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WOR

OF THÈ FAMOUS

Nicholas Machiavel,

CITIZEN and SECRETARY

ÔΓ.

FLORENCE

WRITTEN.

Originally in ITALIAN, and from thence newly and faithfully Translated into ENGLISH.



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AKUUT

LONDON,

Printed for John Starkey, Charles Harper, and John Amery, at the Miter, the Flower-de-Luce, and the Peacock, in Fleetstreet. 1680.

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THE SEVERAL

TREATISES

Contained in this

BOOK.

- 1. He History of Florence.
- 2. The Prince.
- .3. The Original of the Guelf and Ghibilin Fa-
- 4. The Life of Castruccio Castracani.
- 5. The Murther of Vitelli, &c. by Duke Valentino.
- 6. The State of France.
- 7. The State of Germany.
- 8. The Discourses on Titus Livius.
- 9. The Art of War.
- 10. The Marriage of Belpheger, a Novel.
- 11. Nicholas Machiavel's Letter in Vindication of Himfelf and his Writings.

THE

HISTORY

OF

FLORENCE,

CONTAINING

An account of the Heroick Enterprizes, Publick and Private Transactions; with the Civil Dissentions, Changes and Alterations in that

GOVERNMENT

ALSO AN

Account of the Affairs of ITALT, and the Actions,

Designs and contrivances of most of the

PRINCES and STATES therein

IN

Eight Books.

By NICOLAS MACHIAVEL.

LONDON,

Printed for John Starkey, Charles Harper, and John Amery, at the Miter, the Flower-de-Luce, and the Peacock, in Fleetstreet. 1680..

THE

EPISTLE

CLEMENT, VII

Being commanded by your Holiness (whilst in a private condition) to writ the History of Florence, I addressed my self to it with all the art and diligencewherewith nature and experience had endued me. Having deduc'd it to the times, in which, upon the death of Magnifico Lorenzo de Medici, the whole form and model of Italy was altered; and being to describe the height and importance of whatfollowed in a loftier and more vigorous stile, I judged it bestto reduce what I had written till those times into one Volume, and present it to your Holiness, that you might at least have a taste of the fruit you had fown your felf, and of my labour and cultivation. In the perufal of this work your Holiness will see first, to what ruine and convulsions our Country was exposed for many ages by the variations of Governments, after the declension of the Roman Empire in the

The Author's Introduction.

West. You will see how your Predecessors, the Venetians, the Kingdom of Naple's, and the Dukedom of Milan took their turns of Empire and Soveraignty in this Province. You will fee your own Country refusing obedience to the Emperors, by reason of the divisions, and those divisions continuing till under the protection of your Family, it began to fettle into a Government. And because it was your Holiness particular command, that in my character of your Ancestors, I should avoid all kind of flattery, truepraise not being more pleasing to you, than counterfeit is ungrateful; fearing in my description of the bounty of Giovanni, the wisdom of Cosimo, the courtesie of Piero, the magnificence and folidity of Lorenzo, I may feem to have tranfgressedyour holiness direction, I do mosthumbly excuse my self, both in that, and whatever else in my descriptions may appear unfaithful to your holiness distatisfaction, for finding the memoirs and relations of those who in fundry Ages made any mention of them, full of their commendations, I must either present them as I found them, or pass them by as if I envied them. And if (as some write) under their great and egregious exploits there was always some · latent and ambitious design, contrary to the interest and liberty of the publick. I know nothing of it, and am not bound to relate it: for in all mynarrationsInever defired to cloak orpalliate a dishonourable action, with an honourable pretence; nor to traduce a good action, tho to a contrary end. But howfar I amfrom flatte-

The Author's Introduction.

ry, is to be seen in the whole course of my Hiftory, especially in my speeches, and private discourfes, which do plainly, and without refervation, describe with the sentences, and order of their language, the dignity and humour of the persons. I avoid likewise in all places suchwords as are impertinent to the verity, or reputation of history, so that no man who considers my writings impartially, can charge me with adulation; especially if he observes how little or nothing I have faid of your holiness ownFather, whose life was too short to discover him to the world, & I too downright to expatiate upon it. Nevertheless had he done nothing more but given your holiness to the world, that very thing outweighs all theactions of his Ancestors & shall leave more ages of honour to his family, thanhis male volent fortune took years from his life. I have endeavored, (Molt HolySir) as far as might be done without blemish to the truth, to please all people, and it may so fall out I have pleased no body. If it should, I should notwordder, seeing in my judgment it is impossible to write any thing of our own times, without offence to feveral. Yet I come forth cheerfully into the field, hoping that as I am honoured and employed by your holiness goodness I shall be defended byyour holiness judgment, and then with the same confidence & courage as Ihave writnow, I shall pursue my engagements if my life lasts, & your holiness continues amongst us.

The Author's

INTRODUCTION

THen I first took upon me to write the History of Florence. and its transactions both at home and abroad. Ithought to bave begunat theyear 1434, at which time the Family of the Medici (exalted by the merits of Cosimo, Chis father Giovanni)was in greater authority than any other in that City; believing that Meffer Leonardo d'Arezzo, and Meffer Poggio, two excellent Historians, had given particular description of all the passages be-Ifore. But upon diligent perusal of their writings to inform my self of their orders andmethods that therebymy own might have better approbation. I found that in their narratives of the Florentine Wars. and foreign negotiations, they had been accurate enough; but in their civil dissentions, their intrinsuckanimosities, and in the effects which followed them, they were either totally silent, or where any thing was mentioned, itwas with such brevity and abruptness as could yield neither profit nor recreation to the reader. Which I conceive they did, either out of an opinion, that they were inconsiderable, and unworthy to be transmitted to Posterity; or elsethey apprehended a necessity of reflecting upon some great persons, whose family would be disabliged thereby; both which arguments (if I may speak it without offence) are beneath the grandeur and magnanimity of a great person. For if any thing in History be delightfull or profitable, it is those particular descriptions; if any thing be usefull to such Citizens as have the Government in their hands, it is such as represents the feuds and dissentions in the Cities, that thereby they may be enabled to maintain their own unity at other peoples expence; if the example of any Commonwealth moves a man, certainly that which is written of ones own makes a much stronger impression, and if the fastions of any State were ever considerable, the factions in Florencewere not to be pretermitted; the greatest part of other States have not had above one which fometimes has advanced, and sometimes ruined the Government: but Florence has had many divisions. Every body knows how in Rome after the expulsion of their King, there arose division betwixt the Nobles and the people, which continued till one of them was oppressed. So it was in Athens, and all the Commonwealths which flourished in those times; but in Florence the first dissention was betwixt the Nobles; the next betwixt the Nobles and Citizens; and then betwixt.

