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MEMOIRS
OF
BENVENUTO CELLINI.

VOLUME I



BENVENVTVS CELLINI
FLORENTINVS
SCVLP TOR ET AVRI FAKER.

G. Fabari pinx.

J. Collyer sculp.

MEMOIRS
OF
BENVENUTO CELLINI,

A FLORENTINE ARTIST;

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

CONTAINING A VARIETY OF INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ARTS
AND THE HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH

THE NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS OF G. P. CARPANI.

TRANSLATED BY THOMAS ROSCOE, Esq.

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"Cellini was one of the most extraordinary men in an extraordinary age; his life,  
written by himself, is more amusing than any novel I know."—HORACE WALPOLE.  
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IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH many years have now elapsed since the first publication of Dr. Nugent's Translation of Cellini's Life, yet such are its intrinsic attractions, that time, instead of lessening its interest, appears to have even increased it, more particularly since the opportunities which have been again afforded of treading the ground he once trod, and of witnessing the scenes celebrated by his genius. As a very curious piece of auto-biography, this work undoubtedly possesses the most striking claims to attention. The Italian literati, indeed, particularly Baretti, Parini, and Tiraboschi, have carried their admiration of it to the very highest pitch, describing it as the most entertaining and delightful work in the whole compass of Italian literature ; an opinion little differing from that of Lord Walpole, who regarded it as "more amusing than any novel."

The distinguished eminence of this artist in the times of the "Old Masters"—an age so peculiarly fertile in genius, and to which, next to Grecian antiquity, we owe all the most noble monuments of the fine arts ;—the intimacy of Cellini with Michel Angelo, Titian, and all the great Italian sculptors and painters of the age ; his connexions with Francis I. of France, the Emperor Charles V., Popes Clement VII. and Paul III., the Dukes Alessandro and Cosmo of Florence, and with many of the Princes, Statesmen, Commanders, and dignified ecclesiastics of that turbulent

age, which called forth all the energies of Europe, and compelled our Author more than once to exchange the chisel for the sword—these circumstances afforded him opportunities of making the most interesting observations; and perhaps no man was ever more capable of availing himself of such advantages. Of those great and prominent characters, who then disposed of the destinies of mankind, and whom the historic page presents in all the formality and dignity of state-ceremony, Cellini gives us, at every turn, a transient, but distinct view—a glimpse which displays them in their private domestic moments, when they little thought they were sitting for their portraits to one whose pen was no less effectively descriptive, than his pencil was strikingly imitative. The native genius which directed the one, animated the other, and struck off with inconceivable facility the most masterly sketches of the persons, the manners, and characters of that mass of power, rank, and splendor, with which it was the fate of Cellini to come in contact.

As to the incredibility which attaches to some of his narrations, his own confined education, his susceptible nerves, his superlative credulity and superstition, and wild imagination, may in general be sufficient apologies for him, and save him from the charge of intentional misrepresentation. And as the other parts of his work are universally allowed to be fertile in affording a knowledge of life, and of the passions and conduct of mankind, so these incredible stories, gravely asserted by a disinterested man of unquestionable talents, may contribute to convince us of the strict caution with which we should receive all marvellous accounts, however well attested.

In this revised and corrected edition, the editor has intro-

duced the valuable notes of Signor Gio. Palamede Carpani, from the edition printed at Milan in 1806, which cannot fail to give increased interest to the text, and to assist in perpetuating that delight which the perusal of this work has so uniformly afforded.



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tice to a jeweller and goldsmith.

It is a duty incumbent on all men, in whatever state or condi-
tion of life, who have performed virtuous or famous actions, or
otherwise distinguished themselves, if they be actuated by truth
and honor, to become their own biographers; yet they should not
enter upon this important and arduous undertaking, before they
have passed their fortieth year. Convinced that this observation
is strictly just, and having now reached my fifty-eighth year, and
being peaceably settled in this city of Florence, I find myself
freer from every kind of distress than I have been at any other
time of life, and possessed of a greater share of content and health
than I have hitherto enjoyed: so that recollecting some delightful
scenes which afforded me a transient enjoyment, as likewise
many dreadful disasters (the very idea of which, upon a retro-
spect of my past conduct, fills me with the deepest horror, and
with no less surprise that I have lived to this age, which, thanks
be to God, is not attended with any great infirmities), I have
formed a resolution to publish an account of the several events

that have befallen me. I am not indeed ignorant, that to men who have acted upon this public stage with any degree of honor, and have rendered themselves conspicuous to the world, virtue alone should be sufficient to immortalize their names. But as we are bound to conform to the manners and customs of the society of which we are members, I must, in compliance with this law, commence my narrative with the explanation of some particular points, in which the public curiosity will expect to be indulged: the first of which is to make known to the world, that a man is descended from a virtuous and ancient family.

My name, then, is Benvenuto Cellini, and I am the son of Maestro Giovanni, the son of Andrea, the son of Cristofano Cellini; my mother was Maria Lisabetta, daughter to Stephano Granacci: and both were citizens of Florence. It appears from the ancient chronicles compiled by natives of that city, men highly deserving of credit, that it was built after the model of Rome. This is evident from the vestiges of the Colosseum, and the hot baths, near the Holy Cross: the capitol was an ancient market-place: the rotunda, which is still entire, was built for a temple of Mars, and is now called San Giovanni's church. This is so clear and evident that it cannot be denied; but the above-mentioned structures are of much smaller dimensions than those of Rome. It is said that they were erected by Julius Cæsar, in conjunction with some other Roman patricians, who having subdued and taken Fiesole, in this very place founded a city, and each of them undertook to erect one of these remarkable edifices.* Julius Cæsar had a very gallant officer of the first rank in his army, named Florentius of Cellino, which is a castle within two miles of Monte Fiascone: this Florentius having taken up his quarters under Fiesole, where Florence at present stands, to be near the river Arno for the convenience of his army, all the soldiers and others who had any business with that officer, said, let us go to Florence, as well because the name of the officer was Florentius, as because on the spot where he had fixed his headquarters there was great plenty of flowers. Thus in the infancy of the town, the casual appellation of Florence happening to

* Thus far Cellini agrees with Villani, Buoninsegni, Machiavelli, Varchi, and Borghino. Not so in what follows respecting Florence and the flowers.

please Julius Cæsar, and the mention of flowers appearing to have something auspicious, he gave it the name of Florentia, in compliment to his valiant officer, for whom he had the greatest affection, having raised him from an humble station, so that Florentius might properly be deemed his own creature. The other name of Fluentia, which the learned inventors and investigators of the connection of names, pretend that Florence had obtained on account of the Arno's* flowing through the town, cannot be admitted; because the Tiber runs through Rome, the Po through Ferrara, the Saone through Lyons, the Seine through Paris, which cities have different names, no way derived from the course of those rivers. We have found the etymology to be as above, and are therefore of opinion that this city takes its name from the valiant captain Florentius.

I have likewise met with persons of the name of Cellini in Ravenna, a much more ancient city than Florence, and have been told they were men of great consequence: there are also some of the family in Pisa, and several in other parts of Christendom, besides a few families that still remain in Tuscany. Some of these have embraced a military life, and it is not many years since a beardless youth, of the name of Luca Cellini, fought with a most valiant and practised veteran who had often distinguished himself in single combat, and whose name was Francesco da Vicorati: Luca encountered him sword in hand, and slew him with such undaunted prowess as surprised every one, who expected quite the reverse. So that, upon the whole, I think I may safely boast of being descended from brave and worthy ancestors.

What honor and reputation I have in any respect acquired to my family, which, from my mode of life, my profession, and other causes so well known cannot be very great, I shall relate in a proper place, being more proud that I, though of an humble origin, have laid a foundation of honor for my descendants, than if I had sprung from a noble lineage, and had disgraced it by my own degeneracy. I shall therefore now begin to inform the reader in what manner it pleased God that I should come into the world.

* Lionardo Aretino and Poggio are of the same opinion

My ancestors lived in the valley of Ambra, where they had considerable possessions, and resided on that solitary spot as lords of the manor: they were all trained to arms, and distinguished for their courage. At this time a son of their's, whose name was Cristofano, had a great quarrel with some of their neighbors and friends; and because on both sides the chief relations had engaged in the dispute, and it seemed likely that the flames of discord would end in the destruction of the two families, the old people, having maturely considered this circumstance, removed the two young men out of the way, who first gave occasion to the quarrel. The opposite party obliged their kinsman to withdraw to Sienna, and Cristofano's parents sent their son to Florence, where they purchased a small house for him in Via Chiara, from the monastery of St. Ursula, with a pretty good estate near the bridge of Rifredi. This Cristofano married a wife in Florence, and had both sons and daughters by her: the daughters he procured matches for, and portioned off; his sons divided the remainder of their father's substance between them. After his decease, the house of Via Chiara, with some appurtenances, fell to one of the above-mentioned sons, whose name was Andrea: he, in his turn, took a wife, by whom he had four male children; the name of the first was Girolamo, that of the second Bartolomeo; the third was Giovanni, my father; the fourth was Francesco. Andrea Cellini, my grandfather, was tolerably well versed in the architecture of those days, and made it his profession. Giovanni, my father, cultivated it more than any other person else belonging to the family; and since, according to the opinion of Vitruvius, those who are desirous of succeeding in this art, should, amongst other things, know something of music and drawing, Giovanni having made himself a complete master of the art of designing, began to apply himself to music. Thus he learned to play admirably well upon the violin and the flute; and being of a very studious disposition, he hardly ever went abroad.

His next-door neighbor was Stefano Granacci, who had several daughters of extraordinary beauty. As it pleased God, Giovanni happened to cast his eye upon one of these girls, named Lisabetta; and she captivated his affection to such a degree, that he asked her in marriage. Their fathers being intimate, and next

door neighbors, it was no difficult matter to bring about the match, as both parties thought they found their account in it. First of all, the two old men concluded the marriage, and then began to talk of the portion; but they could not rightly agree on that point, for Andrea said to Stefano, "My son Giovanni is the cleverest youth in Florence, and even in all Italy; and if I had thought of procuring him a wife before, I might have settled him very advantageously for a person of his station." Stefano made answer, "You may have a thousand reasons on your side, but I have five daughters and several sons; so that, all things duly considered, it is as much as I can afford." Giovanni stood some time listening to their conversation, in a corner, where he had lain concealed, when, suddenly bursting into the room, he expressed himself thus: "Ah! father, it is the girl that I love and doat on, and not her money: miserable are those who marry to repair a shattered fortune; and since you have boasted that I am possessed of such talents, is it to be supposed that I am not able to maintain my wife, and supply her necessities? As I want only your consent, I must give you to understand that the girl shall be mine, and I resign the portion to you." Andrea Cellini, who was somewhat whimsical, seemed to be not a little displeased at this; but in a few days Giovanni took his wife home, and required no portion of her father.

They enjoyed all the felicities of the matrimonial state eighteen years together, except that of having children, which had been their ardent wish; but at the expiration of the eighteenth year, Giovanni's wife miscarried of two male children through the unskilfulness of her physician: she became pregnant again, and was brought to bed of a girl, who was called Rosa, after my father's mother. Two years after, she was once more with child, and, as women in her condition are liable to certain longings, hers being exactly the same upon this occasion as before, it was generally thought that she would be brought to bed of another girl, and it had been already agreed to give her the name of Reparata, after my mother's mother. It came then to pass that she was brought to bed precisely the night of All-Saints-day, in the year 1500, at half an hour past four. The midwife, who was sensible that the family expected the birth of a female, as soon as she had washed

the child, and wrapped it up in fine swaddling clothes, came softly up to my father, and said to him, "I here bring you a fine present which you little expected." My father, who was of a philosophical disposition, and happened to be then walking about, said, "What God gives me I shall always receive thankfully;" but, taking off the clothes, he saw with his own eyes the dear unexpected boy; upon which he joined his hands together, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, said: "Lord, I thank thee from the bottom of my heart for this present, which is very dear and *welcome* (*Benvenuto*) to me." The standers-by asked him, joyfully, what name he proposed to give the child: but he made them no other answer than, let him be *BENVENUTO*;* so I was christened with God's blessing.

Andrea Cellini was still living when I was about three years of age, and he was then above a hundred. They had one day removed a water-pipe, and there came out of it a large scorpion, which they had not perceived: it descended upon the ground, and had got under a great bench, when I saw it and ran to take hold of it. This scorpion† was of such a size, that whilst I held it in my little hand, it put out its tail on one side, and on the other darted its two mouths. I ran overjoyed to my grandfather, crying out, "Grandfather, look at my pretty little crab!" The good old man, who knew it to be a scorpion, was so frightened, that he seemed ready to drop down dead, and begged it of me with great

* An Italian word which signifies Welcome.

† Without any imputation on Cellini's veracity, it is not improbable that his scorpion, like his fumigated apparitions in the capitol, might, if we could come at the truth, in a great degree evaporate in smoke. Some such incident of meeting with a house-cricket or cockchafer might have occurred, and he may probably have tried to convert it into a Salamander by throwing it into the fire. At that age, that "sees in every bush an officer," a very trivial alarm impresses itself upon the imagination, and becomes magnified for life. The story of the Salamander is doubtless another incident of this nature, partly originating in a joke of his father's, partly in his own whimsical imagination, farther impressed by a box on the ear; or, for aught we know, it may have been a real Salamander he saw. We have discovered the fabulous Unicorn's horn, and why are we to admit doubts—which we are resolved not to do—of Cellini's veracity, for the sake of a paltry Salamander.—ED.

eagerness ; but I grasped it the harder, and cried, for I did not choose to part with it. My father, who was in the house, flew to my assistance upon hearing the noise, but was struck with such terror and surprise at the sight of that venomous reptile, that he could not think of any means of rescuing me from my perilous situation. But happening, just at that instant, to espy a pair of scissors, he laid hold of them, and humoring me gently, he cut off the tail and head of the scorpion ; then finding I had received no harm, he pronounced it a happy omen.

When I was about five years of age, my father happened to be in a little room in which they had been washing, and where there was a good oak fire burning ; with a fiddle in his hand he sang and played near the fire, the weather being exceedingly cold : he looked at this time into the flames, and saw a little animal resembling a lizard, which could live in the hottest part of that element ; instantly perceiving what it was, he called for my sister, and after he had shown us the creature, he gave me a box on the ear ; I fell a crying, while he, soothing me with his caresses, spoke these words, " My dear child, I don't give you that box for any fault you have committed, but that you may recollect that the little creature which you see in the fire is a Salamander ; such a one as never was beheld before, to my knowledge ;" so saying he embraced me, and gave me some money.

My father began to teach me to play upon the flute, and to sing by note, and though I was very young, at an age when children, generally speaking, are highly pleased with piping and such other amusements, I had the utmost aversion for it, and played and sang merely in obedience to his authority. My father at that time made the most curious organs with pipes of wood, the finest and best harpsichords that were to be seen in those days, and most beautiful and excellent viols, lutes, and harps. He was an engineer, and constructed a variety of machines, such as drawbridges, fulling-mills, &c. He worked admirably in ivory, and was the first that excelled in that branch. But as he was also musically inclined, insomuch that this art had engrossed his whole thoughts and attention, he was requested by the court musicians to join with them ; and as he was willing to oblige them, they made him

one of their band. Lorenzo* de' Medici, and Pietro his son, who were very much his friends, seeing afterwards that he attached himself entirely to music, and neglected his business as an engineer, and his admirable art of working in ivory, removed him from that place. This my father highly resented, and thought himself very ill used by his patrons. He therefore on a sudden applied again to his business, and made a looking-glass about a cubit diameter of bone and ivory, adorned with carved figures and foliages, and the finest polish and the most admirable elegance of design. It was in the form of a wheel; the mirror was placed in the middle; round it were seven circles, in which the seven virtues were carved in ivory and bone; and both the mirror and the figures of the virtues were balanced in such a manner, that the wheel turning round, all the virtues moved at the same time, and had a weight to counterpoise them at their feet, which kept them in a straight direction. As he had a smattering of the Latin language, he carved a verse round the mirror, the purport of which was, "that on which side soever the wheel of fortune turns, virtue stands unshaken upon her feet."

Rota sum semper, quò quò me verto, stat virtus.

A short time after, his place of court-musician was restored to him. At that period (which was before I was born) these musicians were all eminent artists; some of them were manufacturers of wool, and others of silk: † this was the reason that my father did not think this profession beneath him, and his first desire with regard to me was, that I should become a great player on the flute. I on my part was never more offended than when he touched upon the subject, and when he told me that if I had a mind, I might become the best musician in the universe. As I

* Lorenzo the Magnificent, who died in his 44th year, in 1492, one of the most munificent and intelligent patrons of the fine arts Italy ever possessed.

† In the year 1266, the Florentine people, to resist the influence of the aristocracy, were divided into seven separate classes, termed "Arti Maggiori," each having a consul or leader. Among these were enumerated judges and notaries, manufacturers of wool, traders in foreign merchandise, brokers, physicians, mercers, silk and fur dealers, &c., &c. All those entitled to rank in the "Arti Maggiori" were, at that period, considered as gentlemen.

have already observed, my father was a staunch friend to the house of Medici, so that when Pietro was banished from Florence,* he entrusted him with many affairs of consequence. The illustrious Pietro Soderini† afterwards being elected to the government, when my father was in his service in quality of musician, that great statesman, discovering his extraordinary genius, began to have recourse to him in many matters of importance. At this time my father, as I was of a tender age, caused me to be carried upon a person's shoulders to play upon the flute before the senate, and one of their servants supported me all the time. After the music was over, Soderini, then gonfalonier or chief-magistrate, took pleasure to hear me prattle, and giving me sweetmeats, desired my father to teach me the other two elegant arts, as well as that of music. My father made answer, that he did not intend I should follow any other business but that of playing upon the flute, and composing; for if it pleased God to spare his days, he hoped to make me the most eminent in that profession. To this one of the old gentlemen present replied, "For God's sake, Cellini, mind what the gonfalonier says; why should the boy aim at nothing higher all his life than being a musician?"

* This happened in November, 1494. Pietro was drowned in passing the river Garigliano, in 1504. His brothers, the Cardinal Giovanni, afterwards Leo X., and Giuliano, returned to Florence in September, 1512, through the intervention of Julius II.

† The only perpetual gonfalonier the Florentine republic ever had. He assumed the office in the year 1502, at the time when the public liberty was in the utmost danger. Though worthy of the trust, Soderini was unequal to the difficulties which presented themselves, and wanted energy to restrain the licentiousness of the citizens. Thus, he at last fell a victim to some of the more daring and ambitious, and was banished after nine years' administration, from his country. Machiavelli, secretary to the republic, under Soderini, expressed his opinion of him in the following manner, after his death:—

"La notte che morì Pier Soderini,
L' alma andò dell' Inferno alla bocca:
E Pluto la gridò: 'Anima sciocca,
Che Inferno? Va nell' limbo de' bambini.'

When Peter Soderini took his leave,
In haste his soul to hell's-gate wing'd its way:
But Pluto cried, "Poor fool, dost thou believe
Our hell's thy portion? To your nursery, pray!"—Ed.

Thus some time passed till the Medici family was restored: the Cardinal de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Leo X., immediately upon his recall, showed the utmost kindness to my father. While the family was in exile, the roundles* were removed from the coat of arms in the front of their palace; and the citizens had caused to be painted in their place the figure of a red cross, which was the arms and crest of the republic. But, at the sudden return of the Medicean princes, the red cross was effaced, and upon the said escutcheon were again painted the red roundles, and the golden field was replaced with the most striking and beautiful decorations. A few days after died Pope Julius the Second, and the Cardinal de' Medici having repaired to Rome was elected Pope,† contrary to the general opinion: my father was invited by him to repair to that capital, which would have been greatly for his advantage, but he did not choose to leave Florence. However, instead of being rewarded for it, his place at court was taken from him by Jacopo Salviati,‡ as soon as that nobleman was made Gonfalonier.

I, for this reason, applied myself to the goldsmith's business; but while I was learning that trade, I, in part, spent my time in practising upon the flute, much against my inclination.§ For when my father spoke to me in the manner above-mentioned, I requested him to let me draw so many hours a-day, telling him I would dedicate the remainder of it to the flute; upon which he said to me, "Do you not take pleasure in playing on that instrument?" I answered in the negative, because the profession of a musician appeared to me mean, in comparison of that to which I aspired. My father then, in the utmost despair, bound me appren-

* The roundles or balls, call *Palle*, borne in the arms of the Medici.—Ed.

† In 1513. He had been made a cardinal at fourteen, and was then thirty-seven years of age. Like his father, Lorenzo the Magnificent, he seemed to restore the times of Pericles and Augustus, and died at the early age of forty-four, in the year 1521.

‡ Salviati married the eldest daughter of Lorenzo, and attaching himself to the party of the Medici obtained great influence in Florence. But he does not appear to have ever arrived at the office of gonfalonier, or chief magistrate.

§ There is here a hiatus in the Laurentian MS. before-mentioned, by us consulted.

tice to the father of the cavalier Bandinello, who was called Michelagnolo, goldsmith of Pinzi di Monte, a man of great skill in his art. He had not the honor of being descended from any illustrious race, but was the son of a collier. This is not intended as a reflection on Bandinello,* who laid the foundation of his family's grandeur; for whatever may be said of his family, I have nothing to allege against himself. When I had stayed there a few days, my father took me away from Michelagnolo, as being unable to bear me any longer out of his sight; so that I continued, much against my will, to learn to play upon the flute till the age of fifteen. If I should attempt to relate the extraordinary events that befell me till that period, and the great danger to which my life was exposed, I should strike my readers with surprise and astonishment.

Having attained the age of fifteen, I engaged myself, against my father's inclination, with a goldsmith, named Antonio di Sandro, who was commonly called Marcone. This was an excellent artist, and a very worthy man, high spirited, and generous in every respect. My father would not have him allow me any wages, as was customary with other workmen; for this reason, that, since I voluntarily applied myself to this art, I might likewise have an opportunity to draw whenever I thought proper. These conditions I readily accepted, and my worthy master was well pleased with having a cheap bargain of me. He had an only, but illegitimate, son, to whom he often enjoined hard tasks, in order to spare me. So great was my inclination to improve, that, in a few months, I rivalled the most skilful journeymen in the business, and began to reap the fruit of my labor. I did not,

* Baccia Bandinelli, made Chevalier by Clement VII., and by Charles V., was born in 1487, and died at the age of 72. Cellini often speaks of this celebrated sculptor, who approached, perhaps, the nearest of any in his age to the genius of Michel-Angelo' Buonarroti. Disliking his avarice, as well as his envious and overbearing temper, Cellini always attacked and ridiculed this artist's works. But in the opinion of Michel Angelo, by no means a friend to Bandinelli, they are finely designed, and would have been as nobly executed, had not an inordinate desire of money led him to adopt too hasty and loose a style.

however, fail to play sometimes, through complaisance to my father, either upon the flute or the horn ; and I constantly drew tears and deep sighs from him every time he heard me : indeed I often, through filial piety, gave him that satisfaction, endeavoring to persuade him that I took a particular delight in music.

CHAPTER II.

The Author seeing his brother almost killed in a fray, takes his part; this gives rise to some untoward accidents, and is the cause of his being banished from Florence.—He removes to Sienna, and from thence to Bologna, where he improves greatly in learning to play upon the flute, and still more in his own trade of a goldsmith.—Quarrel between his father and Pierino, a musician; lamentable catastrophe of the latter.—The author removes to Pisa, and enters into the service of a goldsmith of that city.—He returns to Florence, and is taken ill, but, upon his recovery, engages with his old master Marccone.

At this very juncture an adventure happened to my brother, which was attended with very serious consequences to us both. He was two years younger than myself, of a warm temper, and the most undaunted courage, qualities which fitted him for the military school of the illustrious Signor Giovanni de' Medici,*

* Giovanni de' Medici, called the Invincible, was descended from a brother of Cosmo, entitled "Padre della Patria." He was born at Forli in 1498, educated under Jacopo Salviati, and wholly devoted himself to a military life. He commanded in the wars of Romagna for Leo X., and afterwards fitted out a squadron, at his own expense, against the Moors, till the conclusion of the league between Charles V. and Leo X., against the French, in 1521, placed him at the head of the pontifical horse.

In the ensuing campaign, in an action under the walls of Parma, and at the passage of the river Adda, Giovanni greatly distinguished himself. Under his discipline and valor, the six bands which he commanded were soon regarded as the finest soldiers of the age. After the death of Leo, he took the command of a body of Swiss in the Florentine service, against a threatened attack by the Duke of Urbino, but could not bring the enemy to action, as they ventured not to wait for his approach. He then returned into Lombardy, and entered into the service of Francesco II., Duke of Milan, who was chiefly indebted to him for the signal victory obtained by the Milanese at Abbiategrasso, in 1524.

