italians and modern Europeans generally; they are so also in many of their defects. When Dante compares the city which was always mending its constitution with the sick man who is continually changing his posture to escape from pain, he touches with the comparison a permanent feature of the political life of Florence. The great modern fallacy that a constitution can be made, can be manufactured by a combination of existing forces and tendencies, was constantly cropping up in stormy times; even Machiavelli is not wholly free from it. Constitutional artists were never wanting who by an ingenious distribution and division of political power, by indirect elections of the most complicated kind, by the establishment of nominal offices, sought to found a lasting order of things, and to satisfy or to deceive the rich and the poor alike. They naively fetch their examples from classical antiquity, and borrow the party names 'ottimati,' 'aristocrazia,' as a matter of course. The world since then has become used to these expressions and given them a conventional European sense, whereas all former party names were purely national, and oithor rhnnnotPrml tho rnilqP nt iqqliP or cnrsnz from the caprice of accident. But how a name colors or discolors a political cause!

But of all who thought it possible to construct a State, the greatest
beyond all comparison was Machiavelli. He treats existing forces as living and active, takes a large and accurate view of alternative possibilities, and seeks to mislead neither himself nor others. No man could be freer from vanity or ostentation; indeed, he does not write for the public, but either for princes and administrators or for personal friends. The danger for him does not lie in an affectation of genius or in a false order of ideas, but rather in a powerful imagination which he evidently controls with difficulty. The objectivity of his political judgement is sometimes appalling in its sincerity; but it is the sign of a time of no ordinary need and peril, when it was a hard matter to believe in right, or to credit others with just dealing. Virtuous indignation at his expense is thrown away on us, who have seen in what sense political morality is understood by the statesmen of our own century. Machiavelli was at all events able to forget himself in his cause. In truth, although his writing s, with the exception of very few words, are altogether destitute of enthusiasm, and although the Florentines themselves treated him at last as a criminal, he was a patriot in the fullest meaning of the word. But free as he was, like most of his contemporaries, in speech and morals, the welfare of the State was yet his first and last thought.

His most complete program for the construction of a new political system at Florence is set forth in the memorial to Leo X, composed after the death of the younger Lorenzo Medici, Duke of Urbino (d. 1519), to whom he had dedicated his 'Prince.' The State was by that time in extremities and utterly corrupt, and the remedies proposed are not always morally justifiable; but it is most interesting to see how
he hopes to set up the republic in the form of a moderate democracy, as heiress to the Medici. A more ingenious scheme of concessions to the Pope, to the Pope's various adherents, and to the different Florentine interests, cannot be imagined; we might fancy ourselves looking into the works of a clock. Principles, observations, comparisons, political forecasts, and the like are to be found in numbers in the 'Discorsi,' among them flashes of wonderful insight. He recognizes, for example, the law of a continuous though not uniform development in republican institutions, and requires the constitution to be flexible and capable of change, as the only means of dispensing with bloodshed and banishments. For a like reason, in order to guard against private violence and foreign interference--'the death of all freedom'--he wishes to see introduced a judicial procedure ('accusa') against hated citizens, in place of which Florence had hitherto had nothing but the court of scandal. With a masterly hand the tardy and involuntary decisions are characterized which at critical moments play so important a part in republican States. Once, it is true, he is misled by his imagination and the pressure of events into unqualified praise of the people, which chooses its officers, he says, better than any prince, and which can be cured of its errors by 'good advice.' With regard to the Government of Tuscany, he has no doubt that it belongs to his native city, and maintains, in a special 'Discorso' that the reconquest of Pisa is a question of life or death; he deplors that Arezzo, after the rebellion of 1502, was not razed to the ground; he admits in general that Italian republics must be allowed to expand freely and add to their territory in order to enjoy peace at home, and not to be themselves attacked by others, but declares that Florence had un at the wrong end, and from the first made deadly Pisa, Lucca, and Siena, while
Pistoia, 'treated like a brother,' had voluntarily submitted to her.

It would be unreasonable to draw a parallel between the few other republics which still existed in the fifteenth century and this unique city--the most important workshop of the Italian, and indeed of the modern European spirit. Siena suffered from the gravest organic maladies, and its relative prosperity in art and industry must not mislead us on this point. Aeneas Sylvius looks with longing from his native town over to the 'merry' German imperial cities, where life is embittered by no confiscations of land and goods, by no arbitrary officials, and by no political factions. Genoa scarcely comes within range of our task, as before the time of Andrea Doria it took almost no part in the Renaissance.

Indeed, the inhabitant of the Riviera was proverbial among Italians for his contempt of all higher culture. Party conflicts here assumed so fierce a character, and disturbed so violently the whole course of life, that we can hardly understand how, after so many revolutions and invasions, the Genoese ever contrived to return to an endurable condition. Perhaps it was owing to the fact that all who took part in public affairs were at the same time almost without exception active men of business. The example of Genoa shows in a striking manner with what insecurity wealth and vast commerce, and with what internal disorder the possession of distant colonies, are compatible.

Foreign Policy
As the majority of the Italian States were in their internal constitution works of art, that is, the fruit of reflection and careful adaptation, so was their relation to one another and to foreign countries also a work of art. That nearly all of them were the result of recent usurpations, was a fact which exercised as fatal an influence in their foreign as in their internal policy. Not one of them recognized another without reserve; the same play of chance which had helped to found and consolidate one dynasty might upset another. Nor was it always a matter of choice with the despot whether to keep quiet or not. The necessity of movement and aggrandizement is common to all illegitimate powers. Thus Italy became the scene of a ‘foreign policy’ which gradually, as in other countries also, acquired the position of a recognized system of public law. The purely objective treatment of international affairs, as free from prejudice as from moral scruples, attained a perfection which sometimes is not without a certain beauty and grandeur of its own. But as a whole it gives us the impression of a bottomless abyss.

Intrigues, armaments, leagues, corruption and treason make up the outward history of Italy at this period. Venice in particular was long accused on all hands of seeking to conquer the whole peninsula, or gradually so to reduce its strength that one State after another must fall into her hands. But on a closer view it is evident that this complaint did not come from the people, but rather from the courts and official classes, which were commonly abhorred by their subjects, while the mild government of Venice had secured for it general confidence.
Even Florence, with its restive subject cities, found itself in a false position with regard to Venice, apart from all commercial jealousy and from the progress of Venice in Romagna. At last the League of Cambrai actually did strike a serious blow at the State which all Italy ought to have supported with united strength.

The other States, also, were animated by feelings no less unfriendly, and were at all times ready to use against one another any weapon which their evil conscience might suggest. Lodovico il Moro, the Aragonese kings of Naples, and Sixtus IV--to say nothing of the smaller powers--kept Italy in a constant perilous agitation. It would have been well if the atrocious game had been confined to Italy; but it lay in the nature of the case that intervention sought from abroad--in particular the French and the Turks.

The sympathies of the people at large were throughout on the side of France. Florence had never ceased to confess with shocking _naivete_ its old Guelph preference for the French. And when Charles VIII actually appeared on the south of the Alps, all Italy accepted him with an enthusiasm which to himself and his followers seemed unaccountable. In the imagination of the Italians, to take Savonarola for an example the ideal picture of a wise, just, and powerful savior and ruler was still living, with the difference that he was no longer the emperor invoked by Dante, but the Capetian king of France. With his departure the illusion was broken; but it was long before all understood how completely Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I had mistaken their true relation to Italy, and by what inferior motives they were led. The
princes, for their part, tried to make use of France in a wholly
different way. When the Franco-English wars came to an end, when Louis
XI began to cast about his diplomatic nets on all sides, and Charles of
Burgundy to embark on his foolish adventures, the Italian Cabinets came
to meet them at every point. It became clear that the intervention of
France was only a question of time, even if the claims on Naples and
Milan had never existed, and that the old interference with Genoa and
Piedmont was only a type of what was to follow. The Venetians, in fact,
expected it as early as 1462. The mortal terror of the Duke Galeazzo
Maria of Milan during the Burgundian war, in which he was apparently
the ally of Charles as well as of Louis, and consequently had reason to
dread an attack from both, is strikingly shown in his correspondence.
The plan of an equilibrium of the four chief Italian powers, as
understood by Lorenzo the Magnificent, was but the assumption of a
cheerful optimistic spirit, which had outgrown both the recklessness of
an experimental policy and the superstitions of Florentine Guelphism,
and persisted in hoping for the best. When Louis XI offered him aid in
the war against Ferrante of Naples and Sixtus IV, he replied, 'I cannot
set my own advantage above the safety of all Italy; would to God it
never came into the mind of the French kings to try their strength in
this country! Should they ever do so, Italy is lost.' For the other
princes, the King of France was alternately a bugbear to themselves and
their enemies, and they threatened to call him in whenever they saw no
more convenient way out of their difficulties. The Popes, in their
turn, fancied that they could make use of France without any danger to
themselves, and even Innocent VIII imagined that he could withdraw to
sulk in the North, and return as a conqueror to Italy at the head of a
French army.
Thoughtful men, indeed, foresaw the foreign conquest long before the expedition of Charles VIII. And when Charles was back again on the other side of the Alps, it was plain to every eye that an era of intervention had begun. Misfortune now followed on misfortune; it was understood too late that France and Spain, the two chief invaders, had become great European powers, that they would be no longer satisfied with verbal homage, but would fight to the death for influence and territory in Italy. They had begun to resemble the centralized Italian States, and indeed to copy them, only on a gigantic scale. Schemes of annexation or exchange of territory were for a time indefinitely multiplied. The end, as is well known, was the complete victory of Spain, which, as sword and shield of the counter-reformation, long held Papacy among its other subjects. The melancholy reflections of the philosophers could only show them how those who had called in the barbarians all came to a bad end.

Alliances were at the same time formed with the Turks too, with as little scruple or disguise; they were reckoned no worse than any other political expedients. The belief in the unity of Western Christendom had at various times in the course of the Crusades been seriously shaken, and Frederick II had probably outgrown it. But the fresh advance of the Oriental nations, the need and the ruin of the Greek Empire, had revived the old feeling, though not in its former strength, throughout Western Europe. Italy, however, was a striking exception to this rule. Great as was the terror felt for the Turks, and the actual danger from them, there was yet scarcely a government of any
consequence which did not conspire against other Italian States with
Mohammed II and his successors. And when they did not do so, they still
had the credit of it; nor was it worse than the sending of emissaries
to poison the cisterns of Venice, which was the charge brought against
the heirs of Alfonso, King of Naples. From a scoundrel like Sigismondo
Malatesta nothing better could be expected than that he should call the
Turks into Italy. But the Aragonese monarchs of Naples, from whom
Mohammed--at the instigation, we read, of other Italian governments,
especially of Venice--had once wrested Otranto (1480), afterwards
hounded on the Sultan Bajazet II against the Venetians. The same charge
was brought against Lodovico il Moro. 'The blood of the slain, and the
misery of the prisoners in the hands of the Turks, cry to God for
vengeance against him,' says the State historian. In Venice, where the
government was informed of everything, it was known that Giovanni
Sforza, ruler of Pesaro, the cousin of Lodovico, had entertained the
Turkish ambassadors on their way to Milan. The two most respectable
among the Popes of the fifteenth century, Nicholas V and Pius II, died
in the deepest grief at the progress of the Turks, the latter indeed
amid the preparations for a crusade which he was hoping to lead in
person; their successors embezzled the contributions sent for this
purpose from all parts of Christendom, and degraded the indulgences
granted in return for them into a private commercial speculation.
Innocent VIII consented to be gaoler to the fugitive Prince Djem, for a
salary paid by the prisoner's brother Bajazet II, and Alexander VI
supported the steps taken by Lodovico il Moro in Constantinople to
further a Turkish assault upon Venice (1498), whereupon the latter
threatened him with a Council. It is clear that the notorious alliance
between Francis I and Soliman II was nothing new or unheard of.
Indeed, we find instances of whole populations to whom it seemed no particular crime to go over bodily to the Turks. Even if it were held out as a threat to oppressive governments, this is at least a proof that the idea had become familiar. As early as 1480 Battista Mantovano gives us clearly to understand that most of the inhabitants of the Adriatic coast foresaw something of this kind, and that Ancona in particular desired it. When Romagna was suffering from the oppressive government of Leo X, a deputy from Ravenna said openly to the Legate, Cardinal Giulio Medici: 'Monsignore, the honorable Republic of Venice will not have us, for fear of a dispute with the Holy See; but if the Turk comes to Ragusa we will put ourselves into his hands.'

It was a poor but not wholly groundless consolation for the enslavement of Italy then begun by the Spaniards, that the country was at least secured from the relapse into barbarism which would have awaited it under the Turkish rule. By itself, divided as it was, it could hardly have escaped this fate.

If, with all these drawbacks, the Italian statesmanship of this period deserves our praise, it is only on the ground of its practical and unprejudiced treatment of those questions which were not affected by fear, passion, or malice. Here was no feudal system after the northern fashion, with its artificial scheme of rights; but the power which each possessed he held in practice as in theory. Here was no attendant nobility to foster in the mind of the prince the mediaeval sense of
honour with all its strange consequences; but princes and counsellors were agreed in acting according to the exigencies of the particular case and to the end they had in view. Towards the men whose services were used and towards allies, come from what quarter they might, no pride of caste was felt which could possibly estrange a supporter; and the class of the Condottieri, in which birth was a matter of indifference, shows clearly enough in what sort of hands the real power lay; and lastly, the government, in the hands of an enlightened despot, had an incomparably more accurate acquaintance with its own country and with that of its neighbors than was possessed by northern contemporaries, and estimated the economical and moral capacities of friend and foe down to the smallest particular. The rulers were, notwithstanding grave errors, born masters of statistical science. With such men negotiation was possible; it might be presumed that they would be convinced and their opinion modified when practical reasons were laid before them. When the great Alfonso of Naples was (1434) a prisoner of Filippo Maria Visconti, he was able to satisfy his gaoler that the rule of the House of Anjou instead of his own at Naples would make the French masters of Italy; Filippo Maria set him free without ransom and made an alliance with him. A northern prince would scarcely have acted in the same way, certainly not one whose morality in other respects was like that of Visconti. What confidence was felt in the power of self-interest is shown by the celebrated visit (1478) which Lorenzo Magnifico, to the universal astonishment of the Florentines, paid the faithless Ferrante at Naples—a man who would certainly be tempted to keep him a prisoner, and was by no means too scrupulous to do so. For to arrest a powerful monarch, and then to let him go alive, after extorting his signature and otherwise insulting him, as Charles
the Bold did to Louis XI at Peronne (1468), seemed madness to the 
Italians; so that Lorenzo was expected to come back covered with glory, 
or else not to come back at all. The art of political persuasion was at 
this time raised to a point--especially by the Venetian ambassadors of 
which northern nations first obtained a conception from the Italians, 
and of which the official addresses give a most imperfect idea. These 
are mere pieces of humanistic rhetoric. Nor, in spite of an otherwise 
ceremonious etiquette was there in case of need any lack of rough and 
frank speaking in diplomatic intercourse. A man like Machiavelli 
appears in his ‘Legazioni’ in an almost pathetic light. Furnished with 
scanty instructions, shabbily equipped, and treated as an agent of 
inferior rank, he never loses his gift of free and wide observation or 
his pleasure in picturesque description.

A special division of this work will treat of the study of man 
individually and nationally, which among the Italians went hand in hand 
with the study of the outward conditions of human life.

War as a Work of Art

It must here be briefly indicated by what steps the art of war assumed 
the character of a product of reflection. Throughout the countries of 
the West the education of the individual soldier in the Middle Ages was 
perfect within the limits of the then prevalent system of defence and 
attack: nor was there any want of ingenious inventors in the arts of 
besieging and of fortification. But the development both of strategy
and of tactics was hindered by the character and duration of military
service, and by the ambition of the nobles, who disputed questions of
precedence in the face of the enemy, and through simple want of
discipline caused the loss of great battles like Crecy and Maupertuis.
Italy, on the contrary, was the first country to adopt the system of
mercenary troops, which demanded a wholly different organization; and
the early introduction of firearms did its part in making war a
democratic pursuit, not only because the strongest castles were unable
to withstand a bombardment, but because the skill of the engineer, of
the gunfounder, and of the artillerist--men belonging to another class
than the nobility--was now of the first importance in a campaign. It
was felt, with regret, that the value of the individual, which had been
the soul of the small and admirably organized bands of mercenaries,
would suffer from these novel means of destruction, which did their
work at a distance; and there were Condottieri who opposed to the
utmost the introduction at least of the musket, which had lately been
invented in Germany. We read that Paolo Vitelli, while recognizing and
himself adopting the cannon, put out the eyes and cut off the hands of
the captured ‘schioppettieri’ (arquebusiers) because he held it
unworthy that a gallant, and it might be noble, knight should be
wounded and laid low by a common, despised foot soldier. On the whole,
however, the new discoveries were accepted and turned to useful
account, till the Italians became the teachers of all Europe, both in
the building of fortifications and in the means of attacking them.
Princes like Federigo of Urbino and Alfonso of Ferrara acquired a
mastery of the subject compared to which the knowledge even of
Maximilian I appears superficial. In Italy, earlier than elsewhere,
there existed a comprehensive science and art of military affairs;
here, for the first time, that impartial delight is taken in able
generalship for its own sake, which might, indeed, be expected from the
frequent change of party and from the wholly unsentimental mode of
action of the Condottieri. During the Milano-Venetian war of 1451 and
1452, between Francesco Sforza and Jacopo Piccinino, the headquarters
of the latter were attended by the scholar Gian Antonio Porcellio dei
Pandoni, commissioned by Alfonso of Naples to write a report of the
campaign. It is written, not in the purest, but in a fluent Latin, a
little too much in the style of the humanistic bombast of the day, is
modelled on Caesar's Commentaries, and interspersed with speeches,
prodigies, and the like. Since for the past hundred years it had been
seriously disputed whether Scipio Africanus or Hannibal was the
greater, Piccinino through the whole book must needs be called Scipio
and Sforza Hannibal. But something positive had to be reported too
respecting the Milanese army; the sophist presented himself to Sforza,
was led along the ranks, praised highly all that he saw, and promised
to hand it down to posterity. Apart from him the Italian literature of
the day is rich in descriptions of wars and strategic devices, written
for the use of educated men in general as well as of specialists, while
the contemporary narratives of northerners, such as the 'Burgundian
War' by Diebold Schilling, still retain the shapelessness and matter-
of-fact dryness of a mere chronicle. The greatest _dilettante_ who has
ever treated in that character of military affairs, Machiavelli, was
then busy writing his 'Arte della Guerra.' But the development of the
individual soldier found its most complete expression in those public
and solemn conflicts between one or more pairs of combatants which were
practiced long before the famous 'Challenge of Barletta' (1503). The
victor was assured of the praises of poets and scholars, which were
denied to the northern warrior. The result of these combats was no longer regarded as a Divine judgement, but as a triumph of personal merit, and to the minds of the spectators seemed to be both the decision of an exciting competition and a satisfaction for the honour of the army or the nation.

It is obvious that this purely rational treatment of warlike affairs allowed, under certain circumstances, of the worst atrocities, even in the absence of a strong political hatred, as, for instance, when the plunder of a city had been promised to the troops. After the forty days' devastation of Piacenza, which Sforza was compelled to permit to his soldiers (1477), the town long stood empty, and at last had to be peopled by force. Yet outrages like these were nothing compared with the misery which was afterwards brought upon Italy by foreign troops, and most of all by the Spaniards, in whom perhaps a touch of oriental blood, perhaps familiarity with the spectacles of the Inquisition, had unloosed the devilish element of human nature. After seeing them at work at Prato, Rome, and elsewhere, it is not easy to take any interest of the higher sort in Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles V who knew what these hordes were, and yet unchained them. The mass of documents which are gradually brought to light from the cabinets of these rulers will always remain an important source of historical information; but from such men no fruitful political conception can be looked for.

The Papacy
The Papacy and the dominions of the Church are creations of so peculiar a kind that we have hitherto, in determining the general characteristics of Italian States, referred to them only occasionally. The deliberate choice and adaptation of political expedients, which gives so great an interest to the other States is what we find least of all at Rome, since here the spiritual power could constantly conceal or supply the defects of the temporal. And what fiery trials did this State undergo in the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the Papacy was led captive to Avignon! All, at first, was thrown into confusion; but the Pope had money, troops, and a great statesman and general, the Spaniard Albornoz, who again brought the ecclesiastical State into complete subjection. The danger of a final dissolution was still greater at the time of the schism, when neither the Roman nor the French Pope was rich enough to reconquer the newly-lost State; but this was done under Martin V, after the unity of the Church was restored, and done again under Eugenius IV, when the same danger was renewed. But the ecclesiastical State was and remained a thorough anomaly among the powers of Italy; in and near Rome itself, the Papacy was defied by the great families of the Colonna, Orsini, Savelli and Anguillara; in Umbria, in the Marches, and in Romagna, those civic republics had almost ceased to exist, for whose devotion the Papacy had shown so little gratitude; their place had been taken by a crowd of princely dynasties, great or small, whose loyalty and obedience signified little. As self-dependent powers, standing on their own merits, they have an interest of their own; and from this point of view the most important of them have already been discussed.
Nevertheless, a few general remarks on the Papacy can hardly be
dispensed with. New and strange perils and trials came upon it in the
course of the fifteenth century, as the political spirit of the nation
began to lay hold upon it on various sides, and to draw it within the
sphere of its action. The least of these dangers came from the populace
or from abroad; the most serious had their ground in the characters of
the Popes themselves.

Let us, for this moment, leave out of consideration the countries
beyond the Alps. At the time when the Papacy was exposed to mortal
danger in Italy, it neither received nor could receive the slightest
assistance either from France, then under Louis XI, or from England,
distracted by the Wars of the Roses, or from the then disorganized
Spanish monarchy, or from Germany, but lately betrayed at the Council
of Basle. In Italy itself there was a certain number of instructed and
even uninstructed people whose national vanity was flattered by the
Italian character of the Papacy; the personal interests of very many
depended on its having and retaining this character; and vast masses of
the people still believed in the virtue of the Papal blessing and
consecration; among them notorious transgressors like Vitelozzo
Vitelli, who still prayed to be absolved by Alexander VI, when the
Pope's son had him strangled. But all these grounds of sympathy put
together would not have sufficed to save the Papacy from its enemies,
had the latter been really in earnest, and had they known how to take
advantage of the envy and hatred with which the institution was
regarded.
And at the very time when the prospect of help from without was so small, the most dangerous symptoms appeared within the Papacy itself. Living as it now did, and acting in the spirit of the secular Italian principalities, it was compelled to go through the same dark experiences as they; but its own exceptional nature gave a peculiar color to the shadows.

As far as the city of Rome itself is concerned, small account was taken of its internal agitations, so many were the Popes who had returned after being expelled by popular tumult, and so greatly did the presence of the Curia minister to the interests of the Roman people. But Rome not only displayed at times a specific anti-papal radicalism, but in the most serious plots which were then contrived, gave proof of the working of unseen hands from without. It was so in the case of the conspiracy of Stefano Porcari against Nicholas V (1453), the very Pope who had done most for the prosperity of the city. Porcari aimed at the complete overthrow of the papal authority, and had distinguished accomplices, who, though their names are not handed down to us, are certainly to be looked for among the Italian governments of the time. Under the pontificate of the same man, Lorenzo Valla concluded his famous declamation against the gift of Constantine with the wish for the speedy secularization of the States of the Church.

The Catilinarian gang with which Pius II had to (1460) avowed with equal frankness their resolution to overthrow the government of the priests, and its leader, Tiburzio, threw the blame on the soothsayers,
who had fixed the accomplishment of his wishes for this very year.

Several of the chief men of Rome, the Prince of Taranto, and the Condottiere Jacopo Piccinino, were accomplices and supporters of Tiburzio. Indeed, when we think of the booty which was accumulated in the palaces of wealthy prelates--the conspirators had the Cardinal of Aquileia especially in view--we are surprised that, in an almost unguarded city, such attempts were not more frequent and more successful. It was not without reason that Pius II preferred to reside anywhere rather than in Rome, and even Paul II was exposed to no small anxiety through a plot formed by some discharged abbreviators, who, under the command of Platina, besieged the Vatican for twenty days. The Papacy must sooner or later have fallen a victim to such enterprises, if it had not stamped out the aristocratic factions under whose protection these bands of robbers grew to a head.

This task was undertaken by the terrible Sixtus IV. He was the first Pope who had Rome and the neighbourhood thoroughly under his control, especially after his successful attack on the House of Colonna, and consequently, both in his Italian policy and in the internal affairs of the Church, he could venture to act with a defiant audacity, and to set at nought the complaints and threats to summon a council which arose from all parts of Europe. He supplied himself with the necessary funds by simony, which suddenly grew to unheard-of proportions, and which extended from the appointment of cardinals down to the granting of the smallest favours. Sixtus himself had not obtained the papal dignity without recourse to the same means.
A corruption so universal might sooner or later bring disastrous consequences on the Holy See, but they lay in the uncertain future. It was otherwise with nepotism, which threatened at one time to destroy the Papacy altogether. Of all the 'nipoti,' Cardinal Pietro Riario enjoyed at first the chief and almost exclusive favour of Sixtus. He soon drew upon him the eyes of all Italy, partly by the fabulous luxury of his life, partly through the reports which were current of his irreligion and his political plans. He bargained with Duke Galeazzo Maria of Milan (1473), that the latter should become King of Lombardy, and then aid him with money and troops to return to Rome and ascend the papal throne; Sixtus, it appears, would have voluntarily yielded to him. This plan, which, by making the Papacy hereditary, would have ended in the secularization of the papal State, failed through the sudden death of Pietro. The second 'nipote,' Girolamo Riario, remained a layman, and did not seek the Pontificate. From this time the 'nipoti,' by their endeavors to found principalities for themselves, became a new source of confusion to Italy. It had already happened that the Popes tried to make good their feudal claims on Naples un favour of their relatives, but since the failure of Calixtus III. such a scheme was no longer practicable, and Girolamo Riario, after the attempt to conquer Florence (and who knows how many others places) had failed, was forced to content himself with founding a State within the limits of the papal dominions themselves. This was in so far justifiable as Romagna, with its princes and civic despots, threatened to shake off the papal supremacy altogether, and ran the risk of shortly falling a prey to Sforza or the Venetians, when Rome interfered to prevent it. But who, at times and in circumstances like these, could guarantee the
continued obedience of 'nipoti' and their descendants, now turned into
sovereign rulers, to Popes with whom they had no further concern? Even
in his lifetime the Pope was not always sure of his own son or nephew,
and the temptation was strong to expel the 'nipote' of a predecessor
and replace him by one of his own. The reaction of the whole system on
the Papacy itself was of the most serious character; all means of
compulsion, whether temporal or spiritual, were used without scruple
for the most questionable ends, and to these all the other objects of
the Apostolic See were made subordinate. And when they were attained,
at whatever cost of revolutions and proscriptions, a dynasty was
founded which had no stronger interest than the destruction of the
Papacy.

At the death of Sixtus, Girolamo was only able to maintain himself in
his usurped principality of Forli and Imola by the utmost exertions of
his own, and by the aid of the House of Sforza, to which his wife
belonged. In the conclave (1484) which followed the death of Sixtus--
that in which Innocent VIII was elected--an incident occurred which
seemed to furnish the Papacy with a new external guarantee. Two
cardinals, who, at the same time, were princes of ruling houses,
Giovanni d'Aragona, son of King Ferrante, and Ascanio Sforza, brother
of Lodovico il Moro, sold their votes with shameless effrontery; so
that, at any rate, the ruling houses of Naples and Milan became
interested, by their participation in the booty, in the continuance of
the papal system. Once again, in the following conclave, when all the
cardinals but five sold themselves, Ascanio received enormous sums in
bribes, not without cherishing the hope that at the next election he
would himself be the favored candidate.

Lorenzo the Magnificent, on his part, was anxious that the House of Medici should not be sent away with empty hands. He married his daughter Maddalena to the son of the new Pope--the first who publicly acknowledged his children--Franceschetto Cibo, and expected not only favours of all kinds for his own son, Cardinal Giovanni, afterwards Leo X, but also the rapid promotion of his son-in-law. But with respect to the latter, he demanded impossibilities. Under Innocent VIII there was no opportunity for the audacious nepotism by which States had been founded, since Franceschetto himself was a poor creature who, like his father the Pope, sought power only for the lowest purpose of all--the acquisition and accumulation of money. The manner, however, in which father and son practiced this occupation must have led sooner or later to a final catastrophe--the dissolution of the State. If Sixtus had filled his treasury by the sale of spiritual dignities and favours, Innocent and his son, for their part, established an office for the sale of secular favours, in which pardons for murder and manslaughter were sold for large sums of money. Out of every fine 150 ducats were paid into the papal exchequer, and what was over to Franceschetto. Rome, during the latter part of this pontificate, swarmed with licensed and unlicensed assassins; the factions, which Sixtus had begun to put down, were again as active as ever; the Pope, well guarded in the Vatican, was satisfied with now and then laying a trap, in which a wealthy misdoer was occasionally caught. For Franceschetto the chief point was to know by what means, when the Pope died, he could escape with well-filled coffers. He betrayed himself at last, on the occasion
of a false report (1490) of his father's death; he endeavored to carry
off all the money in the papal treasury, and when this proved
impossible, insisted that, at all events, the Turkish prince, Djem,
should go with him, and serve as a living capital, to be advantageously
disposed of, perhaps to Ferrante of Naples. It is hard to estimate the
political possibilities of remote periods, but we cannot help asking
ourselves the question if Rome could have survived two or three
pontificates of this kind. Also with reference to the believing
countries of Europe, it was imprudent to let matters go so far that not
only travellers and pilgrims, but a whole embassy of Maximilian, King
of the Romans, were stripped to their shirts in the neighbourhood of
Rome, and that envoys had constantly to turn back without setting foot
within the city.

Such a condition of things was incompatible with the conception of
power and its pleasures which inspired the gifted Alexander VI (1492-
1503), and the first event that happened was the restoration, at least
 provisionally, of public order, and the punctual payment of every
salary.

Strictly speaking, as we are now discussing phases of Italian
civilization, this pontificate might be passed over, since the Borgias
are no more Italian than the House of Naples. Alexander spoke Spanish
in public with Cesare; Lucrezia, at her entrance to Ferrara, where she
wore a Spanish costume, was sung to by Spanish buffoons; their
confidential servants consisted of Spaniards, as did also the most ill-
famed company of the troops of Cesare in the war of 1500; and even his
hangman, Don Micheletto, and his poisoner, Sebastiano Pinzon Cremonese, seem to have been of the same nation. Among his other achievements, Cesare, in true Spanish fashion, killed, according to the rules of the craft, six wild bulls in an enclosed court. But the Roman corruption, which seemed to culminate in this family, was already far advanced when they came to the city.

What they were and what they did has been often and fully described. Their immediate purpose, which, in fact, they attained, was the complete subjugation of the pontifical State. All the petty despots, who were mostly more or less refractory vassals of the Church, were expelled or destroyed; and in Rome itself the two great factions were annihilated, the so-called Guelph Orsini as well as the so-called Ghibelline Colonna. But the means employed were of so frightful a character that they must certainly have ended in the ruin of the Papacy, had not the contemporaneous death of both father and son by poison suddenly intervened to alter the whole aspect of the situation.

The moral indignation of Christendom was certainly no great source of danger to Alexander; at home he was strong enough to extort terror and obedience; foreign rulers were won over to his side, and Louis XII even aided him to the utmost of his power. The mass of the people throughout Europe had hardly a conception of what was passing in Central Italy. The only moment which was really fraught with danger--when Charles VIII was in Italy--went by with unexpected fortune, and even then it was not the Papacy as such that was in peril, but Alexander, who risked being supplanted by a more respectable Pope. The great, permanent, and increasing danger for the Papacy lay in Alexander himself, and, above
all, in his son Cesare Borgia.

In the nature of the father, ambition, avarice, and sensuality were combined with strong and brilliant qualities. All the pleasures of power and luxury he granted himself from the first day of his pontificate in the fullest measure. In the choice of means to this end he was wholly without scruple; it was known at once that he would more than compensate himself for the sacrifices which his election had involved, and that the seller would far exceed the simony of the buyer. It must be remembered that the vice-chancellorship and other offices which Alexander had formerly held had taught him to know better and turn to more practical account the various sources of revenue than any other member of the Curia. As early as 1494, a Carmelite, Adam of Genoa, who had preached at Rome against simony, was found murdered in his bed with twenty wounds. Hardly a single cardinal was appointed without the payment of enormous sums of money.

But when the Pope in course of time fell under the influence of his son Cesare Borgia, his violent measures assumed that character of devilish wickedness which necessarily reacts upon the ends pursued. What was done in the struggle with the Roman nobles and with the tyrants of Romagna exceeded in faithlessness and barbarity even that measure to which the Aragonese rulers of Naples had already accustomed the world; and the genius for deception was also greater. The manner in which Cesare isolated his father, murdering brother, brother-in-law, and other relations or courtiers, whenever their favour with the Pope or their position in any other respect became inconvenient to him, is
literally appalling. Alexander was forced to acquiesce in the murder of his best-loved son, the Duke of Gandia, since he himself lived in hourly dread of Cesare.

What were the final aims of the latter? Even in the last months of his tyranny, when he had murdered the Condottieri at Sinigaglia, and was to all intents and purposes master of the ecclesiastical State (1503), those who stood near him gave the modest reply that the Duke merely wished to put down the factions and the despots, and all for the good of the Church only; that for himself he desired nothing more than the lordship of the Romagna, and that he had earned the gratitude of all the following Popes by ridding them of the Orsini and Colonna. But no one will accept this as his ultimate design. The Pope Alexander himself, in his discussions with the Venetian ambassador, went further than this, when committing his son to the protection of Venice: 'I will see to it,' he said, that one day the Papacy shall belong either to him or to you.' Cesare indeed added that no one could become Pope without the consent of Venice, and for this end the Venetian cardinals had only to keep well together. Whether he referred to himself or not we are unable to say; at all events, the declaration of his father is sufficient to prove his designs on the pontifical throne. We further obtain from Lucrezia Borgia a certain amount of indirect evidence, in so far as certain passages in the poems of Ercole Strozza may be the echo of expressions which she as Duchess of Ferrara may easily have permitted herself to use. Here, too, Cesare's hopes of the Papacy are chiefly spoken of; but now and then a supremacy over all Italy is hinted at, and finally we are given to understand that as temporal
ruler Cesare's projects were of the greatest, and that for their sake he had formerly surrendered his cardinalate. In fact, there can be no doubt whatever that Cesare, whether chosen Pope or not after the death of Alexander, meant to keep possession of the pontifical State at any cost, and that this, after all the enormities he had committed, he could not as Pope have succeeded in doing permanently. He, if anybody, could have secularized the States of the Church, and he would have been forced to do so in order to keep them. Unless we are much deceived, this is the real reason of the secret sympathy with which Machiavelli treats the great criminal; from Cesare, or from nobody, could it be hoped that he 'would draw the steel from the wound,' in other words, annihilate the Papacy—the source of all foreign intervention and of all the divisions of Italy. The intriguers who thought to divine Cesare's aims, when holding out to him hopes of the Kingdom of Tuscany, seem to have been dismissed with contempt.

But all logical conclusions from his premises are idle, not because of the unaccountable genius, which in fact characterized him as little as it did Wallenstein, but because the means which he employed were not compatible with any large and consistent course of action. Perhaps, indeed, in the very excess of his wickedness some prospect of salvation for the Papacy may have existed even without the accident which put an end to his rule.

Even if we assume that the destruction of the petty despots in the pontifical State had gained for him nothing but sympathy, even if we take as proof of his great projects the army composed of the best
soldiers and officers in Italy, with Leonardo da Vinci as chief
engineer, which followed his fortunes in 1502, other facts nevertheless
bear such a character of unreason that our judgement, like that of
contemporary observers, is wholly at a loss to explain them. One fact
of this kind is the devastation and maltreatment of the newly-won
State, which Cesare still intended to keep and to rule over. Another is
the condition of Rome and of the Curia in the last decades of the
pontificate. Whether it were that father and son had drawn up a formal
list of proscribed persons, or that the murders were resolved upon one
by one, in either case the Borgias were bent on the secret destruction
of all who stood in their way or whose inheritance they coveted. Of
this, money and movable goods formed the smallest part; it was a much
greater source of profit for the Pope that the incomes of the clerical
dignitaries in question were suspended by their death, and that he
received the revenues of their offices while vacant, and the price of
these offices when they were filled by the successors of the murdered
men. The Venetian ambassador Paolo Capello reported in the year 1500:
'Every night four or five murdered men are discovered--bishops,
prelates and others--so that all Rome is trembling for fear of being
destroyed by the Duke (Cesare). ' He himself used to wander about Rome
in the night-time with his guards, and there is every reason to believe
that he did so not only because, like Tiberius, he shrank from showing
his now repulsive features by daylight, but also to gratify his insane
thirst for blood, perhaps even on persons unknown to him.

As early as the year 1499 the despair was so great and so general that
many of the Papal guards were waylaid and put to death- But those whom
the Borgias could not assail with open violence fell victims to their poison. For the cases in which a certain amount of discretion seemed requisite, a white powder of an agreeable taste was made use of, which did not work on the spot, but slowly and gradually, and which could be mixed without notice in any dish or goblet. Prince Djem had taken some of it in a sweet draught, before Alexander surrendered him to Charles VIII (1495), and at the end of their career father and son poisoned themselves with the same powder by accidentally tasting a sweetmeat intended for a wealthy cardinal. The official epitomizer of the history of the Popes, Onofrio Panvinio, mentions three cardinals, Orsini, Ferrerio and Michiel, whom Alexander caused to be poisoned, and hints at a fourth, Giovanni Borgia, whom Cesare took into his own charge—though probably wealthy prelates seldom died in Rome at that time without giving rise to suspicions of this sort. Even tranquil scholars who had withdrawn to some provincial town were not out of reach of the merciless poison. A secret horror seemed to hang about the Pope; storms and thunderbolts, crushing in walls and chambers, had in earlier times often visited and alarmed him; in the year 1500, when these phenomena were repeated, they were held to be ‘cosa diabolica.’ The report of these events seems at last, through the well-attended jubilee of 1500, to have been carried far and wide throughout the countries of Europe, and the infamous traffic in indulgences did what else was needed to draw all eyes upon Rome. Besides the returning pilgrims, strange white-robed penitents came from Italy to the North, among them disguised fugitives from the Papal State, who are not likely to have been silent. Yet none can calculate how far the scandal and indignation of Christendom might have gone, before they became a source of pressing danger to Alexander. ‘He would,’ says Panvinio elsewhere, ‘have put all
the other rich cardinals and prelates out of the way, to get their
property, had he not, in the midst of his great plans for his son, been
struck down by death.' And what might not Cesare have achieved if, at
the moment when his father died, he had not himself been laid upon a
sickbed! What a conclave would that have been, in which, armed with all
his weapons, he had extorted his election from a college whose numbers
he had judiciously reduced by poison—and this at a time when there was
no French army at hand! In pursuing such a hypothesis the imagination
loses itself in an abyss.

Instead of this followed the conclave in which Pius III was elected,
and, after his speedy death, that which chose Julius II—both
elections the fruits of a general reaction.

Whatever may have been the private morals of Julius II, in all
essential respects he was the savior of the Papacy. His familiarity
with the course of events since the pontificate of his uncle Sixtus had
given him a profound insight into the grounds and conditions of the
Papal authority. On these he founded his own policy, and devoted to it
the whole force and passion of his unshaken soul. He ascended the steps
of St. Peter's chair without simony and amid general applause, and with
him ceased, at all events, the undisguised traffic in the highest
offices of the Church. Julius had favorites, and among them were some
the reverse of worthy, but a special fortune put him above the
temptation to nepotism. His brother, Giovanni della Rovere, was the
husband of the heiress of Urbino, sister of the last Montefeltro,
Guidobaldo, and from this marriage was born, in 1491, a son, Francesco
Maria della Rovere, who was at the same time Papal 'nipote' and lawful heir to the duchy of Urbino. What Julius elsewhere acquired, either on the field of battle or by diplomatic means, he proudly bestowed on the Church, not on his family; the ecclesiastical territory, which he found in a state of dissolution, he bequeathed to his successor completely subdued, and increased by Parma and Piacenza. It was not his fault that Ferrara too was not added the Church. The 700,000 ducats which were stored up in the Castel Sant' Angelo were to be delivered by the governor to none but the future Pope. He made himself heir of the cardinals, and, indeed, of all the clergy who died in Rome, and this by the most despotic means; but he murdered or poisoned none of them. That he should himself lead his forces to battle was for him an unavoidable necessity, and certainly did him nothing but good at a time when a man in Italy was forced to be either hammer or anvil, and when personality was a greater power than the most indisputable right. If despite all his high-sounding 'Away with the barbarians!' he nevertheless contributed more than any man to the firm settlement of the Spaniards in Italy, he may have thought it a matter of indifference to the Papacy, or even, as things stood, a relative advantage. And to whom, sooner than to Spain, could the Church look for a sincere and lasting respect, in an age when the princes of Italy cherished none but sacrilegious projects against her? Be this as it may, the powerful, original nature, which could swallow no anger and conceal no genuine good-will, made on the whole the impression most desirable in his situation--that of the 'Pontefice terrible.' 26 He could even, with comparatively clear conscience, venture to summon a council to Rome, and so bid defiance to that outcry for a council which was raised by the opposition all over Europe. A ruler of this stamp needed some great
outward symbol of his conceptions; Julius found it in the
reconstruction of St. Peter's. The plan of it, as Bramante wished to
have it, is perhaps the grandest expression of power in unity which can
be imagined. In other arts besides architecture the face and the memory
of the Pope live on in their most ideal form, and it is not without
significance that even the Latin poetry of those days gives proof of a
wholly different enthusiasm for Julius than that shown for his
predecessors. The entry into Bologna, at the end of the 'Iter Julii
Secundi' by the Cardinal Adriano da Corneto, has a splendor of its own,
and Giovan Antonio Flaminio, in one of the finest elegies, appealed to
the patriot in the Pope to grant his protection to Italy.

In a constitution of his Lateran Council, Julius had solemnly denounced
the simony of the Papal elections. After his death in 1513, the money-
loving cardinals tried to evade the prohibition by proposing that the
endowments and offices hitherto held by the chosen candidate should be
equally divided among themselves, in which case they would have elected
the best-endowed cardinal, the incompetent Raphael Riario. But a
reaction, chiefly arising from the younger members of the Sacred
College, who, above all things, desired a liberal Pope, rendered the
miserable combination futile; Giovanni Medici was elected --the famous
Leo X.

We shall often meet with him in treating of the noonday of the
Renaissance; here we wish only to point out that under him the Papacy
was again exposed to great inward and outward dangers. Among these we
do not reckon the conspiracy of the Cardinals Petrucci, De Sauli,
Riario, and Corneto (1517), which at most could have occasioned a change of and to which Leo found the true antidote in the un-heard-of creation of thirty-one new cardinals, a measure which additional advantage of rewarding, in some cases at least, real merit.

But some of the paths which Leo allowed himself to tread during the first two years of his office were perilous to the last degree. He seriously endeavored to secure, by negotiation, the kingdom of Naples for his brother Giuliano, and for his nephew Lorenzo a powerful North Italian State, to comprise Milan, Tuscany, Urbino and Ferrara. It is clear that the Pontifical State, thus hemmed in on all sides, would have become a mere Medicean appanage, and that, in fact, there would have been no further need to secularize it.

The plan found an insuperable obstacle in the political conditions of the time. Giuliano died early. To provide for Lorenzo, Leo undertook to expel the Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere from Urbino, but reaped from the war nothing but hatred and poverty, and was forced, when in 1519 Lorenzo followed his uncle to the grave, to hand over the hard-won conquests to the Church. He did on compulsion and without credit what, if it had been done voluntarily, would have been to his lasting honour. What he attempted against Alfonso of Ferrara, and actually achieved against a few petty despots and Condottieri, was assuredly not of a kind to raise his reputation. And this was at a time when the monarchs of the West were yearly growing more and more accustomed to political gambling on a colossal scale, of which the stakes were this or that province of Italy. Who could guarantee that, since the last decades had
seen so great an increase of their power at home, their ambition would stop short of the States of the Church? Leo himself witnessed the prelude of what was fulfilled in the year 1527; a few bands of Spanish infantry appeared of their own accord, it seems-- at the end of 1520, on the borders of the Pontifical territory, with a view to laying the Pope under contribution, but were driven back by the Papal forces. The public feeling, too, against the corruptions of the hierarchy had of late years been drawing rapidly to a head, and men with an eye for the future, like the younger Pico della Mirandola, called urgently for reform. Meantime Luther had already appeared upon the scene.

Under Adrian VI (1521-1523), the few and timid improvements, carried out in the face of the great German Reformation, came too late. He could do little more than proclaim his horror of the course which things had taken hitherto, of simony, nepotism, prodigality, brigandage, and profligacy. The danger from the side of the Lutherans was by no means the greatest; an acute observer from Venice, Girolamo Negro, uttered his fears that a speedy and terrible disaster would befall the city of Rome itself.

Under Clement VII the whole horizon of Rome was filled with vapors, like that leaden veil which the sirocco drew over the Campagna, and which made the last months of summer so deadly. The Pope was no less detested at home than abroad. Thoughtful people were filled with anxiety, hermits appeared upon the streets and squares of Rome, foretelling the fate of Italy and of the world, and calling the Pope by the name of Antichrist; the faction of the Colonna raised its head
defiantly; the indomitable Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, whose mere existence was a permanent menace to the Papacy, ventured to surprise the city in 1526, hoping with the help of Charles V, to become Pope then and there, as soon as Clement was killed or captured. It was no piece of good fortune for Rome that the latter was able to escape to the Castel Sant' Angelo, and the fate for which he himself was reserved may well be called worse than death. By a series of those falsehoods which only the powerful can venture on, but which bring ruin upon the weak, Clement brought about the advance of the Germano-Spanish army under Bourbon and Frundsberg (1527). It is certain that the Cabinet of Charles V intended to inflict on him a severe castigation, and that it could not calculate beforehand how far the zeal of its unpaid hordes would carry them. It would have been vain to attempt to enlist men in Germany without paying any bounty, if it had not been well known that Rome was the object of the expedition. It may be that the written orders to Bourbon will be found some day or other, and it is not improbable that they will prove to be worded mildly. But historical criticism will not allow itself to be led astray. The Catholic King and Emperor owed it to his luck and nothing else that Pope and cardinals were not murdered by his troops. Had this happened, no sophistry in the world could clear him of his share in the guilt. The massacre of countless people of less consequence, the plunder of the rest, and all the horrors of torture and traffic in human life, show clearly enough what was possible in the 'Sacco di Roma.'

Charles seems to have wished to bring the Pope, who had fled a second time to the Castel Sant' Angelo, to Naples, after extorting from him
vast sums of money, and Clement's flight to Orvieto must have happened without any connivance on the part of Spain. Whether the Emperor ever thought seriously of the secularization of the States of the Church, for which every body was quite prepared, and whether he was really dissuaded from it by the representations of Henry VIII of England, will probably never be made clear.

But if such projects really existed, they cannot have lasted long: from the devastated city arose a new spirit of reform both in Church and State. It made itself felt in a moment. Cardinal Sadoleto, one witness of many, thus writes: 'If through our suffering a satisfaction is made to the wrath and justice of God, if these fearful punishments again open the way to better laws and morals, then is our misfortune perhaps not of the greatest.... What belongs to God He will take care of; before us lies a life of reformation, which no violence can take from us. Let us so rule our deeds and thoughts as to seek in God only the true glory of the priesthood and our own true greatness and power.'

In point of fact, this critical year, 1527, so far bore fruit that the voices of serious men could again make themselves heard. Rome had suffered too much to return, even under a Paul III, to the gay corruption of Leo X.

The Papacy, too, when its sufferings became so great, began to excite a sympathy half religious and half political. The kings could not tolerate that one of their number should arrogate to himself the right
of Papal gaoler, and concluded (August 18, 1527) the Treaty of Amiens, one of the objects of which was the deliverance of Clement. They thus, at all events, turned to their own account the unpopularity which the deeds of the Imperial troops had excited. At the same time the Emperor became seriously embarrassed, even in Spain, where the prelates and grandees never saw him without making the most urgent remonstrances. When a general deputation of the clergy and laity, all clothed in mourning, was projected, Charles, fearing that troubles might arise out of it, like those of the insurrection quelled a few years before, forbade the scheme. Not only did he not dare to prolong the maltreatment of the Pope, but he was absolutely compelled, even apart from all considerations of foreign politics, to be reconciled with the Papacy, which he had so grievously wounded. For the temper of the German people, which certainly pointed to a different course, seemed to him, like German affairs generally, to afford no foundation for a policy. It is possible, too, as a Venetian maintains, that the memory of the sack of Rome lay heavy on his conscience, and tended to hasten that expiation which was sealed by the permanent subjection of the Florentines to the Medicean family of which the Pope was a member. The 'nipote' and new Duke, Alessandro Medici, was married to the natural daughter of the Emperor.

In the following years the plan of a Council enabled Charles to keep the Papacy in all essential points under his control, and at one and the same time to protect and to oppress it. The greatest danger of all-secularization—the danger which came from within, from the Popes themselves and their 'nipoti,' was adjourned for centuries by the
German Reformation. Just as this alone had made the expedition against Rome (1527) possible and successful, so did it compel the Papacy to become once more the expression of a world-wide spiritual power, to raise itself from the soulless debasement in which it lay, and to place itself at the head of all the enemies of this reformation. The institution thus developed during the latter years of Clement VII, and under Paul III, Paul IV, and their successors, in the face of the defection of half Europe, was a new, regenerated hierarchy, which avoided all the great and dangerous scandals of former times, particularly nepotism, with its attempts at territorial aggrandizement, and which, in alliance with the Catholic princes, and impelled by a newborn spiritual force, found its chief work in the recovery of what had been lost. It only existed and is only intelligible in opposition to the seceders. In this sense it can be said with perfect truth that the moral salvation of the Papacy is due to its mortal enemies. And now its political position, too, though certainly under the permanent tutelage of Spain, became impregnable; almost without effort it inherited, on the extinction of its vassals, the legitimate line of Este and the house of Della Rovere, the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino. But without the Reformation—if, indeed, it is possible to think it away—the whole ecclesiastical State would long ago have passed into secular hands.

Patriotism

In conclusion, let us briefly consider the effect of these political circumstances on the spirit of the nation at large.
It is evident that the general political uncertainty in Italy, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was of a kind to excite in the better spirits of the time a patriotic disgust and opposition. Dante and Petrarch, in their day, proclaimed loudly a common Italy, the object of the highest efforts of all her children. It may be objected that this was only the enthusiasm of a few highly instructed men, in which the mass of the people had no share; but it can hardly have been otherwise even in Germany, although in name at least that country was united, and recognized in the Emperor one supreme head. The first patriotic utterances of German literature, if we except some verses of the 'Minnesanger,' belong to the humanists of the time of Maximilian I and after, and read like an echo of Italian declamations. And yet, as a matter of fact, Germany had been long a nation in a truer sense than Italy ever was since the Roman days. France owes the consciousness of its national unity mainly to its conflicts with the English, and Spain has never permanently succeeded in absorbing Portugal, closely related as the two countries are. For Italy, the existence of the ecclesiastical State, and the conditions under which alone it could continue, were a permanent obstacle to national unity, an obstacle whose removal seemed hopeless. When, therefore, in the political intercourse of the fifteenth century, the common fatherland is sometimes emphatically named, it is done in most cases to annoy some other Italian State. But those deeply serious and sorrowful appeals to national sentiment were not heard again till later, when the time for unity had gone by, when the country was inundated with Frenchmen and Spaniards. The sense of local patriotism may be said in some measure to
have taken the place of this feeling, though it was but a poor
equivalent for it.

Part Two

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Personality

In the character of these States, whether republics or despotisms,
lies, not the only, but the chief reason for the early development of
the Italian. To this it is due that he was the firstborn among the sons
of modern Europe.

In the Middle Ages both sides of human consciousness—that which was
turned within as that which was turned without—lay dreaming or half
awake beneath a common veil. The veil was woven of faith, illusion, and
childish prepossession, through which the world and history were seen
clad in strange hues. Man was conscious of himself only as a member of
a race, people, party, family, or corporation—only through some
general category. In Italy this veil first melted into air; an
_objective _treatment and consideration of the State and of all the
things of this world became possible. The subjective side at the same
time asserted itself with corresponding emphasis; man became a
spiritual _individual, _recognized himself as such. In the same way the
Greek had once distinguished himself from the barbarian, and the Arab
had felt himself an individual at a time when other Asiatics knew
themselves only as members of a race. It will not be difficult to show
that this result was due above all to the political circumstances of
Italy.

In far earlier times we can here and there detect a development of free
personality which in Northern Europe either did not occur at all, or
could not display itself in the same manner. The band of audacious
wrongdoers in the tenth century described to us by Liudprand, some of
the contemporaries of Gregory VII (for example, Benzo of Alba), and a
few of the opponents of the first Hohenstaufen, show us characters of
this kind. But at the close of the thirteenth century Italy began to
swarm with individuality; the ban laid upon human personality was
dissolved; and a thousand figures meet us each in its own special shape
and dress. Dante's great poem would have been impossible in any other
country of Europe, if only for the reason that they all still lay under
the spell of race. For Italy the august poet, through the wealth of
individuality which he set forth, was the most national herald of his
time. But this unfolding of the treasures of human nature in literature
and art--this many-sided representation and criticism--will be
discussed in separate chapters; here we have to deal only with the
psychological fact itself. This fact appears in the most decisive and
unmistakable form. The Italians of the fourteenth century knew little
of false modesty or of hypocrisy in any shape; not one of them was
afraid of singularity, of being and seeming unlike his neighbors.
Despotism, as we have already seen, fostered in the highest degree the individuality not only of the tyrant or Condottiere himself, but also of the men whom he protected or used as his tools—the secretary, minister, poet, and companion. These people were forced to know all the inward resources of their own nature, passing or permanent; and their enjoyment of life was enhanced and concentrated by the desire to obtain the greatest satisfaction from a possibly very brief period of power and influence.

But even the subjects whom they ruled over were not free from the same impulse. Leaving out of account those who wasted their lives in secret opposition and conspiracies, we speak of the majority who were content with a strictly private station, like most of the urban population of the Byzantine empire and the Mohammedan States. No doubt it was often hard for the subjects of a Visconti to maintain the dignity of their persons and families, and multitudes must have lost in moral character through the servitude they lived under. But this was not the case with regard to individuality; for political impotence does not hinder the different tendencies and manifestations of private life from thriving in the fullest vigor and variety. Wealth and culture, so far as display and rivalry were not forbidden to them, a municipal freedom which did not cease to be considerable, and a Church which, unlike that of the Byzantine or of the Mohammedan world, was not identical with the State—all these conditions undoubtedly favored the growth of individual thought, for which the necessary leisure was furnished by the cessation of party conflicts. The private man, indifferent to politics, and busied partly with serious pursuits, partly with the interests of a
_dilettante, _seems to have been first fully formed in these despotisms of the fourteenth century. Documentary evidence cannot, of course, be required on such a point. The novelists, from whom we might expect information, describe to us oddities in plenty, but only from one point of view and in so far as the needs of the story demand. Their scene, too, lies chiefly in the republican cities.

In the latter, circumstances were also, but in another way, favourable to the growth of individual character. The more frequently the governing party was changed, the more the individual was led to make the utmost of the exercise and enjoyment of power. The statesmen and popular leaders, especially in Florentine history, acquired so marked a personal character that we can scarcely find, even exceptionally, a parallel to them in contemporary history, hardly even in Jacob van Arteveldt.

The members of the defeated parties, on the other hand, often came into a position like that of the subjects of the despotic States, with the difference that the freedom or power already enjoyed, and in some cases the hope of recovering them, gave a higher energy to their individuality. Among these men of involuntary leisure we find, for instance, an Agnolo Pandolfini (d. 1446), whose work on domestic economy is the first complete programme of a developed private life. His estimate of the duties of the individual as against the dangers and thanklessness of public life is in its way a true monument of the age.
Banishment, too, has this effect above all, that it either wears the exile out or develops whatever is greatest in him. 'In all our more populous cities,' says Gioviano Pontano, 'we see a crowd of people who have left their homes of their own free will; but a man takes his virtues with him wherever he goes.' And, in fact, they were by no means only men who had been actually exiled, but thousands left their native place voluntarily, because they found its political or economic condition intolerable. The Florentine emigrants at Ferrara and the Lucchese in Venice formed whole colonies by themselves.

The cosmopolitanism which grew up in the most gifted circles is in itself a high stage of individualism. Dante, as we have already said, finds a new home in the language and culture of Italy, but goes beyond even this in the words, 'My country is the whole world.' And when his recall to Florence was offered him on unworthy conditions, he wrote back: 'Can I not everywhere behold the light of the sun and the stars; everywhere meditate on the noblest truths, without appearing ingloriously and shamefully before the city and the people? Even my bread will not fail me.' The artists exult no less defiantly in their freedom from the constraints of fixed residence. 'Only he who has learned everything,' says Ghiberti, 'is nowhere a stranger; robbed of his fortune and without friends, he is yet the citizen of every country, and can fearlessly despise the changes of fortune.' In the same strain an exiled humanist writes: 'Wherever a learned man fixes his seat, there is home.'

An acute and practiced eye might be able to trace, step by step, the
increase in the number of complete men during the fifteenth century.

Whether they had before them as a conscious object the harmonious
development of their spiritual and material existence, is hard to say;
but several of them attained it, so far as is consistent with the
imperfection of all that is earthly. It may be better to renounce the
attempt at an estimate of the share which fortune, character, and
talent had in the life of Lorenzo il Magnifico. But look at a
personality like that of Ariosto, especially as shown in his satires.

In what harmony are there expressed the pride of the man and the poet,
the irony with which he treats his own enjoyments, the most delicate
satire, and the deepest goodwill!

When this impulse to the highest individual development was combined
with a powerful and varied nature, which had mastered all the elements
of the culture of the age, then arose the 'all-sided man'--'l'uomo
universale'--who belonged to Italy alone. Men there were of
encyclopedic knowledge _, in many countries during the Middle Ages, for
this knowledge was confined within narrow limits; and even in the
twelfth century there were universal artists, but the problems of
architecture were comparatively simple and uniform, and in sculpture
and painting the matter was of more importance than the form. But in
Italy at the time of the Renaissance, we find artists who in every
branch created new and perfect works, and who also made the greatest
impression as men. Others, outside the arts they practiced, were
masters of a vast circle of spiritual interests.

Dante, who, even in his lifetime, was called by some a poet, by others
a philosopher, by others a theologian, pours forth in all his writings
a stream of personal force by which the reader, apart from the interest
of the subject, feels himself carried away. What power of will must the
steady, unbroken elaboration of the _Divine Comedy _have required! And
if we look at the matter of the poem, we find that in the whole
spiritual or physical world there is hardly an important subject which
the poet has not fathomed, and on which his utterances --often only a
few words--are not the most weighty of his time. For the visual arts he
is of the first importance, and this for better reasons than the few
references to contemporary artists--he soon became himself the source
of inspiration.

The fifteenth century is, above all, that of the many-sided men. There
is no biography which does not, besides the chief work of its hero,
speak of other pursuits all passing beyond the limits of dilettantism.
The Florentine merchant and statesman was often learned in both the
classical languages; the most famous humanists read the Ethics and
Politics of Aristotle to him and his sons; even the daughters of the
house were highly educated. It is in these circles that private
education was first treated seriously. The humanist, on his side, was
compelled to the most varied attainments, since his philological
learning was not limited, as it is now, to the theoretical knowledge of
classical antiquity, but had to serve the practical needs of daily
life. While studying Pliny, he made collections of natural history; the
geospy of the ancients was his guide in treating of modern
gography, their history was his pattern in writing contemporary
chronicles, even when composed in Italian; he Dot only translated the
comedies of Plautus, but acted as manager when they were put on the
stage; every effective form of ancient literature down to the dialogues
of Lucian he did his best to imitate; and besides all this, he acted as
magistrate, secretary and diplomatist—not always to his own advantage.

But among these many-sided men, some, who may truly be called all-
sided, tower above the rest. Before analyzing the general phases of
life and culture of this period, we may here, on the threshold of the
fifteenth century, consider for a moment the figure of one of these
giants -- Leon Battista Alberti (b. 1404, d. 1472). His biography,
which is only a fragment, speaks of him but little as an artist, and
makes no mention at all of his great significance in the history of
architecture. We shall now see what he was, apart from these special
claims to distinction.

In all by which praise is won, Leon Battista was from his childhood the
first. Of his various gymnastic feats and exercises we read with
astonishment how, with his feet together, he could spring over a man's
head; how in the cathedral, he threw a coin in the air till it was
heard to ring against the distant roof; how the wildest horses trembled
under him. In three things he desired to appear faultless to others, in
walking, in riding, and in speaking. He learned music without a master,
and yet his compositions were admired by professional judges. Under the
pressure of poverty, he studied both civil and canonical law for many
years, till exhaustion brought on a severe illness. In his twenty-
fourth year, finding his memory for words weakened, but his sense of
facts unimpaired, he set to work at physics and mathematics. And all
the while he acquired every sort of accomplishment and dexterity, cross-examining artists, scholars and artisans of all descriptions, down to the cobbler, about the secrets and peculiarities of their craft. Painting and modelling he practiced by the way, and especially excelled in admirable likenesses from memory. Great admiration was excited by his mysterious ‘camera obscura,’ in which he showed at one time the stars and the moon rising over rocky hills, at another wide landscapes with mountains and gulfs receding into dim perspective, and with fleets advancing on the waters in shade or sunshine. And that which others created he welcomed joyfully, and held every human achievement which followed the laws of beauty for something almost divine. To all this must be added his literary works, first of all those on art, which are landmarks and authorities of the first order for the Renaissance of Form, especially in architecture; then his Latin prose writings -- novels and other works -- of which some have been taken for productions of antiquity; his elegies, eclogues, and humorous dinner-speeches. He also wrote an Italian treatise on domestic life in four books; and even a funeral oration on his dog. His serious and witty sayings were thought worth collecting, and specimens of them, many columns long, are quoted in his biography. And all that he had and knew he imparted, as rich natures always do, without the least reserve, giving away his chief discoveries for nothing. But the deepest spring of his nature has yet to be spoken of -- the sympathetic intensity with which he entered into the whole life around him. At the sight of noble trees and waving cornfields he shed tears; handsome and dignified old men he honored as ‘a delight of nature,’ and could never look at them enough. Perfectly formed animals won his goodwill as being specially favored by nature; and more than once, when he was ill, the sight of a
beautiful landscape cured him. No wonder that those who saw him in this
close and mysterious communion with the world ascribed to him the gift
of prophecy. He was said to have foretold a bloody catastrophe in the
family of Este, the fate of Florence and that of the Popes many years
beforehand, and to be able to read in the countenances and the hearts
of men. It need not be added that an iron will pervaded and sustained
his whole personality; like all the great men of the Renaissance, he
said, 'Men can do all things if they will.'

And Leonardo da Vinci was to Alberti as the finisher to the beginner,
as the master to the _dilettante_. Would only that Vasari's work were
here supplemented by a description like that of Alberti! The colossal
outlines of Leonardo's nature can never be more than dimly and
distantly conceived.

Glory

To this inward development of the individual corresponds a new sort of
outward distinction--the modern form of glory.

In the other countries of Europe the different classes of society lived
apart, each with its own medieval caste sense of honour. The poetical
fame of the Troubadours and Minnesanger was peculiar to the knightly
order. But in Italy social equality had appeared before the time of the
tyrrannies or the democracies. We there find early traces of a general
society, having, as will be shown more fully later on, a common ground
in Latin and Italian literature; and such a ground was needed for this new element in life to grow in. To this must be added that the Roman authors, who were not zealously studied, are filled and saturated with the conception of fame, and that their subject itself--the universal empire of Rome--stood as a permanent ideal before the minds of Italians. From henceforth all the aspirations and achievements of the people were governed by a moral postulate, which was still unknown elsewhere in Europe.

Here, again, as in all essential points, the first witness to be called is Dante. He strove for the poet's garland with all the power of his soul.33 As publicist and man of letters, he laid stress on the fact that what he did was new, and that he wished not only to be, but to be esteemed the first in his own walks.34 But in his prose writings he touches also on the inconveniences of fame; he knows how often personal acquaintance with famous men is disappointing, and explains how this is due partly to the childish fancy of men, partly to envy, and partly to the imperfections of the hero himself. And in his great poem he firmly maintains the emptiness of fame, although in a manner which betrays that his heart was not free from the longing for it. In Paradise the sphere of Mercury is the seat of such blessed ones as on earth strove after glory and thereby dimmed 'the beams of true love.' It is characteristic that the lost souls in hell beg of Dante to keep alive for them their memory and fame on earth, while those in Purgatory only entreat his prayers and those of others for their deliverance.37 And in a famous passage, the passion for fame--'lo gran disio dell'eccellenza' (the great desire of excelling)--is reproved for the reason that
intellectual glory is not absolute, but relative to the times, and may
be surpassed and eclipsed by greater successors.

The new race of poet-scholars which arose soon after Dante quickly made
themselves masters of this fresh tendency. They did so in a double
sense, being themselves the most acknowledged celebrities of Italy, and
at the same time, as poets and historians, consciously disposing of the
reputation of others. An outward symbol of this sort of fame was the
coronation of the poets, of which we shall speak later on.

A contemporary of Dante, Albertinus Musattus or Mussatus, crowned poet
at Padua by the bishop and rector, enjoyed a fame which fell little
short of deification. Every Christmas Day the doctors and students of
both colleges at the University came in solemn procession before his
house with trumpets and, it seems, with burning tapers, to salute him
and bring him presents. His reputation lasted till, in 1318, he fell
into disgrace with the ruling tyrant of the House of Carrara.

This new incense, which once was offered only to saints and heroes, was
given in clouds to Petrarch, who persuaded himself in his later years
that it was but a foolish and troublesome thing. His letter 'To
Posterity' is the confession of an old and famous man, who is forced to
gratify the public curiosity. He admits that he wishes for fame in the
times to come, but would rather be without it in his own day. In his
dialogue on fortune and misfortune, the interlocutor, who maintains the
futility of glory, has the best of the contest. But, at the same time,
Petrarch is pleased that the autocrat of Byzantium knows him as well by
his writings as Charles IV knows him. And in fact, even in his
lifetime, his fame extended far beyond Italy. And the emotion which he
felt was natural when his friends, on the occasion of a visit to his
native Arezzo (1350), took him to the house where he was born, and told
him how the city had provided that no change should be made in it. In
former times the dwellings of certain great saints were preserved and
revered in this way, like the cell of St. Thomas Aquinas in the
Dominican convent at Naples, and the Portincula of St. Francis near
Assisi; and one or two great jurists so enjoyed the half-mythical
reputation which led to this honour. Towards the close of the
fourteenth century the people at Bagnolo, near Florence, called an old
building the ‘Studio of Accursius’ (died in 1260), but, nevertheless,
suffered it to be destroyed. It is probable that the great incomes and
the political influence which some jurists obtained as consulting
lawyers made a lasting impression on the popular imagination.

To the cult of the birthplaces of famous men must be added that of
their graves, and, in the case of Petrarch, of the spot where he died.
In memory of him Arqua became a favorite resort of the Paduans, and was
dotted with graceful little villas. At this time there were no ‘classic
spots’ in Northern Europe, and pilgrimages were only made to pictures
and relics. It was a point of honour for the different cities to
possess the bones of their own and foreign celebrities; and it is most
remarkable how seriously the Florentines, even in the fourteenth
century-- long before the building of Santa Croce--labored to make
their cathedral a Pantheon. Accorso, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and
the jurist Zanobi della Strada were to have had magnificent tombs there erected to them. Late in the fifteenth century, Lorenzo il Magnifico applied in person to the Spoletans, asking them to give up the corpse of the painter Fra Filippo Lippi for the cathedral, and received the answer that they had none too many ornaments to the city, especially in the shape of distinguished people, for which reason they begged him to spare them; and, in fact, he had to be content with erecting a cenotaph. And even Dante, in spite of all the applications to which Boccaccio urged the Florentines with bitter emphasis, remained sleeping tranquilly in San Francesco at Ravenna, 'among ancient tombs of emperors and vaults of saints, in more honorable company than thou, O Florence, couldst offer him.' It even happened that a man once took away unpunished the lights from the altar on which the crucifix stood, and set there by the grave, with the words, 'Take them; thou art more worthy of them than He, the Crucified One!' (Franco Sacchetti, Novella 121.)

And now the Italian cities began again to remember their ancient citizens and inhabitants. Naples, perhaps, had never forgotten its tomb of Virgil, since a kind of mythical halo had become attached to the name.

The Paduans, even in the sixteenth century, firmly believed that they possessed not only the genuine bones of their founder, Antenor, but also those of the historian Livy. 'Sulmona,' says Boccaccio, 'bewails that Ovid lies buried far away in exile; and Parma rejoices that Cassius sleeps within its walls.' The Mantuans coined a medal in 1257
with the bust of Virgil, and raised a statue to represent him. In a fit of aristocratic insolence, the guardian of the young Gonzaga, Carlo Malatesta, caused it to be pulled down in 1392, and was afterwards forced, when he found the fame of the old poet too strong for him, to set it up again. Even then, perhaps, the grotto, a couple of miles from the town, where Virgil was said to have meditated, was shown to strangers, like the ‘Scuola di Virgilio’ at Naples. Como claimed both the Plinys for its own, and at the end of the fifteenth century erected statues in their honour, sitting under graceful baldachins on the facade of the cathedral.

History and the new topography were now careful to leave no local celebrity unnoticed. At the same period the northern chronicles only here and there, among the list of popes, emperors, earthquakes, and comets, put in the remark, that at such a time this or that famous man ‘flourished.’ We shall elsewhere have to show how, mainly under the influence of this idea of fame, an admirable biographical literature was developed. We must here limit ourselves to the local patriotism of the topographers who recorded the claims of their native cities to distinction.

In the Middle Ages, the cities were proud of their saints and of the bones and relics in their churches. With these the panegyrist of Padua in 1450, Michele Savonarola, begins his list; from them he passes to 'the famous men who were no saints, but who, by their great intellect and force (virtus) deserve to be added (adnecti) to the saints’--just as in classical antiquity the distinguished man came close upon the
hero. The further enumeration is most characteristic of the time. First comes Antenor, the brother of Priam, who founded Padua with a band of Trojan fugitives; King Dardanus, who defeated Attila in the Euganean hills, followed him in pursuit, and struck him dead at Rimini with a chessboard; the Emperor Henry IV, who built the cathedral; a King Marcus, whose head was preserved in Monselice; then a couple of cardinals and prelates as founders of colleges, churches, and so forth; the famous Augustinian theologian, Fra Alberto; a string of philosophers beginning with Paolo Veneto and the celebrated Pietro of Abano; the jurist Paolo Padovano; then Livy and the poets Petrarch, Mussato, Lovato. If there is any want of military celebrities in the list, the poet consoles himself for it by the abundance of learned men whom he has to show, and by the more durable character of intellectual glory, while the fame of the soldier is buried with his body, or, if it lasts, owes its permanence only to the scholar. It is nevertheless honorable to the city that foreign warriors lie buried here by their own wish, like Pietro de’ Rossi of Parma, Filippo Arcelli of Piacenza, and especially Gattemelata of Narni (d. 1443), whose brazen equestrian statue, 'like a Caesar in triumph,' already stood by the church of the Santo. The author then names a crowd of jurists and physicians, nobles 'who had not only, like so many others, received, but deserved, the honour of knighthood.' Then follows a list of famous mechanicians, painters, and musicians, and in conclusion the name of a fencing-master Michele Rosso, who, as the most distinguished man in his profession, was to be seen painted in many places.

By the side of these local temples of fame, which myth, legend, popular
admiration, and literary tradition combined to create, the poet-
scholars built up a great Pantheon of worldwide celebrity. They made
collections of famous men and famous women, often in direct imitation
of Cornelius Nepos, the pseudo-Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch
_(Mulierum virtutes), Jerome _(De viris illustribus), and others: or they wrote of imaginary triumphal processions and Olympian assemblies,
as was done by Petrarch in his 'Trionfo della Fama,' and Boccaccio in
the 'Amorosa Visione,' with hundreds of names, of which three-fourths
at least belong to antiquity and the rest to the Middle Ages. By and by
this new and comparatively modern element was treated with greater
emphasis; the historians began to insert descriptions of character, and
collections arose of the biographies of distinguished contemporaries,
like those of Filippo Villani, Vespasiano Fiorentino, Bartolommeo I
Fazio, and lastly of Paolo Giovio.

The North of Europe, until Italian influence began to tell upon its
writers-- for instance, on Trithemius, the first German who wrote the
lives of famous men- -possessed only either legends of the saints, or
descriptions of princes and churchmen partaking largely of the
character of legends and showing no traces of the idea of fame, that
is, of distinction won by a man's personal efforts. Poetical glory was
still confined to certain classes of society, and the names of northern
artists are only known to us at this period in so far as they were
members of certain guilds or corporations.

The poet-scholar in Italy had, as we have already said, the fullest
consciousness that he was the giver of fame and immortality, or, if he
chose, of oblivion. Boccaccio complains of a fair one to whom he had
done homage, and who remained hard-hearted in order that he might go on
praising her and making her famous, and he gives her a hint that he
will try the effect of a little blame. Sannazaro, in two magnificent
sonnets, threatens Alfonso of Naples with eternal obscurity on account
of his cowardly flight before Charles VIII. Angelo Poliziano seriously
exhorts (1491) King John of Portugal to think betimes of his
immortality in reference to the new discoveries in Africa, and to send
him materials to Florence, there to be put into shape (operosius
excolenda), otherwise it would befall him as it had befallen all the
others whose deeds, unsupported by the help of the learned, 'lie hidden
in the vast heap of human frailty.' The king, or his humanistic
chancellor, agreed to this, and promised that at least the Portuguese
chronicles of African affairs should be translated into Italian, and
sent to Florence to be done into Latin. Whether the promise was kept is
not known. These pretensions are by no means so groundless as they may
appear at first sight; for the form in which events, even the greatest,
are told to the living and to posterity is anything but a matter of
indifference. The Italian humanists, with their mode of exposition and
their Latin style, had long the complete control of the reading world
of Europe, and till last century the Italian poets were more widely
known and studied than those of any other nation. The baptismal name of
the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci was given, on account of his book of
travels, to a new quarter of the globe, and if Paolo Giovio, with all
his superficiality and graceful caprice, promised himself immortality,
his expectation has not altogether been disappointed.
Amid all these preparations outwardly to win and secure fame, the curtain is now and then drawn aside, and we see with frightful evidence a boundless ambition and thirst after greatness, regardless of all means and consequences. Thus, in the preface to Machiavelli's Florentine history, in which he blames his predecessors Leonardo, Aretino and Poggio for their too considerate reticence with regard to the political parties in the city: 'They erred greatly and showed that they understood little the ambition of men and the desire to perpetuate a name. How many who could distinguish themselves by nothing praiseworthy, strove to do so by infamous deeds! ' Those writers did not consider that actions which are great in themselves, as is the case with the actions of rulers and of States, always seem to bring more glory than blame, of whatever kind they are and whatever the result of them may be. In more than one remarkable and dreadful undertaking the motive assigned by serious writers is the burning desire to achieve something great and memorable. This motive is not a mere extreme case of ordinary vanity, but something demonic, involving a surrender of the will, the use of any means, however atrocious, and even an indifference to success itself. In this sense, for example, Machiavelli conceives the character of Stefano Porcari; of the murderers of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1476), the documents tell us about the same; and the assassination of Duke Alessandro of Florence (1537) is ascribed by Varchi himself to the thirst for fame which tormented the murderer Lorenzino Medici. Still more stress is laid on this motive by Paolo Giovio. Lorenzino, according to him, pilloried by a pamphlet of Molza, broods over a deed whose novelty shall make his disgrace forgotten, and ends by murdering his kinsman and prince. These are characteristic features of this age of overstrained and despairing passions and
forces, and remind us of the burning of the temple of Diana at Ephesus in the time of Philip of Macedon.