The Author's Introduction.

betwixt the Citizens and the Plebs: in all which, one was no sooner. Superior, but it divided again; and the effects of those divisions were Murders, and Banishments, and dispersion of families, such as never occurr'd in any City, that can be remembred. And truly in my judge ment, nothing demonstrates the power of our City so much as the consequences of those divisions, which were enough to have subverted and destroyed any other in the world. But ours grew still greater thereby; so remarkable was the courage of the Citizens and so efficacious their industry for the advancement of their Country, that those sew which survived the miseries of their Predecessors, did more by their constancy & courage towards the advancement of their interest than the malignity of those accidents could do to depress it. And doubtless bad Florence been so bappy after it had freed it self from the Empire, to have assum'd such a form of Government as would have preserved it in unity. Iknow not any commonwealth, either ancient or modern that would have exceeded it, or have been comparable to it. either in riches or power. For it is observable, after the Ghibilins. were driven out of the Town in such numbers as all Tuscany and Lombardy were full of those exiles; the Guels, and such as were left behind in the expedition against Arczzo(which was the year before the battle of Campaldino) wereable to drawout of their own Citizens 1200 Horse, and 12000 Foot, And afterwards in the war against Philippo Visconti Duke of Milan being to try their fortune rather withtheir riches than their arms (which at that time were verymuch weakened)in five years space(which was the length of that war)the Florentines expended five millions, and 500000 Florens; and when that War was composed, to oftentate and publish the power of that Commonwealth, they marched out with an army, and be sieged Lucca. I do not see therefore, for what reason these divisions should not be worthy of relation; and if those Noble Authors were restrained by fear of offending the memory of such as they were to speak of, they were mightily out, and seem not to have understood the ambition of mankind, and their defire to have the names of themselves and ancestors transmitted to Posterity; nor did they remember that many people, not baving opportunity to make themselves eminent by good and laudable acts have endeavoured to compass it by any way, bow scandalous and ignominious soever. Neither did they consider that the actions which carry greatness along with them, as those of Governments and States, what ends soever they, have and which way soever they are described do fill leave more honour than infamy to their Family, the consideration of which things prevailed with me to alter my design, and to begin my History from the very foundation of the City: and because it is not my intention to transcribe what bas

The Author's Introduction.

been done before by other people, I shall relate such things only as occurr'd within the City to the year 1434, mentioning the accidents abroad only so far as will be necessary for the intelligence of. the other; after which year I shall give a particular description both of the one and the other. Besides, for the better and more lasting understanding of this History, before I treat of Florence. I shall discourse of the means by which Italy fell under the dominion of those Potentates which govern'd it at that time; all which . shall be comprehended in my four first Books : the first shall give a sbort recital of all transactions in Italy, from the dissolution of the Roman Empire to the year 1434. The second shall give an account of all affairs from the foundation of the City of Florence, to the end of the War against the Pope, which commenced upon the expulsion of the Duke of Athens: the third shall conclude with the death of Ladislaus King of Naples; and in the fourth we shall end with the year 1434, from whence afterwards to our present times we shall give a particular Narrative of all proceedings both within the City and without.

THE

TABLE

OF THE

Florentine History.

Book I.

, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	20010
He Northern Nations healthful and	7
prolifick pag.1	
Their Method of evacuation upon	The
their excessive encrease ibid.	, I
Their excessive encrease, the ruine of the Ro	The
man Empire ib.	1
The Western Gothes the first invaders of that	Paí
Empire ib.	The
Rome fack'd by them under the command of	Eu
Alaricus	Of
Boniface Governor of Africk for the Empe-	The
ror ib.	The
Gallia over-run by the Franks, and from them	Ag
called France ib:	Gre
The Hanni conquer and denominate Hunga-	٠.
ria ib.	.,
Britain called Anglia from the Angli ib.	
The Hannimvade Italy under Attila ib.	Cle
Attila besieges and takes Aquilegia ib.	Ni
He advances to Rome, but retires at the re-	1
quest of the Pape 3	
The Hanni driven back over the Danube, re-	Sch
turn home ib.	The
The first residence of the Roman Emperors at	7
Ravenna ib.	
New Emperors elected by the Romans up-	The
on the non-residence of their old ib.	Ur
The Lombards invade Italy ib.	The
Odoacres call'd King of Rome, and the	Pai
first of the Barbarians which thought of fix-	Ale
ing in Italy ib.	A
The old Empire divided into Cantons ib.	Th
Theodorick invades Italy, flays Odoacres,	1 2 2
calls bimself King of Rome, and held	1.
bis residence at Ravenna ib.	Ce
Theodorick dies 4	H
Ballasarius General for Justinian the Empe-	Th
ror ib.	1
Totila takes, facks, and burns Rome ib.	7%
Narsetes a new General for Justinian ib.	76
Longinus alters the Government in Italy ib.	
Alboins kill d by the conspiracy of his	
Wife ib.	
10.	1

The authority of the Bishops of Rome bega	iń to
encrea[e	ib.
Bishops of Rome employed as Ministers by	the
Emperors and Kings, and sometimes	exe-
cuted by them	7.
The Eastern Empire destroyed in the time	
Heracleus the Emperor	ib.
The King of France exempts the Pope from	s all
bumane jurisdiction	8
Pascal created Pope	ib.
The original of Cardinals	ib.
Eugenius the fecond Pope	ib.
Ospurcus made Pope, changes his name	ib.
The original of Pila	ib.
The Government of Italy, anno 931	ib.
Agabito Pope	9
Gregory the fifth Pope, expelled and reft	rea,
devests the Romans of their power of	Tea-
ting Emperors, and confers stupon fix I ces of Germany	ib!
Clement the fecond Pope	ıb. Do
Nicholas the second Pope, excludes the mans, and renounces the Papal Election	ILU-
the suffrage of Cardinals only	ib.
Schifm and anti-Popesin the Church	ib.
The difference between Henricus and	the
Pope, the ground of the Guelf and G	hshi_
lin factions	ib.
The original of the Kingdom of Sicily	iĥ.
Urbin the fecond Pope	ib.
The first Croissade	ib.
Pascal the fecond Pope	II
Alexander the third Pope	ib.
A new anti-Pope	ib.
The Pope's penance to King Henry of I	ing-
land, upon the complaints about Tho	mas
Becket	ib.
Celestin the third Pope	12
Honorius the third Pope	ib.
The Orders of St. Dominick and St. Fr.	incis
instituted, 1218. The Titles of King of Naples and Jerus	ib.
The Titles of King of Naples and Jerul	alem
annexea	1D.
The bouse of she Esti made Lords of	I er-
rara.	13
∮ • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	The
•	