Through the policy of Clement VII., fearful of the increasing power of Charles V., and induced by the splendid offers made to him by Francis I., Giovanni lastly accepted a command in the French army; but, owing to a

father to Duke Cosmo, where he became an excellent proficient. One Sunday in the evening, having, between the gates of St. Gallo and Pitti, given a challenge to a young man of twenty, though he was but fourteen himself, he behaved so gallantly, that, after wounding the youth dangerously, he was upon the point of either killing or disarming him. There was a great crowd present, and amongst others were many of his relations: seeing the young man hard pressed, they took up stones and threw them at my brother's head, who immediately fell to the ground. I, who happened to be present, unaccompanied with friends, and unarmed, cried out to my brother, as loud as I could, to quit the place. But as soon as I saw him fall, I took his sword, and, standing as near him as possible, I confronted a great many swords and stones, till some valiant soldiers, who came from the gate of St. Gallo, saved me from the exasperated multitude. I carried my brother home for dead, who was with great difficulty brought to himself, and afterwards cured. The Council of Eight* condemned our adversaries to a few years' imprisonment, and banished me and my brother, for six months, to the distance of ten miles from the city. Thus we took leave of our poor father, who, having no money, gave us his blessing. For my part I repaired to Sienna, in quest of an honest goldsmith, whose name was Signor Francesco Castoro. I was well acquainted with him, as I had worked with him some time before at my trade, when I had eloped, for some frivolous reason, from my father. Signor Castoro received me very kindly, and found me employ, offering me a house for the whole time I should reside at Sienna. I accepted his offer, and brought my brother to the house, where I followed my business for several months with close application.

wound received in a skirmish, he was absent from the great battle of Pavia. In every subsequent engagement he attracted the admiration of the whole army, till rashly exposing his person in an affair near Governo sul Mantovano, he received a wound, of which he died in November, 1526, only twenty-eight years of age. Out of grief for his loss, the squadrons he had commanded changed the white ensigns by which they were distinguished, for one of uniform black, which obtained for them the appellation of "Le Bande Neri," or the Black Bands. He married the daughter of Jacopo Salviati, by whom he had a son, Cosmo 1st Duke of Tuscany.

* A tribunal so called from the number of which it was composed.

Soon after this troublesome affair the Cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII.,* was prevailed upon, by the entreaties of my father, to obtain permission for us to return to Florence. A pupil of my father's, excited by the natural malignity of his temper, desired the Cardinal to send me to Bologna, in order to learn to play upon the flute, of a great master, whose name was Antonio. The Cardinal told my father, that if he sent me thither, he would give me a letter of recommendation: the old gentleman had the strongest inclination conceivable to oblige the Cardinal; and I was glad of that opportunity of seeing the world. Upon my arrival at Bologna, I undertook to work under a person whose name was Signor Ercole del Piffero, and I began to make money. At the same time I went every day to receive a lesson on the flute, and soon gained a considerable emolument by that odious profession; but I got much more by my trade, as a goldsmith and jeweller. Having received no assistance from the Cardinal, I went to lodge with a miniature painter, named Scipio Cavaletti, who lived in the street of our Lady of Baracani, and there I worked for a person named Grazia Dio, a Jew, with whom I earned a great deal of money.

The six months being expired, I returned to Florence, where Pierino the musician, who had been a pupil to my father, was greatly mortified at my success; † but I, through complaisance for my aged parent, waited upon Pierino, and played both upon the horn and flute with a brother of his, whose name was Girolamo. My father being highly pleased with my performance, said, "I am determined to make a great musician of him, in spite of those who would fain prevent such a genius from shining in the world." To this Pietro made answer (and what he said was very true), "Your son Benvenuto will acquire more profit, as well as

* Giulio, a natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Lorenzo, assassinated in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, in 1478. He succeeded to the Government of the Republic, after Lorenzo, a son of the unfortunate Pietro, in 1519; and in 1523 he was elected Pope, by the name of Clement VII. Our Author will have much to say of him, and of the events of his pontificate, as he proceeds. He died in 1534.

† From what appears afterwards, Pierino wished to divert Benvenuto from playing, and from home; perhaps from jealousy in his art, or to injure him in his father's good opinion.—Ed.

honor, by minding his business as a goldsmith, than by blowing the horn, or any other instrument." My father, finding I was of the same opinion with Pietro, was incensed to the last degree; he therefore said to him in a violent passion, "I was very sensible that you were the person who thwarted me in my design; and it was you that were the cause of my being deprived of the place I held at court, behaving to me with that base ingratitude, which is but too frequently the return for the greatest favors. I got the place conferred on you, and you were so base as to undermine me; but mark these words: in less than a few weeks you will rue this black ingratitude." Pietro made answer: "Signor Giovanni Cellini, most men when they advance in years begin to doat: this is your case: nor am I surprised at it, as you have already lavished all your substance, without reflecting that your children were likely to want. Now I, for my part, propose taking quite a different course: I intend to leave so much to my sons, that they shall be able to assist yours." To this my father replied, "No bad tree ever brings forth good fruit, but the reverse; and I must tell you, that if you be a bad man, your sons will be fools and indigent, and come to beg of my children, who shall be crowned with affluence." At this they parted, grumbling and railing at each other.

I who, as it was reasonable, took my worthy father's part, said to him, at quitting the house, that I intended to revenge the affront he had received from that scoundrel, if he would give me leave to dedicate my talents to the art of design. My father made answer, "Dear child, I have been myself in my time a master of that art; but will you not, in your turn, promise me, by way of recreation, after your noble labors are done, and for my sake, who am your father, who have begot you, educated you, and laid the foundation of so many shining qualifications, sometimes to take in hand your flute and cheerful horn, and play for your pastime and amusement?" I made answer, that I would readily comply with his desire. My good father then rejoined, that the virtues which I displayed to the world, would be the best revenge I could take for the affronts and abusive language he had received from his enemies.

Before the month was expired, it happened that the above-men-

tioned Pierino, causing a vault to be made to a house he had in the street *dello Studio*, and being one day in a room on the ground-floor over the vault, which was then repairing, entered into conversation with some company, and spoke of his master, who was no other than my father, repeating the prophetic words which the latter had uttered concerning his approaching ruin. Scarcely had he ended his discourse, when the chamber in which he then stood, suddenly sunk in, either because the vault had been unskillfully constructed, or through an effect of the divine vengeance, which, though late, is only deferred to a fitter season.* Some of the stones and bricks falling with him, broke both his legs, whilst the rest of the company, standing upon the extremities of the vault, received no manner of hurt, but remained in the utmost surprise and astonishment at what they saw; and most of all at what he had said to them a little before in a scoffing mood. My father having heard of this accident, armed himself, and went to see him; and, in the presence of his father, whose name was Niccolajo da Volterra, trumpeter to the senate, addressed him in these words: "My dear pupil Pietro, I am very sorry for your misfortune; but you may remember that it is but a short time since I apprised you of it: and my prophecy will likewise be verified with regard to our children."

Soon after the ungrateful Pietro died of the consequences of his fall, and left behind him a wife of bad character, and a son, who, a few years after, came to me at Rome, asking charity. I gave him an alms, as well because I am naturally of a charitable disposition, as by reason I could not without tears recollect the affluence with which Pierino was surrounded, when my father spoke the words above-mentioned.

Continuing to apply close to my business as a goldsmith, by the emoluments arising from thence I assisted my good father, as well as my brother Cecchino, whom he caused to be instructed in the Latin language; for, as he intended I should be the best player upon the flute in the world, it was his design that my younger brother should be a man of learning, and a profound civilian.

* *Virtù di Dio, che non paga il sabato.* Heaven that fixes no precise time for chastisement, but inflicts it when it is most pleasing.—*Ed.*

He was not, however, able to force nature, which gave me a turn to drawing, and made my brother, who had a fine person, entirely devote himself to the military profession. This brother of mine, having in his early youth learned the first rudiments of war under that renowned commander Giovanni de' Medici, returned to my father's house, at a time when I happened to be out of the way : as he was very much in want of clothes, he applied to my sister, who, unknown to my father, gave him a new surtout and a cloak which belonged to me ; for, besides assisting my father, and my sisters, who were virtuous and deserving girls, I had by the profits arising from my extraordinary application, contrived to purchase this handsome apparel. Finding my clothes gone, and my brother disappearing, I said to my father, "How could you suffer me to be wronged in such a manner, when you see I spare no toil nor trouble to assist the family ?" He made answer, "That I was his good and worthy son, but that what I thought a loss, I should find to be true gain ; adding, that it was a duty incumbent on us, and the command of God himself, that he who had property should share it with him that had none ; and that, if I would for his sake patiently bear the wrong I had suffered, God would increase my store, and pour down blessings upon me."

I behaved to my poor afflicted father like an inexperienced young man ; and taking with me what little money and clothes I had left, I bent my course towards one of the city gates ; and not knowing which of them led to Rome, I travelled to Lucca, and from thence to Pisa. Upon my arrival in the last-mentioned city, when I was about sixteen, I stopped near the middle bridge, hard by the fish-market, at a goldsmith's shop, and looked attentively at the master whilst he was at work. He asked me my name, and what business I followed ; I made answer, that I worked a little in the same branch that he did. The man, upon that, bade me come in, and, setting before me some tools to work with, he told me that my physiognomy induced him to believe that I was an honest youth ; so saying, he laid before me gold, silver, and jewels, and, after I had finished my first day's task, he carried me to his house, where he lived very genteelly with his wife and children.

I then called to mind the concern which my father must have

had upon my account, and wrote him word that I was at the house of a very worthy tradesman, one Signor Ulivieri dello Chiostra ; and that, under him, I worked in my profession. I therefore desired him to make himself easy, as I was learning my business, and hoped soon to procure him both profit and honor by my improvement. He immediately wrote me an answer, the purport of which was as follows : " My dear son, so great is the love I bear you, that I should instantly set out for the place where you now reside, were it not that the laws of honor, which I always adhere to, prevent me ; for I think myself deprived of the light of my eyes every day that I am without seeing you, as I did formerly, when I gave you the best instructions." This letter fell into the hands of my master Ulivieri, who read it to himself, and then said to me : " Thy good looks, Benvenuto, did not deceive me, as I find by a letter from thy father, which has fallen into my hands. He must, doubtless, be a man of worth, therefore consider thyself as in thy own house, and under the care of thy father."

Whilst I stayed at Pisa, I went to see the Campo Santo,* where I discovered a great number of antiquities, such as large marble chests ; and, in many parts of the town, I saw other monuments of antiquity, which afforded me constant amusement, whenever I was disengaged from the business of the shop. As my master came daily, with great good nature, to see me at the little apartment which he had assigned to my use, when he found that I spent all my time in laudable and virtuous occupations, he conceived as strong an affection for me as if he had been my father. I improved considerably, during a year's stay in that city, and executed several fine pieces of workmanship, which inspired me with an ardent desire to become more eminent in my profession. My father, at this juncture, wrote to me very affectionately to come home, and in every letter exhorted me not to neglect my

* The Campo Santo in Pisa, one of the most singular curiosities belonging to that city. It is surrounded by a vast portico, built as early as 1278, everywhere richly studded with monumental figures in marble, and exhibiting the oldest paintings of Cimabue, Giotto, and other masters. It is a fact, that the Pisanese held their place of sepulture in such veneration, that in 1189 they set sail in several vessels for Jerusalem, in order to bring back holy soil, of which to compose their " Campo Santo," or burial ground.

flute, in which he had taken so much pains to instruct me. Upon this I entirely lost all inclination to return to him: and to such a degree did I hate that abominable flute, that I thought myself in a sort of Paradise during my stay at Pisa, where I never once played upon that instrument.

At the expiration of the year, Signor Ulivieri happened to have occasion to go to Florence, to dispose of some filings of gold and silver; and, as I had in that unwholesome air caught a slight fever, I returned, whilst it was upon me, with my master to Florence; where my father secretly entreated my master, in the most urgent manner, not to carry me back again to Pisa. My fever still continuing, I kept my bed about two months, and my father attended me with the greatest affection imaginable; telling me repeatedly, that he thought it a thousand years till I recovered, that he might hear me play upon the flute: and feeling my pulse, as he had a smattering of physic and some learning, he perceived so great a change in it, whenever he mentioned the flute, that he was often frightened, and left me in tears. Observing then the great concern he was in, I bid one of my sisters bring me a flute, for, though I had a fever constantly upon me, the instrument was a very easy one, and would do me no hurt. I thereupon played with such skill and dexterity, that my father, entering the room on a sudden, gave me a thousand blessings, assuring me that, during my absence from him, I had made great improvement. He requested, moreover, that I would endeavor to continue my progress, and not neglect so admirable a qualification. No sooner had I recovered my health, than I returned to my goldsmith Marcone, who put me in a way of making money, and with my gains I assisted my father and my relations.

CHAPTER III.

Pietro Torrigiani, an Italian statuary, comes to Florence in quest of young artists for the King of England.—The author gets acquainted with him, but refuses to leave Italy. He improves in drawing by studying the designs of Michel Angelo and Lionardo da Vinci.—In order to make himself master of his art he repairs to Rome, accompanied by a young artist named Tasso.—He meets with great encouragement in that capital, as well as with a variety of adventures.—At the expiration of two years he returns to Florence, where he cultivates his art with great success.—His fellow artists grow jealous of his abilities.—Quarrel between him and Gherardo Guascofti.—Being prosecuted for beating and wounding his antagonist, he disguises himself in a Friar's habit, and makes his escape to Rome.

ABOUT this time there came a sculptor from Florence, named Pietro Torrigiani, who was just arrived from England, where he had resided several years; and as he was an intimate friend of my master's, he every day came to see him. This artist having seen my drawings, and my workmanship, said to me thus: "I am come to Florence to invite as many young persons as I can to England, and, having a great work in hand, I should be glad of the assistance of my fellow-citizens of Florence. I perceive that your manner of working and your designs are rather those of a sculptor than a goldsmith: now I have considerable undertakings in bronze, so that if you will go with me to England, I will at once make your fortune." This Torrigiani was a handsome man, but of consummate assurance, having rather the air of a bravo than of a sculptor; above all, his strange gestures and his sonorous voice, with a manner of knitting his brows, enough to frighten every man that saw him, gave him a most tremendous appearance; and he was continually talking of his great feats amongst those bears of Englishmen. His conversation one day happened to turn upon Michel Angelo Buonarroti;* and a drawing of

* Michel Angelo Buonarroti, called the elder, to distinguish him from

mine, taken from one of the cartoons of that divine artist, was what gave rise to this discourse.

This cartoon was the first in which Michel Angelo displayed his extraordinary abilities, as he made this and another which were to adorn the hall of the palace where the senators assembled, in emulation of Lionardo da Vinci:* they represented the taking of Pisa † by the Florentines. ‡ The admirable Lionardo had chosen for his subject a battle fought by cavalry, with the taking of certain standards, in which he acquitted himself with a force of genius that cannot be surpassed by conception. Michel Angelo Buonarroti in his cartoon exhibited a considerable body of foot, who were bathing in summer-time in the river Arno; at this very instant he represents an alarm of battle, and all the naked soldiers rushing to arms, with gestures so admirably expressive, that no ancient or modern performance was ever known to attain to so high a degree of perfection: and as I have already observed, that of the great Lionardo was also a work of extraordinary beauty. These two cartoons stood, one of them in the palace of the Medici, the other in the pope's hall. So long as

his nephew, Michel Angelo, author of "The Tancia," and of the "Fiera," &c., was born in 1474, and gave the first proofs of his extraordinary genius in the school of Bertoldo. Lorenzo, who had opened this academy at his own house, wished to secure the talents of such a distinguished pupil, by inviting him to his table, and conferring a pension upon his father. In addition to the information thus acquired in the first society, he arrived at a practical knowledge of his art, and had full leisure to study the exquisite models of antiquity which Lorenzo had collected with so much care. By visiting Rome, after the banishment of the Medici, he was farther enabled to indulge his passionate admiration of the ancients, until unwearied study, and long familiarity with their works, produced those masterpieces of art which contend for excellence with the models upon which they were formed.

Unequaled in sculpture, in drawing, and in architecture, his genius extended itself also to poetry. He seemed to live only for the perfection of the Arts, and St. Peter's is the right monument for his fame.

* Respecting this celebrated artist and man of letters, we refer the reader to the very elegant life of him, by the learned Abato Amoretti, inserted in Lionardo's works.

† This painting was never finished.

‡ This was not the subject, as appears from Lionardo's own account. It was a great victory won by the Florentines, near Anghiari, 1440.

they remained there, they were the school * of the world ; and though the divine Michel Angelo painted the great chapel of pope Julius, he never again rose to that pitch of excellence : his genius could not reach the force of those first essays.

Let us now return to Pietro Torrigiani ; who holding the above-mentioned drawing of mine in his hand spoke thus : “ This Buonarroti and I went, when we were boys, to learn to draw at the chapel of Masaccio, † in the church of the Carmelites ; and it was customary with Buonarroti to rally all those who were learning to draw here. One day, amongst others, a sarcasm of his having stung me to the quick, I was provoked to an uncommon degree, and, having doubled my fist, I gave him so violent a blow upon the nose, that I felt the bone and cartilage yield under my hand as if they had been made of paste, and the mark I then gave him, he will carry to his grave.” This rodomontade raised in me such an aversion to the fellow, because I had seen the works of the divine Michel Angelo, that, far from having any inclination to go with him to England, the very sight of him gave me offence. ‡

Whilst I was in Florence I did my utmost to learn the exquisite

* These are now lost. That by Buonarroti was engraved by Marc Antonio Raimondi. Some part of Lionardo's design appeared in a publication entitled the *Etruria Pittrice*.

† Tommaso Guidi, commonly called Masaccio, born in 1402. He studied under Donatello, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Masalino da Panicale, in Florence, and then went to Pisa and Rome, where he acquired such a degree of excellence, that, in the opinion of Vasari, he was the first who gave a natural expression, combined with an elevated style, to Italian painting.

The Chapel here mentioned was a fine school for Lionardo, Michel Angelo, and even for Raffaello. Masaccio died at the age of 41, in 1443.

Annibal Caro says of Masaccio ;

Pinsi, e la mia pittura al ver fu pari ;
L'atteggiavi, l'avvivi, le diedi il moto,
Le diedi affetto : insegni il Buonarroto,
A tutti gli altri ; da me solo impari.
As truth and nature bade, their forms I drew—
Touch, color, motion, all shone warm with life,
Let Buonarroti others teach anew,
But learn from me, true art and nature's strife.—*Ed.*

‡ Torrigiani began to study design in his own country, as we have already

manner of Michel Angelo, and never once lost sight of it. About this time I contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with a youth of my own age, who, like me, was learning the goldsmith's business: his name was Francesco, son of Filippo, whose father was Frà Filippo, an excellent painter.* Our intercourse gave rise to so great an affection between us, that we were never asunder: his house was full of the admirable performances of his father, which consisted of several books of drawings by his own hand representing the antiquities of Rome. I took high delight in these, and our acquaintance lasted about two years. At this time I produced a piece of basso-relievo in silver, about as big as the hand of a little child; it served for the clasp of a man's belt; clasps of that size being then in use. Upon it was carved a group of foliage, made in the antique taste, with several figures of youths, and other beautiful grotesques. This

seen, under the name of Bertoldo. He soon became famous in sculpture, and works of plaster and bronze, but was of such an envious and haughty disposition, that he actually destroyed the productions of his fellow-students, when he thought they surpassed his own. From this cause, and for giving Michel Angelo a violent blow in the face, which occasioned the remarkable depression in that great man's nose, he was obliged to leave Florence. He then worked at Rome for Alexander VI., and soon after entered into the army of Duke Valentino, Paolo Vitelli, and Pietro de' Medici, the last of whom he saw drowned in the Garigliano. Returning to his studies, he passed over into England, where he acquired great reputation as a sculptor; and unfortunately proceeded thence to Spain, where he was employed by a grandee in modelling a statue of the Virgin. Not receiving the promised reward, in a fit of passion he dashed his work to pieces; for which he was basely denounced by the disappointed Spaniard to the Inquisition. In order to escape being burnt alive for heresy, he starved himself to death in the dungeons of the Inquisition, 1522. Some remnants of that fatal statue are still to be seen in Spain, in particular a hand, which exhibits a perfect model.

* Frà Filippo Lippi, so called from his having been a Carmelite monk in his youth. He was considered the best pupil Masaccio ever had, and his figures are remarkable for their breadth of drawing, and a certain animated expression. He died in 1469. Filippo, his son, in addition to his other merits, has that of having first studied ancient monuments, with a view of exhibiting vases, thrones, trophies, and other ornaments, in his pictures. He died in his 45th year, in 1505.

Cellini alone speaks of Fran. Lippi, the goldsmith.

piece of work I made in the shop of a person named Francesco Salimbeni; and, upon its coming under the inspection of the goldsmiths' company, I acquired the reputation of the most expert young man in the trade.

At this time I was also acquainted with one Giovanni Battista, surnamed Tasso,* who was a carver in wood; a youth of my own age exactly, and who had a difference with his mother, like mine with my father about learning the flute. On this occasion I said to Tasso, "You appear to be likely to prove a man of deeds, and not of words." Tasso made answer, "I have had a dispute with my mother, and, if I were possessed but of money sufficient to bear my charges to Rome, I would never more trouble my head about my little hole of a shop." To this I replied, that if there was no other obstruction to our journey; I had money enough in my pocket to defray our expenses. Then chatting as we walked along, before we knew whereabouts we were, we came to the gate of San Pier Gattolini; when I said to my companion: "My good friend Tasso, it is the direction of God that we should insensibly reach this gate: since I have proceeded so far, I think I have performed half the journey." Matters being thus agreed, we said to each other, as we were jogging on, "What will the old folks at home say this evening?" We then came to a resolution not to think of or mention them any more, till we arrived at Rome: so we buckled on our knapsacks and proceeded in silence to Sienna. As soon as we reached that city, Tasso said that he had hurt his feet, and did not choose to walk any farther, at the same time asking me to lend him money to return home. I answered that I should have none left to bear my expenses to Rome, and that he should have well weighed his project before he left Florence; adding, that if the hurt he received

* Tasso seems to have been a very constant friend of Cellini's, and stood high in his own profession, as appears from the testimony of Pietro Aretino and Vasari. By his accomplishments, and the peculiar attraction of his manners, he became a great favorite at the Court of Duke Cosmo, deciding upon all the works that made their appearance; to the no small detriment of Vasari, Tribolo, and other artists. Wishing to display his skill in architecture, as well as other subjects, and deficient in the requisite genius and study, he injured the reputation he had before acquired. Among the letters of Painters, we perceive one by this same Tasso.

prevented his accompanying me, we should find a return-horse for Rome, and then he would have no excuse. Thus having hired a horse, as I saw he did not answer me, I bent my course toward the gate that led to Rome. Perceiving that I was resolved, he came hopping after me as well as he could, at a distance, grumbling and muttering all the time. When I reached the gate I was touched with compassion for my companion, and, having waited his coming, took him up behind me, using these words: "What would our friends say of us, if, after having commenced a journey to Rome, we had not the courage to push any farther than Sienna?" My friend Tasso acknowledged that my observation was just, and, as he was a person of a cheerful disposition, he began to laugh and sing, and in this merry mood we pursued our journey to Rome. I was then in the nineteenth year of my age, as I was born exactly in the year 1500.

As soon as we got to that capital, I went to work with a master whose name was Firenzuola of Lombardy, an excellent artist in making vases, and other things of a considerable size. Having shown him part of the model which I had made at Florence with Salimbeni, he was highly pleased with it, and spoke thus to a journeyman of his, named Gianotto Gianotti, a native of Florence, that had lived with him several years; "This is one of the geniuses of Florence, and thou art one of its dunces." As I knew this Gianotto, I had a mind to have some chat with him. Before he set out for Rome, we often practised drawing in the same school, and had been for several years intimate acquaintances. He was, however, so much nettled at his master's speech, that he affirmed "he was not acquainted with me, nor did so much as know my person." Provoked at his behaving in this manner, I said to him, "Oh, Gianotto! formerly my intimate friend, when we were employed together in drawing, and when we eat and drank in such and such apartments of your native town. I do not desire that you should bear testimony of my abilities to your master, for I hope, by my own hands, to show what I am, without your assistance." When I had done speaking, Firenzuola, who was a man of spirit, turned to Gianotto, and said: "You vile scoundrel, are you not ashamed to behave in such a manner to one that was formerly your intimate acquaintance?" At the same

time he addressed himself to me thus: "Come in, young man, and do all you said you would: give, with your own hands, a specimen of your abilities."

So saying, he set me upon a fine piece of work in silver, which was intended for a Cardinal. This was a small chest, in imitation of that of porphyry, which stands before the door of the Rotunda. That which I made, I adorned with so many fine figures, that my master went about showing it everywhere, and making it his boast that his shop had produced so admirable a piece of art. It was about half a cubit in circumference, and made in such a manner as to hold a salt-cellar at table. This was the first time I earned money at Rome: part of it I sent to the relief of my good father, and the remainder I kept to support me whilst I studied the antiquities of that city, which I did till my money began to fail, and then I was obliged to return to the shop, and work for my subsistence. My fellow-traveller, Battista di Tasso, made but a short stay at Rome, and returned to Florence. For my part I took new jobs in hand, and when I had finished them, I had a fancy to change my master, being enticed away by a Milanese, whose name was Signor Pagolo Arsago.