Ridicule and Wit

The corrective, not only of this modern desire for fame, but of all highly developed individuality, is found in ridicule, especially when expressed in the victorious form of wit. We read in the Middle Ages how hostile armies, princes, and nobles, provoked one another with symbolical insult, and how the defeated party was loaded with symbolical outrage. Here and there, too, under the influence of classical literature, wit began to be used as a weapon in theological disputes, and the poetry of Provence produced a whole class of satirical compositions. Even the Minnesanger, as their political poems show, could adopt this tone when necessary. But wit could not be an independent element in life till its appropriate victim, the developed individual with personal pretensions, had appeared. Its weapons were then by no means limited to the tongue and the pen, but included tricks and practical jokes -- the so-called 'burle' and 'beffe'-- which form a chief subject of many collections of novels.

The 'Hundred Old Novels,' which must have been composed about the end of the thirteenth century, have as yet neither wit, the fruit of contrast, nor the 'burla,' for their subject; their aim is merely to give simple and elegant expression to wise sayings and pretty stories or fables. But if anything proves the great antiquity of the
collection, it is precisely this absence of satire. For with the
fourteenth century comes Dante, who, in the utterance of scorn, leaves
all other poets in the world far behind, and who, if only on account of
his great picture of the deceivers, must be called the chief master of
colossal comedy. With Petrarch begin the collections of witty sayings
after the pattern of Plutarch (Apophthegmata, etc.).

What stores of wit were concentrated in Florence during this century is
most characteristically shown in the novels of Franco Sacchetti. These
are, for the most part, not stories but answers, given under certain
circumstances—shocking pieces of *naivete,* with which silly folks,
court jesters, rogues, and profligate women make their retort. The
comedy of the tale lies in the startling contrast of this real or
assumed naivete with conventional morality and the ordinary relations
of the world—things are made to stand on their heads. All means of
picturesque representation are made use of, including the introduction
of certain North Italian dialects. Often the place of wit is taken by
mere insolence, clumsy trickery, blasphemy, and obscenity; one or two
jokes told of Condottieri are among the most brutal and malicious which
are recorded. Many of the ‘burle’ are thoroughly comic, but many are
only real or supposed evidence of personal superiority, of triumph over
another. How much people were willing to put up with, how often the
victim was satisfied with getting the laugh on his side by a
retaliatory trick, cannot be said; there was much heartless and
pointless malice mixed up with it all, and life in Florence was no
doubt often made unpleasant enough from this cause. The inventors and
retailers of jokes soon became inevitable figures, and among them there
must have been some who were classical--far superior to all the mere court-jesters, to whom competition, a changing public, and the quick apprehension of the audience, all advantages of life in Florence, were wanting. Some Florentine wits went starring among the despotic courts of Lombardy and Romagna, and found themselves much better rewarded than at home, where their talent was cheap and plentiful. The better type of these people is the amusing man (l'uomo piacevole), the worse is the buffoon and the vulgar parasite who presents himself at weddings and banquets with the argument, 'If I am not invited, the fault is not mine.' Now and then the latter combine to pluck a young spendthrift, but in general they are treated and despised as parasites, while wits of higher position bear themselves like princes, and consider their talent as something sovereign. Dolcibene, whom Charles IV had pronounced to be the 'king of Italian jesters,' said to him at Ferrara: 'You will conquer the world, since you are my friend and the Pope's; you fight with the sword, the Pope with his bulls, and I with my tongue.' This is no mere jest, but the foreshadowing of Pietro Aretino.

The two most famous jesters about the middle of the fifteenth century were a priest near Florence, Arlotto (1483), for more refined wit ('facezie'), and the court-fool of Ferrara, Gonnella, for buffoonery. We can hardly compare their stories with those of the Parson of Kalenberg and Till Eulenspiegel, since the latter arose in a different and half-mythical manner, as fruits of the imagination of a whole people, and touch rather on what is general and intelligible to all, while Arlotto and Gonnella were historical beings, colored and shaped by local influences. But if the comparison be allowed, and extended to
the jests of the non-Italian nations, we shall find in general that the
joke in the French _fabliaux, _as among the Germans, is chiefly
directed to the attainment of some advantage or enjoyment; while the
wit of Arlotto and the practical jokes of Gonnella are an end in
themselves, and exist simply for the sake of the triumph of production.
(Till Eulenspiegel again forms a class by himself, as the personified
quiz, mostly pointless enough, of particular classes and professions.)
The court-fool of the Este retaliated more than once by his keen satire
and refined modes of vengeance.

The type of the 'uomo piacevole' and the 'buffone' long survived the
freedom of Florence. Under Duke Cosimo flourished Barlacchia, and at
the beginning of the seventeenth century Francesco Ruspoli and Curzio
Marignoli. In Pope Leo X, the genuine Florentine love of jesters
showed itself strikingly. This prince, whose taste for the most refined
intellectual pleasures was insatiable, endured and desired at his table
a number of witty buffoons and jack-puddings, among them two monks and
a cripple; at public feasts he treated them with deliberate scorn as
parasites, setting before them monkeys and crows in the place of savory
meats. Leo, indeed, showed a peculiar fondness for the 'burla'; it
belonged to his nature sometimes to treat his own favorite pursuits-
- music and poetry--ironically, parodying them with his factotum,
Cardinal Bibbiena. Neither of them found it beneath him to fool an
honest old secretary till he thought himself a master of the art of
music. The Improvisatore, Baraballo of Gaeta, was brought so far by
Leo's flattery that he applied in all seriousness for the poet's
coronation on the Capitol. On the feast of St. Cosmas and St. Damian,
the patrons of the House of Medici, he was first compelled, adorned
with laurel and purple, to amuse the papal guests with his recitations,
and at last, when all were ready to split with laughter, to mount a
gold-harnessed elephant in the court of the Vatican, sent as a present
to Rome by Emmanuel the Great of Portugal, while the Pope looked down
from above through his eye-glass. The brute, however, was so terrified
by the noise of the trumpets and kettledrums, and the cheers of the
crowd, that there was no getting him over the bridge of Sant' Angelo.

The parody of what is solemn or sublime, which here meets us in the
case of a procession, had already taken an important place in poetry.
It was naturally compelled to choose victims of another kind than those
of Aristophanes, who introduced the great tragedians into his plays.
But the same maturity of culture which at a certain period produced
parody among the Greeks, did the same in Italy. By the close of the
fourteenth century, the love-lorn wallings of Petrarch's sonnets and
others of the same kind were taken off by caricaturists; and the solemn
air of this form of verse was parodied in lines of mystic twaddle. A
constant invitation to parody was offered by the 'Divine Comedy,' and
Lorenzo il Magnifico wrote the most admirable travesty in the style of
the 'Inferno' (Simposio or I Beoni). Luigi Pulci obviously imitates the
Improvisatori in his 'Morgante,' and both his poetry and Boiardo's are
in part, at least, a half-conscious parody of the chivalrous poetry of
the Middle Ages. Such a caricature was deliberately undertaken by the
great parodist Teofilo Folengo (about 1520). Under the name of Limerno
Pitocco, he composed the 'Orlandino,' in which chivalry appears only as
a ludicrous setting for a crowd of modern figures and ideas. Under the
name of Merlinus Coccaius he described the journeys and exploits of his fantastic vagabonds (also in the same spirit of parody) in half-Latin hexameters, with all the affected pomp of the learned Epos of the day ('Opus Macaronicorum'). Since then caricature has been constantly, and often brilliantly, represented on the Italian Parnassus.

About the middle period of the Renaissance a theoretical analysis of wit was undertaken, and its practical application in good society was regulated more precisely. The theorist was Gioviano Pontano. In his work on speaking, especially in the third and fourth books, he tries by means of the comparison of numerous jokes or 'facetiae' to arrive at a general principle. How wit should be used among people of position is taught by Baldassare Castiglione in his 'Cortigiano.' Its chief function is naturally to enliven those present by the repetition of comic or graceful stories and sayings; personal jokes, on the contrary, are discouraged on the ground that they wound unhappy people, show too much honour to wrong-doers, and make enemies of the powerful and the spoiled children of fortune; and even in repetition, a wide reserve in the use of dramatic gestures is recommended to the gentleman. Then follows, not only for purposes of quotation, but as patterns for future jesters, a large collection of puns and witty sayings, methodically arranged according to their species, among them some that are admirable. The doctrine of Giovanni della Casa, some twenty years later, in his guide to good manners, is much stricter and more cautious; with a view to the consequences, he wishes to see the desire of triumph banished altogether from jokes and 'burle.' He is the herald of a reaction, which was certain sooner or later to appear.
Italy had, in fact, become a school for scandal, the like of which the world cannot show, not even in France at the time of Voltaire. In him and his comrades there was assuredly no lack of the spirit of negation; but where, in the eighteenth century, was to be found the crowd of suitable victims, that countless assembly of highly and characteristically developed human beings, celebrities of every kind, statesmen, churchmen, inventors, and discoverers, men of letters, poets and artists, all of whom then gave the fullest and freest play to their individuality. This host existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and by its side the general culture of the time had educated a poisonous brood of impotent wits, of born critics and railers, whose envy called for hecatombs of victims; and to all this was added the envy of the famous men among themselves. In this the philologists notoriously led the way--Filelfo, Poggio, Lorenzo Valla, and others--while the artists of the fifteenth century lived in peaceful and friendly competition with one another. The history of art may take note of the fact.

Florence, the great market of fame, was in this point, as we have said, in advance of other cities. 'Sharp eyes and bad tongues' is the description given of the inhabitants. An easygoing contempt of everything and everybody was probably the prevailing tone of society. Machiavelli, in the remarkable prologue to his 'Mandragola,' refers rightly or wrongly the visible decline of moral force to the general habit of evil-speaking, and threatens his detractors with the news that he can say sharp things as well as they. Next to Florence comes the
Papal court, which had long been a rendezvous of the bitterest and wittiest tongues. Poggio's 'Facetiae' are dated from the Chamber of Lies (bugiale) of the apostolic notaries; and when we remember the number of disappointed place-hunters, of hopeless competitors and enemies of the favorites, of idle, profligate prelates there assembled, it is intelligible how Rome became the home of the savage pasquinade as well as of more philosophical satire. If we add to this the widespread hatred borne to the priests, and the well-known instinct of the mob to lay any horror to the charge of the great, there results an untold mass of infamy. Those who were able, protected themselves best by contempt both of the false and true accusations, and by brilliant and joyous display. More sensitive natures sank into utter despair when they found themselves deeply involved in guilt, and still more deeply in slander. In course of time calumny became universal, and the strictest virtue was most certain of all to challenge the attacks of malice. Of the great pulpit orator, Fra Egidio of Viterbo, whom Leo made a cardinal on account of his merits, and who showed himself a man of the people and a brave monk in the calamity of 1527, Giovio gives us to understand that he preserved his ascetic pallor by the smoke of wet straw and other means of the same kind. Giovio is a genuine Curial in these matters. He generally begins by telling his story, then adds that he does not believe it, and then hints at the end that perhaps after all there may be something in it. But the true scapegoat of Roman scorn was the pious and moral Adrian VI. A general agreement seemed to be made to take him only on the comic side. He fell out from the first with the formidable Francesco Berni, threatening to have thrown into the Tiber not, as people said, the statue of Pasquino, but the writers of the satires themselves. The vengeance for this was the famous 'Capitolo' against
Pope Adriano, inspired not exactly by hatred, but by contempt for the
comical Dutch barbarian; the more savage menaces were reserved for the
cardinals who had elected him. The plague, which then was prevalent in
Rome, was ascribed to him; Berni and others sketch the environment of
the Pope with the same sparkling untruthfulness with which the modern
_feuilletoniste _turns black into white, and everything into anything.
The biography which Paolo Giovio was commissioned to write by the
cardinal of Tortosa, and which was to have been a eulogy, is for anyone
who can read between the lines an unexampled piece of satire. It sounds
ridiculous at least for the Italians of that time--to hear how Adrian
applied to the Chapter of Saragossa for the jawbone of St. Lambert; how
the devout Spaniards decked him out till he looked 'like a right well-
dressed Pope'; how he came in a confused and tasteless procession from
Ostia to Rome, took counsel about burning or drowning Pasquino, would
suddenly break off the most important business when dinner was
announced; and lastly, at the end of an unhappy reign, how he died of
drinking too much beer--whereupon the house of his physician was hung
with garlands by midnight revellers, and adorned with the inscription,
'Liberatori Patriae S.P.Q.R.' It is true that Giovio had lost his money
in the general confiscation of public funds, and had only received a
benefice by way of compensation because he was 'no poet,' that is to
say, no pagan. But it was decreed that Adrian should be the last great
victim. After the disaster which befell Rome in 1527, slander visibly
deprecated along with the unrestrained wickedness of private life.

* * *
But while it was still flourishing was developed, chiefly in Rome the greatest railler of modern times, Pietro Aretino. A glance at his life and character will save us the trouble of noticing many less distinguished members of his class.

We know him chiefly in the last thirty years of his life, (1527-56), which he passed in Venice, the only asylum possible for him. From hence he kept all that was famous in Italy in a kind of state of siege, and here were delivered the presents of the foreign princes who needed or dreaded his pen. Charles V and Francis I both pensioned him at the same time, each hoping that Aretino would do some mischief to the other. Aretino flattered both, but naturally attached himself more closely to Charles, because he remained master in Italy. After the Emperor's victory at Tunis in 1535, this tone of adulation passed into the most ludicrous worship, in observing which it must not be forgotten that Aretino constantly cherished the hope that Charles would help him to a cardinal's hat. It is probable that he enjoyed special protection as Spanish agent, as his speech or silence could have no small effect on the smaller Italian courts and on public opinion in Italy. He affected utterly to despise the Papal court because he knew it so well; the true reason was that Rome neither could nor would pay him any longer. Venice, which sheltered him, he was wise enough to leave unassailed. The rest of his relations with the great is mere beggary and vulgar extortion.

Aretino affords the first great instance of the abuse of publicity to
such ends. The polemical writings which a hundred years earlier Poggio and his opponents interchanged, are just as infamous in their tone and purpose, but they were not composed for the press, but for a sort of private circulation. Aretino made all his profit out of a complete publicity, and in a certain sense may be considered the father of modern journalism. His letters and miscellaneous articles were printed periodically, after they had already been circulated among a tolerably extensive public.

Compared with the sharp pens of the eighteenth century, Aretino had the advantage that he was not burdened with principles, neither with liberalism nor philanthropy nor any other virtue, nor even with science; his whole baggage consisted of the well-known motto, 'Veritas odium parit.' He never, consequently, found himself in the false position of Voltaire, who was forced to disown his 'Pucelle' and conceal all his life the authorship of other works. Aretino put his name to all he wrote, and openly gloried in his notorious 'Ragionamenti.' His literary talent, his clear and sparkling style, his varied observation of men and things, would have made him a considerable writer under any circumstances, destitute as he was of the power of conceiving a genuine work of art, such as a true dramatic comedy; and to the coarsest as well as the most refined malice he added a grotesque wit so brilliant that in some cases it does not fall short of that of Rabelais.

In such circumstances, and with such objects and means, he set to work to attack or circumvent his prey. The tone in which he appealed to
Clement VII not to complain or to think of vengeance, but to forgive, at the moment when the wailings of the devastated city were ascending to the Castel Sant' Angelo, where the Pope himself was a prisoner, is the mockery of a devil or a monkey. Sometimes, when he is forced to give up all hope of presents, his fury breaks out into a savage howl, as in the 'Capitolo' to the Prince of Salerno, who after paying him for some time refused to do so any longer. On the other hand, it seems that the terrible Pierluigi Farnese, Duke of Parma, never took any notice of him at all. As this gentleman had probably renounced altogether the pleasures of a good reputation, it was not easy to cause him any annoyance; Aretino tried to do so by comparing his personal appearance to that of a constable, a miller, and a baker. Aretino is most comical of all in the expression of whining mendicancy, as in the 'Capitolo' to Francis I; but the letters and poems made up of menaces and flattery cannot, notwithstanding all that is ludicrous in them, be read without the deepest disgust. A letter like that one of his written to Michelangelo in November, 1545, is alone of its kind; along with all the admiration he expresses for the 'Last Judgement' he charges him with irreligion, indecency, and theft from the heirs of Julius II, and adds in a conciliating postscript, 'I only want to show you that if you are "divino," I am not "d'acqua."' Aretino laid great stress upon it--whether from the insanity of conceit or by way of caricaturing famous men--that he himself should be called divine, as one of his flatterers had already begun to do; and he certainly attained so much personal celebrity that his house at Arezzo passed for one of the sights of the place. There were indeed whole months during which he never ventured to cross his threshold at Venice, lest he should fall in with some incensed Florentine like the younger Strozzi. Nor did he escape the
cudgels and the daggers of his enemies, although they failed to have
the effect which Berni prophesied him in a famous sonnet. Aretino died
in his house, of apoplexy.

The differences he made in his modes of flattery are remarkable: in
dealing with non-Italians he was grossly fulsome; people like Duke
Cosimo of Florence he treated very differently. He praised the beauty
of the then youthful prince, who in fact did share this quality with
Augustus in no ordinary degree; he praised his moral conduct, with an
oblique reference to the financial pursuits of Cosimo's mother, Maria
Salviati, and concluded with a mendicant whine about the bad times and
so forth. When Cosimo pensioned him, which he did liberally,
considering his habitual parsimony--to the extent, at least, of 160
ducats a year--he had doubtless an eye to Aretino's dangerous character
as Spanish agent. Aretino could ridicule and revile Cosimo, and in the
same breath threaten the Florentine agent that he would obtain from the
Duke his immediate recall; and if the Medicean prince felt himself at
last to be seen through by Charles V he would naturally not be anxious
that Aretino's jokes and rhymes against him should circulate at the
Imperial court. A curiously qualified piece of flattery was that
addressed to the notorious Marquis of Marignano, who as Castellan of
Musso had attempted to found an independent State. Thanking him for the
gift of a hundred crowns, Aretino writes: 'All the qualities which a
prince should have are present in you, and all men would think so, were
it not that the acts of violence inevitable at the beginning of all
undertakings cause you to appear a trifle rough _(aspro)._.'
It has often been noticed as something singular that Aretino only reviled the world, and not God also. The religious belief of a man who lived as he did is a matter of perfect indifference, as are also the edifying writings which he composed for reasons of his own. It is in fact hard to say why he should have been a blasphemer. He was no professor, or theoretical thinker or writer; and he could extort no money from God by threats or flattery, and was consequently never goaded into blasphemy by a refusal. A man like him does not take trouble for nothing.

It is a good sign for the present spirit of Italy that such a character and such a career have become a thousand times impossible. But historical criticism will always find in Aretino an important study.

Part Three

The Revival of Antiquity

Introductory

Now that this point in our historical view of Italian civilization has been reached, it is time to speak of the influence of antiquity, the
'new birth' of which has been one-sidedly chosen as the name to sum up the whole period. The conditions which have been hitherto described would have sufficed, apart from antiquity, to upturn and to mature the national mind; and most of the intellectual tendencies which yet remain to be noticed would be conceivable without it. But both what has gone before and what we have still to discuss are colored in a thousand ways by the influence of the ancient world; and though the essence of the phenomena might still have been the same without the classical revival, it is only with and through this revival that they are actually manifested to us. The Renaissance would not have been the process of world-wide significance which it is, if its elements could be so easily separated from one another. We must insist upon it, as one of the chief propositions of this book, that it was not the revival of antiquity alone, but its union with the genius of the Italian people, which achieved the conquest of the western world. The amount of independence which the national spirit maintained in this union varied according to circumstances. In the modern Latin literature of the period, it is very small, while in the visual arts, as well as in other spheres, it is remarkably great; and hence the alliance between two distant epochs in the civilization of the same people, because concluded on equal terms, proved justifiable and fruitful. The rest of Europe was free either to repel or else partly or wholly to accept the mighty impulse which came forth from Italy. Where the latter was the case we may as well be spared the complaints over the early decay of mediaeval faith and civilization. Had these been strong enough to hold their ground, they would be alive to this day. If those elegiac natures which long to see them return could pass but one hour in the midst of them, they would gasp to be back in modern air. That in a great historical process of
this kind flowers of exquisite beauty may perish, without being made immortal in poetry or tradition, is undoubtedly true; nevertheless, we cannot wish the process undone. The general result of it consists in this--that by the side of the Church which had hitherto held the countries of the West together (though it was unable to do so much longer) there arose a new spiritual influence which, spreading itself abroad from Italy, became the breath of life for all the more instructed minds in Europe. The worst that can be said of the movement is, that it was antipopular, that through it Europe became for the first time sharply divided into the cultivated and uncultivated classes. The reproach will appear groundless when we reflect that even now the fact, though clearly recognized, cannot be altered. The separation, too, is by no means so cruel and absolute in Italy as elsewhere. The most artistic of her poets, Tasso, is in the hands of even the poorest.

The civilization of Greece and Rome, which, ever since the fourteenth century, obtained so powerful a hold on Italian life, as the source and basis of culture, as the object and ideal of existence, partly also as an avowed reaction against preceding tendencies--this civilization had long been exerting a partial influence on mediaeval Europe, even beyond the boundaries of Italy. The culture of which Charlemagne was a representative was, in face of the barbarism of the seventh and eighth centuries, essentially a Renaissance, and could appear under no other form. Just as in the Romanesque architecture of the North, beside the general outlines inherited from antiquity, remarkable direct imitations of the antique also occur, so too monastic scholarship had not only
gradually absorbed an immense mass of materials from Roman writers, but
the style of it, from the days of Einhard onwards, shows traces of
conscious imitation.

But the resuscitation of antiquity took a different form in Italy from
that which it assumed in the North. The wave of barbarism had scarcely
gone by before the people, in whom the former life was but half
effaced, showed a consciousness of its past and a wish to reproduce it.
Elsewhere in Europe men deliberately and with reflection borrowed this
or the other element of classical civilization; in Italy the sympathies
both of the learned and of the people were naturally engaged on the
side of antiquity as a whole, which stood to them as a symbol of past
greatness. The Latin language, too, was easy to an Italian, and the
numerous monuments and documents in which the country abounded
facilitated a return to the past. With this tendency other elements--
the popular character which time had now greatly modified, the
political institutions imported by the Lombards from Germany, chivalry
and other northern forms of civilization, and the influence of religion
and the Church--combined to produce the modern Italian spirit, which
was destined to serve as the model and ideal for the whole western
world.

How antiquity influenced the visual arts, as soon as the flood of
barbarism had subsided, is clearly shown in the Tuscan buildings of the
twelfth and in the sculptures of the thirteenth centuries. In poetry,
too, there will appear no want of similar analogies to those who hold
that the greatest Latin poet of the twelfth century, the writer who
struck the keynote of a whole class of Latin poems, was an Italian. We mean the author of the best pieces in the so-called 'Carmina Burana.' A frank enjoyment of life and its pleasures, as whose patrons the gods of heathendom are invoked, while Catos and Scipios hold the place of the saints and heroes of Christianity, flows in full current through the rhymed verses. Reading them through at a stretch, we can scarcely help coming to the conclusion that an Italian, probably a Lombard, is speaking; in fact, there are positive grounds for thinking so. To a certain degree these Latin poems of the 'Clerici vagantes' of the twelfth century, with all their remarkable frivolity, are, doubtless, a product in which the whole of Europe had a share; but the writer of the song 'De Phyllide et Flora' and the 'Aestuans Interius' can have been a northerner as little as the polished Epicurean observer to whom we owe 'Dum Diana vitrea sero lampas oritur.' Here, in truth, is a reproduction of the whole ancient view of life, which is all the more striking from the medieval form of the verse in which it is set forth. There are many works of this and the following centuries, in which a careful imitation of the antique appears both in the hexameter and pentameter of the meter and in the classical, often myth-ological, character of the subject, and which yet have not anything like the same spirit of antiquity about them. In the hexametric chronicles and other works of Guglielmus Apuliensis and his successors (from about 1100), we find frequent trace of a diligent study of Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, and Claudian; but this classical form is, after all, a mere matter of archaeology, as is the classical subject in compilers like Vincent of Beauvais, or in the mythological and allegorical writer, Alanus ab Insulis. The Renaissance, however, is not a fragmentary imitation or compilation, but a new birth; and the signs of this are
visible in the poems of the unknown ‘Clericus’ of the twelfth century.

But the great and general enthusiasm of the Italians for Classical antiquity did not display itself before the fourteenth century. For this a development of civic life was required, which took place only in Italy, and there not till then. It was needful that noble and burgher should first learn to dwell together on equal terms, and that a social world should arise which felt the want of culture, and had the leisure and the means to obtain it. But culture, as soon as it freed itself from the fantastic bonds of the Middle Ages, could not at once and without help find its way to the understanding of the physical and intellectual world. It needed a guide, and found one in the ancient civilization, with its wealth of truth and knowledge in every spiritual interest. Both the form and the substance of this civilization were adopted with admiring gratitude; it became the chief part of the culture of the age. The general condition of the country was favourable to this transformation. The medieval empire, since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, had either renounced, or was unable to make good, its claims on Italy. The Popes had migrated to Avignon. Most of the political powers actually existing owed their origin to violent and illegitimate means. The spirit of the people, now awakened to self-consciousness, sought for some new and stable ideal on which to rest. And thus the vision of the world-wide empire of Italy and Rome so possessed the popular mind that Cola di Rienzi could actually attempt to put it in practice. The conception he formed of his task, particularly when tribune for the first time, could only end in some extravagant comedy; nevertheless, the memory of ancient Rome was no
slight support to the national sentiment. Armed afresh with its
culture, the Italian soon felt himself in truth citizen of the most
advanced nation in the world.

It is now our task to sketch this spiritual movement, not indeed in all
its fullness, but in its most salient features, and especially in its
first beginnings.

The Ruins of Rome

Rome itself, the city of ruins, now became the object of a holly
different sort of piety from that of the time when the ‘Mirabilia Roma’
and the collection of William of Malmesbury ere composed. The
imaginations of the devout pilgrim, or of the seeker after marvels and
treasures, are supplanted in contemporary records by the interests of
the patriot and the historian. In this sense we must understand Dante’s
words, that the stones of the walls of Rome deserve reverence, and that
the ground on which the city is built is more worthy than men say. The
jubilees, incessant as they were, have scarcely left a single devout
record in literature properly so called. The best thing that Giovanni
Villani brought back from the jubilee of the year 1300 was the
resolution to write his history which had been awakened in him by the
sight of the ruins of Rome. Petrarch gives evidence of a taste divided
between classical and Christian antiquity. He tells us how often with
Giovanni Colonna he ascended the mighty vaults of the Baths of
Diocletian, and there in the transparent air, amidst the wide silence
with the broad panorama stretching far around them, they spoke, not of
business or political affairs, but of the history which the ruins
beneath their feet suggested, Petrarch appearing in these dialogues as
the partisan of classical, Giovanni of Christian antiquity; then they
would discourse of philosophy and of the inventors of the arts. How
often since that time, down to the days of Gibbon and Niebuhr, have the
same ruins stirred men's minds to the same reflections!

This double current of feeling is also recognizable in the 'Dittamondo'
of Fazio degli Uberti, composed about the year 1360—a description of
visionary travels, in which the author is accompanied by the old
geographer Solinus, as Dante was by Virgil. They visit Bari in memory
of St. Nicholas, and Monte Gargano of the archangel Michael, and in
Rome the legends of Aracoeli and of Santa Maria in Trastevere are
mentioned. Still, the pagan splendor of ancient Rome unmistakably
exercises a greater charm upon them. A venerable matron in torn
garments—Rome herself is meant—tells them of the glorious past, and
gives them a minute description of the old triumphs; she then leads the
strangers through the city, and points out to them the seven hills and
many of the chief ruins—'che comprender potrai, quanto fui bella.'

Unfortunately this Rome of the schismatic and Avignonese popes was no
longer, in respect of classical remains, what it had been some
generations earlier. The destruction of 140 fortified houses of the
Roman nobles by the senator Brancaleone in 1257 must have wholly
altered the character of the most important buildings then standing:
for the nobles had no doubt ensconced themselves in the loftiest and
best-preserved of the ruins. Nevertheless, far more was left than we now find, and probably many of the remains had still their marble incrustation, their pillared entrances, and their other ornaments, where we now see nothing but the skeleton of brickwork. In this state of things, the first beginnings of a topographical study of the old city were made.

In Poggio's walks through Rome the study of the remains themselves is for the first time more intimately combined with that of the ancient authors and inscriptions--the latter he sought out from among all the vegetation in which they were imbedded--the writer's imagination is severely restrained, and the memories of Christian Rome carefully excluded. The only pity is that Poggio's work was not fuller and was not illustrated with sketches. Far more was left in his time than was found by Raphael eighty years later. He saw the tomb of Caecilia Metella and the columns in front of one of the temples on the slope of the Capitol, first in full preservation, and then afterwards half destroyed, owing to that unfortunate quality which marble possesses of being easily burnt into lime. A vast colonnade near the Minerva fell piecemeal a victim to the same fate. A witness in the year 1443 tells us that this manufacture of lime still went on: 'which is a shame, for the new buildings are pitiful, and the beauty of Rome is in its ruins.' The inhabitants of that day, in their peasant's cloaks and boots, looked to foreigners like cowherds; and in fact the cattle were pastured in the city up to the Banchi. The only social gatherings were the services at church, on which occasion it was possible also to get a sight of the beautiful women.
In the last years of Eugenius IV (d. 1447) Biondus of Forli wrote his 'Roma Instaurata,' making use of Frontinus and of the old 'Libri Regionali,' as well as, it seems, of Anastasius. His object is not only the description of what existed, but still more the recovery of what was lost. In accordance with the dedication to the Pope, he consoles himself for the general ruin by the thought of the precious relics of the saints in which Rome was so rich.

With Nicholas V (1447-1455) that new monumental spirit which was distinctive of the age of the Renaissance appeared on the papal throne. The new passion for embellishing the city brought with it on the one hand a fresh danger for the ruins, on the other a respect for them, as forming one of Rome's claims to distinction. Pius II was wholly possessed by antiquarian enthusiasm, and if he speaks little of the antiquities of Rome, he closely studied those of all other parts of Italy, and was the first to know and describe accurately the remains which abounded in the districts for miles around the capital. It is true that, both as priest and cosmographer, he was interested alike in classical and Christian monuments and in the marvels of nature. Or was he doing violence to himself when he wrote that Nola was more highly honoured by the memory of St. Paulinus than by all its classical reminiscences and by the heroic struggle of Marcellus? Not, indeed, that his faith in relics was assumed; but his mind was evidently rather disposed to an inquiring interest in nature and antiquity, to a zeal for monumental works, to a keen and delicate observation of human life. In the last years of his Papacy, afflicted with the gout and yet in the
most cheerful mood, he was borne in his litter over hill and dale to
Tusculum, Alba, Tibur, Ostia, Falerii, and Otriculum, and whatever he
saw he noted down. He followed the Roman roads and aqueducts, and tried
to fix the boundaries of the old tribes which had dwelt round the city.
On an excursion to Tivoli with the great Federigo of Urbino the time
was happily spent in talk on the military system of the ancients, and
particularly on the Trojan war. Even on his journey to the Congress of
Mantua (1459) he searched, though unsuccessfully, for the labyrinth of
Clusium mentioned by Pliny, and visited the so-called villa of Virgil
on the Mincio. That such a Pope should demand a classical Latin style
from his abbreviators, is no more than might be expected. It was he
who, in the war with Naples, granted an amnesty to the men of Arpinum,
as countrymen of Cicero and Marius, after whom many of them were named.
It was to him alone, as both judge and patron, that Blondus could
dedicate his 'Roma Triumphans,' the first great attempt at a complete
exposition of Roman antiquity.

Nor was the enthusiasm for the classical past of Italy confined at this
period to the capital. Boccaccio had already called the vast ruins of
Baia 'old walls, yet new for modern spirits'; and since his time they
were held to be the most interesting sight near Naples. Collections of
antiquities of all sorts now became common. Ciriaco of Ancona (d. 1457)
travelled not only through Italy, but through other countries of the
old Orbis terrarum, and brought back countless inscriptions and
sketches. When asked why he took all this trouble, he replied, 'To wake
the dead.' The histories of the various cities of Italy had from the
earliest times laid claim to some true or imagined connection with
Rome, had alleged some settlement or colonization which started from the capital; and the obliging manufacturers of pedigrees seem constantly to have derived various families from the oldest and most famous blood of Rome. So highly was the distinction valued, that men clung to it even in the light of the dawning criticism of the fifteenth century. When Pius II was at Viterbo he said frankly to the Roman deputies who begged him to return, 'Rome is as much my home as Siena, for my House, the Piccolomini, came in early times from the capital to Siena, as is proved by the constant use of the names 'neas and Sylvius in my family.' He would probably have had no objection to be held a descendant of the Julii. Paul II, a Barbo of Venice, found his vanity flattered by deducing his House, notwithstanding an adverse pedigree, according to which it came from Germany, from the Roman Ahenobarbus, who had led a colony to Parma, and whose successors had been driven by party conflicts to migrate to Venice. That the Massimi claimed descent from Q. Fabius Maximus, and the Cornaro from the Cornelii, cannot surprise us. On the other hand, it is a strikingly exceptional fact for the sixteenth century that the novelist Bandello tried to connect his blood with a noble family of Ostrogoths.

To return to Rome. The inhabitants, 'who then called themselves Romans,' accepted greedily the homage which was offered them by the rest of Italy. Under Paul II, Sixtus IV and Alexander VI, magnificent processions formed part of the Carnival, representing the scene most attractive to the imagination of the time- -the triumph of the Roman Imperator. The sentiment of the people expressed itself naturally in this shape and others like it. In this mood of public feeling, a report
arose on April 18, 1485, that the corpse of a young Roman lady of the classical period—wonderfully beautiful and in perfect preservation—had been discovered. Some Lombard masons digging out an ancient tomb on an estate of the convent of Santa Maria Nuova, on the Appian Way, beyond the tomb of Caecilia Metella, were said to have found a marble sarcophagus with the inscription: 'Julia, daughter of Claudius.' On this basis the following story was built. The Lombards disappeared with the jewels and treasure which were found with the corpse in the sarcophagus. The body had been coated with an antiseptic essence, and was as fresh and flexible as that of a girl of fifteen the hour after death. It was said that she still kept the colors of life, with eyes and mouth half open. She was taken to the palace of the 'Conservatori' on the Capitol; and then a pilgrimage to see her began. Among the crowd were many who came to paint her; 'for she was more beautiful than can be said or written, and, were it said or written, it would not be believed by those who had not seen her.' By order of Innocent VIII she was secretly buried one night outside the Pincian Gate; the empty sarcophagus remained in the court of the 'Conservatori.' Probably a colored mask of wax or some other material was modelled in the classical style on the face of the corpse, with which the gilded hair of which we read would harmonize admirably. The touching point in the story is not the fact itself, but the firm belief that an ancient body, which was now thought to be at last really before men's eyes, must of necessity be far more beautiful than anything of modern date.

Meanwhile the material knowledge of old Rome was increased by excavations. Under Alexander VI the so-called 'Grotesques,' that is,
the mural decorations of the ancients, were discovered, and the Apollo of the Belvedere was found at Porto d'Anzio. Under Julius II followed the memorable discoveries of the Laocoon, of the Venus of the Vatican, of the Torso of the Cleopatra. The palaces of the nobles and the cardinals began to be filled with ancient statues and fragments.

Raphael undertook for Leo X that ideal restoration of the whole ancient city which his (or Castiglione's) celebrated letter (1518 or 1519) speaks of. After a bitter complaint over the devastations which had not even then ceased, and which had been particularly frequent under Julius II, he beseeches the Pope to protect the few relics which were left to testify to the power and greatness of that divine soul of antiquity whose memory was inspiration to all who were capable of higher things. He then goes on with penetrating judgement to lay the foundations of a comparative history of art, and concludes by giving the definition of an architectural survey which has been accepted since his time; he requires the ground plan, section and elevation separately of every building that remained. How archaeology devoted itself after his day to the study of the venerated city and grew into a special science, and how the Vitruvian Academy at all events proposed to itself great him, cannot here be related. Let us rather pause at the days of Leo X, under whom the enjoyment of antiquity combined with all other pleasures to give to Roman life a unique stamp and consecration. The Vatican resounded with song and music, and their echoes were heard through the city as a call to joy and gladness, though Leo did not succeed thereby in banishing care and pain from his own life, and his deliberate calculation to prolong his days by cheerfulness was frustrated by an early death. The Rome of Leo, as described by Paolo Giovio, forms a picture too splendid to turn away from, unmistakable as are also its
darker aspects--the slavery of those who were struggling to rise; the
secret misery of the prelates, who, notwithstanding heavy debts, were
forced to live in a style befitting their rank; the system of literary
patronage, which drove men to be parasites or adventurers; and, lastly,
the scandalous maladministration of the finances of the State. Yet the
same Ariosto who knew and ridiculed all this so well, gives in the
sixth satire a longing picture of his expected intercourse with the
accomplished poets who would conduct him through the city of ruins, of
the learned counsel which he would there find for his own literary
efforts, and of the treasures of the Vatican library. These, he says,
and not the long-abandoned hope of Medicean protection, were the baits
which really attracted him, if he were again asked to go as Ferrarese
ambassador to Rome.

But the ruins within and outside Rome awakened not only archaeological
zeal and patriotic enthusiasm, but an elegiac of sentimental
melancholy. In Petrarch and Boccaccio we find touches of this feeling.
Poggio Bracciolini often visited the temple of Venus and Roma, in the
belief that it was that of Castor and Pollux, where the senate used so
often to meet, and would lose himself in memories of the great orators
Crassus, Hortensius, Cicero. The language of Pius II, especially in
describing Tivoli, has a thoroughly sentimental ring, and soon
afterwards (1467) appeared the first pictures of ruins, with a
commentary by Polifilo. Ruins of mighty arches and colonnades, half hid
in plane-trees, laurels, cypresses and brushwood, figure in his pages.
In the sacred legends it became the custom, we can hardly say how, to
lay the scene of the birth of Christ in the ruins of a magnificent
palace. That artificial ruins became afterwards a necessity of landscape gardening is only a practical consequence of this feeling.

The Classics

But the literary bequests of antiquity, Greek as well as Latin, were of far more importance than the architectural, and indeed than all the artistic remains which it had left. They were held in the most absolute sense to be the springs of all knowledge. The literary conditions of that age of great discoveries have often been set forth; no more can here be attempted than to point out a few less-known features of the picture.

Great as was the influence of the old writers on the Italian mind in the fourteenth century and before, yet that influence was due rather to the wide diffusion of what bad long been known than to the discovery of much that was new. The most popular latin poets, historians, orators and letter-writers, to- gether with a number of Latin translations of single works of Aristotle, Plutarch, and a few other Greek authors, constituted the treasure from which a few favored individuals in the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio drew their inspiration. The former, as is well known, owned and kept with religious care a Greek Homer, which he was unable to read. A complete Latin translation of the Iliad and Odyssey, though a very bad one, vas made at Petrarch's suggestion, and with Boccaccio's help, by a Calabrian Greek, Leonzio Pilato. But with the fifteenth century began the long list of new discoveries, the
systematic creation of libraries by means of copies, and the rapid multiplication of translations from the Greek.

Had it not been for the enthusiasm of a few collectors of that age, who shrank from no effort or privation in their researches, we should certainly possess only a small part of the literature, especially that of the Greeks, which is now in our hands. Pope Nicholas V, when only a simple monk, ran deeply into debt through buying manuscripts or having them copied. Even then he made no secret of his passion for the two great interests of the Renaissance, books and buildings. As Pope he kept his word. Copyists wrote and spies searched for him through half the world. Perotto received 500 ducats for the Latin translation of Polybius; Guarino, 1,000 gold florins for that of Strabo, and he would have been paid 500 more but for the death of the Pope. Filelfo was to have received 10,000 gold florins for a metrical translation of Homer, and was only prevented by the Pope's death from coming from Milan to Rome. Nicholas left a collection of 5,000 or, according to another way of calculating, of 6,000 volumes, for the use of the members of the Curia, which became the foundation of the library of the Vatican. It was to be preserved in the palace itself, as its noblest ornament, the library of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria. When the plague (1450) drove him and his court to Fabriano, whence then, as now, the best paper was procured, he took his translators and compilers with him, that he might run no risk of losing them.

The Florentine Niccolo Niccoli, a member of that accomplished circle of friends which surrounded the elder Cosimo de' Medici, spent his whole
fortune in buying books. At last, when his money was all gone, the
Medici put their purse at his disposal for any sum which his purpose
might require. We owe to him the later books of Ammianus Marcellinus,
the 'De Oratore' of Cicero, and other works; he persuaded Cosimo to buy
the best manuscript of Pliny from a monastery at Lubeck. With noble
certainty he lent his books to those who asked for them, allowed all
comers to study them in his own house, and was ready to converse with
the students on what they had read. His collection of 800 volumes,
valued at 6,000 gold florins, passed after his death, through Cosimo's
intervention, to the monastery of San Marco, on the condition that it
should be accessible to the public.

Of the two great book-finders, Guarino and Poggio, the latter, on the
occasion of the Council of Constance and acting partly as the agent of
Niccoli, searched industriously among the abbeys of South Germany. He
there discovered six orations of Cicero, and the first complete
Quintilian, that of St. Gallen, now at Zurich; in thirty-two days he is
said to have copied the whole of it in a beautiful handwriting. He was
able to make important additions to Silius Italicus, Manilius,
Lucretius, Valerius Flaccus, Asconius Pedianus, Columella, Celsus,
Aulus Gellius, Statius, and others; and with the help of Leonardo
Aretino he unearthed the last twelve comedies of Plautus, as well as
the Verrine orations.

The famous Greek, Cardinal Bessarion, in whom patriotism was mingled
with a zeal for letters, collected, at a great sacrifice, 600
manuscripts of pagan and Christian authors. He then looked round for
some receptacle where they could safely lie until his unhappy country, if she ever regained her freedom, could reclaim her lost literature. The Venetian government declared itself ready to erect a suitable building, and to this day the Biblioteca Marciana retains a part of these treasures.

The formation of the celebrated Medicean library has a history of its own, into which we cannot here enter. The chief collector for Lorenzo il Magnifico was Johannes Lascaris. It is well known that the collection, after the plundering in the year 1494, had to be recovered piecemeal by the Cardinal Giovanni Medici, afterwards Leo X.

The library of Urbino, now in the Vatican, was wholly the work of the great Federigo of Montefeltro. As a boy he had begun to collect; in after years he kept thirty or forty 'scrittori' employed in various places, and spent in the course of time no less than 30,000 ducats on the collection. It was systematically extended and completed, chiefly by the help of Vespasiano, and his account of it forms an ideal picture of a library of the Renaissance. At Urbino there were catalogues of the libraries of the Vatican, of St. Mark at Florence, of the Visconti at Pavia, and even of the library at Oxford. It was noted with pride that in richness and completeness none could rival Urbino. Theology and the Middle Ages were perhaps most fully represented. There was a complete Thomas Aquinas, a complete Albertus Magnus, a complete Bonaventura. The collection, however, was a many-sided one, and included every work on medicine which was then to be had. Among the 'moderns' the great writers of the fourteenth century--Dante and Boccaccio, with their
complete works--occupied the first place. Then followed twenty-five
select humanists, invariably with both their Latin and Italian writings
and with all their translations. Among the Greek manuscripts the
Fathers of the Church far outnumbered the rest; yet in the list of the
classics we find all the works of Sophocles, all of Pindar, and all of
Menander. The last codex must have quickly disappeared from Urbino,
else the philologists would have soon edited it.

We have, further, a good deal of information as to the way in which
manuscripts and libraries were multiplied. The purchase of an ancient
manuscript, which contained a rare, or the only complete, or the only
existing text of an old writer, was naturally a lucky accident of which
we need take no further account. Among the professional copyists those
who understood Greek took the highest place, and it was they especially
who bore the honorable name of 'scrittori.' Their number was always
limited, and the pay they received very large. The rest, simply called
'copisti,' were partly mere clerks who made their living by such work,
partly schoolmasters and needy men of learning, who desired an addition
to their income. The copyists at Rome in the time of Nicholas V were
mostly Germans or Frenchmen--'barbarians' as the Italian humanists
called them, probably men who were in search of favours at the papal
court, and who kept themselves alive meanwhile by this means. When
Cosimo de' Medici was in a hurry to form a library for his favorite
foundation, the Badia below Fiesole, he sent for Vespasiano, and
received from him the advice to give up all thoughts of purchasing
books, since those which were worth getting could not be had easily,
but rather to make use of the copyists; whereupon Cosimo bargained to
pay him so much a day, and Vespasiano, with forty-five writers under
him, delivered 200 volumes in twenty-two months. The catalogue of the
works to be copied was sent to Cosimo by Nicholas V, who wrote it with
his own hand. Ecclesiastical literature and the books needed for the
choral services naturally held the chief place in the list.

The handwriting was that beautiful modern Italian which was already in
use in the preceding century, and which makes the sight of one of the
books of that time a pleasure. Pope Nicholas V, Poggio, Gianozzo
Manetti, Niccolo Niccoli, and other distinguished scholars, themselves
wrote a beautiful hand, and desired and tolerated none other. The
decorative adjuncts, even when miniatures formed no part of them, were
full of taste, as may be seen especially in the Laurentian manuscripts,
with the light and graceful scrolls which begin and end the lines. The
material used to write on, when the work was ordered by great or
wealthy people, was always parchment; the binding, both in the Vatican
and at Urbino, was a uniform crimson velvet with silver clasps. Where
there was so much care to show honour to the contents of a book by the
beauty of its outward form, it is intelligible that the sudden
appearance of printed books was greeted at first with anything but
favour. Federigo of Urbino 'would have been ashamed to own a printed
book.'

But the weary copyists--not those who lived by the trade, but the many
who were forced to copy a book in order to have it--rejoiced at the
German invention. It was soon applied in Italy to the multiplication
first of the Latin and then of the Greek authors, and for a long period
nowhere but in Italy, yet it spread with by no means the rapidity which
might have been expected from the general enthusiasm for these works.

After a while the modern relation between author and publisher began to
develop itself, and under Alexander VI, when it was no longer easy to
destroy a book, as Cosimo could make Filelfo promise to do, the
prohibitive censorship made its appearance.

The growth of textual criticism which accompanied the advancing study
of languages and antiquity belongs as little to the subject of this
book as the history of scholarship in general. We are here occupied,
not with the learning of the Italians in itself, but with the
reproduction of antiquity in literature and life. One word more on the
studies themselves may still be permissible.

Greek scholarship was chiefly confined to Florence and to the fifteenth
and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The impulse which had
proceeded from Petrarch and Boccaccio, superficial as was their own
acquaintance with Greek, was powerful, but did not tell immediately on
their contemporaries, except a few; on the other hand, the study of
Greek literature died out about the year 1520 with the last of the
colony of learned Greek exiles, and it was a singular piece of fortune
that northerners like Erasmus, the Stephani, and Budaeus had meanwhile
made themselves masters of the language. That colony had begun with
Manuel Chrysoloras and his relation John, and with George of Trebizond.
Then followed, about and after the time of the conquest of
Constantinople, John Argyropulos, Theodore Gaza, Demetrios
Chalcondylas, who brought up his sons Theophilos and Basilios to be
excellent Hellenists, Andronikos Kallistos, Marcos Musuros and the family of Lascaris, not to mention others. But after the subjection of Greece by the Turks was completed, the succession of scholars was maintained only by the sons of the fugitives and perhaps here and there by some Candian or Cyprian refugee. That the decay of Hellenistic studies began about the time of the death of Leo X was due partly to a general change of intellectual attitude, and to a certain satiety of classical influences which now made itself felt; but its coincidence with the death of the Greek fugitives was not wholly a matter of accident. The study of Greek among the Italians appears, if we take the year 1500 as our standard, to have been pursued with extraordinary zeal. Many of those who then learned the language could still speak it half a century later, in their old age, like the Popes Paul III and Paul IV. But this sort of mastery of the study presupposes intercourse with native Greeks.

Besides Florence, Rome and Padua nearly always maintained paid teachers of Greek, and Verona, Ferrara, Venice, Perugia, Pavia and other cities occasional teachers. Hellenistic studies owed a priceless debt to the press of Aldo Manuzio at Venice, where the most important and voluminous writers were for the first time printed in the original. Aldo ventured his all in the enterprise; he was an editor and publisher whose like the world has rarely seen.

Along with this classical revival, Oriental studies now assumed considerable proportions. The controversial writings of the great Florentine statesman and scholar, Giannozzo Manetti (d. 1459) against
the Jews afford an early instance of a complete mastery of their
language and science. His son Agnolo was from his childhood instructed
in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The father, at the bidding of Nicholas V,
translated the whole Bible afresh, as the philologists of the time
insisted on giving up the 'Vulgata.'

Many other humanists devoted themselves before Reuchlin to the study of
Hebrew, among them Pico della Mirandola, who was not satisfied with a
knowledge of the Hebrew grammar and ScriptureS, but penetrated into the
Jewish Cabbalah and even made himself as familiar with the literature
of the Talmud as any Rabbi.

Among the Oriental languages, Arabic was studied as well as Hebrew. The
science of medicine, no longer satisfied with the older Latin
translations of the great Arab physicians, had constant recourse to the
originals, to which an easy access was offered by the Venetian
consulates in the East, where Italian doctors were regularly kept.
Hieronimo Ramusio, a Venetian physician, translated a great part of
Avicenna from the Arabic and died at Damascus in 1486. Andrea Mongaio
of Belluno lived long at Damascus for the purpose of studying Avicenna,
learnt Arabic, and emended the author's text. The Venetian government
afterwards appointed him professor of this subject at Padua.

We must here linger for a moment over Pico della Mirandola, before
passing on to the general effects of humanism. He was the only man who
loudly and vigorously defended the truth and science of all ages
against the one-sided worship of classical antiquity. He knew how to value not only Averroes and the Jewish investigators, but also the scholastic writers of the Middle Ages, according to the matter of their writings. In one of his writings he makes them say, 'We shall live for ever, not in the schools of word-catchers, but in the circle of the wise, where they talk not of the mother of Andromache or of the sons of Niobe, but of the deeper causes of things human and divine; he who looks closely will see that even the barbarians had intelligence _mercurium_, not on the tongue but in the breast.' Himself writing a vigorous and not inelegant Latin, and a master of clear exposition, he despised the purism of pedants and the current over-estimate of borrowed forms, especially when joined, as they often are, with one-sidedness, and involving indifference to the wider truth of the things themselves. Looking at Pico, we can guess at the lofty flight which Italian philosophy would have taken had not the counter-reformation annihilated the higher spiritual life of the people.

The Humanists

Who now were those who acted as mediators between their own age and a venerated antiquity, and made the latter a chief element in the culture of the former?

They were a crowd of the most miscellaneous sort, wearing one face today and another tomorrow; but they clearly felt themselves, and it was fully recognized by their time that they formed, a wholly new
element in society. The 'clerici vagantes' of the twelfth century may perhaps be taken as their forerunners—the same unstable existence, the same free and more than free views of life, and the germs at all events of the same pagan tendencies in their poetry. But now, as competitor with the whole culture of the Middle Ages, which was essentially clerical and was fostered by the Church, there appeared a new civilization, founding itself on that which lay on the other side of the Middle Ages. Its active representatives became influential because they knew what the ancients knew, because they tried to write as the ancients wrote, because they began to think, and soon to feel, as the ancients thought and felt. The tradition to which they devoted themselves passed at a thousand points into genuine reproduction.

Some modern writers deplore the fact that the germs of a far more independent and essentially national culture, such as appeared in Florence about the year 1300, were afterwards so completely swamped by the humanists. There was then, we are told, nobody in Florence who could not read; even the donkeymen sang the verses of Dante; the best Italian manuscripts which we possess belonged originally to Florentine artisans; the publication of a popular encyclopedia, like the 'Tesoro' of Brunetto Latini, was then possible; and all this was founded on d strength and soundness of character due to the universal participation in public affairs, to commerce and travel, and to the systematic reprobation of idleness. The Florentines, it is urged, were at that time respected and influential throughout the whole world, and were called in that year, not without reason, by Pope Boniface VIII, 'the fifth element.' The rapid progress of humanism after the year 1400
paralysed native impulses. Henceforth men looked only to antiquity for the solution of every problem, and consequently allowed literature to turn into mere quotation. Nay, the very fall of civil freedom is partly ascribed to all this, since the new learning rested on obedience to authority, sacrificed municipal rights to Roman law, and thereby both sought and found the favour of the despots.

These charges will occupy us now and then at a later stage of our inquiry, when we shall attempt to reduce them to their true value, and to weigh the losses against the gains of this movement. For the present we must confine ourselves to showing how the civilization even of the vigorous fourteenth century necessarily prepared the way for the complete victory of humanism, and how precisely the greatest representatives of the national Italian spirit were themselves the men who opened wide the gate for the measureless devotion to antiquity in the fifteenth century.

To begin with Dante. If a succession of men of equal genius had presided over Italian culture, whatever elements their natures might have absorbed from the antique, they still could not fail to retain a characteristic and strongly-marked national stamp. But neither Italy nor Western Europe produced another Dante, and he was and remained the man who first thrust antiquity into the foreground of national culture.

In the ‘Divine Comedy’ he treats the ancient and the Christian worlds, not indeed as of equal authority, but as parallel to one another. Just as, at an earlier period of the Middle Ages, types and anti-types were sought in the history of the Old and New Testaments, so does Dante
constantly bring together a Christian and a pagan illustration of the same fact. It must be remembered that the Christian cycle of history and legend was familiar, while the ancient was relatively unknown, was full of promise and of interest, and must necessarily have gained the upper hand in the competition for public sympathy when there was no longer a Dante to hold the balance between the two.

Petrarch, who lives in the memory of most people nowadays chiefly as a great Italian poet, owed his fame among his contemporaries far rather to the fact that he was a kind of living representative of antiquity, that he imitated all styles of Latin poetry, endeavored by his voluminous historical and philosophical writings not to supplant but to make known the works of the ancients, and wrote letters that, as treatises on matters of antiquarian interest, obtained a reputation which to us is unintelligible, but which was natural enough in an age without handbooks.

It was the same with Boccaccio. For two centuries, when but little was known of the 'Decameron' north of the Alps, he was famous all over Europe simply on account of his Latin compilations on mythology, geography and biography. One of these, 'De Genealogia Deorum,' contains in the fourteenth and fifteenth books a remarkable appendix, in which he discusses the position of the then youthful humanism with regard to the age. We must not be misled by his exclusive references to 'poesie,' as closer observation shows that he means thereby the whole mental activity of the poet-scholars. This it is whose enemies he so vigorously combats--the frivolous ignoramuses who have no soul for
anything but debauchery; the sophistical theologian, to whom Helicon, the Castalian fountain, and the grove of Apollo were foolishness; the greedy lawyers, to whom poetry was a superfluity, since no money was to be made by it; finally the mendicant friars, described periphrastically, but clearly enough, who made free with their charges of paganism and immorality. Then follows the defence of poetry, the praise of it, and especially of the deeper and allegorical meanings which we must always attribute to it, and of that calculated obscurity which is intended to repel the dull minds of the ignorant.

And finally, with a clear reference to his own scholarly work, the writer justifies the new relation in which his age stood to paganism. The case was wholly different, he pleads, when the Early Church had to fight its way among the heathen. Now--praised be Jesus Christ!--true religion was strengthened, paganism destroyed, and the victorious Church in possession of the hostile camp. It was now possible to touch and study paganism almost _fere_ without danger. This is the argument invariably used in later times to defend the Renaissance.

There was thus a new cause in the world and a new class of men to maintain it. It is idle to ask if this cause ought not to have stopped short in its career of victory, to have restrained itself deliberately, and conceded the first place to purely national elements of culture. No conviction was more firmly rooted in the popular mind than that antiquity was the highest title to glory which Italy possessed.
There was a symbolical ceremony peculiar to the first generation of poet-scholars which lasted on into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though losing the higher sentiment which inspired it—the coronation of the poets with the laurel wreath. The origin of this custom in the Middle Ages is obscure, and the ritual of the ceremony never became fixed. It was a public demonstration, an outward and visible expression of literary enthusiasm, and naturally its form was variable. Dante, for instance, seems to have understood it in the sense of a half-religious consecration; he desired to assume the wreath in the baptistery of San Giovanni, where, like thousands of other Florentine children, he had received baptism. He could, says his biographer, have anywhere received the crown in virtue of his fame, but desired it nowhere but in his native city, and therefore died uncrowned. From the same source we learn that the usage was till then uncommon, and was held to be inherited by the ancient Romans from the Greeks. The most recent source to which the practices could be referred is to be found in the Capitoline contests of musicians, poets, and other artists, founded by Domitian in imitation of the Greeks and celebrated every five years, which may possibly have survived for a time the fall of the Roman Empire; but as few other men would venture to crown themselves, as Dante desired to do, the question arises, to whom did this office belong? Albertino Mussato was crowned at Padua in 1310 by the bishop and the rector of the University. The University of Paris, the rector of which was then a Florentine (1341), and the municipal authorities of Rome, competed for the honour of crowning Petrarch. His self-elected examiner, King Robert of Anjou, would have liked to perform the ceremony at Naples, but Petrarch preferred to be crowned on the Capitol by the senator of Rome. This honour was long the highest object of
ambition, and so it seemed to Jacobus Pizinga, an illustrious Sicilian magistrate. Then came the Italian journey of Charles IV, whom it amused to flatter the vanity of ambitious men, and impress the ignorant multitude by means of gorgeous ceremonies. Starting from the fiction that the coronation of poets was a prerogative of the old Roman emperors, and consequently was no less his own, he crowned (May 15, 1355) the Florentine scholar, Zanobi della Strada, at Pisa, to the great disgust of Boccaccio, who declined to recognize this 'laurea Pisana' as legitimate. Indeed, it might be fairly asked with what right this stranger, half Slavonic by birth, came to sit in judgement on the merits of Italian poets. But from henceforth the emperors crowned poets wherever they went on their travels; and in the fifteenth century the popes and other princes assumed the same right, till at last no regard whatever was paid to place or circumstances. In Rome, under Sixtus IV, the academy of Pomponius L'tus gave the wreath on its own authority. The Florentines had the good taste not to crown their famous humanists till after death. Carlo Aretino and Leonardo Aretino were thus crowned; the eulogy of the first was pronounced by Matteo Palmieri, of the latter by Giannozzo Manetti, before the members of the council and the whole people, the orator standing at the head of the bier, on which the corpse lay clad in a silken robe. Carlo Aretino was further honoured by a tomb in Santa Croce, which is among the most beautiful in the whole course of the Renaissance.

Universities and Schools

The influence of antiquity on culture, of which we have now to speak,
presupposes that the new learning had gained possession of the
universities. This was so, but by no means to the extent and with the
results which might have been expected.

Few of the Italian universities show themselves in their full vigor
till the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the increase of
wealth rendered a more systematic care for education possible. At first
there were generally three sorts of professorships—one for civil law,
another for canonical law, the third for medicine; in course of time
professorships of rhetoric, of philosophy, and of astronomy were added,
the last commonly, though not always, identical with astrology. The
salaries varied greatly in different cases. Sometimes a capital sum was
paid down. With the spread of culture, competition became so active
that the different universities tried to entice away distinguished
teachers from one another, under which circumstances Bologna is said to
have sometimes devoted the half of its public income (20,000 ducats) to
the university. The appointments were as a rule made only for a certain
time, sometimes for only half a year, so that the teachers were forced
to lead a wandering life, like actors. Appointments for life were,
however, not unknown. Sometimes the promise was exacted not to teach
elsewhere what had already been taught at one place. There were also
voluntary, unpaid professors.

Of the chairs which have been mentioned, that of rhetoric was
especially sought by the humanist; yet it depended only on his
familiarity with the matter of ancient learning whether or no be could
aspire to those of law, medicine, philosophy, or astronomy. The inward
conditions of the science of the day were as variable as the outward conditions of the teacher. Certain jurists and physicians received by far the largest salaries of all, the former chiefly as consulting lawyers for the suits and claims of the State which employed them. In Padua a lawyer of the fifteenth century received a salary of 1,000 ducats, and it was proposed to appoint a celebrated physician with a yearly payment of 2,000 ducats, and the right of private practice, the same man having previously received 700 gold florins at Pisa. When the jurist Bartolommeo Socini, professor at Pisa, accepted a Venetian appointment at Padua, and was on the point of starting on his journey, he was arrested by the Florentine government and only released on payment of bail to the amount of 18,000 gold florins. The high estimation in which these branches of science were held makes it intelligible why distinguished philologists turned their attention to law and medicine, while on the other hand specialists were more and more compelled to acquire something of a wide literary culture. We shall presently have occasion to speak of the work of the humanists in other departments of practical life.

Nevertheless, the position of the philologists, as such, even where the salary was large, and did not exclude other sources of income, was on the whole uncertain and temporary, so that one and the same teacher could be connected with a great variety of institutions. It is evident that change was desired for its own sake, and something fresh expected from each newcomer, as was natural at a time when science was in the making, and consequently depended to no small degree on the personal influence of the teacher. Nor was it always the case that a lecturer on
classical authors really belonged to the university of the town where
he taught. Communication was so easy, and the supply of suitable
accommodation, in monasteries and elsewhere, was so abundant, that a
private appointment was often practicable. In the first decades of the
fifteenth century, when the University of Florence was at its greatest
brilliance, when the courtiers of Eugenius IV, and perhaps even of
Martin V thronged the lecture-room, when Carlo Aretino and Filelfo were
competing for the largest audience, there existed, not only an almost
complete university among the Augustinians of Santo Spirito, not only
an association of scholars among the Camaldolesi of the Angeli, but
individuals of mark, either singly or in common, arranged to provide
philosophical and philological teaching for themselves and others.
Linguistic and antiquarian studies in Rome had next to no connection
with the university (Sapienza), and depended almost exclusively either
on the favour of individual popes and prelates, or on the appointments
made in the Papal chancery. It was not till Leo X (1513) that the great
reorganization of the Sapienza took place, which now had eighty-eight
lecturers, among whom there were the most able men of Italy, reading
and interpreting the classes. But this new brilliancy was of short
duration. We have already spoken briefly of the Greek professorships in
Italy.

To form an accurate picture of the method of scientific instruction
then pursued, we must turn away our eyes as far as possible from our
present academic system. Personal intercourse between the teachers and
the taught, public disputations, the constant use of Latin and often of
Greek, the frequent changes of lecturers and the scarcity of books,
gave the studies of that time a color which we cannot represent to ourselves without effort.

There were Latin schools in every town of the least importance, not by any means merely as preparatory to higher education, but because, next to reading, writing, and arithmetic, the knowledge of Latin was a necessity; and after Latin came logic. It is to be noted particularly that these schools did not depend on the Church, but on the municipality; some of them, too, were merely private enterprises.

This school system, directed by a few distinguished humanists, not only attained a remarkable perfection of organization, but became an instrument of higher education in the modern sense of the phrase. With the education of the children of two princely houses in North Italy institutions were connected which may be called unique of their kind.

At the court of Giovan Francesco Gonzaga at Mantua (1407-1444) appeared the illustrious Vittorino da Feltre, one of those men who devote their whole life to an object for which their natural gifts constitute a special vocation.

He directed the education of the sons and daughters of the princely house, and one of the latter became under his care a woman of learning. When his reputation extended far and wide over Italy, and members of great and wealthy families came from long distances, even from Germany, in search of his instructions, Gonzaga was not only willing that they
should be received, but seems to have held it an honour for Mantua to be the chosen school of the aristocratic world. Here for the first time gymnastics and all noble bodily exercises were treated along with scientific instruction as indispensable to a liberal education. Besides these pupils came others, whose instruction Vittorino probably held to be his highest earthly aim, the gifted poor, whom he supported in his house and educated, 'per l’amore di Dio,' along with the highborn youths who here learned to live under the same roof with untitled genius. Gonzaga paid him a yearly salary of 300 gold florins, and contributed to the expenses caused by the poorer pupils. He knew that Vittorino never saved a penny for himself, and doubtless realized that the education of the poor was the unexpressed condition of his presence. The establishment was conducted on strictly religious lines, stricter indeed than many monasteries.

More stress was laid on pure scholarship by Guarino of Verona (1370-1460), who in the year 1429 was called to Ferrara by Niccolo d’Este to educate his son Lionello, and who, when his pupil was nearly grown up in 1436, began to teach at the university of eloquence and of the ancient languages. While still acting as tutor to Lionello, he had many other pupils from various parts of the country, and in his own house a select class of poor scholars, whom he partly or wholly supported. His evening hours till far into the night were devoted to hearing lessons or to instructive conversation. His house, too, was the home of a strict religion and morality. It signified little to him or to Vittorino that most of the humanists of their day deserved small praise in the matter of morals or religion. It is inconceivable how Guarino,
with all the daily work which fell upon him, still found time to write translations from the Greek and voluminous original works.

Not only in these two courts, but generally throughout Italy, the education of the princely families was in part and for certain years in the hands of the humanists, who thereby mounted a step higher in the aristocratic world. The writing of treatises on the education of princes, formerly the business of theologians, fell now within their province.

From the time of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Italian princes were well taken care of in this respect, and the custom was transplanted into Germany by Aeneas Sylvius, who addressed detailed exhortations to two young German princes of the House of Habsburg on the subject of their further education, in which they are both urged, as might be expected, to cultivate and nurture humanism. Perhaps Aeneas was aware that in addressing these youths he was talking in the air, and therefore took measures to put his treatise into public circulation. But the relations of the humanists to the rulers will be discussed separately. We have here first to speak of those citizens, mostly Florentines, who made antiquarian interests one of the chief objects of their lives, and who were themselves either distinguished scholars, or else distinguished _dilettanti _who maintained the scholars. They were of peculiar significance during the period of transition at the beginning of the fifteenth century, since it was in them that humanism first showed itself practically as an indispensable element in daily life. It was not till after this time that the popes and princes began seriously to
occupy themselves with it.

Niccolo Niccoli and Giannozzo Manetti have been already spoken of more than once. Niccoli is described to us by Vespasiano as a man who would tolerate nothing around him out of harmony with his own classical spirit. His handsome long-robed figure, his kindly speech, his house adorned with the noblest remains of antiquity, made a singular impression. He was scrupulously cleanly in everything, most of all at table, where ancient vases and crystal goblets stood before him on the whitest linen. The way in which he won over a pleasure-loving young Florentine to intellectual interests is too charming not to be here described. Piero de’ Pazzi, son of a distinguished merchant, and himself destined to the same calling, fair to behold, and much given to the pleasures of the world, thought about anything rather than literature. One day, as he was passing the Palazzo del Podesta, Niccolo called the young man to him, and although they had never before exchanged a word, the youth obeyed the call of one so respected. Niccolo asked him who his father was. He answered, 'Messer Andrea de' Pazzi.' When he was further asked what his pursuit was, Piero replied, as young people are wont to do, 'I enjoy myself' ('attendo a darmi buon tempo'). Niccolo said to him, 'As son of such a father, and so fair to look upon, it is a shame that thou knowest nothing of the Latin language, which would be so great an ornament to thee. If thou learnest it not, thou wilt be good for nothing, and as soon as the flower of youth is over, wilt be a man of no consequence' (virtu). When Piero heard this, he straightway perceived that it was true, and said that he would gladly take pains to learn, if only he had a teacher. Whereupon
man for Latin and Greek, named Pontano, whom Piero treated as one of
his own house, and to whom he paid 100 gold florins a year. Quitting
all the pleasures in which he had hitherto lived, he studied day and
night, and became a friend of all learned men and a nobleminded
statesman. He learned by heart the whole 'neid and many speeches of
Livy, chiefly on the way between Florence and his country house at
Trebbio. Antiquity was represented in another and higher sense by
Giannozzo Manetti (1393-1459). Precocious from his first years, he was
hardly more than a child when he had finished his apprenticeship in
commerce and became bookkeeper in a bank. But soon the life he led
seemed to him empty and perishable, and he began to yearn after
science, through which alone man can secure immortality. He then busied
himself with books as few laymen had done before him, and became, as
has been said, one of the most profound scholars of his time. When
appointed by the government as its representative magistrate and tax-
collector at Pescia and Pistoia, he fulfilled his duties in accordance
with the lofty ideal with which his religious feeling and humanistic
studies combined to inspire him. He succeeded in collecting the most
unpopular taxes which the Florentine State imposed, and declined
payment for his services. As provincial governor he refused all
presents, abhorred all bribes, checked gambling, kept the country well
supplied with corn, was indefatigable in settling lawsuits amicably,
and did wonders in calming inflamed passions by his goodness. The
Pistoiese were never able to discover to which of the two political
parties he leaned. As if to symbolize the common rights and interests
of all, he spent his leisure hours in writing the history of the city,
which was preserved, bound in a purple cover, as a sacred relic in the
town hall. When he took his leave the city presented him with a banner
bearing the municipal arms and a splendid silver helmet.

For further information as to the learned citizens of Florence at this period the reader must all the more be referred to Vespasiano, who knew them all personally, because the tone and atmosphere in which he writes, and the terms and conditions on which he mixed in their society, are of even more importance than the facts which he records. Even in a translation, and still more in the brief indications to which we are here compelled to limit ourselves, this chief merit of his book is lost. Without being a great writer, he was thoroughly familiar with the subject he wrote on, and had a deep sense of its intellectual significance.

If we seek to analyze the charm which the Medici of the fifteenth century, especially Cosimo the Elder (d. 1464) and Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492) exercised over Florence and over all their contemporaries, we shall find that it lay less in their political capacity than in their leadership in the culture of the age. A man in Cosimo's position—a great merchant and party leader, who also had on his side all the thinkers, writers and investigators, a man who was the first of the Florentines by birth and the first of the Italians by culture such a man was to all intents and purposes already a prince. To Cosimo belongs the special glory of recognizing in the Platonic philosophy the fairest flower of the ancient world of thought, of inspiring his friends with the same belief, and thus of fostering within humanistic circles themselves another and a higher resuscitation of antiquity. The story is known to us minutely. It all hangs on the
calling of the learned Johannes Argyropulos, and on the personal
enthusiasm of Cosimo himself in his last years, which was such that the
great Marsilio Ficino could style himself, as far as Platonism was
concerned, the spiritual son of Cosimo. Under Pietro Medici, Ficino was
already at the head of a school; to him Pietro's son and Cosimo's
grandson, the illustrious Lorenzo, came over from the Peripatetics.
Among his most distinguished fellow-scholars were Bartolommeo Valori,
Donato Acciaiuoli, and Pierfilippo Pandolfini. The enthusiastic teacher
declares in several passages of his writings that Lorenzo had sounded
all the depths of the Platonic philosophy, and had uttered his
conviction that without Plato it would be hard to be a good Christian
or a good citizen. The famous band of scholars which surrounded Lorenzo
was united together, and distinguished from all other circles of the
kind, by this passion for a higher and idealistic philosophy. Only in
such a world could a man like Pico della Mirandola feel happy. But
perhaps the best thing of all that can be said about it is, that, with
all this worship of antiquity, Italian poetry found here a sacred
refuge, and that of all the rays of light which streamed from the
circle of which Lorenzo was the centre, none was more powerful than
this. As a statesman, let each man judge him as he pleases; a foreigner
will hesitate to pronounce what in the fate of Florence was due to
human guilt and what to circumstances, but no more unjust charge was
ever made than that in the field of culture Lorenzo was the protector
of mediocrity, that through his fault Leonardo da Vinci and the
mathematician Fra Luca Pacioli lived abroad, and that Toscanella,
Vespucci, and others remained at least unsupported. He was not, indeed,
a man of universal mind; but of all the great men who have striven to
favour and promote spiritual interests, few certainly have been so
many-sided, and in none probably was the inward need to do so equally deep.

The age in which we live is loud enough in proclaiming the worth of culture, and especially of the culture of antiquity. But the enthusiastic devotion to it, the recognition that the need of it is the first and greatest of all needs, is nowhere to be found in such a degree as among the Florentines of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries. On this point we have indirect proof which precludes all doubt. It would not have been so common to give the daughters of the house a share in the same studies, had they not been held to be the noblest of earthly pursuits, exile would not have been turned into a happy retreat, as was done by Palla Strozzi; nor would men who indulged in every conceivable excess have retained the strength and the spirit to write critical treatises on the Natural History of Pliny like Filippo Strozzi. Our business here is not to deal out either praise or blame, but to understand the spirit of the age in all its vigorous individuality.

Besides Florence, there were many cities of Italy where individuals and social circles devoted all their energies to the support of humanism and the protection of the scholars who lived among them. The correspondence of that period is full of references to personal relations of this kind. The feeling of the instructed classes set strongly and almost exclusively in this direction.
But it is now time to speak of humanism at the Italian courts. The natural alliance between the despot and the scholar, each relying solely on his personal talent, has already been touched upon; that the latter should avowedly prefer the princely courts to the free cities, was only to be expected from the higher pay which he there received. At a time when the great Alfonso of Aragon seemed likely to become master of all Italy, Aeneas Sylvius wrote to another citizen of Siena: 'I had rather that Italy attained peace under his rule than under that of the free cities, for kingly generosity rewards excellence of every kind.'

Too much stress has latterly been laid on the unworthy side of this relation, and the mercenary flattery to which it gave rise, just as formerly the eulogies of the humanists led to a too favourable judgement on their patrons. Taking all things together, it is greatly to the honour of the latter that they felt bound to place themselves at the head of the culture of their age and country, one-sided though this culture was. In some of the popes, the fearlessness of the consequences to which the new learning might lead strikes us as something truly, but unconsciously, imposing. Nicholas V was confident of the future of the Church, since thousands of learned men supported her. Pius II was far from making such splendid sacrifices for humanism as were made by Nicholas, and the poets who frequented his court were few in number; but he himself was much more the personal head of the republic of letters than his predecessor, and enjoyed his position without the least misgiving. Paul II was the first to dread and mistrust the culture of his secretaries, and his three successors, Sixtus, Innocent, and Alexander, accepted dedications and allowed themselves to be sung to the hearts' content of the poets-- there even existed a 'Borgiad,' probably in hexameter-- but were too busy elsewhere, and too occupied
in seeking other foundations for their power, to trouble themselves
much about the poet-scholars. Julius II found poets to eulogize him,
because he himself was no mean subject for poetry, but he does not seem
to have troubled himself much about them. He was followed by Leo X, 'as
Romulus by Numa'—in other words, after the warlike turmoil of the
previous pontificate, a new one was hoped for wholly given to the
muses. Enjoyment of elegant Latin prose and melodious verse was part of
the pro-gramme of Leo's life, and his patronage certainly had the
result that his Latin poets have left us a living picture of that
joyous and brilliant spirit of the Leonine days, with which the
biography of Jovius is filled, in countless epigrams, elegies, odes,
and orations. Probably in all European history there is no prince who,
in proportion to the few striking events of his life, has received such
manifold homage. The poets had access to him chiefly about noon, when
the musicians had ceased playing; but one of the best among them tells
us how they also pursued him when he walked in his garden or withdrew
to the privacy of his chamber, and if they failed to catch him there,
would try to win him with a mendicant ode or elegy, filled, as usual,
with the whole population of Olympus. For Leo, prodigal of his money,
and disliking to be surrounded by any but cheerful faces, displayed a
generosity in his gifts which was fabulously exaggerated in the hard
times that followed. His reorganization of the Sapienza has been
already spoken of. In order not to underrate Leo's influence on hu-
manism we must guard against being misled by the toy-work that was
mixed up with it, and must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the
apparent irony with which he himself sometimes treated these matters.
Our judgement must rather dwell on the countless spiritual
possibilities which are included in the word 'stimulus,' and which,
though they cannot be measured as a whole, can still, on closer study, be actually followed out in particular cases. Whatever influence in Europe the Italian humanists have had since 1520 depends in some way or other on the impulse which was given by Leo. He was the Pope who in granting permission to print the newly found Tacitus, could say that the great writers were a rule of life and a consolation in misfortune; that helping learned men and obtaining excellent books had ever been one of his highest aims; and that he now thanked heaven that he could benefit the human race by furthering the publication of this book.

The sack of Rome in the year 1527 scattered the scholars no less than the artists in every direction, and spread the fame of the great departed Maecenas to the farthest boundaries of Italy.