The Guelf's side with the Church, the Ghibi-	The Union and Government of the City of
lins with the Emperor ib.	Florence 25
Innocent the fourth Pope ib.	
Clement the fifth Pope ib.	The Captain of the People and Podesta ib
Adrian the fifth Pope ib.	Their Militia ib
Nicholas the third of the boufe of Urfin 14	A generous Custom ib.
The first introduction of Popes Nephews. ib.	Manfredi King of Naples, a great Patron of
Martin the tenth Pope ib.	the Ghibilins ib.
Pope Celestine resigns to Boniface the	Carlo d' Angio call'dinto Italy by the Pope 26
_ eighth ib.	A new model of Government in Florence ib.
The first Jubilees ordained by Boniface every	New commotions in Florence ib.
100 years 15	A second model by the Guelfs 27
· Benedictus chosen, dies, and is succeeded by	Gregory the tenth Pope · ib.
Clement the fifth, who removed his refi-	Florence under excommunication ib
dence into France, 1036. ib.	Innocent the 5th.
John the 22th. Pope ib.	The jealousie of the Pope, ' ib.
The Visconti a great Family in Milan, made	Nicholas the third Pope ib.
Princes of that City by the entirpation of	l
the Torri ib.	Martinus Pope - 28
	The Government of Florence reformed by the
The Dukedom of Milan falls to the Floras	ib. The three Priors to governtwo months, to be
	abolom and of the City is I. Consider
	chosen out of the City indifferently ib.
Candia given to the Venetians by the	The Signori ib.
French 17	Discord between the Nobility and People ib.
Benedict the twelfth Pope ib.	The Priory and Gonfalonier ib.
Clement the fixth Pope ib.	Persuasions to the Nobility to be quiet 29
The Jubilee reduced to 50 years 18	The same to the People ib.
Avignon given to the Pope by the Queen of	New reformation in Florence, 1298. 30
Naples ab.	The difference in the Family of the Cancel-
Innocent the first Pope ib.	lieri, the occasion and consequence ib.
Urban the fifth Pope ib.	The Bianchi and Neri ib.
Gregory the twelfth Pope ib.	Charles of Valois made Governor of Flo-
The Pope returns to Rome after 71 years rest-	rence '3r
dence in France ib.	New troubles occasioned by Corso Donati 32
Urban the fixth Pope ib.	The Medici and Giugni 33
Clement the sevent b anti-Pope ib.	Florence burned, 1304. 1b.
Guns first used between the Genoeses and Ve-	Corso Donati condemned 34-
	His Death 1b.
Urban and Clement succeeded by Boniface	New divisions in Florence 35
the 9th and Benedict the 13th. ib.	
Boniface dies, Innocent succeeds bim; and	The Council of the Signorito fit forty months,
Gregory the 12th. Innocent 19	whereas before st was occasional 27
Alexander the fifth elected, and succeeded by	Election of Magistrates by Imborsation. ib.
John the 23d. ib.	Ramondo da Cordona General of the Floren-
Three Popes at once ib.	tines ib.
Martin the fifth ib.	The Duke of Athens Governor of Flo-
The Queen of Naples calls in the King of Ar-	rence ib.
ragon to ber assistance, adopts bim, and	Lodowic the Emperor called into Italy 28
makes Braccio de Montone ber Gene-	The death of Castruccio and the Duke of Ca-
ral 20	labria ib.
The state of Italy ib.	New reformation in Florence ib.
	The Florentines quiet at home ib.
	Their Buildings ib.
Book II.	A Cantain of the Count
	Maffeo da Marradi ib.
He convenience of Colonies 22	Luces fold to the Florentines
The Original of Florence 23	Taken from them by the Pisans ib
The denomination of Florence ib.	The Duke of Athens ib,
The first division of Florence 14	The Speech of one of the Senators to the
The Guelf and Chibilin Faction in Flo-	IJURE OT ATDENS
	The Dube's Antique
,	42 71.

T T to C Ashama shows Daines ha	* h.	Cionald M. Cia	****
The Duke of Athens chosen Prince by People	ib.	Giovanni de Medici's reply to Rinaldo The factions of Urano and the Medici	75
His practices in Florence	ib.	The great courage of Biagio del Milago	76 ib.
Three conspiracies against the Duke at	one	The cowardize of Zenobidel Pino	ib
time	43	Piccinino revoles	
Commotion in France	44	Carmignuola General of the League	77 ib:
The Duke expell'd	45	Peace betwixt the League and the Dube	9
His character	ib.	Giovanni de Medici's Speech to bu Son	ہ ہے۔ اور عا
New reformation	46	bu death	ib
The Nobslity deposed	ib.	Cosimo beir to bis Father	
The Nobility attempt to recover their aut	bo-	Volterra revolts	79
rity	47	Recovered again by the Florentines	1b.
The people arm against them	ib.	Rinoldo persuades to war with Lucca	ib.
The Nobility utterly depressed	4.8	Urano oppofes is	80
the trouble function of the first	•	The cruelty of Astorre	ib.
	<u> </u>	Rinaldo accus'd	81
Book III.		His Speech to the ten	82
DOOK III-	-	Pagolo Lord of Lucca deposed	83
Mulation betwixt the middle and	the	The Florentines defeated	84
		Pegge heterson the Tilmer	ıb.
meaner fort of people	50	Peace between the Florentines and the 1	
	71	Cheft "	ib.
New reformation	53	Florence in confusion	85
Gregory the 11th. holds his residence at		Cosimo Medici deposed and imprisoned	87
vignon	ib.	Federigo's Speech to Cosimo bis Prisoner	ib.
New Commission for the management of		Cosimo banished	88
War	ib.	Rinaldo's Speech to his friends	ib
A conspiracy of the Guelfs	54	Eugenius the Pope labours a Peace	90
The conspiracy defeated	ib.	Colimo recalled	ib
The Speech of Salvestro de Medici	55	Rinaldo's answer to the Pope	ib
The Balia	16.	•	
Reformation again	56		
Luigi Guicciardini's Oration.	ĺЬ.	Book V	
New troubles	57	Dook V.	
	58	He Souldsers in Italy distinguished	int
The people rife again	59	1 two parties	01
The demands of the people	60	The Duke of Milan promises his Daught	75 1440
Michaele di Lando, a Carder of wooll.	ib.	Count Francis Sforza	ib.
Michael overcomes the multitude	62	The Pope invaded, makes Peace with S	
The popular faction distinguished from		Za	••
	ib.) ·	ib.
		Storm County L. C. t. D 3	ıb.
Another reformation	64	Sforza General of the Pope's League	94
The Commons expelled from the Gove		Peace betwint the League and the Duke	
ment !	65	New Ordinances in Florence	ib.
Michael Lando imprisoned	ib.	Alphonso King of Atragon defeated by	th
Benedetto's Speech to his friends upon his	go-	Genoeses, and brought Prisoner to D	uk
ing into banishment	ib.	Philip	95
He dies at Rhodes	66	The Duke and his authority in Genoa.	ib
Veri de Medici's Speech to the Senate	67	Genoa delivered to the Duke of Milan	96
Donato Acciaivoli cenfin'd	68	How it recovered its liberty again	ib
A new conspiracy defeated	ib.	Rinaldo's Oration to the Duke of Milan	ib
The Duke of Milan practifes against the (The speech of a Citizen of Lucca to the	
of Florence	69	ple	98
Several Families banished	ib.	Controversies between the Greek and Ros	
The King of Naples dies	ib.	1 = 1 1	102
of rapics mes	ıŲ,	Determined at Florence, by the submission	
		the Greek	
			ib JL
		The Pope deluded, and his Country invade	
Book IV.			103
DEace betwixt Florence and Milan	72	The Speech of Neri, a Citizen of Florence	
PEace betwixt Florence and Milan Imola taken by the Duke Philip	72 73	the Venetian Senate	104
DEace betwixt Florence and Milan	-	the Venetian Senate Nicolo Piccinino defeated by Count S	104