My first master Firenzuola had thereupon a great quarrel with this Arsago, and gave him some abusive language in my presence. I began to speak in defence of my new master; and told Firenzuola that "I was born free, and resolved to continue so; that he had no cause of complaint either against Arsago or me; that I had still some money left to receive from him, and that as I was a free artificer, I would go wherever I thought proper, not being conscious of injuring anybody thereby." At the same time Arsago made a great many apologies, affirming that he had never persuaded me to leave my master, that I should oblige him by returning to Firenzuola. I replied, that "as I was not conscious of having wronged my master in any respect, and, as I had finished all the work I had undertaken, I was resolved to be at my own disposal, and that he who had a mind to employ me, had nobody to consult but myself." Firenzuola made answer: "I will no longer solicit you, or give myself any trouble about you; and I desire you never more to appear in my presence." I then put him in mind of my money, but he only answered by scoffing

and derision. I told him that if I used my tools well, as he was sensible I did in my trade, I equally knew how to use my sword in recovering my right. As I uttered these words there came up an old man named Signor Antonio da S. Marino, one of the best goldsmiths in Rome, and who had been Firenzuola's master: hearing what I had to say for myself, he immediately took my part, and desired Firenzuola to pay me. The dispute was very warm, for Firenzuola was still a better swordsman than a jeweller; but justice and reason, which are not easily baffled, had such force, and I exerted myself to such purpose, that my demand was satisfied. Some time after Firenzuola and I were reconciled, and I stood godfather to a child of his, at his own request. Continuing to work with my new master Pagolo Arsago, I earned a great deal of money, and constantly sent the best part of my gains to my father.

After two years were expired I returned to Florence at the request of my good father, and began to work again under Francesco Salimbeni, with whom I gained a genteel subsistence, taking great pains to become perfect in my profession. Having renewed my acquaintance with Francesco di Filippo, though that odious flute drew me into some pleasurable dissipation, I contrived to dedicate some hours, both of the night and the day, to my studies. About this time I made a silver clasp girdle,* such as were usually worn at that time by new married ladies. It was three inches broad, and worked in half rilievo, with some other round small figures below it; this I made for a person of the name of Raffaello Rapaccini. And though I was very ill paid for my trouble, the work did me so much honor, that the reputation I acquired by it was of more service to me than any pecuniary recompense. Having at this time worked with several masters in Florence, amongst the different goldsmiths I knew in that city, I met with some persons of worth, as was Marcone my first master; whilst others, who had the character of honest men, being envious of my works, and robbing and calumniating me, did me the greatest injustice. When I perceived this, I shook off my connexions with them, and looked upon them all as

* It was called a Chiava Cuore, or Heart's Key.—Ed.

unprincipled men, and little better than thieves. One goldsmith, amongst others, named Giovanni Battista Sogliani, was so complaisant as to lend me part of his shop, which stood at the side of the new market, hard by Landi's bank. There I did many little jobs, earned a great deal of money, and was very well able to assist my relations. Envy began then to rankle in the hearts of my former bad masters, whose names were Salvatore and Michele Guasconti; they had three grand goldsmith's shops, in which much business was transacted. Seeing that they did me ill offices with some men of worth, I complained of it, and said they should be satisfied with having robbed me, as they had done, under the mask of benevolence. This coming to their ears they declared loudly that they would make me repent having uttered such words; but I being a stranger to fear, little regarded their menaces.

As I happened one day to lean against the shop of one of these men, he called me to him, and in the most abusive language, bullied and threatened me. Upon which I said, that if they had done their duty with respect to me I should have spoken of them as persons of fair character; but, as they had behaved in a different manner, they should complain of themselves only. Whilst I spoke thus, one Gherardo Guasconti, a cousin of theirs, who was in all probability set on by them, took the opportunity, as a beast loaded with bricks happened to pass by, to push it so violently against me, that I was very much hurt. Upon which I instantly turned about, and seeing him laugh, gave him so violent a blow on the temple, that he fell down, and lay upon the ground motionless and insensible. Then turning to his cousins, I said to them, "That is the way I use cowardly rascals like you;" and as they, confiding in their number, seemed preparing to take their revenge, I, in a violent passion, drew a little knife, and vented my anger in these words:—"If any one of you offers to quit the shop let another run for a confessor, as there will be no occasion for a physician." This declaration struck such terror into them all, that not one of them ventured to stir to the assistance of his cousin.

No sooner had I left the place, but both the fathers and sons ran to the magistrates, and told them that I had violently assault-

ed them with arms, in so audacious a manner, that the like had never been known in Florence. The Council of Eight summoned me, and I, without delay, presented myself before them. Here I met with a severe reprimand, as well in consequence of the appearance of my adversaries in flowing mantles and hoods, much superior to mine,* as because they had taken care to prepossess them in their favor, a precaution which I, through inexperience, and trusting to the goodness of my cause, had neglected. I told them, that "as I had received such provocations from Gherardo, and had only given him a slap on the face, I did not think I deserved so severe a rebuke." Prinzivalle della Stufa, who was one of that court, hardly suffering me to make an end of the words "slap on the face," exclaimed, "You gave him a violent blow with your fist, and not a slap." The bell having rung, and we being all dismissed, Prinzivalle thus spoke in my favor to the rest of the bench: "Do but see, gentlemen, the simplicity of this poor youth, who acknowledges himself to have given a slap on the face, thinking it to be a less offence than a violent blow; whereas there is a penalty of five-and-twenty crowns for giving a person a slap on the face, in the new market; while the penalty for a blow with the fist is little or nothing. This is a very worthy young man, who supports his poor relations by his industry: would to God that there were many like him in our town, which can, indeed, boast but a very small number of virtuous citizens."†

There were in the court some rusty old stagers, in short mantles and slouched hoods, who, moved by the importunities and misrepresentations of my adversaries, because they were of the faction of Frà*Girolamo,‡ were for having me sent to prison, and

* Varchi, who was contemporary with Cellini, says of him, that he was considered in Florence as a man of very exceptionable conduct, who, as he was no soldier, was seen in the day-time merely in his cloak.

† Prinzivalle della Stufa, of the party of the Medici, in whose favor he formed a conspiracy, in the year 1510, against the Gonfalonier Soderini.

‡ Frà Girolamo Savonarola, of Ferrara, was invited to Florence by Lorenzo il Magnifico, in 1489, on account of the high reputation he had acquired throughout Italy by his eloquent discourses, which he well sustained on his arrival in Florence. Early nursed in theological studies, and observing the utmost sanctity of manners, his daring and impetuous genius disdained to keep any terms with the splendid and somewhat free style and manners of

condemned in the coal measure: but the good Prinzivalle prevented their malice from taking effect, by getting me fined only in four little measures of meal, which were to be given in charity to the monastery *delle Murate*. This same judge, having called me into his presence, commanded me not to say a single word, but obey the orders of the court, upon pain of incurring their displeasure. They sent us then to the chancellor, and I muttering the words "slap, and not a blow, on the face," the magistrates burst out a laughing. The chancellor commanded us all to give security to each other for our good behavior, and sentenced me only to pay the four measures of meal. I thought myself very hardly used, and having sent for a cousin of mine, whose name was Signor Annibale Librodoro, father to Signor Librodoro, a surgeon, that he might be bail for me, he refused to appear. This incensed me to the highest degree, believing my case desperate, and I exclaimed loudly at his behavior, as he had great obligations to my family.

Inflamed by this treatment, swelling like an enraged asp, and being naturally of a very passionate temper, I waited till the court broke up, and the magistrates were gone to dinner; finding myself then alone, and that I was no longer observed by any of the

the age and society in which Lorenzo lived. In declaiming against the vices of the times, and calling for reformation, he took care also to predict numerous calamities. The people soon became attached to his doctrines, but the nobles regarded him with dislike. That he never, however, directly opposed Lorenzo, is known from the latter sending for him to receive his last benediction.

When Pietro de' Medici deserted Florence, and went over to the French, Savonarola was sent, on the part of the Republic, as one of the mediators to Charles VIII. He afterwards became a busy statesman and staunch republican, and even ventured to attack the Pope, Alexander VI., in his sermons, for being on favorable terms with the exiled family of the Medici. By such conduct he brought down upon himself the vengeance of the Holy See; and his enemies becoming too strong for him, at a favorable opportunity, in 1498, they broke into his convent, seized and imprisoned him, and shortly after, by sentence of the judges, expressly sent from home by the Pope, they hanged him as a heretic, with two of his companions, in the 46th year of his age. It would appear then that these rusty old stagers Cellini here speaks of were disciples of Savonarola, whom the Car. Giulio de' Medici and his friends permitted to be in office in order to flatter the Florentines with the shadow of liberty.

officers of the court, I left the place in a violent fury, and went in all haste to my workshop, where I took up a dagger, and ran to attack my adversaries, who by that time were come home. I found them at table, and young Gherardo, who had been the chief cause of the quarrel, immediately flew at me. I thereupon gave him a stab in the breast, which pierced through his cloak and doublet, without once reaching his skin, or doing him any sort of harm. Imagining, however, from the rustling of his clothes, upon my giving him the stab, and from his falling flat upon the ground, through fright and astonishment, that I had done him some great hurt, I cried out, "Traitor, this is the day that I shall be revenged upon you all." The father, mother, and sisters, thinking that the day of judgment was come, fell prostrate upon their knees, and with voices full of terror and consternation, implored my protection. Seeing then that none of my adversaries stood upon the defensive, and that Gherardo lay stretched out upon the ground like a dead corpse, I scorned to meddle with them, but ran down stairs like a madman. When I got into the street, I found the rest of the family, who were above a dozen in number, ready to attack me. One of them held a ball of iron, another a thick iron tube, another a hammer taken from an anvil, and others again had cudgels in their hands. Rushing among them like a mad bull, I threw down four or five, and fell to the ground along with them, now aiming my dagger at one, now at another. Those who continued standing, exerted themselves to the utmost, belaboring me with their hammers and cudgels; but, as God sometimes mercifully interposes upon such occasions, it so happened that I neither received, nor did any harm. I lost nothing but my cap,* which fell into the hands of my adversaries: being assured it was only my cap, each of them struck it with his respective weapon; but, upon looking about for the wounded and slain, it appeared that none of them had sustained any injury.

The scuffle being over, I bent my course towards the convent of Santa Maria Novella, and accidentally met with a friar named Alessio Strozzi. Though I was not acquainted with the good

* His adversaries perceiving it to be Cellini's cap, immediately at first sight fled away from it as an object of terror.

father, I entreated him to save my life, for I had been guilty of a heinous crime. The friar desired me not to be under any apprehensions, for that whatever crimes I might have committed, I should be in perfect security in his cell. In about an hour's time the magistrates having met in an extraordinary manner, published one of the most tremendous edicts that ever was heard of, threatening the severest penalties to whomsoever should grant me an asylum, or be privy to my concealment, without any distinction of place or quality of the person that honored me.

My poor afflicted father appearing before the eight judges fell prostrate upon the ground, and begged them to show compassion to his young but unfortunate son. Thereupon one of those incensed magistrates, shaking the top of his venerable hood, stood up, and thus angrily expressed himself: "Rise directly and quit this spot, or, to-morrow morning, we shall banish you from the town." My father, in answer to these menaces, said: "You will act as God permits you, and no farther." The magistrate replied, that nothing could be more certain than that God had thus ordered matters. My father then said boldly to him: "My comfort is that you are a stranger to the orders of providence." Having thus quitted the court he came to me with a youth about my age, whose name was Piero, son of Giovanni Landi (we were much dearer to each other than if we had been brothers): this young man had under his cloak an excellent sword and coat of mail. My father having acquainted me with the situation of affairs, and what the magistrates had said, embraced me most tenderly, and gave me his blessing, saying, "May the protection of God be with you." Then presenting me with the sword, and the coat of mail, he, with his own hands, helped to accoutre me, concluding with these words: "My worthy son, with these arms you must either live or die." Pier Landi, who was present, wept without ceasing, and brought me ten crowns of gold. I desired him to pull off some little hairs from my cheeks, which were the first down that overspread them. Father Alessio dressed me in the habit of a friar, and gave me a lay brother for a companion.

I came out of the convent by the Al Prato gate, and walked by the side of the town walls, as far as the great square, ascending

the steep of Montui, where I found, in one of the first houses, a person of the name of Grassuccio, who was brother, by the same father and mother, to Benedict of Monte Varchi.* After I had laid aside my friar's disguise, and resumed my former appearance, we mounted two horses, which there stood ready for us, and galloped away in the night to Sienna. Grassuccio, upon his return to Florence, waited on my father, and acquainted him with the news of my having reached a place of safety. My father, highly rejoiced at these tidings, was impatient to see the magistrate who, the day before, had rebuked him with such severity. As soon as he came into his presence, he said to him, "You see at last, Antonio, it was God, not you, that knew what was to befall my son." To which the other answered, "I wish I could see him once more before this court." My father replied, "I return thanks to God, that he has rescued him out of your hands." During this time I was waiting at Sienna for the Roman Procaccio, or Mail, with which I travelled on the rest of my journey; and, when we had passed La Paglia, we met with the courier, who brought intelligence of the election of Pope Clement VII.†

* Varchi, the celebrated poet, one of Benvenuto's most intimate friends, as will farther appear. I have met with no account of Grassuccio.

† Clement VII., in the year 1523.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author meets with extraordinary success at Rome: he is greatly encouraged by a noble patroness, Signora Porzia Chigi.—Particular account of that lady.—Rivalship between him and Lucagnolo da Jesi.—He plays at a concert before Pope Clement VIIth, who is highly pleased with his performance, and takes him into his service in the double capacity of goldsmith and musician.—He is employed by the Bishop of Salamanca at the recommendation of a scholar of Raffaello da Urbino.—Whimsical adventure between him and the bishop.

UPON my arrival at Rome I began to work at Signor Santi's the goldsmith; for though that artist was dead, his son continued to carry on the business. The latter did not work himself, but conducted matters by means of a young man whose name was Lucagnolo da Jesi. This was a country lad, who had lived with Signor Santi from his childhood: he was low in stature, but very well shaped. This youth was more expert than any journeyman I had ever seen before, possessing great faculty and freedom of design, at making on a large scale beautiful vases, basons, and other things of the same kind. Having engaged to work in this shop, I began to make some chandeliers for the Bishop of Salamanca, a Spaniard:* these were wrought with as much art as it was possible to bestow upon a work of that nature. A pupil of Raffaello da Urbino, one Giovanni Francesco, surnamed *il Fattore*, who was an excellent painter, and intimate with the said bishop, found means to introduce me to his favor, insomuch that he frequently employed me, and I gained considerable in my business.†

* Don Francesco de Bobadilla, Bishop of Salamanca, arrived at Rome in 1517, to attend the Lateran Council, of which he became a member in 1527. He was afterwards besieged with Clement VII., in the castle of St. Angelo.

† Gio. Francesco Penni, called *il Fattore*, was a Florentine. Raffaello, whose kindness of heart was scarcely exceeded by his rare genius, invariably treated his worthy pupil as if he had been his own son, entertained him in his house, and left at his death, to him and Giulio Romano, the whole of

About this same period I sometimes went to draw at the chapel of Michel Angelo,* and sometimes at the house of Agostino Chigi,† of Sienna, in which were several admirable paintings by that great master Raffaello da Urbino :‡ this was only upon holi-

his effects. They completed together all the unfinished works of Raffaello. Penni then worked with his relation Pierino del Vaga, and succeeded better in designing than in coloring. He died at Naples in the 40th year of his age.

* The Sistine Chapel.

† It is now called "La Casa Farnesina," in possession of the King of Naples. Agostino Chigi, a wealthy merchant, distinguished for his liberality to the arts, formerly assembled there some of the most celebrated painters of the age. He employed Raffaello, with the assistance of Giulio Romano, *il Fattore* Gaudenzio, Raffael dal Borgo, and his other pupils, to paint for him the entire fable of *Psyche* and the beautiful *Galatea*. Chigi died in 1520.

‡ Raffaello Sanzio, one of the finest geniuses Nature in her most lavish moments ever produced. Everything seemed to have combined to render him great, whether we consider his talents, their cultivation, the career chalked out for him, the society and the munificent patronage of princes, or the spirit of the age in which he lived. Inferior only to Michel Angelo in a knowledge of the human frame and the art of drawing ideal subjects, he was unequalled by any in the exquisite delineation of real human beauty and living forms, in which the expression of the passions and affections of our nature are carried to its very highest excellence.

Where Buonarroti seizes upon and astonishes the mind by the grandeur and imagination he displays, Raffaello's genius goes directly to the heart, and with a fascinating power which the most sceptical and indifferent in vain resist, compels them to feel there is a language in the art, which even the vulgar can understand. Admitting, then, the equal excellence of both, in their respective works, the preference will be given to Raffaello by those, who, possessing more feelings than imagination, are admirers rather of nature's living beauties, than of the possible and the sublime. By such, Raffaello will always be considered as the prince of painters; and Michel Angelo by those of an opposite class.

He was also a good architect, and wrote comments upon Vitruvius. That fine letter to Leo X. on the best mode of designing the antiquities of Rome, is likewise, on the authority of Bald. Castiglione, attributed to him: and he most probably modelled the statue of Juno, placed near the Madonna del Popolo at Rome. He is said to have tried several different styles; an opinion altogether unfounded: for when he left his master, Pietro Perugino, he adopted those excellent maxims which ever after continued to influence him in the various branches of his art. The *Dispute on the Sacrament* marks the period, when his genius, emancipated from a school, began to see

days, because Signor Gismondo, brother of the said Signor Agostino, was come to live there. The family, however, were greatly pleased when they saw such young men as me frequent their house, as a school of painting. The wife of the said Signor Gismondo, a most genteel and beautiful lady, having often seen me thus employed under her roof, one day came to examine my drawings, and asked me whether I was a painter or a statuary: I told the lady that I was a goldsmith. She replied that I designed too well for one of that trade; and having ordered her waiting-maid to bring her a set of very fine diamonds in the form of a fleur-de-lys, mounted in gold, she desired me to tell their value. I thereupon estimated them at eight hundred crowns. The lady declared that I had judged very rightly. She then asked whether I would undertake to set them properly: I answered that I would do it most willingly: I began the design in her presence, for I took pleasure in conversing with so fair and agreeable a lady. When I had finished my design, another beautiful lady, who had all this while been above stairs, entered the room, and asked Porzia (which was the first lady's name) what she was about: to which the latter answered smiling; "I am diverting myself with admiring the drawings of this ingenious young man, who is an excellent hand." Though I had acquired some assurance, I had with it a mixture of bashfulness; so I colored and said: "Let me be what I will, madam, I shall always be ready to serve you." The lady reddening a little herself, replied, "You are an able artist, and I have a mind to employ you." She then bade me take the diamonds home with me, and pulling out her purse, gave me twenty gold crowns, saying, "Set these diamonds according to the design which you have drawn, and preserve me the old gold in which they were mounted." The other lady said there-

nature with free and unshackled eyes. The "Acts of the Apostles," and the "Transfiguration," show the sublime reach of his maturer powers. He had a noble figure, agreeable manners, and was consequently much admired, and addicted to pleasure. His liberality and other distinguished qualities were such, that his most invidious rivals and enemies were frequently loud in his praise. He was carried off suddenly, in the midst of his fame, and in the very flower of his age, on his birth-day, Good Friday, 1520, in the 37th year of his age.

upon, "If I were the young man I would go off with what I had got." Signora Porzia rejoined; "that virtues are seldom coupled with vices, and by behaving in that manner, I should belie my honest countenance;" then taking the other lady by the hand she turned about, and said to me with a smile of condescension, "Farewell, Benvenuto."

I stayed some time after I had drawn the design, copying a figure of Jove,* the work of Raffaello da Urbino. As soon as I had finished it, I went away, and set about making a little model in wax, to show in what manner the work was afterwards to be executed; this I carried to Signora Porzia, with whom I found the Roman lady, mentioned above: they were both highly pleased with my specimen, and encouraged me by such obliging compliments, that I mustered sufficient confidence to promise them that the work itself should be far superior to the model. I thereupon began my task, and in twelve days set the jewels in the form of a fleur-de-lys, as I said above, adorning it with little masks, figures of boys and animals, and the finest enamel, so that the diamonds of which the fleur-de-lys was composed appeared with redoubled lustre.

Whilst I was engaged on this work, the worthy Signor Lucagnolo seemed much dissatisfied, frequently telling me, that it would be more for my interest as well as reputation, to help him in working at pieces of plate, as I had done at first. I made answer, that I could always obtain that kind of employment, but that such commissions as that in which I was occupied, did not occur every day; and that they were no less reputable, and far more profitable, than large silver vessels. Upon my telling Lucagnolo that they were more lucrative, he laughed at me, and said: "You'll see that, Benvenuto; for by the time that you have completed your job, I shall contrive to finish this piece of plate, which I began precisely at the same time when you undertook the setting of the jewels; and experience will convince you of the difference between the profit accruing to me from my piece of plate, and to you from your trinkets." I answered, that I would with pleasure

* In the same fable of Psyche, where the figure of Jupiter is frequently introduced.

make such a trial of skill with so consummate an artist, that it might appear which of us was mistaken, when both our performances were finished.

Thus with countenances that betokened some displeasure, we both fell hard to work, eager to finish our several undertakings ; and we exerted ourselves so industriously, that in about ten days' time, we had both of us, in an elegant and workmanlike style, completed our respective tasks. That of Lucagnolo was a large silver vase, which was to be placed near the table of Pope Clement, and to receive the bones and the rinds of various fruits whilst that Pontiff was at his meals—a work rather calculated for magnificence and ostentation than any real use. This piece of plate was adorned with two beautiful handles, as likewise with many masks of different sizes, and several fine foliages of the most beautiful and ingenious design that could possibly be conceived. Upon seeing this performance, I told Lucagnolo, that it was the finest piece of plate I had ever beheld. Lucagnolo, thinking he had convinced me of my error, answered, “ Your work appears to me to be equally admirable, but we shall soon see the difference between them.” He then carried his piece of plate to the Pope, who was highly satisfied, and caused him to be immediately paid the ordinary price for works of that kind.

In the mean time, I took my performance to Signora Porzia, who expressed great surprise at my having finished it so expeditiously, and told me that I had more than performed my promise. She then desired me to ask whatever I thought proper in recompense for my labor, declaring that she considered my merit to be so great, that were she to make me lord of a castle, she should hardly think she had rewarded me in proportion to my deserts ; but since that surpassed her abilities, she desired me, with a smile, to ask something in her power to bestow. I answered that the greatest recompense which could crown my endeavors, was the satisfaction of having pleased so excellent a lady. This I said in a cheerful way, and having made my bow, began to take my leave, declaring that I desired no other payment. Upon this, Signora Porzia turning to the other lady, said, “ You see he justifies the good opinion we had conceived of him ;” and they both expressed equal admiration. Signora Porzia then said to me,

“My good Benvenuto, did you never hear it said, that when the poor gives to the rich, the devil laughs?” I replied that since he had met with so many vexations, I had a mind he should laugh for once; but as I was going away, she said she did not intend to favor him so much this time.

Upon my return to the shop, Lucagnolo, who had the money he received from the Pope wrapped up in a paper, said to me, “Do but compare the payment I have received for my piece of plate, with what you have had for your jewels.” I answered that we might let the matter rest for that time, but I hoped the day following to make it appear that as my work was in its kind as exquisite as his, I should be rewarded with equal munificence. The next day Signora Porzia having sent her steward to the shop, he called me out, and put into my hands a paper bag of money, which he brought from that lady; telling me at the same time, it was not his mistress’s intention that the devil should laugh at my expense; and that the money she sent me was not a reward adequate to my merit; with several other compliments worthy of such a lady. Lucagnolo, who thought it an age till he had compared his money to mine, that instant rushed into the shop; and in the presence of twelve workmen, and other neighbors, who were come to see how the contest would end, took his paper, laughing with an air of triumph; then having made three or four affected efforts, he at last poured out the cash, which rattled loudly upon the counter: it amounted to the sum of five and twenty crowns in silver. I who was quite stunned and disconcerted with his noise, and with the laughter and scoffs of the bystanders, having just taken a peep into my paper, and seeing it was filled with gold, without discovering any emotion, or making the least bustle, held my paper bag up in the air, as I stood on one side of the counter, and emptied it as a miller does a sack. My money was double the sum of his, so that all the spectators, who before had their eyes fixed upon me with a scornful air, suddenly turned about to him, and said, “Lucagnolo, Benvenuto’s money, being all gold, and twice as much as yours, makes the grandest appearance of the two.” Such an effect had envy, and the scorn shown by all present, upon Lucagnolo, that I thought he would have dropped down dead; and though he was to re-

ceive a third part of the money, as I was only a journeyman, and he my master, envy prevailed in him over avarice. Equally indignant on my part, I said, that every man might boast as he thought proper. Afterwards I found that he began to curse his art, and those from whom he had learned it, declaring that for the future he would never undertake works of importance in the business, but give his attention entirely to making such gewgaws, as they proved so lucrative. I then told him, I would venture to prophesy, that I should succeed in his branch of business, but that he would never be successful in my gewgaws, as he called them. Thus I went off in a passion, telling him, I would soon make it appear that I was no false prophet. Those who were present all declared him to be in the wrong, looking upon him as a mean fellow, which he was in fact; and upon me as a man of spirit, as I had shown myself.