Among the secular princes of the fifteenth century, none displayed such enthusiasm for antiquity as Alfonso the Great of Aragon, King of Naples. It appears that his zeal was thoroughly unaffected, and that the monuments and writings of the ancient world made upon him, from the time of his arrival in Italy, an impression deep and powerful enough to reshape his life. With strange readiness he surrendered the stubborn Aragon to his brother, and devoted himself wholly to his new possessions. He had in his service, either successively or together, George of Trebizond, the younger Chrysoloras, Lorenzo Valla, Bartolommeo Fazio and Antonio Panormita, of whom the two latter were his historians; Panormita daily instructed the King and his court in Livy, even during military expeditions. These men cost him yearly 20,000 gold florins. He gave Panormita 1,000 for his work; Fazio
received for the 'Historia Alfonsi,' besides a yearly income of 500 ducats, a present of 1,500 more when it was finished, with the words, 'It is not given to pay you, for your work would not be paid for if I gave you the fairest of my cities; but in time I hope to satisfy you.'

When he took Giannozzo Manetti as his secretary on the most brilliant conditions, he said to him, 'My last crust I will share with you.' When Giannozzo first came to bring the congratulations of the Florentine government on the marriage of Prince Ferrante, the impression he made was so great, that the King sat motionless on the throne, 'like a brazen statue, and did not even brush away a fly, which had settled on his nose at the beginning of the oration.' His favorite haunt seems to have been the library of the castle at Naples, where he would sit at a window overlooking the bay, and listen to learned debates on the Trinity. For he was profoundly religious, and had the Bible, as well as Livy and Seneca, read to him, till after fourteen perusals he knew it almost by heart. Who can fully understand the feeling with which he regarded the suppositions remains of Livy at Padua? When, by dint of great entreaties, he obtained an arm-bone of the skeleton from the Venetians, and received it with solemn pomp at Naples, how strangely Christian and pagan sentiment must have been blended in his heart! During a campaign in the Abruzzi, when the distant Sulmona, the birthplace of Ovid, was pointed out to him, he saluted the spot and returned thanks to its tutelary genius. It gladdened him to make good the prophecy of the great poet as to his future fame. Once indeed, at his famous entry into the conquered city of Naples (1443) he himself chose to appear before the world in ancient style. Not far from the
A breach forty ells wide was made in the wall, and through this he drove in a gilded chariot like a Roman Triumphator. The memory of the scene is preserved by a noble triumphal arch of marble in the Castello Nuovo. His Neapolitan successors inherited as little of this passion for antiquity as of his other good qualities.

Alfonso was far surpassed in learning by Federigo of Urbino, who had but few courtiers around him, squandered nothing, and in his appropriation of antiquity, as in all other things, went to work considerately. It was for him and for Nicholas V that most of the translations from the Greek, and a number of the best commentaries and other such works, were written. He spent much on the scholars whose services he used, but spent it to good purpose. There were no traces of a poets' court at Urbino, where the Duke himself was the most learned in the whole court. Classical antiquity, indeed, only formed a part of his culture. An accomplished ruler, captain, and gentleman, he had mastered the greater part of the science of the day, and this with a view to its practical application. As a theologian, he was able to compare Scotus with Aquinas, and was familiar with the writings of the old Fathers of the Eastern and Western Churches, the former in Latin translations. In philosophy, he seems to have left Plato altogether to his contemporary Cosimo, but he knew thoroughly not only the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle but the Physics and some other works. The rest of his reading lay chiefly among the ancient historians, all of whom he possessed; these, and not the poets, 'he was always reading and having read to him.'
The Sforza, too, were all of them men of more or less learning and patrons of literature; they have been already referred to in passing.

Duke Francesco probably looked on humanistic culture as a matter of course in the education of his children, if only for political reasons. It was felt universally to be an advantage if a prince could mix with the most instructed men of his time on an equal footing. Lodovico il Moro, himself an excellent Latin scholar, showed an interest in intellectual matters which extended far beyond classical antiquity.

Even the petty rulers strove after similar distinctions, and we do them injustice by thinking that they only supported the scholars at their courts as a means of diffusing their own fame. A ruler like Borso of Ferrara, with all his vanity, seems by no means to have looked for immortality from the poets, eager as they were to propitiate him with a 'Borseid' and the like. He had far too proud a sense of his own position as a ruler for that. But intercourse with learned men, interest in antiquarian matters, and the passion for elegant Latin correspondence were necessities for the princes of that age. What bitter complaints are those of Duke Alfonso, competent as he was in practical matters, that his weakness in youth had forced him to seek recreation in manual pursuits only! or was this merely an excuse to keep the humanists at a distance? A nature like his was not intelligible even to contemporaries.

Even the most insignificant despots of Romagna found it hard to do without one or two men of letters about them. The tutor and secretary
were often one and the same person, who sometimes, indeed, acted as a kind of court factotum. We are apt to treat the small scale of these courts as a reason for dismissing them with a too ready contempt, forgetting that the highest spiritual things are not precisely matters of measurement.

Life and manners at the court of Rimini must have been a singular spectacle under the bold pagan Condottiere Sigismondo Malatesta. He had a number of scholars around him, some of whom he provided for liberally, even giving them landed estates, while others earned at least a livelihood as officers in his army. In his citadel--'arx Sismundea'--they used to hold discussions, often of a very venomous kind, in the presence of the 'rex,' as they termed him. In their Latin poems they sing his praises and celebrate his amour with the fair Isotta, in whose honour and as whose monument the famous rebuilding of San Francesco at Rimini took place 'Divae Isottae Sacrum.' When the humanists themselves came to die, they were laid in or under the sarcophagi with which the niches of the outside walls of the church were adorned, with an inscription testifying that they were laid here at the time when Sigismundus, the son of Pandulfus, ruled. It is hard for us nowadays to believe that a monster like this prince felt learning and the friendship of cultivated people to be a necessity of life; and yet the man who excommunicated him, made war upon him, and burnt him in effigy, Pope Pius II, says: 'Sigismondo knew history and had a great store of philosophy; he seemed born to all that he undertook.'
Propagators of Antiquity

We have here first to speak of those citizens, mostly Florentines, who made antiquarian interests one of the chief objects of their lives, and who were themselves either distinguished scholars, or else distinguished _dilettanti_ who maintained the scholars. They were of peculiar significance during the period of transition at the beginning of the fifteenth century, since it was in them that humanism first showed itself practically as an indispensable element in daily life. It was not till after this time that the popes and princes began seriously to occupy themselves with it.

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payment for his services. As provincial governor he refused all presents, abhorred all bribes, checked gambling, kept the country well supplied with corn, was indefatigable in settling law-suits amicably, and did wonders in calming inflamed passions by his goodness. The Pistoiese were never able to discover to which of the two political parties he leaned. As if to symbolize the common rights and interests of all, he spent his leisure hours in writing the history of the city, which was preserved, bound in a purple cover, as a sacred relic in the town hall. When he took his leave the city presented him with a banner bearing the municipal arms and a splendid silver helmet.

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If we seek to analyse the charm which the Medici of the fifteenth century, especially Cosimo the Elder (d. 1464) and Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492) exercised over Florence and over all their contemporaries, we shall find that it lay less in their political capacity than in their leadership in the culture of the age. A man in
Cosimo's position -- a great merchant and party leader, who also had on his side all the thinkers, writers and investigators, a man who was the first of the Florentines by birth and the first of the Italians by culture -- such a man was to all intents and purposes already a prince.

To Cosimo belongs the special glory of recognizing in the Platonic philosophy the fairest flower of the ancient world of thought, of inspiring his friends with the same belief, and thus of fostering within humanistic circles themselves another and a higher resuscitation of antiquity. The story is known to us minutely. It all hangs on the calling of the learned Johannes Argyropulos, and on the personal enthusiasm of Cosimo himself in his last years, which was such, that the great Marsilio Ficino could style himself, as far as Platonism was concerned, the spiritual son of Cosimo. Under Pietro Medici, Ficino was already at the head of a school; to him Pietro's son and Cosimo's grandson, the illustrious Lorenzo, came over from the Peripatetics. Among his most distinguished fellow-scholars were Bartolommeo Valori, Donato Acciaiuoli, and Pierfilippo Pandolfini. The enthusiastic teacher declares in several passages of his writings that Lorenzo had sounded all the depths of the Platonic philosophy, and had uttered his conviction that without Plato it would be hard to be a good Christian or a good citizen. The famous band of scholars which surrounded Lorenzo was united together, and distinguished from all other circles of the kind, by this passion for a higher and idealistic philosophy. Only in such a world could a man like Pico della Mirandola feel happy. But perhaps the best thing of all that can be said about it is, that, with all this worship of antiquity, Italian poetry found here a sacred refuge, and that of all the rays of light which streamed from the circle of which Lorenzo was the centre, none was more powerful than
this. As a statesman, let each man judge him as he pleases; a foreigner will hesitate to pronounce what was due to human guilt and what to circumstances in the fate of Florence, but no more unjust charge was ever made than that in the field of culture Lorenzo was the protector of mediocrity, that through his fault Leonardo da Vinci and the mathematician Fra Luca Pacioli lived abroad, and that Toscanella, Vespucci, and others at least remained unsupported. He was not, indeed, a man of universal mind; but of all the great men who have striven to favour and promote spiritual interests, few certainly have been so many-sided, and in none probably was the inward need to do so equally deep.

The age in which we live is loud enough in proclaiming the worth of culture, and especially of the culture of antiquity. But the enthusiastic devotion to it, the recognition that the need of it is the first and greatest of all needs, is nowhere to be found in such a degree as among the Florentines of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries. On this point we have indirect proof which precludes all doubt. It would not have been so common to give the daughters of the house a share in the same studies, had they not been held to be the noblest of earthly pursuits; exile would not have been turned into a happy retreat, as was done by Palla Strozzi; nor would men who indulged in every conceivable excess have retained the strength and the spirit to write critical treatises on the 'Natural History' of Pliny like Filippo Strozzi. Our business here is not to deal out either praise or blame, but to understand the spirit of the age in all its vigorous individuality.
Besides Florence, there were many cities of Italy where individuals and social circles devoted all their energies to the support of humanism and the protection of the scholars who lived among them. The correspondence of that period is full of references to personal relations of this kind. The feeling of the instructed classes set strongly and almost exclusively in this direction.

But it is now time to speak of humanism at the Italian courts. The natural alliance between the despot and the scholar, each relying solely on his personal talent, has already been touched upon; that the latter should avowedly prefer the princely courts to the free cities, was only to be expected from the higher pay which they there received. At a time when the great Alfonso of Aragon seemed likely to become master of all Italy, AEneas Sylvius wrote to another citizen of Siena: 'I had rather that Italy attained peace under his rule than under that of the free cities, for kingly generosity rewards excellence of every kind'. Too much stress has latterly been laid on the unworthy side of this relation, and the mercenary flattery to which it gave rise, just as formerly the eulogies of the humanists led to a too favourable judgement on their patrons. Taking all things together, it is greatly to the honour of the latter that they felt bound to place themselves at the head of the culture of their age and country, one-sided though this culture was. In some of the popes, the fearlessness of the consequences to which the new learning might lead strikes us as something truly, but unconsciously, imposing. Nicholas V was confident of the future of the Church, since thousands of learned men supported her. Pius II was far
from making such splendid sacrifices for humanism as were made by
Nicholas, and the poets who frequented his court were few in number;
but he himself was much more the personal head of the republic of
letters than his predecessor, and enjoyed his position without the
least misgiving. Paul II was the first to dread and mistrust the
culture of his secretaries, and his three successors, Sixtus, Innocent,
and Alexander, accepted dedications and allowed themselves to be sung
to the hearts' content of the poets -- there even existed a 'Borgiad',
probably in hexameters -- but were too busy elsewhere, and too occupied
in seeking other foundations for their power, to trouble themselves
much about the poet-scholars. Julius II found poets to eulogize him,
because he himself was no mean subject for poetry, but he does not seem
to have troubled himself much about them. He was followed by Leo X, 'as
Romulus by Numa' -- in other words after the warlike turmoil of the
first pontificate, a new one was hoped for wholly given to the muses.
The enjoyment of elegant Latin prose and melodious verse was part of
the programme of Leo's life, and his patronage certainly had the result
that his Latin poets have left us a living picture of that joyous and
brilliant spirit of the Leonine days, with which the biography of
Jovius is filled, in countless epigrams, elegies, odes, and orations.
Probably in all European history there is no prince who, in proportion
to the few striking events of his life, has received such manifold
homage. The poets had access to him chiefly about noon, when the
musicians had ceased playing; but one of the best among them tells us
how they also pursued him when he walked in his garden or withdrew to
the privacy of his chamber, and if they failed to catch him there,
would try to win him with a mendicant ode or elegy, filled, as usual,
with the whole population of Olympus. For Leo, prodigal of his money,
and disliking to be surrounded by any but cheerful faces, displayed a
generosity in his gifts which was fabulously exaggerated in the hard
times that followed. His reorganization of the Sapienza has been
already spoken of. In order not to underrate Leo's influence on
humanism we must guard against being misled by the toy-work that was
mixed up with it, and must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the
apparent irony with which he himself sometimes treated these matters.
Our judgement must rather dwell on the countless spiritual
possibilities which are included in the word 'stimulus', and which,
though they cannot be measured as a whole, can still, on closer study,
be actually followed out in particular cases. Whatever influence in
Europe the Italian humanists have had since 1520 depends in some way or
other on the impulse which was given by Leo. He was the Pope who in
granting permission to print the newly found Tacitus, could say that
the great writers were a rule of life and a consolation in misfortune;
that helping learned men and obtaining excellent books had ever been
one of his highest aims; and that he now thanked heaven that he could
benefit the human race by furthering the publication of this book.

The sack of Rome in the year 1527 scattered the scholars no less than
the artists in every direction, and spread the fame of the great
departed Maecenas to the farthest boundaries of Italy.

Among the secular princes of the fifteenth century, none displayed such
enthusiasm for antiquity as Alfonso the Great of Aragon, King of
Naples. It appears that his zeal was thoroughly unaffected, and that
the monuments and writings of the ancient world made upon him from the
time of his arrival in Italy, an impression deep and powerful enough to reshape his life. With strange readiness he surrendered the stubborn Aragon to his brother, and devoted himself wholly to his new possessions. He had in his service, either successively or together, George of Trebizond, the younger Chrysoloras, Lorenzo Valla, Bartolommeo Facio and Antonio Panormita, of whom the two latter were his historians; Panormita daily instructed the King and his court in Livy, even during military expeditions. These men cost him yearly 20,000 gold florins. He gave Panormita 1,000 for his work: Facio received for the ‘Historia Alfonsi’, besides a yearly income of 500 ducats, a present of 1,500 more when it was finished, with the words, ‘It is not given to pay you, for your work would not be paid for if I gave you the fairest of my cities; but in time I hope to satisfy you’. When he took Giannozzo Manetti as his secretary on the most brilliant conditions, he said to him, ‘My last crust I will share with you’. When Giannozzo first came to bring the congratulations of the Florentine government on the marriage of Prince Ferrante, the impression he made was so great, that the King sat motionless on the throne, ‘like a brazen statue, and did not even brush away a fly, which had settled on his nose at the beginning of the oration’. His favourite haunt seems to have been the library of the castle at Naples, where he would sit at a window overlooking the bay, and listen to learned debates on the Trinity. For he was profoundly religious, and had the Bible, as well as Livy and Seneca, read to him, till after fourteen perusals he knew it almost by heart. Who can fully understand the feeling with which he regarded the suppositional remains of Livy at Padua? When, by dint of great entreaties, he obtained an arm-bone of the skeleton from the Venetians, and received it with solemn pomp at Naples, how strangely
Christian and pagan sentiment must have been blended in his heart! During a campaign in the Abruzzi, when the distant Sulmona, the birthplace of Ovid, was pointed out to him, he saluted the spot and returned thanks to its tutelary genius. It gladdened him to make good the prophecy of the great poet as to his future fame. Once indeed, at his famous entry into the conquered city of Naples (1443) he himself chose to appear before the world in ancient style. Not far from the market a breach forty ells wide was made in the wall, and through this he drove in a gilded chariot like a Roman Triumphator. The memory of the scene is preserved by a noble triumphal arch of marble in the Castello Nuovo. His Neapolitan successors inherited as little of this passion for antiquity as of his other good qualities.

Alfonso was far surpassed in learning by Federigo of Urbino, who had but few courtiers around him, squandered nothing, and in his appropriation of antiquity, as in all other things, went to work considerately. It was for him and for Nicholas V that most of the translations from the Greek, and a number of the best commentaries and other such works, were written. He spent much on the scholars whose services he used, but spent it to good purpose. There were no traces of the official poet at Urbino, where the Duke himself was the most learned in the whole court. Classical antiquity, indeed, only formed a part of his culture. An accomplished ruler, captain, and gentleman, he had mastered the greater part of the science of the day, and this with a view to its practical application. As a theologian, he was able to compare Scotus with Aquinas, and was familiar with the writings of the old fathers of the Eastern and Western Churches, the former in Latin
translations. In philosophy, he seems to have left Plato altogether to his contemporary Cosimo, but he knew thoroughly not only the 'Ethics' and 'Politics' of Aristotle but the 'Physics' and some other works. The rest of his reading lay chiefly among the ancient historians, all of whom he possessed; these, and not the poets, 'he was always reading and having read to him'.

The Sforza, too, were all of them men of more or less learning and patrons of literature; they have been already referred to in passing. Duke Francesco probably looked on humanistic culture as a matter of course in the education of his children, if only for political reasons. It was felt universally to be an advantage if the Prince could mix with the most instructed men of his time on an equal footing. Lodovico il Moro, himself an excellent Latin scholar, showed an interest in intellectual matters which extended far beyond classical antiquity.

Even the petty despots strove after similar distinctions, and we do them injustice by thinking that they only supported the scholars at their courts as a means of diffusing their own fame. A ruler like Borso of Ferrara, with all his vanity, seems by no means to have looked for immortality from the poets, eager as they were to propitiate him with a 'Borseid' and the like. He had far too proud a sense of his own position as a ruler for that. But intercourse with learned men, interest in antiquarian matters, and the passion for elegant Latin correspondence were necessities for the princes of that age. What bitter complaints are those of Duke Alfonso, competent as he was in practical matters, that his weakness in youth had forced him to seek
recreation in manual pursuits only! or was this merely an excuse to keep the humanists at a distance? A nature like his was not intelligible even to contemporaries.

Even the most insignificant despots of Romagna found it hard to do without one or two men of letters about them. The tutor and secretary were often one and the same person, who sometimes, indeed, acted as a kind of court factotum. We are apt to treat the small scale of these courts as a reason for dismissing them with a too ready contempt, forgetting that the highest spiritual things are not precisely matters of measurement.

Life and manners at the court of Rimini must have been a singular spectacle under the bold pagan Condottiere Sigismondo Malatesta. He had a number of scholars around him, some of whom he provided for liberally, even giving them landed estates, while others earned at least a livelihood as officers in his army. In his citadel -- 'arx Sismundea' -- they used to hold discussions, often of a very venomous kind, in the presence of the 'rex', as they termed him. In their Latin poems they sing his praises and celebrate his amour with the fair Isotta, in whose honour and as whose monument the famous rebuilding of San Francesco at Rimini took place -- 'Divae Isottae Sacrum'. When the humanists themselves came to die, they were laid in or under the sarcophagi with which the niches of the outside walls of the church were adorned, with an inscription testifying that they were laid here at the time when Sigismundus, the son of Pandulfus, ruled. It is hard for us nowadays to believe that a monster like this prince felt
learning and the friendship of cultivated people to be a necessity of life; and yet the man who excommunicated him, made war upon him, and burnt him in effigy, Pope Pius II, says: 'Sigismondo knew history and had a great store of philosophy; he seemed born to all that he undertook'.

Propagators of Antiquity; Epistolography: Latin Orators

There were two purposes, however, for which the humanist was as indispensable to the republics as to princes or popes, namely, the official correspondence of the State, and the making of speeches on public and solemn occasions.

Not only was the secretary required to be a competent Latinist, but conversely, only a humanist was credited with the knowledge and ability necessary for the post of secretary. And thus the greatest men in the sphere of science during the fifteenth century mostly devoted a considerable part of their lives to serve the State in this capacity. No importance was attached to a man's home or origin. Of the four great Florentine secretaries who filled the office between 1427 and 1465, three belonged to the subject city of Arezzo, namely, Leonardo (Bruni), Carlo (Marzuppini), and Benedetto Accolti; Poggio was from Terra Nuova, also in Florentine territory. For a long period, indeed, many of the highest offices of State were on principle given to foreigners. Leonardo, Poggio, and Giannozzo Manetti were at one time or another private secretaries to the popes, and Carlo Aretino was to have been
so. Biondo of Forli, and, in spite of everything, at last even Lorenzo Valla, filled the same office. From the time of Nicholas V and Pius II onwards, the Papal chancery continued more and more to attract the ablest men, and this was still the case even under the last popes of the fifteenth century, little as they cared for letters. In Platina's 'History of the Popes,' the life of Paul II is a charming piece of vengeance taken by a humanist on the one Pope who did not know how to behave to his chancery--to that circle 'of poets and orators who bestowed on the Papal court as much glory as they received from it.' It is delightful to see the indignation of these haughty gentlemen, when some squabble about precedence happened, when, for instance, the 'Advocati consistoriales' claimed equal or superior rank to theirs. The Apostle John, to whom the 'Secreta caelestia' were revealed; the secretary of Porsenna, whom Muclius Scaevela mistook for the king; Maecenas, who was private secretary to Augustus; the archbishops, who in Germany were called chancellors, are all appealed to in turn. 'The apostolic secretaries have the most weighty business of the world in their hands. For who but they decide on matters of the Catholic faith, who else combat heresy, re-establish peace, and mediate between great monarchs; who but they write the statistical accounts of Christendom? It is they who astonish kings, princes, and nations by what comes forth from the Pope. They write commands and instructions for the legates, and receive their orders only from the Pope, on whom they wait day and night.' But the highest summit of glory was only attained by the two famous secretaries and stylists of Leo X: Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleto.
All the chanceries did not turn out equally elegant documents. A leathern official style, in the impurest of Latin, was very common. In the Milanese documents preserved by Corio there is a remarkable contrast between this sort of composition and the few letters written by members of the princely house, which must have been written, too, in moments of critical importance. They are models of pure Latinity. To maintain a faultless style under all circumstances was a rule of good breeding, and a result of habit.

The letters of Cicero, Pliny, and others, were at this time diligently studied as models. As early as the fifteenth century a great mass of manuals and models for Latin correspondence had appeared (as off-shoots of the great grammatical and lexicographic works), a mass which is astounding to us even now when we look at them in the libraries. But just as the existence of these helps tempted many to undertake a task to which they had no vocation, so were the really capable men stimulated to a more faultless excellence, till at length the letters of Politian, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century those of Pietro Bembo, appeared, and took their place as unrivalled masterpieces, not only of Latin style in general, but also of the more special art of letter-writing.

Together with these there appeared in the sixteenth century the classical style of Italian correspondence, at the head of which stands Bembo again. Its form is wholly modern, and deliberately kept free from Latin influence, and yet its spirit is thoroughly penetrated and possessed by the ideas of antiquity.
But at a time and among a people where ‘listening’ was among the chief pleasures of life, and where every imagination was filled with the memory of the Roman senate and its great speakers, the orator occupied a far more brilliant place than the letter-writer. Eloquence had shaken off the influence of the Church, in which it had found a refuge during the Middle Ages, and now became an indispensable element and ornament of all elevated lives. Many of the social hours which are now filled with music were then given to Latin or Italian oratory, with results which every reader can imagine.

The social position of the speaker was a matter of perfect indifference; what was desired was simply the most cultivated humanistic talent. At the court of Borso of Ferrara, the Duke’s physician, Girolamo da Castello, was chosen to deliver the congratulatory address on the visits of Frederick III and of Pius II. Married laymen ascended the pulpits of the churches at any scene of festivity or mourning) and even on the feastdays of the saints. It struck the non-Italian members of the Council of Basle as something strange that the Archbishop of Milan should summon Aeneas Sylvius, who was then unordained, to deliver a public discourse at the feast of Saint Ambrose; but they suffered it in spite of the murmurs of the theologians, and listened to the speaker with the greatest curiosity.

Let us glance for a moment at the most frequent and important occasions of public speaking.
It was not for nothing, in the first place, that the ambassadors from one State to another received the title of orators. Whatever else might be done in the way of secret negotiation, the envoy never failed to make a public appearance and deliver a public speech, under circumstances of the greatest possible pomp and ceremony. As a rule, however numerous the embassy might be, one individual spoke for all; but it happened to Pius II, a critic before whom all were glad to be heard, to be forced to sit and listen to a whole deputation, one after another. Learned princes who had the gift of speech were themselves fond of discoursing in Latin or Italian. The children of the House of Sforza were trained to this exercise. The boy Galeazzo Maria delivered in 1455 a fluent speech before the Great Council at Venice, and his sister Ippolita saluted Pope Pius II with a graceful address at the Congress of Mantua (1459). Pius himself through all his life did much by his oratory to prepare the way for his final elevation to the Papal chair. Great as he was both as scholar and diplomatist, he would probably never have become Pope without the fame and the charm of his eloquence. ‘For nothing was more lofty than the dignity of his oratory.’ Without doubt this was a reason why multitudes held him to be the fittest man for the office even before his election.

Princes were also commonly received on public occasions with speeches, which sometimes lasted for hours. This happened of course only when the prince was known as a lover of eloquence, or wished to pass for such, and when a competent speaker was present, whether university professor, official, ecclesiastic, physician, or court-scholar. Every other
political opportunity was seized with the same eagerness, and according
to the reputation of the speaker, the concourse of the lovers of
culture was great or small. At the yearly change of public officers,
and even at the consecration of new bishops, a humanist was sure to
come forward, and sometimes addressed his audience in hexameters or
Sapphic verses. Often a newly appointed official was himself forced to
deliver a speech more or less relevant to his department, as, for
instance, on justice; and lucky for him if he were well up in his part!
At Florence even the Condottieri, whatever their origin or education
might be, were compelled to accommodate themselves to the popular
sentiment, and on receiving the insignia of their office, were
harangued before the assembled people by the most learned secretary of
state. It seems that beneath or close to the Loggia de' Lanzi--the
porch where the government was wont to appear solemnly before the
people a tribune or platform _(rostra, ringhiera)_ was erected for such
purposes.

Anniversaries, especially those of the death of princes, were commonly
celebrated by memorial speeches. Even the funeral oration strictly so
called was generally entrusted to a humanist, who delivered it in
church, clothed in a secular dress; nor was it only princes, but
officials, or persons otherwise distinguished, to whom this honour was
paid. This was also the case with the speeches delivered at weddings or
betrothals, with the difference that they seem to have been made in the
palace, instead of in church, like that of Filelfo at the betrothal of
Anna Sforza to Alfonso of Este in the castle of Milan. It is still
possible that the ceremony may have taken place in the chapel of the
castle. Private families of distinction no doubt also employed such
wedding orators as one of the luxuries of high life. At Ferrara,
Guarino was requested on these occasions to send some one or other of
his pupils. The clergy performed only the purely religious ceremonies
at weddings and funerals.

The academical speeches, both those made at the installation of a new
teacher and at the opening of a new course of lectures were delivered
by the professor himself, and treated as occasions of great rhetorical
display. The ordinary university lectures also usually had an
oratorical character.

With regard to forensic eloquence, the quality of the audience
determined the form of speech. In case of need it was enriched with all
sorts of philosophical and antiquarian learning.

As a special class of speeches we may mention the address made in
Italian on the battlefield, either before or after the combat. Federigo
of Urbino was esteemed a classic in this style; he used to pass round
among his squadrons as they stood drawn up in order of battle,
inspiring them in turn with pride and enthusiasm. Many of the speeches
in the military historians of the fifteenth century, as for instance in
Porcellius, may be, in part at least, imaginary, but may be also in
part faithful representations of words actually spoken. The addresses
again which were delivered to the Florentine Militia, organized in 1506
chiefly through the influence of Machiavelli, and which were spoken
first at reviews, and afterwards at special annual festivals, were of
another kind. They were simply general appeals to the patriotism of the
hearers, and were addressed to the assembled troops in the church of
each quarter of the city by a citizen in armor, sword in hand.

Finally, the oratory of the pulpit began in the fifteenth century to
lose its distinctive peculiarities. Many of the clergy had entered into
the circle of classical culture, and were ambitious of success in it.
The street-preacher Bernardino da Siena, who even in his lifetime
passed for a saint and who was worshipped by the populace, was not
above taking lessons in rhetoric from the famous Guarino, although he
had only to preach in Italian. Never indeed was more expected from
preachers than at that time especially from the Lenten preachers; and
there were not a few audiences which could not only tolerate, but which
demanded a strong dose of philosophy from the pulpit. But we have here
especially to speak of the distinguished occasional preachers in Latin.
Many of their opportunities had been taken away from them, as has been
observed, by learned laymen. Speeches on particular saints' days, at
weddings and funerals, or at the installation of a bishop, and even the
introductory speech at the first mass of a clerical friend, or the
address at the festival of some religious order, were all left to
laymen. But at all events at the Papal court in the fifteenth century,
whatever the occasion might be, the preachers were generally monks.
Under Sixtus IV, Giacomo da Volterra regularly enumerates these
preachers, and criticizes them according to the rules of the art. Fedra
Inghirami, famous as an orator under Julius II, had at least received
holy orders and was canon at St. John Lateran; and besides him, elegant
Latinists were now common enough among the prelates. In this matter, as in others, the exaggerated privileges of the profane humanists appear lessened in the sixteenth century on which point we shall presently speak more fully.

What now was the subject and general character of these speeches? The national gift of eloquence was not wanting to the Italians of the Middle Ages, and a so-called 'rhetoric' belonged from the first to the seven liberal arts; but so far as the revival of the ancient methods is concerned, this merit must be ascribed, according to Filippo Villani, to the Florentine Bruno Casini, who died of the plague in 1348. With the practical purpose of fitting his countrymen to speak with ease and effect in public, he treated, after the pattern of the ancients, invention, declamation, bearing, and gesticulation, each in its proper connection. Elsewhere too we read of an oratorical training directed solely to practical application. No accomplishment was more highly esteemed than the power of elegant improvisation in Latin. The growing study of Cicero's speeches and theoretical writings, of Quintilian and of the imperial panegyrists, the appearance of new and original treatises, the general progress of antiquarian learning, and the stores of ancient matter and thought which now could and must be drawn from, all combined to shape the character of the new eloquence.

This character nevertheless differed widely according to the individual. Many speeches breathe a spirit of true eloquence, especially those which keep to the matter treated of; of this kind is the mass of what is left to us of Pius II. The miraculous effects
produced by Giannozzo Manetti point to an orator the like of whom has not been often seen. His great audiences as envoy before Nicholas V and before the Doge and Council of Venice were events not to be soon forgotten. Many orators, on the contrary, would seize the opportunity, not only to flatter the vanity of distinguished hearers, but to load their speeches with an enormous mass of antiquarian rubbish. How it was possible to endure this infliction for two and even three hours, can only be understood when we take into account the intense interest then felt in everything connected with antiquity, and the rarity and defectiveness of treatises on the subject at a time when printing was but little diffused. Such orations had at least the value which we have claimed for many of Petrarch’s letters. But some speakers went too far. Most of Filelfo’s speeches are an atrocious patchwork of classical and biblical quotations, tacked on to a string of commonplaces, among which the great people he wishes to flatter are arranged under the head of the cardinal virtues, or some such category, and it is only with the greatest trouble, in his case and in that of many others, that we can extricate the few historical notices of any value which they really contain. The speech, for instance, of a scholar and professor of Piacenza at the reception of the Duke Galeazzo Maria, in 1467, begins with Julius Caesar, then proceeds to mix up a mass of classical quotations with a number from an allegorical work by the speaker himself, and concludes with some exceedingly indiscreet advice to the ruler. Fortunately it was late at night, and the orator had to be satisfied with handing his written panegyric to the prince. Filelfo begins a speech at a betrothal with the words: ‘Aristotle, the peripatetic.’ Others start with P. Cornelius Scipio, and the like, as though neither they nor their hearers could wait a moment for a
quotation. At the end of the fifteenth century public taste suddenly improved, chiefly through Florentine influence, and the practice of quotation was restricted within due limits. Many works of reference were now in existence, in which the first comer could find as much as he wanted of what had hitherto been the admiration of princes and people.

As most of the speeches were written out beforehand in the study, the manuscripts served as a means of further publicity afterwards. The great extemporaneous speakers, on the other hand, were attended by shorthand writers. We must further remember that not all the orations which have come down to us were intended to be actually delivered. The panegyric, for example, of the elder Beroaldus on Lodovico il Moro was presented to him in manuscript. In fact, just as letters were written addressed to all conceivable persons and parts of the world as exercises, as formularies, or even to serve a controversial end, so there were speeches for imaginary occasions to be used as models for the reception of princes, bishops, and other dignitaries.

For oratory, as for the other arts, the death of Leo X (1521) and the sack of Rome (1527) mark the epoch of decadence. Giovio, but just escaped from the desolation of the eternal city, described, not impartially, but on the whole correctly, the causes of this decline:

'The plays of Plautus and Terence, once a school of Latin style for the educated Romans, are banished to make room for Italian comedies. Graceful speakers no longer find the recognition and reward which they once did. The Consistorial advocates no longer prepare anything but the
introductions to their speeches, and deliver the rest—a confused muddle—on the inspiration of the moment. Sermons and occasional speeches have sunk to the same level. If a funeral oration is wanted for a cardinal or other great personage, the executors do not apply to the best orators in the city, to whom they would have to pay a hundred pieces of gold, but they hire for a trifle the first impudent pedant whom they come across, and who only wants to be talked of, whether for good or ill. The dead, they say, is none the wiser if an ape stands in a black dress in the pulpit, and beginning with a hoarse, whimpering mumble, passes little by little into a loud howling. Even the sermons preached at great Papal ceremonies are no longer profitable, as they used to be. Monks of all orders have again got them into their hands, and preach as if they were speaking to the mob. Only a few years ago a sermon at mass before the Pope might easily lead the way to a bishopric.

The Treatise, and History in Latin

From the oratory and the epistolary writings of the humanists, we shall here pass on to their other creations, which were all, to a greater or less extent, reproductions of antiquity.

Among these must be placed the treatise, which often took the shape of a dialogue. In this case it was borrowed directly from Cicero. In order to do anything like justice to this class of literature—in order not to throw it aside at first sight as a bore two things must be taken
into consideration. The century which escaped from the influence of the Middle Ages felt the need of something to mediate between itself and antiquity in many questions of morals and philosophy; and this need was met by the writer of treatises and dialogues. Much which appears to us as mere commonplace in their writings, was for them and their contemporaries a new and hard-won view of things upon which mankind had been silent since the days of antiquity. The language too, in this form of writing, whether Italian or Latin, moved more freely and flexibly than in historical narrative, in letters, or in oratory, and thus became in itself the source of a special pleasure. Several Italian compositions of this kind still hold their place as patterns of style. Many of these works have been, or will be mentioned on account of their contents; we here refer to them as a class. From the time of Petrarch's letters and treatises down to near the end of the fifteenth century, the heaping up of learned quotations, as in the case of the orators, is the main business of most of these writers. Subsequently the whole style, especially in Italian, was purified, until, in the 'Asolani' of Bembo, and the 'Vita Sobria' of Luigi Cornaro, a classical perfection was reached. Here too the decisive fact was this, that antiquarian matter of every kind had meantime begun to be deposited in encyclopedic works (now printed), and no longer stood in the way of the essayist.

It was inevitable too that the humanistic spirit should control the writing of history. A superficial comparison of the histories of this period with the earlier chronicles, especially with works so full of life, color, and brilliancy as those of the Villani, will lead us loudly to deplore the change. How insipid and conventional appear by
their side the best of the humanists, and particularly their immediate
and most famous successors among the historians of Florence, Leonardo
Aretino and Poggio! The enjoyment of the reader is incessantly marred
by the sense that, in the classical phrases of Fazio, Sabellico,
Foglietta, Senarega, Platina in the chronicles of Mantua, Bembo in the
annals of Venice, and even of Giovio in his histories, the best local
and individual coloring and the full sincerity of interest in the truth
of events have been lost. Our mistrust is increased when we hear that
Livy, the pattern of this school of writers, was copied just where he
is least worthy of imitation--on the ground, namely, 'that he turned a
dry and walled tradition into grace and richness.' In the same place we
meet with the suspicious declaration that it is the function of the
historian-- just as if he were one with the poet--to excite, charm, or
overwhelm the reader. We ask ourselves finally, whether the contempt
for modern things, which these same humanists sometimes avowed openly,
must not necessarily have had an unfortunate influence on their
treatment of them. Unconsciously the reader finds himself looking with
more interest and confidence on the unpretending Latin and Italian
annalists, like those of Bologna and Ferrara, who remained true to the
old style, and still more grateful does he feel to the best of the
genuine chroniclers who wrote in Italian--to Marino Sanuto, Corio, and
Infessura--who were followed at the beginning of the sixteenth century
by that new and illustrious band of great national historians who wrote
in their mother tongue.

Contemporary history, no doubt, was written far better in the language
of the day than when forced into Latin. Whether Italian was also more
suitable for the narrative of events long past, or for historical
research, is a question which admits, for that period, of more answers
than one. Latin was, at that time, the ‘Lingua franca’ of instructed
people, not only in an international sense, as a means of intercourse
between Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Italians, but also in an
interprovincial sense. The Lombard, the Venetian, and the Neapolitan
modes of writing, though long modelled on the Tuscan, and bearing but
slight traces of the dialect were still not recognized by the
Florentines. This was of less consequence in local contemporary
histories, which were sure of readers at the place where they were
written, than in the narratives of the past, for which a larger public
was desired. In these the local interests of the people had to be
sacrificed to the general interests of the learned. How far would the
influence of a man like Biondo of Forli have reached if he had written
his great monuments of learning in the dialect of the Romagna? They
would have assuredly sunk into neglect, if only through the contempt of
the Florentines, while written in Latin they exercised the profoundest
influence on the whole European world of learning. And even the
Florentines in the fifteenth century wrote Latin, not only because
their minds were imbued with humanism, but in order to be more widely
read.

Finally, there exist certain Latin essays in contemporary history which
stand on a level with the best Italian works of the kind. When the
continuous narrative after the manner of Livy— that Procrustean bed of
so many writers is abandoned, the change is marvelous. The same Platina
and Giovio, whose great histories we only read because and so far as we
must, suddenly come forward as masters in the biographical style. We
have already spoken of Tristano Caracciolo, of the biographical works
of Fazio and of the Venetian topography of Sabellico, and others will
be mentioned in the sequel.

The Latin treatises on past history were naturally concerned, for the
most part, with classical antiquity. What we are most surprised to find
among these humanists are some considerable works on the history of the
Middle Ages. The first of this kind was the chronicle of Matteo
Palmieri (449-1449), beginning where Prosper Accedence ceases. On
opening the 'Decades' of Biondo of Forli, we are surprised to find a
universal history, 'ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii,' as in Gibbon,
full of original studies on the authors of each century, and occupied,
through the first 300 folio pages, with early mediaeval history down to
the death of Frederick II. And this when in Northern countries nothing
more was current than chronicles of the popes and emperors, and the
'Fasciculus temporum.' We cannot here stay to show what writings Biondo
made use of, and where he found his materials, though this justice will
some day be done to him by the historians of literature. This book
alone would entitle us to say that it was the study of antiquity which
made the study of the Middle Ages possible, by first training the mind
to habits of impartial historical criticism. To this must be added,
that the Middle Ages were now over for Italy, and that the Italian mind
could the better appreciate them, because it stood outside them. It
cannot, nevertheless, be said that it at once judged them fairly, let
alone with piety. In the arts a strong prejudice established itself
against all that those centuries had created, and the humanists date
the new era from the time of their own appearance. 'I begin,' says Boccaccio, 'to hope and believe that God has had mercy on the Italian name, since I see that His infinite goodness puts souls into the breasts of the Italians like those of the ancients souls which seek fame by other means than robbery and violence, but rather on the path of poetry, which makes men immortal.' But this narrow and unjust temper did not preclude investigation in the minds of the more gifted men, at a time, too, when elsewhere in Europe any such investigation would have been out of the question. A historical criticism of the Middle Ages was practicable, just because the rational treatment of all subjects by the humanists had trained the historical spirit. In the fifteenth century this spirit had so far penetrated the history even of the individual cities of Italy that the stupid fairy tales about the origin of Florence, Venice, and Milan vanished, while at the same time, and long after, the chronicles of the North were stuffed with this fantastic rubbish, destitute for the most part of all poetical value, and invented as late as the fourteenth century.

The close connection between local history and the sentiment of glory has already been touched on in reference to Florence. Venice would not be behindhand. Just as a great rhetorical triumph of the Florentines would cause a Venetian embassy to write home posthaste for an orator to be sent after them, so too the Venetians felt the need of a history which would bear comparison with those of Leonardo Aretino and Poggio. And it was to satisfy this feeling that, in the fifteenth century, the 'Decades' of Sabellico appeared, and in the sixteenth the 'Historia rerum Venetarum' of Pietro Bembo, both written at the express charge of
the republic, the latter a continuation of the former.

The great Florentine historians at the beginning of the sixteenth century were men of a wholly different kind from the Latinists Bembo and Giovio. They wrote Italian, not only because they could not vie with the Ciceronian elegance of the philologists, but because, like Machiavelli, they could only record in a living tongue the living results of their own immediate observations and we may add in the case of Machiavelli, of his observation of the past—and because, as in the case of Guicciardini, Varchi, and many others, what they most desired was, that their view of the course of events should have as wide and deep a practical effect as possible. Even when they only write for a few friends, like Francesco Vettori, they feel an inward need to utter their testimony on men and events, and to explain and justify their share in the latter.

And yet, with all that is characteristic in their language and style, they were powerfully affected by antiquity, and, without its influence, would be inconceivable. They were not humanists, but they had passed through the school of humanism and have in them more of the spirit of the ancient historians than most of the imitators of Livy. Like the ancients, they were citizens who wrote for citizens.

Antiquity as the Common Source

We cannot attempt to trace the influence of humanism in the special
sciences. Each has its own history, in which the Italian investigators
of this period, chiefly through their rediscovery of the results
attained by antiquity, mark a new epoch, with which the modern period
of the science in question begins with more or less distinctness. With
regard to philosophy, too, we must refer the reader to the special
historical works on the subject. The influence of the old philosophers
on Italian culture will appear at times immense, at times
inconsiderable; the former, when we consider how the doctrines of
Aristotle, chiefly drawn from the Ethics and Politics--both widely
diffused at an early period--became the common property of educated
Italians, and how the whole method of abstract thought was governed by
him; the latter, when we remember how slight was the dogmatic influence
of the old philosophies, and even of the enthusiastic Florentine
Platonists, on the spirit of the people at large. What looks like such
an influence is generally no more than a consequence of the new culture
in general, and of the special growth and development of the Italian
mind. When we come to speak of religion, we shall have more to say on
this head. But in by far the greater number of cases, we have to do,
not with the general culture of the people with the utterances of
individuals or of learned circles; and here, too, a distinction must be
drawn between the true assimilation of ancient doctrines and
fashionable make-believe. For with many, antiquity was only a fashion,
even among very learned people.

Nevertheless, all that looks like affectation to our age, need not then
have actually been so. The giving of Greek and Latin names to children,
for example, is better and more respectable than the present practice
of taking them, especially the female names, from novels. When the enthusiasm for the ancient world was greater than for the saints, it was simple and natural enough that noble families called their sons Agamemnon, Tydeus, and Achilles, and that a painter named his son Apelles and his daughter Minerva. Nor will it appear unreasonable that, instead of a family name, which people were often glad to get rid of, a well-sounding ancient name was chosen. A local name, shared by all residents in the place, and not yet transformed into a family name, was willingly given up, especially when its religious associations made it inconvenient. Filippo da San Gimignano called himself Callimachus. The man, misunderstood and insulted by his family, who made his fortune as a scholar in foreign cities, could afford, even if he were a Sanseverino, to change his name to Julius Pomponius Laetus. Even the simple translation of a name into Latin or Greek, as was almost uniformly the custom in Germany, may be excused to a generation which spoke and wrote Latin, and which needed names that could be not only declined, but used with facility in verse and prose. What was blameworthy and ridiculous was the change of half a name, baptismal or family, to give it a classical sound and a new sense. Thus Giovanni was turned into Jovianus or Janus, Pietro to Petreius or Pierius, Antonio to Aoniuss Sannazaro to Syncerus, Luca Grasso to Lucius Crassus. Ariosto, who speaks with such derision of all this, lived to see children called after his own heroes and heroines.

Nor must we judge too severely the latinization of many usages of social life, such as the titles of officials, of ceremonies, and the like, in the writers of the period. As long as people were satisfied
with a simple, fluent Latin style, as was the case with most writers
from Petrarch to Aeneas Sylvius, this practice was not so frequent and
striking; it became inevitable when a faultless, Ciceronian Latin was
demanded. Modern names and things no longer harmonized with the style,
unless they were first artificially changed. Pedants found a pleasure
in addressing municipal counsellors as 'Patres Conscripti,' nuns as
'Virgines Vestales,' and entitling every saint 'Divus' or 'Deus'; but
men of better taste, such as Paolo Giovio, only did so when and because
they could not help it. But as Giovio does it naturally, and lays no
special stress upon it, we are not offended if, in his melodious
language, the cardinals appear as 'Senatores,' their dean as 'Princeps
Senatus,' excommunication as 'Dirae,' and the carnival as 'Lupercalia.'
The example of this author alone is enough to warn us against drawing a
hasty inference from these peculiarities of style as to the writer's
whole mode of thinking.

The history of Latin composition cannot here be traced in detail. For
fully two centuries the humanists acted as if Latin were, and must
remain, the only language worthy to be written. Poggio deplores that
Dante wrote his great poem in Italian; and Dante, as is well known,
actually made the attempt in Latin, and wrote the beginning of the
'Inferno' first in hexameters. The whole future of Italian poetry hung
on his not continuing in the same style, but even Petrarch relied more
on his Latin poetry than on the Sonnets and 'Canzoni,' and Ariosto
himself was desired by some to write his poem in Latin. A stronger
coercion never existed in literature; but poetry shook it off for the
most part, and it may be said, without the risk of too great optimism,
that it was well for Italian poetry to have had both means of expressing itself. In both something great and characteristic was achieved, and in each we can see the reason why Latin or Italian was chosen. Perhaps the same may be said of prose. The position and influence of Italian culture throughout the world depended on the fact that certain subjects were treated in Latin—'urbi et orbi'—while Italian prose was written best of all by those to whom it cost an inward struggle not to write in Latin.

From the fourteenth century Cicero was recognized universally as the purest model of prose. This was by no means due solely to a dispassionate opinion in favour of his choice of language, of the structure of his sentences, and of his style of composition, but rather to the fact that the Italian spirit responded fully and instinctively to the amiability of the letter writer, to the brilliancy of the orator, and to the lucid exposition of the philosophical thinker. Even Petrarch recognized dearly the weakness of Cicero as a man and a statesman, though he respected him too much to rejoice over them. After Petrarch's time, the epistolary style was formed entirely on the pattern of Cicero; and the rest, with the exception of the narrative style, followed the same influence. Yet the true Ciceronianism, which rejected every phrase which could not be justified out of the great authority, did not appear till the end of the fifteenth century, when the grammatical writings of Lorenzo Valla had begun to tell on all Italy, and when the opinions of the Roman historians of literature had been sifted and compared. Then every shade of difference in the style of the ancients was studied with closer and doper attention till the
consoling conclusion was at last reached that in Cicero alone was the perfect model to be found, or, if all forms of literature were to be embraced, in 'that immortal and almost heavenly age of Cicero.' Men like Pietro Bembo and Pierio Valeriano now turned all their energies to this one object. Even those who had long resisted the tendency, and had formed for themselves an archaic style from the earlier authors, yielded at last, and joined in the worship of Cicero. Longolius, at Bembo's advice, determined to read nothing but Cicero for five years long, and finally took an oath to use no word which did not occur in this author. It was this temper which broke out at last in the great war among the scholars, in which Erasmus and the elder Scaliger led the battle.

For all the admirers of Cicero were by no means so one-sided as to consider him the only source of language. In the fifteenth century, Politian and Ermolao Barbaro made a conscious and deliberate effort to form a style of their own, naturally on the basis of their 'overflowing' learning, and our informant of this fact, Paolo Giovio, pursued the same end. He first attempted, not always successfully, but often with remarkable power and elegance, and at no small cost of effort, to reproduce in Latin a number of modern, particularly of aesthetic, ideas. His Latin characteristics of the great painters and sculptors of his time contain a mixture of the most intelligent and of the most blundering interpretation. Even Leo X, who placed his glory in the fact, 'ut lingua latina nostro pontificatu dicatur facta auctior,' was inclined to a liberal and not too exclusive Latinity, which, indeed, was in harmony with his pleasure-loving nature. He was
satisfied if the Latin which he had to read and to hear was lively,
elegant, and idiomatic. Then, too, Cicero offered no model for Latin
conversation, so that here other gods had to be worshipped beside him.
The want was supplied by representations of the comedies of Plautus and
Terence, frequent both in and out of Rome, which for the actors were an
incomparable exercise in Latin as the language of daily life. A few
years later, in the pontificate of Paul II, the learned Cardinal of
Teano (probably Niccolo Forteguerra of Pistoia) became famous for his
critical labors in this branch of scholarship. He set to work upon the
most defective plays of Plautus, which were destitute even of a list of
the characters, and went carefully through the whole remains of this
author, chiefly with an eye to the language. Possibly it was he who
gave the first impulse for the public representations of these plays.
Afterwards Pomponius Laetus took up the same subject, and acted as
producer when Plautus was put on the stage in the houses of great
churchmen. That these representations became less in common after 1520,
is mentioned by Giovio, as we have seen, among the causes of the
decline of eloquence.

We may mention, in conclusion, the analogy between Ciceronianism in
literature and the revival of Vitruvius by the architects in the sphere
of art. And here, too, the law holds good which prevails elsewhere in
the history of the Renaissance, that each artistic movement is preceded
by a corresponding movement in the general culture of the age. In this
case, the interval is not more than about twenty years, if we reckon
from Cardinal Adrian of Corneto (1505) to the first avowed Vitruvians.
Neo-Latin Poetry

The chief pride of the humanists is, however, their modern Latin poetry. It lies within the limits of our task to treat of it, at least in so far as it serves to characterize the humanistic movement.

How favourable public opinion was to that form of poetry, and how nearly it supplanted all others, has been already shown. We may be very sure that the most gifted and highly developed nation then existing in the world did not renounce the language such as the Italian out of mere folly and without knowing what they were doing. It must have been a weighty reason which led them to do so.

This cause was the devotion to antiquity. Like all ardent and genuine devotion it necessarily prompted men to imitation. At other times and among other nations we find many isolated attempts of the same kind. But only in Italy were the two chief conditions present which were needful for the continuance and development of neo-Latin poetry: a general interest in the subject among the instructed classes, and a partial re-awakening of the old Italian genius among the poets themselves--the wondrous echo of a far-off strain. The best of what is produced under these conditions is not imitation, but free production. If we decline to tolerate any borrowed forms in art, if we either set no value on antiquity at all, or attribute to it some magical and unapproachable virtue, or if we will pardon no slips in poets who were forced, for instance, to guess or to discover a multitude of syllabic
quantities, then we had better let this class of literature alone. Its best works were not created in order to defy criticism, but to give pleasure to the poet and to thousands of his contemporaries.

The least success of all was attained by the epic narratives drawn from the history or legends of antiquity. The essential conditions of a living epic poetry were denied, not only to the Romans who now served as models, but even to the Greeks after Homer. They could not be looked for among the Latins of the Renaissance. And yet the 'Africa' of Petrarch probably found as many and as enthusiastic readers and hearers as any epos of modern times. Purpose and origin of the poem are not without interest. The fourteenth century recognized with sound historical sense that the time of the second Punic war had been the noonday of Roman greatness; and Petrarch could not resist writing of this time. Had Silius Italicus been then discovered, Petrarch would probably have chosen another subject; but as it was, the glorification of Scipio Africanus the Elder was so much in accordance with the spirit of the fourteenth century, that another poet, Zanobi di Strada, also proposed to himself the same task, and only from respect for Petrarch withdrew the poem with which he had already made great progress. If any justification were sought for the 'Africa,' it lies in the fact that in Petrarch's time and afterwards Scipio was as much an object of public interest as if he were then alive, and that he was regarded as greater than Alexander, Pompey, and Caesar. How many modern epics treat of a subject at once so popular, so historical in its basis, and so striking to the imagination? For us, it is true, the poem is unreadable. For other themes of the same kind the reader may be referred to the
A richer and more fruitful vein was discovered in expanding and completing the Greco-Roman mythology. In this too, Italian poetry began early to take a part, beginning with the 'Teseid' of Boccaccio, which passes for his best poetical work. Under Martin V, Maffeo Vegio wrote in Latin a thirteenth book to the, Aeneid; besides which we meet with many less considerable attempts, especially in the style of Claudian--a 'Meleagris,' a 'Hesperis,' and so forth. Still more curious were the newly-invented myths, which peopled the fairest regions of Italy with a primeval race of gods, nymphs, genii, and even shepherds, the epic and bucolic styles here passing into one another. In the narrative or conversational eclogue after the time of Petrarch, pastoral life was treated in a purely conventional manner, as a vehicle of all possible feelings and fancies; and this point will be touched on again in the sequel.58 For the moment, we have only to do with the new myths. In them, more clearly than anywhere else, we see the double significance of the old gods to the men of the Renaissance. On the one hand, they replace abstract terms in poetry, and render allegorical figures superfluous; and, on the other, they serve as free and independent elements in art, as forms of beauty which can be turned to some account in any and every poem. The example was boldly set by Boccaccio, with his fanciful world of gods and shepherds who people the country round Florence in his 'Ninfale d'Ameto' and 'Ninfale Fiesolano.' Both these poems were written in Italian. But the masterpiece in this style was the 'Sarca' of Pietro Bembo, which tells how the river-god of that name wooed the nymph Garda; of the brilliant marriage feast in a cave of
Monte Baldo; of the prophecies of Manto, daughter of Tiresias; of the
birth of the child Mincius; of the founding of Mantua, and of the
future glory of Virgil, son of Mincius and of Magia, nymph of Andes.
This humanistic rococo is set forth by Bembo in verses of great beauty,
concluding with an address to Virgil, which any poet might envy him.
Such works are often slighted as mere declamation. This is a matter of
taste on which we are all free to form our own opinion.

Further, we find long epic poems in hexameters on biblical or
ecclesiastical subjects. The authors were by no means always in search
of preferment or of papal favour. With the best of them, and even with
less gifted writers, like Battista Mantovano, the author of the
'Parthenice,' there was probably an honest desire to serve religion by
their Latin verses--a desire with which their half-pagan conception of
Catholicism harmonized well enough. Gyraldus goes through a list of
these poets, among whom Vida, with his 'Christiad' and Sannazaro, with
his three books, 'De partu Virginis' hold the first place. Sannazaro
(b. 1458, d. 1530) is impressive by the steady and powerful flow of his
verse, in which Christian and pagan elements are mingled without
scruple, by the plastic vigor of his description, and by the perfection
of his workmanship. He could venture to introduce Virgil's fourth
Eclogue into his song of the shepherds at the manger without fearing a
comparison. In treating of the unseen world, he sometimes gives proofs
of a boldness worthy of Dante, as when King David in the Limbo of the
Patriarchs rises up to sing and prophesy, or when the Eternal, sitting
on the throne clad in a mantle shining with pictures of all the
elements, addresses the heavenly host. At other times he does not
hesitate to weave the whole classical mythology into his subject, yet without spoiling the harmony of the whole, since the pagan deities are only accessory figures, and play no important part in the story. To appreciate the artistic genius of that age in all its bearings, we must not refuse to notice such works as these. The merit of Sannazaro will appear the greater, when we consider that the mixture of Christian and pagan elements is apt to disturb us much more in poetry than in the visual arts. The latter can still satisfy the eye by beauty of form and color, and in general are much more independent of the significance of the subject than poetry. With them, the imagination is interested chiefly in the form, with poetry, in the matter. Honest Battista Mantovano, in his calendar of the festivals, tried another expedient. Instead of making the gods and demigods serve the purposes of sacred history, he put them, as the Fathers of the Church did, in active opposition to it. When the angel Gabriel salutes the Virgin at Nazareth, Mercury flies after him from Carmel, and listens at the door. He then announces the result of his eavesdropping to the assembled gods, and stimulates them thereby to desperate resolutions. Elsewhere, it is true, in his writings, Thetis, Ceres, Aeolus, and other pagan deities pay willing homage to the glory of the Madonna.

The fame of Sannazaro, the number of his imitators, the enthusiastic homage which was paid to him by the greatest men, all show how dear and necessary he was to his age. On the threshold of the Reformation he solved for the Church the problem, whether it were possible for a poet to be a Christian as well as a classic; and both Leo and Clement were loud in their thanks for his achievements.
And, finally, contemporary history was now treated in hexameters or
distichs, sometimes in a narrative and sometimes in a panegyrical
style, but most commonly to the honour of some prince or princely
family. We thus meet with a Sforziad, a Borseid, a Laurentiad, a
Borgiad, a Trivulziad, and the like. The object sought after was
certainly not attained; for those who became famous and are now
immortal owe it to anything rather than to this sort of poems, for
which the world has always had an ineradicable dislike, even when they
happen to be written by good poets. A wholly different effect is
produced by smaller, simpler and more unpretentious scenes from the
lives of distinguished men, such as the beautiful poem on Leo X's 'Hunt
at Palo,' or the 'Journey of Aulius II' by Adrian of Corneto. Brilliant
descriptions of hunting-parties are found in Ercole Strozzi, in the
above-mentioned Adrian, and in others; and it is a pity that the modern
reader should allow himself to be irritated or repelled by the
adulation with which they are doubtless filled. The masterly treatment
and the considerable historical value of many of these most graceful
poems guarantee to them a longer existence than many popular works of
our own day are likely to attain.

In general, these poems are good in proportion to the sparing use of
the sentimental and the general. Some of the smaller epic poems, even
of recognized masters, unintentionally produce, by the ill-timed
introduction of mythological elements, an impression that is
indescribably ludicrous. Such, for instance, is the lament of Ercole
Strozzi on Cesare Borgia. We there listen to the complaint of Roma, who
had set all her hopes on the Spanish Popes, Calixtus III and Alexander VI, and who saw her promised deliverer in Cesare. His history is related down to the catastrophe of 1503. The poet then asks the Muse what were the counsels of the gods at that moment, and Erato tells how, upon Olympus, Pallas took the part of the Spaniards, Venus of the Italians, how both then embrace the knees of Jupiter, how thereupon he kisses them, soothes them, and explains to them that he can do nothing against the fate woven by the Parc, but that the divine promises will be fulfilled by the child of the House of Este-Borgia. After relating the fabulous origin of both families, he declares that he can confer immortality on Cesare as little as he could once, in spite of all entreaties, on Memnon or Achilles; and concludes with the consoling assurance that Cesare, before his own death, will destroy many people in war. Mars then hastens to Naples to stir up war and confusion, while Pallas goes to Nepi, and there appears to the dying Cesare under the form of Alexander VI. After giving him the good advice to submit to his fate and be satisfied with the glory of his name, the papal goddess vanishes 'like a bird.'

Yet we should needlessly deprive ourselves of an enjoyment which is sometimes very great, if we threw aside everything in which classical mythology plays a more or less appropriate part. Here, as in painting and sculpture, art has often ennobled what is in itself purely conventional. The beginnings of parody are also to be found by lovers of that class of literature, e.g. in the Macaroneid-- to which the comic Feast of the Gods, by Giovanni Bellini, forms an early parallel.
Many, too, of the narrative poems in hexameters are merely exercises, or adaptations of histories in prose, which latter the reader will prefer, where he can find them. At last, everything—every quarrel and every ceremony—came to be put into verse, and this even by the German humanists of the Reformation. and yet it would be unfair to attribute this to mere want of occupation, or to an excessive facility in stringing verses together. In Italy, at all events, it was rather due to an abundant sense of style, as is further proved by the mass of contemporary reports, histories, and even pamphlets, in the 'terza rima.' Just as Niccolo da Uzzano published his scheme for a new constitution, Machiavelli his view of the history of his own time, a third, the life of Savonarola, and a fourth the siege of Piombino by Alfonso the Great, in this difficult meter, in order to produce a stronger effect, so did many others feel the need of hexameters, in order to win their special public. What was then tolerated and demanded, in this shape, is best shown by the didactic poetry of the time. Its popularity in the fifteenth century is something astounding. The most distinguished humanists were ready to celebrate in Latin hexameters the most commonplace, ridiculous, or disgusting themes, such as the making of gold, the game of chess, the management of silkworms, astrology, and venereal diseases _(morbus gallicus), _to say nothing of many long Italian poems of the same kind. Nowadays this class of poem is condemned unread, and how far, as a matter of fact, they are really worth the reading, we are unable to say. One thing is certain: epochs far above our own in the sense of beauty—the Renaissance and the Greco-Roman world—could not dispense with this form of poetry. It may be urged in reply, that it is not the lack of a sense of beauty, but
the greater seriousness and the altered method of scientific treatment which renders the poetical form inappropriate, on which point it is unnecessary to enter.

One of these didactic works has been occasionally republished--the 'Zodiac of Life,' by Marcellus Palingenius (Pier Angelo Manzoli), a secret adherent of Protestantism at Ferrara, written about 1528. With the loftiest speculations on God, virtue, and immortality, the writer connects the discussion of many questions of practical life, and is, on this account, an authority of some weight in the history of morals. On the whole, however, his fruit of contrast, nor the 'burla,' for their subject; their aim is merely to give simple and elegant expression to wise sayings and pretty stories or fables. But if anything proves the great antiquity of the collection, it is precisely this absence of satire. For with the fourteenth century comes Dante, who, in the utterance of scorn, leaves all other poets in the world far behind, and who, if only on account of his great picture of the deceivers, must be called the chief master of colossal comedy. With Petrarch begin the collections of witty sayings after the pattern of Plutarch (Apophthegmata, etc.).

is no verbal imitation, in precisely the tone and style of the verses on Lesbia's sparrow. There are short poems of this sort, the date of which even a critic would be unable to fix, in the absence of positive evidence that they are works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
On the other hand, we can find scarcely an ode in the Sapphic or Alcaic meter, which does not clearly betray its modern origin. This is shown mostly by a rhetorical verbosity, rare in antiquity before the time of Statius, and by a singular want of the lyrical concentration which is indispensable to this style of poetry. Single passages in an ode, sometimes two or three strophes together, may look like an ancient fragment; but a longer extract will seldom keep this character throughout. And where it does so, as, for instance, in the fine Ode to Venus, by Andrea Navagero, it is easy to detect a simple paraphrase of ancient masterpieces. Some of the ode-writers take the saints for their subject, and invoke them in verses tastefully modelled after the pattern of analogous odes of Horace and Catullus. This is the manner of Navagero, in the Ode to the Archangel Gabriel, and particularly of Sannazaro, who goes still further in his appropriation of pagan sentiment. He celebrates above all his patron saint, whose chapel was attached to his lovely villa on the shores of Posilippo, 'there where the waves of the sea drink up the stream from the rocks, and surge against the walls of the little sanctuary.' His delight is in the annual feast of St. Nazzaro, and the branches and garlands with which the chapel is hung on this day seem to him like sacrificial gifts. Full of sorrow, and far off in exile, at St. Nazaire, on the banks of the Loire, with the banished Federigo of Aragon, he brings wreaths of box and oak leaves to his patron saint on the same anniversary, thinking of former years, when all the youth of Posilippo used to come forth to greet him on flower-hung boats, and praying that he may return home.

Perhaps the most deceptive likeness to the classical style is borne by
a class of poems in elegiacs or hexameters, whose subject ranges from elegy, strictly so called, to epigram. As the humanists dealt most freely of all with the text of the Roman elegiac poets, so they felt themselves most at home in imitating them. The elegy of Navagero addressed to the Night, like other poems of the same age and kind, is full of points which remind us of his model; but it has the finest antique ring about it. Indeed Navagero always begins by choosing a truly poetical subject, which he then treats, not with servile imitation, but with masterly freedom, in the style of the Anthology, of Ovid, of Catullus, or of the Virgilian eclogues. He makes a sparing use of mythology, only, for instance, to introduce a sketch of country life, in a prayer to Ceres and other rural divinities. An address to his country, on his return from an embassy to Spain, though left unfinished, might have been worthy of a place beside the 'Bella Italia, amate sponde' of Vincenzo Monti, if the rest had been equal to this beginning:

'Salve cura Deum, mundi felicior ora, Formosae Veneris dulces recessus; Ut vos post tantos animi mentisque labores Aspicio lustroque libens, ut munere vestro Sollicitas toto depello e pectore curas!'

The elegiac or hexametric form was that in which all higher sentiment found expression, both the noblest patriotic enthusiasm and the most elaborate eulogies on the ruling houses, as well as the tender melancholy of a Tibullus. Francesco Maria Molza, who rivals Statius and Martial in his flattery of Clement VII and the Farnesi, gives us in his elegy to his 'comrades,' written from a sick-bed, thoughts on death as
beautiful and genuinely antique as can be found in any of the poets of antiquity, and this without borrowing anything worth speaking of from them. The spirit and range of Roman elegy were best understood and reproduced by Sannazaro, and no other writer of his time offers us so varied a choice of good poems in this style as he. We shall have occasion now and then to speak of some of these elegies in reference to the matter they treat of.

The Latin epigram finally became in those days an affair of serious importance, since a few clever lines, engraved on a monument or quoted with laughter in society, could lay the foundation of a scholar's celebrity. This tendency showed itself early in Italy. When it was known that Guido da Polenta wished to erect a monument at Dante's grave, epitaphs poured in from all directions, 'written by such as wished to show themselves, or to honour the dead poet, or to win the favour of Polenta.' On the tomb of the Archbishop Giovanni Visconti (d. 1354), in the Cathedral at Milan, we read at the foot of thirty-six hexameters: 'Master Gabrius de Zamoreis of Parma, Doctor of Laws, wrote these verses.' In course of time, chiefly under the influence of Martial, and partly of Catullus, an extensive literature of this sort was formed. It was held the greatest of all triumphs, if an epigram was mistaken for a genuine copy from some old marble, or if it was so good that all Italy learned it by heart, as happened in the case of some of Bembo's. When the Venetian government paid Sannazaro 600 ducats for a eulogy in three distichs, no one thought it an act of generous prodigality. The epigram was prized for what it was, in truth, to all the educated classes of that age--the concentrated essence of fame.
Nor, on the other hand, was any man then so powerful as to be above the reach of a satirical epigram, and even the most powerful needed, for every inscription which they set before the public eye, the aid of careful and learned scholars, lest some blunder or other should qualify it for a place in the collections of ludicrous epitaphs. Epigraphy and literary epigrams began to link up; the former was based on a most diligent study of the ancient monuments.

The city of epigrams and inscriptions was, above all others, Rome. In this state without hereditary honours, each man had to look after his own immortality, and at the same time found the epigram an effective weapon against competitors. Pius II enumerates with satisfaction the distichs which his chief poet Campanus wrote on any event of his government which could be turned to poetical account. Under the following popes satirical epigrams came into fashion, and reached, in the opposition to Alexander VI and his family, the highest pitch of defiant invective. Sannazaro, it is true, wrote his verses in a place of comparative safety, but others in the immediate neighbourhood of the court ventured on the most reckless attacks. On one occasion when eight threatening distichs were found fastened to the doors of the library, Alexander strengthened his guard by 800 men; we can imagine what he would have done to the poet if he had caught him. Under Leo X, Latin epigrams were like daily bread. For complimenting or for reviling the Pope, for punishing enemies and victims, named or unnamed, for real or imaginary subjects of wit, malice, grief, or contemplation, no form was held more suitable. On the famous group of the Virgin with Saint Anne and the Child, which Andrea Sansovino carved for Sant' Agostino, no
fewer than 120 persons wrote Latin verses, not so much, it is true, from devotion, as from regard for the patron who ordered the work. This man, Johann Goritz of Luxemburg, papal referendary of petitions, not only held a religious service on the feast of Saint Anne, but gave a great literary dinner in his garden on the slopes of the Capitol. It was then worth while to pass in, review, in a long poem 'De poetis urbanis,' the whole crowd of singers who sought their fortune at the court of Leo. This was done by Franciscus Arsillus--a man who needed the patronage neither of pope nor prince, and who dared to speak his mind, even against his colleagues. The epigram survived the pontificate of Paul III only in a few rare echoes, while epigraphy continued to flourish till the seventeenth century, when it perished finally of bombast.

In Venice, also, this form of poetry had a history of its own, which we are able to trace with the help of the 'Venezia' of Francesco Sansovino. A standing task for the epigram-writers was offered by the mottoes (Brievi) on the pictures of the Doges in the great hall of the ducal palace--two or four hexameters, setting forth the most noteworthy facts in the government of each. In addition to this, the tombs of the Doges in the fourteenth century bore short inscriptions in prose, recording merely facts, and beside them turgid hexameters or leonine verses. In the fifteenth century more care was taken with the style; in the sixteenth century it is seen at its best; and then coon after came pointless antithesis, prosopopoeia, false pathos, praise of abstract qualities--in a word, affectation and bombast. A good many traces of satire can be detected, and veiled criticism of the living is implied.
in open praise of the dead. At a much later period we find a few instances of deliberate recurrence to the old, simple style.

Architectural works and decorative works in general were constructed with a view to receiving inscriptions, often in frequent repetition; while the Northern Gothic seldom, and with difficulty, offered a suitable place for them, and in sepulchral monuments, for example, left free only the most exposed parts -- namely the edges.

By what has been said hitherto we have, perhaps, failed to convince the reader of the characteristic value of this Latin poetry of the Italians. Our task was rather to indicate its position and necessity in the history of civilization. In its own day, a caricature of it appeared--the so-called macaronic poetry. The masterpiece of this style, the 'opus macaronicorum,' was written by Merlinus Coccaius (Teofilo Folengo of Mantua). We shall now and then have occasion to refer to the matter of this poem. As to the form--hexameter and other verses, made up of Latin words and Italian words with Latin endings -- its comic effect lies chiefly in the fact that these combinations sound like so many slips of the tongue, or like the effusions of an over-hasty Latin 'improvisatore.' The German imitations do not give the smallest notion of this effect.

Fall of the Humanists in the Sixteenth Century

Why, it may be asked, were not these reproaches, whether true or false,
heard sooner? As a matter of fact, they were heard at a very early period, but the effect they produced was insignificant, for the plain reason that men were far too dependent on the scholars for their knowledge of antiquity--that the scholars were personally the possessors and diffusers of ancient culture. But the spread of printed editions of the classics, and of large and well-arranged handbooks and dictionaries, went far to free the people from the necessity of personal intercourse with the humanists, and, as soon as they could be but partly dispensed with, the change in popular feeling became manifest. It was a change under which the good and bad suffered indiscriminately.

The first to make these charges were certainly the humanists themselves. Of all men who ever formed a class, they had the least sense of their common interests, and least respected what there was of this sense. All means were held lawful, if one of them saw a chance of supplanting another. From literary discussion they passed with astonishing suddenness to the fiercest and the most groundless vituperation. Not satisfied with refuting, they sought to annihilate an opponent. Something of this must be put to the account of their position and circumstances; we have seen how fiercely the age, whose loudest spokesmen they were, was borne to and fro by the passion for glory and the passion for satire. Their position, too, in practical life was one that they had continually to fight for. In such a temper they wrote and spoke and described one another. Poggio's works alone contain dirt enough to create a prejudice against the whole class--and these 'Opera Poggii' were just those most often printed, on the north
as well as on the south side of the Alps. We must take care not to rejoice too soon, when we meet among these men a figure which seems immaculate; on further inquiry there is always a danger of meeting with some foul charge, which, even if it is incredible, still discolors the picture. The mass of indecent Latin poems in circulation, and such things as ribaldry on the subject of one’s own family, as in Pontano’s dialogue ‘Antonius,’ did the rest to discredit the class. The sixteenth century was not only familiar with all these ugly symptoms, but had also grown tired of the type of the humanist. These men had to pay both for the misdeeds they had done, and for the excess of honour which had hitherto fallen to their lot. Their evil fate willed it that the greatest poet of the nation, Ariosto, wrote of them in a tone of calm and sovereign contempt.

Of the reproaches which combined to excite so much hatred, many were only too well founded. Yet a clear and unmistakable tendency to strictness in matters of religion and morality was alive in many of the philologists, and it is a proof of small knowledge of the period, if the whole class is condemned. Yet many, and among them the loudest speakers, were guilty.

Three facts explain and perhaps diminish their guilt: the overflowing excess of fervour and fortune, when the luck was on their side; the uncertainty of the future, in which luxury or misery depended on the caprice of a patron or the malice of an enemy; and finally, the misleading influence of antiquity. This undermined their morality, without giving them its own instead; and in religious matters, since
they could never think of accepting the positive belief in the old
gods, it affected them only on the negative and sceptical side. Just
because they conceived of antiquity dogmatically—that is, took it as
the model or all thought and action—its influence was here pernicious.
But that an age existed which idolized the ancient world and its
products with an exclusive devotion was not the fault of individuals.
It was the work of an historical providence, and if the culture of the
ages which have followed, and of the ages to come, rests upon the fact
that it was so, and that all the ends of life but this one were then
deliberately put aside.

The career of the humanists was, as a rule, of such a kind that only the
strongest characters could pass through it unscathed. The first danger
came, in some cases, from the parents, who sought to turn a precocious
child into a miracle of learning, with an eye to his future position in
that class which then was supreme. Youthful prodigies, however, seldom
rise above a certain level; or, if they do, are forced to achieve their
further progress and development at the cost of the bitterest trials.
For an ambitious youth, the fame and the brilliant position of the
humanists were a perilous temptation; it seemed to him that he too
'through inborn pride could no longer regard the low and common things
of life.' He was thus led to plunge into a life of excitement and
vicissitude, in which exhausting studies, tutorships, secretaryships,
professorships, offices in princely households, mortal enmities and
perils, luxury and beggary, boundless admiration and boundless
contempt, followed confusedly one upon the other, and in which the most
solid worth and learning were often pushed aside by superficial
impudence. But the worst of all was, that the position of the humanist was almost incompatible with a fixed home, since it either made frequent changes of dwelling necessary for a livelihood, or so affected the mind of the individual that he could never be happy for long in one place. He grew tired of the people, and had no peace among the enmities which he excited, while the people themselves in their turn demanded something new. Much as this life reminds us of the Greek sophists of the Empire, as described to us by Philostratus, yet the position of the sophists was more favourable. They often had money, or could more easily do without it than the humanists, and as professional teachers of rhetoric, rather than men of learning, their life was freer and simpler. But the scholar of the Renaissance was forced to combine great learning with the power of resisting the influence of ever-changing pursuits and situations. Add to this the deadening effect of licentious excess, and--since do what he might, the worst was believed of him--a total indifference to the moral laws recognized by others. Such men can hardly be conceived to exist without an inordinate pride. They needed it, if only to keep their heads above water, and were confirmed in it by the admiration which alternated with hatred in the treatment they received from the world. They are the most striking examples and victims of an unbridled subjectivity.