He scapes to Fenna, and from thence very ib.	An Oration made by one of the Milan Em- bassadors to the Count ib.
47 Curving Jan Nicola	The Count's answer
Verona surprized by Nicolo 107	1 and 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Recovered again by the Count ib.	Cosimo de Medici a friend to the Count 127
The Duke of Milan encouraged in his Expe-	The Venetians assist the Milanesi against the
The Grown by Nicola and the	-Count 128
dition into Tuscany by Nicolo and the	
Florentine Extles 108	The Milanesi reduced to great straits by Sfor-
The Patriarch of Alexandria General for	za ib.
	Milan delivered to Sforza, and be made Duké
the Pope	
The Pope discovers intelligence between the	thereof, enters into a League with the Flo-
Patriarch and Nicolo, and resolves to se-	rentines 129
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
cure him	The King of Arragon and the Venetians en-
Is secured by Antonio Governor of the Castle	ter into a League ib.
at Rome, and dies	Their Embassy to the Florentines . ib.
Complete Theretiens to the	
Commissioners from the Venetians to the	The Florentines answer. ib.
Count 16.	The Florentines prepare War 130
Nicolo makes a diversion into the Territories	Federigo the Emperor comes into Italy to be
of Florence	Crown'd, and enter Florence ib.
The Count desirous to follow him, but is hin-	The King of Arragon invades Tuscany ib.
dred by the Venetians ib.	The strange concert and undertaking of a Ci-
Of Nicolo's proceeding after he left Lom-	tizen of Rome
bardy 110,111	Peace between the Duke of Milan and the Ve-
Nicolo's practices to surprize Crotona 112	netians ib:
Brescia relieved by the Venetians ib.	The King of Arragon enters into the
The Duke of Milan's Fleet defeated by the	League 134
Venetians 1b.	The Pope solicits a War against the Turk ib.
Nicolo engages the Florentines at Anghiari,	A prodigious Tempest ib.
and is defeated by them ib.	The Genoesi invaded by the King of Arra-
Tri de la romania de la referencia de la	
The Speech of Count Poppi to the Florentine	gon 135
Commissaries 114.	Genoa delivered to the French 1b
Neri's answer ib.	The King of Arragon dies ib.
	Calisto the third dies, and Pius the second
	chosen Pope 136
Book VI.	The Genoesi revolt from the French 1b.
	Naples invaded by Giovanni d' Angio ib.
He Duke of Milan proposeth a Peace to	The King of Naples defeated ib.
Count Stown and afforest his Desch	
L Count Storza, and offereth bis Daugh-	He recruits his Army, fights and defeats
ter in Marriage to the Count 116	Giovanni, ib.
.The ingratitude of the Venetians ib.	Giovanni being defeated, and deserted of bis
Micheletto General for the League ib.	
Nicolo einfolomento the Duk of Milan	Souldiers, flies into France ib.
Nicolo's insolence to the Duke of Milan 117	
Peace between the Duke of Milan and Count	,
Sforza ib.	Book VII.
Naples taken by the King of Arragon 118	DOOR ATTV
Elonon an articles	Column de Natification de la
Nicolo Diccipino des ef misf	Osimo de Medici, and Neri Capponi,
Nicolo Piccinino dies of grief; a couragious,	A the two great Citizens in Florence 138
but unfortunate General ib.	Cosimo dies
A new War in Lombardy 121	His children, riches, honours, and actions de-
Count Sforza courted by all parties ib.	l familia I
FT - 3 T C 1 4'1' T	forsbed 139, 140,141
The Duke of Milan dies ib.	Giacopo Piccinino murdered 142
The Count made General for the Milanesi 122	Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan dies 144
The Venetians ambitious of the Dutchy of	The Florentines invaded by the Venetians.
Milan. ib.	
.41.1 C : 7	Pages harmon of Til
Data Arra A C PRI C	Peace between the Florentines and Veneti-
Retreats out of Tuscany 123	ans . 140
The Venetians fall upon Count Sforza in bu	Piero de Medici's Speech to the Floren-
Trenches at the Siege of Caravaggio, and	
? Theme died aller decided I I	Wie death
Peace between the Venetians and the Count,	
Landich alar	Thomaso Soderini in great favour with the
by which the Venetians were obliged to af-	Florentines ib.
fift the Count in his obtaining the Dutchy	Lorenzo and Guiliano de Medici made Prin-
of Milan. 125	
(3)	ces of the City of Florence. ib.
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	A con-

A conspiracy of the Nardi 151	. I E E E E E E E E E E E E E E E E E E
Bernardo defeated, and taken 152	
The Duke of Milan in Florence ib.	Genoa rebels against the State of Milan, ib.
Tumults in Volterra ib.	The gratitude of the Florentines 165
Volterra surrendred and sacked 183	The Pope's Army defeated 166
Volterra jurienarea ana tacasa	Lodowie SC
Italy in two factions 154	Lodovico Sforza Governor of Milan 167
Troubles in Tuscany ib.	LOTENZO de Miedici arrives at Napire 168
A conspiracy against the Dake of Mulan takes	1 no 1/18 of Khodes all gulted by the Turbe - 60
effect, and the Duke flain 155,156	The Duke of Calabria defeated
ejj ou j	A GOOTE I ARROLD
•	Caffello be Garallando de Contra la
	Castello besieged by the Army of the Pope 172
D 1. T77TP	The Coloni provake the Pope, and are rusned
Book VIII.	172
•	Lise company of S. Giorgia: ik
A Nimosity between the Paris and the	Aquila rebels agamst the King of Na-
A Medici in Florence 158	n les
A and frie con to defren I orenzo and Girliani	1 4 1/4
A conspiracy to destroy Lorenzo and Guiliani	Is protected by the Pope. ib.
de Medici	The Genoeses overthrown 176
Rinati del Pazzi dissivades from the enter-	The Venetians defeated 177
prize, but in vain 159	Count Girolamo murdered - ib.
The conspiracy muscarries 161	His death revenged by his wife ib.
The Pope and King of Naples make war	Galeotto Lord of Faenza murdered by bis
upon the Florentines 162	****
Lorenza de Medici's Speech to the Floren-	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
tines 1b.	His death 180

Æ

TABLE

Of the several Chapters in the

PRINCE.