The next day I went to return thanks to Signora Porzia, and told her that her ladyship had done the reverse of what she said she would; that I proposed to make the devil laugh, and that she had made him once more renounce God. We both were merry upon the occasion, and she gave me orders for other fine and valuable works.

About this time I contrived by means of a pupil of Raffaello da Urbino, to get employed by the Bishop of Salamanca, in making one of those large silver vases, for holding water, which are used in cupboards, and generally laid upon them by way of ornament. The Bishop being desirous of having two of equal size, employed Lucagnolo to make one, and the other was to be executed by me; but with regard to fashion, Giovanni Francesco, the painter, gave us a design, to which we were to conform. I with great alacrity set about this piece of plate; and a Milanese, whose name was Signor Giovanni Pietro della Tacca, accommodated me with a part of his shop to follow my business. Having begun my work, I laid by what money I wanted for my own private use, and the remainder I sent to the relief of my poor father. At the very time the money was paid him in Florence, he happened to meet with one of those rigid magistrates, who had menaced and used him so roughly in consequence of my unfortunate scuffle. As this fiery magistrate had some very worthless sons, my father

took an opportunity to say to him, "Untoward accidents may happen to anybody, especially to men of choleric tempers, when they know themselves to be injured; as was the case with my son, when he quarrelled with those jewellers: but it is evident from the general tenor of his life, that I knew how to give him a virtuous education. Would to God your sons would turn out as good with respect to you, as mine are to me; and that I wish for your sake: for as God enabled me to give them a virtuous education, so when my abilities were unavailing, he interposed himself, and found means to rescue them out of your violent hands." After he had left the magistrate, he wrote me an account of the whole affair, requesting me to play sometimes upon the flute, that I might not lose that admirable art, which he had taken so much pains to teach me. I had now a strong desire to oblige him in this respect before he died; for God often grants us those blessings which we pray for with faithful hearts.

Whilst I was going on with the Bishop of Salamanca's plate, I had no assistance but that of a little boy, whom, at the earnest request of his relations, I had, half against my will, taken as an apprentice. This boy, then about fourteen, and named Paulino, was son to a citizen of Rome, who lived upon his fortune. Paulino was one of the best bred, sweetest tempered and prettiest boys that I ever saw in my life; and on account of his good qualities, his extraordinary beauty, and the great love he bore me, I conceived the strongest affection for him that can inspire the human breast.

One of the effects of this great fondness was, that in order to diffuse a ray of cheerfulness over his features, which had naturally a serious melancholy cast, I from time to time took in hand my flute: he used then to smile in so graceful and affecting a manner, that I am not the least surprised at the fables which the Greeks have written concerning their deities. Had my apprentice lived in that age, he would, in all probability, have turned the heads of some of the poets of antiquity. Paulino had a sister named Faustina, of so exquisite a form, that she might justly be compared to the renowned Faustina, whose charms are so much vaunted by historians; and as he sometimes carried me with him to his father's, so far as I could judge from observation,

that worthy man seemed desirous that I should be his son-in-law. This made me set a much higher value upon music than I had done before. It happened about this time that Giovanni Giacomo, a musician of Cesena, who belonged to the Pope's household, and was an excellent performer, sent Lorenzo Trombone, of Lucca, a person who is now in the service of our Duke, to propose to me to assist them at the Pope's Ferragosto,* in playing certain spiritual pieces upon the flute, as he had selected some of the most beautiful compositions for the occasion. Though I had an earnest desire to finish the fine piece of plate that I had begun, yet as music has a secret charm in it, and as I was in some measure desirous of gratifying my aged father, I agreed to make one at their concert; so that for eight days before the Ferragosto we every two hours had a rehearsal.

Upon the first of August we repaired to Belvidere, and, whilst Pope Clement was at dinner, we played those fine compositions which we had long practised, insomuch that his Holiness declared, he had never been delighted with more exquisite harmony: then sending for Giovanni Giacomo, he inquired of him how he had procured so able a master of the flute, and ordered him to give a full and circumstantial account of my person. Upon Giovanni Giacomo's mentioning my name, the Pope said, "Is this the son of Giovanni Cellini?" Being fully informed of my character, he added, that he had a mind to take me into his service, and make me one of his band of music. Giacomo answered—"I will believe it when I see it: his business is that of a goldsmith and jeweller, in which he is a complete master, and, by working at it constantly, he makes a great deal more money than he could ever gain by music." The Pope replied—"I am, therefore, the more desirous of having him in my service, since he is possessed of a qualification more than I expected. Let him have the same salary with the rest of you, and tell him from me that I desire he would become one of my band, and I will find him constant employment in his other business." His Holiness thereupon gave him a handkerchief, which contained a hundred gold crowns, desiring him to divide them amongst the band, and let me have

* A feast at Rome on the 1st of August.

my share. Giacomo having quitted the Pope, came to us and repeated word for word all that his Holiness had said. Having then divided the money amongst eight musicians, and given me what fell to my share, he added—"I have orders to set you down as one of our band." To this I made answer—"Give me a day to consider of it, and to-morrow I will let you know my determination."

When I had left them, I deliberated within myself whether I should accept the offer, as it was likely to interrupt me so much in the noble study of my own art. The night following, my father appeared to me in a dream, and entreated me, with tears of affection, that I would for his sake accept of the place of musician to the Pope; to whom I, as I thought, made answer, that it was my firm resolution not to do it upon any account. He then appeared to me to assume a form so horrible, that I was shocked to behold him, and he said—"If you act otherwise, you will have your father's curse; but if you conform to my desire, I will bless you for ever." No sooner was I awake, but I ran in a fright to get my name entered amongst the Pope's musicians. I then wrote to my aged father, that I had done as he desired; who, upon receiving the intelligence, was, through excess of joy, attacked by a disorder, which brought him almost to death's door. Immediately upon his recovery, he wrote me word that he had just had the same dream as mine: I therefore concluded that I had given my father full satisfaction, and that all things would succeed to my wishes. I then exerted myself to the utmost to finish the piece of plate which I had begun for the Bishop of Salamanca.

This prelate was an extraordinary person, and exceedingly rich, but very difficult to please. He sent every day to inquire how I went on; and as the messenger happened once not to find me at work, his master came in a great passion, and said he would take the work out of my hands, and give it to another to finish: this was occasioned by my attaching myself to that odious flute. I therefore continued the work day and night with the most assiduous application, till I had forwarded it to such a degree, that I thought I might venture to show it to the bishop; but upon seeing what I had done, he grew so impatient to have the piece completed, that I heartily repented having ever shown it to him. In

about three months I finished this grand piece of plate, which I adorned with a surprising variety of beautiful animals, foliages, and figures. I then sent my apprentice Paulino to show it to the ingenious Lucagnolo. Paulino delivered his message in the most graceful manner imaginable, in these terms: "Signor Lucagnolo, my master Benvenuto has, in pursuance of his promise, sent me to show you a piece of work, which he has made in imitation of your performances, and he expects in return to see some of your little knick-knacks." These words being uttered, Lucagnolo took the piece of plate into his hand, and having examined it sufficiently, said to Paulino: "My pretty youth, tell thy master that he is an excellent artist, and that there is nothing I desire more than his friendship." The lad joyfully delivered his message.

The plate was then carried to the bishop, who wanted to have a price set upon it. Just at this juncture Lucagnolo entered the room, who spoke of my work so honorably, and praised it to such a degree, that he even surpassed my own good opinion of it.* The bishop having taken the plate into his hands, said, like a true Spaniard, "By G—, I will be as slow in paying him, as he was tedious in finishing the work." When I heard this, I was highly mortified, and cursed the Spaniard, as well as all who were friends to Spain.

Amongst other beautiful ornaments, there was a handle to this silver vase of the most exquisite workmanship, which by means of a kind of spring stood exactly upon the mouth of it. The bishop one day ostentatiously exhibiting this piece of plate to some Spanish gentlemen of his acquaintance, it happened that one of them meddling indiscreetly with the handle, the delicate spring, ill-adapted to bear his rough touch, suddenly broke, and this occurred after his lordship had left the room. The gentleman thinking this a most unlucky accident, entreated the person who took care of the cupboard, to carry the vase directly to the artist that had made it, and order him to mend it without delay, promising that he should be paid his own price in case he proved expeditious. The piece of plate being thus again come into my hands, I promised to mend it without loss of time; and this promise I

* Cellini again makes mention of this vase, in Chap. XII. of his Treatise on Jewellery.

performed, for it was brought me before dinner, and I finished it by ten o'clock at night. The person that left it with me, then came in a most violent hurry, for my lord bishop had called for it again, to show it to other gentlemen. The messenger, not giving me time to utter a word, cried, "Quick, quick, bring the plate in all haste." Being determined to take my own time, and not to let him have it, I said I did not choose to make such dispatch. The man then flew into a passion, and clapping his hand to his sword, seemed to be ready to break into the shop by main force; but this I prevented by dint of arms and menacing expressions. "I will not let you have it," said I; "go tell your master that it shall not be taken out of my shop till I am paid for my trouble." Seeing he could not obtain it by bullying, he began to beg and pray in the most suppliant manner; saying that if I would put it into his hands, he would take care to see me satisfied. These words did not in the least shake my resolution; and as I persisted in the same answer, he at last despaired of success, and swearing that he would return with a body of Spaniards and cut me to pieces, thought proper to depart. In the meantime I, who gave some credit to what I had heard of Spanish assassinations, resolved that I would defend myself courageously; and having put in order an excellent fowling-piece, I said in my own mind, "He that takes both my property and my labor, may as well deprive me of life."

Whilst I thus argued with myself, a crowd of Spaniards made their appearance with the above-mentioned domestic at their head, who with great arrogance bid them break open the shop. At these words I showed them the muzzle of my loaded fusil, and cried out with a loud voice, "Miscreants! traitors! cut-throats! are the houses and shops of citizens of Rome to be assaulted in this manner? If any thief amongst you should offer to approach this door, I will shoot him dead." Then taking aim at the domestic, and making a show as if I was going to fire at him, I cried out, "As for you, you rascal, that set them on, you are the very first that I shall make an example of." Upon hearing this he clapped spurs to a jennet upon which he was mounted, and fled at full speed. The disturbance had now brought all the neighbors out of their houses, when some Roman gentlemen

passing by said: "Kill the dogs, and we will stand by you." These words had such effect on the Spaniards, that they left me in a terrible panic, and told his lordship all that had happened.

The bishop, a proud, haughty man, reprimanded and scolded his servants very severely, both because they had committed such an act of violence, and, because they had not gone through with it. The painter who had been present at the above-mentioned accident, entering at this juncture, his lordship desired him to go and tell me, that if I did not bring him the piece of plate directly, he would leave no part of my body entire but my ears, but that if I brought it without delay, he would instantly satisfy my demand. The proud prelate's menaces did not in the least terrify me, and I gave him to understand that I should lay the whole affair before the Pope. In the meantime his anger and my fear having subsided, upon the assurances of some gentlemen of Rome that I should come to no harm, and that I should be paid for my trouble, I repaired armed with my dagger and coat of mail, to the house of the bishop, who had caused all his servants to be drawn up in a line. There I made my appearance, Paulino following me close with the piece of plate. To make my way through the line of domestics, was like passing through the Zodiac; one of them looked like a lion, another like a scorpion, and a third like a crab, till at last we came into the presence of this reverend prelate, who uttered the most priest-like, Spaniard-like words that I ever heard. All this time I never once looked at him, or so much as answered a single word; at which his lordship seemed to discover more resentment than ever, and having ordered pen, ink, and paper, desired me to write him a receipt. I then looked him full in the face, and told him that I would readily do so, after I had received my money. The haughty bishop was then more exasperated than ever; but in fine, after a great deal of scolding and hectoring, I was paid, and afterwards having written an acquittance left the place in high spirits.

Pope Clement afterwards heard the whole affair, having first seen the piece of plate in question, though it was not shown him by me. He was highly pleased at what had happened, and said publicly that he entirely approved of my behavior, so that the bishop heartily repented what he had done; and, in order to make

atonement for the past, sent me word by the same painter, that he intended to employ me in many commissions of importance; to which I made answer, that I was very willing to undertake them, but that I should insist upon being paid beforehand. These words coming likewise to the ear of Pope Clement made him laugh heartily. Cardinal Cibo* was at Rome when the affair* happened, and his Holiness told him the whole story of the difference between me and the Bishop of Salamanca, with all the disturbances it had given rise to; upon which he turned to one of his domestics, and bade him find constant employment for me in my business as a goldsmith. The above cardinal sent for me, and after much conversation ordered me to make him a piece of plate, more considerable than that which I had finished for the Bishop of Salamanca. I likewise worked for Cardinal Cornaro,† and for many other cardinals, especially Ridolfi‡ and Salviati.§ I was employed by them all, and earned a great deal of money. Signora Porzia Chigi recommended me to open a shop entirely upon my own

* Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo Malaspina, Archbishop of Genova, was a son of Leo X.'s sister, and vied with his maternal relations in patronizing learned men, bestowing upon them the greater part of his immense wealth.

† Marco Cornaro, brother of the Queen of Cyprus, and nephew of the Doge of Venice, a Bishop and Cardinal, was a person of great authority both in Rome and Venice. He brought about a reconciliation between the Venetians and Julius II., and was solemnly thanked by Leo X. for his skill and assiduity in promoting the interests of his country and the Church. The works in which Cellini was engaged, must have been commenced before July, 1524, as Cardinal Cornaro had at that time set out for Venice to avoid the plague, and died suddenly from excessive fatigue in the journey.

‡ Cardinal Niccolo Ridolfi, a Florentine, nephew of Leo X., collected a splendid library at an enormous expense, enriched with the rarest works in art and literature. Sadoletto extols him for his great learning and liberality.

§ Gio. Salviati, son of Giacopo already mentioned, was made a Cardinal by his uncle Leo X.: he succeeded in some of the most difficult embassies of the Papal Court; and brought to a favorable termination several long and intricate disputes. He was an excellent scholar, as well as a patron of learned men, and by his unexceptionable manners, kindness, and liberality, acquired a high reputation, both at home and abroad. As he did not, however, always indulge Cellini in his humor and caprices, we shall see, as he proceeds, in what terms he complains of this very respectable prelate.

account. I did so accordingly, and was kept in constant employment by that good lady, so that it was perhaps by her means chiefly that I came to make some figure in the world.

At this time I contracted an intimate acquaintance with Signor Gabriello Cesarini, Gonfalonier of Rome, and was frequently employed by that gentleman. Amongst other works which I executed for him, one was particularly remarkable, namely, a large gold medal to be worn upon a hat, and on which was engraved Leda with her enamored swan. He was highly pleased with the execution, and said he would get my work to be examined, in order to pay me according to its full value. My medal being a master-piece of art, the connoisseurs set a much higher price upon it than he expected, and as it was in bad hands, I reaped no benefit from my labor. This medal occasioned me as much trouble as the Bishop of Salamanca's piece of plate; but that narratives of this sort may not interfere with matters of much greater importance, I shall content myself with having barely touched upon that unlucky adventure.

CHAPTER V.

The Author quarrels with Rienzo da Ceri, and accepts a challenge from him.—He applies himself to seal-engraving, and improves in that art under Lautizio.—The plague breaks out at Rome, during which he amuses himself with taking views of the antiquities of that city.—Story of Signor Giacomo Carpi, the famous surgeon, and of the vases designed by Benvenuto.—The pestilence having ceased, a society is formed of artists, viz. painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths, who hold weekly meetings.—Grand entertainment at one of these meetings, and a merry frolic of the Author's, at which were present Michelagnolo of Sienna, and Giulio Romano.

As I am sometimes obliged to quit the sphere of my profession, in writing the history of my life, I find it expedient, with regard to such articles as the last-mentioned, not to give a circumstantial account of them, but a compendious summary of the chief particulars. I happened once, at our feast of San Giovanni, to dine with several of my countrymen, of different callings—painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths; where, amongst other artists of distinguished reputation, were present one Rosso,* a painter, Giovanni Francesco, a pupil of Raffaello da Urbino, and many more. As I had invited them without any ceremony or constraint, they laughed and jested, as is usual with mixed companies, and made merry upon occasion of so great a festival. A young mad-cap, who was in the service of Signor Lorenzo de' Medici, and whose name was Rienzo da Ceri,† happening to pass by during this en-

* Rosso, a Florentine painter, distinguished in his profession, and a good scholar, of a handsome person and prepossessing manners, was invited by Francis I. to take the place of Andrea del Sarto, at the French court. The liberality of that monarch enabled him to reside at Paris in comparative affluence and splendor. Imagining one of his countrymen had robbed him, he began a prosecution, but failing to make out the proofs, and fearful of being punished as a calumniator, he took poison and died in 1541.

† *Renzo*, or Lorenzo da Ceri, one of those stipendiary captains, ready at the head of a company to take any side, or fight for any prince, as their

tainment, thought proper to ridicule the Florentines, and to cast many injurious reflections upon the whole body of the nation. As it was I who had invited all these men of genius and worth to this meeting, I considered myself as the person insulted upon the occasion; and therefore, unnoticed by any of the company, I went quietly up to the spark above-mentioned, who was in company with a woman of the town, and continued his gibing to divert her. I asked him whether he was the audacious man that abused the Florentines; and he immediately replied, "I am that man." Scarcely had he uttered these words, when I gave him a slap on the face, saying, "And I am *this* man:" we both instantly drew our swords in a violent rage. But we had hardly made three passes, when several of the bystanders interposed, most of them seeming to take my part, rather than that of my opponent; perceiving from what they had heard and seen, that I was in the right. The next day I received a written challenge from my adversary, which I accepted with great cheerfulness, declaring that I thought this an affair of much more urgent importance than the business of my art. I instantly went to consult an old man, named Bevilacqua, who had the reputation of being the best swordsman in Italy, having fought above twenty duels, and always coming off with honor:* this worthy man was my particular friend. He had become acquainted with me through my professional transactions, and had even interposed in some warm disputes between me and other persons: he therefore said to me,

interest enjoins. Renzo won a high reputation by his defence of Crema, in the Venetian pay, 1514, and, entering into the service of the Pope, afterwards conquered the dukedom of Urbino. When the king of France arrived in Italy, he made him an offer of his services. He failed in an attack on the citadel of Arona, but his defence of Marsiglia obtained for him the confidence of Francis I., who sent him to defend Rome from a threatened attack of the Imperialists. In this he altogether failed, as well for want of forces, as by presumption and incapacity. The French call him *Rentio Cerez*.

* Paolo Giovio (Paulus Jovius) in the history of his times, relates, that in the battle of Rapallo, in which the Aragonese were routed by the Genoese, in 1494, there were 400 Prætorians, all complete gladiators, famous for duels gallantly concluded, who fought in the sight of the Doge, and amongst these he mentions Bevilacqua (Mr. Drinkwater) a Milanese. This may probably be the same here mentioned by Cellini.

“My good friend Benvenuto, if you were to cope with Mars himself, I have not the least doubt but you would acquire honor; for though I have been acquainted with you so many years, I never knew you in the wrong with regard to any quarrel.” He consented, therefore, to be my second, and, having repaired to the place appointed, in arms, I came off with much credit, by my opponent’s yielding, though there was no blood shed. I pass by the particulars of this combat, which might indeed be entertaining to some readers; rather choosing to dwell upon the events that befel me in the pursuits of my art, which was my chief motive for taking pen in hand, and in recounting which I shall find sufficient employment. Though I was excited by an honest emulation to produce a piece of work which might equal, or even surpass, those of that able artist, Lucagnolo, I did not, however, upon that account, quit my agreeable art of jewelling; and, by uniting the two, I acquired much more reputation and profit, than I could have done by either singly; for, in both branches, I often accomplished things unknown to other artists.

There was, at this time, in Rome, a native of Perugia, of great abilities, named Lautizio; the only man that worked in his branch of the business, which was that of a seal-engraver. Every Cardinal, at Rome, has a seal on which his title is engraved; it is made of the bigness of the hand of a child ten years old, and the title is embellished with a variety of figures. One of these seals, well executed, costs a hundred crowns and upwards. I could not help desiring to rival so eminent an artist, though this business widely differs from that of the jeweller and goldsmith; but Lautizio, who was master of the art of sealmaking, seemed to be confined to that alone, and knew nothing of any other branch. I therefore set about learning this business, and though I found it exceedingly difficult, was never wearied by any labor it cost me, but steadily pursued the objects of gain and improvement. There was likewise, in Rome, another eminent artist, a native of Milan, who went by the name of Caradosso.* This man worked only

* More commonly known by the name of Ambrogio Foppa, a jeweller and goldsmith, excellent in every branch of his art (comprehending at that time various ingenious arts and inventions). The extreme exactness and polish of his works often delayed their appearance, and he was in one in-

in medals, engraved with a chisel, upon thin plates of metal, and many other materials: he made some Scripture pieces,* and figures of Christ, a palm long, of thin plates of gold, and of such admirable workmanship, that I looked upon him to be one of the greatest masters in this art that I had ever known; and I envied him more than any of the rest. There were likewise other masters there, who worked in medals engraved on steel; these are the true guides and models of those who desire to acquire perfection in coining money. I set about learning all these different branches with the greatest assiduity. Next to these came the most elegant art of enamelling, in which I never heard of more than one that excelled, and this was a Florentine, named Amerigo, with whom I was not acquainted. His performances were indeed admirable, and such as were never equalled in any part of the globe; nor could I, or any other man, ever boast of having seen a piece of workmanship of the kind, that made even a faint approach to their excellence. The art of enamelling is extremely difficult on account of the fire, which is the last thing used in works of that nature, and often spoils and totally destroys them. Nevertheless I attached myself likewise to it with the greatest ardor; and, though I found it very hard to be acquired, such was the pleasure I took in learning it, that its greatest difficulties ap-

stance so dilatory and slow, that a Spanish gentleman, having lost all patience, addressed him with the epithet of *Cara d' Orso*, or bear's face, in allusion to its deformity. Foppa, who was a quiet and simple kind of person, not aware of its application, only laughed, and applied to his companions for an explanation, which they gave him, much to their amusement; nor has he been able to get rid of his nickname (*Messer Caradosso*) ever since. When Lazzari built the grand Octagon in Milan, near the Sacristy of S. Satiro, Foppa finished the interior decorations, and modelled a magnificent frieze with gigantic heads and cupids in terra-cotta bronzed, which is considered a master-piece of its kind. During the Pontificate of Julius II., Foppa went to Rome, and, being employed in the mint, produced both for Julius and Leo X., such noble medals and coins, as to be pronounced, by Vasari, incomparable. Few of his medals remain; among which are heads of Bramante, Trivulzio, Galeazzo, Sforza, Galeazzo Maria, and Lodovico il Moro.

* Scripture-pieces, in the Italian, "*Paci*," are those small tablets hung up in Catholic Churches, representing sacred emblems, to be kissed with the utmost devotion. One of these, from the hand of Caradosso, is preserved in S. Satiro, in Milan.

peared delightful to me. This was through the peculiar indulgence of the Author of nature, who had gifted me with a genius so happy, that I could with the utmost ease learn anything that I gave my mind to. These several branches are very different from each other; insomuch, that the man who excels in one, seldom or never attains to an equal degree of perfection in any of the rest; whereas I, having exerted myself with the utmost assiduity to be eminent in all these different arts, at last compassed my end, as I shall show in a proper place.