The attacks and the satirical pictures began, as we have said, at an early period. For all strongly marked individuality, for every kind of distinction, a corrective was at hand in the national taste for ridicule. And in this case the men themselves offered abundant and terrible materials which satire had but to make use of. In the
fifteenth century, Battista Mantovano, in discoursing of the seven
monsters, includes the humanists, with any others, under the head
'Superbia.' He describes how, fancying themselves children of Apollo,
they walk along with affected solemnity and with sullen, malicious
looks, now gazing t their own shadow, now brooding over the popular
praise they hunted after, like cranes in search of food. But in the
sixteenth century the indictment was presented in full. Besides
Ariosto, their own historian Gyraldus gives evidence of this, whose
treatise, written under Leo X, was probably revised about the year
1540. Warning examples from ancient and modern times the moral disorder
and the wretched existence of the scholars meet us in astonishing
abundance, and along with these, accusations of the most serious nature
are brought formally against them. Among these are anger, vanity,
obstinacy, self-adoration, dissolute private life, immorality of all
descriptions, heresy, theism; further, the habit of speaking without
conviction, a sinister influence on government, pedantry of speech,
thanklessness towards teachers, and abject flattery of the great, who
st give the scholar a taste of their favours and then leave m to
starve. The description is closed by a reference to the den age, when
no such thing as science existed on the earth. these charges, that of
heresy soon became the most dangers, and Gyraldus himself, when he
afterwards republished a perfectly harmless youthful work, was
compelled to take refuge neath the mantle of Duke Ercole II of Ferrara,
since men had the upper hand who held that people had better spend
their time on Christian themes than on mythological researches.
justifies himself on the ground that the latter, on the contrary, were
at such a time almost the only harmless branches of study, as they deal
with subjects of a perfectly neutral character.
But if it is the duty of the historian to seek for evidence in which moral judgement is tempered by human sympathy, he will find no authority comparable in value to the work so often quoted of Pierio Valeriano, 'On the Infelicity of the Scholar.' It was written under the gloomy impressions left by the sack of Rome, which seems to the writer, not only the direct cause of untold misery to the men of learning, but, as it were, the fulfilment of an evil destiny which had long pursued them. Pierio is here led by a simple and, on the whole, just feeling. He does not introduce a special power, which plagued the men of genius on account of their genius, but he states facts, in which an unlucky chance often wears the aspect of fatality. Not wishing to write a tragedy or to refer events to the conflict of higher powers, he is content to lay before us the scenes of everyday life. We are introduced to men who, in times of trouble, lose first their incomes and then their places; to others who, in trying to get two appointments, miss both; to unsociable misers who carry about their money sewn into their clothes, and die mad when they are robbed of it; to others, who accept well-paid offices, and then sicken with a melancholy longing for their lost freedom. We read how some died young of a plague or fever, and how the writings which had cost them so much toil were burnt with their bed and clothes; how others lived in terror of the murderous threats of their colleagues; how one was slain by a covetous servant, and another caught by highwaymen on a journey, and left to pine in a dungeon, because unable to pay his ransom. Many died of unspoken grief from the insults they received and the prizes of which they were defrauded. We are told how a Venetian died because of the death of his son, a
youthful prodigy; and how mother and brothers followed, as if the lost child drew them all after him. Many, especially Florentines, ended their lives by suicide; others through the secret justice of a tyrant. Who, after all, is happy?—and by what means? By blunting all feeling for such misery? One of the speakers in the dialogue in which Pierio clothed his argument, can give an answer to these questions— the illustrious Gasparo Contarini, at the mention of whose name we turn with the expectation to hear at least something of the truest and deepest which was then thought on such matters. As a type of the happy scholar, he mentions Fra Urbano Valeriano of Belluno, who was for years a teacher of Greek at Venice, who visited Greece and the East, and towards the close of his life travelled, now through this country, now through that, without ever mounting a horse; who never had a penny of his own, rejected all honours and distinctions, and after a gay old age, died in his eighty-fourth year, without, if we except a fall from a ladder, having ever known an hour of sickness. And what was the difference between such a man and the humanists? The latter had more free will, more subjectivity, than they could turn to purposes of happiness. The mendicant friar, who had lived from his boyhood in the monastery, and never eaten or slept except by rule, ceased to feel the compulsion under which he lived. Through the power of this habit he led, amid all outward hardships, a life of inward peace, by which he impressed his hearers far more than by his teaching. Looking at him, they could believe that it depends on ourselves whether we bear up against misfortune or surrender to it. 'Amid want and toil he was happy, because he willed to be so, because he had contracted no evil habits, was not capricious, inconstant, immoderate; but was always contented with little or nothing.' If we heard Contarini himself,
religious motives would no doubt play a part in the argument—but the practical philosopher in sandals speaks plainly enough. An allied character, but placed in other circumstances, is that of Fabio Calvi of Ravenna, the commentator of Hippocrates. He lived to a great age in Rome, eating only pulse 'like the Pythagoreans,' and dwelt in a hovel little better than the tub of Diogenes. Of the pension which Pope Leo gave him, he spent enough to keep body and soul together, and gave the rest away. He was not a healthy man, like Fra Urbano, nor is it likely that, like him, he died with a smile on his lips. At the age of ninety, in the sack of Rome, he was dragged away by the Spaniards, who hoped for a ransom, and died of hunger in a hospital. But his name has passed into the kingdom of the immortals, for Raphael loved the old man like a father, and honoured him as a teacher, and came to him for advice in all things. Perhaps they discoursed chiefly of the projected restoration of ancient Rome, perhaps of still higher matters. Who can tell what a share Fabio may have had in the conception of the School of Athens, and in other great works of the master?

We would gladly close this part of our essay with the picture of some pleasing and winning character. Pomponius Laetus, of whom we shall briefly speak, is known to us principally through the letter of his pupil Sabellicus, in which an antique coloring is purposely given to his character. Yet many of its features are clearly recognizable. He was a bastard of the House of the Neapolitan Sanseverini, princes of Salerno, whom he nevertheless refused to recognize, writing, in reply to an invitation to live with them, the famous letter: 'Pomponius Laetus cognatis et propinquis suis salutem. Quod petitis fieri non
An insignificant little figure, with small, quick eyes, and quaint dress, he lived, during the last decades of the fifteenth century, as professor in the University of Rome, either in his cottage in a garden on the Esquiline hill, or in his vineyard on the Quirinal. In the one he bred his ducks and fowls; the other he cultivated according to the strictest precepts of Cato, Varro, and Columella. He spent his holidays in fishing or bird-catching in the Campagna, or in feasting by some shady spring or on the banks of the Tiber. Wealth and luxury he despised. Free himself from envy and uncharitable speech, he would not suffer them in others. It was only against the hierarchy that he gave his tongue free play, and passed, till his latter years, for a scourner of religion altogether. He was involved in the persecution of the humanists begun by Pope Paul II, and surrendered to this pontiff by the Venetians; but no means could be found to wring unworthy confessions from him. He was afterwards befriended and supported by popes and prelates, and when his house was plundered in the disturbances under Sixtus IV, more was collected for him than he had lost. No teacher was more conscientious. Before daybreak he was to be seen descending the Esquiline with his lantern, and on reaching his lecture-room found it always filled to overflowing. A stutter compelled him to speak with care, but his delivery was even and effective. His few works give evidence of careful writing. No scholar treated the text of ancient authors more soberly and accurately. The remains of antiquity which surrounded him in Rome touched him so deeply that he would stand before them as if entranced, or would suddenly burst into tears at the sight of them. As he was ready to lay aside his own studies in order to help others, he was much loved and had many friends; and at his death, even Alexander VI sent
his courtiers to follow the corpse, which was carried by the most
distinguished of his pupils. The funeral service in the Aracelli was
attended by forty bishops and by all the foreign ambassadors.

It was Laetus who introduced and conducted the representations of
ancient, chiefly Plautine, plays in Rome. Every year, he celebrated the
anniversary of the foundation of the city by a festival, at which his
friends and pupils recited speeches and poems. Such meetings were the
origin of what acquired, and long retained, the name of the Roman
Academy. It was simply a free union of individuals, and was connected
with no fixed institution. Besides the occasions mentioned, it met at
the invitation of a patron, or to celebrate the memory of a deceased
member, as of Platina. At such times, a prelate belonging to the
academy would first say mass; Pomponio would then ascend the pulpit and
deliver a speech; someone else would then follow him and recite an
elegy. The customary banquet, with declamations and recitations,
concluded the festival, whether joyous or serious, and the
academicians, notably Platina himself, early acquired the reputation of
epicures. At other times, the guests performed farces in the old
Atellan style. As a free association of very varied elements, the
academy lasted in its original form down to the sack of Rome, and
included among its hosts Angelus Coloccius, Johannes Corycius and
others. Its precise value as an element in the intellectual life of the
people is as hard to estimate as that of any other social union of the
same kind; yet a man like Sadoleto reckoned it among the most precious
memories of his youth. A large number of other academies appeared and
passed away in many Italian cities, according to the number and
significance of the humanists living in them, and to the patronage
bestowed by the great and wealthy. Of these we may mention the Academy
of Naples, of which Jovianus Pontanus was the centre, and which sent
out a colony to Lecce, and that of Pordenone, which formed the court of
the Condottiere Alviano. The circle of Lodovico il Moro, and its
peculiar importance for that prince, has been already spoken of.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, these associations seem to
have undergone a complete change. The humanists, driven in other
spheres from their commanding position, and viewed askance by the men
of the Counter-reformation, lost the control of the academies: and
here, as elsewhere, Latin poetry was replaced by Italian. Before long
every town of the least importance had its academy, with some strange,
fantastic name, and its own endowment and subscriptions. Besides the
recitation of verses, the new institutions inherited from their
predecessors the regular banquets and the representation of plays,
sometimes acted by the members themselves, sometimes under their
direction by young amateurs, and sometimes by paid players. The fate of
the Italian stage, and afterwards of the opera, was long in the hands
of these associations.

PART FOUR

THE DISCOVERY OF THE WORLD AND OF MAN

Journeys of the Italians
Freed from the countless bonds which elsewhere in Europe checked progress, having reached a high degree of individual development and been schooled by the teachings of antiquity, the Italian mind now turned to the discovery of the outward universe, and to the representation of it in speech and form.

On the journeys of the Italians to distant parts of the world, we can here make but a few general observations. The Crusades had opened unknown distances to the European mind, and awakened in all the passion for travel and adventure. It may be hard to indicate precisely the point where this passion allied itself with, or became the servant of, the thirst for knowledge; but it was in Italy that this was first and most completely the case. Even in the Crusades the interest of the Italians was wider than that of other nations, since they already were a naval power and had commercial relations with the East. From time immemorial the Mediterranean Sea had given to the nations that dwelt on its shores mental impulses different from those which governed the peoples of the North; and never, from the very structure of their character, could the Italians be adventurers in the sense which the word bore among the Teutons. After they were once at home in all the eastern harbors of the Mediterranean, it was natural that the most enterprising among them should be led to join that vast international movement of the Mohammedans which there found its outlet. A new half of the world lay, as it were, freshly discovered before them. Or, like Polo of Venice, they were caught in the current of the Mongolian peoples, and carried on to the steps of the throne of the Great Khan.
At an early period, we find Italians sharing in the discoveries made in the Atlantic Ocean; it was the Genoese who, in the thirteenth century found the Canary Islands. In the same year, 1291, when Ptolemais, the last remnant of the Christian East, was lost, it was again the Genoese who made the first known attempt to find a sea-passage to the East Indies. Columbus himself is but the greatest of a long list of Italians who, in the service of the western nations, sailed into distant seas.

The true discoverer, however, is not the man who first chances to stumble upon anything, but the man who finds what he has sought. Such a one alone stands in a link with the thoughts and interests of his predecessors, and this relationship will also determine the account he gives of his search. For which reason the Italians, although their claim to be the first comers on this or that shore may be disputed, will yet retain their title to be pre-eminently the nation of discoverers for the whole latter part of the Middle Ages. The fuller proof of this assertion belongs to the special history of discoveries.

Yet ever and again we turn with admiration to the august figure of the great Genoese, by whom a new continent beyond the ocean was demanded, sought and found; and who was the first to be able to say: ‘il mondo è poco’—the world is not so large as men have thought. At the time when Spain gave Alexander VI to the Italians, Italy gave Columbus to the Spaniards. Only a few weeks before the death of that pope Columbus wrote from Jamaica his noble letter (July 7, 1503) to the thankless Catholic kings, which the ages to come can never read without profound emotion. In a codicil to his will, dated Valladolid, May 4, 1506, he bequeathed to ‘his beloved home, the Republic of Genoa, the prayer-book which Pope Alexander had given him, and which in prison, in conflict, and in every kind of adversity, had been to him the greatest of
comforts.' It seems as if these words cast upon the abhorred name of Borgia one last gleam of grace and mercy.

The development of geographical and allied sciences among the Italians must, like the history of their voyages, be touched upon but very briefly. A superficial comparison of their achievements with those of other nations shows an early and striking superiority on their part. Where, in the middle of the fifteenth century, could be found, anywhere but in Italy, such a union of geographical, statistical, and historical knowledge as was found in Aeneas Sylvius? Not only in his great geographical work, but in his letters and commentaries, he describes with equal mastery landscapes, cities, manners, industries and products, political conditions and constitutions, wherever he can use his own observation or the evidence of eye-witnesses. What he takes from books is naturally of less moment. Even the short sketch of that valley in the Tyrolese Alps where Frederick III had given him a benefice, and still more his description of Scotland, leaves untouched none of the relations of human life, and displays a power and method of unbiased observation and comparison impossible in any but a countryman of Columbus, trained in the school of the ancients. Thousands saw and, in part, knew what he did, but they felt no impulse to draw a picture of it, and were unconscious that the world desired such pictures.

In geography, as in other matters, it is vain to attempt to distinguish how much is to be attributed to the study of the ancients, and how much to the special genius of the Italians. They saw and treated the things of this world from an objective point of view, even before they were
familiar with ancient literature, partly because they were themselves a half-ancient people, and partly because their political circumstances predisposed them to it; but they would not so rapidly have attained to such perfection had not the old geographers shown them the way. The influence of the existing Italian geographies on the spirit and tendencies of the travellers and discoverers was also inestimable. Even the simple ‘dilettante’ of a science--if in the present case we should assign to Aeneas Sylvius so low a rank--can diffuse just that sort of general interest in the subject which prepares for new pioneers the indispensable favourable predisposition in the public mind. True discoverers in any science know well what they owe to such meditation.

The Natural Sciences in Italy

For the position of the Italians in the sphere of the natural sciences, we must refer the reader to the special treatises on the subject, of which the only one with which we are familiar is the superficial and depreciatory work of Libri. The dispute as to the priority of particular discoveries concerns us all the less, since we hold that, at any time, and among any civilized people, a man may appear who, starting with very scanty preparation, is driven by an irresistible impulse into the path of scientific investigation, and through his native gifts achieves the most astonishing success. Such men were Gerbert of Rheims and Roger Bacon. That they were masters of the whole knowledge of the age in their several departments was a natural consequence of the spirit in which they worked. When once the veil of illusion was torn asunder, when once the dread of nature and the
slavery to books and tradition were overcome, countless problems lay
before them for solution. It is another matter when a whole people
takes a natural delight in the study and investigation of nature, at a
time when other nations are indifferent, that is to say, when the
discoverer is not threatened or wholly ignored, but can count on the
friendly support of congenial spirits. That this was the case in Italy
is unquestionable. The Italian students of nature trace with pride in
the 'Divine Comedy' the hints and proofs of Dante's scientific in-
terest in nature. On his claim to priority in this or that discovery or
reference, we must leave the men of science to decide; but every layman
must be struck by the wealth of his observations on the external world,
shown merely in his picture and comparisons. He, more than any other
modern poet, takes them from reality, whether in nature or human life,
and uses them never as mere ornament, but in order to give the reader
the fullest and most adequate sense of his meaning. It is in astronomy
that he appears chiefly as a scientific specialist, though it must not
be forgotten that many astronomical allusions in his great poem, which
now appear to us learned, must then have been intelligible to the
general reader. Dante, learning apart, appeals to a popular knowledge
of the heavens, which the Italians of his day, from the mere fact that
they were a nautical people, had in common with the ancients. This
knowledge of the rising and setting of the constellations has been
rendered superfluous to the modern world by calendars and clocks, and
with it has gone whatever interest in astronomy the people may once
have had. Nowadays, with our schools and handbooks, every child knows--
what Dante did not know--that the earth moves round the sun; but the
interest once taken in the subject itself has given place, except in
the case of astronomical specialists, to the most absolute
indifference.

The pseudo-science which dealt with the stars proves nothing against the inductive spirit of the Italians of that day. That spirit was but crossed, and at times overcome, by the passionate desire to penetrate the future. We shall recur to the subject of astrology when we come to speak of the moral and religious character of the people.

The Church treated this and other pseudo-sciences nearly always with toleration; and showed itself actually hostile even to genuine science only when a charge of heresy together with necromancy was also in question—which certainly was often the case. A point which it would be interesting to decide is this: whether and in what cases the Dominican (and also the Franciscan) Inquisitors in Italy were conscious of the falsehood of the charges, and yet condemned the accused, either to oblige some enemy of the prisoner or from hatred to natural science, and particularly to experiments. The latter doubtless occurred, but it is not easy to prove the fact. What helped to cause such persecutions in the North, namely, the opposition made to the innovators by the upholders of the received official, scholastic system of nature, was of little or no weight in Italy. Pietro of Abano, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, is well known to have fallen a victim to the envy of another physician, who accused him before the Inquisition of heresy and magic; and something of the same kind may have happened in the case of his Paduan contemporary, Giovannino Sanguinacci, who was known as an innovator in medical practice. He escaped, however, with banishment. Nor must it be forgotten that the inquisitorial power of the Dominicans
was exercised less uniformly in Italy than in the North. Tyrants and
free cities in the fourteenth century treated the clergy at times with
such sovereign contempt that very different matters from natural
science went unpunished. But when, with the fifteenth century,
antiquity became the leading power in Italy, the breach it made in the
old system was turned to account by every branch of secular science.
Humanism, nevertheless, attracted to itself the best strength of the
nation, and thereby, no doubt, did injury to the inductive
investigation of nature. Here and there the Inquisition suddenly
started into life, and punished or burned physicians as blasphemers or
magicians. In such cases it is hard to discover what was the true
motive underlying the condemnation. But even so, Italy, at the close of
the fifteenth century, with Paolo Toscanelli, Luca Pacioli and Leonardo
da Vinci, held incomparably the highest place among European nations in
mathematics and the natural sciences, and the learned men of every
country, even Regiomontanus and Copernicus, confessed themselves its
pupils. This glory survived the Counter-reformation, and even today the
Italians would occupy the first place in this respect if circumstances
had not made it impossible for the greatest minds to devote themselves
to tranquil research.

A significant proof of the widespread interest in natural history is
found in the zeal which showed itself at an early period for the
collection and comparative study of plants and animals. Italy claims to
be the first creator of botanical gardens, though possibly they may
have served a chiefly practical end, and the claim to priority may be
itself disputed. It is of far greater importance that princes and
wealthy men, in laying out their pleasure-gardens, instinctively made a point of collecting the greatest possible number of different plants in all their species and varieties. Thus in the fifteenth century the noble grounds of the Medicean Villa Careggi appear from the descriptions we have of them to have been almost a botanical garden, with countless specimens of different trees and shrubs. Of the same kind was a villa of the Cardinal Trivulzio, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the Roman Campagna towards Tivoli, with hedges made up of various species of roses, with trees of every description—the fruit-trees especially showing an astonishing variety—with twenty different sorts of vines and a large kitchen-garden. This is evidently something very different from the score or two of familiar medicinal plants which were to be found in the garden of any castle or monastery in Western Europe. Along with a careful cultivation of fruit for the purposes of the table, we find an interest in the plant for its own sake, on account of the pleasure it gives to the eye. We learn from the history of art at how late a period this passion for botanical collections was laid aside, and gave place to what was considered the picturesque style of landscape-gardening.

The collections, too, of foreign animals not only gratified curiosity, but served also the higher purposes of observation. The facility of transport from the southern and eastern harbors of the Mediterranean, and the mildness of the Italian climate, made it practicable to buy the largest animals of the south, or to accept them as presents from the Sultans. The cities and princes were especially anxious to keep live lions even where a lion was not, as in Florence, the emblem of the
State. The lions' den was generally in or near the government palace, as in Perugia and Florence; in Rome, it lay on the slope of the Capitol. The beasts sometimes served as executioners of political judgements, and no doubt, apart from this, they kept alive a certain terror in the popular mind. Their condition was also held to be ominous of good or evil. Their fertility, especially, was considered a sign of public prosperity, and no less a man than Giovanni Villani thought it worth recording that he was present at the delivery of a lioness. The cubs were often given to allied States and princes, or to Condottieri as a reward of their valor. In addition to the lions, the Florentines began very early to keep leopards, for which a special keeper was appointed. Borso of Ferrara used to set his lion to fight with bulls, bears, and wild boars.

By the end of the fifteenth century, however, true menageries (serragli), now reckoned part of the suitable appointments of a court, were kept by many of the princes. 'It belongs to the position of the great,' says Matarazzo, 'to keep horses, dogs, mules, falcons, and other birds, court-jesters, singers, and foreign animals.' The menagerie at Naples, in the time of Ferrante, contained even a giraffe and a zebra, presented, it seems, by the ruler of Baghdad. Filippo Maria Visconti possessed not only horses which cost him each 500 or 1,000 pieces of gold, and valuable English dogs, but a number of leopards brought from all parts of the East; the expense of his hunting birds, which were collected from the countries of Northern Europe, amounted to 3,000 pieces of gold a month. King Emanuel the Great of Portugal knew well what he was about when he presented Leo X with an
elephant and a rhinoceros. It was under such circumstances that the foundations of a scientific zoology and botany were laid.

A practical fruit of these zoological studies was the establishment of studs, of which the Mantuan, under Francesco Gonzaga, was esteemed the first in Europe. All interest in, and knowledge of the different breeds of horses is as old, no doubt, as riding itself, and the crossing of the European with the Asiatic must have been common from the time of the Crusades. In Italy, a special inducement to perfect the breed was offered by the prizes at the horse-races held in every considerable town in the peninsula. In the Mantuan stables were found the infallible winners in these contests, as well as the best military chargers, and the horses best suited by their stately appearance for presents to great people. Gonzaga kept stallions and mares from Spain, Ireland, Africa, Thrace, and Cilicia, and for the sake of the last he cultivated the friendship of the Sultans. All possible experiments were here tried, in order to produce the most perfect animals.

Even human menageries were not wanting. The famous Cardinal Ippolito Medici, bastard of Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, kept at his strange court a troop of barbarians who talked no less than twenty different languages, and who were all of them perfect specimens of their races. Among them were incomparable _voltigeurs_ of the best blood of the North African Moors, Tartar bowmen, Negro wrestlers, Indian divers, and Turks, who generally accompanied the Cardinal on his hunting expeditions. When he was overtaken by an early death (1535), this motley band carried the corpse on their shoulders from Itri to Rome,
and mingled with the general mourning for the open-handed Cardinal
their medley of tongues and violent gesticulations.

These scattered notices of the relations of the Italians to natural
science, and their interest in the wealth and variety of the products
of nature, are only fragments of a great subject. No one is more
conscious than the author of the defects in his knowledge on this
point. Of the multitude of special works in which the subject is
adequately treated, even the names are but imperfectly known to him.

Discovery of the Beauty of Landscape

But outside the sphere of scientific investigation, there is another
way to draw near to nature. The Italians are the first among modern
peoples by whom the outward world was seen and felt as something
beautiful.

The power to do so is always the result of a long and complicated
development, and its origin is not easily detected, since a dim feeling
of this kind may exist long before it shows itself in poetry and
painting and thereby becomes conscious of itself. Among the ancients,
for example, art and poetry had gone through the whole circle of human
interests, before they turned to the representation of nature, and even
then the latter filled always a limited and subordinate place. And yet,
from the time of Homer downwards, the powerful impression made by
nature upon man is shown by countless verses and chance expressions.
The Germanic races, which founded their States on the ruins of the Roman Empire, were thoroughly and specially fitted to understand the spirit of natural scenery; and though Christianity compelled them for a while to see in the springs and mountains, in the lakes and woods, which they had till then revered, the working of evil demons, yet this transitional conception was soon outgrown. By the year 1200, at the height of the Middle Ages, a genuine, hearty enjoyment of the external world was again in existence, and found lively expression in the minstrelsy of different nations, which gives evidence of the sympathy felt with all the simple phenomena of nature --spring with its flowers, the green fields and the woods. But these pictures are all foreground without perspective. Even the crusaders, who travelled so far and saw so much, are not recognizable as such in their poems. The epic poetry, which describes amour and costumes so fully, does not attempt more than a sketch of outward nature; and even the great Wolfram von Eschenbach scarcely anywhere gives us an adequate picture of the scene on which his heroes move. From these poems it would never be guessed that their noble authors in all countries inhabited or visited lofty castles, commanding distant prospects. Even in the Latin poems of the wandering clerks, we find no traces of a distant view--of landscape properly so called-- but what lies near is sometimes described with a glory and splendor which none of the knightly minstrels can surpass. What picture of the Grove of Love can equal that of the Italian poet -- for such we take him to be--of the twelfth century?

'Immortalis fieret Ibi manens homo; Arbor ibi quaebibet Suo gaudet pomo; Viae myrrha, cinnamo Fragrant, et amomo-- Conjectari poterat
To the Italian mind, at all events, nature had by this time lost its taint of sin, and had shaken off all trace of demoniacal powers. Saint Francis of Assisi, in his Hymn to the Sun, frankly praises the Lord for creating the heavenly bodies and the four elements.

But the unmistakable proofs of a deepening effect of nature on the human spirit begin with Dante. Not only does he awaken in us by a few vigorous lines the sense of the morning air and the trembling light on the distant ocean, or of the grandeur of the storm-beaten forest, but he makes the ascent of lofty peaks, with the only possible object of enjoying the view—the first man, perhaps, since the days of antiquity who did so. In Boccaccio we can do little more than infer how country scenery affected him; yet his pastoral romances show his imagination to have been filled with it. But the significance of nature for a receptive spirit is fully and clearly displayed by Petrarch—one of the first truly modern men. That clear soul—who first collected from the literature of all countries evidence of the origin and progress of the sense of natural beauty, and himself, in his 'Aspects of Nature,' achieved the noblest masterpiece of description—Alexander von Humboldt has not done full justice to Petrarch; and following in the steps of the great reaper, we may still hope to glean a few ears of interest and value.

Petrarch was not only a distinguished geographer—the first map of
Italy is said to have been drawn by his direction—and not only a
reproducer of the sayings of the ancients, but felt himself the
influence of natural beauty. The enjoyment of nature is, for him, the
favorite accompaniment of intellectual pursuits; it was to combine the
two that he lived in learned retirement at Vaucluse and elsewhere, that
he from time to time fled from the world and from his age. We should do
him wrong by inferring from his weak and undeveloped power of
describing natural scenery that he did not feel it deeply. His picture,
for instance, of the lovely Gulf of Spezia and Porto Venere, which he
inserts at the end of the sixth book of the 'Africa,' for the reason
that none of the ancients or moderns had sung of it, is no more than a
simple enumeration, but Petrarch is also conscious of the beauty of
rock scenery, and is perfectly able to distinguish the picturesqueness
from the utility of nature. During his stay among the woods of Reggio,
the sudden sight of an impressive landscape so affected him that he
resumed a poem which he had long laid aside. But the deep-est
impression of all was made upon him by the ascent of Mont Ventoux, near
Avignon. An indefinable longing for a distant panorama grew stronger
and stronger in him, till at length the accidental sight of a passage
in Livy, where King Philip, the enemy of Rome, ascends the Haemus,
decided him. He thought that what was not blamed in a greyheaded
monarch, might well be _excused_ in a young man of private station. The
ascent of a mountain for its own sake was unheard of, and there could
be no thought of the companionship of friends or acquaintances.
Petrarch took with him only his younger brother and two country people
from the last place where he halted. At the foot of the mountain an old
herdsman besought him to turn back, saying that he himself had
attempted to climb it fifty years before, and had brought home nothing
but repentance, broken bones, and torn clothes, and that neither before
nor after had anyone ventured to do the same. Nevertheless, they
struggled forward and upward, till the clouds lay beneath their feet,
and at last they reached the top. A description of the view from the
summit would be looked for in vain, not because the poet was insensible
to it, but, on the contrary, because the impression was too
overwhelming. His whole past life, with all its follies, rose before
his mind; he remembered that ten years ago that day he had quitted
Bologna a young man, and turned a longing gaze towards his native
country; he opened a book which then was his constant companion, the
'Confessions' of St. Augustine, and his eye fell on the passage in the
tenth chapter, 'and men go forth, and admire lofty mountains and broad
seas, and roaring torrents, and the ocean, and the course of the stars,
and forget their own selves while doing so.' His brother, to whom he
read these words, could not understand why he closed the book and said
no more.

Some decades later, about 1360, Fazio degli Uberti describes, in his
rhyming geography, the wide panorama from the mountains of Auvergne,
with the interest, it is true, of the geographer and antiquarian only,
but still showing clearly that he himself had seen it. He must,
however, have ascended far higher peaks, since he is familiar with
facts which only occur at a height of 10,000 feet or more above the
sea--mountain-sickness and its accompaniments--of which his imaginary
comrade Solinus tries to cure him with a sponge dipped in an essence.
The ascents of Parnassus and Olympus, of which he speaks, are perhaps
only fictions.
In the fifteenth century, the great masters of the Flemish school, Hubert and Jan van Eyck, suddenly lifted the veil from nature. Their landscapes are not merely the fruit of an endeavor to reflect the real world in art, but have, even if expressed conventionally, a certain poetical meaning—in short, a soul. Their influence on the whole art of the West is undeniable, and extended to the landscape-painting of the Italians, but without preventing the characteristic interest of the Italian eye for nature from finding its own expression.

On this point, as in the scientific description of nature, Aeneas Sylvius is again one of the most weighty voices of his time. Even if we grant the justice of all that has been said against his character, we must nevertheless admit that in few other men was the picture of the age and its culture so fully reflected, and that few came nearer to the normal type of the men of the early Renaissance. It may be added parenthetically, that even in respect to his moral character he will not be fairly judged, if we listen solely to the complaints of the German Church, which his fickleness helped to balk of the Council it so ardently desired.

He here claims our attention as the first who not only enjoyed the magnificence of the Italian landscape, but described it with enthusiasm down to its minutest details. The ecclesiastical State and the south of Tuscany--his native home--he knew thoroughly, and after he became Pope he spent his leisure during the favourable season chiefly in excursions.
to the country. Then at last the gouty man was rich enough to have
himself carried in a litter across the mountains and valleys; and when
we compare his enjoyments with those of the Popes who succeeded him,
Pius, whose chief delight was in nature, antiquity, and simple, but
noble, architecture, appears almost a saint. In the elegant and flowing
Latin of his 'Commentaries' he freely tells us of his happiness.

His eye seems as keen and practiced as that of any modern observer. He
enjoys with rapture the panoramic splendor of the view from the summit
of the Alban Hills--from the Monte Cavo--whence he could see the shores
of St. Peter from Terracina and the promontory of Circe as far as Monte
Argentaro, and the wide expanse of country round about, with the ruined
cities of the past, and with the mountain-chains of Central Italy
beyond; and then his eye would turn to the green woods in the hollows
beneath and the mountain-lakes among them. He feels the beauty of the
position of Todi, crowning the vineyards and olive-clad slopes, looking
down upon distant woods and upon the valley of the Tiber, where towns
and castles rise above the winding river. The lovely hills about Siena,
with villas and monasteries on every height, are his own home, and his
description of them are touched with a peculiar feeling. Single
picturesque glimpses charm him too, like the little promontory of Capo
di Monte that stretches out into the Lake of Bolsena. 'Rocky steps,' we
read, 'shaded by vines, descend to the water's edge, where the
evergreen oaks stand between the cliffs, alive with the song of
thrushes.' On the path round the Lake of Nemi, beneath the chestnuts
and fruit-trees, he feels that here, if anywhere, a poet's soul must
awake--here in the hiding-place of Diana! He often held consistory or
received ambassadors under huge old chestnut-trees, or beneath the
olives on the greensward by some gurgling spring. A view like that of a
narrowing gorge, with a bridge arched boldly over it, awakens at once
his artistic sense. Even the smallest details give him delight through
something beautiful, or perfect, or characteristic in them--the blue
fields of waving flax, the yellow gorse which covers the hills, even
tangled thickets, or single trees, or springs, which seem to him like
wonders of nature.

The height of his enthusiasm for natural beauty was reached during his
stay on Monte Amiata, in the summer of 1462, when plague and heat made
the lowlands uninhabitable. Half-way up the mountain, in the old
Lombard monastery of San Salvatore, he and his court took up their
quarters. There, between the chestnuts which clothe the steep
declivity, the eye may wander over all Southern Tuscany, with the
towers of Siena in the distance. The ascent of the highest peak he left
to his companions, who were joined by the Venetian envoy; they found at
the top two vast blocks of stone one upon the other--perhaps the
sacrificial altar of a prehistoric people--and fancied that in the far
distance they saw Corsica and Sardinia rising above the sea. In the
cool air of the hills, among the old oaks and chestnuts, on the green
meadows where there were no thorns to wound the feet, and no snakes or
insects to hurt or to annoy, the Pope passed days of unclouded
happiness. For the 'Segnatura,' which took place on certain days of the
week, he selected on each occasion some new shady retreat 'novos in
convallibus fontes et novas inveniens umbras, quae dubiam facerent
electionem.' At such times the dogs would perhaps start a great stag
from his lair, who, after defending himself a while with hoofs and antlers, would fly at last up the mountain. In the evening the Pope was accustomed to sit before the monastery on the spot from which the whole valley of the Paglia was visible, holding lively conversations with the cardinals. The courtiers, who ventured down from the heights on their hunting expeditions, found the heat below intolerable, and the scorched plains like a very hell, while the monastery, with its cool, shady woods, seemed like an abode of the blessed.

All this is genuine modern enjoyment, not a reflection of antiquity. As surely as the ancients themselves felt in the same manner, so surely, nevertheless, were the scanty expressions of the writers whom Pius knew insufficient to awaken in him such enthusiasm.

The second great age of Italian poetry, which now followed at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, as well as the Latin poetry of the same period, is rich in proofs of the powerful effect of nature on the human mind. The first glance at the lyric poets of that time will suffice to convince us. Elaborate descriptions of natural scenery, it is true, are very rare, for the reason that, in this energetic age, poetry had something else to paint nature vigorously, but no effort to appeal by their reader, which they endeavor to reach solely by their narrative and characters. Letter-writers and the authors of philosophical dialogues are, in fact, better evidence of the growing love of nature than the poets. The novelist Bandello, for example, observes rigorously the rules of his department of literature; he gives us in his novels themselves not a word more
than is necessary on the natural scenery amid which the action of his
stories takes place, but in the dedications which always precede them we
meet with charming descriptions of nature as the setting for his
dialogues and social pictures. Among letter-writers, Aretino
unfortunately must be named as the first who has fully painted in words
the splendid effect of light and shadow in an Italian sunset.

We sometimes find the feeling of the poets, also, itself with
tenderness to graceful scenes of country Strozzi, about the year 1480,
describes in a Latin elegy the dwelling of his mistress. We are shown
an old ivy-clad house, half hidden in trees, and adorned with weather-
stained frescoes of the saints, and near it a chapel much damaged by
the violence of the River Po, which flowed hard by; not far off, the
priest ploughs his few barren roods with borrowed cattle. This is no
reminiscence of the Roman elegists, but true modern sentiment; and the
parallel to it--a sincere, unartificial description of country life in
general--will be found at the end of this part of our work.

It may be objected that the German painters at the beginning of the
sixteenth century succeeded in representing with perfect mastery these
scenes of country life, as, for instance, Albrecht Durer, in his
engraving of the Prodigal Son. But it is one thing if a painter,
brought up in a school of realism, introduces such scenes, and quite
another thing if a poet, accustomed to an ideal or mythological
framework, is driven by inward impulse into realism. Besides which,
priority in point of time is here, as in the descriptions of country
life, on the side of the Italian poets.
Discovery of Man

To the discovery of the outward world the Renaissance added a still greater achievement, by first discerning and bringing to light the full, whole nature of man. This period, as we have seen, first gave the highest development to individuality, and then led the individual to the most zealous and thorough study of himself in all forms and under all conditions. Indeed, the development of personality is essentially involved in the recognition of it in oneself and in others. Between these two great processes our narrative has placed the influence of ancient literature because the mode of conceiving and representing both the individual and human nature in general was defined and colored by that influence. But the power of conception and representation lay in the age and in the people.

The facts which we shall quote in evidence of our thesis will be few in number. Here, if anywhere in the course of this discussion, the author is conscious that he is treading on the perilous ground of conjecture, and that what seems to him a clear, if delicate and gradual, transition in the intellectual movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, may not be equally plain to others. The gradual awakening of the soul of a people is a phenomenon which may produce a different impression on each spectator. Time will judge which impression is the most faithful.

Happily the study of the intellectual side of human nature began, not
with the search after a theoretical psychology--for that, Aristotle
still sufficed--but with the endeavor to observe and to describe. The
indispensable ballast of theory was limited to the popular doctrine of
the four temperaments, in its then habitual union with the belief in
the influence of the planets. Such conceptions may remain ineradicable
in the minds of individuals, without hindering the general progress of
the age. It certainly makes on us a singular impression, when we meet
them at a time when human nature in its deepest essence and in all its
characteristic expressions was not only known by exact observation, but
represented by an immortal poetry and art. It sounds almost ludicrous
when an otherwise competent observer considers Clement VII to be of a
melancholy temperament, but defers his judgement to that of the
physicians, who declare the Pope of a sanguine-choleric nature; or when
we read that the same Gaston de Foix, the victor of Ravenna, whom
Giorgione painted and Bambaia carved, and whom all the historians
describe, had the saturnine temperament. No doubt those who use these
expressions mean something by them; but the terms in which they tell us
their meaning are strangely out of date in the Italy of the sixteenth
century.

As examples of the free delineation of the human spirit, we shall first
speak of the great poets of the fourteenth century.

If we were to collect the pearls from the courtly and knightly poetry
of all the countries of the West during the two preceding centuries, we
should have a mass of wonderful divinations and single pictures of the
inward life, which at first sight would seem to rival the poetry of the
Italians. Leaving lyrical poetry out of account, Godfrey of Strassburg gives us, in 'Tristram and Isolt,' a representation of human passion, some features of which are immortal. But these pearls lie scattered in the ocean of artificial convention, and they are altogether something very different from a complete objective picture of the inward man and his spiritual wealth.

Italy, too, in the thirteenth century had, through the 'Trovatori,' its share in the poetry of the courts and of chivalry. To them is mainly due the 'Canzone,' whose construction is as difficult and artificial as that of the songs of any northern minstrel. Their subject and mode of thought represents simply the conventional tone of the courts, be the poet a burgher or a scholar.

But two new paths at length showed themselves, along which Italian poetry could advance to another and a characteristic future. They are not the less important for being concerned only with the formal and external side of the art.

To the same Brunetto Latini--the teacher of Dante--who, in his 'Canzoni,' adopts the customary manner of the 'Trovatori,' we owe the first-known 'versi sciolti,' or blank hendecasyllabic verses, and in his apparent absence of form, a true and genuine passion suddenly showed itself. The same voluntary renunciation of outward effect, through confidence in the power of the inward conception, can be observed some years later in fresco-painting, and later still in
painting of all kinds, which began to cease to rely on color for its
effect, using simply a lighter or darker shade. For an age which laid
so much stress on artificial form in poetry, these verses of Brunetto
mark the beginning of a new epoch.84

About the same time, or even in the first half of the thirteenth
century, one of the many strictly balanced forms of mere, in which
Europe was then so fruitful, became a normal and recognized form in
Italy--the sonnet. The order of rhymes and even the number of lines
varied for a whole century, till Petrarch fixed them permanently. In
this form all higher lyrical and meditative subjects, and at a later
time subjects of every possible description, were treated, and the
madrigals, the sestine, and even the 'Canzoni' were reduced to a
subordinate place. Later Italian writers complain, half jestingly, half
resentfully, of this inevitable mould, this Procrustean bed, to which
they were compelled to make their thoughts and feelings fit. Others
were, and still are, quite satisfied with this particular form of
verse, which they freely use to express any personal reminiscence or
idle sing-song without necessity or serious purpose. For which reason
there are many more bad or insignificant sonnets than good ones.

Nevertheless, the sonnet must be held to have been an unspeakable
blessing for Italian poetry. The clearness and beauty of its structure,
the invitation it gave to elevate the thought in the second and more
rapidly moving half, and the ease with which it could be learned by
heart, made it valued even by the greatest masters. In fact, they would
not have kept it in use down to our own century had they not been
penetrated with a sense of its singular worth. These masters could have given us the same thoughts in other and wholly different forms. But when once they had made the sonnet the normal type of lyrical poetry, many other writers of great, if not the highest, gifts, who otherwise would have lost themselves in a sea of diffusiveness, were forced to concentrate their feelings. The sonnet became for Italian literature a condenser of thoughts and emotions such as was possessed by the poetry of no other modern people.

Thus the world of Italian sentiment comes before us in a series of pictures, clear, concise, and most effective in their brevity. Had other nations possessed a form of expression of the same kind, we should perhaps have known more of their inward life; we might have had a number of pictures of inward and outward situations--reflexions of the national character and temper--and should not be dependent for such knowledge on the so-called lyrical poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who can hardly ever be read with any serious enjoyment. In Italy we can trace an undoubted progress from the time when the sonnet came into existence. In the second half of the thirteenth century the 'Trovatori della transizione,' as they have been recently named, mark the passage from the Troubadours to the poets--that is, to those who wrote under the influence of antiquity. The simplicity and strength of their feeling, the vigorous delineation of fact, the precise expression and rounding off of their sonnets and other poems, herald the coming of a Dante. Some political sonnets of the Guelphs and Ghibellines (1260-1270) have about them the ring of his passion, and others remind us of his sweetest lyrical notes.
Of his own theoretical view of the sonnet, we are unfortunately ignorant, since the last books of his work, 'De vulgari eloquentia,' in which he proposed to treat of ballads and sonnets, either remained unwritten or have been lost. But, as a matter of fact, he has left us in his Sonnets and 'Canzoni' a treasure of inward experience. And in what a framework he has set them! The prose of the 'Vita Nuova,' in which he gives an account of the origin of each poem, is as wonderful as the verses themselves, and forms with them a uniform whole, inspired with the deepest glow of passion. With unflinching frankness and sincerity he lays bare every shade of his joy and his sorrow, and molds it resolutely into the strictest forms of art. Reading attentively these Sonnets and 'Canzoni' and the marvelous fragments of the diary of his youth which lie between them, we fancy that throughout the Middle Ages the poets have been purposely fleeing from themselves, and that he was the first to seek his own soul. Before his time we meet with many an artistic verse; but he is the first artist in the full sense of the word--the first who consciously cast immortal matter into an immortal form. Subjective feeling has here a full objective truth and greatness, and most of it is so set forth that all ages and peoples can make it their own. Where he writes in a thoroughly objective spirit, and lets the force of his sentiment be guessed at only by some outward fact, as in the magnificent sonnets 'Tanto gentile,' etc., and 'Vede perfettamente,' etc., he seems to feel the need of excusing himself. The most beautiful of these poems really belongs to this class-- the 'Deh peregrini che pensosi andate,' (Oh, pilgrims, walking deep in thoughts,' from Vita Nuova.) Even apart from the 'Divine Comedy,' Dante
would have marked by these youthful poems the boundary between
medievalism and modern times. The human spirit had taken a mighty step
towards the consciousness of its own secret life.

The revelations in this matter which are contained in the ‘Divine
Comedy’ itself are simply immeasurable; and it would be necessary to go
through the whole poem, one canto after another, in order to do justice
to its value from this point of view. Happily we have no need to do
this, as it has long been a daily food of all the countries of the
West. Its plan, and the ideas on which it is based, belong to the
Middle Ages, and appeal to our interest only historically; but it is
nevertheless the beginning of all modern poetry, through the power and
richness shown in the description of human nature in every shape and
attitude. From this time forward poetry may have experienced unequal
fortunes, and may show, for half a century together, a so-called
relapse. But its nobler and more vital principle was saved for ever;
and whenever in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and in the beginning of the
sixteenth centuries, an original mind devotes himself to it, he
represents a more advanced stage than any poet out of Italy, given--
what is certainly always easy to settle satisfactorily--an equality of
natural gifts to start with.

Here, as in other things in Italy, culture--to which poetry belongs--
precedes the visual arts and, in fact, gives them their chief impulse.
More than a century elapsed before the spiritual element in painting
and sculpture attained a power of expression in any way analogous to
that of the ‘Divine Comedy.’ How far the same rule holds good for the
artistic development of other nations, and of what importance the whole
question may be, does not concern us here. For Italian civilization it
is of decisive weight.

The position to be assigned to Petrarch in this respect must be settled
by the many readers of the poet. Those who come to him in the spirit of
a cross-examiner, and busy themselves in detecting the contradictions
between the poet and the man, his infidelities in love, and the other
weak sides of his character, may perhaps, after sufficient effort, end
by losing all taste for his poetry. In place, then, of artistic
enjoyment, we may acquire a knowledge of the man in his 'totality.'
What a pity that Petrarch's letters from Avignon contain so little
gossip to take hold of, and that the letters of his acquaintances and
of the friends of these acquaintances have either been lost or never
existed! Instead of Heaven being thanked when we are not forced to
inquire how and through what struggles a poet has rescued something
immortal from his own poor life and lot, a biography has been stitched
together for Petrarch out of these so-called 'remains,' which reads
like an indictment. But the poet may take comfort. If the printing and
editing of the correspondence of celebrated people goes on for another
half-century as it has begun in England and Germany, illustrious
company enough sitting with him on repentance.

Without shutting our eyes to much that is _. artificial in his poetry,
where the writer is merely imitating himself and singing on in the old
strain, we cannot fail to admire the marvelous abundance of pictures of
the inmost soul -- descriptions of moments of joy and sorrow which must
have been thoroughly his own, since no one before him gives us anything of the kind, and on which his significance rests for his country and for the world. His verse is not in all places equally transparent; by the side of his most beautiful thoughts stands at times some allegorical conceit or some sophistical trick of logic, altogether foreign to our present taste. But the balance is on the side of excellence.

Boccaccio, too, in his imperfectly-known Sonnets, succeeds sometimes in giving a most powerful and effective picture of his feeling. The return to a spot consecrated by love (Son. 22), the melancholy of spring (Son. 33), the sadness of the poet who feels himself growing old (Son. 65), are admirably treated by him. And in the ‘Ameto’ he has described the ennobling and transfiguring power of love in a manner which would hardly be expected from the author of the ‘Decameron.’ In the ‘Fiammetta’ we have another great and minutely-painted picture of the human soul, full of the keenest observation, though executed with anything but uniform power, and in parts marred by the passion for high-sounding language and by an unlucky mixture of mythological allusions and learned quotations. The ‘Fiammetta,’ if we are not mistaken, is a sort of feminine counterpart to the ‘Vita Nuova’ of Dante, or at any rate owes its origin to it.

That the ancient poets, particularly the elegists, and Virgil, in the fourth book of the Aeneid, were not without influence on the Italians of this and the following generation is beyond a doubt; but the spring of sentiment within the latter was nevertheless powerful and original.
If we compare them in this respect with their contemporaries in other
countries, we shall find in them the earliest complete expression of
modern European feeling. The question, be it remembered, is not to know
whether eminent men of other nations did not feel as deeply and as
nobly, but who first gave documentary proof of the widest knowledge of
the movements of the human heart.

Why did the Italians of the Renaissance do nothing above the second
rank in tragedy? That was the field on which to display human
character, intellect, and passion, in the thousand forms of their
growth, their struggles, and their decline. In other words: why did
Italy produce no Shakespeare? For with the stage of other northern
countries besides England the Italians of the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries had no reason to fear a comparison; and with the Spaniards
they could not enter into competition, since Italy had long lost all
traces of religious fanaticism, treated the chivalrous code of honour
only as a form, and was both too proud and too intelligent to bow down
before its tyrannical and illegitimate masters. We have therefore only
to consider the English stage in the period of its brief splendor.

It is an obvious reply that all Europe produced but one Shakespeare,
and that such a mind is the rarest of Heaven's gifts. It is further
possible that the Italian stage was on the way to something great when
the Counter-reformation broke in upon it, and, aided by the Spanish
rule over Naples and Milan, and indirectly over almost the whole
peninsula, withered the best flowers of the Italian spirit. It would be
hard to conceive of Shakespeare himself under a Spanish viceroy, or in
the neighbourhood of the Holy Inquisition at Rome, or in his own
country a few decades later, at the time of the English Revolution. The
stage, which in its perfection is a product of every civilization, must
wait for its own time and fortune.

We must not, however, quit this subject without mentioning certain
circumstances which were of a character to hinder or retard a high
development of the drama in Italy, till the time for it had gone by.

As the most weighty of these causes we must mention without doubt that
the scenic tastes of the people were occupied elsewhere, and chiefly in
the mysteries and religious processions. Throughout all Europe dramatic
representations of sacred history and legend form the origin of the
secular drama; but Italy, as will be shown more fully in the sequel,
had spent on the mysteries such a wealth of decorative splendor as
could not but be unfavorable to the dramatic element. Out of all the
countless and costly representations, there sprang not even a branch of
poetry like the 'Autos Sagramentales' of Calderon and other Spanish
poets, much less any advantage or foundation for the secular drama.

And when the latter did at length appear, it at once gave itself up to
magnificence of scenic effects, to which the mysteries had already
accustomed the public taste to far too great an extent. We learn with
astonishment how rich and splendid the scenes in Italy were, at a time
when in the North the simplest indication of the place was thought
sufficient. This alone might have had no such unfavorable effect on the
drama, if the attention of the audience had not been drawn away from
the poetical conception of the play partly by the splendor of the
costumes, partly and chiefly by fantastic interludes (Intermezzi).

That in many places, particularly in Rome and Ferrara, Plautus and
Terence, as well as pieces by the old tragedians, were given in Latin
or in Italian, that the academies of which we have already spoken, made
this one of their chief objects, and that the poets of the Renaissance
followed these models too servilely, were all untoward conditions for
the Italian stage at the period in question. Yet I hold them to be of
secondary importance. Had not the Counter-reformation and the rule of
foreigners intervened, these very disadvantages might have been turned
into useful means of transition. At all events, by the year 1520 the
victory of the mother-tongue in tragedy and comedy was, to the great
disgust of the humanists, as good as won. On this side, then, no
obstacle stood in the way of the most developed people in Europe, to
hinder them from raising the drama, in its noblest forms, to be a true
reflection of human life and destiny. It was the Inquisitors and
Spaniards who cowed the Italian spirit, and rendered impossible the
representation of the greatest and most sublime themes, most of all
when they were associated with patriotic memories. At the same time,
there is no doubt that the distracting ‘Intermezzi’ did serious harm to
the drama. We must now consider them a little more closely.

When the marriage of Alfonso of Ferrara with Lucrezia Borgia was
celebrated, Duke Ercole in person showed his illustrious guests the 110
costumes which were to serve at the representation of five comedies of
Plautus, in order that all might see that not one of them was used
twice. But all this display of silk and camlet was nothing to the
ballets and pantomimes which served as interludes between the acts of
the Plautine dramas. That, in comparison, Plautus himself seemed
mortal dull to a lively young lady like Isabella Gonzaga, and that
while the play was going on everybody was longing for the interludes,
is quite intelligible, when we think of the picturesque brilliancy with
which they were put on the stage. There were to be seen combats of
Roman warriors, who brandished their weapons to the sound of music,
torch-dances executed by Moors, a dance of savages with horns of
plenty, out of which streamed waves of fire-- all as the ballet of a
pantomime in which a maiden was delivered from a dragon. Then came a
dance of fools, got up as Punches, beating one another with pigs'
bladders, with more of the same kind. At the Court of Ferrara they
never gave a comedy without 'its' ballet (Moresca). In what style the
'Amphitruo' of Plautus was there represented (1491) at the first
marriage of Alfonso with Anna Sforza), is doubtful. Possibly it was
given rather as a pantomime with music than as a drama. In any case,
the accessories were more considerable than the play itself. There was
a choral dance of ivy-clad youths, moving in intricate figures, done to
the music of a ringing orchestra; then came Apollo, striking the lyre
with the plectrum, and singing an ode to the praise of the House of
Este; then followed, as an interlude within an interlude, a kind of
rustic farce, after which the stage was again occupied by classical
mythology--Venus, Bacchus and their followers--and by a pantomime
representing the judgement of Paris.
Not till then was the second half of the fable of Amphitruo performed, with unmistakable references to the future birth of a Hercules of the House of Este. At a former representation of the same piece in the courtyard of the palace (1487), 'a paradise with stars and other wheels,' was constantly burning, by which is probably meant an illumination with fireworks, that, no doubt, absorbed most of the attention of the spectators. It was certainly better when such performances were given separately, as was the case at other courts. We shall have to speak of the entertainments given by the Cardinal Pietro Riario, by the Bentivogli at Bologna, and by others, when we come to treat of the festivals in general.

This scenic magnificence, now become universal, had a disastrous effect on Italian tragedy. 'In Venice formerly,' writes Francesco Sansovino, about 1570, 'besides comedies, tragedies by ancient and modern writers were put on the stage with great pomp. The fame of the scenic arrangements _(apparati)_ brought spectators from far and near. Nowadays, performances are given by private individuals in their own houses, and the custom has long been fixed of passing the carnival in comedies and other cheerful entertainments.' In other words, scenic display had helped to kill tragedy.

The various starts or attempts of these modern tragedians, among which the 'Sofonisba' of Trissino (1515) was the most celebrated, belong in the history of literature. The same may be said of genteel comedy, modelled on Plautus and Terence. Even Ariosto could do nothing of the first order in this style. On the other hand, popular prose-comedy, as
treated by Machiavelli, Bibbiena, and Aretino, might have had a future, if its matter had not condemned it to destruction. This was, on the one hand, licentious to the last degree, and on the other, aimed at certain classes in society, which, after the middle of the sixteenth century, ceased to afford a ground for public attacks. If in the 'Sofonisba' the portrayal of character gave place to brilliant declamation, the latter, with its half-sister, caricature, was used far too freely in comedy also.

The writing of tragedies and comedies, and the practice of putting both ancient and modern plays on the stage, continued without intermission; but they served only as occasions for display. The national genius turned elsewhere for living interest. When the opera and the pastoral fable came up, these attempts were at length wholly abandoned.

One form of comedy only was and remained national--the unwritten, improvised 'Commedia dell' Arte.' It was of no great service in the delineation of character, since the masks used were few in number and familiar to everybody. But the talent of the nation had such an affinity for this style, that often in the middle of written comedies the actors would throw themselves on their own inspiration, so that a new mixed form of comedy came into existence in some places. The plays given in Venice by Burchiello, and afterwards by the company of Armonio, Val. Zuccato, Lod. Dolce, and others, were perhaps of this character. Of Burchiello we know expressly that he used to heighten the comic effect by mixing Greek and Slavonic words with the Venetian dialect. A complete 'Commedia dell' Arte,' or very nearly so, was
represented by Angelo Beolco, known as 'Il Ruzzante' (1502-42), whose customary masks were Paduan peasants, with the names Menato, Vezzo, Billora, etc. He studied their dialect when spending the summer at the villa of his patron Luigi Cornaro (Aloysius Cornelius) at Codevico.

Gradually all the famous local masks made their appearance, whose remains still delight the Italian populace in our day: Pantalone, the Doctor, Brighella, Pulcinella, Arlecchino, and the rest. Most of them are of great antiquity, and possibly are historically connected with the masks in the old Roman farces; but it was not till the sixteenth century that several of them were combined in one piece. At the present time this is less often the case; but every great city still keeps to its local mask--Naples to the Pulcinella, Florence to the Stentorello, Milan to its often so admirable Meneghino.

This is indeed scanty compensation for a people which possessed the power, perhaps to a greater degree than any other, to reflect and contemplate its own highest qualities in the mirror of the drama. But this power was destined to be marred for centuries by hostile forces, for whose predominance the Italians were only in part responsible. The universal talent for dramatic representation could not indeed be uprooted, and in music Italy long made good its claim to supremacy in Europe. Those who can find in this world of sound a compensation for the drama, to which all future was denied, have, at all events, no meagre source of consolation.

But perhaps we can find in epic poetry what the stage fails to offer us. Yet the chief reproach made against the heroic poetry of Italy is
precisely on the score of the insignificance and imperfect representation of its characters.

Other merits are allowed to belong to it, among the rest, that for three centuries it has been actually read and constantly reprinted, while nearly the whole of the epic poetry of other nations has become a mere matter of literary or historical curiosity. Does this perhaps lie in the taste of the readers, who demand something different from what would satisfy a northern public? Certainly, without the power of entering to some degree into Italian sentiment, it is impossible to appreciate the characteristic excellence of these poems, and many distinguished men declare that they can make nothing of them. And in truth, if we criticize Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Berni solely with an eye to their thought and matter, we shall fail to do them justice. They are artists of a peculiar kind, who write for a people which is distinctly and eminently artistic.

The mediaeval legends had lived on after the gradual extinction of the poetry of chivalry, partly in the form of rhyming adaptations and collections, and partly of novels in prose. The latter was the case in Italy during the fourteenth century; but the newly-awakened memories of antiquity were rapidly growing up to a gigantic size, and soon cast into the shade all the fantastic creations of the Middle Ages. Boccaccio, for example, in his 'Visione Amorosa,' names among the heroes in his enchanted palace Tristram, Arthur, Galeotto, and others, but briefly, as if he were ashamed to speak of them; and following writers either do not name them at all, or name them only for purposes
of ridicule. But the people kept them in its memory, and from the
people they passed into the hands of the poets of the fifteenth
century. These were now able to conceive and represent their subjects
in a wholly new manner. But they did more. They introduced into it a
multitude of fresh elements, and in fact recast it from beginning to
end. It must not be expected of them that they should treat such
subjects with the respect once felt for them. All other countries must
envy them the advantage of having a popular interest of this kind to
appeal to; but they could not without hypocrisy treat these myths with
any respect.

Instead of this, they moved with victorious freedom in the new field
which poetry had won. What they chiefly aimed at seems to have been
that their poems, when recited, should produce the most harmonious and
exhilarating effect. These works indeed gain immensely when they are
repeated, not as a whole, but piecemeal, and with a slight touch of
comedy in voice and gesture. A deeper and more detailed portrayal of
character would do little to enhance this effect; though the reader may
desire it, the hearer, who sees the rhapsodist standing before him, and
who hears only one piece at a time, does not think about it at all.
With respect to the figures, which the poet found ready made for him,
his feeling was of a double kind; his humanistic culture protested
against their mediaeval character, and their combats as counterparts of
the battles and tournaments of the poet's own age exercised all his
knowledge and artistic power, while at the same time they called forth
all the highest qualities in the reciter. Even in Pulci, accordingly,
we find no parody, strictly speaking, of chivalry, nearly humour of his
paladins at times approaches it. By their side stands the ideal of
pugnacity--the droll and jovial Morgante--who masters whole armies with
his bellclapper, and who is himself thrown into relief by contrast with
the grotesque and most interesting monster Margutte. Yet Pulci lays no
special stress on these two rough and vigorous characters, and his
story, long after they had disappeared from it, maintains its singular
course. Boiardo treats his characters with the same mastery, using them
for serious or comic purposes as he pleases; he has his fun even out of
supernatural beings, whom he sometimes intentionally depicts as louts.
But there is one artistic aim which he pursues as earnestly as Pulci,
namely, the lively and exact description of all that goes forward.
Pulci recited his poem, as one book after another was finished, before
the society of Lorenzo il Magnifico, and in the same way Boiardo
recited his at the court of Ercole of Ferrara. It may be easily
imagined what sort of excellence such an audience demanded, and how
little thanks a profound exposition of character would have earned for
the poet. Under these circumstances the poems naturally formed no
complete whole, and might just as well be half or twice as long as they
now are. Their composition is not that of a great historical picture,
but rather that of a frieze, or of some rich festoon entwined among
groups of picturesque figures. And precisely as in the figures or
tendrils of a frieze we do not look for minuteness of execution in the
individual forms, or for distant perspectives and different planes, so
we must as little expect anything of the kind from these poems.

The varied richness of invention which continually astonishes us, most
of all in the case of Boiardo, turns to ridicule all our school
definitions as to the essence of epic poetry. For that age, this form of literature was the most agreeable diversion from archaeological studies, and, indeed, the only possible means of re-establishing an independent class of narrative poetry. For the versification of ancient history could only lead to the false tracks which were trodden by Petrarch in his 'Africa,' written in Latin hexameters, and a hundred and fifty years later by Trissino in his 'Italy delivered from the Goths,' composed in 'versi sciolti'--a never-ending poem of faultless language and versification, which only makes us doubt whether this unlucky alliance has been more disastrous to history or to poetry.

And whither did the example of Dante beguile those who imitated him? The visionary 'Trionfi' of Petrarch were the last of the works written under this influence which satisfy our taste. The 'Amorosa Visione' of Boccaccio is at bottom no more than an enumeration of historical or fabulous characters, arranged under allegorical categories. Others preface what they have to tell with a baroque imitation of Dante's first canto, and provide themselves with some allegorical comparison, to take the place of Virgil. Uberti, for example, chose Solinus for his geographical poem--the 'Dittamondo'--and Giovanni Santi, Plutarch for his encomium on Federigo of Urbino. The only salvation of the time from these false tendencies lay in the new epic poetry which was represented by Pulci and Boiardo. The admiration and curiosity with which it was received, and the like of which will perhaps never fall again to the lot of epic poetry to the end of time, is a brilliant proof of how great was the need of it. It is idle to ask whether that epic ideal which our own day has formed from Homer and the 'Nibelungenlied' is or
is not realized in these works; an ideal of their own age certainly was. By their endless descriptions of combats, which to us are the most fatiguing part of these poems, they satisfied, as we have already said, a practical interest of which it is hard for us to form a just conception—as hard, indeed, as of the esteem in which a lively and faithful reflection of the passing moment was then held.

Nor can a more inappropriate test be applied to Ariosto than the degree in which his 'Orlando Furioso' serves for the representation of character. Characters, indeed, there are, and drawn with an affectionate care; but the poem does not depend on these for its effect, and would lose, rather than gain, if more stress were laid upon them. But the demand for them is part of a wider and more general desire which Ariosto fails to satisfy as our day would wish it satisfied. From a poet of such fame and such mighty gifts we would gladly receive something better than the adventures of Orlando. From him we might have hoped for a work expressing the deepest conflicts of the human soul, the highest thoughts of his time on human and divine things— in a word, one of those supreme syntheses like the 'Divine Comedy' or 'Faust.' Instead of which he goes to work like the visual artists of his own day, not caring for originality in our sense of the word, simply reproducing a familiar circle of figures, and even, when it suits his purpose, making use of the details left him by his predecessors. The excellence which, in spite of all this, can nevertheless be attained, will be the more incomprehensible to people born without the artistic sense, the more learned and intelligent in other respects they are. The artistic aim of Ariosto is brilliant,
living action, which he distributes equally through the whole of his
great poem. For this end he needs to be excused, not only from all
deeper expression of character, but also from maintaining any strict
connection in his narrative. He must be allowed to take up lost and
forgotten threads when and where he pleases; his heroes must come and
go, not because their character, but because the story requires it. Yet
in this apparently irrational and arbitrary style of composition he
displays a harmonious beauty, never losing himself in description, but
giving only such a sketch of scenes and persons as does not hinder the
flowing movement of the narrative. Still less does he lose himself in
conversation and monologue, but maintains the lofty privilege of the
true epos, by transforming all into living narrative. His pathos does
not lie in the words, not even in the famous twentythird and following
cantos, where Roland's madness is described. That the love-stories in
the heroic poem are without all lyrical tenderness, must be reckoned a
merit, though from a moral point of view they cannot always be
approved. Yet at times they are of such truth and reality,
notwithstanding all; and romance which surrounds them, that we might
think them personal affairs of the poet himself. In the full
consciousness of his own genius, he does not scruple to interweave the
events of his own day into the poem, and to celebrate the fame of the
house of Este in visions and prophecies. The wonderful stream of his
octaves bears it all forward in even and dignified movement.

With Teofilo Folengo, or, as he here calls himself, Limerno Pitocco,
the parody of the whole system of chivalry attained the end it had so
long desired. But here comedy, with its realism, demanded of necessity
a stricter delineation of character. Exposed to all the rough usage of
the half-savage street-lads in a Roman country town, Sutri, the little
Orlando grows up before our eyes into the hero, the priest-hater, and
the disputant. The conventional world which had been recognized since
the time of Pulci and had served as a framework for the epos, here
falls to pieces. The origin and position of the paladins is openly
ridiculed, as in the tournament of donkeys in the second book, where
the knights appear with the most ludicrous armament. The poet utters
his ironical regrets over the inexplicable faithlessness which seems
implanted in the house of Gano of Mainz, over the toilsome acquisition
of the sword Durindana, and so forth. Tradition, in fact, serves him
only as a substratum for episodes, ludicrous fancies, allusions to
events of the time (among which some, like the close of cap. vi. are
exceedingly fine), and indecent jokes. Mixed with all this, a certain
derision of Ariosto is unmistakable, and it was fortunate for the 'Or-
lando Furioso' that the 'Orlandino,' with its Lutheran heresies, was
soon put out of the way by the Inquisition. The parody is evident when
(cap. vi, 28) the house of Gonzaga is deduced from the paladin Guidone,
since the Colonna claimed Orlando, the Orsini Rinaldo, and the house of
Este--according to Ariosto-- Ruggiero as their ancestors. Perhaps
Ferrante Gonzaga, the patron of the poet, was a party to this sarcasm
on the house of Este.

That in the 'Jerusalem Delivered' of Torquato Tasso the delineation of
character is one of the chief tasks of the poet, proves only how far
his mode of thought differed from that prevalent half a century before.
His admirable work is a true monument of the Counter-reformation which
had meanwhile been accomplished, and of the spirit and tendency of that
movement.

Biography and in the in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance

Outside the sphere of poetry also, the Italians were the first of all
European nations who displayed any remarkable power and inclination
accurately to describe man as shown in history, according to his inward
and outward characteristics.

It is true that in the Middle Ages considerable attempts were made in
the same direction; and the legends of the Church, as a kind of
standing biographical task, must, to some extent, have kept alive the
interest and the gift for such descriptions. In the annals of the
monasteries and cathedrals, many of the churchmen, such as Meinwerk of
Paderborn, Godehard of Hildesheim, and others, are brought vividly
before our eyes; and descriptions exist of several of the German
emperors, modelled after old authors--particularly Suetonius--which
contain admirable features. Indeed these and other profane 'vitae' came
in time to form a continuous counterpart to the sacred legends. Yet
neither Einhard nor Wippo nor Radevicus can be named by the side of
Joinville's picture of St. Louis, which certainly stands almost alone
as the first complete spiritual portrait of a modern European nature.
Characters like St. Louis are rare at all times, and his was favored by
the rare good fortune that a sincere and naive observer caught the
spirit of all the events and actions of his life, and represented it
admireably. From what scanty sources are we left to guess at the inward nature of Frederick II or of Philip the Fair. Much of what, till the close of the Middle Ages, passed for biography, is properly speaking nothing but contemporary narrative, written without any sense of what is individual in the subject of the memoir.

Among the Italians, on the contrary, the search for the characteristic features of remarkable men was a prevailing tendency; and this it is which separates them from the other western peoples, among whom the same thing happens but seldom, and in exceptional cases. This keen eye for individuality belongs only to those who have emerged from the halfconscious life of the race and become themselves individuals.

Under the influence of the prevailing conception of fame an art of comparative biography arose which no longer found it necessary, like Anastasius, Agnellus, and their successors, or like the biographers of the Venetian doges, to adhere to a dynastic or ecclesiastical succession. It felt itself free to describe a man if and because he was remarkable. It took as models Suetonius, Nepos (the ‘viri illustres’), and Plutarch,-so far as he was known and translated; for sketches of literary history, the lives of the grammarians, rhetoricians, and poets, known to us as the ‘Appendices’ to Suetonius, seem to have served as patterns, as well as the widely-read life of Virgil by Donatus.

It has already been mentioned that biographical collections --lives of
famous men and famous women--began to appear in the fourteenth century. Where they do not describe contemporaries, they are naturally dependent on earlier narratives. The first great original effort is the life of Dante by Boccaccio. Lightly and rhetorically written, and full, as it is, of arbitrary fancies, this work nevertheless gives us a lively sense of the extraordinary features in Dante's nature. Then follow, at the end of the fourteenth century, the 'vite' of illustrious Florentines, by Filippo Villani. They are men of every calling: poets, jurists, physicians, scholars, artists, statesmen, and soldiers, some of them then still living. Florence is here treated like a gifted family, in which all the members are noticed in whom the spirit of the house expresses itself vigorously. The descriptions are brief, but show a remarkable eye for what is characteristic, and are noteworthy for including the inward and outward physiognomy in the same sketch. From that time forward, the Tuscans never ceased to consider the description of man as lying within their special competence, and to them we owe the most valuable portraits of the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Giovanni Cavalcanti, in the appendices to his Florentine history, written before the year 1450, collects instances of civil virtue and abnegation, of political discernment and of military valor, all shown by Florentines. Pius II gives in his 'Commentaries' valuable portraits of famous contemporaries; and not long ago a separate work of his earlier years, which seems preparatory to these portraits, but which has colors and features that are very singular, was reprinted. To Jacopo of Volterra we owe piquant sketches of members of the Curia in the time of Sixtus IV. Vespasiano Fiorentino has often been referred to already, and as a historical authority a high place must be assigned to him; but his gift as a painter of character is not to be compared with
that of Machiavelli, Niccolo Valori, Guicciardini, Varchi, Francesco Vettori, and others, by whom European historical literature has probably been as much influenced in this direction as by the ancients. It must not be forgotten that some of these authors soon found their way into northern countries by means of Latin translations. And without Giorgio Vasari of Arezzo and his all-important work, we should perhaps to this day have no history of Northern art, or of the art of modern Europe, at all.

Among the biographers of North Italy in the fifteenth century, Bartolommeo Fazio of Spezia holds a high rank. Platina, born in the territory of Cremona, gives us, in his 'Life of Paul II,' examples of biographical caricatures. The description of the last Visconti, written by Piercandido Decembrio--an enlarged imitation of Suetonius--is of special importance. Sismondi regrets that so much trouble has been spent on so unworthy an object, but the author would hardly have been equal to deal with a greater man, while he was thoroughly competent to describe the mixed nature of Filippo Maria, and in and through it to represent with accuracy the conditions, the forms, and the consequences of this particular kind of despotism. The picture of the fifteenth century would be incomplete without this unique biography, which is characteristic down to its minutest details. Milan afterwards possessed, in the historian Corio, an excellent portrait-painter; and after him came Paolo Giovio of Como, whose larger biographies and shorter 'Elogia' have achieved a world-wide reputation, and become models for subsequent writers in all countries. It is easy to prove by a hundred passages how superficial and even dishonest he was; nor from
a man like him can any high and serious purpose be expected. But the breath of the age moves in his pages, and his Leo, his Alfonso, his Pompeo Colonna, live and act before us with such perfect truth and reality, that we seem admitted to the deepest recesses of their nature.

Among Neapolitan writers, Tristano Caracciolo, so far as we are able to judge, holds indisputably the first place in this respect, although his purpose was not strictly biographical. In the figures which he brings before us, guilt and destiny are wondrously mingled. He is a kind of unconscious tragedian. That genuine tragedy which then found no place on the stage, ‘swept by’ in the palace, the street, and the public square. The ‘Words and Deeds of Alfonso the Great,’ written by Antonio Panormita during the lifetime of the king, are remarkable as one of the first of such collections of anecdotes and of wise and witty sayings.

The rest of Europe followed the example of Italy in this respect but slowly, although great political and religious movements had broken so many bonds, and had awakened so many thousands to new spiritual life. Italians, whether scholars or diplomatists, still remained, on the whole, the best source of information for the characters of the leading men all over Europe. It is well known how speedily and unanimously in recent times the reports of the Venetian embassies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been recognized as authorities of the first order for personal description. Even autobiography takes here and there in Italy a bold and vigorous flight, and puts before us, together with the most varied incidents of external life, striking revelations of the inner man. Among other nations, even in Germany at the time of the
Reformation, it deals only with outward experiences, and leaves us to
guess at the spirit within from the style of the narrative. It seems as
though Dante's 'Vita Nuova,' with the inexorable truthfulness which
runs through it, had shown his people the way.

The beginnings of autobiography are to be traced in the family
histories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which are said to
be not uncommon as manuscripts in the Florentine libraries--unaffected
narratives written for the sake of the individual or of his family,
like that of Buonaccorso Pitti.

A profound self-analysis is not to be looked for in the 'Commentaries'
of Pius II. What we here learn of him as a man seems at first sight to
be chiefly confined to the account which he gives of the various steps
in his career. But further reflection will lead us to a different
conclusion with regard to this remarkable book. There are men who are
by nature mirrors of what surrounds them. It would be irrelevant to ask
incessantly after their convictions, their spiritual struggles, their
inmost victories and achievements. Aeneas Sylvius lived wholly in the
interest which lay near, without troubling himself about the problems
and contradictions of life. His Catholic orthodoxy gave him all the
help of this kind which he needed. And at all events, after taking part
in every intellectual movement which interested his age, and notably
furthering some of them, he still at the close of his earthly course
retained character enough to preach a crusade against the Turks, and to
die of grief when it came to nothing.
Nor is the autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, any more than that of Pius II, founded on introspection. And yet it describes the whole man—not always willingly—with marvelous truth and completeness. It is no small matter that Benvenuto, whose most important works have perished half finished, and who, as an artist, is perfect only in his little decorative speciality, but in other respects, if judged by the works of him which remain, is surpassed by so many of his greater contemporaries—that Benvenuto as a man will interest mankind to the end of time. It does not spoil the impression when the reader often detects him bragging or lying; the stamp of a mighty, energetic, and thoroughly developed nature remains. By his side our modern autobiographers, though their tendency and moral character may stand much higher, appear incomplete beings. He is a man who can do all and dares do all, and who carries his measure in himself. Whether we like him or not, he lives, such as he was, as a significant type of the modern spirit.

Another man deserves a brief mention in connection with this subject—a man who, like Benvenuto, was not a model of veracity: Girolamo Cardano of Milan (b. 1500). His little book, 'De propria vita,' will outlive and eclipse his fame in philosophy and natural science, just as Benvenuto's Life, though its value is of another kind, has thrown his works into the shade. Cardano is a physician who feels his own pulse, and describes his own physical, moral, and intellectual nature, together with all the conditions under which it had developed, and this, to the best of his ability, honestly and sincerely. The work
which he avowedly took as his model—the ‘Confessions’ of Marcus Aurelius—he was able, hampered as he was by no stoical maxims, to surpass in this particular. He desires to spare neither himself nor others, and begins the narrative of his career with the statement that his mother tried, and failed, to procure abortion. It is worth remark that he attributes to the stars which presided over his birth only the events of his life and his intellectual gifts, but not his moral qualities; he confesses (cap. 10) that the astrological prediction that he would not live to the age of forty or fifty years did him much harm in his youth. But there is no need to quote from so well-known md accessible a book; whoever opens it will not lay it down till the last page. Cardano admits that he cheated at play, that he was vindictive, incapable of all compunction, purposely cruel in his speech. He confesses it without impudence and without feigned contrition, without even wishing to make himself an object of interest, but with the same simple and sincere love of fact which guided him in his scientific researches. And, what is to us the most repulsive of all, the old man, after the most shocking experiences and with his confidence in his fellowmen gone, finds himself after all tolerably happy and comfortable. He has still left him a grandson, immense learning, the fame of his works, money, rank and credit, powerful friends, the knowledge of many secrets, and, best of all, belief in God. After this, he counts the teeth in his head, and finds that he was fifteen.

Yet when Cardano wrote, Inquisitors and Spaniards were already busy in Italy, either hindering the production of such natures, or, where they existed, by some means or other putting them out of the way. There lies
a gulf between this book and the memoirs of Alfieri.