CHap.I.The several sorts of Governm and how they are obtained	ents,
and bow they are obtained	199
Chap, II. Of Hereditary Prince	ipals-
Chap. II. Of Hereditary Prince ties	
Chap. III. Of mix'd Principalities	200
Chap. IV. Why the Kingdom of Da	rius,
usurp'd by Alexander; did not reb	
gainst bis successors after Alexander dead	
dead	203
Chap. V. How such Cities and Principa	lities
are to be govern'd, who before they	were
fubdued, lived under their own Law	
Constitutions.	204
Constitutions. Chap. VI. Of Principalities acquir'd b	y ones
own proper conduct and arms	
Chap. VII. Of new Principalities acq	
by accident and supplies from other	
ple	206

Chap. VIII. Of futh as have arri	ved at their
Chap, VIII. Of futh as bave arri dominion by wicked and means	unjustifiable
means	200
Chap. IX. Of Civil Principalitie	es ~ 2.81
Chap. X. How the strength of a	ll Principa-
Chap. X. How the strength of a little is to be computed	212
Chap. XI. Of Ecclefiastical	Principali-
ties	212
Chap. XII. The leveral forms	of Military
Chap. XII. The several forms discipline, and of those Souldies	rs wbich are
called mercinary	214
Chan VIII Of Amiliania and	اللاليماك الأفينة
ers, and Natives Chap. XIV. The duty of & Prince to his Militia	.217
Chap, XIV. The duty of a Prince	e in relation
to his Militia	. 218
Chap, XV. Of Such things as ren	der men (e-
frecially Princes & morthy of h	lame or at-
Chap. XV. Of such things as ren specially Princes worthy of b probation	210
- Lineanierie	Chap.

Chap. XVI. Of Liberality and Parsimo-	of the Princes of Italy have lost their do-
, 220	minions 232
Chap. XVII. Of truelty and clementy, and	Chap. XXV. How far in burnan affairs for-
whether it is better for a Prince to be lov-	tune may avail, and in what manner fire
ed, or feared 221	may be refifted
Chap. XVIII. How far a Prince is obliged	Chap. XXVI. An exhortation for the de-
by his promise 222	livery of Italy from the Barbarians 234
Chap. XIX. Princes are to be cautious of	The original of the words Guelf and Ghibi-
1 making themselves either odious, or con-	lin. 236 The life of Castruccio 239
. temptible 223	The life of Castruccio 220
Chap. XX. Whether the building of Cita-	The Relation of the murder committed upon
dels, and other things that Princes many	Vitellozzo Vitelli Oliveretto da Fermo,
rumes do, be profitable, or dangerous 227	Pogolo, and the Duke de Gravina, (all of
Chap. XXI. How a Prince is to demean him-	the bouse of the Ursini) by the machina-
- felf to gain reputation	tion and management of Duke Valen-
Chap. XXII. Of the Princes Secretaries 230	tine : 12co
Chap. XXIII. How flatterers are to be avoi-	The State of France in an Abridgment 256
e ded	The State of Germany in an Abridg-
Chap. XXIV. How it came to pass that most	- ment - 265
	(,)

OF THE

O U

Book I.

Hap. I. What have been generally the Principles of all Cities, and parti-cularly of Rome 268 Chap. II. The several kinds of Common-wealths; and under which kind the Román u comprehended Chap. III. Upon what accidents and tumults in Rome the Tribune of the people was created, by which that Commonwealth became more perfect. Chap. IV. The diffentions betwint the Senate and the People of Rome, were the occasion that Commonwealth became so powerful and free Chap. V. Where the Guardsanship of liberty may be most securely deposited, whether among the People or Nobility: and which has greater occasion to tumultuate, he that would acquire more, or he that would de-

Government could be established, as should take away the animosities between the Senate and the People Chap. VII. How necessary it is for the conservation of a State, that any Citizen be securely accused Chap. VIII. Unjust calumnies are no less pernitious to a Commonwealth, than legal ac-cusations are profitable and good. 278 Chap. IX. How much a single person is neces-Sary for the establishment of a new Commonwealth, or the reformation of an old 279 Chap. X. As they are to be praised who lay. the foundations of any Republick or Kingdom, so they are to be condemned who set up a Tyranny
Chap. XI. Of the Religion and Ceremonies
282 of the Romans. 282 Chap. XII. How necessary for the preservation of a State it is, that Religion be in esteem, and bow much liely bas suffered for want of st, by means of the Church of fend, and keep what he has 274 Rome 284. Chap. VI. Whether in Rome such a form of Chap. XIII. How the Romans pretended Religion.

ligion many times to regulate their City, to prosecute their Wars, and to pacify their 285 Chap. 14. The Romans were wont to interpret their Auspices with accommodation to their own pleasures and designs; and when at any time they were fired to transgres, they managed it wisely, and pretended to be wery precise; and if any body rashly despised them, he was sure to be punished Chap. 15. How the Sammites in the extremity of their affairs, as their last refuge, had recourse to Religion Chap. 16. A people accustomed to the dominion of a Prince, though by accident they may acquire their liberty, yet it is with great difficulty, if they maintain it Chap. 17. A people wholly corrupted in their manners, may possibly recover their liberty, but they will find insuperable difficulty to maintain it 289 Chap. 18. A corrupt City having made it self free, how its liberty may be maintained; and not having made it felf free, how its liberty may be procured 290 Chap. 19. Though a weak Prince succeeds an excellent the Government may stand; but if one weak Prince succeeds another, 'tis Chap. 20. Two good Princes, immediately succeeding, may do great things; and wellgrounded Commonwealths having always a virtuous succession, their Conquests and Acquisitions must of necessity be according Chap. 21. How much that Prince or Common wealth is to be condemned, which neglects to train up Souldiers of its own ib. Chap. 22. What is to be observed from the Combat betwixt the three Roman Horatii, and the three Alban Curiatii Chap. 23. That our whole fortune is not to be ventured upon part of our force, and that for that reason the keeping of passes is many times dangerous Chap. 24. In well ordered Governments, offence and desert are never set one against the other, but he who does well, is rewarded, and he who does otherwise, is punished 295 Chap. 25. Though it is many times convenient to reform the old Fundamental Customs of a free City, yet it is convenient still to retain some shadow and appearance of their ancient ways 296 Chap. 26. A new Prince in a new Conquest, isto make every thing new , 1b: Chap. 27. Men are as seldom perfectly, bad, * as they are perfectly good 297 Chap. 28. For what reasons the Romans were less ingrateful to their Citizens, than the Athenians ib. Chap. 29. Whether the Prince, or the People,