About this time, whilst I was still a young man of three-and-twenty, so dreadful an epidemic disease prevailed in Rome,* that there died every day several thousands. Though I was somewhat terrified at this calamity, I began to indulge myself in certain pleasures of fancy, arising from different causes, which I shall hereafter specify: for on holidays I amused myself with visiting the antiquities of that city, and sometimes took their figures in wax, at other times I made drawings of them. As these antiquities are all ruinous edifices, where a number of pigeons build their nests, I had a mind to divert myself among them with my fowling-piece; but being greatly afraid of the plague, I avoided all commerce with the inhabitants, and made Paulino carry my gun. Thus we repaired together to the ruins, from whence I often returned home loaded with pigeons of the largest size. But I never chose to put more than a single ball into my piece; and in this manner, by being a good marksman, I procured a considerable quantity of game. The fowling-piece, exactly fitted to my hand, was, both on the inside and outside, as bright as a looking-glass. I likewise made the powder as fine as the minutest dust; and, in the use of it, I discovered some of the most admirable secrets that ever were known till this time. Of this I will, to avoid prolixity, gave only one proof, which will surprise even those who are adepts in this matter. When I had charged my piece with a quantity of powder, equal in weight to the

* As Cellini arrived in Rome after the election of Clement VII., which took place, November, 1523, he could not have been witness to its ravages in 1522, by which Rome lost more than eighteen thousand inhabitants. It continued, at different periods, for two or three years, and 50,000 of the Milanese died in four months.

fifth part of a ball, it carried two hundred paces point blank. In a word, so great was the delight I took in shooting, that it often diverted me from the business of my shop. Though it had this ill consequence, it in other respects procured me considerable advantages: for, by this exercise of shooting, I greatly improved my constitution: the air was of vast service to me, and braced my nerves, which were naturally relaxed. Whilst I was enjoying these pleasures, my spirits suddenly revived; I no longer had my usual gloom, and I worked to more purpose than when my attention was totally engrossed by business: upon the whole my gun turned rather to my advantage than the contrary.

By means of this recreation I contracted an acquaintance with certain persons, who kept a look-out for the peasants of Lombardy, who, at a particular season of the year, came to work in the vineyards about Rome. These peasants, in digging the ground, constantly discovered ancient medals, agates, cornelians, and cameos. They likewise found precious stones, such as emeralds, sapphires, diamonds, and rubies. Those who went in quest of the peasants often bought such things of them for a trifle; and I, dealing with the former, have frequently given them gold crowns for curiosities, which had cost them only so many pence. This traffic, besides the great profit I derived from it, which was tenfold at least, procured me the friendship of most of the Roman cardinals. I shall mention only a few of the most remarkable of these rarities that happened to fall into my hands. *Imprimis*, a dolphin's head, about the size of a large bean.* Though art was eminently conspicuous in this head, it was still surpassed by nature; for this emerald was of so fine a color, that the person who purchased it of me for ten crowns caused it to be curiously set in a gold ring, and sold it for a hundred. I had likewise one of the finest topazes that ever was beheld: art and nature seemed to rival each other in embellishing this stone, of the size of a large nut; and upon it was carved an amazing fine head, intended to represent a *Minerva*. Also another stone of a different sort from the latter: this was a cameo, upon which was engraved a *Hercules* binding a triple-headed *Cerberus*. This was a piece of such extraordinary beauty,

* A large bean; *Fava da Partito*, is that which was formerly made use of for voting on public questions.

and such admirable workmanship, that our great Michel Angelo declared he had never beheld anything that surpassed it. Amongst a number of bronze medals, one fell into my hands upon which was represented a head of Jupiter. This medal was the largest I ever beheld: the head was one of the most complete master-pieces of art. On the reverse were several other figures in a similar style. I might launch out into a long dissertation upon this subject, but I wish to avoid prolixity.

The plague had prevailed for some time in Rome (for I must partly go back in order to connect my narrative) when there arrived in that city an eminent surgeon, named Signor Giacomo da Carpi:* this extraordinary man had, amongst other nostrums, certain violent remedies for the French disease; and moreover understood the art of design extremely well. Happening one day to pass by my shop, he cast his eye upon some drawings, amongst which were several sketches of little vases of a variety of grotesque figures, which I had drawn out by way of amusement. These vases being, in form, very different from any that had ever been seen before, Signor Giacomo desired me to make him some of silver, according to the same model: this I readily agreed to do, because they were of my own invention. Though he paid me generously for my trouble, the reputation which I acquired by them was of a hundred times more value to me than the profit; for all the goldsmiths declared they had never seen anything more complete, or better executed. I had no sooner finished these pieces, than my new employer showed them to the pope, and the

* Giacomo Berengario da Carpi was no shrewd charlatan, as Cellini would have us believe, but an able surgeon and physician. He is considered as the reviver of anatomical knowledge, and made many important discoveries, falsely attributed to more modern names. Of his original claim to them there is no reason to doubt. He was in the highest request throughout Italy for the skilfulness of his cures; and he was the first who made use of mercury in this disease, which made its appearance in Italy about the year 1493. The qualities of his heart, however, were not of an amiable kind. Such was his venality and cruelty in the exercise of his profession, that he is accused of having cut up two poor Spaniards alive to make experiments on the living subject. He was Professor in Bologna, and died at Ferrara, 1530, leaving the Duke in possession of the property acquired in his profession.

day following quitted Rome. He was a man of great learning, and talked admirably upon medical subjects. The pope was desirous of having him in his service, but he declared he did not care to confine himself to any service whatever, and that whoever had occasion for his assistance, should send for him. He was a person of great sagacity, and did very wisely to leave Rome; for, not many months after, all his patients relapsed, so that he would have been murdered, if he had stayed. He showed my little vases to the Duke of Ferrara,* and to several other princes; and told them that they were presents from a great nobleman at Rome, of whom he had demanded them upon undertaking to cure him of a certain disorder; that the nobleman had told him they were antiques, and begged he would rather ask anything else, which he would freely part with, and leave him those; but he refused to cure him on any other terms, and thus got them into his possession. †

This I was told by Signor Alberto Bendidio, at Ferrara, who, with great ceremony, showed me certain figures, at which I laughed, without making any other answer. Signor Alberto, who was a proud haughty man, said to me in a passion, "You may laugh as much as you please, but I must tell you that there has not been a man these thousand years able to make such figures." I, that I might not seem to detract from their reputation, stood apparently admiring them in silent astonishment. I was told in Rome, by many noblemen, some of whom were my friends, that these works appeared to them very extraordinary and of genuine

* Alfonso I. da Este, one of the first commanders of his age, and adored as the father of his subjects. Living in turbulent times, among the petty princes of Italy, he was a powerful and zealous defender of his states; and though no scholar, his encouragement of learned men was such, that he made use of his own plate and purse to relieve the wants, or pay the salaries, of those he had invited to his court, and whom he always treated like friends and equals. Among these, Ariosto pays high tribute to his merits. He had an exact knowledge of the mechanical arts, in moulding, casting, and directing artillery, and was an excellent engineer. He died in 1534, after a reign of 29 years.

† This solemn imposture of Berengario's on the noble Duke confirms us in our belief of what Bembo says of him, in one of his letters, that he thought there was nothing wrong in telling lies, where they could be made useful to the inventor.

antiquity : encouraged by this declaration, I confessed that they were my performances. They not giving credit to what I said, I formed a resolution to make new designs, in order to prove my veracity, because the above-mentioned Signor Giacomo had carried off the others. By this work I made considerable gain. The epidemic disease continuing to rage for many months, I escaped it very happily, many of my acquaintance had died of it, while I continued in perfect health.

The plague had by this time almost spent its fury, insomuch that those who had survived it congratulated each other, and expressed great joy at having escaped that fatal scourge. Upon this occasion there was established in Rome a society of painters, statuary, and goldsmiths, the best that had ever been known in that capital. The founder of this society was a statuary, named Michelagnolo,* a native of Sienna, and possessed of such extraordinary abilities, that he might justly vie with any artist belonging to the profession ; but still more eminently distinguished for being the most complaisant and obliging man in the universe. He was the oldest member of this society, but might be considered as the youngest, on account of his vigorous constitution. We were frequently together, at least twice in the week. I must not omit, that to this society also belonged Giulio Romano,† a painter, and Giovanni Francesco, both excellent pupils of the great Raffaello da Urbino.

* This sculptor spent great part of his early life in Ischiavonia. Coming to Rome, in conjunction with the painter, Baldassar Peruzzi, and with the assistance of Tribolo, he built the splendid mausoleum of Adrian VI., in the church of The Germans, of which the design remains in the Ciaconio, and in the Adrian VI., of Gasp. Burmanno. He died 1540.

† Giulio Pippi Romano was the best pupil Raffaello had, and one who approached the nearest in design, invention, and coloring to his great master. He was also an excellent architect. Full of fire and imagination, he struck off his works at a few strokes in bold and vivid lines, of which he sometimes diminished the force and beauty by over-coloring. He produced many pieces for Clement VII., and the Marchese Gonzaga, as we shall hereafter see. On the death of Antonio da S. Gallo, he was to have been employed as architect to St. Peter's, which was prevented by his death in 1546.

After we had been several times in company together, our worthy president thought proper to invite us to sup at his house one Sunday, directing that every man should bring his *chère amie* (whom he called *cornacchia*),* with him, and he who failed to comply should be obliged to treat the company with a supper. Such members of the society as had no acquaintance amongst the courtezans were obliged to procure ladies with great trouble and expense, for fear of exposing themselves at this agreeable entertainment. I had thought myself vastly well provided in a fine girl of the name of Pantasilea, who had a fondness for me; but I was obliged to resign her to one of my most intimate friends, named Bacchiaca,† who had been and still continued, deeply in love with her. The girl, upon this occasion, was somewhat piqued, perceiving that I gave her up to Bacchiaca, at the first word; a circumstance which induced her to imagine that I slighted her, and made a bad return for the affection she bore me. Her resentment afterwards involved me in a perplexing affair, of which I shall speak more at large in its proper place.

As the time drew near that we were to repair to the assembly above-mentioned, and I happened to be without a female companion, I thought myself guilty of a great oversight in not providing one; but not choosing to be disgraced by bringing any low, despicable creature amongst so many brilliant beauties, I thought of a frolic to increase the mirth of the company. Having formed my plan, I sent for a boy, named Diego, of about sixteen, who lived next door to me, and was son to a Spanish copersmith. This lad was learning Latin at the grammar-school, to which he applied with great diligence: he had a very genteel person with a fine complexion: the contours of his face surpassed those of the ancient statue of Antinous,‡ and I had often drawn

* A crow.

† Bachiacca or Bachicca, was the surname of Francesco and Antonio, twin-brothers, both very distinguished Florentine artists. Francesco was a fine painter of miniature figures, as well as of birds and animals of every kind beautifully executed in oil. Antonio, on the testimony of Vasari, and particularly of Varchi, who compares him in a sonnet to Buonarroti, Bronzino, and Cellini, was one of the best. To which of these he alludes as his intimate friend is not very clear.

‡ A youth of Bithynia, of extraordinary beauty, who is said to have de-

his likeness, by which I acquired great reputation in my performances. The boy had no acquaintances in town, nor was he known to any of the society: he neglected his dress very much, his attention being entirely engrossed by study. Having sent for him to my house, I begged that he would dress himself in woman's clothes, which I had provided. He was easily prevailed on to comply, and I, by means of a variety of ornaments, added a considerable lustre to the beauty of his countenance. I put two rings in his ears, in which were two fine and beautiful pearls; the rings being divided in the middle, fastened upon his ears, which appeared to be bored: I then dressed his neck with gold necklaces and costly jewels. In the same manner I adorned his fingers with rings, and, taking him gently by the ear, brought him before a looking-glass. The boy, seeing himself in the glass, exclaimed with an exulting tone, "Heavens! Is that Diego?" "Yes," I replied, "that is Diego, of whom I never before asked any favor, but now, for the first time, I will ask him to oblige me in one harmless request; and that is, to go with me in his present dress, to the agreeable society, which I have mentioned so often." The lad, who was virtuous and discreet, modestly cast his eyes upon the ground, and deliberated for a few moments, then suddenly looking up, made answer, "I will go with you, Benvenuto; let us set out directly."

I put on his head a large handkerchief, which is called at Rome a summer-cloth. When we came to the place the whole company were already met, and all rose to salute me; Michelagnolo was between Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco. As soon as I had taken the handkerchief from the head of my beautiful companion, Michelagnolo, who, as I have already observed, was one of the most facetious and diverting men in the world, with one hand taking hold of Giulio, and with the other of Giovanni Francesco, with his utmost might, drew them towards Diego, and obliged them to kneel down; at the same time falling upon his

voted himself for the restoration of the emperor Adrian's health, by throwing himself into the Nile in the year 132, on the faith of a prophecy to that effect. He was honored by Adrian with medals and statues to his memory, and among these is preserved the exquisite model of masculine grace and beauty above alluded to.

knees himself, and calling to the company, he exclaimed aloud, "See in what form angels descend from the clouds! Though celestial spirits are represented as males, behold there are female spirits in heaven likewise!" So he continued to exclaim, "O beautiful angel! O angel worthy of all praise, vouchsafe to save—vouchsafe to direct me!" At these words the facetious creature lifted up his right hand, and gave him a papal benediction. Michelagnolo rising, said, it was customary to kiss the Pope's feet, but that angels were to be kissed on the cheeks; he then gave him a salute, at which the youth colored deeply, which greatly added to his beauty.

This scene being over, every man produced a sonnet, upon some subject or other, and we gave them to Michelagnolo for his perusal. The latter read them aloud, in a manner which infinitely increased the effect of their excellence. The company fell into discourse, and many fine things were said, which I shall not here particularize, as that is not now my business; I shall only mention one expression which I recollect to have heard from that famous painter Giulio. This great man having looked upon all present with affection, but more attentively upon the ladies, turned about to Michelagnolo, and spoke to him thus: "My dear Michelagnolo, the name of *crow*, which you have given to our ladies, suits them pretty well, though they even seem a little inferior in beauty to crows, when compared to one of the finest peacocks that ever were beheld."

Dinner was now ready to serve up, when Giulio begged to be the person that should place us in proper order. His request being granted, he took the ladies by the hand, and made them sit at the upper end of the table, with mine in the midst of them; the men he placed next, and me in the middle, telling me that I was deserving of all manner of honor and distinction. Behind our backs there were rows of flower-pots, with beautiful jessamines, which seemed to heighten the charms of the young ladies, and especially of my Diego, beyond expression. Thus we all, with great cheerfulness, began to regale ourselves at that elegant supper. After our repast was over, we were entertained with a concert of music, both vocal and instrumental; and as the performers sang and played with books before them, my angelical companion

desired that he might be allowed to sing his part : as he acquitted himself better than any of the rest, Giulio and Michelagnolo, instead of expressing themselves in the same facetious terms they had done before, seemed to be struck with astonishment, and grew wild and extravagant in their praises. The music being over, one Aurelio Ascolano, a most wonderful *improvisatore*,* sang some admirable verses in praise of the ladies. Whilst this person was singing, the two girls who had my beauty between them, never ceased prating and chattering : one of them explained in what manner she had fallen into that loose way of life ; the other asked my companion how it came to be her fate, who were her friends, and how long she had been at Rome, with several other questions of the same kind. Were I to dwell upon trifles of such a nature, I might relate many odd things that were said and done there, occasioned by Pantasilea, who was passionately fond of me ; but as that would be foreign to my design, I shall be content with briefly touching upon them.

The discourse of the two courtezans began at last to disgust my counterfeit lady, who had taken the name of Pomona. As she was desirous to disengage herself from them, and get rid of their loose conversation, she sometimes turned to one side, sometimes to the other : the lady that Giulio brought with him, asked whether she was not ill ; the counterfeit Pomona answered in the affirmative, whispering that she believed herself to be some months advanced in pregnancy, and felt at that very moment far from well. Upon which the two ladies who had her between them, taking compassion of Pomona, begged her to retire ; which, in spite of Diego's reluctance, led to an eclarcissement. The exasperated females loaded him with all the abusive language that is usually bestowed on disorderly young fellows.

An outcry being instantly set up, accompanied with great laughter and expressions of surprise, the grave Michelagnolo desired permission of all present to inflict upon me a penance at his

* Tiraboschi gives us no farther account of this *improvisatore*, than this of Cellini. But I am led to think, he is the same as Eurialo d' Ascoli, of whom I have read a letter, written in the true style of a poet, in the *Facetious Epistles*, collected by Turchi.

own discretion. The company giving their assent to this with loud acclamations, he put me out of pain by thrice repeating, "Long live Signor Benvenuto!" This, he said, was the punishment I deserved for so humorous a frolic. Thus ended this pleasant entertainment, together with the day; and the company separating, retired to their respective habitations.

CHAPTER VI.

The Author learns to make curious Damaskeenings of steel and silver on Turkish daggers, &c.—Derivation of the word grotesque in works of design.—His ingenuity in medals and rings.—His great humanity to Luigi Pulci is repaid with the utmost ingratitude.—Tragical end of Pulci, in consequence of his amour with Pantasilea.—Gallant behavior of the Author on this occasion, in defeating a band of armed adversaries.—His escape and reconciliation with Benvenuto of Perugia.

WERE I to give a complete account of all the works I had at this time for persons of different stations in life my narrative would become altogether tedious ; suffice it at present to observe, that I exerted myself with the utmost diligence and care to acquire perfection in a variety of different arts, as above enumerated ; and therefore with unceasing perseverance worked at them all. But as an opportunity has not hitherto occurred of giving an account of any of my remarkable performances, I shall wait until such a one offers. Michelagnolo of Sienna, the statuary, was at this time employed in erecting a monument to the late Pope Adrian. Giulio Romano the painter was gone into the service of the Marquis of Mantua :* the other members were retired to different quarters, as their business happened to lead them, so that our ingenious society was almost entirely dispersed.

Soon afterwards I met with some little Turkish daggers, the handles of which were of iron as well as the blade, and even the scabbard was of that metal. On these were engraved several fine foliages in the Turkish taste, most beautifully filled up with gold. I found that I had a strong inclination to cultivate

* The Marchese Federico Gonzaga, a valiant commander, and a liberal patron of the fine arts. He received his dukedom, in 1530, from Charles V. Giulio was introduced into his service by C. Baldassar Castiglione, in 1524. He was here very fortunate, and at the same time contrived to elude the just vengeance of the Pope, for designing a series of immoral prints, engraved by Marc Antonio, and accompanied with the sonnets of Aretino.

this branch likewise, which was so different from the rest; and finding that I had great success in it, I produced several pieces in this way. My performances, indeed, were much finer and more durable than the Turkish, for several reasons: one was, that I made a much deeper incision in the steel than is generally practised in Turkish works; the other, that their foliages are nothing else but chickory leaves, with some few flowers of Echites: these have, perhaps, some grace, but they do not continue to please like our foliages. In Italy there is a variety of tastes, and we cut foliages in many different forms. The Lombards make the most beautiful wreaths, representing ivy and vine leaves, and others of the same sort, with agreeable twinings highly pleasing to the eye. The Romans and Tuscans have a much better notion in this respect, for they represent Acanthus* leaves, with all their festoons and flowers, winding in a variety of forms; and amongst these leaves they insert birds and animals of several sorts with great ingenuity and elegance in the arrangement. They likewise have recourse occasionally to wild flowers, such as those called lions' mouths, for their peculiar shape, accompanied by other fine inventions of the imagination, which are termed grotesques by the ignorant. These foliages have received that name from the moderns, because they are found in certain caverns in Rome, which in ancient days were chambers, baths, studies, halls, and other places of the like nature. The curious happened to discover them in these subterraneous caverns, whose low situation is owing to the raising of the surface of the ground in a series of ages; and as these caverns in Rome are commonly called grotts, they from thence acquire the name of grotesque. But this is not their proper name: for, as the ancients delighted in the composition of chimerical creatures, and gave to the supposed promiscuous breed of animals the appellation of monsters, in like manner artists produced by their foliages monsters of this sort; and that is the proper name of them—not grotesques. In such a taste I made foliages filled up in the manner above-mentioned, which were far more elegant and pleasing to the eye than the Turkish works.

* Acanthus, called Brancuorsina, or Bear's claw.—Ed.

It happened about this time that certain vases were discovered, which appeared to be antique urns filled with ashes. Amongst these were iron rings inlaid with gold, in each of which was set a diminutive shell. Learned antiquarians, upon investigating the nature of these rings, declared their opinion that they were worn as charms by those who desired to behave with steadiness and resolution either in prosperous or adverse fortune.

I likewise took things of this nature in hand at the request of some gentlemen who were my particular friends, and wrought some of these little rings; but I made them of steel well-tempered, and then cut and inlaid with gold, so that they were very beautiful to behold: sometimes for a single ring of this sort I was paid above forty crowns. At that time a sort of small medals was in fashion, upon which it was customary for noblemen and gentlemen to cause to be engraved certain devices and fancies of their own, and they wore them commonly upon their caps. I made several things of this sort, but found such works very difficult: the celebrated artist named Caradosso would not take less than a hundred crowns for one of them, because they contained a variety of figures. I was therefore employed, not so much on account of the greatness of his price, as his slowness in working, by some gentlemen, for whom I made one medal, amongst others, in emulation of this renowned artist, on which were four figures that I took uncommon pains with. It happened upon this occasion that the gentlemen, comparing my work to that of the famous Caradosso, declared mine to be by much the more elegant and masterly, and bid me ask whatever I thought proper for my trouble, for I had given them such satisfaction, that they were willing to pay me my own price. To this I answered, that the best recompense I could receive for my labor, and that which I desired most, was the happiness of making an approach to the excellence of so great a master; and if I appeared to gentlemen of their taste to have attained that honor, I thought myself sufficiently rewarded. Upon my leaving them at these words, they immediately sent me a generous present, with which I was perfectly satisfied; and my ardor to gain the approbation of my employers increased to such a degree, that it gave rise to the adventures which I am going to relate: for in the course of this history I must sometimes lose

sight of my profession, to record some unlucky accidents, by which this toilsome life of mine has been occasionally embittered.

I have already given an account of the ingenious society of artists, and of the pleasant scene of Pantasilea the courtesan, who had so false and dangerous a passion for me, and had been so greatly irritated on account of the merry frolic of introducing Diego, the Spaniard, at supper: I shall now conclude that whimsical adventure. As she thought herself injured in the most outrageous manner imaginable, and had vowed revenge, an opportunity soon offered to carry her wicked purpose into execution; and I shall here inform the reader in what manner my life was brought by her malice into the most imminent danger. About this time there arrived at Rome a young gentleman named Luigi Pulci, son to one of the Pulci family who had been beheaded for having violated his own daughter. This young gentleman had an uncommon genius for poetry, was well versed in the Latin language, and wrote with great elegance; he was likewise extremely handsome and genteel. He had just quitted the service of some bishop, whose name I do not remember, and was very ill with a certain disease. When he was at Florence, there were meetings in the open streets during summer, where he sang extempore,* and distinguished himself amongst those who had the greatest talent that way. This singing was so well worth hearing, that the divine Michel Angelo Buonarroti, that renowned statuary and painter, whenever he heard that Pulci was to perform, went to listen to him with the utmost eagerness, and upon these occasions was generally accompanied by one Piloto,† a goldsmith, and myself. This was the first rise of my intimacy with Luigi Pulci. After two years had elapsed, he discovered to me the distressed condition he was in at Rome, and begged I would procure him some relief. I was moved to pity on account of his excellent qualities, and farther excited by the love of my country,

* The Italians call this *Improvvisare*.

† Piloto, of whom more hereafter, was an excellent Florentine goldsmith, and a friend of Michel Angelo, Bandinelli, Jacone, Pierino del Vaga, and all the distinguished artists. Being of a facetious disposition, and fond of ridiculing his companions, he carried one of his practical jokes so far, as Vasari relates, that he was assassinated by a young man (by way, we suppose, of a retort).

as well as a compassionate disposition. I therefore took him into my house and had him treated with such care, that with the assistance of youth and a vigorous constitution, his health was quickly restored. While the young man was in this manner endeavoring to recover, he constantly amused himself with reading, and I procured him as many books as I could. Sensible of the obligations I laid him under, he often thanked me with tears in his eyes, assuring me if God ever prospered him, or any way put it in his power, he would endeavor to give me convincing marks of his gratitude. I told him that I had not served him as well as I could have wished, but had done my best, and it was the duty of human beings to assist each other; only admonishing him to show the same kindness to others, who might happen to stand in need of his assistance, as he had done of mine, and desiring that he would look upon me as his friend, and always love me.

The young man began to frequent the court of Rome, in which he was soon taken notice of, and entered into the service of a prelate, a man of fourscore, who was the Bishop of Urgenis. This prelate had a nephew, named Signor Giovanni, a Venetian gentleman. Signor Giovanni seemed to be greatly struck with the shining qualities of Luigi Pulci, and had contracted such a familiar intimacy with him, that their mutual confidence seemed unbounded. Luigi having talked to him of me, and the favors I had done him, Signor Giovanni conceived a desire to know me.

It happened about this time that I had made a little entertainment one evening for my mistress Pantasilea, to which I invited several men of genius of my acquaintance. At the very moment that we were sitting down to table, Signor Giovanni and Luigi Pulci entered the room, and after some little ceremony, were prevailed upon to stay to supper. The tender courtesan no sooner set her eye on the handsome youth, but she immediately formed a design upon him. I perceived the snare, so that the instant supper was over, I called Luigi aside, and requested him, by the obligations which he had acknowledged himself to have to me, not to listen upon any account to the insinuations of that artful woman. In answer to this he exclaimed, "What, my friend Benvenuto, do you take me for a madman?" I told him, I did not take him for a madman, but for an inexperienced youth; at

the same time assuring him that I gave myself not the least trouble about her, but that my concern was for him, and I should be sorry to see him ruined by so abandoned a strumpet. To this he answered, that he wished he might break his neck, if he ever would so much as open his lips to her. He must have sworn this oath with great earnestness, for it was his fate afterwards to break his neck, as will appear in the sequel.