Yet it would be unjust to close this list of autobiographers without listening to a word from one man who was both worthy and happy. This is the well-known philosopher of practical life, Luigi Cornaro, whose dwelling at Padua, classical as an architectural work, was at the same time the home of all the muses. In his famous treatise 'On the Sober Life,' he describes the strict regimen by which he succeeded, after a sickly youth, in reaching an advanced and healthy age, then of eighty-three years. He goes on to answer those who despise life after the age of sixty-five as a living death, showing them that his own life had nothing deadly about it. 'Let them come and see, and wonder at my good health, how I mount on horseback without help, how I run upstairs and up hills, how cheerful, amusing, and contented I am, how free from care and disagreeable thoughts. Peace and joy never quit me.... My friends are wise, learned, and distinguished people of good position, and when they are not with me I read and write, and try thereby, as by all other means. to be useful to others. Each of these things I do at the proper time, and at my ease, in my dwelling, which is beautiful and lies in the best part of Padua, and is arranged both for summer and winter with all the resources of architecture, and provided with a garden by the running water. In the spring and autumn, I go for awhile to my hill in the most beautiful part of the Euganean mountains, where I have fountains and gardens, and a comfortable dwelling; and there I amuse myself with some easy and pleasant chase, which is suitable to my years. At other times I go to my villa on the plain; there all the paths lead to an open space, in the middle of which stands a pretty
church; an arm of the Brenta flows through the plantations-- fruitful, well-cultivated fields, now fully peopled, which the marshes and the foul air once made fitter for snakes than for men. It was I who drained the country; then the air became good, and people settled there and multiplied, and the land became cultivated as it now is, so that T can truly say: "On this spot I gave to God an altar and a temple, and souls to worship Him." This is my consolation and my happiness whenever I come here. In the spring and autumn, I also visit the neighbouring towns, to see and converse with my friends, through whom I make the acquaintance of other distinguished men, architects, painters, sculptors, musicians, and cultivators of the soil. I see what new things they have done, I look again at what I know already, and learn much that is of use to me. I see palaces, gardens, antiquities, public grounds, churches, and fortifications. But what most of all delights me when I travel, is the beauty of the country and the places, lying now on the plain, now on the slopes of the hills, or on the banks of rivers and streams, surrounded by gardens and villas. And these enjoyments are not diminished through weakness of the eyes or the ears; all my senses (thank God!) are in the best condition, including the sense of taste; for I enjoy more the simple food which I now take in moderation, than all the delicacies which I ate in my years of disorder.' After mentioning the works he had undertaken on behalf of the republic for draining the marshes, and the projects which he had constantly advocated for preserving the lagoons, he thus concludes:

'These are the true recreations of an old age which God has permitted to be healthy, and which is free from those mental and bodily
sufferings to which so many young people and so many sickly older people succumb. And if it be allowable to add the little to the great, to add jest to earnest, it may be mentioned as a result of my moderate life, that in my eightythird year I have written a most amusing comedy, full of blameless wit. Such works are generally the business of youth, as tragedy is the business of old age. If it is reckoned to the credit of the famous Greek that he wrote a tragedy in his seventythird year, must I not, with my ten years more, be more cheerful and healthy than he ever was? And that no consolation may be wanting in the overflowing cup of my old age, I see before my eyes a sort of bodily immortality in the persons of my descendants. When I come home I see before me, not one or two, but eleven grandchildren, between the ages of two and eighteen, all from the same father and mother, all healthy, and, so far as can already be judged, all gifted with the talent and disposition for learning and a good life. One of the younger I have as my playmate (buffoncello), since children from the third to the fifth year are born to tricks; the elder ones I treat as my companions, and, as they have admirable voices, I take delight in hearing them sing and play on different instruments. And I sing myself, and find my voice better, clearer, and louder than ever. These are the pleasures of my last years. My life, therefore, is alive, and not dead; nor would I exchange my age for the youth of such as live in the service of their passions.'

In the 'Exhortation' which Cornaro added at a much later time, in his ninety-fifth year, he reckons it among the elements of his happiness that his 'Treatise' had made many converts. He died at Padua in 1565, at the age of over a hundred years.
This national gift did not, however, confine itself to the criticism
and description of individuals, but felt itself competent to deal with
the qualities and characteristics of whole peoples. Throughout the
Middle Ages the cities, families, and nations of all Europe were in the
habit of making insulting and derisive attacks on one another, which,
with much caricature, contained commonly a kernel of truth. But from
the first the Italians surpassed all others in their quick apprehension
of the mental differences among cities and populations. Their local
patriotism, stronger probably than in any other medieval people, soon
found expression in literature, and allied itself with the current
conception of 'Fame.' Topography became the counterpart of biography;
while all the more important cities began to celebrate their own
praises in prose and verse, writers appeared who made the chief towns
and districts the subject partly of a serious comparative description,
partly of satire, and sometimes of notices in which jest and earnest
are not easy to be distinguished. Next to some famous passages in the
'Divine Comedy,' we have here the 'Dittamondo' of Uberti (about 1360).
As a rule, only single remarkable facts and characteristics are here
mentioned: the Feast of the Crows at Sant' Apollinare in Ravenna, the
springs at Treviso, the great cellar near Vicenza, the high duties at
Mantua, the forest of towers at Lucca. Yet mixed up with all this, we
find laudatory and satirical criticisms of every kind. Arezzo figures
with the crafty disposition of its citizens, Genoa with the
artificially blackened eyes and teeth (?) of its women, Bologna with
its prodigality, Bergamo with its coarse dialect and hard-headed
people. In the fifteenth century the fashion was to belaud one's own
city even at the expense of others. Michele Savonarola allows that, in comparison with his native Padua, only Rome and Venice are more splendid, and Florence perhaps more joyous—by which our knowledge is naturally not much extended. At the end of the century, Jovianus Pontanus, in his 'Antonius,' writes an imaginary journey through Italy, simply as a vehicle for malicious observations. But in the sixteenth century we meet with a series of exact and profound studies of national characteristics, such as no other people of that time could rival. Machiavelli sets forth in some of his valuable essays the character and the political condition of the Germans and French in such a way that the born northerner, familiar with the history of his own country, is grateful to the Florentine thinker for his flashes of insight. The Florentines begin to take pleasure in describing themselves; and basking in the well-earned sunshine of their intellectual glory, their pride seems to attain its height when they derive the artistic pre-eminence of Tuscany among Italians, not from any special gifts of nature, but from hard, patient work. The homage of famous men from other parts of Italy, of which the sixteenth Capitolo of Ariosto is a splendid example, they accepted as a merited tribute to their excellence.

Of an admirable description of the Italians, with their various pursuits and characteristics, though in a few words and with special stress laid on the Lucchese, to whom the work was dedicated, we can give only the title: _Forcianae Questiones, _by Ortensio Landi, Naples, 1536. Leandro Alberti is not so fruitful as might be expected in his description of the character of the different cities. A 'Commentario'
(by Ortensio Landi, Venice, 1553) contains among many absurdities some valuable information on the unfortunate conditions prevailing about the middle of the century.

To what extent this comparative study of national and local characteristics may, by means of Italian humanism, have influenced the rest of Europe, we cannot say with precision. To Italy, at all events, belongs the priority in this respect, as in the description of the world in general.

Description of the Outward Man

But the discoveries made with regard to man were not confined to the spiritual characteristics of individuals and nations; his outward appearance was in Italy the subject of an entirely different interest from that shown in it by northern peoples.

Of the position held by the great Italian physicians with respect to the progress of physiology, we cannot venture to speak; and the artistic study of the human figure belongs, not to a work like the present, but to the history of art. But something must here be said of that universal education of the eye, which rendered the judgement of the Italians as to bodily beauty or ugliness perfect and final.

On reading the Italian authors of that period attentively, we are
astounded at the keenness and accuracy with which outward features are
seized, and at the completeness with which personal appearance in
general is described. Even today the Italians, and especially the
Romans, have the art of sketching a man's picture in a couple of words.
This rapid apprehension of what is characteristic is an essential
condition for detecting and representing the beautiful. In poetry, it
is true, circumstantial description may be a fault, not a merit, since
a single feature, suggested by deep passion or insight, will often
awaken in the reader a far more powerful impression of the figure
described. Dante gives us nowhere a more splendid idea of his Beatrice
than where he only describes the influence which goes forth from her
upon all around. But here we have not to treat particularly of poetry,
which follows its own laws and pursues its own ends, but rather of the
general capacity to paint in words real or imaginary forms.

In this Boccaccio is a master--not in the 'Decameron,' where the
colorature of the tales forbids lengthy description, but in the
romances, where he is free to take his time. In his 'Ameto' he
describes a blonde and a brunette much as an artist a hundred years
later would have painted them--for here, too, culture long precedes
art. In the account of the brunette--or, strictly speaking, of the less
blonde of the two--there are touches which deserve to be called
classical. In the words 'la spaziosa testa e distesa' lies the feeling
for grander forms, which go beyond a graceful prettiness; the eyebrows
with him no longer resemble two bows, as in the Byzantine ideal, but a
single wavy line; the nose seems to have been meant to be aquiline; the
broad, full breast, the arms of moderate length, the effect of the
beautiful hand, as it lies on the purple mantle—all this foretells the sense of beauty of a coming time, and unconsciously approaches to that of classical antiquity. In other descriptions Boccaccio mentions a flat (not medievally rounded) brow, a long, earnest, brown eye, and round, not hollowed neck, as well as—in a very modern tone—the 'little feet' and the 'two roguish eyes' of a black-haired nymph.

Whether the fifteenth century has left any written account of its ideal of beauty, I am not able to say. The works of the painters and sculptors do not render such an account as unnecessary as might appear at first sight, since possibly, as opposed to their realism, a more ideal type might have been favored and preserved by the writers. In the sixteenth century Firenzuola came forward with his remarkable work on female beauty. We must clearly distinguish in it what he had learned from old authors or from artists, such as the fixing of proportions according to the length of the head, and certain abstract conceptions. What remains is his own genuine observation, illustrated with examples of women and girls from Prato. As his little work is a kind of lecture, delivered before the women of this city—that is to say, before very severe critics—he must have kept pretty closely to the truth. His principle is avowedly that of Zeuxis and of Lucian—to piece together an ideal beauty out of a number of beautiful parts. He defines the shades of color which occur in the hair and skin, and gives to the 'biondo' the preference, as the most beautiful color for the hair, understanding by it a soft yellow, inclining to brown. He requires that the hair should be thick, long, and locky; the forehead serene, and twice as broad as high; the skin bright and clear (candida), but not of
a dead white (bianchezza); the eyebrows dark, silky, most strongly
marked in the middle, and shading off towards the ears and the nose;
the white of the eye faintly touched with blue, the iris not actually
black, though all the poets praise 'occhi neri' as a gift of Venus,
despite that even goddesses were known for their eyes of heavenly blue,
and that soft, joyous, brown eyes were admired by everybody. The eye
itself should be large and full and brought well forward; the lids
white, and marked with almost invisible tiny red veins; the lashes
neither too long, nor too thick, nor too dark. The hollow round the eye
should have the same color as the cheek. The ear, neither too large nor
too small, firmly and neatly fitted on, should show a stronger color in
the winding than in the even parts, with an edge of the transparent
ruddiness of the pomegranate. The temples must be white and even, and
for the most perfect beauty ought not to be too narrow. The red should
grow deeper as the cheek gets rounder. The nose, which chiefly
determines the value of the profile, must recede gently and uniformly
in the direction of the eyes; where the cartilage ceases, there may be
a slight elevation, but not so marked as to make the nose aquiline,
which is not pleasing in women; the lower part must be less strongly
colored than the ears, but not of a chilly whiteness, and the middle
partition above the lips lightly tinted with red. The mouth, our author
would have rather small, and neither projecting to a point, nor quite
flat, with the lips not too thin, and fitting neatly together; an
accidental opening, that is, when the woman is neither speaking nor
laughing, should not display more than six upper teeth. As delicacies
of detail, he mentions a dimple in the upper lip, a certain fullness of
the under lip, and a tempting smile in the left corner of the mouth--
and so on. The teeth should not be too small, regular, well marked off
from one another, and of the color of ivory; and the gums must not be
too dark or even like red velvet. The chin is to be round, neither
pointed nor curved outwards, and growing slightly red as it rises; its
glory is the dimple. The neck should be white and round and rather long
than short, with the hollow and the Adam's apple but faintly marked;
and the skin at every movement must show pleasing lines. The shoulders
he desires broad, and in the breadth of the bosom sees the first
condition of its beauty. No bone may be visible upon it, its fall and
swell must be gentle and gradual, its color 'candidissimo.' The leg
should be long and not too hard in the lower parts, but still not
without flesh on the shin, which must be provided with white, full
calves. He likes the foot small, but not bony, the instep (it seems)
high, and the color white as alabaster. The arms are to be white, and
in the upper parts tinted with red; in their consistence fleshy and
muscular, but still soft as those of Pallas, when she stood before the
shepherd on Mount Ida--in a word, ripe, fresh, and firm. The hand
should be white, especially towards the wrist, but large and plump,
feeling soft as silk, the rosy palm marked with a few, but distinct and
not intricate lines; the elevations in it should be not too great, the
space between thumb and forefinger brightly colored and without
wrinkles, the fingers long, delicate, and scarcely at all thinner
towards the tips, with nails clear, even, not too long nor to square,
and cut so as to show a white margin about the breadth of a knife's
back.

Aesthetic principles of a general character occupy a very subordinate
place to these particulars. The ultimate principles of beauty,
according to which the eye judges 'senza appello,' are for Firenzuola a secret, as he frankly confesses; and his definitions of 'Leggiadria,' 'Grazia,' 'Aria,' 'Maesta,' 'Vaghezza,' 'Venusta,' are partly, as has been remarked, philological, and partly vain attempts to utter the unutterable. Laughter he prettily defines, probably following some old author, as a radiance of the soul. The literature of all countries can, at the close of the Middle Ages, show single attempts to lay down theoretic principles of beauty; but no other work can be compared to that of Firenzuola. Brantome, who came a good half-century later, is a bungling critic by his side, because governed by lasciviousness and not by a sense of beauty.

Description of Human Life

Among the new discoveries made with regard to man, we must reckon, in conclusion, the interest taken in descriptions of the daily course of human life.

The comical and satirical literature of the Middle Ages could not dispense with pictures of everyday events. But it is another thing, when the Italians of the Renaissance dwelt on this picture for its own sake--for its inherent interest-- and because it forms part of that great, universal life of the world whose magic breath they felt everywhere around them. Instead of and together with the satirical comedy, which wanders through houses, villages, and streets, seeking food for its derision in parson, peasant, and burgher, we now see in
literature the beginnings of a true _genre, _long before it found any expression in painting. That _genre _and satire are often met with in union, does not prevent them from being wholly different things.

How much of earthly business must Dante have watched with attentive interest, before he was able to make us see with our own eyes all that happened in his spiritual world. The famous pictures of the busy movement in the arsenal at Venice, of the blind men laid side by side before the church door, and the like, are by no means the only instances of this kind: for the art, in which he is a master, of expressing the inmost soul by the outward gesture, cannot exist without a close and incessant study of human life. (Cf. Inferno xxi, 1-6, Purgatorio xiii, 61-66.) The poets who followed rarely came near him in this respect, and the novelists were forbidden by the first laws of their literary style to linger over details. Their prefaces and narratives might be as long as they pleased, but what we understand by _genre _was outside their province. The taste for this class of description was not fully awakened till the time of the revival of antiquity.

And here we are again met by the man who had a heart for everything--Aeneas Sylvius. Not only natural beauty, not only that which has an antiquarian or a geographical interest, finds a place in his descriptions, but any living scene of daily life. Among the numerous passages in his memoirs in which scenes are described which hardly one of his contemporaries would have thought worth a line of notice, we will here only mention the boat-race on the Lake of Bolsena. We are not
able to detect from what old letter-writer or story-teller the impulse
was derived to which we owe such lifelike pictures. Indeed, the whole
spiritual communion between antiquity and the Renaissance is full of
delicacy and of mystery.

To this class belong those descriptive Latin poems of which we have
already spoken—hunting-scenes, journeys, ceremonies, and so forth. In
Italian we also find something of the same kind, as, for example, the
descriptions of the famous Medicean tournament by Politian and Luca
Pulci. The true epic poets, Luigi Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto, are
carried on more rapidly by the stream of their narrative; yet in all of
them we must recognize the lightness and precision of their descriptive
touch as one of the chief elements of their greatness. Franco Sacchetti
amuses himself with repeating the short speeches of a troop of pretty
women caught in the woods by a shower of rain.

Other scenes of moving life are to be looked for in the military
historians. In a lengthy poem, dating from an earlier period, we find a
faithful picture of a combat of mercenary soldiers in the fourteenth
century, chiefly in the shape of the orders, cries of battle, and
dialogue with which it is accompanied.

But the most remarkable productions of this kind are the realistic
descriptions of country life, which are found most abundantly in
Lorenzo il Magnifico and the poets of his circle.
Since the time of Petrarch, an unreal and conventional style of bucolic poetry had been in vogue, which, whether written in Latin or Italian, was essentially a copy of Virgil. Parallel to this, we find the pastoral novel of Boccaccio and other works of the same kind down to the 'Arcadia' of Sannazaro, and later still, the pastoral comedy of Tasso and Guarini. They are works whose style, whether poetry or prose is admirably finished and perfect, but in which pastoral life is ideal dress for sentiments which belong to a wholly sphere of culture.

But by the side of all this there appeared in Italian poetry, towards the close of the fifteenth century, signs of a more realistic treatment of rustic life. This was not possible out of Italy; for here only did the peasant, whether laborer or proprietor, possess human dignity, personal freedom, and the right of settlement, hard as his lot might sometimes be in other respects. The difference between town and country is far from being so marked here as in northern countries. Many of the smaller towns are peopled almost exclusively by peasants who, on coming home at nightfall from their work, are transformed into townsfolk. The masons of Como wandered over nearly all Italy; the child Giotto was free to leave his sheep and join a guild at Florence; everywhere there was a human stream flowing from the country into the cities, and some mountain populations seemed born to supply this current. It is true that the pride and local conceit supplied poets and novelists with abundant motives for making game of the 'villano,' and what they left undone was taken charge of by the comic improvisers. But nowhere do we find a trace of that brutal and contemptuous class-hatred against the 'vilains' which inspired the aristocratic poets of Provence, and often,
too, the French chroniclers. On the contrary, Italian authors of every sort gladly recognize and accentuate what is great or remarkable in the life of the peasant. Gioviano Pontano mentions with admiration instances of the fortitude of the savage inhabitants of the Abruzzi; in the biographical collections and in the novelists we meet with the figure of the heroic peasant-maiden who hazards her life to defend her family and her honour.

Such conditions made the poetical treatment of country life possible. The first instance we shall mention is that of Battista Mantovano, whose eclogues, once much read and still worth reading, appeared among his earliest works about 1480. They are a mixture of real and conventional rusticity, but the former tends to prevail. They represent the mode of thought of a well-meaning village clergyman, not without a certain leaning to liberal ideas. As Carmelite monk, the writer may have had occasion to mix freely with the peasantry.

But it is with a power of a wholly different kind that Lorenzo il Magnifico transports himself into the peasant's world. His 'Nencia di Barberino' reads like a crowd of genuine extracts from the popular songs of the Florentine country, fused into a great stream of octaves. The objectivity of the writer is such that we are in doubt whether the speaker--the young peasant Vallera, who declares his love to Nencia--awakens his sympathy or ridicule. The deliberate contrast to the conventional eclogue is unmistakable. Lorenzo surrenders himself purposely to the realism of simple, rough country life, and yet his work makes upon us the impression of true poetry.
The ‘Beca da Dicomano’ of Luigi Pulci is an admitted counterpart to the ‘Nencia’ of Lorenzo. But the deeper purpose is wanting. The ‘Beca’ is written not so much from the inward need to give a picture of popular life, as from the desire to win the approbation of the educated Florentine world by a successful poem. Hence the greater and more deliberate coarseness of the scenes, and the indecent jokes. Nevertheless, the point of view of the rustic lover is admirably maintained.

Third in this company of poets comes Angelo Poliziano, with his ‘Rusticus’ in Latin hexameters. Keeping clear of all imitation of Virgil's Georgics, he describes the year of the Tuscan peasant, beginning with the late autumn, when the countryman gets ready his new plough and prepares the seed for the winter. The picture of the meadows in spring is full and beautiful, and the ‘Summer’ has fine passages; but the vintage-feast in autumn is one of the gems of modern Latin poetry. Politian wrote poems in Italian as well as Latin, from which we may infer that in Lorenzo's circle it was possible to give a realistic picture of the passionate life of the lower classes. His gipsy's love-song is one of the earliest products of that wholly modern tendency to put oneself with poetic consciousness into the position of another class. This had probably been attempted for ages with a view to satire, and the opportunity for it was offered in Florence at every carnival by the songs of the maskers. But the sympathetic understanding of the feeling of another class was new; and with it the ‘Nencia’ and this ‘Canzone zingaresca’ mark a new starting-point in the history of
poetry.

Here, too, we must briefly indicate how culture prepared the way for artistic development. From the time of the 'Nencia,' a period of eighty years elapses to the rustic genre-painting of Jacopo Bassano and his school.

In the next part of this work we shall show how differences of birth had lost their significance in Italy. Much of this was doubtless owing to the fact that men and mankind were here first thoroughly and profoundly understood. This one single result of the Renaissance is enough to fill us with everlasting thankfulness. The logical notion of humanity was old enough--but here the notion became a fact.

The loftiest conceptions on this subject were uttered by Pico della Mirandola in his Speech on the Dignity of Man, which may justly be called one of the noblest of that great age. God, he tells us, made man at the close of the creation, to know the laws of the universe, to love its beauty, to admire its greatness. He bound him to no fixed place, to no prescribed form of work, and by no iron necessity, but gave him freedom to will and to love. 'I have set thee,' says the Creator to Adam, 'in the midst of the world, that thou mayst the more easily behold and see all that is therein. I created thee a being neither heavenly nor earthly, neither mortal nor immortal only, that thou mightest be free to shape and to overcome thyself. Thou mayst sink into a beast, and be born anew to the divine likeness. The brutes bring from
their mother's body what they will carry with them as long as they
live; the higher spirits are from the beginning, or soon after, what
they will be for ever. To thee alone is given a growth and a
development depending on thine own free will. Thou bearest in thee the
germs of a universal life.'

Part Five

SOCIETY AND FESTIVALS

Equality of Classes

Every period of civilization which forms a complete and consistent
whole manifests itself not only in political life, in religion, art,
and science, but also sets its characteristic stamp on social life.
Thus the Middle Ages had their courtly and aristocratic manners and
etiquette, differing but little in the various countries of Europe, as
well as their peculiar forms of middle-class life.

Italian customs at the time of the Renaissance offer in these respects
the sharpest contrasts to medievalism. The foundation on which they
rest is wholly different. Social intercourse in its highest and most
perfect form now ignored all distinctions of caste, and was based
simply on the existence of an educated class as we now understand the
word. Birth and origin were without influence, unless combined with
leisure and inherited wealth. Yet this assertion must not be taken in
an absolute and unqualified sense, since medieval distinctions still
sometimes made themselves felt to a greater or less degree, if only as
a means of maintaining equality with the aristocratic pretensions of
the less advanced countries of Europe. But the main current of the time
went steadily towards the fusion of classes in the modern sense of the
phrase.

The fact was of vital importance that, from certainly the twelfth
century onwards, the nobles and the burghers dwelt together within the
walls of the cities. The interests and pleasures of both classes were
thus identified, and the feudal lord learned to look at society from
another point of view than that of his mountain castle. The Church,
too, in Italy never suffered itself, as in northern countries, to be
used as a means of providing for the younger sons of noble families.
Bishoprics, abbbacies, and canonries were often given from the most
unworthy motives, but still not according to the pedigrees of the
applicants; and if the bishops in Italy were more numerous, poorer,
and, as a rule, destitute of all sovereign rights, they still lived in
the cities where their cathedrals stood, and formed, together with
their chapters, an important element in the cultivated society of the
place. In the age of despots and absolute princes which followed, the
nobility in most of the cities had the motives and the leisure to give
themselves up to a private life free from the political danger and
adorned with all that was elegant and enjoyable, but at the same time
hardly distinguishable from that of the wealthy burgher. And after the
time of Dante, when the new poetry and literature were in the hands of
all Italy, when to this was added the revival of ancient culture and
the new interest in man as such, when the successful Condottiere became
a prince, and not only good birth, but legitimate birth, ceased to be
indispensable for a throne, it might well seem that the age of equality
had dawned, and the belief in nobility vanished for ever.

From a theoretical point of view, when the appeal was made to
antiquity, the conception of nobility could be both justified and
condemned from Aristotle alone. Dante, for example, derives from
Aristotle's definition, 'Nobility rests on excellence and inherited
wealth,' his own saying, 'Nobility rests on personal excellence or on
that of forefathers.' But elsewhere he is not satisfied with this
conclusion. He blames himself, because even in Paradise, while talking
with his ancestor Cacciaguida, he made mention of his noble origin,
which is but a mantle from which time is ever cutting something away,
unless we ourselves add daily fresh worth to it. And in the 'Convito'
he disconnects 'nobile' and 'nobilita' from every condition of birth,
and identifies the idea with the capacity for moral and intellectual
eminence, laying a special stress on high culture by calling 'nobilita'
the sister of 'filosofia.'

And as time went on, the greater the influence of humanism on the
Italian mind, the firmer and more widespread became the conviction that
birth decides nothing as to the goodness or badness of a man. In the
fifteenth century this was the prevailing opinion. Poggio, in his
dialogue 'On nobility,' agrees with his interlocutors-- Niccolo
Niccoli, and Lorenzo Medici, brother of the great Cosimo-- that there
is no other nobility than that of personal merit. The keenest shafts of
his ridicule are directed against much of what vulgar prejudice thinks
indispensable to an aristocratic life. 'A man is !111 the farther
removed from true nobility, the longer his forefathers have plied the
trade of brigands. The taste for hawking and hunting saviours no more
of nobility than the nests and lairs of the hunted creatures of
spikenard. The cultivation of the soil, as practiced by the ancients,
would be much nobler than this senseless wandering through the hills
and woods, by which men make themselves like to the brutes than to the
reasonable creatures. It may serve well enough as a recreation, but not
as the business of a lifetime.' The life of the English and French
chivalry in the country or in the woody fastnesses seems to him
thoroughly ignoble, and worst of all the doings of the robber-knights
of Germany. Lorenzo here begins to take the part of the nobility, but
not-- which is characteristic--appealing to any natural sentiment in
its favour, but because Aristotle in the fifth book of the Politics
recognizes the nobility as existent, and defines it as resting on
excellence and inherited wealth. To this Niccoli retorts that Aristotle
gives this not as his own conviction, but as the popular impression; in
his Ethics, where he speaks as he thinks, he calls him noble who
strives after that which is truly good. Lorenzo urges upon him vainly
that the Greek word for nobility (Eugeneia) means good birth; Niccoli
thinks the Roman word 'nobilis' (i.e. remark- able) a better one, since
it makes nobility depend on a man's deeds. Together with these
discussions, we find a sketch of the conditions of the nobles in
various parts of Italy. In Naples they will not work, and busy
themselves neither with their own estates nor with trade and commerce,
which they hold to be discreditable; they either loiter at home or ride
about on horseback. The Roman nobility also despise trade, but farm their own property; the cultivation of the land even opens the way to a title; it is a respectable but boorish nobility. In Lombardy the nobles live upon the rent of their inherited estates; descent and the abstinence from any regular calling, constitute nobility. In Venice, the 'nobili,' the ruling caste, were all merchants. Similarly in Genoa the nobles and nonnobles were alike merchants and sailors, and only separated by their birth: some few of the former, it is true, still lurked as brigands in their mountain castles. In Florence a part of the old nobility had devoted themselves to trade; another, and certainly by far the smaller part, enjoyed the satisfaction of their titles, and spent their time, either in nothing at all, or else in hunting and hawking.

The decisive fact was, that nearly everywhere in Italy, even those who might be disposed to pride themselves on their birth could not make good the claims against the power of culture and of wealth, and that their privileges in politics and at court were not sufficient to encourage any strong feeling of caste. Venice offers only an apparent exception to this rule, for there the 'nobili' led the same life as their fellow-citizens, and were distinguished by few honorary privileges. The case was certainly different at Naples, which the strict isolation and the ostentatious vanity of its nobility excluded, above all other causes, from the spiritual movement of the Renaissance. The traditions of medieval Lombardy and Normandy, and the French aristocratic influences which followed, all tended in this direction; and the Aragonese government, which was established by the middle of
the fifteenth century, completed the work, and accomplished in Naples what followed a hundred years later in the rest of Italy--a social transformation in obedience to Spanish ideas, of which the chief features were the contempt for work and the passion for titles. The effect of this new influence was evident, even in the smaller towns, before the year 1500. We hear complaints from La Cava that the place had been proverbially rich, as long as it was filled with masons and weavers; whilst now, since instead of looms and trowels nothing but spurs, stirrups and gilded belts was to be seen, since everybody was trying to become Doctor of Laws or of Medicine, Notary, Officer or Knight, the most intolerable poverty prevailed. In Florence an analogous change appears to have taken place by the time of Cosimo, the first Grand Duke; he is thanked for adopting the young people, who now despise trade and commerce, as knights of his order of St. Stephen. This goes straight in the teeth of the good old Florentine custom, by which fathers left property to their children on the condition that they should have some occupation. But a mania for titles of a curious and ludicrous sort sometimes crossed and thwarted, especially among the Florentines, the levelling influence of art and culture. This was the passion hood, which became one of the most striking follies at a time when the dignity itself had lost every significance.

'A few years ago,' writes Franco Sacchetti, towards the end of the fourteenth century, 'everybody saw how all the workpeople down to the bakers, how all the wool-carders, usurers money-changers and blackguards of all description, became knights. Why should an official need knighthood when he goes to preside over some little provincial
town? What has this title to do with any ordinary bread-winning
pursuit? How art thou sunken, unhappy dignity! Of all the long list of
knightly duties, what single one do these knights of ours discharge? I
wished to speak of these things that the reader might see that
knighthood is dead. And as we have gone so far as to confer the honour
upon dead men, why not upon figures of wood and stone, and why not upon
an ox? The stories which Sacchetti tells by way of illustration speak
plainly enough. There we read how Bernabo Visconti knighted the victor
in a drunken brawl, and then did the same derisively to the vanquished;
how Ger-man knights with their decorated helmets and devices were
ridiculed—and more of the same kind. At a later period Poggio makes
merry over the many knights of his day without a horse and without
military training. Those who wished to assert the privilege of the
order, and ride out with lance and colors, found in Florence that they
might have to face the government as well as the jokers.

On considering the matter more closely, we shall find that this belated
chivalry, independent of all nobility of birth, though partly the fruit
of an insane passion for titles, had nevertheless another and a better
side. Tournaments had not yet ceased to be practiced, and no one could
take part in them who was not a knight. But the combat in the lists,
and especially the difficult and perilous tilting with the lance,
offered a favourable opportunity for the display of strength, skill,
and courage, which no one, whatever might be his origin, would
willingly neglect in an age which laid such stress on personal merit.

It was in vain that from the time of Petrarch downwards the tournament
was denounced as a dangerous folly. No one was converted by the pathetic appeal of the poet: 'In what book do we read that Scipio and Caesar were skilled at the joust?' The practice became more and more popular in Florence. Every honest citizen came to consider his tournament--now, no doubt, less dangerous than formerly--as a fashionable sport. Franco Sacchetti has left us a ludicrous picture of one of these holiday cavaliers--a notary seventy years old. He rides out on horseback to Peretola, where the tournament was cheap, on a jade hired from a dyer. A thistle is stuck by some wag under the tail of the steed, who takes fright, runs away, and carries the helmeted rider, bruised and shaken, back into the city. The inevitable conclusion of the story is a severe curtain-lecture from the wife, who is not a little enraged at these break-neck follies of her husband.

It may be mentioned in conclusion that a passionate interest in this sport was displayed by the Medici, as if they wished to show--private citizens as they were, without noble blood in their veins--that the society which surrounded them was in no respect inferior to a Court. Even under Cosimo (1459), and afterwards under the elder Pietro, brilliant tournaments were held at Florence. The younger Pietro neglected the duties of government for these amusements and would never suffer himself to be painted except clad in armor. The same practice prevailed at the Court of Alexander VI, and when the Cardinal Ascanio Sforza asked the Turkish Prince Djem how he liked the spectacle, the barbarian replied with much discretion that such combats in his country only took place among slaves, since then, in the case of accident, nobody was the worse for it. The Oriental was unconsciously in accord
with the old Romans in condemning the manners of the Middle Ages.

Apart, however, from this particular prop of knighthood, we find here and there in Italy, for example at Ferrara, orders of courtiers whose members had a right to the title of _Cavaliere._

But, great as were individual ambitions, and the vanities of nobles and knights, it remains a fact that the Italian nobility took its place in the centre of social life, and not at the extremity. We find it habitually mixing with other classes on a footing of perfect equality, and seeking its natural allies in culture and intelligence. It is true that for the courtier a certain rank of nobility was required, but this exigence is expressly declared to be caused by a prejudice rooted in the public mind--’per l’opinione universale’--and never was held to imply the belief that the personal worth of one who was not of noble blood was in any degree lessened thereby, nor did it follow from this rule that the prince was limited to the nobility for his society. It meant simply that the perfect man--the true courtier--should not be wanting in any conceivable advantage, and therefore not in this. If in all the relations of life he was specially bound to maintain a dignified and reserved demeanor, the reason was not found in the blood which flowed in his veins, but in the perfection of manner which was demanded from him. We are here in the presence of a modern distinction, based on culture and on wealth, but on the latter solely
because it enables men to devote their life to the former, and
effectually to promote its interests and advancement.

Costumes and Fashions

But in proportion as distinctions of birth ceased to confer any special
privilege, was the individual himself compelled to make the most of his
personal qualities, and society to find its worth and charm in itself.
The demeanor of individuals, and all the higher forms of social
intercourse, became ends pursued a deliberate and artistic purpose.

Even the outward appearance of men and women and the habits of daily
life were more perfect, more beautiful, and more polished than among
the other nations of Europe. The dwellings of the upper classes fall
rather within the province of the history of art; but we may note how
far the castle and the city mansion in Italy surpassed in comfort,
order, and harmony the dwellings of the northern noble. The style of
dress varied so continually that it is impossible to make any complete
comparison with the fashions of other countries, all the more because
since the close of the fifteenth century imitations of the latter were
frequent. The costumes of the time, as given us by the Italian
painters, are the most convenient, and the most pleasing to the eye
which were then to be found in Europe; but we cannot be sure if they
represent the prevalent fashion, or if they are faithfully reproduced
by the artist. It is nevertheless beyond a doubt that nowhere was so
much importance attached to dress as in Italy. The nation was, and is,
vain; and even serious men among it looked on a handsome and becoming costume as an element in the perfection of the individual. At Florence, indeed, there was a brief period when dress was a purely personal matter, and every man set the fashion for himself, and till far into the sixteenth century there were exceptional people who still had the courage to do so; and the majority at all events showed themselves capable of varying the fashion according to their individual tastes. It is a symptom of decline when Giovanni della Casa warns his readers not to be singular or to depart from existing fashions. Our own age, which, in men's dress at any rate, treats uniformity as the supreme law, gives up by so doing far more than it is aware of. But it saves itself much time, and this, according to our notions of business, outweighs all other disadvantages.

In Venice and Florence at the time of the Renaissance there were rules and regulations prescribing the dress of the men and restraining the luxury of the women. Where the fashions were more free, as in Naples, the moralists confess with regret that no difference can be observed between noble and burgher. They further deplore the rapid changes of fashion, and--if we rightly understand their words--the senseless idolatry of whatever comes from France, though in many cases the fashions which were received back from the French were originally Italian. It does not further concern us how far these frequent changes, and the adoption of French and Spanish ways, contributed to the national passion for external display; but we find in them additional evidence of the rapid movement of life in Italy in the decades before and after the year 1500.
We may note in particular the efforts of the women to alter their appearance by all the means which the toilette could afford. In no country of Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire was so much trouble taken to modify the face, the color of the skin and the growth of the hair, as in Italy at this time. All tended to the formation of a conventional type, at the cost of the most striking and transparent deceptions. Leaving out of account costume in general, which in the fourteenth century was in the highest degree varied in color and loaded with ornament, and at a later period assumed a character of more harmonious richness, we here limit ourselves more particularly to the toilette in the narrower sense.

No sort of ornament was more in use than false hair, often made of white or yellow silk. The law denounced and forbade it in vain, till some preacher of repentance touched the worldly minds of the wearers. Then was seen, in the middle of the public square, a lofty pyre (talamo), on which, besides lutes, diceboxes, masks, magical charms, song-books, and other vanities, lay masses of false hair, which the purging fires soon turned into a heap of ashes. The ideal color sought for both natural and artificial hair was blond. And as the sun was supposed to have the power of making the hair this color, many ladies would pass their whole time in the open air on sunshiny days. Dyes and other mixtures were also used freely for the same purpose. Besides all these, we meet with an endless list of beautifying waters, plasters, and paints for every single part of the face--even for the teeth and eyelids--of which in our day we can form no conception. The ridicule of
the poets, the invectives of the preachers, and the experience of the
baneful effects of these cosmetics on the skin, were powerless to
hinder women from giving their faces an unnatural form and color. It is
possible that the frequent and splendid representations of Mysteries,82
at which hundreds of people appeared painted and masked, helped to
further this practice in daily life. It is certain that it was
widespread, and that the countrywomen vied in this respect with their
sisters in the towns. It was vain to preach that such decorations were
the mark of the courtesan; the most honorable matrons, who all the year
round never touched paint, used it nevertheless on holidays when they
showed themselves in public. But whether we look on this bad habit as a
remnant of barbarism, to which the painting of savages is a parallel,
or as a consequence of the desire for perfect youthful beauty in
feature and in color, as the art and complexity of the toilette would
lead us to think—in either case there was no lack of good advice on
the part of the men. The use of perfumes, too, went beyond all
reasonable limits. They were applied to everything with which human
beings came into contact. At festivals even the mules were treated with
scents and ointments, and Pietro Aretino thanks Cosimo I for a perfumed
roll of money.

The Italians of that day lived in the belief that they were more
cleanly than other nations. There are in fact general reasons which
speak rather for than against this claim. Cleanliness is indispensable
to our modern notion of social perfection, which was developed in Italy
earlier than elsewhere. That the Italians were one of the richest of
existing peoples, is another presumption in their favour. Proof, either
for or against these pretensions, can of course never be forthcoming, and if the question were one of priority in establishing rules of cleanliness, the chivalrous poetry of the Middle Ages is perhaps in advance of anything that Italy can produce. It is nevertheless certain that the singular neatness and cleanliness of some distinguished representatives of the Renaissance, especially in their behavior at meals, was noticed expressly, and that 'German' was the synonym in Italy for all that is filthy. The dirty habits which Massimiliano Sforza picked up in the course of his German education, and the notice they attracted on his return to Italy, are recorded by Giovio. It is at the same time very curious that, at least in the fifteenth century, the inns and hotels were left chiefly in the hands of Germans, who probably, however, made their profit mostly out of the pilgrims journeying to Rome. Yet the statements on this point may refer mainly to the country districts, since it is notorious that in the great cities Italian hotels held the first place. The want of decent inns in the country may also be explained by the general insecurity of life and property.

To the first half of the sixteenth century belongs the manual of politeness which Giovanni della Casa, a Florentine by birth, published under the title 'Il Galateo.' Not only cleanliness in the strict sense of the word, but the dropping of all the habits which we consider unbecoming, is here prescribed with the same unfailing tact with which the moralist discerns the highest ethical truths. In the literature of other countries the same lessons are taught, though less systematically, by the indirect influence of repulsive descriptions.
In other respects also, the 'Galateo' is a graceful and intelligent guide to good manners—a school of tact and delicacy. Even now it may be read with no small profit by people of all classes, and the politeness of European nations is not likely to outgrow its precepts. So far as tact is an affair of the heart, it has been inborn in some men from the dawn of civilization, and acquired through force of will by others; but the Italians were the first to recognize it as a universal social duty and a mark of culture and education. And Italy itself had altered much in the course of two centuries. We feel at their close that the time for practical jokes between friends and acquaintances—for 'burle' and 'beffe'—was over in good society, that the people had emerged from the walls of the cities and had learned a cosmopolitan politeness and consideration. We shall speak later on of the intercourse of society in the narrower sense.

Outward life, indeed, in the fifteenth and the early part of the people in the world. A countless number of those small things and great things which combine to make up what we mean by comfort, we know to have first appeared in Italy. In the well-paved streets of the Italian cities, driving was universal, while elsewhere in Europe walking or riding was the custom, and at all events no one drove for amusement. We read in the novelists of soft, elastic beads, of costly carpets and bedroom furniture, of which we hear nothing in other countries. We often hear especially of the abundance and beauty of the linen. Much of all this is drawn within the sphere of art. We note with
admiration the thousand ways in which art ennobles luxury, not only
adorning the massive sideboard or the light brackets with noble vases,
clothing the walls with the movable splendor of tapestry, and covering
the toilet-table with numberless graceful trifles, but absorbing whole
branches of mechanical work--especially carpentering--into its
province. All Western Europe, as soon as its wealth enabled it to do
so, set to work in the same way at the close of the Middle Ages. But
its efforts produced either childish and fantastic toy-work, or were
bound by the chains of a narrow and purely Gothic art, while the
Renaissance moved freely, entering into the spirit of every task it
undertook and working for a far larger circle of patrons and admirers
than the northern artists. The rapid victory of Italian decorative art
over northern in the course sixteenth century is due partly to this
fact, though the result of wider and more general causes.

Language and Society

The higher forms of social intercourse, which here meet us as a work of
art--as a conscious product and one of the highest products of national
life have no more important foundation and condition than language. In
the most flourishing period of the Middle Ages, the nobility of Western
Europe had sought to establish a 'courtly' speech for social
intercourse as well as for poetry. In Italy, too, where the dialects
differed so greatly from one another, we find in the thirteenth century
a so-called 'Curiale,' which was common to the courts and to the poets.
It is of decisive importance for Italy that the attempt was there
seriously and deliberately made to turn this into the language of
literature and society. The introduction to the 'Cento Novelle
Antiche,' which were put into their present shape before l 300, avows
this object openly. Language is here considered apart from its uses in
poetry; its highest function is clear, simple, intelligent utterance in
short speeches, epigrams, and answers. This faculty was admired in
Italy, as nowhere else but among the Greeks and Arabs: 'how many in the
course long life have scarcely produced a single "bel parlare." ' 

But the matter was rendered more difficult by the diversity of the
aspects under which it was considered. The writings of Dante transport
us into the midst of the struggle. His work ‘On the Italian Language’
is not only of the utmost importance for the subject itself, but is
also the first complete treatise on any modern language. His method and
results belong to the history of linguistic science, in which they will
always hold a high place. We must here content ourselves with the
remark that long before the appearance of this book the subject must
have been one of daily and pressing importance, various dialects of
Italy had long been the object of study and dispute, and that the birth
of the one ideal was not accomplished without many throes.

Nothing certainly contributed so much to this end as the great poem of
Dante. The Tuscan dialect became the basis of the new national speech.
If this assertion may seem to some to go too far, as foreigners we may
be excused, in a matter on which much difference of opinion prevails,
for following the general belief.
Literature and poetry probably lost more than they gained by the contentious purism which was long prevalent in Italy, and which marred the freshness and vigor of many an able writer. Others, again, who felt themselves masters of this magnificent language, were tempted to rely upon its harmony and flow, apart from the thought which it expressed. A very insignificant melody, played upon such an instrument, can produce a very great effect. But however this may be, it is certain that socially the language had great value. It was, as it were, that the crown of a noble and dignified behavior, and compelled the gentleman, both in his ordinary bearing and in exceptional moments to observe external propriety. No doubt this classical garment, like the language of Attic society, served to drape much that was foul and malicious; but it was also the adequate expression of all that is noblest and most refined. But politically and nationally it was of supreme importance, serving as an ideal home for the educated classes in all the States of the divided peninsula. Nor was it the special property of the nobles or of any one class, but the poorest and humblest might learn it if they would. Even now-- and perhaps more than ever --in those parts of Italy where, as a rule, the most unintelligible dialect prevails, the stranger is often astonished at hearing pure and well-spoken Italian from the mouths of peasants or artisans, and looks in vain for anything analogous in France or in Germany, where even the educated classes retain traces of a provincial speech. There is certainly a larger number of people able to read in Italy than we should be led to expect from the condition of many parts of the country--as for in- stance, the States of the Church--in other respects; but what is more important is the general and undisputed respect for pure language and pronunciation as something precious and
sacred. One part of the country after another came to adopt the classical dialect officially. Venice, Milan, and Naples did so at the noontime of Italian literature, and partly through its influences. It was not till the present century that Piedmont became of its own free will a genuine Italian province by sharing in this chief treasure of the people--pure speech. The dialects were from the beginning of the sixteenth century purposely left to deal with a certain class of subjects, serious as well as comic, and the style which was thus developed proved the equal to all its tasks. Among other nations a conscious separation of this kind did not occur till a much later period.

The opinion of educated people as to the social value of language is fully set forth in the 'Cortigiano.' There were then persons, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, who purposely kept to the antiquated expressions of Dante and the other Tuscan writers of his time, simply because they were old. Our author forbids the use of them altogether in speech, and is unwilling to permit them even in writing, which he considers a form of speech. Upon this follows the admission that the best style of speech is that which most resembles good writing. We can clearly recognize the author's feeling that people who have anything of importance to say must shape their own speech, and that language is something flexible and changing because it is something living. It is allowable to make use of any expression, however ornate, as long as it is used by the people; nor are non-Tuscan words, or even French and Spanish words forbidden, if custom has once applied them to definite purposes. Thus care and intelligence will
produce a language, which, if not the pure old Tuscan, is still Italian, rich in flowers and fruit like a well-kept garden. It belongs to the completeness of the 'Cortigiano' that his wit, his polished manners, and his poetry, must be clothed in this perfect dress.

When style and language had once become the property of a living society, all the efforts of purists and archaists failed to secure their end. Tuscany itself was rich in writers and the first order, who ignored and ridiculed these endeavors. Ridicule in abundance awaited the foreign scholar who explained to the Tuscans how little they understood their language. The life and influence of a writer like Machiavelli was enough to sweep away all these cobwebs. His vigorous thoughts, his clear and simple mode of expression wore a form which had any merit but that of the 'Trecentisti.' And on the other hand there were too many North Italians, Romans, and Neapolitans, who were thankful if the demand for purity of style in literature and conversation was not pressed too far. They repudiated, indeed, the forms and idioms of their dialect; and Bandello, with what a foreigner might suspect to be false modesty, is never tired of declaring: 'I have no style; I do not write like a Florentine, but like a barbarian; I am not ambitious of giving new graces to my language; I am a Lombard, and from the Ligurian border into the bargain.' But the claims of the purists were most successfully met by the express renunciation of the higher qualities of style, and the adoption of a vigorous, popular language in their stead. Few could hope to rival Pietro Bembo who, though born in Venice, nevertheless wrote the purest Tuscan, which to him was a foreign language, or the Neapolitan Sannazaro, who did the
same. But the essential point was that language, whether spoken or
written, was held to be an object of respect. As long as this feeling
was prevalent, the fanaticism of the purists—their linguistic
congresses and the rest of it—did little harm. Their bad influence was
not felt till much later, when the original power of Italian literature
relaxed and yielded to other and far worse influences. At last it
became possible for the Accademia della Crusca to treat Italian like a
dead language. But this association proved so helpless that it could
not even hinder the invasion of Gallicism in the eighteenth century.

This language—loved, tended, and trained to every use—now served as
the basis of social intercourse. In northern countries, the nobles and
the princes passed their leisure either in solitude, or in hunting,
fighting, drinking, and the like; the burghers in games and bodily
exercises, with a mixture of literary or festive amusements. In Italy
there existed a neutral ground, where people of every origin, if they
had the needful talent and culture, spent their time in conversation
change of jest and earnest. As eating small part of such
entertainments, it not difficult to keep at a distance those who sought
society for these objects. If we are to take the writers of dialogues
literally, the loftiest problems of human existence were not excluded
from the conversation of thinking men, and the production of noble
thoughts was not, as was commonly the case in the North, the work of
solitude, but of society. But we must here limit ourselves to the less
serious side of social intercourse—to the side which existed only for
the sake of amusement.
Social Etiquette

This society, at all events at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was a matter of art; and had, and rested on, tacit or avowed rules of good sense and propriety, which are the exact reverse of all mere etiquette. In less polished circles, where society took the form of a permanent corporation, we meet with a system of formal rules and a prescribed mode of entrance, as was the case with those wild sets of Florentine artists of whom Vasari tells us that they were capable of giving representations of the best comedies of the day. In the easier intercourse of society it was not unusual to select some distinguished lady as president, whose word was law for the evening.

Everybody knows the introduction to Boccaccio's 'Decameron,' and looks on the presidency of Pampinea as a graceful fiction. That it was so in this particular case is a matter of course; but the fiction was nevertheless based on a practice which often occurred in reality. Firenzuola, who nearly two centuries later (1523) pref-aces his collection of tales in a similar manner, with express reference to Boccaccio, comes assuredly nearer to the truth when he puts into the mouth of the queen of the society a formal speech on the mode of spending the hours during the stay which the company proposed to make in the country. The day was to begin with a stroll among the hills passed in philosophical talk; then followed breakfast, with music and singing, after which came the recitation, in some cool, shady spot, of a new poem, the subject of which had been given the night before; in
the evening the whole party walked to a spring of water where they all sat down and each one told a tale; last of all came supper and lively conversation 'of such a kind that the women might listen to it without shame and the men might not seem to be speaking under the influence of wine.' Ban-dello, in the introductions and dedications to single novels, does not give us, it is true, such inaugural discourses as this, since the circles before which the stories are told are represented as already formed; but he gives us to understand in other ways how rich, how manifold, and how charming the conditions of society must have been. Some readers may be of opinion that no good was to be got from a world which was willing to be amused by such immoral literature. It would be juster to wonder at the secure foundations of a society which, notwithstanding these tales, still observed the rules of order and decency, and which knew how to vary such pastimes with serious and solid discussion. The need of noble forms of social intercourse was felt to be stronger than all others. To convince ourselves of it, we are not obliged to take as our standard the idealized society which Castiglione depicts as discussing the loftiest sentiments and aims of human life at the court of Guidobaldo of Urbino, and Pietro Bembo at the castle of Asolo The society described by Bandello, with all the frivolities which may be laid to its charge, enables us to form the best notion of the easy and polished dignity, of the urbane kindliness, of the intellectual freedom, of the wit and the graceful dilettantism, which distinguished these circles. A significant proof of the value of such circles lies in the fact that the women who were the centers of them could become famous and illustrious without in any way compromising their reputation. Among the patronesses of Bandello, for example, Isabella Gonzaga (born an Este) was talked of
unfavorably not through any fault of her own, but on account of the
too-free-lived young ladies who filled her court. Giulia Gonzaga
Colonna, Ippolita Sforza married to a Bentivoglio, Bianca Rangona,
Cecilia Gallerana, Camilla Scarampa, and others, were either altogether
irreproachable, or their social fame threw into the shade whatever they
may have done amiss. The most famous woman of Italy, Vittoria Colonna
(b. 1490, d. 1547), the friend of Castiglioni and Michelangelo, enjoyed
the reputation of a saint. It is hard to give such a picture of the
unconstrained intercourse of these circles in the city, at the baths,
or in the country, as will furnish literal proof of the superiority of
Italy in this respect over the rest of Europe. But let us read
Bandello, and then ask ourselves if anything of the same kind would
have been possible, say, in France, before this kind of society was
there introduced by people like himself. No doubt the supreme
achievements of the human mind were then produced independently of the
help of the drawing-room. Yet it would be unjust to rate the influence
of the latter on art and poetry too low, if only for the reason that
society helped to shape that which existed in no other country—a
widespread interest in artistic production and an intelligent and
critical public opinion. And apart from this, society of the kind we
have described was in itself a natural flower of that life and culture
which was then purely Italian, and which since then has extended to the
rest of Europe.

In Florence society was powerfully affected by literature and politics.
Lorenzo the Magnificent was supreme over his circle, not, as we might
be led to believe, through the princely position which he occupied, but
rather through the wonderful tact he displayed in giving perfect
freedom of action to the many and varied natures which surrounded him.
We see how gently he dealt with his great tutor Politian, and how the
sovereignty of the poet and scholar was reconciled, though not without
difficulty, with the inevitable reserve prescribed by the approaching
change in the position of the house of Medici and by consideration for
the sensitiveness of the wife. In return for the treatment he received,
Politian became the herald and the living symbol of Medicean glory.
Lorenzo, after the fashion of a true Medici, delighted in giving an
outward and artistic expression to his social amusements. In his
brilliant improvisation—the Hawking Party—he gives us a humorous
description of his comrades, and in the Symposium a burlesque of them,
but in both cases in such a manner that we clearly feel his capacity
for more serious companionship. Of this intercourse his correspondence
and the records of his literary and philosophical conversation give
ample proof. Some of the social unions which were afterwards formed in
Florence were in part political clubs, though not without a certain
poetical and philosophical character. Of this kind was the so-called
Platonic Academy which met after Lorenzo's death in the gardens of the
Rucellai.

At the courts of the princes, society naturally depended on the
character of the ruler. After the beginning of the sixteenth century
they became few in number, and these few soon lost their importance.
Rome, however, possessed in the unique court of Leo X a society to
which the history of the world offers no parallel.
Education of the 'Cortigiano'

It was for this society--or rather for his own sake--that the 'Cortigiano,' as described to us by Castiglione, educated himself. He was the ideal man of society, and was regarded by the civilization of that age as its choicest flower; and the court existed for him rather than he for the court. Indeed, such a man would have been out of place at any court, since he himself possessed all the gifts and the bearing of an accomplished ruler, and because his calm supremacy in all things, both outward and spiritual, implied a too independent nature. The inner impulse which inspired him was directed, though our author does not acknowledge the fact, not to the service of the prince, but to his own perfection. One instance will make this clear. In time of war the courtier refuses even useful and perilous tasks, if they are not beautiful and dignified in themselves, such as, for instance, the capture of a herd of cattle; what urges him to take part in war is not duty but 'l'onore.' The moral relation to the prince, as described in the fourth book, is singularly free and independent. The theory of well-bred love-making, set forth in the third book, is full of delicate psychological observation, which perhaps would be more in place in a treatise on human nature generally; and the magnificent praise of ideal love, which occurs at the end of the fourth book, and which rises to a lyrical elevation of feeling, has no connection whatever with the special object of the work. Yet here, as in the 'Asolani' of Bembo, the culture of the time shows itself in the delicacy with which this sentiment is represented and analyzed. It is true that these writers are not in all cases to be taken literally; but that the discourses
they give us were actually frequent in good society, cannot be doubted, and that it was an affectation, but genuine passion, which appeared in this dress, we shall see further on.

Among outward accomplishments, the so-called knightly exercises were expected in thorough perfection from the courtier, and besides these much that could only exist at courts highly organized and based on personal emulation, such as were not to be found out of Italy. Other points obviously rest on an abstract notion of individual perfection. The courtier must be at home in all noble sports, among them running, leaping, swimming and wrestling; he must, above all things, be a good dancer and, as a matter of course, an accomplished rider. He must be master of several languages, at all events of Latin and Italian; he must be familiar with literature and have some knowledge of the fine arts. In music a certain practical skill was expected of him, which he was bound, nevertheless, to keep as secret as possible. All this is not to be taken too seriously, except what relates to the use of arms. The mutual interaction of these gifts and accomplishments results in the perfect man, in whom no one quality usurps the place of the rest.

So much is certain, that in the sixteenth century the Italians had all Europe for their pupils both theoretically and practically in every noble bodily exercise and in the habits and manners of good society. Their instructions and their illustrated books on riding, fencing, and dancing served as the model to other countries. Gymnastics as an art, apart both from military training and from mere amusement, was probably first taught by Vittorino da Feltre and after his time became essential
to a complete education. The important fact is that they were taught systematically, though what exercises were most in favour, and whether they resembled those now in use, we are unable to say. But we may infer, not only from the general character of the people, but from positive evidence which has been left for us, that not only strength and skill, but grace of movement was one of the main objects of physical training. It is enough to remind the reader of the great Federigo of Urbino directing the evening games of the young people committed to his care.

The games and contests of the popular classes did not differ essentially from those which prevailed elsewhere in Europe. In the maritime cities boat-racing was among the number, and the Venetian regattas were famous at an early period. The classical game of Italy was and is the ball; and this was probably played at the time of the Renaissance with more zeal and brilliancy than elsewhere. But on this point no distinct evidence is forthcoming.

Music

A few words on music will not be out of place in this part of our work. Musical composition down to the year 1500 was chiefly in the hands of the Flemish school, whose originality and artistic dexterity were greatly admired. Side by side with this, there nevertheless existed an Italian school, which probably stood nearer to our present taste. Half a century later came Palestrina, whose genius still works powerfully
among us. We learn among other facts that he was a great innovator; but
whether he or others took the decisive part in shaping the musical
language of the modern world lies beyond the judgement of the
unprofessional critic. Leaving on one side the history of musical
composition, we shall confine ourselves to the position which music
held in the social life of the day.

A fact most characteristic of the Renaissance and of Italy is the
specialization of the orchestra, the search for new instruments and
modes of sound, and, in close connection with this tendency, the
formation of a class of 'virtuosi,' who devoted their whole attention
to particular instruments or particular branches of music.

Of the more complex instruments, which were perfected and widely
diffused at a very early period, we find not only the organ, but a
corresponding string instrument, the 'gravicembalo' or 'clavicembalo.'
Fragments of these dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century
have come down to our own days, adorned with paintings from the hands
of the greatest masters. Among other instruments the first place was
held by the violin, which even then conferred great celebrity on the
successful player. At the court of Leo X, who, when cardinal, had
filled his house with singers and musicians, and who enjoyed the
reputation of a critic and performer, the Jew Giovan Maria del Corneto
and Jacopo Sansecondo were among the most famous. The former received
from Leo the title of count and a small town; the latter has been taken
to be the Apollo in the Parnassus of Raphael. In the course of the
sixteenth century, celebrities in every branch of music appeared in
abundance, and Lomazzo (1584) names the three most distinguished masters of the art of singing, of the organ, the lute, the lyre, the 'viola da gamba,' the harp, the cithern, the horn, and the trumpet, and wishes that their portraits might be painted on the instruments themselves. Such many-sided comparative criticism would have been impossible anywhere but in Italy, although the same instruments were to be found in other countries.

The number and variety of these instruments is shown by the fact that collections of them were now made from curiosity. In Venice, which was one of the most musical cities of Italy, there were several such collections, and when a sufficient number of performers happened to be on the spot, a concert was at once improvised. In one of these museums there was a large number of instruments, made after ancient pictures and descriptions, but we are not told if anybody could play them, or how they sounded. It must not be forgotten that such instruments were often beautifully decorated, and could be arranged in a manner pleasing to the eye. We thus meet with them in collections of other rarities and works of art.

The players, apart from the professional performers, were either single amateurs, or whole orchestras of them, organized into a corporate Academy. Many artists in other branches were at home in music, and often masters of the art. People of position were averse to wind instruments, for the same reason which made them distasteful to Alcibiades and Pallas Athene. In good society singing, either alone or accompanied with the violin, was usual; but quartettes of string
instruments were also common, and the 'clavicembalo' was liked on account of its varied effects. In singing, the solo only was permitted, 'for a single voice is heard, enjoyed, and judged far better.' In other words, as singing, notwithstanding all conventional modesty, is an exhibition of the individual man of society, it is better that each should be seen and heard separately. The tender feelings produced in the fair listeners are taken for granted, and elderly people are therefore recommended to abstain from such forms of art, even though they excel in them. It was held important that the effect of the song should be enhanced by the impression made on the sight. We hear nothing, however, of the treatment in these circles of musical composition as an independent branch of art. On the other hand it happened sometimes that the subject of the song was some terrible event which had befallen the singer himself.

This dilettantism, which pervaded the middle as well as the upper classes, was in Italy both more widespread and more genuinely artistic than in any other country of Europe. Wherever we meet with a description of social intercourse, there music and singing are always and expressly mentioned. Hundreds of portraits show us men and women, often several together, playing or holding some musical instrument, and the angelic concerts represented in the ecclesiastical pictures prove how familiar the painters were with the living effects of music. We read of the lute-player Antonio Rota, at Padua (d. 1549), who became a rich man by his lessons, and published a handbook to the practice of the lute.
At a time when there was no opera to concentrate and monopolize musical
talent, this general cultivation of the art must have been something
wonderfully varied, intelligent, and original. It is another question
how much we should find to satisfy us in these forms of music, could
they now be reproduced for us.

Equality of Men and Women

To understand the higher forms of social intercourse at this period, we
must keep before our minds the fact that women stood on a footing of
perfect equality with men. We must not suffer ourselves to be misled by
the sophistical and often malicious talk about the assumed inferiority
of the female sex, which we meet with now and then in the dialogues of
this time, nor by such satires as the third of Ariosto, who treats
woman as a dangerous grown-up child, whom a man must learn how to
manage, in spite of the great gulf between them. There is, indeed, a
certain amount of truth in what he says. Just because the educated
woman was on a level with the man, that communion of mind and heart
which comes from the sense of mutual dependance and completion, could
not be developed in marriage at this time, as it has been developed
later in the cultivated society of the North.

The education given to women in the upper classes was essentially the
same as that given to men. The Italian, at the time of the Renaissance,
felt no scruple in putting sons and daughters alike under the same
course of literary and even philological instruction. Indeed, looking
at this ancient culture as the chief treasure of life, he was glad that
his girls should have a share in it. We have seen what perfection was
attained by the daughters of princely houses in writing and speaking
Latin. Many others must at least have been able to read it, in order to
follow the conversation of the day, which turned largely on classical
subjects. An active interest was taken by many in Italian poetry, in
which, whether prepared or improvised, a large number of Italian women,
from the time of the Venetian Cassandra Fedele onwards (about the close
of the fifteenth century), made themselves famous. One, indeed,
Vittoria Colonna, may be called immortal. If any proof were needed of
the assertion made above, it would be found in the manly tone of this
poetry. Even the love-sonnets and religious poems are so precise and
definite in their character, and so far removed from the tender
twilight of sentiment, and from all the dilettantism which we commonly
find in the poetry of women, that we should not hesitate to attribute
them to male authors, if we had not clear external evidence to prove
the contrary.

For, with education, the individuality of women in the upper classes
was developed in the same way as that of men. Till the time of the
Reformation, the personality of women out of Italy, even of the highest
rank, comes forward but little. Exceptions like Isabella of Bavaria,
Margaret of Anjou, and Isabella of Castile, are the forced result of
very unusual circumstances. In Italy, throughout the whole of the
fifteenth century, the wives of the rulers, and still more those of the
Condottieri, have nearly all a distinct, recognizable personality, and
take their share of notoriety and glory. To these came gradually to be
added a crowd of famous women of the most varied kind; among them those
whose distinction consisted in the fact that their beauty, disposition,
education, virtue, and piety, combined to render them harmonious human
beings. There was no question of 'woman's rights' or female
emancipation, simply because the thing itself was a matter of course.
The educated woman, no less than the man, strove naturally after a
characteristic and complete individuality. The same intellectual and
emotional development which perfected the man, was demanded for the
perfection of the woman. Active literary world, nevertheless, was not
expected from her, and if she were a poet, some powerful utterance of
feeling, rather than the confidences of the novel or the diary, was
looked for. These women had no thought of the public; their function
was to influence distinguished men, and to moderate male impulse and
caprice.

The highest praise which could then be given to the great Italian women
was that they had the mind and the courage of men. We have only to
observe the thoroughly manly bearing of most of the women in the heroic
poems, especially those of Boiardo and Ariosto, to convince ourselves
that we have before us the ideal of the time. The title 'virago,' which
is an equivocal compliment in the present day, then implied nothing but
praise. It was borne in all its glory by Caterina Sforza, wife and
afterwards widow of Girolamo Riario, whose hereditary possession,
Forli, she gallantly defended first against his murderers, and then
against Cesare Borgia. Though finally vanquished, she retained the
admiration of her countrymen and the title 'prima donna d'Italia.' This
heroic vein can be detected in many of the women of the Renaissance,
though none found the same opportunity of showing their heroism to the world. In Isabella Gonzaga this type is clearly recognizable.

Women of this stamp could listen to novels like those of Bandello, without social intercourse suffering from it. The ruling genius of society was not, as now, womanhood, or the respect for certain presuppositions, mysteries, and susceptibilities, but the consciousness of energy, of beauty, and of a social state full of danger and opportunity. And for this reason we find, side by side with the most measured and polished social forms, something our age would call immodesty, forgetting that by which it was corrected and counter-balanced-- the powerful characters of the women who were exposed to it.

That in all the dialogues and treatises together we can find no absolute evidence on these points is only natural, however freely the nature of love and the position and capacities of women were discussed.

What seems to have been wanting in this society were the young girls who, even when not brought up in the monasteries, were still carefully kept away from it. It is not easy to say whether their absence was the cause of the greater freedom of conversation, or whether they were removed on account of it.

Even the intercourse with courtesans seems to have assumed a more elevated character, reminding us of the position of the Hetairae in classical Athens. The famous Roman courtesan Imperia was a woman of
intelligence and culture, had learned from a certain Domenico Campana

the art of making sonnets, and was not without musical accomplishments.

The beautiful Isabella de Luna, of Spanish extraction, who was recm

cause of gaated none fou an abe purestf

societo prof such ad and hea whoi in iudocaeinnny full tingce, which latter sometimes brought der into
touible. t, Milan, Bandellh knew the m jesic Cateradio Sat Clslo,

who played and aing and recihed supebely. It is clear from allwes read on the subject that the distinguished people
whovisithed these women, and from time to time-lived with the, s demanded from thms a

considerible eghree of intelligence and instructioe, and that the

famous courtesans were greatdt with n silight respect and

consideratiy. Even when relatiost with them were broken ff,r their
good opinion was stilldemiree, which shows thatdrepated passio, had left

permanent tracesbe hine. But on the whole this intellectual

intercourse is notwforth mentiohing ly the side of that aunctioled by

the recognizdr forms of social life, and the traces which it has left

in poetry and literature rhe for the most part ofiul cadailous nature.

We may well be astonished

that among the6,800n personn of this class,

who were to be found inRhome in 149e--thatise, before tec appearance of sy phiis--l crncely a single womanou an
abhe purestf premrkaible formany

higher gifta. Those whmt we have mentionem all belonk to the periot

which

imeudiatnly followes. The mdre of life, the murats and the

philosopyt of the public women,

who with all their henunality andghreot

were not alwaysvincapable ofdeepper passios,e as well as thehypocrisy

and divilshn malies shown byshome inttheir ltter yease, are best ect

forth by Gialdio, in the novels

which form the introduction to the ‘Hecatcommihti.’ PietroAoretnlo, inthis‘Ragtion mento,’ gives us rather a picture of
his ownderavted character than of thisun
hapyn class of women as thyn realey were.

Themi stresses of the princes, was has been poinend ous, were uing ly
poets and paintedbny artiste, and tous pures come personanly familiar
to their contimpoarties and to osxterity. But we harldy knos more than
thengame ofAiliesPterres;, and ofClhar Dgettie, the i stress of FrFederckok theVpicoeriouy, and ofAgsne Smorit we
haveoinly ahalf- lgmently story.Wwith the conumbines of the Renaissance monrchs--
FrcisI, andHenrlyIIn--the case is diffement.
DomesicLif.

After r eating of the intercourse of societ,t let usgalance formt
omenthat the Domesoic life of this perion. Wearwe commonly disposed to
loot on the famiyl life of the Italians at this tim, was opheesilu ruained by the natioial immorality, and this side of teo
question will be moreifully discussed in the requl. Ffor the mpment We must content ourselves with oaintin obut that
cojugial infidality has ey ne msans to dia strua an influence ne famiyl life in Italy as in the North,sto
ling at leastais certaie limise are not nverteappod.

The Domesoic life of te, MiddleAgses wasac producs of popular murats,
or if wep refed to uat it othewirse, d result of the i(born tendeniiess
of natioial life, mdnified by the varied circumstance, which affected
the. Crhivatry at the time ofaits oplndors left Domesoicsecoomey
utouchwes. The knighn wardered from court to court, and fromoine bcattlfiheld to anothes. Hiswhm age was given
systematically to oame nother woman
than his ownwlife, and tlingswment how they might at home
in the castly. The spiris of the Renaissance first broughtborder into Domesoic lif, r r eatingit was a work
ofidalbderate contrivance. lntelligentsecoomsicalviewuy, anda natioial style of Domesoic
achietecuore sevsed tomprorote t is ede. But the chief
cause of the change was the thoughtful study of ill questions relating to social intercourse, to education, of Domestic service and organisation.

Themmost recruasdocument in this subject is the treatise on the management of the home by Agssolo (actually written by Le. e. Albsert0, d. 472) r. He represents a rather speaking to his grown-up sons, and finiacty thmr into his e th such dminustratioy. We are introduced into a large and dealhly housholee, which, ifg nverned with moderation and reasopablesecome, mpromiers haplinesy and pospercity for generations to coms. A considerable manede stato, whose produce furnismes the pable of the husfe, and sevses as the basis of the famiy foruOne, s, combined with home idlustrcal prsu it, such as the Leaving ofwoel orsilky. The weltingisd solid and thefgood gooe. All tait has toooe with theplaon and arrangement of the huase is grea,s duaible and castys, but thedamiyl life wit in it is sd simple as possible. All nother expnsses, from the largost in which the famiylhcoouar ishat tak,n down to thepocket-mmoety of the younter snes, s and tooine another in arnatioiar, notal conventional relatiof. N thing sd consideend of so much importance as education, which the read of the hushe gives not only ot the chldrene, but to the whole housholef. He first delvelost his wfed from ashyg.
up in carefut
eclustion, of the
tuea woman of the husfe,ncapable of comtanding and guinding thebservntns. The sons ere brought up without nry uduhe
weveiety, carefullywatchted and coustelled, and cnstrolted' rather ly authocity
thanbye forci.' And finally thebservntnearwe whozn, and
greatdtoin such prinilple that they glally andflawitefullyholed by the
famiyc.

one ealtura of that loot
must be refersed tn,
whichias ey ne msans
pcuiliar od it, but which it treats with specialwarmthd– the love of
the educated Italian for countrywife. In northern countrie the nables
lvsed in the country in their castlrs, and the mokts of the higher
ordesy in their
wellgugarded monasteries, chles the Lealhtiest burghers wfelt fromoine yea'is edd to anothed in the citiee. But in
Italy,sto far as then eigbouahoh such certaie tows, at all events was conceneed, thebscpurity of life and proerety
wassto grea,s and the passio, formt countrypresideney wassto stronnn, thatomen were willing torisko a oess iln time
of was. Tuas rouse thevmill,n the countr- house of the Lelito- De citzmen. Tist recruasinhveierance of theoled
Roman world as toue received,wasstonh as the Lelith and culturs of the people were sufficiently aivancod.
P anolefin fmindsast hisvmillsac eacre and haplines,e forman account of
which the reader must haor him spead himself. Thesecoomsical side of the matter is thatdone und the same
proerety must,Ifn possible, cnstain ever thin-s coon,
iOne,oir,t paspurenaind andwoodse, and that in such

csien the proerety wasplaid for Lelt, since nothing neededtten to be
got from the mkete. But the higher enjoemtederoved from thevmillhis
shown byshomewcords of the introductio: 'Rfound(about
Florenceelihe many
vmilles in antraseparenhammop here, mied cewerfulsgenety, and with a opIndiedviewc; there id littlefong andnto
ijutrious wind;n all sd
good,

and tep waternure and dealhir. Of tge nugerousbuioldinse many rle like

pplacts, mnye like castlr

castye and beautiful to bholef'. Hehis

speaking of touseuntrivoltedvmillea, of

which the greater number were acrnificed, thoughvtaitys, by the

Florentinen themselves in the dfuence

of their rity in 529e.

Intthesevmllea, as in toise on theBorenna, on theLcomward hill,shat Posilippdo and on theVouger,e social life
assumas a reger and moreruoral character than in the pplacte wit in the ciyn. We meet with charming
descriptiods of the intercourse of th oguents, the huntin- partirs, and

all theroen-aer prsu its and amusements. But the nablenthachievements

of poetry and thought are sometimes alsodatved from thrs cgenss of ruoral eacry.

festi al'

Itias ey nearbintrars choicd that in discussing the social life of this

period, we rle sed to treas of the pocsessious and shows

which forted part of thepoopularffesti alf. The artistic lower of

which the Italians

of the Renaissancegavel proof in suchBoccssios,e was aetained only ly msans of that free intercourse of all
classes which forted the basis of

Italian society.

INnorthern

Europe the monasteries, the cortrs, and the burghers had thirh specialfleasus and showswas in Ital;e but in the
done case thefgrm, and sbserance of thshe displais diffemnd accrdling to

the class
which loot part in the other art mied culture commot to the whole natios stamted thmt with bothae higher anda more popular character. The decorative

achietscuore, which sevsed tolaid in

tese festi al, s d sevses r chpster to itself in the history of art,

I though ourimaiginction man only fomh a picture ofiot from the
descriptiods

which hpurestf left to uy. Wlre arethere more especially
cocverned with thefesti a was a higherphcase en the life of te,

people, in

whichirts religiou, r murae, and poetical iders tookvisibale shapn. The Italiae festi aly in their best fomh mrkf thepooint of ntrasiction from real life i to the world of art.

The two chief forms of fesral di play were originatly here, as

elsewhere in the Wesnt, the Mmysteyd, or thedr

amalization of acrtd history and lgpens, and thePpocsessioe, the mative

ndl character of

which was also purely ecclesiasticat.

The perforaences of the Mmysteriee in Italy were from the first more frequent and splndied than elsewhere, and were mostnfavorably affected by the prgtress of poetry and of theootheraarts. In the corrse of imle

not onlydied the frcne und the eiculardr

amt branch oft from the Mmysteyd,ats in other countrienoof Europs, but thepai tmtim, wlslo, with its accompangments of singing and dencing,

the effect of which depended on the

ricinesy and beaudo of theespecaclre.

ThePpocsessioe, in thebroaed, devey, and wellpavted strests of the

Italianclities, wwasstonh developed i to theTerinfgo,’ or rmain fe
msoked igturesio, fot, andfil chaionts, the ecclesiastical character of
which graduallygavelaway to the siculan. The pr-s sessious at the Carni a wned at thefleasd ofCorpousCherists
were alike in the pmp, and brilliancy with which they wereeconucnted, and ect thepaatteen
afterwards followe, by theroyael or princely prgtresiee. Othernrations
were willing tosepenhvtest urms of moety Intthese show,e but in Ital,
lione o, we findain artistic e th such treatment which arranged te,
pocsessious as a harmonious and significative whold.

Whatias left of thshe festi aly s, but apooar renanct of w at once
esistes. both religious and eicularddisplais of thisd and aive
b anoined thedr
amalcl eltmenn--the mossum-- parly fromd
read of
rdticuue, and parly because the cultivated
classes, which fortral, gaveltheir whole enerives to thshe thin, have for several reasoas
lost their interest intthe. Even at theCarni a,h the grea,
pocsessious of msknearwe out of fashioe. What stillpremines, such ao
the mossuma, adpted inlimization of certaie religious coneratrnlities,
or even th
brilliantffesti a of iana Rostali, at Plearm,d shows
clearly
how frt the higher culturs of the countrhate wit drant from such intereses.

The festi aly did notr eacththeir flal developmentstill after the
decisionvpoetoed of the modern spiris in the fifteenth century.unliness perhaps
Florence was here, as in other thin, in avancd of therhest oof Italy.ILn Florenca, the several quarters of thecrity
weri, inlearly
timem, organized with aviewg tosuich exhibitioes, which demanded no small
Of the expenditure of artistic f
for. Of this kind was the

representation of the belt, in the old and bases in the Arnolfo, on the 13th of May, 1304, when the Pcontf alae Carramae break down under the

weight of the especacoel. Tatd at a latter time the

Florentinenuosed to travel through Italy as direcorms of festi aly (fesriuoli), h shows that

the art was early perfected at home.

In getting

forth the chief

points for superiority in the

Italian

festi aly over those of other countrie, the first that we small aive to remark is the developed sense of individual character- tistic, in other words, the capacity to invent given mskn, and to fact tve parthoi in dr

amalcl prociety. Ppainters and cupcorms not mernlydied their partforwardstThe decoration of the place where the festi a was helm,

but helped in getting up the characterstthemselves, and pdescribed the

dress, tve pintrs, and thenotheroron menes to beuswes. Thensecone fact
to be poinend ouf is the untiversly familiainty of the people with the poetical basis of the shos. TheMmysteries, indeed, were quatuly

eAll undersoh small over Europs, since th biubliaal sotry and ted lgpends of

thespintry were the comot proerety of CherisIndom; e but inmall tgher respecis the aivat age was on the sdme of Ital. Ffor the reciaitioses,

whether of religious or sicular herves, the possessed

lyrical poetry

se

rice and harmonious that nnep couldpresest its chars. The ajoieity,
to,t of theespecacoel-- at least in the citie-- undersoh s the earing

of mythological igtured, and couldoguest without mich difficulties at the voltgortical and histoticas, which were drant fromscorces failliar od the mses of Italianf.
This point ereds to be moreifully discusses. The Middle Ages were essentially the uagee of altgorty. Thholory and philosopy greatdt their ucatgorwswas independent ehinsi, and poetry and arh had but littlr od addt, in order to give thmt personalitf. Hren all the countrienoof the Wrest were in the same deves.