n most subject to be ingrateful Chap. 30. What rules are to be observed by a Prince or Commonwealth to aword this vice of ingratitude, and how a General or great Citizen is to demean himself to elude Chap. 31, That the Romans used no extraordinary punishments towards their great Captains, when they committed an error of ignorance, or malice, provided the Government was not damnified by it Chap. 32. A Commonwealth or Prince 15 not to defer his beneficence till the necessity of the object requires it 301 Chap. 33. If an inconvenience encreasis either within a State, or against it; it is better to temporize and comply, than to endeavour to remove it by violence Chap. 34. The Dictatorship was useful, not burtful to the Commonwealth of Rome, and how that Power which is usurp'd, and illegally assumed, is pernitious to a State, not that which is conferred legally by the suffrage of the people Chap. 35. How it came to pass that the creation of the Decem-virat was presudicial to the liberty of that State, though it was done freely, and by publick suffrage 304. Chap. 36. Citizens who have executed the greatest Offices, ought not afterwards to disdain or scruple the less What troubles and offence was created in Rome by the Agrarian Law; and bow dangerous it is to make a new Law opposite to an old Custom, with too much retro-spection Chap. 38. Weak Commonwealths are generally irresolute, and ill advised, as taking their measures more from Necessity than Election Chap. 39. Divers people have many times the lame Accidents Chap. 40. The creation of the Decem-virat in Rome, what things are most remarkable in it; and bow far such a Constitution may be useful or pernicious to a Commonwealth Chap. 41. For a mean man to grow immediately insolent or a meek man immmediatly cruel, without just steps of gradation, is both imprudent and unprofitable 311 Chap. 42. How easily mens manners are corrupted. Chap. 43: Those Souldiers which fight for their own honour are the best, and most to be Chap. 44. A multitude without an Headis altogether unserviceable nor is any min to threaten that has any thing to defire ib. Chap. 45. Tis a thing of ill example to break a new Law, especially for the Maker: and'tis no less dangerous to the Governor

of a State, to multiply injuries, and repeat	mites in Rome were conferred without re
them every day	Spect of age 330
Chap. 46. How men leap from one passion to	
another, and bow they who at first aim at	
nothing but self-preservation, when se-	Book II.
cured of that, grow oppressors of other	Assessment and the second seco
people 314	Hap. 1. Whether the virtue or fortune of
Chap. 47. Though the people, in things that	the Romans was the occasion of the
are discussed in general, are many times	greatness of their Empire 333
mistaken, yet when they are reduced to par-	Chap. 2. With what Nations the Romans
titulars, they are more sensible and judi-	contended, and with what obstinacy those
cious 317	Nations affect
Chap. 48. To prevent the advancement of	Chap. 3. It contributed much to the grandeur
	of the City of Rome, that they ruined the
mean people to the Magistracy, it is parti-	
cularly to be contrived that the competition	neighbouring Cities, and admitted stran-
on be betwixt the best and most noble, and	gers to their own dignities and privi-
the wickedist and most abject 318	ledge 337
Chap. 49. If those Cities which have been	Chap. 4. There are three ways which Com-
free from their foundation (as Rome) have	monwealths have taken to enlarge their
found it difficult to contrive such Laws as	Territories 338
might maintain them so. Those which	Chap. 5. The variation of Religion and
have been always servile, will find it al-	Languages, with the accidents of Deluges
most impossible	and Playues, have been the cause that many
Chap. 50. No Magistrate or Council ought to	The second discount of the second sec
have power to check or controul the publick	Chap. 6. Lie to a man proceeded in man
ad at a second	l hans of F
Chap. 51. A Prince or Commonwealth that	Chap. 7. no Fin of Land the Ro-
is constrained to do a thing, is to seem to	mans allower. ? Inan in ther Colo-
do it frankly, and without any compul-	, mes 342
<i>jion</i> ib.	Chap. 8. What it is it is forme people.
Chap. 52. The best and most secure way to	to leave their native less to disposses
repress the insolence of an ambitious and	other people ib.
powerful State, is to preclude and stop up	Chap. 9. What these occasions are which do
those ways by which he would come to his	most commonly create War among Prin-
greatness 221	COE
Chap. 53. The people (deceived with a false	Chap. 10. That, according to the common opi-
appearance of good) do many times defire	nion, mony is not the finews of War ib.
that which turns to their destruction: and	Chap. 11. Tis not discretion to enter into
how great hopes and large promises do easi-	Arist regite which a Driver and Some
In dehacrah thouse	frict amity with a Prince, whose reputati-
Chap. 54. How great the authority of a grave	on is greater than bus strength 346
man is to allowage the tunulturity of	Chap. 12. Upon an apprehension of being in-
man is, to allwage the tumultuousness of	vaded, whether it be better to make War,
the people 323	or expect it ib.
Chap. 55. How easily things are managed in	Chap. 13. That from mean to great fortune,
a City where the Commons are incorrupt;	people rise rather by fraud, than by
how hardit is to creek a principality where	Jorce 348
there is not an equality; and where it is not,	Chap. 13. Many people are mist aken, who ex-
a Commonwealth is impossible 324	pect with meekness and bumility to work
Chap. 56. Great accidents, before they	tions the every d
pappen to any City or Province, are com-	Chap. 15. Weak States are stresolute and
monly prognosticated by some sign, or pre-	uncertain in their Councils, and flow Coun-
accied by some men 226	FILE OF MANIF ADMINISTRAÇÃO SE
Chap. 57. The multitude united, is forni-	Chap 16 How much als 5. 11
dable and strong, but separated, is weak	Chap. 16. How much the Souldiers of our
and inconfiderable ib.	times do differ from the Discipline of the
Chap. 58. That the multitude is wifer, and	Antients 351
907.09 A COM It and the was in Dellar	Chap. 17. How the Armies of our times are
Chap. 50. What I agoust on Confe June 327	o Juage of Arrivery, and whether the oe-
Chap. 59. What Leagues or Confederacies	neral opinion of it be true
are most to be trusted; those which are	Chap. 18. How by the authority of the Ro-
made with Princes, or those which are made	mans, and the universal Discipline of the
with free States Change Hands Change 329	Ancients, the Foot are more serviceable than
Chap. 60. How the Confulship, and other Dig-	The Lange
	Chap.