He was every day seen new clothed either in velvet or silk, and appeared to be addicted to all manner of debauchery : in short he had divested himself of all his laudable qualities, and pretended neither to see nor know me, when we met ; because I had re-proved him, telling him that he had abandoned himself to all kinds of vices, and that they would be his destruction. Signor Giovanni, with whom he was a favorite, had bought him a fine black horse, which cost a hundred and fifty crowns ; it was an admirable pacer, and Luigi rode it every day to pay his court to the courtesan Pantasilea. Though I beheld this scene, it gave me no manner of concern : I said only that all things act according to their nature, and I attached myself to my business.

It happened one Sunday evening in the summer that we were invited by the famous statuary Michelagnolo of Sienna to sup with him. At this supper Bacchiaca, of whom mention has already been made, was a guest, and he had brought with him Pantasilea, with whom he had been formerly connected. Whilst we were at supper she rose from table, telling us that a sudden indisposition obliged her to retire, but that she would quickly return. As we were engaged in cheerful conversation, she stayed away longer than we expected : I stood listening, and heard some people talking in a low voice in the street, whilst I held a knife in my hand, which I made use of at table to cut my victuals. The window was so near the table, that having risen up a little, I saw Luigi Pulci and Pantasilea in close conference, and overheard the former say, " If that cursed Benvenuto should happen to discover us we must be undone : " she made answer, " Luigi, be under no apprehensions ; mind what a noise they are making ; we are the least of their thoughts." At these words I perceived who they were, when immediately leaping from the window, I seized Luigi by the cloak, and should certainly have killed him with the knife

in my hand, had he not instantly clapped spurs to a little white horse which he rode, and leaving his cloak behind to save his life, fled with Pantasilea to a neighboring church. Those who were at table, having suddenly risen, came all up to me, and begged I would not give myself or them any trouble for the sake of a harlot. I answered, that I should never have stirred upon her account, but that I could not help showing^g my resentment to that villain, who behaved to me in so perfidious a manner.

I would not therefore give ear to the persuasions and entreaties of my worthy friends, but snatching up my sword, went unaccompanied to Prati, for the house where we were at supper was near the gate Del Castello, which led to Prati. It was not long before the sun set, and I returned slowly to Rome, when it was already dark, but the gates of the city were not locked. I repaired to Pantasilea's habitation, firmly resolved, in case Luigi Pulci should be there, to treat them both very roughly. Perceiving that there was nobody in the house but a servant girl, named Corida, I laid aside my cloak and the scabbard of my sword, and came up to the house, which stood behind the place called Banchi, upon the river Tiber. Opposite to this house was a garden belonging to an inn-keeper, whose name was Romolo: this garden was enclosed with a quick-set hedge, in which I concealed myself in order to wait the coming of the lady and her gallant. I had remained there some time when my friend Bacchiaca happened to pass by, who, whether he really thought I should go there, or had been told so, called to me in a low voice by the name of *gossip*, for so we used to style each other in joke. He besought me for God's sake to desist, uttering these words almost with tears in his eyes: "Gossip, I beg you would not hurt this poor unfortunate woman, for nothing can justly be laid to her charge."—"If you do not directly quit the place," cried I, "I will cut you across the head with my sword." My poor gossip, frightened by this language, felt much disordered, and had not gone far, when he found himself under a necessity of obeying a natural impulse.

It was a bright starry night, and the sky shone with a refulgent lustre; when suddenly I heard the noise of several horses galloping on both sides. This was occasioned by Luigi and Pantasilea, who were accompanied by one Signor Benvenuto Perugino,

chamberlain to Pope Clement: they had four valiant captains from Perugia attending them, with other brave young officers, in all twelve persons that wore swords. When I perceived my situation, not knowing which way to get off, I resolved to continue under the hedge; but the briars pricked and hurt me very much, so that I could no longer bear it, but began to think of consulting my safety by flight. At this time Luigi had his arms about Pantasilea's neck, and told her that he must have a kiss in spite of that traitor Benvenuto. These words, which added a new sting to the pricking of the briars, provoked me to such a degree, that I leaped out of the hedge, and lifting up my sword, cried out, "I will instantly be the death of you all." My sword fell upon Luigi's shoulders, but as the young fellow was protected by a coat of mail, for they had wrapped him up in iron, the weapon was turned aside, and after cutting him over the nose, wounded the face of Pantasilea. Both having fallen to the ground, Bacchiaca with his stockings half down his legs, ran away screaming. I then turned about boldly to the rest with my drawn sword, when my valiant adversaries hearing a loud uproar in the inn, imagined they had to deal with an army of a hundred men; they had however drawn their swords, but some of their horses taking fright, this occasioned so much confusion amongst them, that two of the cleverest were thrown, and the rest betook themselves to flight.

I seeing the affair turn out happily, made off with the utmost speed, pleased to get handsomely rid of this troublesome affair, and not caring to tempt fortune farther than honor required. In this terrible confusion and hurly-burly, some of the gentlemen and officers had wounded themselves with their own swords. Signor Benvenuto, the Pope's chamberlain, was thrown down and trampled upon by his own mule; his servant attempting to draw his sword, fell with him at the same time, and gave his master a deep wound in the hand. This accident, more than all the rest, made Signor Benvenuto swear in his Perugian jargon, that by G— *Benvegnuto* should teach *Benvegnuto* manners. He desired one of the officers, who perhaps had more courage than the rest, but was young and had very little to say for himself, to deliver me a challenge. This gentleman called upon me at the house

of a Neapolitan nobleman, who had heard of my abilities, and seen some of my performances; and being likewise convinced that I was both in mind and body fit for the military profession, to which he was attached above all others, grew exceedingly fond of me. Seeing myself thus protected and caressed, and being in proper spirits, I gave such an answer to the officer, as I believe made him heartily repent his coming on such an errand.

A few days after, Luigi, Pantasilea, and the rest, being pretty well recovered of their wounds, the nobleman, my patron, was solicited by Signor Benvenuto, whose passion had by this time subsided, to prevail upon me to be reconciled to Luigi, adding, that the gallant officers who were with him, and who had never had any difference with me on their own account, would be glad to cultivate my acquaintance. The nobleman made answer, that he would persuade me to agree to all that was proposed, and should willingly undertake to accommodate matters, upon condition that there was to be no upbraiding on either side for what had passed, as that would reflect dishonor on themselves; that we should only shake hands and drink together in token of reconciliation, and so he would engage to make all things agreeable. This design was carried into execution. One Thursday evening the nobleman carried me to the house of Signor Benvenuto, where all the military gentlemen, who had been in the late skirmish, were at table. My patron was accompanied by above thirty gallant men well armed, a circumstance which Signor Benvenuto did not expect. Having entered the hall, my friend going before, and I following him, he addressed them thus: "Save you, gentlemen, I am come with Benvenuto, whom I love as my own brother; and we gladly present ourselves with an intention to do whatever you think proper to enjoin us." Benvenuto, seeing the hall crowded with such a number, made answer, "All we desire of you is peace: we want nothing more." He then promised that the governor of Rome should give me no trouble. Thus we were reconciled, and I returned to my shop; but I was scarce able to pass an hour without the company of the Neapolitan nobleman, who either visited me, or sent for me to his own house.

In the meantime, Luigi Pulci being cured, every day took an airing upon his black horse, which he knew so well how to

manage. One day, amongst others, after there had fallen a drizzling rain, having made his horse prance and curvet before Pantasilea's door, he happened to slip, and the horse fell upon him. By this accident he broke his right leg, and a few days after died in the house of Pantasilea ; the curse which he had solemnly invoked against himself in the presence of God being thus accomplished. Hence it appears that the Deity watches over the conduct both of the good and bad, and rewards all according to their deserts.

CHAPTER VII.

The Duke of Bourbon lays siege to Rome, which is taken and plundered.—The Author kills the Duke of Bourbon as he is scaling the walls.—He retires to the castle of St. Angelo, where he acts as bombardier, and signalizes himself in an extraordinary manner.—The Prince of Orange is wounded by a ball from a cannon directed by the Author. The Pope's acknowledgments to Benvenuto.—The Castle of St. Angelo surrendered by capitulation.

ALL Italy was now up in arms,* when Pope Clement sent to Signor Giovannino de' Medici for some troops, which accordingly marched to his assistance. These auxiliaries did so much mis-

* It will here be necessary to give the reader a brief view of the political state of Italy at that period, in order to throw light on the ensuing account. Europe was involved in the wars between Charles V. and Francis I., in which the potentates of Italy took an active share. Jealous of the French interest, Leo X., and the other princes, after the battle of Marignano, when the dominions of Francesco Sforza had been twice occupied by the French, resolved to join the emperor. He had already in his service some of the best Italian generals, seconded by the voice of the people; and in the first campaign of 1521, succeeded in possessing himself of the whole of the Milanese. In 1522 he took Genoa, and driving back the numerous forces sent against him from France, followed them into Provence, and finally he laid siege, though less successfully, to Marsiglia. The pope and the Italians, having thus attained their object, tried to negotiate a peace, soon after concluded under Adrian II. and Clement VII. In a short time, however, they began to feel, that they had only made an exchange of masters, and even found the yoke of the emperor, aspiring after undisputed dominion, and sacrificing the interest of his allies to his immediate objects, more intolerable than that of the French. When Francis I., therefore, again made his appearance at the head of a fresh army, ready to descend the Alps, Clement VII. withdrew from the league, declaring his wish to become arbitrator of their differences, and to preserve the balance of political power in Europe. But when the heroic Francis was made prisoner at Pavia, and the power of France humbled, Clement renewed his offers of alliance to the emperor, which were refused, at the same time that he accepted of the money advanced by the pope to his viceroy of Naples, leaving him exposed to the

chief in Rome, that tradesmen were not in safety in their shops, which made me retire to a small house, behind the place called Banchi, where I worked for my particular friends. The business I was employed in, at that time, was not of any great importance, I therefore shall not at present enlarge upon it. I then took great delight in music, and other amusements of a like nature. Pope Clement having, by the advice of Signor Jacopo Salviati, dismissed the five companies, which had been sent him by Signor Giovannino, lately deceased in Lombardy, the Duke of Bourbon,* finding that there were no troops in Rome, eagerly advanced with his army towards that capital. Upon the news of his approach, all the inhabitants took up arms. I happened to be intimately acquainted with Alessandro, the son of Piero del Bene, who, at the time that the Colonnas came to Rome, had requested me to guard his house: upon this more important occasion, he begged I would raise a company of fifty men to guard the same house, and undertake to be their commander, as I had done at the time of the

insults and extortions of the Imperialists in Italy. On the liberation of Francis and the renewal of the war in 1526, Clement, in league with the Venetians and the other states of Italy, declared in favor of France. He proved, however, a very inefficient ally to Francis, withdrawing the troops from all active service, and even paying salaries to many of the Imperial generals, so as still to attempt to preserve the character of a mediator.

To this undecided conduct, added to the impolitic measure of disbanding the soldiers and garrison of Rome, he owed the calamities he soon after experienced, and fell a victim to the cupidity of the Spanish and German army—a memorable example of the fate of those princes, who, from weakness or incapacity, adopt only half measures, and endanger their existence for want of bold and determined policy.

* Charles of Bourbon, who won the famous battle of Marignano, was cousin to king Francis, and constable of France. Highly gifted, and every way meritorious, he was bitterly persecuted by the Queen-mother for having declined the honor of her hand, as well as by the king, to such a degree, that having rebelled in September, 1523, he transferred his services to the emperor Charles V. He then laid siege to Marsiglia, fought at Biagrasso, and Pavia; and, in 1527, having formed a junction with the Germans, under Giorgio Fronspergli, and taken into his service all the banditti and felons of every country he met with, he carried terror and desolation into the heart of Italy. Under pretence of being unable to restrain the licentiousness of his troops, he disregarded the treaties, and authority of the Imperial ministers. He died in his thirty-eighth year, in the manner we shall hereafter relate.

Colonnas.* I accordingly engaged fifty brave young men, and we took up our quarters in his house, where we were well paid and kindly treated.

The army of the Duke of Bourbon † having already appeared before the walls of Rome, Alessandro del Beffe requested I would go with him to oppose the enemy: I accordingly complied, and taking one of the stoutest youths with us, we were afterwards joined on our way by a young gentleman of the name of Cecchino della Casa. We came up to the walls of Campo Santo, and there descried the great army, which was exerting its utmost force to enter the town at that part of the wall to which we had approached. Many young men were slain without the walls, where they fought with the utmost fury: there was a remarkably thick mist. I turned to Alessandro, and spoke to him thus: "Let us return home with the utmost speed, since it is impossible for us here to make any stand; behold the enemy scales the walls, and our countrymen fly before them, overpowered by numbers." Alessandro, much alarmed, answered, "Would to God we had never come hither;" and, so saying, he turned away in the utmost disorder, in order to depart. I thereupon reproved him, saying, "Since you have brought me hither, I am determined to perform some manly action;" and levelling my arquebuse, where I saw the thickest crowd of the enemy, I discharged it with a deliberate aim at a person who seemed to be lifted above the rest: but the mist prevented me from distinguishing whether he was on horse-

* The Colonna family, one of the most ancient and distinguished in Rome, abounding in wealth and territories, which not unfrequently made even the pontiffs tremble for their power. In defiance of the subtle policy of Alexander VI., they maintained their splendor and authority, and were much courted by Julius II. and Leo X. During this war, always devoted to the Ghibelline party, their interference assumed an independent character, and finding Clement VII. in favor of the French, they ventured, instigated doubtless by the Emperor, to march their forces into Rome, on the 19th of September, 1526, and, exciting the people to rebellion, they sacked the Palace and St. Peter's, and shutting up the Pope in the castle, obliged him to make a treaty in favor of the Emperor.

† Bourbon, without any artillery, arrived quite unexpectedly at Rome, on the night of the 5th of May, with forty thousand men: the ensuing morning the assault of which Cellini gives this account took place.

back or on foot. Then turning suddenly about to Alessandro and Cecchino, I bid them fire off their pieces, and showed them how to escape every shot of the besiegers. Having accordingly fired twice for the enemy's once, I cautiously approached the walls, and perceived that there was an extraordinary confusion among the assailants, occasioned by our having shot the Duke of Bourbon;* he was, as I understood afterwards, that chief personage, whom I saw raised above the rest.

Quitting our post, we now passed through Campo Santo, and entered by the quarter of St. Peter; from thence we passed behind the church of St. Angelo, and reached the gate of Castello with the greatest difficulty imaginable; for Signor Rienzo de Ceri, and Signor Orazio Baglioni,† wounded or killed everybody that deserted the ramparts. When we arrived at the gate above-mentioned, part of the enemy had already entered Rome, and we had them at our heels. The castellan having thought proper to let down the portcullis, there was just room enough made for us four to enter. No sooner had we entered, than the captain Pallone de' Medici, pressed me into the service, because I belonged to the Pope's household; and forced me to leave Alessandro, very much against my will. At this very juncture, as I mounted the ramparts, Pope Clement had entered the Castle of St. Angelo, by the long gallery from St. Peter's, for he did not choose to quit the Vatican sooner, never once dreaming that the enemy would storm

* All historians agree, that Bourbon fell by a musket-shot early in the assault, easily distinguished by his white mantle, with a scaling-ladder in his hand, leading on his troops to the walls.

† The Baglioni di Perugia, who, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, nearly rendered themselves masters of their country. They were all soldiers: Orazio, here mentioned, was the son of the great Gio. Paolo. He entered into the service of the Venetians, and afterwards, in 1522, fought for Florence. Clement VII., seizing upon his person, shut him up in the castle of St. Angelo, under pretence of disturbing the peace of Perugia; but on the attack of Bourbon, he was liberated by his Holiness, for the purpose of defending Rome, and (his prison) the castle. His military skill does not seem to have been very conspicuous on this occasion, any more than on others, although he obtained the command of the Black Bands, after the famous Giovanni. To obtain sole possession of Perugia, he caused several of his cousins to be assassinated. He fell in a battle fought near Naples in 1528.

the city. As soon as I found myself within the Castle walls, I went up to some pieces of artillery, which a bombardier, named Giuliano, a Florentine, had under his direction. This Giuliano, standing upon one of the battlements, saw his house pillaged, and his wife and children cruelly used: fearing to shoot any of his friends, he did not venture to fire the guns, but throwing the match upon the ground, made a piteous lamentation, tearing his hair, and uttering the most doleful cries. His example was followed by several other gunners, which vexed me to such a degree, that I took one of the matches, and getting some people to assist me, who had not the same passions to disturb them, I directed the fire of the artillery and falcons, where I saw occasion, and killed a considerable number of the enemy.

If I had not taken this step, the party which entered Rome that morning, would have proceeded directly to the Castle; and it might possibly have been a very easy matter for them to have stormed it, as they would have met with no obstruction from the artillery. I continued to fire away, which made some cardinals and gentlemen bless me, and extol my activity to the skies. Emboldened by this, I used my utmost exertions: let it suffice that it was I who preserved the Castle that morning, and by whose means the other bombardiers began to resume their duty; and so I continued to act the whole day. Pope Clement having appointed a Roman nobleman, whose name was Signor Antonio Santa Croce, to be chief engineer, this nobleman came to me in the evening, whilst the enemy's army was entering Rome, by the quarter of Trastevere, and behaving to me with the greatest demonstrations of kindness, posted me with five great guns in the highest part of the Castle, called "dall' Angiolo," which goes quite round the fortress, and looks both towards the meadows and towards Rome. He appointed several persons to serve under me, and assist me in managing the artillery: then causing me to be paid beforehand, he gave me a portion of bread and wine, and begged I would continue to behave as I had begun. I, who was at times more inclined to arms than to my own profession, obeyed my orders with such alacrity, that I had better success than if I had been following my own business.

Night being come, and the enemy having entered Rome, we,

who were in the Castle, and I, more than any of the rest, who always took delight in beholding new and extraordinary sights, stood contemplating this strange novelty, and the fire which those who were in any other part of the city could neither see nor conceive. I shall upon this account, for a time, discontinue the history of my life, with all the particulars belonging to it, and enter into a short narrative of the public transactions.

As I continued my operations in the artillery, there happened to me, during a month that we were besieged in the Castle,* many extraordinary accidents, and all very well worth relating; but in order to be concise, and keep as much within the sphere of my profession as possible, I shall pass over most of these events in silence, relating only such as I cannot suppress:—I mean the most remarkable.

The first then is, that Signor Antonio Santa Croce, having made me come down from the place called Angiolo, with a view to fire at certain houses in the neighborhood of the Castle, into which some of the enemy had entered, whilst I was firing a cannon-shot fell near me, which hit part of a battlement, so that its force was considerably spent: a great mass, however, falling upon my breast, stopped my breath, and I lay prostrate upon the ground, but could hear a great deal of what was said by the bystanders; amongst others, Signor Antonio Croce lamented me as dead, and exclaimed aloud—"Alas! we have lost our best support!" At the report of this accident, an intimate acquaintance of mine, who was called Giovanni Francesco, the musician (though this person had a greater turn to physic than music), wept bitterly, and ran directly for a flask of the best Greek wine; then making a slate red hot, put a handful of wormwood upon it, and sprinkling it with the wine, applied it to that part of my breast where I appeared to

* The Castle of St. Angelo was besieged from the 6th of May to the 5th of June, during which time slaughter and desolation, accompanied with every species of impiety, rapine, and lust, on the side of the Imperialists, devastated the city of Rome. For this picture of horrors I need only refer the reader to the sackage of Rome by Guicciardini, by Jacopo Buonaparte, and by Valdes. Clement VII., being distressed for provisions, surrendered the Castle, with all its treasures, and remained a prisoner until the 9th of September, when, disguised as a merchant, he fled almost alone to Orvieto, having learnt, though late, the folly of relying upon conventions.

have received the injury. Such was the efficacy of the wormwood, that it immediately restored my vigor. I made an attempt to speak, but found myself unable to articulate, because some foolish soldiers had filled my mouth with earth, thinking that they had thereby given me the sacrament; though it had nearly proved an *excommunication* to me, for I could scarcely recover myself, as the earth did me a great deal more harm than the contusion. However, I escaped with life, and returned to those who were about the artillery, seconding their operations with my best abilities and endeavors.

Pope Clement had sent to ask assistance of the Duke of Urbino, who was with the Venetian army, and directed his ambassador to tell his excellency, that so long as the Castle should continue every night to make three fires on its top, at the same time firing three guns thrice over, these should be considered as signals that the fort had not surrendered. I was employed to make these signals and to fire the guns; and as the besiegers continued to annoy us greatly, I pointed the artillery in such a manner as might be likely to injure them most, and retard their operations. The Pope upon this account conceived a great liking to me, seeing that I acquitted myself with all the prudence and sagacity requisite on such occasions. The Duke of Urbino never sent the succors stipulated; therefore as my intention is not to give a particular account of this siege, I shall dwell upon no more of the circumstances of it.

Whilst I continued to be employed in my destructive business of an engineer, several cardinals* came frequently to see me, but above all the cardinals of Ravenna† and Gaddi‡ whom I often

* Guicciardini and Valdes say, there were thirteen cardinals shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo.

† Benedetto Accolti Aretino was secretary to Pope Clement VII., together with his friend Sadoletto. In 1524, he was made Archbishop of Ravenna, and afterwards a cardinal in 1527, just three days before the assault. He is extolled as a very elegant scholar by Bembo, Molza, and Ariosto. When he was governor of Marca d'Ancona in 1535, Paul III. ordered him to be imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, but he was afterwards set at liberty at the intercession of Charles V.

‡ Niccolo Gaddi, a Florentine, created cardinal on the same day as Accolti. He was delivered as hostage to the Imperialists, and sent to Naples, October, 1527. After the death of Alessandro de' Medici, Cardinal Gaddi

warned not to come near me, as their scarlet hats could be seen at a distance, which exposed both them and myself to great danger from the neighboring palaces, such as the Torre de Beni; but persuasions having no effect, I at last got them confined, by which I incurred their enmity and ill will. Signor Orazio Baglioni, my very good friend, likewise frequently came where I was. Happening to be one day in conversation with me, he observed some appearances at a certain inn, which stood without the Castle-gate, at a place called Baccanello: the sign of this inn was the Sun, painted between two red windows, which were shut. Orazio apprehending that opposite to this sign between the two windows was a table surrounded by soldiers carousing, said to me: "Benvenuto, if you were to fire your middle cannon near yonder Sun, I believe you would do execution; for I hear a great noise, and fancy there must be persons of consequence in that quarter." "Sir," said I, "what I myself see is sufficient to induce me to take a discharge at yon Sun, but I am afraid of that barrel full of stones, which stands hard by the mouth of the gun; for the force of the discharge, and the very wind of the cannon, will certainly throw it down. Orazio replied, "For God's sake, Benvenuto, lose no time: in the first place it is impossible, considering how the barrel stands, that the wind of the cannon should throw it down; but even if it should fall, and the Pope himself be under it, the harm would not be so great as you imagine; so fire, fire." I without thinking more of the matter, made a discharge at the Sun as I had promised: the barrel, which was filled with stones, fell to the ground, as I thought it would, exactly between Cardinal Farnese*, and Signor Jacopo Salviati, both of whom it was near destroying. What saved them was Cardinal Farnese's reproaching Signor Jacopo† with being the

attempted to re-establish the Florentine Republic, but failed through the superior policy and power of Cosmo I. He was learned, liberal, and skilful in affairs of state. He died in 1532. Cellini gives a farther account of him.

* Alessandro Farnese, Decan of the sacred College, a learned and distinguished personage, and successor of Clement VII. by the name of Paul III. in 1534. Cellini will have occasion to speak of him again.

† For having persuaded the Pope to dismiss the troops from Rome.

cause of the sack of Rome ; and as they both abused and railed at each other, their movements on the occasion alone prevented the barrel of stones from dashing them to pieces. Orazio having heard the noise, went down as fast as possible ; and I going towards the place where the barrel had fallen, heard some people say, "Those gunners should be killed." This induced me to turn two falcopets towards the steps leading to the battery, with a firm resolution to fire one of them at the first that should presume to ascend. The servants of Cardinal Farnese being sent by their master to insult me, I advanced in order to fire. As I knew some of them, I said—"Villains, if you do not instantly quit the place, or if any of you attempt to mount these stairs, I have two falconets ready charged, with which I will blow you into dust. Go, tell the cardinal from me, that I have done nothing but by the command of my superiors : I have been acting in defence of the clergy, and not to offend them."