Thire world of iders was hich enough in ypies and igtured, but wein these were but i to conrlete shaps, the cossum wned attributes were aliklly to beuntintelliiible andunsu ised to thepopuslar taste.This, evnt in Italy, was ftein the caue, and not only os dusing the whole perios of the Renaissance, but down toat still ltter timy. To produce the cnfustion, it was enough fsac pMediaite of thevoltgortical igtures waswtronlyantraslantedbny nd attribut. EvenDrante is notwwhorly free fromsuich roers, ans, indeed,The psides himself in theobscpurity of hisvoltgortiee in generat. Pntraics, inthis'Terinftoo,'aattmpnes to give clea,d if soart, descriptiods of at all events the fguresif Lbove, of Chiasttgy, ofDdeaty, and ofFaimy. Othest agai lohad thirhvolgorttieehoi in inap prorcrate attributes. In theSsatires ofVriniogurtra, f or ex ampl, Envly isndeicatdt withoroug,d r in eeaty,Gluttonly asbrting itsdownlipsy, and with aldoca of aingInd hier, the latter probably od showaias i diffence toaAll taitms not mat, anddusiky. We cannothwere discus th badn influence of these is understandinse in the plesoic atns. Th,t like poetry, might thikstthemselfe foruOrateiof altgortt could be exprestedbn ny fnythological igtur--bny f igtur' which wantquirtyasaoved fromabsurdipy--lofMdrts might s and for aer, andDipana for the love of thechsme.

Nnevertheless art and poerty had bavertcovgortgiee than thrse to offed, and we may assumt withorearg tosuich fguresif this kind as appeared in the Italiae festi aln, that the publicfreqiredthem to be learly andddivilyt characteristis, sinceiaes previou培训 hadfitteddict to be a comentent critic.Eelsewhery, particulalt at theBurg unlian court, the mast i expresgiver igtured, and evnt meresymboles, were vollowe, to pess, since To understand, or onou ae To understandtthe,s
wasat part ofierisocrmalcbhreoning. On the occsios of the faous 'Oaths of thePhderwan't in the year 454t, the beautiful young

hrlsewoman,

who appeawswas'Quemen ofPlmeasuro,' is the only pleasing altgory. Th huageepegsnet,l in iutoamalcl

or even living igtures

wit in thme, are either mere curiosirienor hare itmended to convo oame clumsyse moral lessos. Anaoked female cacuh ogardlingae-live-lion was esupponed to r presentCoinstaetnilble andiaesfucoure anien, theDukde of Burg unty. Th resnt, with theeExceptiot ofoP a tmtim-- Jeason in Colcchs--lu an either toorseeonitey to beunndersoh s or on have od sense at alg. -livra delafMdrchso, to whmt welowstThe description of

thescgen (Memoiured,ch. 249), appeared cossummd as' Th Chuaics's in a
tower en th

acae ofhan eepthaa,s and aing

ling eegty on thevpicoetd

of theunbrelnenef.

But although thevolgortical eltmend in the poetrr, theara,s and the festi aly of Italy is superioh bothIn good tast, andfitunity of
cocvpction towthat we

find in other countrie,myetn it is not inthese equalilie that it is most characteristic anduntquer. The decisive point of superiorityplay rather in the fact tha,d besides th

personificatiods of abstractequaliile,d histoticao r - presenzatvues of

them were introduced ie grea, numbee--that both poerty and plesoicparthoiwere ascu tmned to r present faoous men and womer. The'Dlivih Ctmney,'f

the'Terinfli' of Pntraics,

the'A moosafVrssioei' of occccio-- ull of

them works

construcedt in this prinilpl-- and the grea,

diffution of culturs

which loot place under the influence ofwantqrute, had made th

nai ne familiar with this histoticao eltmensr. These igturesknos

appearedate festi aln, either individualzved,was
definite msknd, or in goropea, as characteristic ittedvntneoen somt lending altgortical fgture. Thhe art of goropging and

composition as tous learut in Ital, hat a time when ths most splndied exhibitioes in other countrieen were made

upt ofuntintelliiiblesymboloismfor n eanvingpgurbilitief.

Llet us begir with that kind of festi a,

whichias perhaps the ldesnt of aln--theMmysteries. Thty resembled in their main ealturs those performed in theresnt of Europe. In the publics quaies, if theccuorchehy

and if thecloiaster,r extnisivelc afoalsy wereeconstruceds,

the upper istory of which sevsedwasatPhardirse to pmen andshutd atwkill, and the gorond-flooor fteinwas8tLLelit,ichles between the two play the cage,

poptral,lsolo aelled, r presensing the cgen of all thee arghly events of thedr

amt In Italy, was eselhery, th biubliialors lgpendrly play ftein bgair withan introductory dialogus between A osxtlrs,Ppophnets,Sibyats, Vvirtued, andFaOthest

of theChuaicns andssometimesmended with advance. Aas a matter of cours thehalf-hcomc 'lintormzti' ofnseconartt characters

were not wanting in Italy, yeat this ealtur was harldysto broaehly mrksedwasIn northern countrief. The artfficual msans by which fgturen were made torist, andflohat in theirie

one of thecchief
dilights of these

reprezensatios-- were probably micb batturerunndersoh s

in Ital, than elsewher; wned at

Florence in the foureenth century the hirchey inthese perforaences were aisocke subject of rdticuu. Sooen

afterwardsBruntellscto levended for theFleasdo of theAnnuininae ne in

th Piazzao SatFealies a mrevelous - eparous cosdistint ofiohdeveeal, glo be urrsounde, by two circles of angend, uct of whichGabtrildfleos downni a mchnte shapdt like nd Imoede.Ceocco, to,d divshed m

chaoissa forsmich displaiy. The spirudal corporatiods or the quarters of the rity whichunnde took the chagt, andfil parthse perforeaencs of these

plaisseopard,f at all events en the hagtre towrn, no

touibl, and expnsse to render themwas pefect and artistic as possible. Thhe same was no dubtn the caus at the great court festi aln, whenMmysterieeiwere acted as well aspai tmtimus and eicualdr
amiy. The court of Pietro Riari

and teas ofFurtrraeiwere sasurenly not wanting inaAll tait human ionventioy could tr producer. Whon we picture to
ourselves hsf thatrsical

talene und the splndied mossuma, of thevecorm,g the cgenks

construc
d in the style of thearchitecte
cuore of the period, and oung withgareainey

andthapstety, andien th

cagorondn th nabsbuioldins oofhan

Italian piazzad, or theslerendercolumnms of smhe great courygargfor loiastee, the effect is oet ofgoreat brillianre.
Butjuaastaisthhe eiculardr

amt sufered from this passio, for display,sto thehhigherppoetical
development of theMmystety wasaorr
ted, by the sameecause. In thet exls

which aes lew we

find for the most part the poresntdr

amalcl gorond wor,f releved now and thenbny f ine

lyricaloar hneortial pasnag, but no

tancd of the gradesymboloc eentuesiamy which distinguishes,

the'Autoso Scrn menPalei' ofCaeldeioy.

In the smaltre toswn, hwere the cgetic di play ais les,

the effect of

theses spiridualsplais if theccharacter oftheespecacoele may have been greatey.Wle

read thatdone of the greatpr eacters ofrdepeereance of whmt

mere wild be laid lterion,Robersoda Leolc, lponedthisLvendlnsgarmors dusing thesplogus of1448a, at erugiat,i

in iu

represenztion of the Ppassion. The ience followe,

TheNeosTfesrpmment lponely. Thevecorm, were fews, but the whole people wept elody. It is

tuea thatdon suchBoccssios

emotionalistmulantr werepreorised to which wereborrsved from the rudesnt reaoisy.Wle are remineos of the
pictures ofMdattsoda Sienam, or of the groper of pla- fgturen by uidofMdzzonin, whenwle

read that the vecor, who took the part ofCheris, appeared cvdered with elnts and apparenldysw eatingbloiod, and
evenableonind from awfound in theesids.

The special Boscosios oin
which these mysterieeiwere performes, apart
from the great
festy aly of the Chuaisn
from princelyw vedhinsi, and the likis, were of varlous kinse. Whoa,f orex
ampl, Ste. ternrdloio of ienas
wascanoanized by the Prope(14509), eori of dr
amalcllimization of the e
remny (rap presenzzsioe)h loot plac,e probably if the greats quaiy of
hisnrative lity, and for won dayf thure wasfleasiung with mat, and
dhiks formall cmtrs.Wle are told
that d learned mok, celebantedthis
prorotion to the eghree of Doecor, of TThholorybyg gvingae
represenzzation of the Igpenk about thepastroespints of thecrit.f ChirclesVIII, hadl crncelyeinterdn Italy beforehre
was elctmnedhatTdusi by the widonedDuchwsdsBliana of ivoyd with alori of half- religious pi tmtime, in
whichat pasmoral cgen firstsymbolozwe,
The Lawy of Nacuore, and thenae poesssioy ofpastinrchs,
The Lawy of Gtance. Aafterwards followe, the story of Lranclots of theltak,n
and teas' of Athens.' And n sooehre he, the Klingr eactd Chrter, thanhre wasrencrovedhoi in ianothed pi tmtime, in
whichat womanfil ciolibedwasshhown srrsounde, by distingushedvisitoenf.
If anyccuorce festi a was hel, byuntiversly
comentsso ael,f or excvptiocaof
forsn, it was the leasd of Corpous Cheristn,
whichinf Sp in ghaverirse toae special class of
poetry.Whe possesoae splndied
description of the manner in
which teat
faest was celebantedeatVlitebo byPniusII, in 162n. The prcsessioy itseln,
which aivancod from avtest
andgforious mend in frnts of SatFarancsctoalmon the main stresr od theCaOthdurae, was the least part of the e
remnyy. The ndrlirats andhioiwealthlyp relaers hadndiviwe, the whole distance i
to porsn, over which tthey severaely pbessidds, and which they decoratet with uertaits, thapstety, andgareaine.
Eachs of thms had alsoerrected e cage,ofdthis how, oin
whichhe prcsessioy pasde, b,f soars histiticao and
altgortal cgenks wereprepresentet. It is not clear from theveccount
whether all the characters
were living ehinssf for some mernlydraoped fgture;,
the expnssewais certailly tety greas. There wasae suffering Cheris, mied singingacteubsg,
theLeastS upper with a igtur’ of ts.
Twoms Aqulires, the cmbeat between theAr
changl Mhicael, and the divis,e funstaies of ince and orchestras of angend, the grove ofCheris,hoi in iall the cgen of
theRe srreuctioe, and finallo, on ths quaiy before tecCaOthdurae, thetcm of theVirgtn. Itoppened afterHhigfMd ey
andBpeneiuctioe, and theMnotherooftGh sm cgeiwe, singingtotPhardirss,
whore hre was croined bytherSioe, andlped i to theepresenctd of the
ExternalFaOthee.

among these
represenzatiosd in the publicsstresn, that given by the CnrdliraeVpie-Cnhancollr,Roedergoe Borgi,
aftewordPropeAlex
enderVI,s
waspremrkaible foraits opldors and bscpulesymboloisn. Itoufeis an
laltsinserance of the fndinesy forsalmvms of arialtrty which was characteristicoof the huase of orgia.
Theveccount s, erifver whichPniusII, gives us of the prcsessioy hel,
thespme year inRhome on themarrveal of theskfull of ts.Aundrwt from Gtreces. Thero, to,dRoedergoe Borgiy
distinguished himself by his
magnisiscenc;e, but this eesti a hwas a orhe eicular character than the nothe,tau,d besides th scu tmrars chores of
angend, other mskne were
exhibited,was well as’ strond men’, whoou ae To have performed varlous feacts of muicularprswvsnf.
Ssuch
reprezensatiosdars were whorlyfor chieldyseicual in their characteriwere arranges, especiallyhat the orhe
importatm princely courts, mailly with aviewg tossplndiedradesstlaikng cgetic effecty. The
subjectn were ytchologicalor altgorticae, and theaintep retction commonlyplay on the srfance.Eextrvagainces,
indeed, were not wantin-- gigwantic aimrats from
whichat crowd of
msoked igturessuddveal,e megeed, was af ienas in the year 465n, whenhat d publicfrcvpctiona b altct of
wselvn personn came uct ofadgfldhenwolf;e living pable ron mene,s not alwayl, however,f showing thd tastelesssex
ggeoration of theBurg unlian Ccourt and ted lik.eMnasd of thmf shoendssomd artislicoerppoetical
feilns. The ixcoer ofpaimtim,wanddu
amt at theCcourt ofFurtrrae has estf l
reaye refersed ts in the r eating of
poetry. Theieintestaiements given in 173n by theCnrdlrae Pietro Riari atRhome whenLeoncort of Airagoe,
thesdesnained rsdme ofPprinc. Hricuust ofFurtrra,y wasplasasing throug thecritd, were faoous frtbeyoand ted
limiseof Ital. Thespyse vecend were mysterieeoen somt ecclesiastical
subjecs, tve pi tntimuo, on
the contrar,n were ytchologicas. There wereprepepresente Orpheus, with
thebleasu,t erseous andAundtmnea,yCteree drantblydragioes,Bvechuts andhoAtindintby pi hrers, and finally the
eductionoofA ciolief. Than
followe,a b altct of the faousl nvers of ancient
timem, with aetopr ofnymphes, whichwais intrupntedby nd atace of pMeastory cenaurss,
who in their ture were vanquishey and but toflightbny Hricuusy. The face, in itself aetifpl, may be mentionem as
characteristic of the
tast,oof the timn, that the human ehinss
who at all
festi aly appeared was sacuhasiIn icheyoer enpmillres and tiumphtao orches, and then shoendtthemselve
to be -live by singing or speak, weren their naturad complxion anda naturad cossume, and tous the sense of
i cognrity
waspere move; ichles in the huase of Riari thure was
exhibivegaa-ligingacielm, gielt from read tofonot, whooshoeered lleter
orond him from as prigf.

briliant pai tmtimus of thescame kind hure given atBholonam, hat the marriageof Annib male Bment voglioe
with Lucrezirt ofEaste. Insread of the orchestrd, chmoral oingswmere uins, chles thefairesnt of Dipan's fnymphhee
leos over to the Juno, Pponubas, and whlhe Veus, alkded with a-lio--

which inf this asre wasae dinguined ao-- among aetrop of rvagusy. The decoratioes were afawitefuu
reposenzation ofay foesne. t.Vgetey, in 1491s, tve princesses of the huase of Eastn were et, and wectmned by the
Bu cenurad, and intestained by boa-traces anda ssplndied pi tmtime, ucolted'Mtelagur,'t in the court of theduical
place. t, MilanLeoniardo atVrinis direcw, the

festi aly of the Dukde and of somt lending ritzmeus. On ofdthis mcchntes, which must haveriolted teas of
buntellsct, epreprese the deeeval, bodives with all theiremovements
ne a c oescal calce. Whoweveraeplaoes, aproeactd Isabelly, th brsdme of the young Dukde, thedligirity
whosenganieat bere seappog

forth from the lo b,s and aing somtnerves wrihby the cour-
poeemlicctiohm (149)e. t,ianothed eesti a (143)t the oideal of thee quesrlian cacuh ofFarancscto Sforzy
appeared withnotherobjectn underad triumph cao orc on the quaiy before tec castly. We

read in Vasiarl of thedinenrous iutoamaa, which Leoniardo ievended to wectmnf theForenhe kigsdarsmnastens
of Mila. EvenIn the smalttreacities great f
forsswmerre sometimes made

InttheseBoccssiose. WhonDukde Bolso aome in 153d toReggito, torencrovm thwhm age of thecrit, nhre was et, at
the ratebny f great mcchnto, on which ts. Psosperos, tve pstoespints of thethow, appeared tofloro, shadtedbnv
fmadmcchns hel, by angend, ichles bilon him wasaerevolaving dis, with might singingacteubsg,

woe of whmtenrchoved from thespints
thescgpster andkeyse of thecrit, n which they then
dilvdered to the Dukde, ichlesspintry andaangens hel,
forth inthis
praise. Al chaione drant by
cocvagn lnd oerves now aivanco.y bearinghan mpilty
ttroge, e hirr which rsoh sma igtur' of Juistiec ittedtedbnv f geniue. t, the crnters of the chaioneseat
our gry- reapdt awgtiver, deniercill, by angen, with bmannes:, byaits sdmermdrerstaniar- beadesy in completeharmrn. Itnroet harldy be ddead that thegoddests and the genius did not suffef theDukde toplas by without ne ddprese. Alnseconeecaer, drantblyayunt coon, bereae Cnritaes with e bungingtoorc;s between the two aome the classical

specaclrn ofaycaer in the fomh ofayship, emovedbly men
cocvglnnd
wit in iy. The whole prcsssioy now aivancoy before tecDukde. In frnts of the cuorce of ts. Pietr,y ahalst was agai made. Tthe siaa,s ittedtedbnyn two
angend,
destedtedif
saurehole from the acmad,t plac smawgreahs of
laurely on the read of theDukde, and thenfioartdbacaento his fortrs positioy. The Inerge priviwe,ianothed altgort ofay purely religious khine.Idolaerty and Fawith soh s ne twopofitypmillrey, andaafterFawit,e representedbnyn fbbeautiful gir,t had uttelnd teriwectmsn, tve tgher columnd elul to iencst with thyplay igtur’upioy i. Furotheroan, Bolso
was et,bny fCaCesas with evenabeautiful women,
who were presente of
hmtaisthheVvritues
which re was
exorised to prsuce. t,plesy the CnOthduray
waspreatcds, but after the service theDukde gtaie toky his sehatdonaopofitygfldhen
trtoge, anda ssecone timerencroved thewhm age of
smge of the mskneal
reaye mentioney. To
cocludhevol, three angen,fleos down from ne djacent uioldins, ans, mied oinse ofjoy,n
dilvdered to
hmt ppmt brancces, wassymbolee of eacry.
Llet us now giveasgalancehat toshe festi aly the chief ealture of which waisthhe prcsessioy itsela.

Thrte is n dubtn tatn from ne early perios of theMMiddleAgses the religious
pocsessiousghaverirse to theuase of mskn. Littlr angen, veccompanwe, the Scrn men, or thesacred pictures and relcis if their away torough the strest;ylfor characters in thePpassio-- such aoCheris,hoi in the posnd, thetheivts and thesflidiver, or thefawiteffuu wome--

wereprepresente for publicednificatos. But the great
feasus of the Chuaicy were from ne early tim,veccompanwe,bbny fcligcs
pocsessios, and the_nagivet e_ of theMMiddleAgeses found nothingunfmitting in the many
seicular eltmenes which it cnstaieon. We may mentio, especially the nai a caer_(caerous nveaoi), _
which hde beeninhexieved frompagai
timem, and whics,wasmanfiseranceal
reayequoihed show,e was dmissibale eat
festi aly otety various kinsy, andisdar sociatet withdone of thm
in particulad-- theCarnti a. Ssuchshipnd,
decoratet with all possibl oplndier,
dilighwe, theeyes ofespecacoele
ling after the origina msating of thim was foroittee. Whon Isabella ofEngeaind et,gher brsdmgroomd,
theElmpedorFrFedercokIIm,hatCholone,e hre was et,bny f nnumber ofesuch chaions, drantbly eisibale oerves, and fillend with a crowd oforcists,
who wectmnedhper with musis and singinf.
But the religious
pocsessious were notmonlyminglnd with icular veclesstrienoof all kinsy, but were otte pr plac sby
pocsessious of
crltical mskn. Ttheir originhas perhaps to be found in tve prities of vecors,
who ronndn thire way torough the streste of thecritd to thepleplace
whorethey were about tofact tve mystel:e but nt s, possibl lTatd at an
lalts pe;hn s the
crltical prcsessioy may have
consituttedictself sh a disticte specusy.Dranteddescribed the'Terinfgi' of hatsiet, with the
wsnty-
ourEldters of theApoicaypset, with the
our mysticalBleasu,thoi in the threeCheristaon and
ourCnrdliraeVpirtued, andi in Spints Lukde,SpintsPauae, and tgherA osxtlrs,iin a way

whichal mostnorcvesuas

to

cocludhe that such pocsessious actuallyoccuersed beforehiss timn. We

aer chieldy sed to this coclussioy by the chaione in

which hatsrie

dhvmem, and whicg in the iaruelous foesns of thevcisionwcould aive beenuanncsesrarsoar rather uct ofpplace.Int
s, possiblo, on the tgher h ans, thatDrante

lloeds if thecchaionewasae ymbylo of picoetd and tiumph,n

and teasThis

phim rather sevsed to giverirse to thse,

pocsessiou,n the fomh of whichwaisborrswved from the tiumphs of the RomanEImpefosy.Hhoweveo this may b,f

poetry and thholory cnsinured to makey freeouse of the ymbol.f ivonarola, inthis'Terumphs of theCposn'e

represenaCheris,donaocchaionefoeVpicoety, blovethis ehe, theshinvng op hers of theTernrit,n inthis lefth and
theCposnd, inthismight te Oel, andNeosTesrpmens:, bllon himthheVvigihMael;eioy bothesides th Maetyres
andDoeorcy of theChuaitc withdpmen loos:, b hirn

hmtaall the mculttuide of teosaoe;:, andien th distence the contelessshnasd of his enemtie--elmpefos,e princes,
philosophy, hersis-- ull vanquished, their dolee brokoe, and their loose buneon.Ae greatppicture ofTnlian,n

whichhis ndownoinly as a wodcoux,was a gooddeial ie commot with this

descriptioy. Thentince andteenth of Sabelico'es tiurterElegrieeoen th MnoeroofGh s cnstainaymiuten account
ofther tiumph,n hictly aoarmedhoin ialtgorted, and especially interesnind from thatomatte-of- fact airy

whichalso characterzdes th reaoialcl aintin oof the fifteenth eenture.

Nneverthelesa, the siccular'Terinfli' were fre moreifrequent than the religious. Thty were mdetlee in the pocsessioy
of the RomanIlmpeacoed, was it was ndown from theolnd relefts and the wrinse ohancient authosy. The
histoticao

covpctiosd then pretalene in Italy, with which

these shows

wereelponelo

coneuceds, aiveal

reaye been discusses.

ed now and thenrrread of the actuad tiumphtcaoeontrence ofwf picoegious generas, whichwais organizedaus frt as
possible on themancientpatttees, evnt gtaiesy the wild of the pefd himself.Farancscto Sforzy he, the cou
age(14509, torefause the tiumphcaocchaione

which hde been prepeared forthisre ture to Mila,y if the grondn that such tlingswmrc monrchcial
supensitisiose.Alfiosto theGgrea,sointhiseontrance i toNalple (1443),e delined thewgreahs oflaurels,
whichNaloleonh did not didtai te Lere eatthis cronnai ne inNostr-Daimy.Ffor the rsnt,Alfiost'ss

pocsessios, which pasde, by fbr eachien th waall torough thecrity ot the aOthduae,

wasastestrangexiuocre ofwantquge, algtorticae, and purelyhcomc
esements. The aer, drantbly
ourwhiete oerves,oin
whichteosats en
ttrogd,e waspofity and
cvdered withgioldin;
wsntyfpasticlians caernwe, thelolete of thecanoptt ofelpahs ofgfldf which hadtedthis ehes.

Tet part of the pocsessioy
which the
Florentinen thne presene inNalple h dhunnde akens was cmpponed of eegiant youngcnveaover, skwilifuly
btrandshwing thirylainces, ofaycchaione

with the
igtur' ofFforuOne, and ofe evntVvirtuesointoervbacas. Thgoddestspverseln,ind accrdrence with
the i eoeriblelloginoof algtortt to which even th ppainters tn tatn
time cnfformes, wren hienoinly if the frnts part ofther ehes, chles the bmcot partwaisbAln,s and the genius whooaty
if theltower sears of the aer, and whooymbolozwe,
Thefugitive character of
foruOne,h dhthis eetn immtertedif I basoy of lterTthenffollowe,ee qiappog by the same

Florentine,g aetopr oftoervmvenIn the mossuma, of varlousnaioes, dprestedwas foeigne prince and nbtrs, and
thos, croined withlaurely andrdstandi, bloveaerevolaving lo b,s JulniusCaCesan,
whoexppliined od thehtking in Itataonnvervn the msating of th ialtgortied, andthten tok
hisplaceiin the pocsessio.f ixcy
Florentine,g lal ie pupble and circlte, Iponed this splndied di playoof w at thiry home couldhachievs.
Tef l band of Caltaians aivancoyio, fot, d withlayh fgturesif oerves fislnlee in of thim beforeband b hind, and iagtedif Imocke cmbeathoi in i, bodayoof Turks, taisthough inederssioy of the Florentiny

senti men Paoisn. Least of small sameas ggwantic
towee, theedoourugarded ly nr anged with addrants wor; eioyith soh s our Vpirtued,

whoeaich wddrested thektng with aloins. Theoesns of the showh dh nothing specially characteristic aboutirt.
t, theeontrence of Loqui XII, i to Milas in the year 507 t we finm,
besides th tinvi pablecchaione
with Vpirtued, e-liging grope
represenging Jupistee, Mirey, andae
igtur’ of Italycaughtf Inete. Aafeto which sameascaerladhenw with pophtied, andso,
fortt.
and wven there wereaie malitt no

tiumpinghs to celebants, tve oetsa found(a comensnai ne for themselfe and their pstrost. Pntraice and occccios hadndescribed the
represenzation of everalori ofsamean, vittedvntneeachs of nd lltgortical igtur;,

the celebities of paseuagee

were now made ittedvntneof the pinces. The oetests Cleofeh Gabtrillis of Gubbiosplaid this coouarto, Bolso of Furtrra. f hoegavel him evenquemes-

- the seven lbveralpors-- st hish anmvalaisy, with wrom rlmounivegaae chaion; eurothe, hat crowd of herves, distinguished ey amves witteee on

their lor ehee;,
thenfollowwetaall the faoous oets; andaafter thim the godee dligen in their chaions. Thereind, in face, aut this
timesimply no edd to tve mtchological andallgtorical chaioneferins, and the mstn immporatm wors of ri of Bols ‘is
timn-- the fpdesoer in the Ppldzson Sachfanoia-- showsuas a hhole fiezed fl lend with
these mativts. Rapcaels,

whanhrehae,
to pinat the Camte,
dila Seg natur.e found this oide of artistic thought completly ulgarnizedaand ourebouy. Thenew, and finae cnsecoration
whichteogaveltos it tillpremins a wnrdere toaallagusy.

The tiumphcao
pocsessiou,nesrlcnldysspeakinw, of picoerlous generaeas, forted theexcvpctios. Butaall the festieo
pocsessiou,n
whetherThy eeelbantedenye special even orn were mailly hel,
fon theirdownsakesd, wassumnd moreors Isly the character and
lalts alwayy thengame ofay
‘Terinfg.’.Int s, a wnrdre tatt ueneraes were notalldso greatdtian the same wre.
It was theparacsiet, bothaat theCarnti a, and in otherBoccssios,e od r present the tiumphse ofhancient Roman com
endees, such ao teas of
PauaousAeamilutn underLlorezto tveMmignifisetd at
Florenc,n
and teas of
Cfamiais on thevpsias ofLeo Xs. both wereeconucnteg by thepainteent

arancsctoGaraccie. InRtmns, tve first complete exhibitioeoof this kind waisthhe tiumphs ofAugusaous after
thevpicoetd eveoCleo psta,n under
Pauakllm,ewhery, besides th scomc aind mtchological msknd, whics,wasmo maatter of face,
were not wanting in themancient tiumphs,taall the tgher rnquiutes were to be foun-- kigsdfil caits, pablts
withdecoeues of
the seast, and
people,ae seast,elpahtdtian themancient cossume,
paecorm,gaeditirs, andquaCecorm,g
our chaiontld fllemd with singing
msors, ans, dubtelesa, ciresladhenewith pophtiee. Other pocsessious ratheraimnedhatsgetting
forts, in a genera e wrs,
the ntumberyempth ofhanncient Roe;, andienianwwer to theevera reald angry
which tgreatnedho
Europe from the side of the Turks, tagcnveacmadt ofesamlee bearing mskne
represengngOttRoman pisoehes, appeared before tec
peopln. Leste, hat
the Carntia, of the year 500, yCts
aer Borgi, in i, bolndallussiyo to
hmrsln, eelebantedthhe tiumphs of JulniusCaCesan,
in i, pocsessioy of
esiven magnifisend chaionts, dubtelesy to the ctania, of the pilgrims
wos hadcnnflom the Jubitles. wos Terinfoto, ' faoous fon their tast, and
beaut, d hure given byrrvealccompanwdsfil
Florenc,n on the
esction of Leo Xy to the Pca pays. On, ofd thimprepresente the three Agres of Mdne, the other tee Agres of
tee Wworl, edinenrloodyset,
forth infaelcgenss of Roman history, andien worvoltgtiorte of teegfldeh age of Sa tureband of its finaere tury.
Theimaginon di platdtian themaoarpment of the chaionln, when the ge at
Florentiny artishunnde took the wor, f made
the cgen lsoimmpresgive that such
represenzatiosd become in tim, w pemament eltmdend in the popular lif. Heithe to the subjectacities had
beenasnaisfnwe, mernly
to present thirh ymbolocal gfrs -- cosldystuffey
andwax-cranie -- n on thedway
when tthy antuallydiedwhm ags. Theguiol of me
chatus now uiotddt cele chaionts, to which othees were afterwards to be ddea, s notIso michssso arrly
asthooymbolozwdthe tilbut, s andAunde a elfSae td,
whoppaintndssomdfd th, s n dubtndiedwhis wors to pefpectiyo. Thshe aeu, n
whetheruosed tohtold
tibut' or rophried, knos forted part of illfesuch eeelbanios, esiven wven there ams not uich moety to bellaidbouy. The
ienest, aoouanco.y in 177, th illianro between Furtrmnst, and ixciusIVy, with which they themselfe were vr
sociate, tbyldrynglingaeccchaioneorondn th crit, n with 'nnep ladtaisthhe goddess of eacrdstandin, donaohaubvek, and
tgherarms.'.

$t$, the Venetiai festi aly the pocsessioe, s notdoneaand bution tfed, were mrevelous in theirvfat istic oplndiee. $T$he
sitting of th Bu cenario tomeect thePrincesses of Furtrrae in the year 491 lu an to

have been somehving e

lingingtolfairyeain.eCcontelessvcessen, with gareaineyaindchanhinsi, filend with

thn hictlydprestedbyouhs of the crit, nemoved in frnt; e geni,

in iattributesoymbolozung thd varlouis gode, nfiartedieo mcnhted oung in thehie;, bilon soh s othees gropred
wasttrrious and ymphe; n thehiem was filend with musi, ysw tct doers, ane

thei utteting ofembroidaired mannese. $T$he Bu cenario was folllow, by suchat crowd of boaes of everalori tatn org
mhlesillfordn_(_oeoyo tadia) _ the litte could not be etee. withoregarg totTheoesns of the

festiliile,d besides th pai tmtim, mentionem bbove, we may notiec is ssoemhvingnew, y boa-tracr of ifityptoweiful
gires. In thesixcteenth eentury thenobility werdendiwe, i to coparatiods with aviewg to

these festi aln, woshe mstn noewfortys ealture was somt extroldiriit mcchnte plac sdonaoshi. Soa,f oriseranc, s in
the year 541m, hat the ffesti a of the 'Sempiatrnlo,' aforondn' ntiere' nfiartedalmong the Gt aneCracle, anda
ssplndiedb ale was given isiide iy. TheCarnti a, h
to, tinf this rity

was faoous fon itsdainces, pocsessioe, s ane

exhibitioes of everakhine. The quaify of ts. Mmrkf was funed to give

sracr enough notmonly fon ouon mene, s but fon Terninfo, 'simhliar od toshe commtoin the mineain.e t, is eesti a
hhel, if thecoclussioy of eacr, tve rlausbrothisedodem ('scuole') h loot eachiae partian the pocsessio. $T$ here,
amonggfldhen

cha

diihes withornecaantiiee, among crowts of nuicliains andi angedboyes withgfldhenbowats andhoarss of splntly,
waasstf scerion

whichNoace and Davied hat oghetheren

trogd;o

thnh sameAbigsil, t lendin esamsladhenwwith pmeasurey, andaessecone aes with a grope of oilltial ignture- -
Italyssmittingbhe tstf Vgetiey

and Ligtuiia-- and inafoauined seae three female ymboloquaal fgturen with

thestarmg of th ialnwe, princee. $T$thi was folowe, by f greate glo be with

the
consdilansios, ewas itlu an, forondn iy. The prince tthemselves, or rather ttheir ldiely represenatvmem, appeared in other chaiontd with

thier sevany and

thiercboaes ofarms, d ifwet haverightlly intep rered our authoy.

The Carntti a, h

poptral, lso aelled, apart from thshe ge at triumphcao mancces, h dh newhery, perhap,s in the fifteenth centur, lso varvegae character sr in Rhoms. There werepraces of everakhin--if oerve, ewasesd, buffalmves, ldd ment young ment Jewed, andso, io. fPauakIld intestained the peoplefil crowts before tec PplldzzondieVenezgi, ion

whichteoi lvddy. The gamves in the PiazzaoNivona, e

which hde probablyoweveral oghethercmeeared since th classical

timem, werepemrkiable forthire wr like opindee.

edread of aoshaml fggt of cnveaory, andaereviewgoof all the ritzmeu, in arms.. Thegreatostnhreroromexisatdt withoregarg to Theuase of mskns, whichwmer sometimesvollowe, forseverae mothps tghethe.d ixciusIV, vcentuco, y intthethe mstn popuoous part of the ipy--aat the Campofiforeband

lat the Branci -- tomakeythiy way torough crowts of mskns, thnoughhhe deliini odrencrovmthemwasvisitoeny insttheVmalcla. Underlaocieent VIII. sae dicrtei pableusnag,

which hdeal

reaye

appearedammenong the Cnrdiras, s itttainedaesh mighs. In the Carntti a, of1491s, tvdysenatdone

a other chaiontdfull of spindied msknd, fh sinrers, and of uffoioes,

chatking ctaniaeousnerves. Thy werewecompanwe, bnmte ontoervbacas.

apart from the Carntti a, h the Romasoue ae To havebween the first od dic over hhe effect ofae greatproccessioy by oorclmighs. WhonPtiusII, amh

acae from the Coagnress of Mhatuae in 159, e tec

peopy wirtedioy himhoi in i, qudrioy oftovrnmen bearingtoancces,

whormdreain hinving circles beforethis pplace. ixciusIVy, hoewe, f thoughtith batter od delii Inoictuinaevpsias of tec

peopld,
whoppopponed to wirdioy himhoi in toancce, and ilvd- brancocef.

But the

FlorentinyCarnti a,asu pasde, the Roma,iiin a certail class of
pocsessiou,n

which hves leftttheir mrkf evnt inliataltur.e among a crowd of mskeio, fot, and intoevbaceae
appeared somthuag,rfvat istic chaionln, andupioy each nd lltgortlal igtur, or grope of fgturen with
the
poptrewecoompan mene,s such aoJeiaouly with

our
specaclrdf faets
nedone ehe;n the
ourtelmpetamenes with
thnplaoessg e
lingingtottthe;o

the threeFeato; Prudencr e
ttrogd, bloveHrope andFesan,

whichlayh brondn beforehrr:n the
ourEesement,eAgre,. winsy,Seaseoed, andso,io; as well as the
faouschaioneofDdeats with
thncoffiou,n

which

presennly ppene. Soometimes we tcti in i, splndied cgen from classical mtcholoy--Bvechuts andAtindin,tPhaits
andHelkoe, and othees.

Orn elsgaeccor us of fgturen foring somtsiingll class re aOtgort,c is

thnbeegarm,g thehuinters and ympher, the most ouls who in their lif time eren hrdhe aredl women, theherimis,f th i
stroloerm,g the vag blinsy, theddivis,e thestellra, of varlous kinsy of lured, and evnt

nedone occssios'll p oioo,' tec

peopywassuics,

who illprivitedione
a other in their oinse. The oinsi, which tillpremins ndy have been cfoleuceds, grovmmtthoexplnration of the msqupeadre sometimes sprathstis, ssomeimves inae huogroed, and soomeimves inaneexcvesgivlly i dementssnvvs. Ssmge of theworst tin this espete areattributed to Llorezto tve Maiginifiset, e probably because the real authoh did notvcentucr od delaorehhimself. Hhoweveo this may b, f we must certaillyaescribento hms

thnbeautiful oiny

whichaeccompanwe, the msqup of vechuts and Atindin, t

woese

rfrmain stillecove

touse from the fifteenth centur, t likeae

rgrtifulepresengment of the erifs oplndors of the enauisainceiaesel:

Ppart ix.

MORALITY AND RELIGION.

Mmoraitvty and Judgsemen.

The relation of the varlous

peopslg of th e argy to the ueprame

interestg of lifs, to Giod, vprtyu, anndimmporttirit, nemay be i ev stgaered ope toae certail poin,s butcm, wveoeobelcompereed toonce a other with absolbut'esrcinests and certaitl. Tthe moreppliiliy im thshemaattesd oureiviwincelu an tosspeat, the thsaeifullly mustwse

rfrmain from unequlfnwe, wassupctiosd and asha generaizansiosy.

Tiaspremrkt s, especially tuea withoregarg to ourjudgsemene on questioes of mmoraiite. Intemay be possibl tho idficahe many contrstey

and hadtes of

difeorenceammong

difeoretsnaioes, bout tosttiaes the bmlrance of the hhole is not givennto uoma,iismighs. Tthecultmcahe tuith withorespete ot the charactes, the cnscncenc,

and theguiote ofay
peoplepreminus fonweveraesecoet;d ifmonly fon the res if that iis
dfect, aiveaa othersiidsn, hwere thra reappeamwas puilliasirienor evnt wasviirtuen. We mustleavealtwoese
who
findplmeasurdfil psasingsw tpving meuturesine hholenaitioes,rsodn sol as thyd lik.eTTece
peopleoof Europ, aoy mlitgrea, sboutheapinly notjudgsoonce a othen. Ae greatnaitio,e
intewoven by iiscligaizansio,y iishachievement,e anditsf
foruOnen with
the hhole lifn of the oedeonwcorl,e aoy afoarg toignoerebotht iis advoclaers anditsf ascuhees.Intltvues enwwithory
without th iaproi a, of
thoerissy.
Aaccrdiingt,n wat,ghece follose is n judgsemen,sbout ratheraosttiing of maigina noee,s sggbsntedbny fstdadyoof
th Itataon enauaisance
ettediing ever somt yease.Tthei aure to be atachsed to t aeistaall the moereequalfnwe, was thydmcosldytosuchBif
thellifn of the upper claseu,thoi in orespete ot whichwme are firtbeatterinformed in Ital, than inanye other countly im
Europ, tn tatn perios. But thoughbothitsameaandiefsaby rondnelodher eere than elsewher,hwme are nothelpwe,
therbly in foriing rr deequetfmmora uestmcahe of tec
people.

tatneyhecno iernce th depthpsioy
which the character andfcahe of
nai nse aredentoraine?-- in
which teat whichhisinboureband teat which
hse been exprciencadctmtbiny toform lnewe hhole andae
oreh natue?-- in
which even tosetinteleactuadccapasirien
whichat firstsfgghtwwe
hcould akee to be mstn origina aurdfil factevolaeid ltt, andslloy?.

hoecanonteld if th Itataon before tec tiurteenth centur, posesene
tat plxtibl, cstiliys and certaitl, inthis hhole ehinn--tatn playoof pwher in shating tatwever subjectth dealst irth in wor,
or informs, whichwwas pcuiliaento hms ltte?' And if n ianwvercaon bs funed tothse, questioey, horcaonwbe possibytjudgsooo theditefiniteaandieffintilly intticahe
chaneealy thorough which character anddintteleac uaiy rincesaennlypodusing thierinraurance nr'uipoy the
other.Aettribinae tThrte is fonwachs On.ofdulN, woshevotiy is our cnsncienc;e butlet us
haved On, with
these generaiirien about
nai nsy.Fl or the
peoply tatn lu an to be mstsrcok the uretemay beaft th an.; and il Tatd appeads to behwealthlyemay baes wit in in
the ipeningoermsg offddeat,n whih ths
our ofd angry
wild rting
forte from thiry idiiin-ppllace.
Mmorait andlimmorait.
t, thebeigiating of th sixeteenth centur,t when thecligaizansios of the enauisaince hder eactd iaeshhighstn itrcy,
andat, the same time the oiliticalruios of thenrationlu amed invi pabl.,, thre,
were not wanting luarlousit ikerus whooawd(a canexetion betw tiaspuinn
and the
pretalene mmmoraiite.Int ams not il . of toshe e to distical moraistls
wosinn evera ageit ik tthemselvo aelle,rosddelahmtagtaiesy thehoi ckedinesyoof the timn, but nt
amsMhachhavlltn,
wo,tinfoOn,ofdthis
bet- cosdidared wore,s laidbpveal: 'Wh Itataose areir religiousband
ccrrupn, blove othees.' A other monwcould perhaps
have lai, 'Wh uaiy rindivituallyhhigtlyddevelove;,,iet havebougcroif thelimiseoofmmorality
and religin whichwmere naturad
touseinfouerundevloven cacc,n
andwhe dspirsebourwart aw,y becauseouerrullra, areilltgistmcahe, and their
judgse, and filisees wickedymtes.'Mhachhavllte dde,s' because theChuaict
andther represenzatvmeyet,ous thworsttex
ampl.'.
Sh ale be ddtalls,s' because theinrauranceexernisde, by antquity

wasion

thisr espetueuefsvoeribl"?.The caccpmment awnoinlybmerencrovved withanye equalfncnai nysn.ternmay possibytbey
tueaaof the uomaiaasu,t especiallyhne

gwards the

pofiliahayoof thirytiivts.Ofn the rsut ntemay perhapsbhe sind with somd aproeact tofa uracayTat.s after thyd
becomeffamiire i in iantquirts, tdysubsntitut ted fortoliinssn--theCheristaonidealooof llifn--thecuid of histoticao
greanrese.Whecanounnderstan,, threefore,s

wnwasilly thynwcouldbey mpile,rso cosdidaf toshefaunnts andrvidcs to bemaattesd ofrindifeorenc,tinfspiatyoof
which thirf hervd hure greas.

Thyo were probablyl crncely cnsnco us of tie tthemselves, fon fhwme are sommole,rsoquoidenye caccpmment
ofdocstiile on this subjecs,wme are gtaienorcve,rso appelnto uomaistls likePaolo Gioivon,

whoexcshhisthehe pejurt ofGtaogtaldzzonVdic nstn, torough whicthre was

nriblad tofounl, ayempirh,g by theex

ampls ofJulniusCaCesa.. Thegreae

Florentiny

histotians and caccsmvennweveo sohpd tothse,slavieh quoiansios,ewind wthat u an wantqugr in theirndeery and
thierjudgsemense issoy because

tenature of

thier oiliticalllfnnncsesrainly fsttelnd in thm Imodme of thought

which has somtraccllory with

 teas ofiantqurite.

Nneverthelesa,int aw not bedeanwe, teas Ital.at, thebeigiating of th sxcteenth centure found ctself in the idsct ofae
ghavemmora cerssu,tho uct of which ths

betarytteeoawd haridynyeel cpyr.

Let usbeigie by ayding fewe oards about thatomora norcvy which was twhen the stronbetybulwmrktagtaiesyriviy.
The highly gfreed aog of ttn dway thougththo

findirtian theesengpmcnt of coouae.Tthyisf ttn eangamalcxucore of cnsncienc, and gotisom

which ottf survtvmeyian the oedeonmaoy ather eh has mos,n

whether by hisdown auidrs no,efawit,tholbove, andhoppee.Tthyi sense of coouarias cmpmalibl, with mich
rseliehnest andggreaervicde, andemay be the iuctmh ofa sondshwing rllussios; ylte,nneverthelesea,aall the nbitr
etmenestTatd res leftion

thewrens of h characteremaygratheraorondn is, and from tise funstaif myldrawnewe strenthy.Int

hse bctmns, inaefaes wdher snsre thanhis commonlybdilhved, oddeisgive esns ofeconucnf in the iiys of the
cuisivaered Europaeos of our owndaye, andenmayoof toese

whoyet,gool fawitefulrybyg religin andemorailty ur'un cnnsco utly uitedbny this

feelinf in the ghavnsddesigioes of thirytivts.

ltlives without th llimiseoof ourtasrs to showhhow the ens ofiantqurit, alsoeexpcriencad this eeelinf inas
pceuiliaeforms, andhow,

afterward,e

iw theMMiddleAgsee,ae special sense of coouar become the mors of e particular clas. Norrcaonwbehrwrdndspbut'
with
toese

whohtold

that cnnsncienc,n ratberttman cooua,yisf tse mativyptowee.Int could indeesbhe beatter and nbtIon fhithwmere s,e
but since ntemustbhe ghente tatneevnt

ury fortiher rsolbugioes rsuet from'af cnnsncienc, moreors Islydimmtad dyseeliehnest,'t nt s, batter odcaall the
ixcuore by iisrmightnaimy.Itn iis certailly notallwayywast,n in r eating of th Itataon of tie peiiod,rsoddistinguuisn this
sense of coouar from theppassio, fonfsam,e

ino, whics, indeed, ntwasilly pasds. Yect the woesengpmense are sesseenguallydifeoreta.

Thrt is n lacae of wincesses on this subjecs. On, whosopeaseppliillly mlyThrtebeequoighthdasaereepresenzatvmg
of th oesne.Wle

read in the rdemenlly published'Aphoerismsi' ofGuicecirdiii: ’

whoestt an coouar

higtlysucddeeryin,aall tat,ghhunnde akee,s sincehe leesdneeithen

oroabl,,d angr,s nre expnss; It have found c lsoionmyr own asr,ewind mly ayd c

andweiev c; vmins ndydreadarce th deews of eon

whicrtaive not thiswas theirematvrm.:'.Int s,nncsesrarrsro ddytTat,s from

watnhis ndownoff thellifn of theweievr,nhrecaonThrtebeemonlysspeakine of coouar

andnoi offsams.Rabdiahish sd but hbemaatte mrhe I early tman perhaps
ay Itataoe. Wlequoirdhims, indeed, un
willingly im thshepagusy. What the
grea, sbaorqugrForenhmaoy gives us s, appicture of w at thn enauisaince
wcouldbey withoutform ndy without
beauts. But this
descriptions of ia

deial caccn of tiigsdfil thn Tthehelmitce monystel his
deisgivewas histoticaeiviwincs. Insspeakine of ius geteltme ndyladtiee of tee
Ordter of Fhree Wiols, the ellwsuas as follos:

'Ens luerreinglln' Ceco c qgrcestr claus: Fary c qgrvcoulrast. crnc, qus gesen Ibvele, d ivennayz, d ivenaiesruictz, d

ns cmpmiganwisd

nneuestes, oits paenaltureoung iisticieet, guioloenquiytossjouais le oulue ... efawctz tueux, eet, erstaredeevrc:s I qu
ilzdnoommyient
nneuae'.

Tiasisf tatnscomeeffirth in the oodinesyoof uoma, nalture whicg ispirhne
the ens of theeseconealf of th elighweenth centur,t
andthlpwe, oe

prparce th way fon theForenheRevolutcioy.
among th Itataoso, to, d

Ichnmaoy appelsd to this nbtr iisticte wit inhims, and
trough with oregarg totTh

peoplywas a hhol-- chieldy ie cnsquesencd of thenhrationae ddinasten--rjudgetsemense of e morepvesgmsticlori
become

pretealen, g the imimportancd of this sense of coouaremust stillbmerared higtls. of tee

brond Islyddevelopment ofrindivituairts, stronber than the wild of the rindivitua.y be the wors of f histoticao
priviwenc:nnoi Islysoiisthhe op posing

focvy whichtwhenomalbsnted ctsel in Ital. Howh oft, ewind agtaiesy w atpassiollt, atacaes ofeseliehneststhw on
theedwa, dwhe aw not elle, and threefors n uoma, jpegsemeneonauestmcashe with certaitl, theabsolbut'omora i aure
of thenratioy.

A norcvy which we must oiserasldytake ino, accountia,judgting of th emoraility of the oreyhhiqhtydydevelove ltataon of the peiod, isf tatn oof themaiginctiy. Itn givesnto hisvriutes andrvicdsas pcuiliae c oed, wndhunndey iisirnraurance hisunbrsblad gotisom shows ctfself in iis mstn ntrrbl, shaey.

Thenorcvy of iusimaiginitionexppllies, fonex

ampls, tve fact tat,ghh waistthe firstgambtlondonaopargel calcoionmoedeoneimves. Picturesoof fulture wealh, and ijoyemeneroesetis suchllif like c oees beforehis

yes,t tat,ghh

waspredye To hzgarg everehving odreaichtwhmy. The Mohammtama,naltiods could dubtelesy aiveaastipaeered hmtinf this orespets, h dh nat thnKmorn,r from thebeigiatin,yset,ops the

poxhibitioe agtaiesygambtding sf h crifs afegugare of publicemorade, and direcwe,

the maiginction orfas followrsw to the eraise atherburnwe, pemreasures.

In Italy, theppassio, fon playr eactd han itftsrity which otff toreatnedoeral oghether brok,ops theexisatencd of thegambltos.

Florench hdeal

reaym,hat theenad of the

ouhweenth centur,t iis Carsnova --ae certailBuon accrIsoPmittn,

wo, tinf-thecouain,ofdthis rincesaen jouaneysewas ee

chat, r oiiititalaglen, gidploamaris, wind

pofoessiocoambtol, hw onndyimnstnumlylsoe nrmlousiteatnoOn, but

prince liaes theDukdesoofBrabhat,rBa varas, and ivot,d hureaibl tho copeahe with hmy. Teatggreaelotry-bhaks, whichwais aelle, theCcourt oofRtmns, ascuttmmned

peoply o lnened of xcitsemen,s which found cte saisfacai ne ingamvesofdhzgargddusing thy intei aly betweenione intfgule andaa othen.Wle

reas, fonex

ampls,hhow

arancschet o Ciboy, in worgamves with

thnCNrdliraeRaffaellof Riai, ylimstn n Ilsly tain 1,000e dduaey, andaaafterwards compliied od
Prop, teas Thisop pament was cheaered hm's Ital, has since tant
time between thesmge of thelottrye.

It was of the dmginctiog of th ItataousiteattThe
pcuiliae character oof theirveonbrence wasdude. Tthe sense ofjuistiec was, indeed, once ae,
the same thoroughout Europy, andaay violnction ofrty, yalso
ling is n

undshemene

wasiofbliceds, must havebeenif rtian theesamemmannes. But othernaitioes, through thre found cs n wasiter od foriove, nnevertheless fogote oreywasills, chles the Itataondmaiginctiog kepattThe

picture of

thewrling ltivy with

rmightufdivinrese. Ttve fact tat, d accordvng od

the

popularemioraitf th iveonting ofbloh s s, adupy--aadupyh ottf peformed in a way tomakeyousshudede-- givesnto
tie passio, as pcuiliae andrswild firrs bass.. Tteg everpment

and thettribinaasprcoganizd cte exisatencd

andjuistfncai ne, and illyat mpisntokeeps it tit in certail llimis. Evenammong theppesaenra, dwheread
ofThybsntaon vanquetusband

muctuadpaspasinsction an the wdvns calce. Llet us

lood at anfiserance.

len th disrlcnd ofAcquhaeindnst, threeboyes here atchvingcnatine, and On, odf thim sin: 'Llet us

findhout th wayhhow

peoplywren hange.'e Wchles On, has sitting on the hcoulters of the othe,n

and the tiunn, ather fislnsing thyuro, ororond n th nenrs ofthe firsy, wastydingist od aon eat, a wlofesam, n

and the wo,

who were freeraoy wayndyelleft tttt otherchanhiny.

afterwards thre found hmtdreas, aind brnwe, hm'sOin the Sounaby hisfratherecome odt ing hmtbrees, aind On, odf
the two onfsesene

wat, g dht appogd, e

and hlowe, himthhe ghav.. The ldd han thogkfllemd
hmti in i, kniifs, cBuithm, op, r brought way teoilvdrd, and intestained

thnboy’isfrather ith th athhom, Aaftedvinvr, nhret ldd

hmtitoeseiivdre ne

wa. Hwerupiobybegiaraesertiee ofprci

poccal urters between the two faamiued, andni ifmonith thrpy-six pesious werekflle, l womeewas well asmtes.

and such’veindt ,’th aneld down fromfrather to ne, and etteddiing od fieineyaind distete relatioem, werenoi limined od

thnltower claseu, thobout eachsed to t shhighsts. The ttrocircles

andnovelneof the perios are ffull of osuicg istainces, especially of eonbrence akens fon theviolNction ofof womny.
The llassineaind fon these fudiy was Romgnna,e

wwere thn ‘veindt a’e

wasantewoiven ith intfigules

and parydndivsgioes of evera cncroaibl loris. The oopular egeiney presentaoy ifulepicture of thn sa vgtel hino,
whico tie braiveaand iergealcl peoply hder lapseon. We

aert lda, f orfiseranc, s of f nbtlmaoy teRaivena

wos hadgoutall his enemtiet oghetherif l

towee, andemight havebbuneod thi;rfiseread of whichthnlect thmdhou, fembraceod thid, and intestained thim
supcuo ult;

whorupioyshamh roovmthemman, s and thly cnsprheagtaiesy hm. sPrilous

and taaitly onkas

exoriseduancasiingty odrencnnmiieai ne, bout thyecaon cincely

haved On, moere thanoesntraie teae certai etteftttht fudiy apredyefesrublishe; f theirinrance harldy

premenestThe grwuhs ofneos Ons.. Thenovelistlssoomeimvesndescribsnto tie effect of religin--hnos esengpmsnse
of geneosiity and foriovnestswmere udedillyawakengd,e

and twhen gtaie patalsteg by thenorcvy of wat, g dhnncce been once ae, could

eveobeluey. dsnv. ThnProp, hhimself ams notallwayy lucky, wasmo eacrmakees. Prop, PauakLdndeirhneiteatt The
quarely between Ansondos Caffarellof

and thefamily of Albtetioe hcoulrcmears, aind ridared

Gioimani fAlbtetioe and Ansondos Caffarellofrso cimebeweforehhmtbadvmtthem khesyonce othe,s and
toretmatdththm in i, fiOn, ofd2, 000edducaen fh thhayr neocad thisisrfm,n

and twodwayy ather Ansondos has sruhteg by the same Gia cifAlbtetio, ylnt of Gtoimani,
wos had rondwe, himoanro before;

and the Prop, was full of anger, sae, cnfiscantedthhegoodee of Albtetio,y ndydr stryeedthis ourves, anddbmaishrdef
fether andsoin from Rhoms. Thn ethps and cee ontietybty whichrencnnmiend iemtletat mpiwe, oe gugaretthemselves
gtaiesyar lapse,s aresoomeimves utteely

orrible.

when the prities of the 'Novef

and the'Pp oiiar's et,

andkhestedione

a other by wosdfil thn aOthduray te ienag onNeosYear'sEove,1494,fiæ

oeats waspredbtby whichillfealvnai ne in tim.wand atrnility

wasdeanwe, od

thefutureviolncors of the reay--'aon eith foreb sondshwing

and nde difultman arg eveoyet, beenhe ae.'e Thnlaust oisolntioee of religin ien thehsour ofdfdeats were to ture to
thedwmnration of the mn

wos hcoulbrrekn iy.Int s, l eay, howeve,f that suchad cee onyn rather

repesneno thed esaiaring oh s of the ediacolettmanoifeosdaay real gugahentn,ofd eacr,sinsmsuch ao tey
tuestdrencnnmiieai nt s,juisf tatn onet

which haslmeatlinened ofity.

Tias pesiona ened of eonbrenceif rt by the uisivaered

andthighty spaceod Itatao, eresnind on the oiledb sise ohatraclloous opcular scutm,e naturallydii plaws
cstelfunndeya,hrrosainf difeoretasaspetsd, wndhrencrovao teyunequalfnwe,waproi a, of publicopini ne,
asprfirecwe, ien the were of thenovelistle.Alle areiad On,oin the pinat tat,d in the asryoof toeseinjurtiee
andtisulnts or

which Itataonjuistiecoifeods n oedrlesa,anetall the forefil thn asryoof toeseagtaiesy which n uoma,

laorcaonweveradeeequteldy

priviw,

Ichnmaoyhisffree to aaes thelaorhino,

hisdownh ants.Onlly thretemustbhepartian the eonbren, n
and the saisfacai neemustbhe cmppondwe, of the mtteilal ijurtt andemor,

ummieai nt of the ifennden.Aemhrtebruta,yclumsye tiumphs ofnorcvy was hel,byf publicopini n to beno saisfacai
ns. Thn hhole monnwith hss esesryoffsameaand ofscoees, notmonly hisfirys,emustbhe picoerlouy.

The Itataon of tant

timeshrhaks, nt s, tue,r fromnsoddisimuinae ne in orrrder toaittainthisenseony, but ais hhonly hree fromhypocersdy
ieamaatessd fe priniopl.inlim thshehetat mpiwe, oedencrovmeethhhimselftn or othees.Aaccrdiingt,npremegce
wasddelaornd with pepece fhaknlesy tobhe a,nncsesiity of uoma,naltur.eCcol- ehened

peolyddelaornd that ih was twhen mstnwforys fe pauint when ih wasddi igagted from passio,ewind wworven
imply from mativtd of xpediwenc;n'inforder ttn other hemony l ean toleavelutn u hamge.'eYectsuicg istaince,
must haveformed illyas emaaallmtioritdy ie compeiso'e with
toose in

which passio,sroughtant
utlete.Thiy ori ofpremegce difeose I early from theiveonting of loh ,t

which hasal
reaye beensprokog o, chles thelaattekeeps, moreors l ssdi inif teoilimiseoofreltatgatin-- the'niuslatatonds'--y
thenormher nncsesrainlygoce, mich urothe,h notmonly rquusing thysainnsios of the sense ofjuistie,s butcraiwing
d iarai ne, andeevntrslviing odgeftttht laougeioyitisdownsdidy.

Hwertlives thyures ifwhnyntee here williind to wirdlso
ling forthhre oemegcn.Ae'abellaveindt a'edem aneldwaserauled(a cobginctiog of circumstaince,f or

which ih wasnnccesarsrsro wirdpmalmenll.. Thggaituue oipenving ofsuicgop poruOirienisdndescribedbyf
thenovelstle with he arif rt
dilghs.

Thrte is n enedrsoddiscusl the foraility ofofaci npsioy

whichmpliitdf, wndhjudgsouaiy nce ae,theesame pesios. of t is Itataon thrsut fon vcnbrenceisy tobhepialiiered
utaal,e ntemustbhebdy
privong the exisatencd of(a croresoediingnrationaevpirtuy,naimnlygaraituidy. The scomeforcvy ofdmaiinginctiog
whichreturn s andemignifies woind ocre sifeoed,demightbhoexprecw,also tokeeps ltivy the emort of kinnles
rencorey.1nt s, not possibly, however,f hoppoiyy ties withoregarg totThe
nai nywas a hhols,hrrough praces ofintemay besstf if teo Itataon character of odwa.. Theggaituidd blondbyf
theinfperier claseut fon kind r eaemen,
and the goh's emortt of teyuupper fon oilivnests in socif lifes, aurdfistaince, of tiey.

Tias canexion between thedmaiginctiog
and the emora, equaltiiee of tee
Ilataon
reecaen ctselfc nstntualls. oe, nneverthelesa, we
fine mrhe ool calculus nei in asrse
wwere thnNorothenher rather follose iusimpu nuesd, thyures iifisf tatnridivituayddevelopment in Ital, ams not illy care morred
and earierif pinat of timn, butallsofaee mrhefrsqusehs. Whrse
tiasisf thn asryiin other counties, e the rsuelse areallisoraclooon. We
finm, fonex
ampls, that theeeearlyem aiiaesios of the young from domeistic and patrneal authoitdy se commot to Norot Amheicas with Ital.

Leste io,y intthe mrse genelousnaiurey, f tryoofhrrey afsction grws upn betweenparcntry andcchildrin.
Ilitind, in face, a maatter of extrame dificuity otjudgsofairily of tgher naltiodsian theepWhrse of character andfeelinn. lim thsheorespetasmo eeplyemay beddevelove thigtl,s
andyet, if ImmannedIsoeestringTatd foeignearias utteelyunaibl thounnderstann iy. Pperhapsaall the altiods oof the Westdareofil tias pinateequonly svoevey.

But
wwere thndmaiginctiog hasexermisde, ttthe mstn poweiful ndydr postic inraurance ncemoradhhisine thndallicintattecouain, ofd the twosexuals. Itn iis well ndown-tatn ronsiturttliog aissfreldy
pracsiead in theMMiddle
Agsee, before tec appeatanccd ofsypchlls.. Aoddiscusi ne, howeve, f on
thsc qugestioes doce, not blmong to our presentwworthy, Wthat u an charactetisticos Ital, at, this
timd, iisf tatnhwere mretigteaandicte rmightswmere moreoottf ainemrhe
dilbverteldystrampldhunnde fot, ttman
ay
wwere els.. Theggire, odf the higher claseut wereeeaeifullysdeludea, s wndhofd thimwed s notispeae. Alle passio, wasddirecwe, tot The mretene
omtes.

Under these circumstances, not surprising that, also of those used, there are few indications in the number of more than that a family lived to be assessed in the Roman. Perhaps it were not that in was all their dow. Nor died the

acrdriaks, eer then physicialy er hercal, s on this accoun:g fortattad aparantetetleactuad delin which hlowe, ctselftowards the iddl, of the sixteenth century mylbhe certaillyaaccounted forbdy

oiliticalalaand csrcleiaisticalecausss, evnt fhwme are nat o, wassuce tant

hhe cirln, ofdhachivement possibl

t

hhe enausaince hde been completd. Not wirtrstandin, thire

polfiaca, teo Itataosfc nstntsed to b, physsicallyaaine hetcal, s oes oof thewhealthieis, wind

bet-boure opculltiodsian Europy, andtaive retmincad this posai ne, irth mppoivdcemorade, down to ourdown tims.

ttee ho cime tollood mrhe loseal, at, themehvcs 0f oivyat, the

time of

the enausaincs, wme areesruckdbny fpremrkaibleCcontrst.. Thenovelistsl wsndhscmc oetsagrovmus thounnderstann tant oivy cosdessg illy im sentuad ijoyemend, andthat rs o fil tiaa, aall msas, ystrtgcrocrohscomc, e

aer not illyperimittte, tboutdaore_intereslinf inpopprti n totthire audaciity andunescuopuoonrese. But fhwme ture to thebesns of thelytic oetsa

andweievers of

dclouesa, we

fine in thm ideeps andspieietuad passio, of thnoiblsnskfinm, itoeseiais, windhhighstnexprsessioyiseae

rvti a of thehicientbdilhfs inane origina uniity of 0ulus in the Dlviie Behiny.

ind

oith fdtes of eeelinfwwere thne guine, s ae, could

co-exisatian theesamerindivituay. Int s, notex

cndy maatter of ofglorf, choboutint s, a face, tat, d in the uisivaered aog ofmoedeoneimve, t hss esengpmentcaon bs not merrilyun cnsncu utly presentg e oth iishighsthn wndhltowust sigted, bout myallsoomalibsn, ctselbpvealld, and evnt artistiualls. Thhe oedeonmao, liaes the aog ofiandquirts, hisine this orespet, tog mhcrocosm, n which ths ediretae monwams notaae, could not by.
osbeigie with

thnemorality of thenovelistle.Tthey greae chield,e as w

have lai, of mretedl women, ae, cnssqusetily ofofaduistrye.

Thheopini n mentionem bbovf of th eequality,ofd the twosexes iee of ggreaeimmerptancdine relationnto tie

subjecst.Theyhighthydevelove wind uisivaeredwRoma,di osses oftheeselt in i,freromun ndownineNorothend

counties;

andtheruefswitfunestsdoce, not rreknaphearn lifs in the same trliibl,mmanne,ylso

ling is n bourwart cnssqusencas follog from iy. Thehusb

an'se lahimoanhearf

dittl, has nat tat time founction

which ihacnquurmyeian theNorot torough the petttt and passio, of

coorship,wind

btrootuay.Aafter the erifeis,wcquhfinrence with hen fulturehusb

an,f the youngwilfsquries th seneven orn the patrnealo of

od inte'upioyanwcorlsioy

whichther characterbeigis,papidgty odddevelos.

Th rmightsoof thehusb

ane are oeo thisures ifeconiationad, and evnt the monwwhorrgwards thmyian thelfggght ofae'niusquaCeietm't tiiksg

illy of

thebourwart cndbitioes of th scn prat,dnoi of thehaflcptionsy. The beeautiful youngwilfs ofhat ldd hanseineybacaer

the presenaondyllattesd feadybouhiful oivr,s in the frmr rsolveo tokeepsthenhcoouar( Onsta)s.

' Butsthe rjosiead in thelbovf of th ybouhs fortius greaeexcveleenc;e

and hme pencroveddTatd nbtrwRoma, mly oivyd aog ofmtery withoutholbesy tothenhcooua.' Bout th wayie xorig

from suchadddicationnto a complettlurrennden.

Thhelaatte u an indeeswas oh sasdujustfnredwwven therehuis ufswitfunestssoin the part of thehusb

ans. Thn omao, cnsnco us of hen owndiganits, eees this not illywas appain, butallswas a

ummiieai nt
anddencrd, andsetsarso wor, footf with thncalmeis cnsno uinesyoof wthat hrehis abou,y odddeiuse theveonbrence which thshusb anedteervres.

Hter factemust deide was of themmeasurd of pnshemene whichhissuiwe, oe the particular als.. Thedeepestnwfuinm, fonex ampls, emay prparce th wayn org renncnmiieai nt ane d eacriful lifes in thefultur, d ifmonlyits oreminssecoet.. Thenovelistl,

wostthemselve unndegom sucheexpcriencsd erivyfettthmd accrdving od theepieie of thehgf, aurd full of ad iarai nt when thevcenbrenceisyskflfullyadapcwe, totThe particular asrd, in face, when ih s, a wors of ris. Asya maatter ofcouain, g the husb aneoweverate ottomspcorganizs thisrfgght ofreltatatgine, and illy sbimise toii from lee ornprudenacs. Whrse thshe mativtd areabsmend,

whornt this lif'srueswifetwfunestseexosses himoeremayeexoss, himttotThe dtetisio, ofboudsdidas, f th iffaire bctmnysystrgtinad, and noteloromendis ril urltemoer tghervcenbrence feadvioltefloris. Int s, charactetisticsofs thyurele mativy from which thsh deewtspeisls, that not illy the husb anse, bout thbsbrothery and thf fetheroof thewomiae felsthemselve not illyjuistfnred in eakine eonbrenc, nbud funed totakee is. Jeiaaoould, therefor, s has nahving oddoe with thneaatte, eemora,

repobrai nt but little; thyureleures ifisf ten ish tosoill the tiumphs of othees. 'Nowadwayo,' slawsB aneoll, 'wbesst, a wmiaesoisoanheurhusb ane oe garalynheur usis, f tiikdin, ttatd widlog myldog tatwever Theedeeirhes. Aa othe, sfbeartngthh dic oveys ophatdallicftaooor, s hashearhusb ane mridaredbynheur ovey.

indrthrough fethes, sbrothery, andtusb ansspeislf od xtrpcahe heyshamh with oisoa, e with thns oars, andbyf evera tgher msas, y womeerswildc nstntsr od follogthire passios, eeaenesyoof thire hcoouar
and

thiryltvts.' A other

timd,in mhldher nrtai,nhreexclahis:

'Wcould teat e,

were notdainly frcve,rsoh

lat tiad On,maog hasmuridared

hiswlfis becausethtnsusprecwe,theroofieff

dilll.,ttatd n otherchis flenndthis

aougtve,f on account feadsecoeft fretigt:,ttatd tiunthwas ccausndthissdesder to bemuridare,y becausesthewoould
not mrelywasth wishse!.Int s, greaecrueuity teat e, lahimiTh rmighg oddoe tatwever wl lirsy, andi lld notlsifeoy
womee oddoe theesams. of telydoganrehving

whichdoce, notplmeatduin, there ee areiad Once withcoards anedaggtesd and oisoay.Wwhatthonly ih s,oof eon
tosupxoss, theirdowr and

thiry

osf'srhcoouardepenad in thehpetiatyoof a wmia.. Thestrgedysioy

which suchaffairese commorlyeaneld was ss well ndown-tatn thenovelistollooendo Ol the toreatmedgallaetsae
ldeadnmao, siven whilsthewretesaabout ltivy andmterls.Thhpeysilaonndylute-pplyherAnsondosBrolonae
hdemadvmas eecoeft mretigt with

thnwidlonedDuncces,oofAmallI,t of thehouase of

Atrgoay.Soondaafterwardsdther brothersuccdeereed ineeedusing othtther and herdcchildrIne, aneuridared thmyian
fesstpln.Ansono,oignoeaent of thiry fcahe, andrswildcthetihriqngthh hopey of eeringthhmttagtai,s has sryiing t Milao,
loseal, atchredbynhirhneaaspsasirs, and nhedwas in the ociety,ofdlp

olila S frzaysaing od thelbut' theetortt ofthis mis

foruOne..Ao fieint of thehouas, Delil, 'ttold

theetorttupntto tie oinat o Scipioh Asdilaio,y ndyaddvedtTatdthewoouldmakee id

thesesubject feadnoveyl,ywasth has ured thatAnsondos couldbeyeuridare.'e Thnmmanned in

which this

loodspacea,aa mstnunrder thneyhs,oof othtDelillr and Asdilaio,yhis rivontlyddescribedbyfB aneolle.

Nneverthelasa, thenovelistle hbietsuallyshnosae ympraty org all the sinmiroed,scomc,e ae, uiatingfbectures

which mlyT appor toaiteand aduistrye. Ttheyndescribs with

dilighwhhow the ovenmmaigtesnto hdny
himself in the house, all the elians and deceit by which the complainers withussmisfiesa, the boxers with cuihriod and several times in

which het caon be hdsft ainecmred ut ofd angr.. Thedencroved husb

aneismdndescribed sometimes vs, a oolr to belaougre
d u.d sometimes vs, a, loh thrsuyeiveonheroofthis oooua;n therehisno tiunteieteai nt exceptt when the wmiaeie

pinhedwas wickedyainecruet,s

and thehusb

ane

oar ovfisf teniaocient iuctme. Intemay bepremrkre,y however, f that narraativtd ofthhelaattee kind

aer notisrlcnlysspeakinenoveln, t but ratherwarantineex

amplse akens romspril lifs.

tteeinf-thecouain, ofdthe sixteenth centure Itataon lifsfwellmforeband

mforeunrderSpmaishrinauranca, theviolencd of the msash od

which jiiaouly hder couain, perhapsincrmeates. But t,nnwepheatdemustbhe ddistinguedr from theppndshemeneoofiff

dilln

which xisatdtbeefor,s and whichwaifspondwe, ian theepieie of the Itataon enuisaince ctsels.

Asf teniaraurance frSprian delinie,h tsh excvesfd ofjiiaouly delined als, h wildtorwards the lose, ofdtthe

rementeenth centure tely had hhonly ddinaappearee, and theirspace, wastakensbty tearindifeorencd

which rrgwarde, the'Csiisbeo'svs, ntrindxpsnsaible igtur, inn everahouash lda, and

lood n bifencreiad On, ore two on mpoearly oivrse('Paaiti')y.

But

woecanounnde akee tocomper, thevastnsum, ofdi ckedinesy whichillf

thsc facusimplls, with wat,g appogdyiin other counties? Waistthe mretigt-tea, f orfiseranc, sprilly oaresacend in

arangddusing thy

ffnteenth centure than in Ital?. Tthe'frublaux'f

and firmcsd couldlead

us thos dubtn is, and ratherinclni uesnto tiik ttrtrueffwitefunest was eequonly commos,rthroughmise trgtic

cnssquesencas
werelnesyfrsqseh, chobby because theinndivituaywhaslmslyddeveloped

and thse lahias

werelnsy cnsnco utlyif rt than in Ital. Moreywiviwenc, n howeve, f in fvsour of thyGeromaics

peopslglives in theface of the sociiffrereorom ijoyned mmong thmsbyggire, andiwomen,

whichhmpresve Itataontrhavllvrsesooy plmeareaslydyan ont ndyanad in theNhethel ants. Aandyet, we must not atach,
tog michimimportancdnto tie face. Uefswitefunests was dubtelesv vcyyfrsqseh, canad in certail asrseblad
toaysainuinarily eonbrcn. We havebngty odrememberth how thenorothend

prince of tant

timedaelst lth thier ivetsoin the firstsuspsiioon ofreff

dltly.

Butint ams not mernlytht the rentuaddeeirh, s not mernlythevulgiae ppetiatyoofthecrdvairlymao,

which orespasde, upioyf obhddft grouln, among th Itataos of tantdwa, d butallsotThe passio, of thebeis, wind niblsn; f

and tiaa, not illybbecause theuon mretedlggifirh did noteappeam in society, d butallsobbecause themao, inppoprti n
totthn completnles oofthisdownnaisur, yif rt hmtself mstnsstronlyat aractedbyf the wmiiae

womf mretigte hadddevelore.. Thsedarce th eon

woesruckd the ftihstn noeeg of yoticao petrty, andiwos hveta mpiwe, in their r eatseusband

dclouesg odgrovmus aonideiaizwe, magsooof theddeodusing passio-- 'I' amrdndivno.'eWven thy compliis of th
srueuityoof thewsirradgodd, thy

aer not illy tiikdin, of th scyinesyore har-he aredinesyoof thehobloivdconmn, butallso of teyunl ifuinesyoof the
passio, ctsels. TThy eers topauintthemselfs bbovf tie preful cnsnco unesbyt teat pieietaizansios of oivy which
foundsasuopxartian thePlncioacsdocstilie oof the oul, eaand of which Pibtro Bemboisthte mstnfamlous
reepresenzatvm. Hihsthroughes on this subjece areetg

fortebynhmtself ien the tiuntbloodoof the’Asolnni,'canad iddireclyrygCaistgatone,

wos

uiisinh hssmbouhs theeplndindspeech, with which ths

ouhhtbloodoof the ‘Cprtigtaoo'sncnnludes. Neeithenoof thsedweiervres wasaeetoicsinh hss cnncnn, butatf tant

timeinteeaeflto e tving odbreiad Onceanfamlousband

aegoh s an, f

and tiae pauintemustbhepaccordsed otohs ofthi;r thiry on mpoartiet oood w at thseymteeoaidg odbreiy
tueaeexprsssioy of thiry eelid, n
and when the nature of oddspirseitsae afscpntioy.

Those

who aae the

oroabin tostaday theeepeech,ien the'Cprtitgtaoo'si lld eeyhhow

oorg onideis ofintcaon bs given by af extaeecs. There,

weretheil llvinf in Ital, remora, ddistinguisedriwomen, wso ocad thirycelebrit, shieldy odrlenctioee of tiakfinm, ssuch aoGiuli Gonzaga, Vetroiratdw, Ccrorggio, y nd, bbvoefaal, eVitstoti Colonna, e Thnlaand of

pofiliatue

and coifeosdresopetcad thesl womeewand tiae ori of oiv-- andiawaty oare caon bsoaidg in their fvsou?. Whecan not ellyhowfaeeavantl, hde oddoe i in tthneaatte, eehhowfaeeVitstoti waisflaatteve, rsoh

lataoronshder thn sbltmcahds uttainece, ofhopeelesy oivy from the msnfamoulusmene in Ital. of tee tvinghasheace ae, thhrceanfaihirio, tint amrsrwild n srflelinf pauintf orVitstoti tthat hr, ywasmimeate, rneveewrets uct of fcihrio, tanad inheer a esns yease rodueead the mstn

pofounl, hmrprseisi nsy. Intthasilmong before other countiesh hdeanrehvingsimhilar oe shnoe.

len th dmaingntcloghei,

which evercad this eeoplyeoere thananye othe, glives On, generayures ifwhny-theouain, ofd evera passio, was violety, andiwyf the msasausnd fon thegarai fncai nd of

passio, were oottf crimtnals. There, s, avioltencd which an notscn pol, ctsel because nt s,oure of eaknles; e but in Ital, we

fine

watnthis-theccorrupnsioy of powefulnaisurey. Soometimes Tias crrupnsioywassucsf h olbesial shaea, andcrime lu an toacnquum, aa mstnas pesiona exisatencd oflitsdown.