The

Chap. 19. The Conquests of Commonwealth	tion of Brutus bis Sons 380
that are ill governed, and contrary to the	Chap. 4. A Prince is never safe in his new
model of the Romans, do conduce more to	Conqueste whele they are an hours
i als name show advancement of them we	h. J.G., N. N. J.
the rusne than advancement of their af	Chan a life at 1 and 1 a
fairs 357	
Chap. 29. No Prince or Commonwealth	though he comes to it by inheritance ib.
without manifest danger, can employ fo	Chap. 6. Of Conspiracies
reign Forces, either Auxiliary, or Merce	Chap. 7. How it comes to puss, that in the
S = 2	
chap.21. The first Prator which the Romans	and from Comits de to liberary Com
Chap. 21. 10e july 1 tator which the Laman	and from servitude to liberty, some are ve-
ever sent out of their own City, was to	ry innocent, and others very bloody 391
Capua, and that was 400 years after they	Chap. 8. He who would change the form of a
began first to make War 360	Government, is to consider sersously upon
Chap. 22. How uncertain the judgment of	what grounds be does it, and the disposition
most people are in things of greatest impor-	of the subject 392
	Chan a Then be about 110
tance 361	
Chap. 23. How the Romans upon any acci-	accommodate to the times 393
 dent which necessitated them to give judg- 	Chap. 10. A General cannot avoid fighting:
ment upon their Subjects, avoided always	when the enemy is resolved to engage him
the mid-way 362	Whom new favore
Chan at That in the conversion Caffles and	Chap is One on Grachet Les many 394
Chap. 14. That in the generality, Caftles and	Chap. 11. One person that has many enemies
Cstadels do more msschiefthan good 364	upon bis hands, though he be inferior to
Chap. 25. To attempt a City full of intestine	them, yet if he cansustain their first im-
divisions, and to expect to carry it thereby, is	pression, carries commonly the Victory 396
uncertain and dangerous 367	Chap. 12. A wife General is to put a necissity
Chap. 26. He who contemns or reproaches	
	I great at to his more as
another person, incurs his hatred without	vent it to his enemies 397
any advantage to himself ib.	Chap. 13. Whether we are more safe in a
Chap. 27. Wife Princes, and well govern'd	good General with a bad Army, or a good
States, ought to be contented with victory;	Army with abadGeneral 398
for many times whilft they think to push	Chap. 14. What strange effects new inventi-
things forward, they lose all 368	ons have sometimes in a Battel, and bow
Chap. 28. How much st is for the interest of	
	new noises have the same
all-Governments, that all injury be pu-	Chap. 15. One General is best for an Army,
nished, whether against the publick, or	and that to govern it by Commissioners, is
particular persons 369	not so good 400
Chap. 29. Fortune casts a mist before peoples	Chap. 16. That in times of difficulty, virtue
eyes, when she would not have them oppose	is in esteem; in times of ease and luxury;
ber designs 370	men of riches and alliance are in greatest
Chap. 30. Princes and Republicks that are	request 401
truly magnificent, do not make their	Chap. 17. A man is not to be disobliged, and
Leagues and Alliances with mony, but by	employed afterwards in any matter of im-
their virtue, reputation, and force 372	portance + 402
Chap. 31. How dangerous it is to believe	
	General, than to foresee the designs of his
Charles 100 far	
Chap. 32. How many several ways the Ro-	enemy 403
mans used to conquer their Towns 374	Chap. 19. Whether for the Government of
Chap. 33. How the Romans upon any Expe-	the multitude, obsequiousness and indul-
dition, gave their Generals general Com-	gence be more necessary than punish-
m:sions 375	ment 4.04.
,	Chap. 20. One instance of humanity wrought
	more was the Table then all the force of
	more upon the Fahici than all the force of
Book III.	the Romans 405
	Chap. 21. How it came to pass that Hanibal,
Hap. 1. That a Sect or Commonwealth	by methods quite contrary to what were
be long-liv'd, it is necessary to correct	practised by Scipio, did the same things in
it often, and reduce it towards its first	Italy that the other did in Spain ib.
• D	Chap. 22. How the austerity of Manlius Tor-
	Justice and the homewite of Valantin Can-
Chap. 2. Tis the part of a wife man some-	quatus, and the humanity of Valerius Cor-
times to pretend himself a fool 379	vinus gain'd each of them the same honour
Chap. 3. The liberty newly acquired, could	and reputation 4.06
not have been preserved, but by the execu-	Chap. 23. Upon what occasion Camillus
	d was
	•

409 ppas banished from Rome Chap. 24. The prolongation of Commissions brought Rome first into servitude Chap. 25. Of the Powerty of Cincinnatus, and several other Citizens of Rome 410 Chap. 26. Women are many times the destru-Esson of States 1 411 Chap 27, How the could descord in a City are to be composed, and of the falsity of that opinion; that the best way to keep a Cuy in 1 subjection, is to keep it divorded ... (ib. Chap. 28: Aftrictere, is to be kept upon the Citizens of for under pretence of official-uels, and picty, there is bid a principle of Tyranny 413 Chap. 29. That the transgressions of the people do spring commonly from the Prince ib. Chap: 3b. A Citizen who would do any great masser by his own authority's must first exginguish all energy. In what matter things were he ordered upon the approach of an of enemys and bow a Cuy is to be defen-Chap. 31. Powerful States, and excellent Persons, verain the same mad and dignit - in all hand of conditions 416 Chap. 32. The ways which some people have Chap. 33. To abe viralning a Victory, it is necessary your Army has a confidence not - only in one another, but in their Generaken 4×1,8 Chap. 34. What vogue, fame or opinion dis-poses the people first to favour some partia cular Citizen; and whether they, or a Prince, distributes their offices with most prudence und judgment . 419 Chap. 35. What dangers they incur; who make themselves authors of any enterprise; and the more extraordinary the design, the greater the danger Chap. 36. The reasons why at the first Charge,

the French have been, and still are accounted more than men, but afterwards less than women Chap 37. Whether fighting in small parties, or pickeering before a Battel be necessamy; and boso the temper of a nesw enemy is to be found without them 423 Chap. 38. How a General is to be qualified, What his Army may rely upon him \ 324 Chap. 39: A General ought to know the Country, and how to take his advantage in the ground 425 Chap. 40. How fraud in the management of War is bonourable and glorious ... Chap. 4.1. That ones Country is to be defended by all means, and whether bonourable or dishonourable, it imports not, 'tis well defended : Chap: 42. That forc'd promises are not bin-427 Chap. 43? Those who are born in the same Country; retain almost the same nature thorowall the variety of times. ib. Chap, 44 Considence and boldmest does many Times obtain that which would never be compassed by ordinary means 42.8 Chap: 45: Whether in a Battel it is best to give or receive the Charge 429 Chap. 46. How it comes to pass that in a Ch-: sty the same family retains the same manners and oustoms a long time Chap: 47. Agood Citizen is to forget all private injury, when in competition with his love to his Country 430 Chap. 48. When any enemy commits any grand fault, 'tis to be suspected for a fraud Chap. 49. A Commonwealth which desires to preserve it self free, bas need of new provisions every day; and upon what score Fabius was called Maximus. ... 🕠 433

A Table of the Art of War.