The servants having retired, Orazio came running up stairs ; but I ordered him to stand back, declaring that if he did not, I would kill him upon the spot. He stopped a little, not without fear, and cried out, "Benvenuto, I am your friend." I answered, "Sir, only come by yourself, and you may come as often as you think proper." He then made a pause, for he was exceedingly proud, and said peevishly, "I have a mind to come up no more, but to act quite the reverse of what I had intended towards you." I told him that as I had received my post to defend others, I was likewise able to defend myself. He declared he was alone ; and when he came up, appeared to be so much altered in countenance, that I kept my hand upon my sword and looked sternly at him as an enemy. Upon this he began to laugh, and his color returning, he said to me with all the good humor imaginable : "My dear Benvenuto, no man can be more your friend than I am, and when an opportunity offers, I will endeavor to prove it ; would to God you had killed those two scoundrels, one of whom has already done so much mischief, and the other is likely to do more." He then desired me, in case I was asked, not to discover that he had been present, when I fired the guns ; and to make myself quite easy about the consequences. This affair made a great

noise, which lasted a long time, but I shall not dwell upon it any longer.

I now gave my whole attention to firing my guns, by which means I did signal execution, so that I had in a high degree acquired the favor and good graces of his Holiness. There passed not a day, that I did not kill some of the army without the Castle. One day amongst others the Pope happened to walk upon the round rampart, when he saw in the public walks a Spanish colonel whom he knew by certain tokens; and understanding that he had formerly been in his service, he said something concerning him, all the while observing him attentively. I who was above at the battery, and knew nothing of the matter, but saw a man who was employed in getting the trenches repaired, and who stood with a spear in his hand, dressed in rose-color, began to deliberate how I should lay him flat. I took my swivel, which was almost equal to a demi-culverin, turned it round, and charging it with a good quantity of fine and coarse powder mixed, aimed it at him exactly,* though he was at so great a distance, that it could not be expected any effort of art should make such pieces carry so far. I fired off the gun, and hit the man in red exactly in the middle: he had arrogantly placed his sword before him in a sort of Spanish bravado, but the ball of my piece hit against his sword, and the man was seen severed into two pieces. The Pope who did not dream of any such thing, was highly delighted and surprised at what he saw, as well because he thought it impossible that such a piece could carry so far, as that he could not conceive how the man could be cut into two pieces. Upon this he sent for me, and made an inquiry into the whole affair. I told him the art I had used to fire in that manner; but as for the man's being split into two pieces, neither he nor I were able to account for it. So falling upon my knees I entreated his Holiness to absolve me from the guilt of homicide, as likewise from other crimes which I had committed in that Castle in the service of the Church. The Pope lifting up his hands and making the sign of the cross over me, said that he blessed me and gave me

* According to Alberti aimed at him at random. "Dogli un arcata."

his absolution for all the homicides that I had ever committed, or ever should commit, in the service of the Apostolic Church.

Upon quitting him I again went up to the battery, and continuing to keep a constant fire, I scarce once missed all the time. My drawing, my elegant studies, and my taste for music, all vanished before this butchering business; and if I were to give a particular account of all the exploits I performed in this infernal employment, I should astonish all the world; but I pass them by for the sake of brevity. I shall only touch upon some of the most remarkable, which should not be omitted upon any account. As I thought incessantly of exerting all my endeavors in defence of the Church, I took it into consideration that the enemy every night changed their guard, and passed through the great gate of S. Spirito, which was indeed a reasonable length for the artillery to carry; but because I shot cross-ways, I did not do so much execution as I wished. And yet there was every day a considerable number slain, so that the enemy, seeing the pass become dangerous, one night heaped above a hundred barrels upon the top of a house, which obstructed my prospect. Having now reflected more maturely upon the matter than I had done at first, I levelled my whole five pieces of artillery against those barrels, and waited for the relieving of the guard till the dusk of the evening. As they imagined themselves in perfect security, they came on slower and in greater numbers than usual. I then fired off my pieces, and not only threw the barrels to the ground, but with the same shot killed above thirty men. Upon my continuing to act in the same manner two or three times more, the soldiers were put into such disorder, that amongst those who had loaded themselves with plunder at the sacking of Rome, some of them, desirous of enjoying the fruits of their military toil, were disposed to mutiny against their officers and march off; but being appeased by a valiant captain, whose name was Gian d'Urbino,* they were

* Gian d'Urbino, Urbina, or, according to others, Durbino, was a commander of distinguished reputation during this war. By birth a Spaniard, he fought his way from the ranks to the very highest station in the army, by which he was much beloved. He was also in high repute with Prospero Colonna, the Marchese Davalo, and the Prince of Orange, to whom he was Lieutenant-general. He acquired great reputation in the reduction of

with great difficulty prevailed on to turn through another pass in order to relieve the guard. This obliged them to fetch a compass of about three miles; whereas they at first had but half a mile to march. This affair being over, all the nobility in the Castle conferred extraordinary favors on me. I chose to relate this exploit on account of its importance, though it is foreign to the profession which first induced me to take a pen in hand. But if I were to fill up the history of my life with such events, my narrative would become too voluminous. I shall, therefore, relate but one more of this sort which I have reserved for its proper place.

I must here anticipate a little in point of time, and inform the reader how Pope Clement, in order to preserve his regalia, together with all the jewels of the apostolical chamber, sent for me, and shut himself up with the master of the horse and me in an apartment. This master of the horse had formerly been equerry to Filippo Strozzi,* and was a Frenchman. Pope Clement had enriched him considerably, being one of his favorite domestics. He was a person of mean birth, yet the Pope put as much confidence in him as if he had been his own brother. Thus, while we were shut up together in the above-mentioned chamber, they placed before me the regalia, with all the vast quantity of jewels, belonging to the apostolical chamber, and his Holiness ordered me to take off the gold in which they were set. I did as I was directed, and wrapping up each of them in a little piece of paper, we sewed them in the skirts of the Pope's clothes, and those of the master of the horse. They then gave me all the gold, which amounted to about a hundred pounds weight, and ordered me to

Genoa, and at the two battles of Lodi, in 1522 and 26. He had an engagement with Filippino Doria, in the Mediterranean: and, in a sortie from Naples, routed and killed Orazio Baglione. Varchi informs us he was of an extremely haughty and cruel disposition.

* This wealthy Florentine married the daughter of Pietro de' Medici. He was a person of very distinguished merit and consideration in Florence, and was sent as chief minister from the Medici to the Courts of France and Rome. When Duke Alessandro, in 1535, usurped the government of Florence, he joined the exiled citizens, but falling into the hands of Duke Cosmo, after many fruitless attempts, he was thrown into a dungeon, where, after languishing a year, he put a period to his life, like another Cato, in 1539.

melt it with the utmost secrecy. I repaired to the Angelo battery, where was my apartment, which I could shut to avoid being seen or interrupted in my operation: and having there made a little furnace of bricks, and fastened to the bottom of the furnace a little pot about the size of a dish, I threw the gold upon the coals, and it fell by degrees into the pot.

Whilst this furnace was going, I constantly watched my opportunity to annoy the enemy, and soon did them a great deal of damage in their trenches with certain antique missiles,* which I found in the armory, belonging to the castle. Having taken a swivel and a falconet, both somewhat broke at the mouth, I filled them with those weapons, and then fired off the pieces, which flew down like wild-fire, doing a great deal of damage to the trenches. Thus keeping my pieces constantly in order whilst I was melting the gold, I saw towards the evening a person mounted upon a little mule, who came upon the border of the trench: the mule went at a great rate, and the person spoke to the men in the trenches. I thought it most advisable to fire off my artillery before he came quite opposite to me: so having taken aim exactly, I fired and wounded him in the face with one of the missiles; the others hit the mule, which instantly fell dead. Hearing a loud noise in the trenches, I discharged the other piece, which did great execution. The person above-mentioned was the Prince of Orange,† who was carried through the trenches to a neighboring inn, whither all the nobility of the army quickly repaired. Pope Clement having heard of what I had done, immediately sent for me, and desired me to give him an account of what had happened.

* In the original, *passatojacci*, the signification of which is not ascertained. Dr. Nugent translates it "javelins."

† Filiberto di Chalons, Prince of Orange, disliking his command under Francis the First, made an offer of his services to the Emperor, forfeiting at once his fortune, and his principality. He was a sworn and implacable enemy to France. When taken prisoner by Andrea Doria, and thrown into the castle of Lusignano, he indulged his hatred by writing lampoons against France upon the walls. He no sooner obtained his freedom, by the peace of Madrid, than he returned to the army of the Emperor. He was in imminent danger from this wound, which historians agree in attributing to a musket-shot. He fell in the siege of Florence, 1330, only thirty years of age. He died, like the great Bourbon, valiantly leading on his soldiers, in the midst of victory.

I related to him the whole transaction, and further told him, that this must be some person of the first rank, because all the chief officers of the army, as they appeared to me, had immediately repaired to the inn to which he had been conveyed. The Pope being a person of great sagacity, sent for Signor Antonio Croce, who was the chief engineer, as I have already observed, and directed him to command all the gunners to point their whole artillery, which was very considerable, against the inn, and all to discharge their pieces at the firing of a musket; that by killing those chief officers, the army, which would be in a great measure deprived of its leaders, might be totally dispersed; and God would at last hear their fervent and constant prayer, and thus deliver them from those impious invaders.

We thereupon put our artillery in order according to the directions of Santa Croce, and waited for the signal to fire. Cardinal Orsini* being informed of this resolution, came to high words with the Pope, and declared in the most peremptory manner, that no such step should be taken upon any account, as an accommodation was then upon the carpet, and if those officers were killed, the army being without a leader, would storm the Castle, and put them all to the sword, therefore he would by no means agree to our projected enterprise. The poor Pope, quite in despair, to see himself thus attacked both within and without, told the cardinal, and his party, that he left the whole affair to their discretion. The order being thus revoked, I who could not stand idle and inactive, when I perceived that they were come to command me not to fire, discharged the middle cannon, and the ball hit a pillar of that house, about which a considerable crowd was gathered.†

* Franciotto Orsini, of Rome, was educated in the house of Lorenzo de' Medici, his relation, and there became acquainted with Politian, who devoted himself to his service. Having been first a soldier, after marrying and becoming a widower he thought of the church, and was elected cardinal in 1517. In the treaty here mentioned, concluded on the 5th of June, some hostages were surrendered by the Pope, who having broken prison, by *inebriating* their *German* guards, they were threatened with death, for the purpose of extorting more money, and the Pope was obliged to send Orsini, with four other cardinals, in their place. He died in 1553.

† Giacopo Buonaparte relates, that the Pope melted down all his plate, and gold and silver vases, to pay the soldiers. Though amounting to more

This shot made such havoc amongst the enemy, that they were upon the point of quitting the inn. Cardinal Orsini was so incensed at this, that he was absolutely for having me hanged or put to death in some way or other, but the Pope took my part with great spirit and resolution. As I do not consider myself in the light of a professed historian, I shall not here insert the altercation that passed between them upon the occasion, but shall give my whole attention to my own business.

As soon as I had melted the gold, I carried it to the Pope, who returned me thanks, and ordered the master of the horse to give me five-and-twenty crowns, at the same time making an apology because he had it not in his power to recompense me more amply.

than three hundred thousand crowns, it proved too little for the Imperial generals only, without the soldiers. Our Author farther explains the result of this proceeding, in the XIth Chapter of his Art of Jewellery.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Author returns to Florence and, with the assistance of Pier Maria di Lotto, compromises matters with the magistrates of that city.—He is pressed to go into the army by Orazio Baglione, but, at his father's request, removes to Mantua.—There he sees his friend Giulio Romano, who recommends him to the Duke of Mantua as an artist.—An indiscreet speech obliges him to quit Mantua.—He goes back to Florence, where he finds that his father, and most of his relations, had been carried off by the plague.—Intimacy between him and Michel Angelo Buonarroti, through whose recommendation he is greatly encouraged in his business.—Story of Federigo Ginori.—Rupture between Pope Clement and the city of Florence.—The Author, at the Pope's solicitation, returns to Rome.

A FEW days after, an agreement was concluded with the Imperialists ; when I set out with Signor Orazio Baglione, and three hundred soldiers, towards Perugia. This gentleman wished me to accept of the command of those men, but I declined his offer, telling him I chose to see my father first, and compromise the affair of my banishment from Florence. He then acquainted me that I had already been made a captain by the Florentines, who had commissioned Signor Pier Maria di Lotto,* and that he would recommend me to that gentleman, as a person for whom he had a very great regard. So I repaired to Florence, in company with several other military men.

The plague had made terrible havoc in that city ; but I found my worthy father alive, who thought that I must either have been killed at the sack of Rome, or that I should return to him quite naked and destitute. It proved however quite the reverse : I was

* Pier Maria di Lotto di S. Miniato was Notary this year to the Republic, which, having collected the remnants of the Black Bands, gave the command to Signor Orazi. Joined by Renzo da Ceri, he made a gallant sally out of the Castle of St. Angelo, just before the treaty, and brought his company safe off to Perugia, whilst Renzo was surprised and taken prisoner by the Imperialists.

alive, with my pockets well lined, and had a servant and a horse. So overjoyed was my aged father at the sight of his son, that I thought, whilst he was kissing and embracing me, he would die of the transport. I soon told him the bloody tale of the sack of Rome, and presented him with a considerable number of crowns, which I had gained by the war. Our first caresses and demonstrations of joy being over, we repaired to the magistrates to compromise the affair of my banishment. One of those who had been concerned in pronouncing the sentence against me, happened to be then in the rotation of his office; he was the same that had said to my father in a passion that he would send me, with a guard of spearmen, to prison. My father therefore, to avenge my severe treatment, threw out some sharp expressions against him, emboldened by the favors which I had received from Signor Orazio Baglione. Matters standing thus, I told my father that Signor Orazio had appointed me captain in the Florentines' service, and it was proper I should begin to think of raising my company. My poor father, quite stunned at these words, begged and entreated me not to think of any such thing, though he was very sensible that I was equal to that, and even to any undertaking of the greatest importance; adding, that he had already one son in the army, my younger brother, who was so gallant a youth; and that I ought to attach myself totally to that admirable art, which I had followed so many years with unwearied application.

Though I promised to obey him, he judged, like a man of sense, that in case Signor Orazio should come to Florence, I should not fail, either through complaisance, or some other motives of the same nature, to embrace the military profession. He therefore devised a very good expedient to prevent it, which was to persuade me to remove from Florence; and said, "My dear son, a most dreadful pestilence rages in this city, and you are come home just at the time of its greatest fury: I remember when I was very young, I went to Mantua, where I met with a kind reception, and made a stay of several years. I request it of you, and even command you, that you would for my sake repair thither, and that you do it directly, and not so much as defer it till to-morrow." As I was always glad of an opportunity of seeing the world, and had never been at Mantua, I gladly complied with his

request. The greatest part of the money I had brought with me, I left with the old man, promising to assist him in whatever part of the world I should happen to live : at the same time I earnestly recommended it to my eldest sister, to take care of my father. The name of this sister was Cosa, and as she never chose to marry, she was admitted as a nun at St. Ursula ; so she stayed to attend, and take care of, my old father, and likewise to direct my younger sister, who was married to a statuary of the name of Bartolomeo. Thus, my father giving me his blessing, I took horse, and set out for Mantua.

My narrative would swell to a tedious prolixity, were I to give the reader a circumstantial account of this journey. As all Italy was at that time ravaged by war and pestilence, I, with great difficulty, travelled as far as Mantua, where, when I arrived, I endeavored to get into business, and was immediately employed by one Signor Niccolo, a Milanese, who was goldsmith to the duke. As soon as I had obtained employment, I went to pay a visit to Giulio Romano, a first-rate painter, and my particular friend : he gave me the kindest reception imaginable, and seemed to take it very ill that I did not, upon my arrival, come directly to alight at his door. This painter lived like a nobleman, and was employed in a work for the duke, without the gate of Mantua, at a place called the Te.* This work was grand and magnificent as it appears to this day. Giulio immediately recommended me in the most honorable terms to the duke, who gave me an order to make a little shrine for the relic of the blood of Christ, which the Mantuans boast themselves to be possessed of, and affirm to have been brought thither by Longinus : he then turned about to Signor Giulio, and bid him draw a model of the shrine. Giulio made answer, "Please your excellency, Benvenuto is a man that has no occasion for the design of another artist ; and this you will readily acknowledge, when you see his performance." Having undertaken this task I sketched out a design for the shrine, in which the phial of blood could easily be

* Sign. Gio. Bottani has given us a fine historical description of this Villa, on which Giulio Romano exhausted his amazing talents both in painting and architecture.

contained. I also made a little model of wax representing a Christ sitting, who in his right hand, which was raised aloft, held his cross, in a reclining attitude, and, with his left hand, seemed to be going to tear open the wound in his breast. When I had finished this model, the duke was so highly pleased with it, that he grew lavish of his favors to me, giving me to understand, that I should continue in his service, and he would amply provide for me.

Having at this juncture paid my respects to the cardinal his brother,* the latter requested the duke, that he would give me permission to make his pontifical seal, which I immediately took in hand. Whilst I was employed about this work a quartan fever attacked me, and I grew delirious; I then began to curse Mantua, and its sovereign, and all that chose it for their place of residence. These words were reported to the duke by his Milanese goldsmith, who saw plainly that his excellency had a desire to retain me in his service. The duke having heard the words which I uttered in my illness, was incensed against me to the highest degree, and I being as much dissatisfied with Mantua, our disgust was reciprocal. After finishing my seal in about four months, with several other little works which I executed for the duke in the name of the cardinal, I was well paid by the latter, who entreated me to return to Rome, to that excellent country, where we had made so agreeable an acquaintance.

I left Mantua with a good purse of crowns, and arrived at Governo, the place where the brave Signor Giovanni de' Medici was slain. I was attacked in this place by a slight fever, which did not in the least interrupt my journey; there it left me, never to trouble me afterwards. Upon my arrival at Florence, thinking to find my dear father alive, I knocked at the door; when a hump-backed old woman looked out of the window, and bidding me,

* Ercole Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, made a Cardinal in 1527, was one of the brightest ornaments of the Church in the sixteenth century. Of an elevated genius, and excellent disposition, he not only made rapid progress in literature and the arts, but gave them every encouragement in his power, and took singular pleasure in the company of artists and of scholars. After the death of Duke Frederick, he was sixteen years Regent of Mantua, during the minority of his nephews.

with the most abusive language, he gone, told me I had no business there. I made answer to the hag, "Old beldame, is there no other creature in the house but you, with your unlucky, ill-boding countenance?" To this I added in a loud voice, "Must I wait here two hours?" This dispute brought a woman in the neighborhood to her window, who told me that my father, and all belonging to my family, were dead of the plague;* and as I partly guessed this to be the case, it gave me the less concern. The good woman, at the same time, acquainted me that the only one of my relations left alive, was my younger sister, whose name was Liperata; and that a religious lady named Mona Andrea de Bellacci had taken care of her. I then set out for my inn, and accidentally meeting a friend of mine, whose name was Giovanni Rigogli, I alighted at his house, and we went together to the grand square, where I received information that my brother was still living, of whom I went in quest to the house of a friend of his named Bertino Aldobrandi.

Upon finding my brother, we embraced each other with the utmost ardor of affection, and what rendered our demonstrations of joy the more rapturous, was that we had received news of each other's death. My brother afterwards bursting into a loud fit of laughter, and at the same time expressing the utmost surprise, took me by the hand, and said: "Come, brother, I will conduct you to a place, of which you would never have been able to form a conception. The case is this; I have procured our sister Liperata, who has no doubt of your death, a second husband." Whilst we were going to her house, we related to each other the many extraordinary events which had befallen us; and when we reached the place, our sister was so astonished at the unexpected sight, that she fell into my arms in a swoon. If my brother had not been present, this sudden accident, which deprived her of all utterance, would have prevented the husband from knowing that I was her relation. My brother Cuchino assisting our sister, who had fainted away, she soon came to herself. Having for a while lamented her father, her sister, her husband and a little son that she had been

* From the month of May to November, in 1527, no less than 40,000 persons died of the plague in Florence.

deprived of, she began to prepare supper ;* and during the rest of the evening, there was not a word more spoken of the dead ; but the conversation turned upon all the most joyous and gay topics that could be thought of ; thus we supped together with the greatest cheerfulness and satisfaction imaginable.

My brother and sister prevailed upon me to stay at Florence, though my inclination led me to return to Rome. Besides that, my dear friend by whom, as I have already mentioned, I had been assisted in my distress, I mean Piero, the son of Giovanni Landi, joined with them in persuading me to reside some time in Florence. For the Medici family had been driven out of that city, viz. Signor Ippolito and Signor Alessandro (one of whom was afterwards cardinal, and the other duke of Florence), Piero was for having me stay by all means, and await the event.† I therefore began to work in the New Market, and set a great number of jewels, by which I was a considerable gainer.

About this time arrived at Florence, a native of Sienna, a man of lively genius, whose name was Girolamo Mazetti, and who had resided a long time in Turkey : he came to my shop, and employed me to make him a golden medal to be worn upon a hat. He desired me to represent upon the medal the figure of Hercules‡ tearing asunder the jaws of the lion. I instantly set about the work, and, whilst I was employed upon it, Michel Angelo Buonarroti came to see it. I had taken immense pains with this piece : the attitude and strength of the animal were better repre-

* She who lamented over these persons was Liperata, younger sister of Cosa, and first married to Bartolomeo, a sculptor, as stated before.

† As soon as the Florentines saw the Pope in jeopardy, they persuaded Cardinal Passerini, his vice-governor of Florence, to restore the Republic, by obliging the Medici to resume a private station. The Cardinal yielding to circumstances, soon after retired with the young princes to Lucca. In the revolution which followed, on the 17th of May, the papal authority was abolished, and Niccolo Capponi elected Gonfalonier by the grand council of the people. All Florence was up,—the military and civil authorities called out, and the magistrates, having no reliance upon *earthly* princes in this new order of things, had recourse to the enthusiastic tenets of Savonarola, and Jesus Christ was solemnly declared sole lord and king of Florence.

‡ In his Treatise on the "Goldsmith's Art," our Author speaks more at length respecting this medal. It is there said to have been made for Girolamo Marretta.

mented, than in any previous performance of the kind. My manner of working was likewise entirely new to the divine Michel Angelo, so that he praised me to such a degree, that I conceived the strongest inclination imaginable to perform something extraordinary. But as I had no other employ than setting jewels, though I could not earn more money in any other branch, I was not yet satisfied, but wished to be concerned in business of more consequence.

It happened about this time, that one Federigo Ginori, a young man of sublime genius (who had resided several years at Naples, and having a very advantageous person, had an intrigue with a princess in that city) conceived a fancy to make a medal representing Atlas, with the world upon his shoulders: he therefore requested the divine Michel Angelo to draw him a design. The latter said to him, "Go to a young jeweller, whose name is Benvenuto; he will serve you as well as you could wish: but that you may not think I shun so slight a trouble, I will, with all the pleasure imaginable, sketch you out a design; but at the same time speak to Benvenuto to draw you another, and take the best of the two for your model."

Federigo Ginori came to me accordingly, and told me what he wanted, letting me know withal, how highly the divine Michel Angelo had commended me; and that it was at his recommendation he had recourse to my assistance. As that great man had promised him a design, his commendations encouraged me to comply with Ginori's request. I accordingly set about the model with the utmost ardor of application. When I had finished it, a painter, who was an intimate friend of Michel Angelo, and whose name was Giuliani Bugiardini,* brought me his design of the Atlas. At the same time I showed this Giuliani my little model

* Bugiardini, a disciple of Bertoldo, was a very diligent artist, and exact imitator of other pictures. Such also was his simplicity of taste and manners, that Michel Angelo, who was fond of being in his company, used to call him the *happy man*, because, when he had bestowed the utmost pains upon his labors, he appeared so perfectly satisfied with the result; whilst he (Michel Angelo) was never known to be pleased with anything he did. Notwithstanding this *happy* taste, Bugiardini, with the assistance of his friends, left many elegant works behind him, both in Bologna and Florence. He died in 1556, in his 75th year.

of wax, which was very different from the drawing made by Michel Angelo; but Federigo and Bugiardini determined that I should follow my own model. I then began my work, and the divine Michel Angelo bestowed the highest praises imaginable, both on me and my performance. This work was a figure engraved on a thin plate, supporting on its shoulders the heavens, represented by a ball of crystal, on which was cut the Zodiac, with a field of lapis lazuli. The workmanship was so beautiful to behold, as to be altogether inestimable. Under it was this motto, *Summam tulisse juvat*.^{*} Federigo being satisfied with my performance, paid me generously. Signor Luigi Alamanni,† an intimate friend of Federigo, happening to be at this time in Florence, the latter brought him several times to my house, and by his means we became intimately acquainted.