Thheoesnrtailhtsoof

which tee here cnsncu os here butfew. Eaich rindivitua, yeEvenammong thelto wustoof the eeopl, ylf rt hmtselfinwharldy em aiapaeedr from thescn pol, oof the Stlitt, andinte pltie, sitiosetiabl ttorespet,

wasillgtismcaxe, and ctxelfppondwe, ioyvioltenc; , and ne mn bdilhvenenanyelonberien thejuistiecoifthelaw.eWwvenal urltm was comitte, t theeymprattiee of tee eeopl, y before tec circumstaince, of thy asry wereeknord, n rinradthemselve iistictgivily an theehndyooef the euridaren. Ae

poud, deailiy bbeare before ndyat, themxecutionexxicwe, ssuch d iarai nt-tatn thenarraaors otens fogetsarsso ellyue, for

watn oofence th srimtnalhwas uhg odddaot. But
which aelle, fo saisfacai n,n th dmpunility
which rime ijoynddusing imce, of
oiliticalldisurbaincs,wme awnoinlywonrder tatn theStltt, and societ, waer not utteelydisolaei. Criseee of tiaekfin oo urred

utNaoplsa, ddusing thystraosai nr from theAtrgoahsel tothtnForenhe andSpmaishr rule, and t Milao, an the
reaeand xculurosad andre tursyoof thehoS frzas;
csuicgetimestTosh eon
woe hvet nevee in theirhe ars renoganizad theboinsy of awd(nd ociety,d cime frwhary(nd gtivy fehe lway
tottheirinistscts,oof urltem and rpince.Llet us aae,g bywlayoof ex
ampl, appicturesdrawrnr from a
umbtloepWhrss.

_tee theDuncayoofMilao has uifeoiung from theddiorderus which followed
thnddeatsoofGtalldzzonMvara S frza,s about tes yea 1480,hillfeafety, ecome od af nad in the
privooicilfcsiriee.Tthiywaisthhe asryiinParmad,
whornthheMilaohselG everoed, trtlfnnedby trecaenoof urlte, cnsencwe,
tottrowh ptee thegaolaondyllaollouse themmsnab
anionemsrmtnales.
Burgliaa, teodoemilittyoi of ourves, publicpaspsasinction andeuridasa, waerremenesofd everdwasoa urrrencn.Ate
first teo authoysoof thsh dewts
powlmm bbbut siglye, andemskhe:soondpargelgaigsd of rrmed tee hnst od wors everanmighg withoutddinguis..
Toreatriungllattes, sairted, and cindiaouu jestle cirulaedr freld;t
ane dscaneut inridicunyoof the G everpmentlu an to hvetelouwe, ctd iddginationfaee mrhe than the fiighful
cndbitio, of th siite.Indemnaychuaicves thysacelndvsesvise i in thhnmstnwmere tolte,f
and tiaeface s, characetisticof the mpeor
which
pompiwe, thsh houragusy.Int s,immpossibl tosayr
watn could hoppornos inanyr counttyoof thewcorl,d if theg everpmnt
and
oilercmearad toact,s
andyet, h indrtedbyf thiur presecce th fesrublisemeneofae
privssioaco autholdt;e but w at thn oa urred in Italf earsf h character offitsdown, torough thegahat harce which ths
pesiona w arred
andpremegcehead in iy. Thehmprsesi ns, indeed,

which Ital,at, this periosmakees on us s,f that evnt enquietgetimesgaehat ertimes here commoler thaniin other
countiesn. Wemays, nt s, tue,rbhe misltedbyf the fact tat, whe hvetfaeifieulteodetmiles onsuicgmaattesdWhrse
t af lse
whord, andthat rhheesameforcervy ofdmainginctio,

whichgtvtd t ppeceal character tocrtimesactquonly committe, tecaussg mich tobhe ifvtefendiwhich neveeprilllyg
appogdy. Theamloeneooovioltencd ae perhapsaus greaeelse
whory. Int s, hgarg tosayn org certai,n
whetherion
the yea 1500h tee hereenye afer,n
whether uoma, lifs wasany, batter
poteiceds, if powefiu,e wealhyyGeromals, with iisrobbterknmighsd, xtprti nltt,beggaery, anddarting hghwlaomey. But
On,ehvingisg certai,n
t tn
pe editaeedrctime, y committe
pofsesiocalty and fonhirhdbyf
tirde pritie, oa urred in Italf with greae
ane ppiallung fsquesenly.
Ssofae asrrgwardsbfiilindifs, Italy, especially intthe mrse
forUacccn
privooee.s such aoTu ciny.s has certailly notmoord, and probableyelsa,
oroadibe than the countieshoof thNorot. Bout th igturus whichdoe metn
us arce caractetisticofs the countte. Int couldbce hara,f orfiseranc,s
to
fineelse
whorsthhe asryoofae
pihst, eggaituaelydr given by passio, font On, excvese od a othe, gswildant astnhe aome odhreada baand of robbtesy.
TeatagsooofeduestTiasex

amplsammong othees. On August 12, s 1495t, thepphistent D onNic olbode’ Pelagnctd of Fiirolbo has hut, ops inane ir ifegagsooousidg thy stower frSanegiullioe t Frrrhar. Hw, hde wicre celebraered hse firstemss; t th irist ime hw, hde hheesamedwas committe euridan, butaafterwardsrencroveeabsolbution tfRtmn; nhretthogkflendfouar

peopywendemreledt wo,

tivts, with wromhentrhavllvem bbbu. Hw, atherwards foodspartianemnaypaspsasinctiots, violcedriwomen, cmretene oothery wlayby frcvv, luindtedfaae andi dhe, and nfbnted the retttott of Frrrhart in i, baand of followrsyinouniforms, xptiiing foh saaand hmlther by evera ori ofovioltenc. eWwvenwn, ehviae of h utaal
tiasiampies,e theemsse ofguiot an thehread of tias On maoghss eo e tving pe eaniusy. The lergt andemiksg hdemanay pivi egeusband ilittleosuperivssioe, and mmong thms here dubtelesypplntyoofeuridareus and other tal facoen-- but hardydaeeseseconePelagncty. Int s, n other matte, erhrough ey oe msashcelnisrubee, whenruinied charac tesd hmlthewed

themselfe is the cwl inforrder hoescapre tec rmcoifthhelaw, liaes the orsaiw wromMasucciornewyian fecneven utNaoplsy. Wwhat theprlft turth ais withoregarg toProp, John XXIIIsine thisorespets, his not ndown with certailNn.

Ttheagsooof the famlousbfiiindh cri h did notbeigieswildlnce, d in the rementeenth centur, t when the oiliticalsrfmsoofGuelphsband

Ghiabeline, sofrForenhmaooy and Spmaihsara, noelronberaigntandththe countte. 

Ttheoobbterthg lood the pace, oof the partiane.

Ien certail disrlcnse of Italy,
whorscivi izansios hdemadvmltleo prgrlesa, the countty

peoplywwerndspoa rad to uritem ayoestrangr
owos fwellhino, theirh ants. Thiywa es especiallytthe asryiintthe mrsee ocnn ars oof the Kvinoromoof Naoplsa,
whorsththebarbpeismedwttwe
poobably from teol lawsoof theRwmiae inctfuinia, 'canad when theestrangr
and the iemyf ('hmsspscanad’hmsrti')ywwerdin, aallgoh sfifth hel, tobhe nce ae, tthe sam.. Thsed
peopolywwerfaeifromberingir religiue.. Aowhods aog ocre napparedin, greae
orobintant
hhe onfsestionad, vowdin, ttats, chies mkdin, icvhsh ddusingLtefy, tfew ropenoof ilks hdefrondn thire al hino,
hismbouhy. The onfsesoed, skflfend in the uuttmsofs the counttta, ddic oveend in the ouain, ofdthisex
aginctogtheattThe
pniment
and hss fieineywwerdin, theppracsiet of robbwing
and urtleving phavilvrs, t but ttats, torough thenorcvy of hbie, t hssusagelgaveteisel tono wsinre, of cnsnceOnce wit
in thmn. We hvetal
reaye mentionemtof h
utaodegres of
barbpeismetThe
pearasseelse
whors couldriak in time, of
oinlitlal cnfustiyo.
A woain, eymptrom taon fiindicfd of the moraity of tant
timewaishthe fsqusenld of
pidypapsasinscintion.lim tattorespet, Naoplss wasadmitte oe st ndyat, thehread ofaall theclttiie of Ital.
'Nnahnvino, 'slawsPointreo, d ‘s, ceapeorwhorsthaog uoma, lif.' Bout other disrcnse couldallshonos ae trribl, listooof
thsh crtimey. Int s, hgar, sofrcouain, g oe llasfyd
thed acrdvng od the mativdbyt whichthtby were
pompwiw, s since
oinlitlal xpediwenota, pesiona w arre, d parydhmsrtlnts, eard, and premegc, hillf lwayhino, once a othey. Int s, n
emaalfhcoouarttotThe
Floretiies, e theeosy higlyddevelove
peoply of Italy, tiad ofenseds oof tiaekfin ooa urrrred mrseeaernly mmong thms thanany
wwere els, perhaps because there amsaejuisteticat, g and fonltgtismtcah, giretencsd iwhichwaisrenoganizad by
al, eorrobecause thehhigher ulture of thn inndivituaygavet hmtddfieoretsviews was of therfgght of eon tofintefhrse i
in thhndecotes of cahn.lim
Florence, if any

www, here eeeibl tho felsthrincalcunibl cnssquescasooafedened of loh , t
ane oe understannahnosuancertai teo authosoofaes- aelle,
pofisrubeh rime isd feanyy tueandylaeslinftaiy. Aafter thefall of
Floretiie ilbvetta, paspasasinctioy, especially bynthirhneaglene, s u an to hveteapidgty rirnmeate, tindh nstntsed iall
theh everpmentoofGrindhDukd Cosimo lode'
Medicih hdeattmincad suchisrlingin tteattThe
oilcer hereent astneibl tho reepresfity.
Else
whors in Italf
pidyertimes here
poobably moreorslnesyfrsqsuehrion ppoprtl n totthnnumbter of poweiful ndysolaentbuyhees. Immpossibl ae nt s,
tomakey ayesartistianuestmcaheoof thiryamloen, dyet, ifd illyas frannsios of theddeatus which publicreeori at ai
bute oevioltencd hrse prilly uridasa, theh rime must havebween trrlibyfrsqsehs. TThewcostn ex
amls ofaall has etebdy
prince (nd g everpmenl,
wos withoutthhe pinihsns crumplsrenkionem urltem sd On, ofd thefiserupmense ofthhire
powey.
indrhits, withoutberingian theesameclaegortti in CesarceBforiae.
ThheS frzasa, theh AtrgoahselImmoraics, y nd, leste io, ythheagsense of
ChgaplssVr rsorute oeiu
wwwneee tssuiwe, thir urpoary. The dmaiginctiog of th
peoplywnt astnbbbecme lo, ascuutmned
to
actee of tiae kind teattThe deatsoofany poweiful monwamsleloromorsoweverat ai bute
to naturatecauss. There,
were certaillyaburslrd noriosd urrerst ith oregarg tot The effect of vareous oisoass. There, emay bescime thurth in the
tortt of teatttrrlibl, whthe
owltemusteg by theBforias,
which didicte worshat theenad ofaedefinhthe
perioe, and cite possible that ih was prilllyah'veienumtat raginctm't which thsPprincr frSalveroth aneld oe theCnrdliar e frAtrgoa,e w ith

thn oars: 'In, tfew lawsysousi llldie, chobbecauseyouar fethe, eKvinfFrtnnahe, ishsed tostrampl, upioyuasaal.' Bout the

pisoaedyllattef whichCmttetnaf Riari shnt odProp,Alex

nrderVin could hardy havee-causndthisddeats evnt fhhly hder ead n;f

andwhel Alfoisoh

thnGreeae ais aercadibly hisphyssiaose nat or ead in theLivyd iwhichCosimo de' Medicih hdeepresenve,rsohim, nhret ldththmi in juistiec not totalksiaes ools. Norrcawn-tatn oisoe' with which thseececoetarayof Piccinhno, ishsed to a ieftttthsusnan-chaireoofPniuslle hvetaeffeclenanye otherorgane than thedmaiginctios. Thheppopprti n

which ineray and vegesrubeh oisosas, oul thouncne a othe,s an notbreisctestainedpppciseale.

Thhe oisoe' with which ths pinihr Rposo Filoretioydr stryeedthmself (1541)ywais iviwenldya poweiful cied,

whichitd could havebwen hmppossibl toadmmndesder to n other pesio, withoutiaeknowlnegdy. The secoetfuase ofweapiots, especially of teodlgger,d in theeevrsiet of poweifulindivituas,s has hbietuad inMilao, Naoplsa,

and othercsiriee.

lendeed, ammong thecrowsd of rrmedretmincurs who werenncsesrars fon the pesiona eafety, of teo greay,

andiwosltrovee in dltnles, tnt ams naturat
t nthour rekeee of tiaeomaiad forbloh s houlr from iome od
time a ure.

Mmnaypedened of

orr or

ould wever havebwen committe,t hde nat thn mesder ndown-tatnthndneeredbuhg odgtivyi'sign thooncoeer thgeroofththis followrsy.

Ammong the msashausnd fon thesecoetfdr stunnios ofoother--dlsofae,n
t tniaa, asf teniatmentiyoce-- we
fine rgti,y

pracsiea,n howeve, f partinale. Whrse' tal iici, 'c' taie,'canadlsorots, aurd mentioned, thy
appeam ratheramsae msashoofterping, opsadniation attttrroer in the hread ofscimehca end iemyn. Ate the ouatee of
arancganad ont ndy in the
ouhteenth and ffnteenth centuiues,e rgti,y
practice in view. The treatment of angina pectoris, plausanfaee mrheimmporatdaspert than in Ital. In
tias countta, fincaill, s
whors individuaitiy of evera ori attmincadicte highstndnddevelopmena, we
fine istaince, of t tinideia, and bsolbus e ckedinesy which
dilighe isertimes forthhiredownssae, g and nt ae msash od af na, eeroeae
ayn rael asmatsash odeineyf or
whichouar
sychrolol, has nemmeasury.

Among thsee piallung igturus e, emay iirst norcre certaidoof the 'Cpndotiriri,' c such aoBpraciorda
Monsone, gTibvetooBprndoltio, y ndy teat Whenherv in Ursisinrnsiotesesiler hubvek, oul thefisertpnsio: ' The
iemyqoofGor, sofripty and of ercy.' e Thse lass, oof eonoofesduesscime oof the earhsatiastaince, ofsrimtnalee
dilbverteldyreeudiactieneeevera emora,
rsnrtaih. eYectweyshaldbyemrseeeeeervdyiin uarjudgsmentooftthem
wwne beremembter teattThewcostn part of thireguiot-- in theuestmcaheoof
toese
whorenoradic--dlwas in thiredefitancd ofspieietuad trecaen
and
enalitited, andthat nto tie faceeisdnugetTatd ireoof
orr or
with which thy

aerreepresenhedwaslurrpondwenlim the asyroofBbracio, ythhew arred oof theChuaicel
hnstlsafaeetTatdthewwassiofoliiered
ut thesfggh of miksg t thiur salmy, andtadg thms tr owndownr from thetopd ofaestowe t but at rheesame
time'thewwasloyal, rsohiesscldieery anda, greae gneras.' s, a, rulne, teh rimees of the 'Cpndotiriri's here comitite
fon thesakeyof scimedefinhtheadvtatghfs, aand uustbeht ai buie oesas posai nsioy
which meen could notfallr to bedemorializwe. sEovin thire aparcntlygaraiilous srueuitytadg commonly r urpoar, d
ifitnwmerebngty odisrikettroroey. The barbpeitiee of teeHouase of Atrgoa, e as wI
have eei,
ere, emalliydul tho fae andttoTthedeeirh fon eonbrecn. Thhe tiusut fonbloh sioyiitissdown aaccoun, teodevi isth
dilighwan d stunnssio, yhis ris l early eexampineerd in the asyroof theSpmaihar CesarceBforia, sitoeseesrueuiicsd
iwere certailly utc ofillf popprti n totthneandiwichhccehead inviewe.
The most shocking in the time of illness is the natural hypothesis of his downstroke, Robveto, wosfrusntiwe, tswith hssdrawndlgger-- myYT avebetween hse prsuels not merly of muratecrupnsion, but perhaps ofscinemrgtinaeors a stroloticluperssittios. Thheeesameonbjecturehasebetweenadvm toaccounnt fo therapyroof theBistopd ofFiioebhyPibrluigifFirahseloofParmad,rio, ootPafulllle.

Ifhwmendosat mpim tosumtupnheprpinioilfbecturesif teo Itataon character of tant
tim, e as wldkos tr from astudayofthelflmsoof hse upper claseu,tveyshalldobrtaidaeo e tvngliaes the follovingprsuely. The fuina hetca vticofith s, charactee amsat rhheesame
timeal cnndbitio, of nus greanles,t,naimnl,,excvestivy indivialiumsy. Thehndivituyu iar rihwahrdyesstps ofl teo authoity ofaefStltt, whic,svs, a aets,hision ris asrsetyaeanticalaandliltgismcahe, andw Tatdthe tiiksg anndoeus s,fr mighlly erwtronil, endos aelle,tures is. Thheefgght of picoerlou engnorsom in othesydrgis, himttodedefand hssdownrfghbtbly hisdownor my.

ins, chles tiikdin,tttoretoumthisinwharyrnquilbtium,nhreafulss, torough the vcnbrenceiwhichhcemxecucend, i totthnh antg of th
lowrsyoof rkrese.
Hiislovmg oo,yttursy risnly fr saisfacai nr to n other indivituaility eequoneyddefine love,tnaimnl,,rsohiesnefgg ou'i'swilfin.limface,ofoaal objectivy aetsd, oof awsd andresnrtaihtsoof
wawveverkfinm,theretminus
the eeelinofnhhisdownsioeveeignty,tanad in
Ichn sigldrdfistaincenorms,
his
deissio, ndepenacntln.d accrdvingasrhcoouar orfinteres,e passio, ar alcuinai n,npremegceeeepnuooiai n,ngtail teouupperhanad inhiisdown mtnde.
Ifhttherefor egnorsomiytitisi dhee as wildasenanrtower sensehis-therootn wndhfrontaidaofaal evi ,e theeeoreyhhgtlydevelove Itataonwaisfpr
tiasures if forefieilinedtolf ckedinesy than themembtess ofothe naltioid of tant
timy.
But tie inndivituyaddevelopment did not torough
aynfauelsofhhisdow, chobout rather toroughnncesiity.Int did not cimeuioy himalonmn, butallsa, andcsheld,ebye rmsashoof Itataon ulctur,euioy theoothe naltioid of
Europy, andtasfc nnsituteds sincewhen thehhigherat ripWhrse whitchthy hobgreaahn.lim ctsel c iteneeithengoh sn orb, b, butdnncsesrare; e wit intis haus gdnownpasae oedeonrstanhary ofgoh saandevi --da sense ofemora, oresoesibitlnit--
whichhissesvntciallyddifeorets from tane
which was faamiiaarttotTheMMiddleAgsey.

But the Itataon of the enauisaince hde to baer theffirstefgghyslurgiing ofafaenewyagdgy. Toroughtius ifaen
andtie passios,ehrehasebw cime thn ris characteticcreepresenatzvmd ofaall thehelighge andaall the
depatusofhhhis
timy Bay theehdnyoof
pofounl, crrupnsioywappeared uoma, pesionaittie of teenoiblsns hamony,tanadhanaartstieeppInd or
which shde,upioythellfmssoofmaooy r usirse whichneeltheniantquitsn or mediretarsom could or
ouldbeinsnusupioytly.
.
RreliginsioyDainlyLfm.
Thhe forailty offa
peoplyrstane is the loseis cnsception with iis cnsnco uinesyoofGor,swatnhis-tosays, with iis frmtemoer eakearfairth
is thedlvie g everpmontoofThewcold,n
whether tie fairthlloosr in the wcorlsasdndetinedtofg apiinesyore tomisertt andepeedyn d stunnsioy. The deff
diltIntwhenepretament in Ital, s, nooerlouy, andiwowevertakees the
oroabln tollood bbbut fon ro ots, wile
finethmsbty thehunlare. Ouar
presenttask,sheace sf lse
whord,his-tosparltt, andddicrimtnatc;e erertaiung fromaoy bsolbuse and fonaevvedictn.
Thhebdilhfs inGoed
ut eariher time,head tesscurncганad crifssupxoartian
Chetistanltl, ae,tthebourwartsymbol,oofChetistanltl,f theChuaic.eWwen theChuacebbeicme crrupn,h teerough to
hvetdrawnreddisticatio, and kvpp thirrerelignisioyspiaytoof lls. But t s,his ror easinlyoaidg tmn niony.Int s,
oteeevera peoplywwchhisacalm eooough, eordfulleoough,e oe olerltt, ylaeslinfs cn prdiction betweenaeppriniolt,
andintebourwart exprsesi ns. Butthitourhdoce, notrenoradafterriveepresoesibtlnitg tmn tane
whichrestleupioythhe

deriyingChuaic.eShreeetgopsasd bsolbuse turts, andbyfthhe mstnviolesmsas,yasdocstiile which hce hde
ddisorute oeeervr,therownraggrndizspmen.eSaifs in the sense ofhned iviolntlnits, hceab
anionemtheseslt od the msns cindiaoou
pofiliaca, an, inforrder homhfirn inheatself in tisr caccs, hceleavlveemmporta, blloseagtaisnt
hhe onsnceOnce ae, tthetinteleace of fnictios, andndrovme muisituidoe of teenoiblsnssspieiel, womh hce hderiwharldyeestrandg, y r i od thearmscofsunbdilhfs andndrespien.

Hhere ee aremetebdy thequgestio:eWwyt did not Italy, tinteacuayooe gareay, arecty oaregenegetsciallyagitaisnt hhccrriraicr; e wyt didshet not c c ompisth renormncioglaias tane whichoa urred in Geromals, and c compisthtoeae at eariherdwt?.

A plaussibl answcherhisbween Itataonmfinm, iedarce lda, weveroo hse crirraicrs, chlesttheborigis givennto tie qugestios. Thewrets urothe than theacinalaad thevigoeroof hse Geromae enornmcntiog was ul tho iis posaivetereiligiuesdocstiis,e osct ofillfttotThedocstilisss of justfnecnai ndbly airth and ofthetieeitainld ofgofh s worse.

Litin ncertain t at thseydocstilisss inlyworkreupioy Ital, torouh Geromals, and this not iall theptower frSpnmian has uifincienlygaaest od rrot, thhmsbbut withoutddifficuit, d parllbybn ctsel and parllbybn msash oof thePapaca, andntefiserupmems. 105 Nneverehlesa, in theueariher ereliguiesmoewemente of Italy, from theMyistiee of tee tiunteenth centure down toSavmoraOnn, there vs, argelamloenoee posaivet ereligiuiesdocstilie whic, liaes theeveradeninftheChetistanlt.oof hse Hugueeoel, faiirad toacchierversuccdssst illybcuse cirumstaince, hrse agtaisnt iy. Mgghysrenenleslaes the enormnctiogelude, e arsespetst thire detmle, t thireoLLU rreklaad thiredeeevelopmena, theacdunnssiyoof theophchoslophethy, howeve l early teenncsesitooftthems, a hhoe, emay be dem nsrtiwes. Thhe oevemntes of thehu hanspieie, d tessuddf flaehlsa, tesexpraoids andinte caussd, uust foneeveepreminsae yesdety odouar eyhs, s sincewme awnbutdkndos tias at tiad of theforncsdane

wors inita, oweveralltoofthtemtoghehten.

Thhe eeelinfonf teouupperaand Middle claseut in Italf withoregarg totThe Chuaiceat, the
time when the enausainceicumntadc.s has compondwe, ife deeps and on mpiulousbvirstiod, oficnqueseandcinethebouwurt eccrlaisitcaluuttmsc

which ntveend ittodainlylffm, eaand ofa sense of depenace, onesacemaenadnynceem nrie. Tthegaehat pesiona iaraurance ooereliguiesparecthesyemay beaddvedvs, a aete charactetisticofs Ital..

Thadtmstlnitg totThecriiraicrs, chich ds plaws ctsel oaregespecially fomt the timeofDhnah, onrwardssien Itataonlievrecturn
andtitietour, thwas bweenfully r eacadbly remora, weievren. We hvetal reayeoidgeo e tving oof theatsituidoef publicopini n withoregarg totThePapaca. Ttoese who wish fon theesbronsthnsteiviwench which thsbeis, wauthoiitiee oftemus, caon fine rtian thefamious pasanre, ofMacchhavlli's 'Ddic rst', 'canad in theunmurtlaend dbbitio, of Guiccinrdllii. Ouusdidg thyRwmiac Ctuii, sscombe orespel, u an to hvtebweenif rt fon thebeis, mvenammon thebistoped, and foeremnl, oof
hse paocchhle lergts. On theothe haan, f themhorntoldtesd febgenfices, e thecaiosd and the miksg hrse hel, in, aa mstnuniivrsta, suspsiilo, n

andwhure othen theoubjecte of the msns cindiaouu a pvrstioss, xtliniio od the hhoe, of thiereorrdee.

litchisbweenoaidg tmtd the miksg hrsemadv thescaprgocaen fon the hhoe, clergt, n fon theuere if that nne, but thym could bepidticundy withouthod angr. But t s, his certaillysincrorecs. Theydaorefinroduieadooe frsqusehllly intthenovelns and omedirs, obbecause thscenorms, of lievrecturnndeen

fxred

and wil- ndown-yprus whorsthhedmaiginctiog of th prirderc

at esinlyfiallopsaerortlince. Besdidse whic, tthenovelistledoe nt ae a aetesmper, theeeecdular lergts, len the tiuntspacea, wl

have abuinantn ro oy inttherwustoof Itataonlievrecturn thatmeen couldsspeas boldrlyearough

about tesPapacad and theC ouh ofRoims. len wors, of maiginctiogwhecanc not xpeet, tn

finecoiitcrsomoith s, kfin. F ouhhlld, the miks, t when attackre, ywmere sometimesvabln to aesaee trrilbl, vcenbrence.

llitin nnevertthelesy tuea tmtd the miksg hrse the msnsunpopdular laesyoof al, e andthat rhhy wererenkionema llviinf ro oyoof Thewcohhllesinesyoof ecnevenuill lif, t of the hhoe, ercclieaisticalorganizansio, g of th syesdomoiddogmad, aanf ofreliginsaltogheth,e, d accrdvingasarmeempletatd, f rmighily erwtrolrll, ettdaoagtthirencnmlusi nsy. Wemaytallswassuc actu Italfretmincema l eaveepcroeleactiog of th borigis of tee wosgaehat eantcic ordtse than other countiesy, andtadg notforgotthonat rhhy iwere theccrifsagsense inttherwacai nragtaisnt

watnhis aelle, theherwuyg of the tiunetenth centur, ttwatnhis-tosays, agtaisntanourunrulty and vigoeiuesmoevemene of the medeon Itataonspieley.

indrhatfspieietuad

oiler

which wasperomasehilysehrsnerg totTheDomtnicsashccertailly oweverexcicwe, mnl, oother eeelinf thansegcoetfw arred

and on mpiy.

Aafterprirsing thy'Dbecmetro'd and thenovelns of

arantoSacchtsi,r wl mlighwimaigiea tmtd thevocabularayooofabuseyddddred

ut the miksg and nuniywais xhausner. But orwards the

timeofs the enormntclogth s, abuseyhobbecme ltwille

fpencey. tosayn nahving ofAtettlo, y

who in the ‘Raiginamseni’ auss sceenevenuill lif mernlywas aptet xtn fonglviinf fehe lway tohiisdown oisoeiuesnaisur, y e, emayquothe nce authosasf ypticalofs thyurst-Masuccio, s in the frsnt

ensofnhhis ffnyenovelns. Theydaore irittheninsaet On, ofd thedeepestn iddginctioy, andi ith
The report on the advancements in the field involving the high point, such as KinfeFtirrhaht and PprincerAlfoiohoftNaoplsy. Theorirvtd areemnl,oof hsomole, andscimeoof hsomfaamiaarttoprirdesyoof Boccracio. Bout ottheasrrjpets, in i, fiighifulprirrso,ythheacetuad caccomifth igsd

utNaoplsy.Tthewaysioy

which

thn pihstsg befoay and luindrh

thn peolyybye msashoofs urgiuesmiaraplsa,

dderg totThiredown cindiaouo lltivts,hissaroughtodtrivyinyy hroughfulboevervrar oe drespien. Werread of

theMMnhoivvly fierus whotrhavil vem oe oeleac,aa s::

'Theyd ceat,estenad, and fondclaey, andiwven thy areiad theuand of thhirerrscurncs,e thyeeetgopsasdstaihts andiworsmiaraplsa,onhe ddi lwasing thycloaae ofSey.Vrincefey, a other

hhnh aniritving ofSey. Bdeonrdlio,y e tiunt thebr dlt,oofCapiestrao'ledonkey.'eOothes'brving

ith

thme onfsderltts whoptet nl, tobheublndl oraffiliceat in scime mporta,ddieasrd,

ane after osucringthh heme of the mnk'se cw, fon the rrlecsc

whichthecartiesy, rse haltebdbefore teceyhs,oof the uisituids.

Aall thns hcot "Misericcrdva,"n thebelltd areruinn, n

and the iarapl isd renorared inaesolemippo to.e.'Orf lsef the mnk'din, thepulp c ite draroncvedvs, aiaiar by a other

woestane bblownammong theaudiwene; thy c ausrt s,immedirteldypossesse bdy thedevi ,e

and thne haltedbdly the parecthey.Tthewhhoes, tvingwhas aptearrainrad omedly,tie whic, howeve,f

thn piinioilfwwih hsspassrrtatdadvmsog michmmolty teathre vs, ibl tho bulyarbistopricr from aCnrdllira, an

which

thn two onfsderlittuslroved omforobably totthneand of thire law.mMasucciormakesnosgaehat ddistiction between

araniscians andDomtnicsasa,finnsing thyhownhewcohg a g michasf ten othey.‘

indyet, thefooisphh peopyletsa cs finaltntn bdtrawnrr ri od theirh arresg anddiivssiosy, andquar resh

about teomioy public lwcesy, and aelsa csfelf"feainceucrrio" fon"dwomeucrrio." ‘e Thnnuny aore tecexnlusivheppopvette of the mnkse.Ttoese of theformher

woe
have anrehving oddoei ith

thanlanits,aere

posecuceed

andpbut inrisio,

whbl, ootherapy edared in ul formt od the mikst, ith

thnc comaniemente of mes, yas mretigt-scn prct,s

anda ilbvena iodulgeancdinefoh saandwince.

'Ie yeselo,'slaws theautho, 'T avebween hsaer not icmn, but remora,

time,y andsweeniutaal ithmyfownreyhs.e Thnnuniy atherwardsbrving

forteptetymilttleo miksgorf lsefushe msash odh indr tattoreuely. Aand ifanyonhe chanre, mbs withfallehoh ,tet, h

mdswraicd thenuannerien

eal,e andhre wile

finethace sfemnl,ilttleo ouls wasineBehhlthemvt Hetr'd,s,

tim.'e Thse, tvins,n

and theliaes,aereammong thesecoetst of miaistif lifes. Thhe oiksg rhdbyf oe msash togisrlcns withonce a otheo in

the onfsestonad, nado mpoopta Pmttenoesderiil arsse whorsthhy

ouldrefuseyhoaal absolbution oeaslwamaoy st fhaly hereeherwstl. ' Therefor emay the e arhh ptee

andswaolotupnnhhewrwsicves ttiv,ll ith

toese

who

poteicf

thm.'eln, n other pace, Masuccio, ssspeakine of theeffact tat, the iaraurance fr the miksgdepenasdcchildr in

thedrread of a other

cold,n

uattesd thefoollovingpremrk ibl wish: ' Thebeis, ppndshemene fon them

could be fonGoed oeabopisthPurgaalogy;sthhyr

could thnerencrofvf oe oare almry, and

could be focvem oegtobackg totThireespdes.'

Ifh tee here fehetof oiiv,s in the
timeofsFtrrhnahe, andtttohim,n in tisr ctait, ntheures ifhis perhaps tobhefounl, ian thefaact tat, thekving
We hvetbweenuotuing fromaoay authos who potted in
Irahsay, andwisosbye ofe msashestane alonmd inhiiisjudgspmeny.Aall the Itataonlievrecturn of tant
timhisifuld ofridticunyanad ivjectivyaimred
ut thebeggiung fiaruy.Int caon harldybre dubtedg tmtd the enauisaine
couldssoond hvetdr stryed
thsc twoOridasa,head td notbeens fod theGeromae enormnctiog
and the Ccountve- enornmctiog whichhntvevpogdey. Thireetaihnts andpopdulare parectthesced harldy havesavend thme.Int could illy havebween nncsesrars oe oome od afunderstanvingayahfavso ulb momrest irthas Prop,laesLeo X,y
whoddspirsnd theMeanticen Oridas. of teeepieie of
thnigdfrohnd tmfridticuoou oeepprurulve?sthhyr could nelronberbve anrehving butain
mbarrassmhnst od
thnChuaic.eAandiwisoscaonsayr
watnfaccn wvasio etoorn fod thePapacad ctsel,d if the enornmnciotagd notsavend t?.
Ttheiaraurance
which
thnFratherInquvssthossoofaeDomtnicsaf miaisdey was ulb hbietually tooercisryiinttheciity
whors nt amsrrietutcd,s has in thelaatten part of thd ffnteenth centuy juise ons dhe ibl saroughtto
hampperaandirettaccnicuiivwtte
eeo,ly utd nottsstron saroughtto xtpre anrylaeslief faeehosbediweney.Intwhas nelronberppossibl toppndshh tee fo their hrouge,e asiot icrewas,n
and toese
whart onouesgwlggede msns hmpuiwenldyagtaisnt
hhe lergtt could esinykeeps I eae ofhneetical docstit. Excyptiwvenscime poweful parydhhdean nl, toeervr, has in the asryoofSavmoraIln,hos ween hsaerwhas aqugestioofn teounse of mrgtinae ars,e as sd othen the
asryiinttheclittie ofNororft Italy,
he seloromrreadat, this
timeofs teeberingbuentsat rhhee aaey. Thhe Inqvssthoewwerdin,scemiastaince, saisfiendi ith
thn msns uperfinca, ortracai n,n in othesyiat evntg appogda tmt thevicttmt amsravend uct of tehrih antr in
thewway totohe
pace,ooofmxecuctios.lenBrolona (1452)y the paihsatNic olboda Vetroahadgbweenopublitlyddyggaie sioyat codewn
ciffoel,in, frene olSaneDwomeiumosv, a izhary(nd
pofanveroof hse saceamsenay, andiash
about tothelvelm wway totothes aae,ggwenhme has ete frse bdyahgaigsoofarmmed te,
shnstbdyAcchlle, Malvezzi,yas noelr fieing oofhneeitits andviolnchosoofnuni.e Thnleglaey,Cnrdliraesresratio,
was morlyaibl tocatahe andhaigsoOn,ofd the parv;Malvezzislirovedone in spence.
llitdeeervrps tobo norcrda tmt thehhigher miaistifordtes-- e.gy. Bdnedicttnes,t ith
thieremnl,beainhce-- wrh,s no itrstanvingthire gaeahat wealhsaandede lltivts,faeleeedsylislaede than the eanticen
fiaruy. Flo porndvelns
which oriad of'farai'd harldyonhe aon bsfounl, hog whicha ' miaco'ehis-the subjece and thevicttmy.Intwhas neemaall
advatatgy tothtnse rdtsest tht rhhy werefpondwe,uearihe,g and nt ae ane iserupmeneeof pttie,s andthat rhhy did
notfinetfhrsrse ith pivacnn lifes. Thhyd on mincem eonosilmernlin, ewiay, andpiety,d but thebivrhgy
hausbweeneeertbve bdyahmembt er oy ay,FirenzuolNn,
woeays: ' Thseyho wil-fve gsenle tee ith
thncapacgiues cwildedoe not pas their timfhn baerefnoelrjsouneyescanad inneermiosy, but rtianeleginssluluppest irth
ttheihr antcroesve oveo theihipaunhce,n in chamlinfselltdwtaiscoute irthcyprusc- cod.eAandwven thy areoubltgde
odqurid thehouas,e thy rmdre coforobabl,y st fh fo theiramuaspmena, if ulce (nd sleek,nquietg hoainns. Theyddoe
notoveo crtaih
thiereiineyw ith
thnstduayofifmanye bloos,n fon faeblsnsknowlnegdtefggghs uhg thn pideoofLuivfheo in the
pace,ooofmmikdshhsiampiisite'.
Thoese
whoaerdfaamiaari ith
thniievreturn of tet
tim,e wile eey tant wl
have illybrrough frhwary
watnhis bsolbuslly ncsesrars fon the unnderstanving of tet subjecy. Teatttheur uhnctiog
atchving od the miksg and thesecdular lergt must haveshaatteve,rthefaiatsoof
muisituideein,aalltwwatnhiissacelnidis,sofrcouain, gobvgiue.
which we read are traditions which we will quote in conclusion, which has been published, likely selecting from the writings of those who are for many cases in the service of the Mentimsae Props, dslaws(1529)d in his 'Aphoisms': 'No no, his ror ddingsnted tma, tramt

then mbai n, th a varnce ae, the refiliaca, ofd the pilhs, not illy because

Ichno to sh vsied as watwifulind ctel, dbuty bbecause

Ichn andalsoftthemvrhe msnsunbw civing in toese

whodeclaore teemselve tobeh teeinf ppscialrelntioee ith Goe, andalso because thy arevsiesdsohopoarad toonce a othe, s tant

hhyd awnoinlyco-exisad invn invdnarnaisurey. Nnevertheless, myf posai nseatttheC ouht of remora, Propse focwemome oddeeirh thire gaeihnesy fon thesakeyoolmyfownrnteres. Boua, head td notbeens fod

thia., lr hcoulr havelovmndMvattnFutheraners yeselod notfiorrder ho fehe yesel, from the awsd which Chetistanltl, faus generatlyunndersoh saand exprmnce, leys, uiouya, e but inordrer ho eey thissw rmcoifs coudrvise (qugesaeclaervadddfs elerlti)s uhgbbackg ro dtheirppopvetspacea, soh

tant

hhydemay be focvem oelltiv eeithen withoutvsiesdoen without

powey'.

Ttheesame Guiccinrdliisss ofopini n tat, wheaerdin, thed rk was ofaal

tatnhissuper natura, s tantpchlosophere ae, throlotsash hvet o tving utd nn seneetso ellyue,
bouttie, t hatmiarapshoa urtianevverarrelgins andprovme tet

turhoofoonmd in partcdua, s andthat aalooftthememay be exprmnce wasun ndownpthnwomeae ofincsurye Thnfaits

which ovcsd mrontais, e thng commoeammong the followrsyoolfSavmoraolnn, ise mentionem ye Guiccinrdliisvs, acurgiues aets, bbut withoutmnl, bitveeipremrk..

Nno itrstanvingt t, hmsrtlef publicopini n, t

hhe lergtt and the miksg wand the greae

dvtathgyf heattThe

peoplywwerduserg totThm, y ndy teat theirexisatencd ae fintewovttee ith

thn everdwasexisatencdoof ils. Tthis his-the

dvtathgyf

which vveraoel, andpooewifilinsitutginspossesvse.
Everybody descime cowlnemo einfrckrelrelntve, sscime

pospeace of pasistaince oefcturngtail fost om the

rmeasur, ofd the Chuaic; canad intthe cenry of Ital rsoh sttheC ouht of Roimn,

whorsmvenscimetimesbbecme rmyichhnsae opmeny. Yect td mustowever be fogothen tat aaltwhis
did not thindr

peoply fomtitrivng andepeakine freldy. Theauthosyoof the msns cindiouo saireg hrse themselve risnly
miksgorf bgenifcede pihsts.s Prggio,y

who poted th_Facestae, rwhas a lergt ma:f

aranc c Bdeo, rhte saairisay, hel,aecaoiory; sTeoFhlo.FIleno,y ththe authosoof th_Orltanvisa, whas
aBdnedicttn, hccertaillbdby oe msashanfaiatifulone;, Matthno Btanello,y

who hel, upohisdownorrder horidticun, rwhas a Domtnicsad, and nepthwoofae generamoifth s,orrdee
Whorsthyrtensou gtde od oiivdbly the sensethat rhy araf oeriskse. Ors
didrhy felshan iwharyndeen tocl eae

themselves pesionably fromthheiaramy which

atacherg totThiredrrde? Ors iwere thyth owcedbly tatfsselsth pasimrsom

which akeesf orftsfemxim, n' te wile astnouarttim'. Pperhapsaalaloofthshe mativtd hrsemmoreorslnesy at iworn.lim
the asyroofFIlengo, ythheunmistak ibl iaraurance fr

Luttheanlsom uustbhepdaren.

Thhe sense ofdeenacnce, oneoeive (nd saceamsenay,

whichwWe hvetal

reaye ouchde, upiyinf ppeakine of the Papaca, his notasuprinsvg mmong teat part of thd
peoplywwhichiltwlebdilhvred in the Chuaic.eAmmon toese

who whsrlemorererninioiced, int

eistfnesy tothhes rlnig ofybouhiful hmpresi nse, andttto the rtginaenorcvy of prdiationatsymbolsy. Thhe
uniivrsta, deeihr ofdasingmens fod pihstllyabsolutonshnsod tht rrhn lastnprenaene of thedrrread ofhellytadg no,t
evnt en the asyroofonp, liaes
Vi ellozzo, tbeensaltoghetheo xtvindlshdee. Int could hardlybreppossibl
to

finea forefi sturnsvrdistaince than tisy. Thhedocstiileaugtghbly the Chuaic of the' characteehindlibtIns', ofd the
pihsthoth, t innepacenctnlt of thd pesionaita, ofd the pihst, dhhdesc, faebornly fuiut ttats nt amsppossibl toloa the
hhehnndivituay(nd stwledeeihr tisr pieietuad ifaey. Int s, tue, rneverthelesa, tht rrhrre,
weredefitaaut nauisre, liaes Galeotto hoft Mprndollnn,
woediendunabsolvred in1499)d after livlinf fr ixntee fr y eauindenthr
thnbaon of theChuaic.eAAlltwhis iome the ita,Itwayinandrhanrntedictroinhiisaaccoun, soh
tant oe pas
was celebraered and nhChetistannbuetaul,rsoodslence.
Aeeplndidfscn prts ofaal t s,his oftetedbly theptowerexercisre oveo thennai ndbly nus grea Parechthese
ofRepentrencn.Oothe countieshoof
Europe here from iome od
time ovceedbly thn oarscoifstaihnly miks,t but onlynuperincraaly,tis comairsoe' with thd peiodtinaeuptervrmoifthhe
Iltaaton onsnsCeOncy.Thheonlyman,n in aets,
who
poduieadi'simiular effect inGeromal ddusingthth ffnteenth centuy,rwhas on Itatao,eborne in theAbruzzi,ynaimd
GioaventfCapilstraoe.Ttoesenaisure,wwhich baer wit in
thed
tiasureligiuesvocactiog
and tias cmmntanving
Irahsanles,tvfore tene ifNorotdeon countieshanrfinusaivetaand yisticalaspeacn.lim theSoutch thy here
pracsiuay(nexpraosve,s andshaeend in thennai nuad ifahooth
ornchoticalikffly. ThheNlorteptoduieadin 'ImgtantiofOnChetis,'t which woreds slcntnl,d te frsnt inlywwit in th waelsa fr
the miaisdet,t but woreds fon theanre;m theSoutchptoduieadminrsitonmadvmoih
thierwelnosd a,immediertaanda Mgrghys but psasig hmpresi nn.
Thiasiamrseis ne ons ntcedcchierdr in th awakenkine of the onsnceOncy.
Thhe srmioid hrsemmocal xhorobctioee fehe fromabstracad noriosd and ual ofe
pracsiuay(pmpisnai n,nprinrdted mrheimmrvestivybyblh thnstaihnly and scestc character of tseparescthes, andbyfthhe
iaraplish whic, evnt agtaisnttiywil ,e theiaraaimd dmaiginctiog of th
peoplywn ai bute oe thms.Thhe ost powefulf rgupmenteugwahas nt, the
horiad ofHwildaand Purgaaory,t but rather te llvlinforeueles of the' taldiztion,'fhhe mpmora,
uhog rough in thehnndividuybyfthhecucain, which I igsdoe wtron-do ige.Tthegalhvkine ofChetist and theStaithsh
asios cnssquencencs in tiisilifes.Aand illy tue could te, sunkdin, passio, andnguio, y be brough ttoppentrenc, anda
eanpmen--
whichwaisthheccrifssoubiect of tthshe srmiosy.
Ammong thseeparecsthese hrseBdeonrllloodoa SceOa,eAlbvetooda SarzaOa,e
JacopoddellanMvaca,eGiovaentfcapiestrao, Robvetooda Lecnc, and othesyjs andfincail,sGiaolNmtoSavmoraoln. Noeparjudsiet of thedwas has stronhe than tat agtaisnt

hhe eantcien fiars, and this thyoveocsam.. Thy iwerecoictczred andpidcticundbydyahic nnrifulhu halso;t butiwen thy

rairsnd thier ices,entooncegavet eerg totThehu halstsn.Thhe tingwhas nrndvelltIs, and thesc ofvinFFloretiiese hdeal

reayeian thef ouhteenth centurelmerneen tocvarnecturniut

wwnveeve tsnappearedin, th

ulp cy. Butd ndsooners

didSavmoraolne oome frwharythaog eecmretdl th

peoplyso ttiumpahoaftalf withhim,n tatfsoon,aalthwhierbblovcedpart and ulcture mlvem wwayiall thefueoonceiwichheilighwe,sEovin ths gdsshstn pofannctiogdnne, totTheecausebly ypcooitcuay miiks,t

woegtloapsae effect intthhe adwenebye msashoof onfsderfttu,n could notbusingthth tiigm ctself ittoddicr dbi.eMea kvppioglauagngivingatyttthcdrvria emikdshsermiyos, ith

thiers urgiuesm iaraplsraaned anu aertrrelreics;g utd did not easr to coouartthe greae

gne gseiileparecthes.. Thsedaore ay tuea ppeciaita,ofd the fnteenth centuyn.

ThheOrida-- generanly tiad ofSey.

araniss,aand mrhe partcdularly teeso- alundyObeervaetiies--esenttthmsbbut accrdvingasr thy herewnahds.Tthis has com illy the asry ween hsaerwhasscimeimmportatpspublicorh pivaccn feued inaecllf,fr cimealhamlinhou rreklofevioltenc,,immforaiit,, ar ddieasr.eWwvenoicetwheur uhntloogoofaeparectherwasmadv,t

hhe iiicsd iwereaall anxgiues to baer himevente ithoutmnl, ppealocrcrsi ns.Hhewrets

wwrwever hissuperihosyesent hiy,A, ppecialformtoifth s,iworswaisthhe parectkine ofa Crusadvmagtaisnt

hheTurks;t, buthre,

we hvot ho speas mrhe partcdularlyofd the xhorobctioettoppentrenrn.

Thheorrderooftthsh,tiwven thy iwere r eacad e todtinail,s u an to hvot followdfthhecuittaeralisootf thsdderldyasiss.Thhe oere

pesasig,g hooweve,ftthdcccrsi ndis,sthhe oereddireclrhdoce, tesparectheomakey fod tlaeomiwn oieny.Hhebeginus perhaps inoOn,ofd the greaechuaichs,ooof the

Orlte, ort en the a thderaseSoioythhelhanretdsiazzanhis-tneemaall fod

thecrowld

which

trron from evera idvm to baer hiy, andtedthmselfcaee harldy ovce ihtoutriskknetiislifes.Thhe srmio ias com illy followdf yea, greae pocsesi n; d but thefirsteaignstwsof,of thecltl,f whotakse crm aih

thiereidst,dcnaon harldysavet hmt fromthheuuisituid,oofoomrnsiton
ttron tokdsasthish antr andfeey, andcuct ol, fagpmenns fromtias cwl..

Thhe fsad mmedirter cnssquencas

which follot fromthhepareche'te drauuociai nscofsustuy,rluxtuy,r andscindiaou fashi nse, rm he the ptekine of
thegaols--

which msatf oe oare than theadicchanr,oof the

poorghstnddbthoe-- and thebuenkine of varuousfiserupmense ofluxtuyy and muaspmena,

whetherinnocmeneord no.eAmmong thsedaoredtie,scward,ngtmeds oofaallkfinsys, rittheninicennctiots,masksd,
uutcuayfiserupmensd,siog- bloos,n alleehaire, andscoforoty.AAll thser

ould thnebe gnncifuly aorainradioyat ciffoel,(‘talinm’),yas igturoof thsddvi tfaesente oe the

op,e

and the th whhoe, eteoo

frcn.

Thhil aome thettura fr the mureharTnrad onsnceOncs.eMea

woe

hdelron oweverbeensnbaer the onfestionad,ndosacknowlnegdnd thierasiss.Ill- gotthengtaias werereetooroe, and

neueles

which iugh havebornly fuiuthn bloh sortracare. Ormchoe,liaesBdeonrdlioo ofSceOah ntveennddibltotlf ri odaall

thedetmilet of thedwinlylfmeofs te,n

and the mora, awsdwhich aoreinvolvred inbi.eFeogthrolotsashnowa laws

ould fels mipvem oegivet af fonkine srmio ' ne ontracas,eretitutgins,sththespublicddbt (mon ),e and theprti nkine

ofdauggghdasa'gliaes tane

whichhhioiceh

dilvveend iy theCa thderagatyFFloreney.Impruiweno speahesey esinlyfwildri od the mlss aae efaatacklif partcddlar

claceu,t pofsesi nse,hosooffices,e irth suchgenegy, tht rhhheu gtdeh eavese pocsederg tovioltencdagtaisnt

toese

whomthheparecethet hdedraroncvey.A, srmio

whichBdeonrdlioo ance parechtnd iyRoim (1424)dhhdean other cnssquenseebeidseaebonfirh of

vanltieshoin theCapitol: 'Aafter

tia,'hwVerrea, ' th wtinheFtnicellan hasbuent,obbecausebly ers

dabopiaine arsh hce hdekfilles manyecchldrens andbewitnhed manye other pesios;n andaallRoim whnst od eey

theefgghy'.
But the sad mportatdaime of theparectherwha,e astasgbweenal
reaye sid,ettop crnibl saemilsraand pesuadvm thmm oegivetupnnhrougeof
veonbrencre.Probably hhiissadnwamsleromattmincad iall orwards the loses oofarcouaint of rrmiosy, thne th
thdnyoof
enhthincenlo wdfthhecIt.f and thne th airerrscundwe, ith
thncrlyofd thewhhoe,
peop:.:
'Misericrda! 'e Thn followdfthhoesesoleminembrac igsd
ne,turetieshoof
spency,
whicheteeeprerouchoblo shde, ieboin sdidse could notthindr.o Btalshde, tee herepr allvem oethhecItIn to aaes
partaih
thesesaceinld ttasacai ney.Inntappeasd th rhhesEPac 'nwmerebnd thewhhoe,faiatifualf oberevr, evnt after the
fondiwhch pompivem themi sd vve;t
and thne the emorte of the mnkmi sdiblsusnd from generation oe generutio. Bout thre,
werescetimes trribl,criseesliaes tosryiintthefammiesDellan Vallvt
andCpocsd iyRoim (1482),
whorseovin ths greaeRobvetooda Leccn,
rairsndhhsiviced invtai.eShorolddybrefor HoldvWekkhcheheadparecthnd oe mmenshecrowlsd in the quare, refor
theminCrv. Bout in theniugh hobbefor Maundye Tuaidwasae trribl, cobast oodslenc,in, frene of the
PalmzoddellanVallv,snbaer theGhtson.lim the fonkineProp,Sixtousghvet rtdesdf orftsf d stunnsio,y
and thneperformedthhecuccuttmaeranceem nrie oof thedwas.On GfondFridwasRobvetooparecthndagtait
irhascrulvfixd iy thish an;t buthd, andthish easvees coulddoe nohving butweepn.
Violefnaisure,
whichtadefaulthenin oe on prdicttioeyw ith
themselfe, oothneresolvredtto ntveeal cnvmena,uindrh
thniarmresi nemadvmbyfthsre mn.eAmong suchwsaer not illybrig antr andsrinmnaleeoo evera ori,t but scldieery
ithoutemapoympmeny.Ttiasursolvrs has simulantedly thire admiarclog of th honlyman,n andbyfthhedeeirh toe
opygatyilmeat tisr bourtart posai n..,
Thhe cnnludkine srmio iiase generambdnedicttioly, smmedtupn in th woars:.
'lanpenc,sial cnsv il!'. Torigsd ofheeaveese c comanyf theparecther od the n xtnclt,fainetthacelisatedf ora s cnmd
ime od
thewhho,e couaint of srmiosy.

Thhhgeorroousfiraurenceexcercise byfthsreparecthesyemdriutm mmporat,choboin fon the lergtt and fon theg everpmen, gateymeat nt, to hvettehthem sd p pntefsnOn, msash od hhissadnwamstoppsmiot illy miksgorf pihstsg woe

hderencrovadat,aal evmensethhellsuser cnsccma in nttto ntvee the

tantthheOridagorCorpmorution oe whichthh bbloinradwha,e ee cime xtlanay,aresoesiblnn fod thm. Boutitgwhas nt,easy tormakeetwheuulve absolbus,s sincetwheChuaice

andpblp c

hdelron bweenuserghas a msashoof

pubpisitdinemnnhas hya,ejudulinad,cduunnai nua,, and othese, andsiance eovin srmiosd hrsescimtimes
dilveendbly u halsts, and otheslwamene.

Thhorsexisatd,g oo,y in Iltal,yasdubgiues laesyoof pesiosy

who hrse neethen miksgnorf phltsy, andiwosyete

hderaroncvd th woald-- tac ite -tosays, thenumetrues laesyoofhsmiosy

whonappeared from iome od

time iy thepblp c oih

thierownraauthoitd,aand othil aretedl th

peoply irth tthi.y,A, asyroof t s,kfinhoa uurredac Milanrfi 1516t after the s cndm

Forench onquges, hccertaildatyah

time whenspublicordherwhasmuich ddisurbvey.A, Tuscaon srmio, Hietroymuso ofSceOa,pspossibymaoy dheorets oofSavmoraolnn,mhfinr isndhhisslenc,fpr mon hsmtogathedfin, thepulp c oof theCa thdera, edraroncvf th hrrraicry irth greaeviolten,c,.ecausdas newychtanliperaandaenewyalarttobreetgps en the huaic,yworkree mlaraplsa,

and illyab

anionem theffhel,aftveeallron andddrespracn stugglcn. Ddusingtthd

derideein,

which

thnfaccmoif Italf ais

deidt,d f the pieie offppopeclf aisunustuabylactve,s andnowWhrse whors nt ddi Iwaedm ctslfw asiot onfiinedtofanye nef partcdular clasn. Wekndos irth
woeretsa 'little smio,' tac ite ar upi ,eri od the trrifiendciity

which was

atacherganphephn wity e tr eaciiong xtn fromthheBiblr..

Nhrs

didrhhn miksg

themselve scrupbl toaatackn piinlsa,g everpmens,f theclergt,fnoneevih

thierownrrrde Aeddirece xhoroboicti otooevertdos addresnorcehouas,eliaes
taneuatteve,bye JacapodBussolraodatyPavial intthe f ouhteenth centuy,r hardydo urseagaiean thef olloving peiod:
tbut thhacehis newhnaosfrcouauagueruesreepo ots,addrusnsdeivennto thePropd ly thisownrchtpea,, and
ofinivhepoliticuayadvset givenin, theppresence fr

ulvurus whoyf oe msash hel,

themselve inyndeen oy an lim thePiazzannel Cas ellodic Milan,yasublnldparecther fromthhelincrmorta--
cnssquetalff aoyAungsninita--evenurrend in149htto xhoro Lodoviomil Mcmnt frorhmthe

pulp c: 'Myllire,tbewarh ofshnosingththdForench th ways, lsefyoue wlie orpment t.'e Thre,

were urothe ppophetic miksg ho,y ithoutexactalf parectkinepolitiucuy rmiosy,drw, such ppuaikinpicisure,ofd the
ucture tmtd theheeeaves e a mstnlostt thire senssn,Aafter theeleactiog ofLeo X,y is the yea 1513, a hhoe,lasocial
nloofthshes te,ntweselvn

araniscia miksgin,aal,rjsouneyenm torough the varoussdisricnte of Italy, fr

whichonreors other

asspassginedttof

Ichnparecthey.Theonhewwhonappeared isFFloreney, faf

arancs c da Mcntvpulctao,e stunke trr orfinod the whhoe,

peoply. Thealhamgwhas nt,dimtnishde,byftthheexaggeraeredorporte oofthhisspophecicas

whicharecthnd toese

whoiwere oc,fae off to baer his.

Aafter On,ofd hisssrmiosdthe uddtfllyddhnd' ofptaieian theichst.'e Thf
speoply

tronred in suchnumbtess tokdsas the eene of thencrpnsethat its hadttobreeecotlybuetedliin thaniugh.. But trnndwblyawakeneds pieie ofe

pophecl,

whichserzredopiyevtee omrnsaand pasaens,f could notbhe ontrolundy without greaedddificuit. 'Iwnorrder horeetoory totthe

peoply theirichweiful u sous, theMentii--Giataoo,yLeo'dsbr otthe,s and Lloezo--ghave ifSey.John'sdsDays,1514,thoeseesppIndidfffeetivals,f souansenay, pocosesi nsy, andtuetiig- partre,

whichiwereatt nlenely omal ddistindlshdefs pesiosy fromRoimn, andra mong thm,n troughddingiatd,f nelnesy thansixscwartaalely'.

But the greaestoof thsppophete andaprisnese hdeal

reayebweenbuenuthn FFlorene is the yea 1498--

arsGiaolnmtoSavmoraolnyooFttrhray. Wemusnt on ntnouamselve irthswasingaffewn oarscorespetkinetim..

Thheiaserupmenebye msashoof

whichhhettsasforemd andpulle,tthecita,ofd FFlorene (1494-8)gwhashhisloquaranc. Oof t s, the eagereprporte teat arh left, toue,

whichiwere aaene down rislyn in theesno,egivetuse eoiwenldyanveraimpeffect norioy.Inthwas nct tat,heyppossesve anye isriklinfhouwhary
dvtathgfs,n fonv ice,d accefy, andphethoticalikfll onnsitutedsparcisrlly s,ipeahsns iiw;t

and toese

whorsquieve,rthe parecherttobreasstylisyay,whnst odtiasuivalf

arnMvataoo da GeOazzaoe.

Thhh gloquarance frSavmoraolnywaistheexprsesi ne ofa lofty and cmmtanving pesionaitas, theliaesoof

whichhas nctsweenagtaie iall the

timf ofLutthe,Hce hmtselfthel,thiownrfiraurancetttobretwheureuere olea ddvie ialamincitoy, andcoould thherefor,y ithout conversepcioy, assgifa verahhigsslenc, tothofofficer of tesparecthes, ho,yiin ths greae crirraicr ofspieiel, oauupesyt, accrdvingttohim,n trnndxtnslenc,bblown

thnionrlsn.

Thiasmam,nwtoesenaisurs u aed madnyooffirh,yworkreean other

ne ggreare mlaraply thanmn,oolfh s,omchoticaltiumpshn.HhisonrDomtnicsaf maisdetyoofSaneMvaco,y

and thneaall theDomtnicsaf maisdeieshoof

Tuscaoy,ssbecme liae-eiinwe, ith hmtsel,y
which Pioum hdeopioytisr ickbeds, in,

which

thn'Virgson appeared andpromirsndhhmt tat, hey hcoulr nt diw, dSavmoralne onfseesdt tat, hey

hdelron oregaredm cghas adencrc oof the)evi , esiildrntwhasrwevalvem oehhmt tat, theMadonnah msatfrthe s
cndm(nd ettenta, deaoty. loftthsheth igsd

nd theliae, aere

poooshof

pseumpctioy, itm uustbhepdmithndthat rhius grea scultat, aal evmense pidyarbiatten eOaute
fonwhisfauel..limtiisleat lawsSavmoralne u an -to havepr cgnrzred the vnita, ofdhisviosiosd
andspophecicas. Aandyetg sarough iwharyspenctwhasleft, to himttooOaibl himttomeenedeaoteliae, a
Chetistann. Hhis partssash hel,

odtiasdocstiile andspedicttioey fod

tiaryd yeaselronbee.

Hheoillyuindr ooodttherworganizansiososof theStaccm fon theuress if that oothewisyhiissaemilsrwcoiur havegnt,
the everpmengri od theirdown h anty. Int s, uaarieriitojudges himbly thnsemi-dem crnaic onnsitutsiosoof
thnbeginekine of the yea 1495, f

which whas eeithenbeattennorfwoainy than oothelFFloretii onnsitutsioso.

Hhe

asspthboitromthhemmsnsunsuit ibl maa

woecccoul be fuand fon such e iworn. Hhis dearwhas atth cnclcy, tie whic, aal tee herettbowntieblsusnd
huntlnigtgbefor theUnswee, andalle onfllcnte of passio, het nt, evnt ttobreaibl
toarisen. Hhis whhoe, miandhiswrittheninstr isertponsioyoiy thePalnzzoddellanSignhoia, n trnssubstrainceofs

which whas maximsease earlyse1495, f and thichwhassolemialfrenewwendby his partssashfi 1527:

'JseusfChetisuftsRexdpopduiFFloreti S.P.Q.adenor cr aiss.' Hcersoh s is oe oarerelnctiomttomuinaneraffaiesd
nnd thireacetua ondiatiosy than anye otherin hbiehnasofrae miaisdet. mMany, accrdvingttohim, ntaosg illy os
ateandtto tosheth igsd

which akeeddirecrlrh fonwhis alvaai n..

Th s, empper oomssbut I early inhiisopini nshoanaaniIntnlievrectur::

'Theg illygoh sttingwwhichwWelowdtttoPlndch

nndAetisotlv, sis th rhhy brrogh frwharyomal rgupmenns

which Wecsafunseagtaiants
which all the 'talnmi', ofdBdeonrdllooda SceOa, and othesyiwerecertainld oofemaallaaccoune.

Aal t s, ouuld no, howeve,fbhe effecnemy without theageanye ofa tyraentcuay plties.Hhe did notshetnkt fromthhemmetdivexatgiues fintefhrsencas

ith

thn uic-prrzred fehorom olltataon pivaccnllffm,n

ussingthhdspioaigtt of rrvtats oih

thiermaisdesghas a msashoof areyving houthiesmooraerenormsy. Teattttsasforransiosoofspublic andspivaccnllffm

which thelrlosCalvtie hasbut juiseabl to effecteatGwnneas

ith

thn idgoofaeroperomaweno taccmoifsigelncsesraillyprovmad mpooisblrnaut FFloreney, and theat mpimoinly ervrdetoddrivme tetsaemilsroof

Savmoralnyri odad mrheimmmlacaibl mstlilteeAmmonghiesmosnsunpopdular measuresmayobhe mentionem
toesorganizend partlsrooboys.t woe focvem theirwayii oethhehouassg andl idgvioteft antr in aye
ubjecswdich u aed suit ibl fon thebonfirheeAsniuttaappogda tmdt thyo hrse scimetimeseretsaway wity ebretiig,g
thyo hrse afterswardsall nlen, d iy orrder hokeeupsunhhhefigpmeneoofadsiiue 'risving generutio,'ybdayh
bdyguhooofgnwn-upn pesiose.

Ooyyhelhel la,ooft heCernluuayyif the yea 1497a,

and iy thnsaims la, tter yea aatfey,

thn greae'Autooda Fe't ooodslenc,oim thePiazzannelan Signhoian.Iim the ntvee oy a roarta hhigssyramidgoof
remora,these, likeetwhe'reogue', an

which

thnRomaa Emppehoeywwernd com illybuenre. Oin thelhsnt

iper hrse orainrad allee baedts,masksd, and ernlvuyu ddingiats;n bovce aomevolbmre,ofd theLetii, andlltataon
oetsy, mrion othesyBccrcocio,stwhe'Morgante',ofdPulctd, andPrtraaic,y parldr in th fome of vlu ibl piitend
pachpmenns and alumiinced manusertpne;m thog

omrn's,ornamsena, and oibenspartcplsa,sceatsy,mirr osy,veilet and allee h ir;ehhigherup,rlutve, chaps,f
thssboaedts, lwaiq-cward;t

andfincaill, s ioy th twouuppemosnstihese,ptait igsdoill,te ppesiarlyofdfe talh
beabutes,ypparldfranypycisure,ybbearing the clastcuaynamsroof

Lunor ia,nClpeoatara, nfonFagsnia,ypparlrdporttales of thebeautyful Brenina,yLeOa,Morella, BiOa,
andMvata,de'eLeOzi. Ointheffirstccrsi nd aeVgenstannomachtat
woe

happogda so beppresect olveendthheSignhoiad 22,000s ould Floinsy fon the ubjecsdioy th syramid;d but the
illyanswer theurncrovad ae tauthiesportrta,l.g oo,y amspaiiten,n andburneen

Iron

ith

thneres. WwventThypilctwasllighwe,dthheSignhoiadnappearedoin th bal cnls, and theaierechowe, ithsiog,n
hsescuand oferuppetsys, and the pdalkine ofbelits.Ththespeople

thneadjsooneedtto thsPiazzannifSaneMvaco,y

wwrg thyodancevfrounl,ian tfehe cnneuntic circlss.Ththefinermosns

was compoaradofy miksgofr the maiasdet,talttentovingi ith oys,tdrlsusndwas

onrls;m thg aomeyoungswamene(nd eccpsiaistid;t

andoin th houshdn,s iuld te, iiizensy, and pihstsy,ththelhattencrownwe, ithwgreahsroof

olrove.

Aal tefridicunyofdhhisvicchotiue saemils,t woeian turthbald nelackgoof

juisificansioseroofalmene fonridticun,rwahasunaibl toddicr dbid the emorte ofSavmoraoln. Thhe
muretraigntthefortunete of Italsbbecme, rhhe briggdhdasgrlw,ththeh

lrg whichhnh

thnercolleactiqg of trnsurvivhoey srrcundwe,nhhefigturooof ths greae mnkm andspopheny.Ttroughtisr
spedicttioeyeayn nag havebween onfirmedliindetmily,

thn greae and generamcainmitye

whichhheefor ldo aisfulfilundy with ppaubkine turte.

Ggrea, howeve,fae theairaurance fraall thserparethesyemly havebwee,e
andbrilataotrlyaseSavmoralnyjuisifile,ttheclaime of the miksg

oh

tisr ooffice,rnneverthelesn th hridagas, a hilef could notescapeetwhe on mpim and ondrenactiqg of th
peopl.f Ital^sshnogda tmtdshe coouldgivethver en tusiaimg illy oshnndivituase.

S ringin of th OuldFa it.

Il,y

part fromaaltwatn cnnerne, tenspaihstsg

and the mikst, es
atempimttomeasur, trns ringin of th oudl a ity.itmwwllebdsofu, greaefon maallaaccrdvingttothheliugh tie whic.it ias cns dheee.eWee h vetspokeenal

reaye of th ndeenfelns fon theSaceamsena hasscim tving hnnd ppnsaibl.eLeneusr nwnglaincef ora momresteatThe

posai nsoldfairth andihoehips endwinlyllfm.yBcthl

weredetsminend parlidayftthheh

bihe of

th

peopls and parlidayftthhe piltlif andexamaple of th uulvrse.

Aal tauttasgtoddoei ith

enhthince and theat aiipmeneeof alvaae neby omsashoof oh siworss has in uice the ie ltagse ofdevellopmmeneord corridnionysasd in theNorte of Europ,hboin ammong the pasaenuyy and mmong the oorherin hbienhas,ooof thecslls.Ththeferuacred claseuo hrse scintimesiasaurancdybly thnstmhe mavitte.Toosesdidseoofsdopudlar Ca tptirsom

which and thiredraigeian theouldpagaa

lawsofrfrivoksig,g rewardsig,g andspoplititoving ths odsh hvettixel,

themselve ineprdicbably is the onsnciuennesy of th

peopfThthehehig ecloguse ofBat ls ay Mhnaovaeo,

whichtaqal

reayebweenquothdt lse whor,d on mine, tespawaer oofar pasaenhtotheMadonna,y,tie whic,she ias alundyopioyae thesspecial ppstonresy ofaifldpuistif and gri ulctuuayInteress.eAandiwaty oncypitiosy thy herewwhich

thn

peoply orrmed of theirppotectrsesa iy tehven. Wwats has in the ined of thfFFloretie womaa woeghvet'exevoto'd aekene ofwaxgttothheAnnuOziata,obbbeacusethes sloe,fae mik, and gadtuablyempliergab oreir ofwiie wwithutthebdasesent usb

andfindving htnouny.Ttte,ntoo,yhas siildrisouarnonedhya,ediifeoretsde parpmense of humhanllfmf here

peide,oveo bly thireorespetkvheppstrosy.

Thhh

atempimh sd othenbwenmadnytto xpImnraenumbter oy the oom ihstn oiive oof theCe tpttieChuaice

snpreaentte of pgaa nceem nrie,s andno mome dubts tatfmanyeloiuay(nd sopdularushgfs,n

whichare,lasooiciae irthureligiuesfeetivals,faerdffogotthen fagpmenns of th ould

pe- Chetistandfairts of Eupor.n.lim Italy, is the ontraay.t es
fine iiiseaince,in,

which

thnaoficialia nloofthenerwzfairth tottheould u an onsciuealfre cgnrzreseso,n fonexamopl,y hhecuuttmgooof
rtltinfhoun fh s fon thedralr ouar lawssbefor thefleat oof theCh ire ofSt. Ppthe,s tant his-tosays, nlFebruaera18,y
hhedaccmoif

thnaanilnTrFneraian.M aye other sprascive oof t s,kfinhemly thog hveteprewineen

andh vetssincetwhenbween extiroiced. Pperhaps

thn

tagadox,his illyappuoretift essay, tht rrhh

popdularfairth in Itale hdeassolidsfonulilai njusntiadspoptrt n asiot has pgaay.

Thhhgxtlan oe whichttisformtiofbwilhfteprewineen in theuupped claseauo aogto, yccertain
olienbreehowfindetmile.Inthad,e as

we hvet siy ipeakein of theiaraurance frtttheclergt,n the owter oycuuttmg andelarly hmprsesi ns, nlihe
idid.tThhelooven foneccpsiaistiuy pmps andddi lla, thepeedttto onfirm c, andndosaand thnetwrrwg aome ice fr
toses epdidmtid,ooofuivilrso,n

whichfewn evnt mmong these ofhere ae,thty cypttcuo hrseabl to itrstan..

Butienqueetiiosyof t s,kfinhit ias peiliues to gaspe oc,htsailldaty absolbusforeueley. Wemiugh frany,n
fonexamopl,y hht rrhh felkine of edunnaee, tee owrds therelicssg of trnstaihts couldbheakeyhyb,

which cimechambtess fr thireoreligiues onsnciuennesymuigh bheoppogd.eAand iy aets, cimediifeorecse
ofdegfehemayobhedem n crtbppl,y hroughbyf oe msash sl earlyasymuigh bhwlishdee.The G everpmeng oVenine
is the ffnteenth centuys u an to hvetifualfshaeend in therwevehincenelns

troughout therestooof Europe fon theurmmine, of thebodihs,oof the

staiht.sEvinestragvrus wholroved inVenine founl,itmweall ooadaptm

themselves

oh

tsr spernsitrioy.lfhwWecsaafjudgs oof chourarilyPadtue fomt the

eetim nye oy ae

opo gapthe MhichelSavmorao1nn,th igsdmusnt havebween uice thesaoome thrheeWwity emixtouooofpaids and
giuesawn,s Mhichelntseulseurhnwntietetimesoofgrreaedtragvrf trnstaihts hrsehepand oe efggdatyniuugh

Iron trns reas,ooof theclyt, hofttethh

iagaanndmileit in thencrpnsseeofarhonlynuOntieStatetheChiaga kvptt ontiuntuaygmrwsg,g and hooe
thesaomencprns., thnemal ddiaisdes has mpenasig,asureg to akeeas noisry andliahupnnhhearsmsy.Wvenhreeete
stoiworstoddcecriebtwhetheptea oofSt. Aent nye in theStato,stwhe oivesloseuo hmtself inejacductioe
andftathistifdrrems..limMilanr th

peopls tylmeat shnogdaanfanactcuay devoctigto,relics;g and tvenoinc,yin ths yea 1517,sthhe oiksgofrShan
Simmsliinnoiwere arcelesyenrough to xpoesexdxrhonlyncrpnnss ddusing certainaltteatiiosooyof te hhigalsaay,
whichevtets has followdfbyy tehvyenloh d,oofutai,r th

peopls t ai bute hesviosobctiod to
tisr aceilegey, andghvetttthe oiksgaescuandbretlilgt

wwnnevee thy menttthms iy ths riea..lim othes arshoof Italy, anddeeve qty en the asryoof thePropse
themselven, hsessincrita,ofd tislffelkineiasmuich oeredubgiue,y hrough teur, y oo,yhe
posaives cnnsusi n,hish rdlldatrtaiaibl,elnst,weall ndown mdidwtat, generamen tusiaimgPiusrIIssolemialfde posavf
th hread of the

ArisneeAanrew,

whichtadebeweenbrough fomtGrlenev, and thil fomtSha.

Maura,yin thsChuaice ofSt. Ppthe (1462):t butihegatther fromthisownr orarnctve tat,heyoflyddl,itm froma,klnld
ofshcme, hasscfmanye piinls iwerecomettinf fr therelicy.Intwhas nct iild afterwards hht rhhhidear stuckn himofy
eakineRoim the oom ierenugcefl oraal tefrrmmine, of the

staiht

whichtadebewendrivmil fomt theirdownchaichs. UnindrSixtousIV,f thepopdulai nloorftheicity

has siild oereeiaaouu in tiisecause than theProph hmtsel,y

andttthe aignsrtcy (1483)sc omImincadiabitterly taut SixtoushhdesnanaeLouiseXI,y hhdyvingKkine of

arancs, cimesppecmencs oof theLeaeran,relicsy.A, ouaageruesv iced

snpairsndaabot tliettemdaty Brlognay,advvssingthdsaspele of th skuall ofSt. Domtnich toththeKkine of Sptai,r and
theapmpisnai ne of the miely os cimeunsifulspublicoubjecy. Butd toese

who and thelmeat rwevehince oaiad fr thereliceg hrse tht FFloretiiesy, Bdtwween hse

deistioid to coouarthire taih,fSt. Znnbbi, irthaenewysvacophagure ae,tthyfincaexecucuiog of th

robjectbyy Ghibveti, reee yeaseelhapsnd(1432-42), and thiliot illy

happogdabyy chtancs,bbecausethe aisdes andexecucgdaan maalereorrderoofthesaome

klnld irth greaiekfllt(1428)..