Cap. I. Hay the Seigneur Fabritio . Colonna being refreshing bimself one in a beautiful Garden, took occasion to enter upon this discourse of War. 435 Chap. 2. A person of Honour, and Condition is not to make War his profession. . . 438 Chap. 3. How a Commonwealsh ought no (in prudence) to permit any of its Catazens to make War their profession ? . 439 Chap. 4. That a King ought not to permit be Subjects to make Arms their profassion, for the mischiefs which do frequently en-Chap. 5. In what Countries the best Souldsers wre to bexailed.

Chap. 6. Whether it be best to choose you men out of the Caties, for Country Chap. J. Of the inconvenience, and conve-minience of Trained Bands, or a setled Mi-Chap. 8. Of what forth of people an Army is to be composed. litia ., Chap, 9. How the Romans raised their Legions Chap. 10. Whether it is helt for a Militia to consist of a great number or a small 447 Chap. 11. How the inconveniencies which follow great Armses, may be preven-Chap. 12. Of the Cavalry. 449

Book, IL

Hap. 1. What Arms were most used by Chap. 2. Of the Arms which are used at prefent, and of the invention of the Pike 451 Chap. 3. Whether the ancient or modern is the best way of arming.

Chap. 4. How Foot should be armid, and of the force and convenience of Men at Arms 453 Chap. 5. The difference, between men at arms and foot, and upon which we are most to re-Chap. 6. How the Souldiers were exerciled. Chap. 7. Of what number of men, and of what arms a Battalson is to confift; and of exercifing in Companies to make them ready either to give a charge, or receive cleap. 80f three principal ways of drawing up a Company, and putting them into a posture to fight ... Chap. 9. The manner of rallying Souldiers after a rout, and to make them face about awbole Company at a time 459 Chap. to. To range a Company in fuch . order that it may be ready to face the enemy, on which side soever be comes Chap A. To draw up a Company with two (horns, or another with a Piazza, or vacuity in the middle :1 Chap. 12: Of the Baggage and Tranbelongmgito Company; bewneressary it is that ? they have several Officers, and of the usefulneshof Drums with an inter 462 Chap. 13. A discourse of the Author about military Virtue; and how it is become fo Chap. 14. What number of borse are to be put into a Battalion, and what proportion is sabe abserved for their haggage 8. . i 4 2 4.07

nasta . Book III.

Hap. 1. The order observed by the Roman L'A Legions when a Battel was presented 466 Chap. 2. The form observed in their Battels by the Maccdonian Palanx Chap .: 3. How the Swiffes ordered their Battalions Chap. 4. How the Author would make use of both Greek and Roman, Arms for bis Battalion, and what was the ordinary Army, of the Romans Chap. 5. The way of drawing up a Battalion, , according to the intention of the Autbor . 469 Chap 6, The description of a Battel 470 Chap. 7. The Author's reasons for the occurrences in the Battel !! Chap. 8. The Exercises of an Army in gene ral . 21

· Book IV.

Hap. 1. The confiderations and subtilities
to be used in the drawing up an Army
to fight
Chap. 2. The Arts, which are to be used daring the Fight
Chap. 3. Stratagems after the Fight 482
Chap. 4. Two athermass of ranging an Army
to Fight
Chap. 5. Of the constraint and advantage a
man may have to Fight
Chap. 6. Directions for a General
than 7. Which way a Battel is to be avoided,
ithough pressed never so earnestly by the
Enemy
Chap. 8. How Souldiers are to be encouraged
to fight; and how they are to be cooled and
assumed

Chap. 16. Certain Artifices and Advertise-
1
ments of War ib.
Chap. 11. How to rid ones self of an Army
that is pressing upon ones beels 505
Chap. 12. How a man may make a Princes
Favourite suspected, and devide bis For-
Charles Tourist Transfer
Chap. 13. In what manner feditions and mu-
tinies in an Army are to be appealed 507
Chap. 14. How the Ancients relyed much up-
on their auguries, and other accidents ib.
Chap. 15. That we are not to fight with an
enemy reduced to despair; and several arts
that may be used to surprize bim 508
Chap. 16. How a suspetted Town or Country
is to be secured, and bow the peoples bearts
are to be gained 509
Chap. 17. War is not to be continued in the
Winter ib.
Book VII.
Hap. 1. How Towns or Castles are to be
Chap. 2. What order is to be observed by him
who shuts himself up in a Town, with reso-
lution to defend it 513
Chap. 3. Advertisements for such as are di-
stressed for provisions within a Town, and
for such as besiege them, and would reduce
them to that necessity 514
Chap. 4. Other advertisements both for the
Chap. 5. A man is not to depend upon the
countenance of the enemy, but is rather to
Suspect what even be sees with his eyes 515
Chap. 6. How to disfurnish a Garsson of sts
men, and to bring a terror upon a Town ib.
Chap. 7. To corrupt a Garison, and takest by.
treachery 516
Chap. 8. Good Guard is to be kept in all pla-
ces and times ib.
Chan a Ways to purious suignataly to any
Chap. 9. Ways to write privately to ones
friends 517
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib.
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines 518
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines 518
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept,
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be devided ib.
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be divided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees bimfelf block'd
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be devided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himself block'd up on every side, it is good to expose ones
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be divided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himself block'd up on every side, it is good to expose ones self now and then; and of the advantages
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be divided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which bave ensued ib.
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines 518 Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be dsvided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines 518 Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be devided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline 519
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines 518 Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldiers not to be devided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline 519 Chap. 15. The way to have many Horse in
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be divided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees bimfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline Chap. 15. The way to have many Horse in your Country
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines 518 Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldiers not to be devided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline 519 Chap. 15. The way to have many Harse in your Country 520 Chap. 16. A General is to invent of himself.
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines 518 Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be divided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline 519 Chap. 15. The way to have many Horse in your Country 520 Chap. 16. A General is to invent of himself, and not follow altogether the practises of
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines 518 Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be devided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline 519 Chap. 15. The way to have many Horse in your Country 520 Chap. 16. A General is to invent of himself, and not follow altogether the practises of bis Predecessors
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be divided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline Chap. 15. The way to have many Horse in your Country Chap. 16. A General is to invent of himself, and not follow altogether the practises of his Predecessors Chap. 17. The Author returns and with a
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be divided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline Chap. 15. The way to have many Horse in your Country Chap. 16. A General is to invent of himself, and not follow also gether the practises of his Predecessors Chap. 17. The Author returns, and with a short-Discourse concludes her Rock
Chap. 10. How to repair a breach, and the way to defend it ib. Chap. 11. Of Mines Chap. 12. Good Guards are always to be kept, and your Souldsers not to be divided ib. Chap. 13. That when one fees himfelf block'd up on every fide, it is good to expose ones felf now and then; and of the advantages which have ensued ib. Chap. 14. General Rules to be observed in Military Discipline Chap. 15. The way to have many Horse in your Country Chap. 16. A General is to invent of himself, and not follow altogether the practises of his Predecessors Chap. 17. The Author returns and with a