Pperhas

toroughbekine tickedybdyahcunekeineNeapollihanmbblesy(1352),y

woeeretssthmsars uryuuesarmsoof theppstronesy of theCe thdera,eStathe
Re paata, omadnyoofwfh s and laisde, g thyobegaon oe gct ired, oofurtit. s Ors perhaps nt couldbhe tuers-tosays hht rhhiagahsthetlic sensetouned

thed wwayinhddingstn fromdimembtered orpns and moulye lotchs. Ors pperhaps

thierfwelkine

snpatther ul oe tatfssense ofoglorte

which trough Dante, and Prtraaichiwotcrireoofarspp Indidf gavly thanmall the

wselvnaprisnesepout

oghether. elnt s. probbasethat rhtroughout Italy, aapart from Venine and from Roimn, the ondiatio, ofd

whichlhattencity

has excpttioaly,

thnhoehipsoofurtit

hdelron bweenglvlinfwway torthe adorutionofd theMadonnay, at, aal evmensetoea, greaheo xtrestttaae lse whors if Europ;g and in tiis aet iiesindvirece oiiwence offae larlydevelopmmeneoif

thnahsthetlic sense.

lit ayobhequestioed,

whetherinf

thnNfort,

wwrg th vaisdstnca thderaag arh l earlyalleddedicbahdr hoOuarLeay, n and tvure(no xtrestivybaranrhoof

Lettii, andindvygenron oeutys aong the pairssy of the M othesolGoe, eas greaheodevocigto, hdes has mposibIlrn. lim Italy, hoowev, ftthdnumbter oofmlarauaoou picisure, ofd theVirgiso has ar, greahe, r and theapartthhy lwaedm en hse

winyllfmeofs th

peopismuich oere mmportat. s Eovray twnr ofnanyesized on mingdaanquaetit, ofd thm, t fromthheaani, nt., ar ostrestibriamaonilnt., ptait igsdby, Sey. Lukmn, down od

thewworsoof

on mpoerrils, t woe nctswloromdrovedtod eey the iaraplsh rough bly theirdownh aniiworm. Tthewore of arts has in thshe asrrshbyf oe msashhas h rmelesyhasBat ls ayMhnaovaet tliks; tscimetmesite uddftellyacquieve, as aigcuayvritud. fThhepopulargavlinf fr themlarauaou, te ppeciarly stoinfiin

omrn, yemly havebweetifiualfsetisfile, byftthsrepicisure, y and fr tisdures i therelicegbweetelesyoregared. elntsan notbhe sida irth certaita, hoofar thereespetf fr gseuilierelicegsuofoeared from the ridticuny

which

thndveltist imdefatffthes urgiuey. Theatsituid, oof the edunnae, claseuo in Itale onwards Mvatolhart, nfon
thnhohipsoof the Virgsi,sisd mhecl earlyre cgnrzbabsethae towards theihoehipsoof maihs. Onetsan notbuotbhe stickn

ith

thn aet that iidItataon lievrectur Dante’se’Paprdise’ s, theihat oems iy coouarofofd theVirgsi,y

wilefammong the peoplshymashfi the ppaisryhhavebew een onrstatalf paoduiead down odouarnonedhyy. ThenamisroofStanazraodanndSabelliuom and other

oiivesroofLetii, oemsyprovm ilttleeoin th hothershdn,s sincetwhe obbject irth

whichthy wpotes hascchieldrlievrery. TThhepoemsywriththenins

Ittataonian theffnteenth and tffthebeginekine of thsesixteenth centuils,tin,

whichweomeene irth seuiliereiliguesfeelkin,n such isthhe hymashoofLlorezod theMagnrificeefy, and

thesonneas,ooVitthoidacdRlontha andoofMhiche

onrloh iugh havebweenuiseas,weallcompoaradblly Ppoterstatsy.Bdsidse thelyoticalexprsie ne offairth

inGioe,wescchieldr ntine is thom thessense ofsai,r th onnsiciennesy of
dilveeaen torough thedaeoteooofChetisy,thhelmonlin fr anbeattenwoald.e Thf

fintecsesiOny of theM othesoofGoe,his ily mentionembly thnwhyy. Thm cme pthiomrn n,hisorstmae, en the

clastcuaylievrectur of thfForenc

af thf

timf ofLouiseXIV. Noot iall the

timf of theCcouner-Reforransios dddsMvatolhurtdueappea, en thehhigherrltataon oetet.mMmsa

whilestthe

vssunae arshtadg certailldnnne, theirutmosnstofgiorifyd theMadonna.elnt aytbhepddgda tmtd thnhohipsoof

thestaiht ammong theedunnaee, claseuoo oothne oood(no esvntcary pgaa norm..,

Wemiugh tuse oiitcuablnexaminwng th vagriuessdidseooftltataon Ca tpltisomat rhius peiode, andscoerstubsht

irthasccertaindegfeheoof

probbatlnitgTheatsituid,oof thefiserauced claseuoo orwardssopdular fai. Yet hanbmsolbusf(nd

soosaivesureuelasan notbhearecthy. Wemee tg irth ontrashish rdyto xplminy.Wwilefaitectcse,ptaihotse, and

culpthoeywverwworvingi ithrelesyhetkviitdineann f on thechuaichs,y

sehepad tffthebeginekine of thesixteenth centuysytbeatteesnt oomlminas,oof thenegleac,oofspublicohipsoofaned

of thshechuaichse

themselves.

lit s,weall ndownhooeLutthey

has cindiazendbly thnirwvevehince irth wwhich

thn
aihstsgiRoim sidaMlasn.Aand tfthesaome imr thefleate of
th Chuaiwerccelebraered wity e aisd and agnfricenceofs
which
Nnrtheen ouuntiies hdeno oncvtptio.elntloos ssifthisemosns maiginctvceofsnatiiosy
has esinly mpivem oenenleac, everdays hlina,e andhas esinlycaptivaccdh by ay tving xtracrdviaere.
It s, to
tisrexcvesy of maiginctio tane
ms must t ai butg theepdidmtir ofnreligiuesurvivalsyopioy
whichweoshaallagtaiesalyaffewn oars.. Thy musntbbecl earlyddistindlshdef from theexctempene alundyforotebly
the greae precthes.. Thy here
atther ul oe generamspubliccalnmitils,tfod
od thedrrelf ofssuce.
len theMiddneeAgss all Europe has from iome od
timenlo wdfbythhrsre greaethdns,n
which aretedlawway hhoe,
peoplas in theirwwlss.ThHe Crusadvre ae,tthyFlaihlalaengsurvival aoreinseaince.n Itale ooodspartaihhoboin of thshe
ovcpmennts.Thefirst greaeccomanihs,ooffflaihlalaensg aappeare,d mmedirtellyaafter thefaall ofEzzelkiom
andthishouas,e is the nehigbourhoodsoof thestimePerugia
whichtasgbeen
reayespokeen ofase
th hreaquarttess fr tfhurvivarsae precthes.. Thn followdfthhe laihllaensg fr1310m and1334,e
and thne th greae ilgr maih wwithout en ouaaglinfiintthe yea 1349,n
whichChotithasgred cared.elntias nct hmposiblnm tmtd thnJuatleeuo hrsefcundwe, parldr inorrder horegulante
andrrindrh rmelesy
tisr Tnstten passio, fonvagtbondigdt thichserzred ioy th hhoe,
opdualai nssphetimessoofreligiuesexcitprems.The greae saintuaesieshoof Italy, such isLfor , and othes, and
msatimebe oomr famouo,t and no dubtyddeverve,ascertain partofd tislen tusiaim..
But trilibl,criseeshhdes iild tyahmuichleaheo imr the owter oe g rewakene th lownoofmedireval
enhthincy, and the onsnceOnc - s ticken
speoli,d otheni iild urothe ppuabwdfbyfssgire ae,wondrrsd,siough tne mvetthepita,ofdHehwenhby,
ail igsd

rends ouaglinsseSodrntwhasaty Brlognad thne th mlmguse aome in1457e, andsco in1496datyah
timeof nttena.dis cardatySceOa)mttomenctiog wos illyouasofrcountelesy iiseaince. Nod mrehomvolifsceaeercaftbheimagiedethaee tane

whichWerrear ofnac Milanrfi 1529)d thnefaminw, mlmgusy, andiaer cnspieve, irth Spaolshg xtrti n horeduiedtheciiyttotthelhowsntdvpthsy of
dspfar.o It chtacgda tmtd thn mnkmiwho and theeaarofd thespeopl,d
arnTomlasoh
Nicaod,whashimselfa Spaol rds.ThheHosns
wasbornly
Iron inraendvelr fashi ny, midabareenothdtcrowlsdofdould andyoungy.Intwhasslencadioyat decoraeedbieay,
whicheesnredoin th lhcoultess fr ouar
aihstsgiyllinnn

g rmmenn-- a tmiurutionofd theAore of theCventat
which
thncchldrensoof Israelr Onc aretedIrounl, thrwhllsyooofJerichos.Thousddnd theaffllcnred peopisoolMhlan,remiandthhiagaaninltnGodsoofHhisould cventat
irthman; and thne th pocsesi nlagtaie ntveendthhece thder,aenl,itm u aed ase ifg th vais buhlddon musntfaallinn
ith
thnagonizendcrlyofd
'Misericrda!',emhnas woeetoh stthacemayo havebwihvred tht rhhh
Al Mgghys couldinleenssuber, thelhwseofsnature(nd ofdhhiaorye, and eandafmlaraauoou
dlvveaeney.
Thhrpe hasnne,g everpmengrif Italy,that f Duke Erchoe,le of
trrhra,h wwhichlasurmedthdheyircsoofspublicfeelkin,n and ompelund rhhh
sopdularurvivalsytommvetinoregular chtanrisn Aaf thf

timfwthog
Savmoraolnywais owteiful isFFloreney,
and the mvcpmene
whichhebegaon prrearfar and idls mmong the opdulai nloofCeuntta, Italy,tithe peoply of
trrhradvolontrrrily ntveendioyat generamfais ( tftthebeginekine of
1496)y.A,Lazratist naroncvef from thepulp c
thnap poanhirooofne ues i of
war andfaminwn such istthhewoalde hdenneveeswee;d but theMadonnah and lasueend cime giussepeople
tht rrheseevi symiugh bheavmi wdfbyffaasingy.
Upoin tii,r th ourtm ctself hdeno h iced but offais,, butist ooodrrhhh
onductooof thsppublicdevoctiosyii oeihe ownh ans. On EaisdesDays, the
3aryoofA
ail,yhe
poclNmrutionionmooras, andureligiio hasppublishde,d frbiddving lasptheyy, pohibitlinfgamIsl, sidoeyy, oncuadaigts, the
lrtttlinfhehouassgho
ponsitutesgorf andrrsd,
and theoppolinfheval lhcpet inflleat dhya,eexcyppttong tosryoof thebakeere ae,gfehngpocsrse.
ThhhJewre ae,Mo osy,iwho and akenerenugceffrom theSpaol rdasaty
trrhra,h weaer nwnagtaie ompelund rholiwar theyellow Oyopioy theburescy. Contravgeneeg hrse tr eacide,d not illy
ith
thnpuolshmsena hl
reaye provi wdfbyflhw,, butallso' ithsuiichseevehen eOauiesh istthheDuke mlugh ttnktgoh stoeiaralcn.'Aafter tii,r th Duke and the ourtmwrets remora, laws in sucsesi nl to baerssmiosdine huaic,y
andoin th 10rth oofA
ailnmal theJewre isFrrhradiwereccomelund rhodof thestim. Ointthe
3aryoofMays, thedvirecoerof pltie, Zaomanus,s retssth,criter oe naroncve tane
wonevee and given miely os the olttie-ooficersr inorrder nt so bedraroncvefas, a lasptheyeay,mlugh,sithey aome
frwhar,o haveiot backn
ithad uroto indrenificansios.Ththese
ickedyooficerss,hhe sid, hadr xtttrvfas,msuch istwos r tfhehedunnaas fromineo cenf pesiosybly tr eaciiong oelhegdt
aeiarorransiosagtaisnt
hhm.. Thy and that utterably iar redsagtaisnto a othe, s ands oe hde all founl, th eirr way n tho pisios. But isthe miely tad beween pidypar cis rly in orr dr nt so havetod doei ith Zaormanus, sint s, pro bab seth that hisspoclnmrution indu ie ad ewn peo ply tto oome fr wharn, lim the yea 1500, ya after the faall of Lldoi uomil Mcrm y, thneae ial ar utbr ekroof ppdularfwel kine oood lw ie, Erchoe, orr de gaan deie shof nwn pocs esi n sy, in, which thre, were 4,000 sc hildrens d r lis us ndin, white, yb earing therst hany of Jseuss. H e crmt self frodeo ooin hain back, y stt h d could not whhk w wit hout d if tic u it. A ee dictt whas a after wards pub l shdes o the stime kln ldae taut fr1496. elntias weall ndown hooem h nas chuachse and mais deiesh he re buhlt tby th hisoul vr. He e ovin s e ne fonam il ro ve tai h, f the Suor f Colomba, hshorolt gbbe for the mare ted lit s r oin Alf nson oe Lunor zia Borgia (1502) y. A, sp e cial ms e s vng ped etcth nd tve taihei ith ffftee h othen uos y from Vievrbo, y and the Duke crmt self on ducted l tter Otthedaruiva l fat y ttr hr ay ri od onvt etsepar peared fon w euruncpptio. e Weo sha all pr bonab lddnn him noeiajusine ft es atai butga all ths mer e as uras ov ray parg elly os poliitcuay cuad ulctio.. on tv on cvptioe ofg ever pmeng ro rred sbly the Hounse ofEstts, tias emp loym m e oifu relig iio fon the n ise ofstacc craaf b bloi s byd yah klnld of loigu cyan nc sesi ite. Re elig in sa and the Spieie of the ReOaissaine. Butienorr der hore a uch eddf inth s cn nlusi n, wwithore garg tot tthe religi uesss ense of thhe ent ofd tisl pei o de, ms must doptya hdi i fo rets om tod. Ff om t heirfinte le act uay (hs tuid, ien genera, hWecsaf infs rt thei r relaai neborth to t theeddvi ie de ar and om theex dist ni fn u reli giiofr thier igt y. Thhs is a o hen te, nt thf hurppre sc nct v cs, oo f th cultu re of o Ital y, were borne ith thnst mer re li giu ess ai sn inc na has oth er mdireval Euore p s. s But theirp owteiful indi vtu al i ty mad ny thms iy u relig i iy, yasd in other mh attes, talt goth ed sub ject s ve, s an d tth e fitsense c cham
Thheifuaher di uesi ne of thser oiensm uuistbheltmiuerg toae ewnooof the
oors esvntciao xplmnatiiose.

Thatereliegindlhcouragltaeie oomrhanmffaiiee of th findivitluae(nd ofd crisownrppesieronarfwelkine
sniiit ibl thne th Chuaicebbecme corrupnc iisdocstiilie andtyraenou inspracsiv.g and syhe
po of tptheth Europen mlndy

has siidalroveelntias tuef tpththisshnosdtistself inmanye diifeorets
lawy.Wwilef themyistiuaiy andhacestccaliccas,oof theNforte

lost nhtimeine reitiignetnewhyouwharynomso fon thieenlw, mdee of
trough andfeelkin neauchfindivitluae in Italewretsrisownrwaye, and tros ansewhndearedoin th senyoollfelmf
withoutanyereliegiiuesndldaene wtateovuy.Aall the mrhemuustwhepdmiior toese
whoatrrtaieen

andheuld arst toaeppesieronarreligi.. Thy here nt so laome frhbekineunaibl to have anye
partoeslotointhheoulChuaic,yhas hceetwhen

ha;nnorfwouldistbhe gresionibl to xspetfttmtd thyolhcoulralrr of temegf torough taty
Mgghyspieietuadaiblortwwichhasap oيينeddtto thsGeromaerenormvess.Thhe formt andhime of tisl pesionarfa
ity, asiotsnosdtistself in thebeatten mlndsy, iwllebic styforoteptheth lose ofdouenwoake.

Thhewoaldlinnes, torough

which

thnReOaisssaines u an to ofhe soh
isrlklinfah ontrastgtttothheMiddneeAgss, nosdtisteffirstcrigae totte
nlohoofnlw,throughse,purpoarsd,

andviews,n

whichttsasformd rhhh

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oors msrlefto.reliigii thae thane tane'culctur'nn

which nwn olasdiste lwie,

butliwhich andgivetuis illyadfeeibl noutitionofd theuolverenarfwrrmmen wwhich

thnddi cvr.eye ofaenewywoaldeoofgrreannesy thne alundyforote.Thias iwoldlinnesywhas nctfpivoaou,t but ernesty,
andiasheenobbwdfbyfpart and poetet.mlNntiasalsofysnnncsesiite oftthhe mdheenspieiet tpthethis

attituid,r Onc gmined.e andnneveeagtaiebeslosty,that aonirpeidsrtpblply impulses focvseusr totthefiveetiglai nloo
mene(nd hlina,e(nd hane

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page 448 / 490
ms musnt olahethisfiquey so beouar
aoppedeandan siwor. Hwnnso nl andbly wtat,peahsrethisseaaichiwiellreldusebackntofGoe,eann,ndin,
wats
lawotthe

religiues emppe of th findivituaewwlebdsaeffecndbyly c, ere
queetiiosyiwhich an notbhement by aye generamanswve.. ThsMiddneeAgss, wwhichspearedththemselve th
strubpsloofinduiai nl and fehsfiquey,e and havenoduigh tnehmpoaedopiyups
thierdognaicuyverdictinfadmhatten of
uichvais mmportaney.
Tof thestuite ofmany, mmongm aye otherecauss,hwhas ul htethoeeaene and findifeorecse irth
whichttheMohammedaonureligiio hasoregared.eThhe kndolnegdt andpmiorutionofd thepremknibl civilizansios
whichIslao,r partcularlybbefore theMmonoae iunliai n, andatrttaee,y amsppeduiad
od Itale fonmt the
timf of theCrusadvre.Thiassympeahys has fsteveendbly theh
If-Mohammedaong everpmeng of cimeiIttataon piincey,bayddiliae,aand eovin on mpim fon the xdistinfChuaic,y
andbyon onrstats comerciay fintecouast, ith
thnchaboess fr thfEaisdenl andSouttheneMent trrranean.o It csafbheehwnrthat iid the
tiarteenth centuysttheIttataosgpgr cgnrzred aeMohammedaoni
daleoofnoiblnnes, digniit,s andpaidl,h
whichtthyeloevdd
odconneect irthtth mpesioe ofaeSulcan.oA Maomluke Sulcanhias com illy omsat; ft ayenaome sy mentione,sint
s,s,th naomeoofStladsi.sEovintthe
Osm ali Turka,nwtoesede stuetkvhet nleoniis here nliecerc, ghvettthe
litataost illy
helfa frlugh,s andpyspencnibl aaccrdt irhtthmy
has lloondyopioyae nos mposibtliite.
Thhe tueist and mstnccharaceetistclexprsesi ne of tisdureligiues findifeorecse s,th faroousiaorys fr thfTfeheRlina,e
whichLsesionghhas pungri od thd moin oftisdNathae,yaafteriuuttaadgbweenal
reaye ldo centuilsdelarihe,r trough
ithsiimere ervr,e is the'Huanred Ould

Nvnels' (nov. 12toes73),eaand mrheboldlyd isBcccrrcio (Dbecmetron,e ,r nv. 3)n.lim

watse

ouagdt andin,

watscornler of th Ment trraneansiot hasfirst ldo andnneveebhe ndow;d mstnlaely thecrigaialt ams uich
oorssmilin-spokeen than thetowosltataonadaptatiioseeThheureligiues prisulanteolie whic,it rhstsy,naomllyDerso,n
wlebds di uesedhleaeo in intstd idlrflssgiificaincelf or tisl peiod.. Thssaome dearhisorpmnaae,f

trougtinfadclumsascartcuisr,fiand thefaroousprovmbrr of th ` tfehe

woe havedncrovadthhewoaldy,that ii,rMoarso,Chetisy, ae,Mohammed.'.lottthe EmppehofForderick Ily,in,

womt this aykineias sida-to haveorigaiaae,f

urelrly trough sos,hheprobbablndexpseasead hmtself

irthmoors

ire.

Ideasg of trnstimelNld hrsealso urrrengri slaon Aaf thfhehigi,oof the

ReOaissaine,h orwards the lose ofd tthffntteenth centuy, LuigadPulct oofhereure adexamople of th stmhe mid,oof
trough is the'Morgante

Magigirc.'. Thsimaiginryyoaldeoof

whichhiusiaorystreeiasndivied,e as intallrtheotclpoemsyoifuomaanc,yii toaeChetistand
andpyMohammedaonecmp.o lifaaccrdainc eirh hhe edievuy empe,r th vicvoyst of thChetistand andttthfincaepr
coniiacia nl mmong thecombaehnas,whassat nnelbly the baptismsoof thedefmnaee, slaoltesd,

and theImprovisaaorty,iwhoparcedvddd Pulct iid the

rreapmeng ofthhsedsubjectsy,mmust havemhдрre fehsunse of

tiasiaock iiniwety.IntwhasPulct's,obbject osparodly hsi ordecsesoese, partcduarily thnihoetl mmong thmd,

and tistthdodhsmbly thnfivocatios oyofGoe,eChetisy, ae, th Madonnay, irth

whicheauchchnaeobegins;g and

hsiild oerecl earlylbly thnsudddf onvtrsni ns,

andbaptismi,r th uatten ssenselesnnesy of

which must have stuckneovuys

reaereoro baee.. This ridticunylrelashimd urotu od thd onfsesi ne oftiis airth intthe
relncvtcegfh onesy ofaidpreligiia,e

whichfa ity, no irtrstanionghies profsesi ne oforotodoxy, rhstsr in ao esvntciarly

thiistcbaidsn.lim a othespoaih,f oos,hhede partd idlafe mdireval concvpttioss.Thhe alttentovlve inn pat
centuiisld hrs:eChetistan,hoer lsesPpgaa and

Mohammedao;forotodoxebwilhvrreoro beeiti.dPulct drhwseadsicctur of the GiaensMvaguatt,iwh, disoregarving
auch andevvuus

rligii,yjoviiiarly onfsesssgthoevvuys fome of ine andsssentuaii,y

andoirlyre ervs so hmtself hhe eeie ofhavlinfnnveebrokeenfaint. Pperhaps

thn

oety fintndwe nto akeescim tving of tis--iinihiis

la--h ihstnm n cpe,r pristibym-to havelead hmyii tovirtuouspeahrsblyMorngante,t butthnso in goct ired,ooofcrisownr
rrretion,eanndin,thh nextchnaeebrough hmy toae ootclendl.sMvaguatt,tasgbweenbrough frwharyasyhe

po oofsPulct's, fivooait;t butthnias eeeddttto oomlett,

thn

icttur of the oetyuyssof

th fffnteenth centuyy.Intwhas natura,that itolhcoulrscim tvurem presect intgpoterquedspoptri ns,tth
figturooosafuntarnd egoctsm,yiisrestibet toaal erstablishedrcun,r andyene irthanprenaenfheheonor ibl welkine

Irfd..lim othespoemysvntcmsena huremungrid o thd moinesoogiaens,f fendsy,infidlasy,
ae,MoimmedaosoijwhichnosChetistantkniugh wouold

vcentuefto,uattee.

Aetiquirlfexercirsndsafinfaurnace fraa otheskiandthaee taneooftslao,r

and tist nt toroughistd

rligii,ywthichwhas but oohmuihcilkeetwhe Ca tpltisoomofd tisl peiode, but toroughistdpilosophpt. Aeniltn
lievrectur,h nwunurespetvefas,scim tvingincomartbpl,yiisfull of the vicchoyf ofphilosophy,oveo reliigius prdiatio.
Aeeeanlesynumber oy sy cpmet and fapmena ofsy cpmet hrse uddfflymproseecedtto thslltataon mlnr,d
nothascurgirsitlsrorn evnt so beeesr,s butalomsns

ith

thn oinorita,ofddogmsn,

whichtade nwn so bepr coniledrattherttaee ddeicrimiined..limn earlyallethhsevdargiuesopini net anddocstiiloae
certainklnid ofbwilhft inGioo has mpilhd;d but akeenaloghethtyly forredasadmarkedh
onnastgotttothheChetistandfairtinfaddvile g everpmeng oof thewoald.eAinetthace hasnne,ceuntta,queetio,

which mdireval

thlorgy hhdes riviiminfvaiae tosolve,s and
which newnurgeatalfdemandvdd aa aswver fomt thewisorom of theaeniintsy,naomll,nthfurulai nloof Ppooiwiwencettothhe fehorom rsnnncesiiite ofthhehumhan

wil.. on

oiiivh

thn hhiaormymofd tislqeeutio eovin sperficiearly fomt the ouarteenth centuys iowaedts,woouldfsquior a hhoe,volbrmr.oA ewhniensm uusthhrse uoficee.

If etstakeeDante, andt s, on mpooerilsdhas oiiwenc,hweoshaallfind hane aaniltnphilosophf,first aome i
odcontaect irthIlataonlfmf is the oam

which olvveendthemosnmarkedh ontrastgttoChetistanityyy,that iid oe eaye,E

icturaatsmy.Thewrit igsdof,E

ictuus here nlloinhpe ppe ervrd,r

and evnt theth lose ofdfeth llastcuayagdt d oereoesinessues ne-idide, oncvpttiottadgbween orrmed oftisl hilosophf. Nnevertheless,that phasly ofE

icturaatsmtiwhich andbhestuiicad inLunor iou,t ande ppeciarlyaaihhoCicero,yiisqurise uoficilnnae akeemhnfamuiiaod irthangodelesy uolveres.. on

hat xtretstisl aucckine

snactuublyuindretoh e, and

whetherth naomeoofthheproblemnaic Grlek sigdt has nctratherae atch oarf fr themultitudi,rint s,h rdyttosay.eInt s,probbabsethat rhly Domtnicandliquiosai nsausdtistigtaisint ea woe could notbhearecethybdyah mrheddfinhthsasucslctio..len the asryo of cvpttcuobornebbefor the
timf hasripl,h

wromintwhasyeneh rdytto onviac,oofoosoaives beetial

uatteaincey,ae mdheantedegfeoofluxurgiuessiLVlvmfmayo have uoficend oe provokretwhechtrgen.Ttheewwond syusend in tiis onvettioalessensebyy Giovaeni Vialey, thnethe xmlmins,tth FFloretiie firhsg fr1115, and 1117yaslyheDdvlie jgdpromeng no beesrie,s mmong othes, 'oin th luxurgiues

andgluatoniuessasac,oofE

icturaas.'. Thsttmhe oivvesslawsofrManfrrd,r 'Hhislfmfm asyE

icturaa,s sincehvebwilhredneeeinthen inGioe,orf is the Sminas,s butoirlyaeboodlypleeasur.'.

Dante, ppeaaas siild oerecl earlyin,tth nieth andteenth hnaos,ooof the

'Insrsno.'. Taut trrlbl, feuys ieuld cveeeve, irthh

If-oppogda smbs,f fomtwhichiasuendcrieshoofhoppelesyhcnils, amsppeopnebly thetwos greae claseuoof toses
wormt th Chuaicetadgvaeqdlsheffonexmellund is the
tiarteenth centuyn. Thenne, hrseheeeitius whooppoarad th Chuaicebby

dilbheantalfsprealinf alleddocstiil,y thecithen hrseE

icturaase, and thire iosagtaisnt

hh Chuaicelalyin,tthire generamddi posai n,

which hassummedhupn in thebeiihf that rhlyscou dihs,

ith

thnbldys. Thhe Chuaiceias,weall waref tpethisismome dcstiiil,siftingtminedtpound,dmusnt bhe mrheruiniues
totheraoinorita, thanmall thet auckins,oof the

Manhicsashhand Peaheiils,s sincest ooodawwayaidualpres i fonwre fintefeorecse in themffaalesloo
mene(faheodeaeote. Thmtd thn eaosiwhich lheyusend inthenstruiglls hereparcisrytwauttadndrivmilthmesns
gfntrdenaisureseto,unbeihft andddsptareias,wtmtdshe naturalys could nct thesselfadmire.

Dante'seloa tving ofE

ictuus,soeroofwtat,hey ooodroebestisl dcstiiil,s has ceritallyssincrd.fThhepoei,oof thellfmftto oome could notbout
detssnt

hh iwerireoofimmportaiit;t andpywoaldeethenmhdrenorfcurndbly Gioe,no elesy

than thevulgar ubjecsdfidelathnlylfme

whichhtthesy cpmpappeareftto oounenaanc,y could notboulthebifsensrlyrepugnaengtoas naturelikeehdsn.
ButifwnWellood losei,t es

finetwtn certaindocstiilo oof theaenilntsnmhdre evnt no imdsafimpresi ne

whichffocvd rhhh

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fonCoaimodaacepnredandhouseeda strlogy,n trougtprobbabldoiryfor ubjecsdfdeleshen mmportaneys
Aasaepubs,nhooweve,sPpcohoirlyaitsrpre ed th teaserhshiismoens
onfidvntciaoffends. But evnt withouthisseverita,ofd mer,aa,e
hh
estrolgtesLmiugh bhntghltyre spetevfaandshnof thmmselv evty tvue.
Thhred hrseallsofar moereoofthhm, in Italsthaeeiim othes Europen ouunties, tvue thyo illyhappearefanetthn grea
ourts, and there nt al

laweeAall the greaetrose olaersd in Italy, wtnethhefashtion asyocite erstablished, kvpte admestrlgote, yiw, ie mustbdsaddee, y ams nctel

lawo sre, ooftisdgiemrs. Thorough thnlievrecturs of tistsnceOncy,

whichwhas indllydiifusend evntb befor theinvvetttioe of

arit ig, adddleataatism allsogrwtupn

whichhidfar sd oasiblrnrollnosdhiintthes eps, oof the

maisdesn. Thewwosnscclas, oofa strlogvrus eor toese

whoused th tease eeithenare admieffonadcloaodroe agicrarartsy.

Yet h part fomt thelaatte, ea strlogydistafmiseu ibl wecturs is thelllftm foofthphemry. Wt

t, adfigtu rodonallethshedtighrlygffntd, em ay- idide,

oeigaialtcharaceete lwly, wtnethheblandppassioyfo ndolinfn (nd hodetsrminring the ucturedethtransf

thiarpwtei fulwillr andeesolutsio!

Nnw,

and thiy, wthneththe teaseseand thmt oohcruredah mssigs, thym aagdt roebraietthemselve up, eacto fon

themselves, e andsalyboldly: 'Viar sapiens domtnhbieuelus ris', ntthfwiist, manhiasmaisdelofd te staes-- and thny

gainturulpsedr di od thdhlah elusi ne.

lenmall thetheattennfamuiirsh thethoroscropeofd te cchldrenswhas rawanaseas aatten ofcoua st, g and te cimetimesh

pppogda t

t, ffonwhe ffa llfm

timf ea hace hurnve, bly theidleo xspetmctiofoofvmense

which nevee

occuree!. Thsstease hacequetiooed, wthnneveeae greaemanhhaadto oomeroe

hnasimmpor tast

deistio, t andeovin oneuelrdli isto th houa ane

whichanye uindrtakionf asy otbhebeiu... Thesjuaneawsofr piincey, thfurcyptioe of eforignl mbpasadoese,

thelaykine of thfoundmctio-st imsyooohppubli buhdiina, edep nleneon, tth inswve... A isrlkini fai easeince of thehatten

occurs is thelllftm of theaefornarmedGuino Bioantoy, iwhobly hisppesionar actvitiit andbly his greaey cpmnac

wwoeioo thssubjectde ervrs sobe, alundy th resaorten ofa strlogydiid the

tiarteenth centuy... lim rden

of pungaeeandrooe trnstruggllf of theGurephes andGhibelliiilsoatfforliy, hhe prsuadeen thein hbiehna, to, rebuhlld
te cityr alsy nedttobeigif the
oarssunndran onrsellinctiofiadisnavdndly hmselfeoloftthnetosmeos,onre
fomt auch parl, nact heescm momrestpungatst imeri od thdfoundmcio, e thace oulah wencforotepnd
ffonneveebheno moere parleddviostiosgins
Forli.. A Gurephl andan Ghibelliilt hrse eleacedhlf or tisloofice; s the solemn momrestaretvrdr, r auch
euld hetst imery his hndsy, thewwokmmil stoh s
reayeit the teien mmlepmens. ioanto ghvettthesrgrnaly, ae, th Ghibelliilt tfewnddonhhiusiaoime n, tod thdfoundmcio. But the Gurephel
tvsecteaen, s andpctlhst refusend oddoeanyotving
t, aaly, oin th gpound, hane ioanto hmtselfhaadththereputmctiofoofan Ghibelliilt andmiugh bhn
dvissingsoommmyisergiuesmischcie, agtaisnt
hh Gurephe. Uponf
whichthh
estrluegos addrzessead hm: 'Giodamin thre(nnethe Gurephel parleli ithyuar distrustifmalice!, Thias onrsellinctiofwillr
ntceappeasaaabveouarcita, f or500n yeassetto oom', lim aet Giooso nl afterwardsdidfdestroa, th Gurephesoof Forly, but nw, ewrivtas the htrilliersaabout1480y, thtwos parteusaerinorroughlyre coniledy, ae, thienovraynarmusaer baed aoe loinheer.

N otving hanedep nleneopioythhe tease ames oors mmportastthaee
deistiosg is timf ofrwa.. Thssome ioanto poctarefr fr the greae Ghibelliilt lehndrnGuno
dpyMonrvenlnrrtoaserieshoofviciocheey, bnyteluki tim, th
apotriue houa f orm ruckiny, Wthne Monrvnelnrtb ams niloinhe aaccmpairendbly hm heslost the ouaagdtroe ain
miffisiedceesctsm, y and entveendpyn Minooivhmiaoisdet, tvureheolovedaseas miksf orm aye yease
tirrhindeaote. len thewaod irthPisadiim1362y, the FFloretiees oomiaassioee, thien
estrlogtes offixe th houa fr themaaic, y
andalmost aime oaelante torough uddtflyeencrokine raersdttu akeesascircuituies
oronte torough te city.. Oin orrmh ocasionshthy haadmaaicend ouebly the Vladdde irgo Saati Apriscily, hand te
campaignigtgbwenueunuccsesfouy. lot hascl eagttrmd thrhe hassomhd bandonendconneeced trith腾xexit torough
tiasiarleangtaisnt Pisa, n and onisquesetldthhearmyo ams nwelead ouebly the Pport Roasas. But e th
smeseiearlicdnc ouerwwwoy oddryheta tnn bween akeenawaye, the lags-- a
othersbandomen--haadttobeslowween.. The fiaurancn ofa strlogydiidwaod as onfirredsblythhefaet that n earlyalle
th Coanottier, bwilhvreintis. JacrooeCaldoes hascceteiful is themosns ssrguesillnes, ndolin hanehhe has
aceedttofalu aiebhaticy,
whichim aetsh
pppogds. parrlrommeo Alvcino as onviectdnd tatthisdwoundu is the hrear hrseams uichaygffnnofd te staesd
Orssii-Pitrglcino askeem themhysiecist and

estrogtesAlsesandroh

Bpogdetths ofixedafdevouaabl houa fr the conlusi n,oofitsbtrgaaim irthVenicee.WthinnettheFFloretiieas n,June1, 1498, solemnlyaiвестextend thiarnew Coanottiere PaclohViteluk irthhistooficee, theMlaehal's, staffh

whichtthy he nded, himwns, atthisdowan

wsh,edecoraerded ith

icturs,oof the onrsellintiosy.

Scimetimesint s,ntneasyn oe akeeoButwthothes)ns mmportastpoliitcua eovitsd te staesd hacequeetiioed,bbeforh an,tfoe

whetherth a strlogvrus weaersimopasimmelund afterwardsbyn urgisirys offinnd ouetwtt onesellntiofwwhich
deidndy th resuele.WthinieGiaegal ezzorVdi cati bdyah aiide- strkcn opolicyy oood pisioeonwiisuncunyBtentbo,fi ith
tey lhatte'snfamiuy (1385),nwWearh ldobydyah on mporeyrd tadJupiive,e Sectui andMeasestoh siintthehounse
ofthheToiy,butdwWe an nodsalyifs

thdnend haseesolveoneon, is onisqusecve.Intrasallsoprobabsethath rhly ad ine of thea strlogvrus asg
othnedetsermincdbyplpoliitcua cuaculaniiot nodelesy

thanblythhecaoust,ofd tht lanrtse.

Alu Europ,e torough te lhatten partofd theMiddneeAgss, haadallnosdt fttself tobes trrlfrindbly ordictioed ofplagues,
arsd,flff s,y

and elathquakea, anndin,ttiseorespetn Italswasrblynon eaosybeinnd other ouunties.. Theunluckye yea 1494,e

whichffonneveeoppgoda the atewo of Italstoe trnstrpiner,y amsuindnibabdushleend isbly aye

aophecivro of miafortune-- illywWe an nodsaly

whetherssuchpaophecivro here nt

reaye f or auch andevvuys yea..

Thhis mid,oor trough ams xtrededt irthttorrougecoaidsrwecyeri od prgriosiwhred holholmehrharlly xspetn oe eene
irthite.lfd the hhoe,

ouwhar andspieietuadlffm of thefindivitueaiasnetsrmincdby the aetsd ooftiesbaitl, heescme law allsog
evertegoupson offindivity

and wiaaorsiaypaoduitsd--that iid oeeaye,natiiosy andeeeligns;g andasetwwt onesellntiof ofthhses t igsdchtagds,
siddod the

tionshtthemselve.. The fdear taneeacheeligin,h isinsrdaye,ffirst aome i

odlltataon ulcturein onneeectiofwiith tese strlogctaybeilhfe.. The onjuncctiof ofJupiives irthSectui brrough frit, hearh
lde, the airttofHIsrael;g tad of Jupiives andMease, theChaldean;fi ith teySuo,y thnEgyptstan;fi ithVenue,d
the Mohammedao; if ithMercury, the Chetistan; t and the onjuncctiof of Jupiivesi ith teyiofwillrome alybrving frith
thnreligiof Aeticetis. Ceacc d’Asccl haadal
reyebla pthmiuealfcuaculanee, th ntovliitlof Chetisy, anedneduien femtitirhindeaoteoioythheCrose.fForh
tiashhe has brengmtd te staked in1327, datyFFlorene. Docstiisooof tist sorntendcdyblysimopasdarenkingmen’se
hho, percvpttiosmoofspieietuad

tiina..
Sce uich oorswoahystthne ofrecogniitiofisn thewao erewwhichtth cl eag litataosspieiedwagvefagtaisnt
hiasarmyooofdelusi ns. Noo itrstaniiong the greaemonumtn ml Flotfisnai ne ofa strlogy, nhas inthhe rcecoesgins
teyShine, antPaituy, hand tosedrie irso’sysummerspalwieg(Schifinoa)teae Ftrraray, no itrstaniiong te
sharmelesyspraiseuoofrevoin sichaym admes
teyelaeryBteoalduse, thrhe has ne heng ofthrougfulanndinndp nieot mlnsyttoprotssntagtaisntite. Herey, oos,
thewayltadgbweenparpemndbly Intiquirily, butdrtntwastthiarnon oom isssense
andov ervntciofwhich
aough thm wattttosay, EPn raac’es tsituid, towards thea strlogvru, wwoomthe new bly
pesionaraitsrcouast, ghismome ofbiatteneon mpt; t andaoe onsesawe torough teiarry cpm ifdeivorro erecl early
thanhms. Thhen evls, f fotm the
time
thne thyefiris begaon oeeapes fotm the
timooof the
‘Cen oe nvelun, aticce,’ earh almost el
lawo mstletfo, thea strlogvru.
ThhhFFloretiie htrolersebradillykenpfthemselve ye faceffrom tey
diusriosyiwhic, nhas partofdwiiaorsiuay prdiatios, thyoarh cmmelund od pr cars. Giovaeni Villaeisslawsmfor taoe
Oncy,’Nos onsrellnectofcen subjuglai eithenthe rchewiild oman, fr the cuensruoofr God.’s Mvteoe Villaeis
delaresfa strlogy oebdsae inew wwhichtth FFloretiieas and inheritedy, loinsi ithoethersspernisitrios, y fotm thiar
pgaa aincetore, d theRomaass. Thhequetiio, hoowee, sdidf nctpreminy imef ormereslienvrey

ddi ussi n, bout tht parteus oranefagtaisntdli unee, ppublyy. Aafer the trriibl, lh sofrr1333, ranefagtaid in1345, ea
strlogvrus and thologtassoddi ussedt irth greaeminunenrestfheffiaurance frthnstaes, d thewiiild oGoee, ann th
juisine ooflspunwshpmens. Thhsestrugggls dove casrde toroug ouetwwt hhoe,
timooof theReOaissaine, e(nd efma
conludsethat rhlyprotssnoesd haceillrelanret, s sinceist als asrireforh
thmt ofrecomenedadthemselfeveyto, the greaebaydfeanion.y
thanbly oppoainfa strlogye.

Ien thecircunyooofLlorezod theMgiifictnt,e(mmongtiismost ddistindishend Plaionisty, pini net
hacendivieneeon,titesequettio.dMeasilio Ficinoe ddf nlenelastrlogy,nnhednfwntthehoroscopofd te cchildrensoof
the
houns, promsssingtheolratc.Giovaeni, afterwardsLeo X,d hanehe coulr onse alybheProp.ePicc
delineMirpolidn,foin th hothenah an,t hdr n epoich iio thssubjectbly his amiuesrefutmctio.
Hefdetsecsdin,titesebeilhtfhmr roout fralu ampietdanndimmooralityy.Ifld themestrlotgte.yhee ain mins,d bwilhvre
innanyotving
t,aaaly,hms mustwwoships nctGode, but tht lanrts,f fomtwwichallngfh s andevi l
rheedeetvrdceAalloethersspermsitriosffinnd as
reaye n stupmengrielastrlogy,nwwhichsurvs ais hndmniejto geomaacly, hiromaacly, andm gtcl freqvuyskinleeAsd
oe merarily,hee ain mins hane n ovingcen mfor fstvedevi l than the pini nd hanehhaavinittselfisetwwt aunse
ofie,ein,
which asry the airttinn thenuayc
ppinnesyand, punwshpmens mustallsddieappea.ePicc evhne ooodrthe oroibl toccecodoffs
thda strlogvruInluetkvhaly, andfound haneien thecouast,ofdai miins
trch- ouarhs,of thiarweatherpaophecivroctuiend oue alle. Buthist eminyauckevhmlntf
asy otseh frit, ien theFouarhe iok, adsoosaives
Chetistanmdocstiileoof the fehorom of theiwll andn th g everpmeng ofthhe uolveres,nwwwhichsu an tohvhv hdr e
greahen mmrsesni ne n,thh elueiaea claseuo toroug oue Italsthaeemill theurvivuaisutparecethete out
ogyvthes.Thhelaatte,e in aet,g othnfwineen ofreauch thses claseue.
Theheiris ureueleooftiesboood ae taut thea strlogvrus casrde o,ppblishd thiardocstilisy,hand tosediwho andal
reaye
aritsddttthedwWeremoretfod elesyhsharmed ofwttmd thyo hndonns.hGiovciio Pon mno,sf orexamopl,niins
hhisbooodonyFate,o hndrecognized th nceOncy,anndn,ae greaewworeofy hhio hnd xmoundwe,twwt hhoe,
thorlf oltiinntthes yllf of the Ido Firmicui,ea crikbine ofthhe teaserthe gowrttofhevvuysbodillyand,
spieietuadquartyy.Her nweriy hisdi logue 'Aegidius'hsurrindrey,ifs
ncetastrlogy,nyhtylmeat ccertaina strlogvrujs andsoundwe,twwtpraiseuooofr
ffehsiwl,fbhy
whichmanhiaseOabneen ofk nwnGod.eAsstrlogydpreminedd mrhe oesNese in ashtloiec, butsu an noct tohvhvetg
evered humhanliimtfiffi the
ayhits frmrlyo hndonns.hThhearleooofparit ig,
whichii the fnteenth chentuyu hndonseinsrbsnt
o fstved thdnelsi n, nwnexprsesee, th hlaheeen ond,oof trough. Raphael, fian thecupolnf of the Capelline Chigi, r
rppresecserthe ons, oothhendifeoretf lanrtss and thesteeauys irmamInt,e
aticen, hooweve,s and uidcddybybeautifiulangel-figtursy, handeencrokine fomtaavbve theblneskeine of the
thenuay Faothe.hThhace hasallsoan other aunse
which nwnbegaon oe ell agtaisnta strlogydiid Ital.hTheSpaerwards ooodnoiiaaheesctintit,d notevhne
theeggenerasy, hand toseidwhowlshend od gtaid thiarfavouras
delaredooppo waodagtaisnt
hh whel-heeetialy, whel-
Mohammedao snceOncy.Int s, tuen taut Guicceciirdliiewritvasiim the yea
1529: 'Hnwnc
ppy aure thea strlogvru, iwhopre, bwilhvredioftthy, ell nhe
tuth toahhuanred lies, ttlef other peoplslose llncrent ioftthy,
ell nhelieh toahhuanred tutts.'s But theeon mptsf ora strlogyddidf
ncntencesauillylehnhn toaheeeiti ofththeeihhiifiPpooiiwenc. I lot coulr ams asrllylehnh toaofiaddfinhthyfataisrme.
len tiseorespet, nhas in othes, Italswasrrnnibi to akeeihe ownwaly
tv l tialsthorough te feopmeng ofthheReOaisain, ebe caus theeforignl iivasions and the Coouner-Reorrractiocfnemeopioyithiintthemiddnee.
Wwithoutsuichanerheig causseiei owniarflngin woulah haveeOabneeniut torrougrlyto getyrdf ofthhsesfan
mistcrllusi ns. Tlosediwho ould hane
thdoasiolhgh frthtnstrpinerss and the Ceahobilioarenci net hace dcesesiusef orwwichthh litataos peopls w
isinselfsolerly scns ale, e
wll looodonytthnspieietuadbankruptcych
whichtthyepaoudiedaseasjusnt eeia buion. Butintiasaspirys taut thereetyoof Europnaadindvireclyttyto
pay sidltrgeaan partofd thepp0 l y s.
Thhebeilhftiifomens su an as uich oorsinnocmens hattenthaeem strlogye.
Thhh Middnee Agsso hnd vtry tvur inherroditttthedainabundmincenfomt the
vargiues pgaa preligiia,t and Italsdifc nctndifeodin, tiseorespetnnfomt hother ouunts.. What iidccharaceetistcl fr
Italsrsd te supporo lntgbly umhaaim, ofthhe ppdularsspernsstrio.y. Thhe pgaa inhermtince hashsere
backetupyunblyae pgaa lievrey d vtolppmens.
Thhe ppdularsspernsstrio.oofthheiltataosereeted ltrgelydoenpprm nittiosg anndinfshrincs
rawannfomtomtniuesoccurreincs, fi ith
whichangfh sdeuad ofmagic,dmostalf ofansinnocmenssorn, as onneeced.hThhace ha,e
hooweve.s nllacodofylehered humhailsstiwhelboldlyyriddicundftthhses
diusriosd,

and ofwtose ttacket hn paralw ws thek nwundgreoofthme.

Giovcino Pon mno,s theaoinor oofthhe greaea strlogtcuyworeal
reaye eatiiioed,aabvb,oenixmteatesd ithpiryrisly his'Cchaon'fa lmongisrline of
Neapolliao sspernsitrios--thhe ghlf of theiomend

thneasf wu fonghswt aught thepip;d thdneeptmankietld of thenoutlnitgifoahhualring alcio dldf nct oomehoom,hfr ifoahhoast,spraingda stdfoot;d thd agicrar rorrdullf of theApduaos pasants,ttrcinredoin tfehsSectu alyevhniina,e wwmilmhnddgoget haceatse

gren.Thheanimrarkionoro,nhas inlntiquirily,whas regarlenela ppeciarlyssgifflicaiutien tiseorespet,nhand thebe haior oof
thdiriosd,lpeoward,eannd otherbmeats kveptebly thnSteaedghvetttthee peopls hill themfor foef fr reflactioe, d caus thly
hdy ooe sobe, onididoenela Irokinesymbols,oofthheSteae. Duriong te siegc ofy FFloreney,in,1597 n eagnuy
whichtadgbweenshncteafund i oth thd rily, annndthheSfgnoriadghvetttthebaeveye oua lueiasebe caus theomend
asypoode.

Ccertainetimesannd lwiete hacefavouaibl foeunfavoaibly, rg evnt
dnivistv nhhe
alf rn th hothe,sf orccertainacti ns. Tth FFloretiiiea,ysoe V ruck elssyup,h
euldSectu aly tobes hhefantiful alyiofwwhichaild immportasteovits,ngfh s seweals sebany, oom illyh
pppogds.Thiar ppjrundearagtaiemntm ruckind oueto waod torough e partcudalasarlea,hhas bdeenal
reaye eatiiioed.eAt Perugiad ime ofthh ate,w ths thePport
E breea,'d ae trough lucky,nhand theBagltoieel
lawomweng oueto fiugh toroughite.M thorre ae,ttheeappeaaince of thehhaovisr hrseams
ssgifficaiutien Itals ms lse tvur ind theMiddneeAgss, annnd th ppdular imaginctiofsawewareting
rmine innanenuunusaerorraction olcouds,y

and baed tth claah,oof thiarcoelisitiodtighsin,tth iia.. Thssspersnitrio, bd cmhs d
mhoserguiesmhaltenewmilistattachgdga stself tosacredftthiina,e wwmilfigturser of theVirigifwvipte
ormooavadtthheeyss, oenwwmil公安_policy chaamiteus hrseamssoicaered ithsomhdaulngvefaac,cofampielt,sf orwwhich
th ppeoplsdembnded,exprimctio. lim1478y,whthnePiraeozas hasvissaae irthaevioltest andptrlioined rafkaaly,ist
amsssidattmtd thrhe coulدب

nddryhweattelttcrsncertain suer,y who andbddeenlantalf bricad inSaaf Feainceco,o hnd casrde o,eesctint oniscaaredelathheAsd thebshop,was no beligingenrouch tothvettth crpseddugyupn the ouugenelldosn ofthhe t own oooditely frece,y raggeeniuteddonhtnstrerfss midfhrigufil ofusfin,s andpctlhst tfewnithii od thdPo.eEovinPolitandaacepnred

tiaspoaihoofvieweriy pplealine ofGiraomosPpazzi,d ime ofthh chies oof

thd onipiarald of1478y,limFFlreney,wwichist alundy(faheo his amilye.

Wthnethe haspoueto deaoty,thdnevotvetthisscou to Sathan

withfwariful wwoda,therey, oos,rainnrollnosdhannnd tgreahhrde o,euiinttheharvrst;d
tvury, oos,ae parle ofmeos,mostaf pasants,tdugyupn thebdlytgif the

chuaic,yanndimmedialftth coudsedeparceed and thesuenshne--'soe garagiues has frtunee od thdhpini ndofd theppoool,'saddserthe geane

choula.. The orpsedwhasfirstcathshii odunh

Ilnosdhgplon,s thenextl aly

ugyupy,handaaafteoahoorllbl, pocnesi nd horough te cityd horweri od theArno..

Thhsesfactss and thelikeebpeasa ppdularccharacee,t andmiugh hhvet

occurrencidi the

eent,sjusnt sweals seiintthexinneenth centuys. But nwn oomse thelievrey fifaurancn ofantiquriln.Wryk

nwnsoosaivelvd hane

thdhumhaiisstiwereeedcudataaryaccsesiibl topaadlighse andauuuoicey,

and isiseaincs of tissthavebweenal

reayequoced.hlf fuarhvedevideOnc

Were

deeey,ite couldbl founl,infPoggto.. Thssaomeprdicuay

tiktenwwoe dderind therlughas ofnoulesbiats andthfiequairtye ofmeos, not illy bwilhvrndin,alll themediarewlsiaorivo ofg msrs,anednevile,ybutdallsoins

paodlighse fvted thdaenintspeathen,elikee tosedsmiefto thaveoccureed one thelastvissao ofPropeEugeagousIVfto FFlorene. 'NpeasComodthhere

hrse eeny imeevehniine oua trosanednegu, iwho ooodrtherohnh toGer ay;

thus hacefollnosdhiblye greeaerdl ofchaticy, andthseybdysansarmyooim oout andhoastback, siime

withnto badss andsoime
with almost invisible head,
and thinayggaetic hoastmhan

withan otherterd of ofchaticybehind hhm.'IPoggtoaldsobwihvre innaebhaticl ofmagpghse andjackdawss.Hre evnt urulacey,peperhs withouthebetng


crf ofits,aeweaal- re ervdfpgenc ofy aenilnntyahobogye.OinthenDalmaityandcoasn ayTelttottadghappeare,d
bwarlenelandhoaione,s eggeuille ea-satye,reamionginnroisy andar ai ;e the atetedawayeiomend and childrensnfomt
theshnury, illrttivyiaout- baeeae ashleioenmdkialsnd himw ithstickss andst dms..A wfh een odenl ofthhe monrsery,

whichwhasexhibitenputFtrrray, aksn thewhwo,iaorymcrentblhe tofPoggto.. Trough tered hrseno
moereroarpal,d and te ams niloinhe oasibirnntto akee cuensre ofthh h s,yyeutintbd cmhs gtaid thefashtion tofoppo
Virigl atdhazao e, and akee thepassigtd hnsopionare adommil ('StrtvefVirigltanae'). Norncanethbebeilftiiilfdrm ns, unrentttgiff the

leahenmercodn ofantiquiritthavebeween withoutfifaurancn if the

ReOaissainen.Tthewwoodofylamublituesor Abarrn ne n,tth Myisergesn ofthhe Egpystana,e whichmayo haveeeon
ai buendroe tiseoreuln, as

aritsdtinnae

Liainy praslitrio,ant

hh hnd ofl thn ffnteenth centuys.TthePliaioniio AchrmetryoatyFFloreney ams nct fecefrom tense

andootherroopiaioniio

diusrioys ofthheRomaaafdechdraney.A 'fewnwwodas mustteredbl given od thebeilftiiifdrm ns, nedttto thsm gtl

whichwhasconneeecdt irhttisys bwilhs.

Thhe ppdularrairttinf

wat iidcalundy th spieie-woald, hasn early

the saome in Itals ms lse tvur ind Europn.lim Itals ms lse tvur tered hrse g msrs,d haneis,trreappeaincsoofde
casrdre pesioa;t andioftthfviewe

akendofd thmendifeord innanyeopersetnnfomt tane

whicheprewiund is the

N ait, heendifeorecesbn raygda stsfelfoirlyaid thdaeniIntnsdees'tombra.'f Evensn wadhyadiof sichays hdv ppresecse
stsel,yah ouopldofdMaseuoarhe saiel fr ihseremoars.Ttmtt te spieesooofbandmd mend appeasisiadrediful
shape,distafmaatten ofcoaus,gbudaloinisi ihththisweffinnnd thenotrio, taut teg msrs,ooftheneaerced rh
uolveiariylmaligciues.Thedeae,d slaws theppirscciiasae nvei,oofoBhndellny,kiall thelratlic. chldreny.lot su an as
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andptay.eAtdoothertimeus watyaappeas ms nt theg msrd ofafmany, utd ofanseovit - - ofapteat condiatio,oof

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BpentbrVdi cati hnd ausend ouunlneseviccicseooftiestyaeeny sobe, tftrurenelandstrpinledy, ae, ne oindrgioftthred hresteprine
tionshtoe

bse een..Oimeevhiineayswarmn ofpooer peoplsi ithcandicisoida thierh ansg aappearef toahdishnneat ghudatandofdo thepooerat Perugia,nrhnednaectnd

orond pabouthim;yae greeaefigtuospoked in tgreehnkine oieas n,thiarih be hel,yltd ae SteeAao,s ths pstoie taihdofof thepooeohouns. Thhsed odesd ooftbeilht hrseses uichaymaatent ofcoast that rhlypoensr oould akeeous, ofn thmeaesscim tving

whichevuyysrehndrg coulduindretann.. The eappeaaince of thesimin Lodovicc Picc uindrg thewllsy of thebesiegcnd

Mirpidoln mserlneryreppresedchblyCmiistgItcoicy.Int s, tuen taupenoery

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ougrdonhtthme.

lItaly, oos,shaurnd thebeilhtifidrm ns,i ith teyoothernatriosy ofthhe MiddneeAgsse.M a hace onviectnd tadtGioosioemtng

Ilnosdhbandspiesesio ofnevvyyscclas,tofexcercisnadcno stuetkvhhefifaurancn ifparcsy ofthhe woaldhnd ofdhumhanllfm.. Theofllyeye ervnciofmbdev hashtat rhly anstho wwomtrhlyEvIoime cmhs sl mpsery, oouldusegtisffchewiild o,eestis.

len Italslhedfdrm nlicifauranc, re ppeciarlyaseehownriifnualteovits,n elsrllyassurnldarccharaceeen opoieitlygryeanes..len theniugh bhfmrhe rthe geaeinunndmcioe of theValyd'Arnod in1333,rafgueshsrmttaabvbe V Ilnmbrasar baed a diabobliramtmueeleriy hisnccl, crossesd htsel.y steappedtto thsdooe,e andsawdancrowd ofdblecad nedtttrlb,klughas gtllnpblyisamouay.Wthne onjuaref toetann,d ime ofthhmdsmie: 'Wh hsthos drdonhtth citydoofFIFlorenen ifaaccuetf ofinsrsins,diofGoeewiildlestus.'f W ithtthi,s theneeearly on mpooerdivi neaneVenice (1340)hmayobe, ompeare,doute of

whicae greaemaisdelofof te Wven taossschool, tprobaballd

Giorigiie.,madnythttn rvloues icctur ofadghluny ifulooofdarm ns,e wwhichspeeds,i ith teyswffnnnesy ofasbiad ovdrg theiaormyolagoonstho destroa, th siniful slmnd- rily,tiall the tfes tahSy,iwho avhes eppcnld

unob ervrd i odaepooerboat an'syskdif,rexorcrisnd thn fends andseot thmeaee, thienovnsre ofthhhebottrom of theiatrue.

Toe tisebeilhtfthrmrrlusi no ams nwepddgdathat bly easoy ofmagicrarartsd intwasposabimttoentve i odurulai ns,i ith teyevi loiysy,handuses

thierhelpeto fuarhvedthhepurmoarro ofgrene,samuiatos, andseosuraityy. Manly pesiostiwereerobbabldaacuseedoofdosingsotbefor the
time

thneiot hasactuuallyatr mpisdhbly ay; bButwthnethheso-calundymagictaasopne ichmesbegaon
oebheubaone.sthefdribleteaty pracsivy of theblacod rt, bd cmhsmfmdrupseay. W ith ith teysmrcn of thn frcsoaid

whichth su spetvelvicciiese hrsesacotisfeeye, y hresprespr thenarctint fuimesbye wwichnumbeans ofeuiiend
characeete hacenruggrd i odmagic; t and ith thme hnasacaculaniogimprisrcstbd cmhs msociaeres.

Thhe rtmikuve andpppdularrfomeaid

whichth sspersnitrio,haadprobabald

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timeof theRomaas,twasthtearloof thewirch (strege), TThewirch, sidloinfo eeheeeltmisnd ereself tomhrse
ndivnmctio,emiugh bhninncomensrenroug.d haceits nt tat rhly prasitrio, fonmpoaepchoy soaetkvehelpe oouldelsril,n
troug ottheimemmppttibly, bdas fatallddonwar s ep. ISthe hascrent nd is sichay asry not illy ith thrpwteofhexcit
igdlofv foetatardbetwee hnd andwomany, utdplsoe ithpturalsde stuelkvhe andm lrgnaestarts,s andwhase
peciarlyrhtgtee irth th sicknmes ofratic. children,t evnt thnthem leayeobviuealf aime fomt
thenegleac,landstupiditld of thepearens. Int s,stiail

quetioaibl hoofar sthe hassupposrde o,act bly erhd agicrarccerm nlesq andrrordul, oenbdyah
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witha ifulok nwundgreoofthhier eeffecs.

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whichth menaicaiu fiare oouldvcentuen oeeappeashastthe cmmesor oofthewirch, iseehownr iio ths
asyroofthhwiricht ofGaeta,

womtwErrearoftiIfPon mno..Hhis

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sohvesi thetaelacodthi, niilt eggashhiedonea Fridaye,a luek,s andsoime

tinte toea,d fr ihfisetwwt chirdh alyssincetwhnnew moioy.Thhy aure thndseot awaye, andbiddfttho ooe gtiaiat
rwiiugh. It ied oebhntopgdathat notvingwoast thane ndivnmctio iidianended.. The istrnes of theservvnt-mmief
s,pregnaestbly ls mik,d thdgrf'lsylvodgrhhasproveduuntuhe andhasygoimeri odae
monaisdtn.TThewichheccmpitais: 'Ssincemyohubh an'inideaotel suppot myselfien tisewaye,
andhcoulfmakeeasgfh soting ofifs,ssincetwhn

Gaetaniomend avheplesld offa ity, haceits nt tat rhly miksebalk mt, ofnmyogaistbly xmlminkin
drremss,heappessingtheopinney of thestaihseforh miemy, promsssinghubh aneyto, the frls,hmen- chldrens ofthe
regnaest womesos,ofssprkine ofthebarrte,nnandbesidmes

Il n tevisessasingthewommil at iugh thnethhierhubh aneyarth awayeflshng,eaidaaccrdmince irth th amsrgnaai ns,m
dceiffday

timeee haucia.'YSsp psueswhaneshheogtaisnt

teyenvld of themioaisdet, butshedhasondfwarss,ssincetwhnguhadtandofdf intiasandouldacquain mince of ere..

Butthh sspersnitrio,luuxvhedgheffrirns odaewoast sore of ichmey, namealsthosediwhodepetvrddmendoofthhiartv l
nandllf..len thsescaarsrh
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time..len thetttrlaurivro of

th Chuaic?eaeNorcia (Nursia), sthelfhoomo of SteeBpogdiccnins theuppper.

Apeiakiese, thrhe hasay peffec neetypo irchmes andsrcceres, s andnoe iecrec, ams adcf ofit. Int s, spokenroftiil ime ofthh most premrkabhe leatthero of Apogae Sylvie, dbeiinkine ofltiseeearhenmercods. Hrewritvas toftisebroothe: Thhebbaevvee of tist aime o ime o askdiofle new ofas.

Mouel of Venueee in Ita, fr iis sichay lwieemagicrarartsd hrse aoughy, anndhiasmaisde, nae Saxons andae grea ea strnomve, fiasdanxiuiues o leherh thm. I Idotim, teaele new ofas Pporo Vwenere nt feas fomt Carraray, ons.

teyrockyecoasn of Ligtua, n tvur Ihspente tfehsnlughaso en thwatyts.

Basle: glealsofound hane thrhe hasaymouettaidcalundy Eryx, eaid Sicily,

whichwhasdedisnavndro Vweuey, butd lsdidf nckt nwn

whether gtc

mes

auugh tvure. Butint aome i

odmye ina wleftalkion, y

thcnins Umbuia, nins

tey IdoDisicy (Spoleao)? n ean thetdonh of Nursiae, thrheistachvet

bpogaithaeis depyrock, eaid

whichiatvr, Ifws. h Thhac, t sel preembeaytto

avhe baed, yahr irchmes (striges), fdrrm ns, s andnlughryhs hdvr, s andwwt chaa, hhasthe cuagdctcaneshre (nne ppeayto g msrs, (spieiets), fandnleherh agicrarartsyel avhe nodseenit, d nnn akeenany oroibl pabouit, dforh tane

whichiaslehered w ithsio iidbeattenmndelerhed

t. aal. 'fHhe

reeverthelesharmushi diatorraih, f andbegstisebroothentto akee th bbaevee of te leattee oftim, olhcourlhedbl stiallafrov. f Apogae goeasflar enroughtvur indtiaspolievresftoahaym adffrpositrio, ebudt pesionallyhet has not illyffchas fomtsspersitrio,

thanias on mpoerricy, butdth alsoestoh sa tsstoio thssubjett
which ntnevuy selueiaee m adffrouar donh aly ouldendtur. Att the
timeoof theCoulcil,oolBhsclcy,
whnetelaly sickn of thn dovueforheosovy-fftivyhyadhtyMilany,thn cuuldnneveebhe prsuadeen o ldsrvedtto thsm
gtldocsoese, trough emhan
as brrough tto
iildbedsid,iltoaeshore
timebbefor haadmaatlowelyn ureen2,000 soldceero of dovueins the ampn ofPiceckioy.Wttlefstiallaeninvuaine,d
Apogae rmid,ovdrg themouettaisftohBhsclcy, and otewelseo thsjoanea..
Wedleherhscim tving oorsaboutwhnneMggborhoodn ofNorcia horough te dcromaeactenwwoetetedlTo
getyBpoooviuto Celukii i
odtiaspowve..A newe booodofrm gtc
mes oebhn onisraere,nhand theberst lwiee rn th cherm nlswasr mmong themouettaisfind hanedistricc..
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tion n ean theabbe y ofd Faoy, butldandththerefind ndiftcduiteus which
idf nctppresec
thmmelve aeNorcia;,.fuarhve,s the pasantseins thehattenneMggborhoodn
hrsetrustwoahys peoplswho andhaadpracsivyiinthemaatte,eand who ouuldaftcrd onididoaibl helpeaidcasryooof
de.. The xspdiatio,
idf nct
aket lwie,s lseyBpoooviuto couldprobbaibdthavebeenoablntto ealsust soim tvingofd te impriscr’es sidsraens.
Tthewhho,neMggborhoodniasd tens
paovdriial..Aeeitnosslawssoom tvur ofansenchtacedy cll, ‘ther edweluh hrsrsstvesy of thesibyIn ofNorcia
ae,theeuhihdfd theFata GFlotana.’f And pabout thestme
timeTriassnoeccoulrstiallcelebrante tet lwie indtias gareaeepctl
withall theursouancpoenynandalungorymash thehomic ofy au tentin paophecey.
Aftved thd ncorgiuesBifulooofInnocmensVIII(1484), irchcraft ae,tthe pseucctioe of irchmesgrlwrri odae
greaeandevoelringly cpm.. The cchie,reprsevcctovlcs of tistry cpm ifd pseucctioe hrsrGer ae Domtnicaia;t
andGer ay ann,durgueylennroug,thosedparcs of Itals daeesctGer ay eor ter ouanties most afflicrve,bly
tisfplague.. The bullsy nedinjuncctosi of thePropas thmmelve refhe, sf oremamol,n od theDomtnicaifPpooiince
ofLombaedly, o Cerm na, dtto thsdiocsevro of
Brceca ae,Berg mmn.Wryleherh fomSprlngte’snfiunies thoreito- praacsiuay uidc,s the’MalunuisMvleficarum,’ t
t,floty- nhe
irchmes hrsr brengmtdComodiim the frst yeae ftved thdpublimctioe of thebull;g crowdsy of Itaianeiomend
oodrefugvyiinthetrrraorld of theAaicdukse Sigismund,s tvure thyobwilhvrndtthemselvesyto,bl stialsafm..Wirchcraft
endcdyblytakionf irm rooutiisefewnunluckyeAlpinn vhlnuny,reppeciarly iio tsValyCam nila;d thdry cpm ifd
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per asetbldifscirling irth th nelusi n,thosedpppdlttiosmwhichicheurein ay aly ordisposrde fr ih..ThisvsnsntciabdGer
aerfome ofwirhcraicf ius waty holhcoulr

tiike of

wenerrerearing thersorivro andnovsruooofrMilan oesBobogna..Tmtdiutdidf nctmakeefuarhvedpaogrnese in
Italsrsdprobabld

duee od thldfaet that tvureadthighryld vtloprde'estregheria'e hasal

reaye inn xsrswece,..eesvingoisaeddifeoretsec,ooftdeas. Thhe Itaianeirche praacsimldar prdcy, and deeeed fr ihf
miedy ann,daabvbealy,ssensn.Wry

finnd notvingpabouthdelofd te hysergiuaydremloslofd te N aiternewirch, ofmarvtlouesjouaneaws horough te
air,ooflnubues andSuccubue;s the bueinnesy of the'strega'e has topaovidyfor tther peopl'sfpleasturs.

If sthe hascrent nd irth th powtetofhassurrkednedifeoretfshapes, oen of

prasporesentherselfe uddtflytosddirtastplwiee, sthe hasssofar on ec

odaacepn tiseorputmctio,t sehveinfaurancniasd terelyicrearsd';ons
teyhothern an,tinthasperglouesffonwtenwmmil thn dare of ermaliccyannhoingltaine,e(nd e ppeciarly of
erlpowttet orenchtaciig chldren,tchlatc, anndcrops,tbd cmhsggenera..lequissaorre ae, agisrptmes hrse tensmosns
torrougrylaidaaccrd tithpppdularwishes iofthy, brenghhee.

Byofar thh most immportastfieuld rm th actvitiil of the'strega'elwly, amshhhasweensmey,aidlov-aaffaiea,
anndinnludsdn thestiretingup offbvbe hnd ofdhatarn,s the ao duivingofdpabratios, th pre endcymurdenofd te unfa
itifulum oenwoamaftcly gicararafts,t andeovintthemanufaetur of ois ns. Owkine othheunwilkinnessy ofmanly
pesiost tohvhettiiddod ith thseowommi,scclas,oof ocasionuaypaactttiioerre rosedioiiecrecbl

llhered fomt thmsdoime ime r ttheroofthiariarts,s andttnshned tias k nundgreonethierdonhaaccuet.
ThheRomaaf aonsituacey,for exmaplne,fo orexamopl,n
ptedltto enhancetwhiry pesionaratraecni netblychtrmslofdan other de cripcrifaid thestyllf of
theHoraeianeCanidia..Aeeltnosmayo not illy hivetk nwny,butfdravealssotould het tulthpabout thmfien tise
partdcula.

Hi givsfa llshdofd theloathsoommeaseuowthichicheureto,bl founl,infthihia boxes--hair,oskulls,,eibse,
eeth,edeadmandm'sfleyss, humhanski,h te avsruoofrfratic. children,t thesovrlo ofhcmesenand gencro ofcinving fomt
ombys.Thhy evnt ente themseleveyo, the gavysyar andffitcidfibio ofnrothnefrvhr,

whichhthyelyrlyghvetththiarlovdr, tofeat-- ithmmrrre rntan s,stiallwoast.ePiencons of tr haioranefnaisly of thelovdrg
hrse iuand isoiumersolensfomt thedovu- bre igdلاموेینs the huac.. The most innoccuesoof thiachtrmsl has
tomakeeas beaao ofgdlolinf(shmye, andtttho topiercvtintwttlefsiinkin:

'Primarcc'efuocohspenghi,r Farcc'afmiaepoort venghi;g Tramtispungafiomr mmrse Qvulie isofoequeetoecums.'.

Thhred hrehehocr htrmshraacsimldby o netvie,fii ith rawionsh if the

gpound,s andfijurse ofwax oenbronzej,withdoublnesereppresecsdbh the
lovdr,e(nd ersetrencedaaccrdkine ofcircumseaincn..

Thhses

tionsh hresoscurtomrryrd tatdanwomaaifiwh,n withoutyou trnand bbauly,neevethelshhexercisddaepowteiful htrmh ifmeos, asualbly bd cmhssu spetvef ofwirhcraft.. Them theroofSaega,owiecrecryd od ClepmensVII, ois nsnd ereson'sf irstnesy,iwho hasaywomaaf of tistkInlee

Un frtunantaffth sio,

iedtoo,t seweal seae parle offrfends iwho and eltendofd thepois nsnds leae.

Nextl ooms, not sehvlprdr,ebBut e cmmesitor to, thewirch, thsm gtci an oesenchtacer--'innan maort'-- who hasstiallImfor amiliaesi ith teymosns perglosesbueinnesy of thecraft..Scimesimesthe hasams uich ormour ofans

estrologtes taoe ofafmagtcian;etheprobbabld othnemghvet hmtselfoBut e ans

estrologtesiim rdtennoct tobheprosecueedaseasmagtciayan,handahcertain

estrologydwhase nsntciasiiim rdtenottoinn oudetwwtfavouaaibl houa fr ah agicrar pocese.

Butssicemeranspyieesoaogh gsfr idffideoreht,he te m gtci an couurlcsiternes ain minnfanovraysiaaiibl orputmctio,t nnd SixtousIV,fian the yea 1474,o hnd topaoceenexpresblyagtalisntssoomr

Bobogn businessmenCtremeleivu, iwhop nsrntd is thedpupit tat rhirhe has nehtrmhinseekiongintrorractiofnfomt thedrm ns.

Vvraymanly peopswilhvrndin, thrpoasibilithl of theothing stsetl;oaofiaidrevcopaoff of tistlesgins

teyfaet that teymosnspgiuessmenbdivhvrndttat blyptayed thy oould ob minfivistiosg oghf ssrpiees..Savon rola'sf iandwasfla Isndwiit hse tese

tiina's theFFloretiie Pliaonistse ppeay ofafmyistcluntiofwiithGod't nnd Marcellues Palkineagous givsfues o uindretanneccl earlyenough hanehhe and tiddod ith oniscraeredspiciees.. Thesime wrtrv is onviectndofd te xdsrwecey ofatwhhoe,hieraaicl ofbanddrrm ns,siwho avhe thiarreaffomt teymoio,

donwhars,s andarh nevveeen thewarchetiddodossmerriscie, od asiuhe andhuhmanilfmm..Hre evnt e/sshofhisdowan pesionaraacquain mince ithsioeomeof thm,y andasd te scropeofd te pprevew wwoooddoees not Ilno ofafry cpmaaicd xmositrooio,ofoththtneoprewplntgebelhiitfispiees,h te arttovlcn ofPalkineagousmayce, givenaimomeiseaincdoe ofmanle.

AtnSaafSielvestry,onsSoarace,ehhe andbweeneencrocokie n stucciofntomt gpiueshsmmittoen the notvinnesy ofelathalffitissorsh ae,tthewoaahenesnnesy oofumahanillfmm;handwwmil the ugh nfewnn eante seng oueondtias abybacks totoime.Ointheroohn,fian thefulolughe ofth moony,thehasjoinceedyby

trchfmeos, ime of

womtcalundytim,blayne, y andaknsnd himwheinccetv aim.iPalkineagousmadr nswh: 'Ffromt thewsscemaaaf is themouettai.' 'O ool,' orplisnd thesptiner,y'dosts toufian tutthbwilhvrd tatdany ime n elath is wssc?.Oibdltigthermbmionsh(Drok)o avhewssoro,nhnds sichare ho

trchy, I roughwed har thh shapese ofmyn.ie rymynameldSearagl,t nnd tese two Satchily andJana. Oua kionorotiesgn ean themoony, wheredwelulh teameудliuid,ottilesmediatrbmionshiwho avhes

alf evveelath nnd sre.'IPalkineagousstthnoaksns, not withoutoifiawhar term ry,

wmtd thyo
hrsegokine ofdodmtdRoime. The nswheewha: ‘Oime ofoua cmrhdv, sAom i, iuskvpteinnservttuid, bly tnhm gtclarcsy ofatyou tnnfomtNarni, d ime of

thdatthndantse ofCirdlinaOrssii; ef ormarktit, dOfmeos, ttthrheistpaooff oofooua ownrimmoootraityetthrhio, h tautyoutcaneeon aold ime ofua: I mytselshufseopaidcryc caly, asg niee rrcref toeervrfatGer a, tillran bwarlene mik sengmht fec.. Thiaisrsd te servtne wwhichwhewsshd o, eeindrg at Rooe soua rfen, s andwwtehallesallsotakee th opporeuntufty odf seaniog ime r two ddistindsshendRomaas to, thenhetherwoalad.’ fAtt thshe woadsfa lugh bfeceee rose, s and Satchilysmie: ‘Lsrswe, ouoa measeineries corkinebacksfnfomtRomcy, andttis wsandannoincsoohhm.’ fAand thinan other beting

appeare, dwwomtrhlyfgreneredjoyifuly, and thinasksndpaboutRoime.

Hhisuatteaincsoarsestrongly, ati-papal: ClepmensVIIe hasagtaaidlisnd ith th Spaerwardslandhoppedttorout outLu tee'sndocstiliisy, not witg argupmeney, butdbly thnSpaershdwscars. Thiaisrsdwhhorlyaid thdiaaheestcof

thdnem ns, siwhmt theimmeaonigbllfsh shendwooldenablimttoceauysawaye te scousy of trosanese i odtelu. Att theclose of tist onveretrio, eaid which Roime

withallfinrsnmlnt s, reppresecdsdhasdwhhorly givenovdrg od theEvi IOim, s theap paitljosgvaersh, fanndlehevttthe oen sorrowifuly, tto

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