Pope Clement having declared war against Florence,‡ that city prepared to make a defence; orders were therefore given, that the militia should parade in every quarter, and I was commanded to take arms myself. I got ready in the best manner I could, and formed connexions with the first nobility in Florence, who seemed all very well disposed to exert their utmost efforts in defence of their country; the prayers customary on such occasions were made in every quarter of the city. The young men were oftener

^{*} There is mention of this medal again, in the fifth chapter of "The Goldsmith's Art," where the motto is, *Summa tulisse*, and not *Summam*, &c. Cellini's pencil-design of the Zodiac is found catalogued by Bartich, in the Prince of Ligne's collection, and was most probably intended for this same work.

† Alamanni, whose genius seemed peculiarly fitted to succeed in eclogue, pastoral, and romance, was unfortunately involved in the political bitterness and distractions of the times. Engaged in the conspiracy of 1552, against the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, he was first imprisoned, and afterwards, on his release, wandered in desertion and poverty through many parts of France and Italy. Returning to his native place, about 1527, he again devoted himself to his favorite object of restoring the ancient government, but all his attempts proving abortive, he was compelled, after being declared a rebel, to return into exile. He went to France, where his poetical talents acquired him the favor and protection of Francis I., and of Catherine de' Medici.

‡ The peace between the Pope and the Emperor was concluded in June, 1529, and the Prince of Orange marched towards Florence the ensuing September.

assembled than usual, and nothing else was talked of, but how to repel the enemy. It happened one day, about noon, that a number of gallant youths, of the first quality in the city, were assembled in my shop, when a letter was brought me from a certain person at Rome, who was called Giacomino della Barca : his true name was Giacopo dello Sciorina, but in Rome he had the appellation of "della Barca," because he was master of a ferry over the river Tiber, between the Ponte Sisto and the bridge of St. Angelo. This Giacopo was a very ingenious person ; highly entertaining and agreeable in company : he had formerly been a manufacturer of cloth in Florence, and was now in high favor with Pope Clement, who took great delight in his conversation. As they happened, at a particular time, to be conversing on various topics, the sack of Rome was mentioned, with the affair of the Castle. In the course of this conversation, the Pope, recollecting my services, spoke of my conduct on that occasion in the most favorable terms imaginable ; adding, that if he knew where I was, he should be glad to have me again in his service. Master Giacopo thereupon telling him that I resided at Florence, the Pope desired him to invite me to return. The purport of this invitation was, that I should enter into the service of Pope Clement, which would turn out considerably to my advantage. The young gentlemen present were very earnest to know the contents of the letter, which I endeavored to conceal from them as well as I could ; and I wrote to Signor Giacopo, requesting him to send me no more letters upon any account.

Giacopo, however, growing more officious and obstinate, wrote me a second epistle, couched in such terms, that if it had been discovered, I might have been involved in great difficulty. The substance of it was, that I should repair directly to Rome, where the Pope wanted to employ me in affairs of the greatest importance ; and that the best course for me to take, was to drop all other projects, and not join with a pack of senseless rebels in acting against his Holiness. When I had perused this letter, I was so much alarmed that I immediately went in quest of my dear friend Pier Landi, who, upon seeing me, asked what had happened that I appeared to be in such disorder. I answered my friend, that I could by no means disclose what occasioned my uneasiness ;

I only begged the favor of him to take my keys, which I put into his hands, and deliver the jewels, with the gold he should find, to the persons whose names were set down in my memorandum-book; and then pack up the furniture of my house, and keep an account of it, with his usual fidelity and friendship; adding that I should, in a few days, let him know what had become of me. Pier Landi, guessing pretty nearly how the matter stood, made answer: "Brother, go your ways without loss of time, and write to me afterwards. Make yourself quite easy about your affairs, and do not give yourself the least concern on that account." I took his advice. This was the most faithful, the most prudent, virtuous, and loving friend, that I ever had in my whole life.

CHAPTER IX.

The Author returns to Rome, and is introduced to the Pope.—Conversation between him and his Holiness—the Pope employs him as a jeweller in a piece of exquisite workmanship.—He is made engraver of the Mint, notwithstanding the obloquy and detraction of several courtiers, and particularly of Pompeo of Milan, and Trajani, the pontiff's favorites.—Fine medal of his designing.—Dispute between him and Bandinelli the sculptor.

AFTER I had retired from Florence, I repaired to Rome, and immediately upon my arrival wrote to my friend Landi. I met with many of my former acquaintance in that city, by whom I was well received, and greatly caressed: however I lost no time, but set about several works, which proved very lucrative, but were not of sufficient importance to require a particular description. There was an old goldsmith, in Rome, named Raffaello del Moro, who had great reputation in his profession, and was moreover an honest man. He requested me to go to work at his shop, because he had some business of consequence upon his hands, which would not fail to turn out to good account; I readily accepted the offer. Ten days had already elapsed, before I had seen Giacopo della Barca, who meeting with me by chance, accosted me in the most affectionate manner imaginable. Upon his asking me how long I had been there, I answered about a fortnight: at this he was highly offended, telling me that I showed very little respect to a Pope, who had written for me thrice, in terms the most pressing. I was not at all pleased with his freedom, yet made no reply, suppressing my indignation as well as I could. This person, who was exceedingly loquacious, began to run on at a strange rate; and when I at last perceived that he was tired, I merely said to him, that he might conduct me to his Holiness whenever he thought proper. He told me that any time suited him; and I replied that I for my part was always ready.

We bent our course towards the palace (this was on Holy Thursday), and as soon as we arrived at the Pope's apartments, he being known, and I expected, were both admitted into his Holiness's presence. The Pope* being somewhat indisposed, was in bed, attended by Signor Giacomo Salviati and the Archbishop of Capua.†

As soon as his Holiness saw me, he was quite overjoyed: I approached him in the most humble manner, kissed his feet, and endeavored to show by my gestures, that I had something of the last importance to communicate. The Pope thereupon made a sign with his hand, and Signor Giacomo Salviati and the archbishop retired to a considerable distance from us. I thereupon addressed his Holiness in these terms: "Holy father, ever since this city was sacked, I have not been able to confess or receive the sacrament, because nobody will give me absolution. The case is this: when I melted down the gold in the tower, after laboring so hard to take off the jewels, your Holiness charged Cavalierino to give me some little recompense for my trouble; but I received nothing from him: on the contrary, he loaded me with abusive language. Thus provoked I went up to the place where I had melted the gold, and removing the ashes, took out about a pound and a half of that metal, in a number of grains, small like millet; and not having sufficient money to bear my charges in my journey home, I thought to apply them to my private use, and afterwards make restitution when I should have an opportunity. I am now here at the feet of your Holiness, who are possessed of the full power of absolving, and request you would be so good as to give me permission to confess and communicate, that I may with your favor be restored to the divine grace." The Pope, with a faint

* This was in 1530. The Pope never enjoyed good health after his illness in 1529. V. Marini, *Archiatrì*, vol. 1, p. 336.

† F. Nicchola Schomberg, a learned Dominican and disciple of Frà Saverio, was made Archbishop of Capua in 1520. He was one of Pope Clement VII.'s most intimate and faithful counsellors, and succeeding in several delicate negotiations, he acquired so much credit, that, though a Swede by birth, and wanting a cardinal's hat, he had very nearly succeeded in being appointed by the Pope as his successor. He received the purple from Paul III., in 1535, and died in 1537, aged 65 years. Many of his works are published.

sigh, perhaps occasioned by the remembrance of his past sorrows, uttered these words:—"Benvenuto, I have not the least doubt of the truth of what you say: I have it in my power, and am even willing, to absolve you from any guilt you may have incurred. Therefore freely and with confidence confess the whole, for if you had taken the value of one of those triple crowns, I am ready and willing to pardon you." I then said—"Holy father, I took nothing but what I have mentioned, and it did not amount to above the value of one hundred and fifty ducats; for that was the sum I received for the gold at the mint of Perugia, and I went with it to assist my aged father." The Pope replied:—"Your father was as virtuous, as good, and as worthy a man as ever was born, and you do not in the least degenerate from him. I am very much concerned that you got so little money, but I make you a present of it, whatever it was, and absolve you of any crime you may have committed. Testify this to the confessor, if that be all you require; when you have confessed and communicated, let me see you again; it will be for your interest."

As soon as the Pope had dismissed me, master Giacopo and the Archbishop of Capua came forwards. The Pope spoke as favorably of me as possible, declaring that he had heard my confession, and given me absolution: he moreover desired the archbishop to send for me to his house, and ask me if there was any other case that troubled my conscience, directing him to give me a thorough absolution; and at the same time to treat me with all possible marks of kindness. This interview being over, little Signor Giacopino had a curiosity to know what long conversation I had had with the Pope. After he had asked me this question several times, I made answer that I did not choose to tell him, for it was no concern of his, and he might, therefore, save himself the trouble of interrogating me any farther. I then went to execute all that I had agreed for with the Pope, and the two festivals being over, I paid him another visit. His Holiness received me with a still more gracious manner than before, and told me that if I had come a little sooner to Rome, I should have been employed in setting the jewels again, which I had taken out of the two crowns at the Castle. As that was not, however, a work in which I could gain great reputation, he was resolved, he said, to employ me in

an undertaking of the last importance, in which I should have an opportunity of displaying my abilities. "The work," added he, "I mean, is the button for the pontifical cope, which is made round, and in the form of a large trencher, and sometimes like a small one, half or one-third of a cubit wide. In this I would have God the father represented in half relievo, and in the midst of it I would have the fine edge of the large diamond set, with many other jewels of the greatest value. Caradosso began one some time ago, but never finished it: this I would have completed with all speed, for I should be glad to have the pleasure of wearing it a little while myself: go, then, and draw a fine design of it." Thereupon he caused all his jewels to be shown me, and I left him, highly pleased with my success.

During the siege of Florence, Federigo Ginori, for whom I made the medal of Atlas, died of a consumption, and it fell into the hands of Signor Luigi Alamanni, who soon after made a present of it to king Francis I., together with some of his admirable writings. His majesty being highly pleased with the medal, the worthy Luigi Alamanni spoke of me in such favorable terms to that monarch, that he testified a desire to know me. Being now employed on this little model, I proceeded with the utmost expedition, making it much of the same size as that intended for the work itself. Meanwhile several persons of my profession, who thought themselves equal to such a task, began to stir upon the occasion, and among the rest one Micheletto,* who had not been long in Rome, a person noted for his skill in cutting cornelians, and an excellent jeweller. This man was advanced in years, and having acquired a high degree of reputation, was employed in mending the Pope's triple diadem. Finding that I was engaged in designing this model, he expressed great surprise that I had not informed him of the affair, as he was an intelligent man, and in great favor with the Pope. At last, perceiving that I did not go near him, he came to my house, and asked me what I was about. I answered that I was busy with a work, which was put into my

* Micheletto, or as Vasari writes it, Michelino, was a very fine and accurate artist, as well on a grand scale, as on smaller works. He was equal to the very first engravers of an age rich in every species of excellence depending on the arts.

hands by the Pope himself. He replied, that he had received orders to examine the several works then in hand for his Holiness. I told him I would first inquire of the Pope, and then I should know what answer to return him. Upon which he said that he would make me repent.

After leaving me in a passion, he had an interview with all the most eminent men in the business, and when they had consulted about the affair, they made choice of Micheletto for their agent. The latter being a man of genius, got certain able designers to draw above thirty models, all different from each other: at the same time knowing the Pope to be very ready to listen to his insinuations, he entered into a confederacy against me with another artist, named Pompeo, a Milanese, who was very much in favor with his Holiness, and related to Signor Trajano, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, and highly in the Pope's good graces. They began to intimate to the Pontiff that they had seen my design, and did not think me capable of so great an undertaking. He answered that he would examine into the affair himself, and in case I should not prove equal to the task, he would find a more proper person. They both said that they had got several admirable designs for the purpose; the Pope replied, "That he was satisfied with what they had done, but did not choose to inspect their designs till I had finished mine, and then he would examine them all together."

In a few days I had completed my model, and carried it one morning to the Pope; Signor Trajano made me wait a long while, and in the meantime sent for Micheletto and Pompeo in all haste, desiring them to bring their models with them. As soon as they came, we were all admitted; Micheletto and Pompeo began to show their plans, and the Pope to examine them; and because designers unacquainted with the jewelling business do not understand the placing of precious stones, where figures are to be introduced, and those who were practised in the art had not taught them the secret (for when a figure is to be set off with jewels, the jeweller must know how to design, otherwise he is sure to blunder), it so fell out that all those who had drawn those designs, had laid the fine, large, and beautiful diamond in the middle of the breast of God the Father. The Pope, who was a person of un-

common genius, having taken notice of this blunder, was highly delighted with his own discovery. After he had inspected about ten, he threw the rest upon the ground, and desired me to give him my model, that he might see whether I had committed the same mistake. Thereupon I came forward, and opened a little round box, when instantly there seemed to flash from it a lustre which dazzled the Pope himself, and he cried out with a loud voice, "Benvenuto, had you been my very self, you could not have designed this with greater propriety." My rivals were highly mortified upon the occasion. Several great noblemen approaching, the Pope showed them the difference between my model and theirs: and when he had bestowed sufficient praise upon it, and my enemies appeared ready to burst with pride and vexation, he turned about to me and said: "I discover here an inconvenience which is of the utmost consequence; my friend Benvenuto, it is easy to work in wax, the grand difficulty is to execute it in gold." To which I answered boldly; "Most holy father, I will make it my bargain with you, that if I do not execute the work itself in a manner ten times superior to this model, I am to have nothing for my trouble." Upon my uttering these words there was a general outcry, the noblemen affirming that I promised too much. But one of them, who was a great philosopher, said in my favor, "From the admirable symmetry of shape, and happy physiognomy of this young man, I venture to engage that he will perform all he promises." The Pope replied, "I am of the same opinion;" then calling to Trajano, his gentleman of the bed-chamber, he ordered him to fetch five hundred ducats.

Whilst they were bringing the money, he examined more minutely the ingenious artifice, by which I had placed that fine diamond, and God the Father in a proper position. I had laid the diamond exactly in the middle of the work, and over it I had represented God the Father sitting in a sort of a free, easy attitude, which suited admirably well with the rest of the piece, and did not in the least crowd the diamond; his right hand was lifted up, giving his blessing. Under the diamond I had drawn three little boys, who supported it with their arms raised aloft. One of these boys, which stood in the middle, was in full, the other two in half, relieve. Round it was a number of figures of boys

placed amongst other glittering jewels. The remainder of God the Father was covered with a cloak, which wantoned in the wind, from whence issued several figures of boys with other striking ornaments most beautiful to behold. This work was made of a white stucco upon a black stone. When the officer brought the money, the Pope gave it to me with his own hand, and in the most obliging manner requested me to endeavor to please him by my execution, promising me that I should find my account in it.

Having taken leave of his Holiness, I went home with the money and the model, and was in the utmost impatience to begin the work. I set about it with the greatest assiduity, and in a week's time the Pope sent one of his gentlemen of the bed-chamber, a native of Bologna, and of great distinction, to desire I would repair to him directly, and carry my work along with me. By the way, the gentleman of the bed-chamber, who was one of the politest persons at court, told me that the Pope not only wanted to see how far I had advanced in that undertaking, but likewise intended to employ me in another business of great importance, which was the stamping of the coins in the Roman Mint, desiring me at the same time to be in readiness to answer his Holiness, for he had given me previous notice, that I might not be unprepared. I waited upon his Holiness, and showed him the golden plate, upon which was engraved God the father alone; which figure, even in this sketch, discovered a degree of perfection greatly superior to the model of wax. The Pope exclaimed with astonishment, "From henceforward I will believe whatever you say." After several other declarations in my favor, he added, "I propose employing you in another work, which you will be as much pleased with as this, or rather more, if you have but the spirit to undertake it:" then telling me that he would be glad to have his coins stamped, he desired to know, whether I had ever done anything in that way, and had the courage to engage in such a work. I answered, that I was very ready to accept of it, and that I had seen how it was done, but had never been employed in that business.

There was present at this conversation, Signor Tommaso da Prato, datary to his Holiness: this man, being greatly attached to my enemies, said, upon the occasion, "Holy father, the favors

which you lavish upon this young man, and his own presumption, would make him promise you a new creation ; but as you have put a work of vast importance into his hands, and now are giving him another of still greater, the consequence must be, that one will interfere with the other." The Pope turned about to him in an indignant mood, and bid him mind his own business. He then ordered me to make him a model of a broad piece of gold ; upon which he was for having engraved, a naked Christ with his hands tied behind him, and the words *Ecce Homo*, as a legend ; with a reverse, on which should be represented a Pope and an Emperor together, fixing up a cross, which should appear to be falling, with these words inscribed : *Unus spiritus et una fides erat in eis*.* The Pope having employed me to stamp this fine medal, Bandinello, the sculptor, who was not yet made a knight, came forward, and with his usual presumption and ignorance said, before all present, " These goldsmiths must have some person to draw the designs of these fine pieces for them." I immediately turned about and told him, that I did not want his assistance in my business ; but that I hoped by my skill and designs in a short time to raise his jealousy." The Pope seemed to be highly pleased with what I said, and addressing himself to me said, " Go, my dear Benvenuto, exert your utmost efforts to serve me, and never mind these block-heads."† So having taken my leave, I, with great expedition, made two irons ; and having stamped a piece of gold, I carried both the money and irons to the Pope one Sunday after dinner ;

* Cellini speaks more at length of this coin with the " *Ecce Homo* " in his *Goldsmith's Art*, Chapter VII., where he says, he had given on the reverse the head of the Pope, and transferred his fine design of the Pope and Emperor sustaining the cross, to another equally well executed in gold, with a reverse representing St. Peter and St. Paul. In fact, the coin of " *Ecce Homo*," with the head of the Pope, was issued by Floravantes, and was to be seen in the Museum of Mons. Leoni Strozzi, and at the Marchese Raggi's in Rome. The other of the Pope and the Emperor, with the heads of the Saints on the reverse, is described by Saverio Scilla, who supposes it to have been published by the Chevalier Marecotti. Indeed both are extremely rare, as we gather from Cellini's own words : " These coins, made to the great disadvantage of the Pope, were in a short time melted down by the avaricious bankers."

† This is a fine specimen of Benvenuto's laudatory style ; it has the very spirit.—*Ed.*

he then said, his surprise was equal to his satisfaction ; and though the execution pleased him highly, he was still more amazed at my expedition.

In order to increase his satisfaction and surprise, I had brought with me all the old coins, which had formerly been stamped by those able artists, who had been in the service of Pope Julius and Pope Leo ; and seeing that mine gained much higher approbation, I took a petition out of my bosom, requesting to be made stamp-master to the Mint, the salary annexed to which place was six gold crowns a month ; besides that, the irons were afterwards paid for by the superintendant of the Mint, who for three gave a ducat. The Pope having approved of my request, charged the datary to make out my commission : the latter, who had views of his own, and wanted to be a gainer by the affair, said, " Holy father, do not so precipitate matters ; things of this nature require mature deliberation." The Pontiff replied, " I know what you would be at ; give me that petition directly." Having taken it, he instantly signed it, and putting it into the hand of the datary, said, " Now you have no farther objections to make : draw up the commission directly, for such is my pleasure ; the very shoes of Benvenuto are more precious than the eyes of all those other blunderers." So having thanked his Holiness, with the warmest sentiments of gratitude, I returned overjoyed to my work.

CHAPTER X.

The daughter of Raffaello del Moro having a sore hand, the Author gets her cured, but is disappointed in his design of marrying her.—He strikes a fine coin of Pope Clement VII.—Melancholy catastrophe of his brother, who is killed at Rome in a fray.—His grief for the loss of his brother, to whom he erects a monument with an epitaph.—He revenges his brother's death.—His shop is robbed.—Extraordinary instance of the fidelity of his dog upon that occasion.—The Pope puts great confidence in him, and gives him all possible encouragement.

I CONTINUED still to work in the shop of Raffaello del Moro. This worthy man had a handsome young daughter, for whom he wished me to have an inclination ; but whilst I entertained this passion, I did not make the least discovery of it, but was so discreet and circumspect that her father was highly pleased with my behavior. It came to pass that this girl was attacked by a disorder in her right hand, which had corroded the two bones next to the little finger : the poor girl had, through the inadvertency of her father, fallen into the hands of an ignorant quack, who declared it as his opinion that she would lose her right arm, if no worse were to befall her. I seeing her father terribly frightened, desired him not to mind what was said by that ignorant pretender ; he told me that he had no acquaintance either with physicians or surgeons, and requested me to recommend him a skilful person, if I knew any such : I then sent for one Signor Giacomo of Perugia,* an eminent surgeon. As soon as he had seen the poor frightened girl, and been informed of what the ignorant quack had said, he affirmed that she was in no danger, but that she would have the full use of her right hand, though her two last fingers might re-

* Giacomo Rastelli di Rimini, more commonly di Perugia, having been born and passed his infancy there, was considered one of the most distinguished professors of his time, and was surgeon to Clement VII. and the succeeding Popes, until the year 1566. He died at Rome, in his seventy-fifth year.

main somewhat enfeebled ; therefore her father need not be under the least apprehension. As he had undertaken the cure, and was preparing to cut off part of the diseased flesh about the two little bones, her father called me, and desired that I would myself be a spectator of the operation.

Having observed that Signor Giacopo was making use of some clumsy instruments, with which he hurt the girl very much, and did her no manner of good, I bid him wait for about a quarter of an hour, and proceed no farther. I then ran to my shop, and made a little instrument of the finest steel, which I delivered to the surgeon, who continued his operation with so gentle a hand, that the patient did not feel the least pain, and the affair was soon over. Upon this and many other accounts the worthy man conceived so warm a friendship for me, that he seemed to love me better than his two sons, who were grown young men, and applied his whole attention to the recovery of his fair daughter.

He had a great intimacy with Signor Giovanni Gaddi,* who was a clerk of the chamber, and had a great attachment to the polite arts, though no artist himself. He was also connected with Signor Giovanni Greco, a person of the most profound erudition ; with Signor Luigi da Fano, who was likewise a man of letters ; with Signor Antonio Allegretti,† and with Signor Annibal Caro,‡ a young man from a distant part of Italy. I became

* Gio. Gaddi, a Florentine, an extremely able and intelligent man, passionately devoted to literature and learned men, but of unamiable and repulsive manners. Annibal Caro, for many years patronized and supported by him, could never become sincerely attached to his benefactor. Gaddi was on intimate terms with Aretino, and other distinguished characters, and his death was lamented in a sonnet of Caro's, beginning "Sasso quando fioria," &c. He died in 1542, in his 49th year.

† Some poems of Allegretti's are preserved in a collection by Atanisi, and by Gobbi. He was an intimate friend of Alamanni's.

‡ Caro was born in Civitanova (New Town) Nella Marea, in 1507. Driven by the narrowness of his circumstances, to instruct the children of Luigi Gaddi, in Florence, he there became acquainted with Monsignor Giovanni, who took him as his private secretary, and conferred upon him many ecclesiastical distinctions. Poor Caro frequently tried to withdraw himself from this kind but disagreeable patron ; and once actually engaged himself in the service of Sig. Guidiccioni ; but Gaddi recovered his secretary, and retained him in his service till his death. Caro then went into the service of Pier

a member of this society, in conjunction with Signor Bastiano,* a Venetian, and excellent painter; and we almost every day saw each other once at least in the house of Signor Giovanni. This intimacy having given the virtuous Signor Raffaello an opportunity, he said to the other—"My good friend, Signor Giovanni, you know me very well; as it is my intention to give my daughter in marriage to Benvenuto, I am not acquainted with a fitter person to apply to upon this occasion than yourself; I therefore request you to assist me in settling as considerable a portion as I can, in order to make her a suitable match for Benvenuto." The shallow fellow scarcely let the worthy man make an end of speaking, when he cried out—"Say no more, Signor Raffaello, what you propose is a thing utterly impracticable, for Benvenuto will never consent to it." The poor man, thus repulsed, sought to marry her without loss of time, as the mother and all the relations were highly offended with me. I was entirely ignorant of the cause, and thinking they made me a very bad return for all my politeness, endeavored to open a shop hard by them. Signor Giovanni said nothing to me of what had passed, till the girl was married, which happened not till several months after.

I attached myself with the most unremitting application to my work, which I was in the utmost haste to finish, and like-

Luigi Farnese, who not only availed himself of his talents, as a secretary, but employed him in many important negotiations. After the assassination of Pier Luigi, by his courtiers, he was engaged by the Cardinals Rannucio and Alessandro Farnese, in whose service he died in 1566. His high literary and poetical character is too well known to require comment.

* Sebastiano was born at Venice, 1585. Invited to Rome by Agostino Chigi, he gave his whole study to Michel Angelo, but by his advice attempted the manner of Raffaello, and soon acquired a distinguished reputation. As a disciple of Giorgione, he became extremely successful in coloring, and his portraits were much admired. Diffident, however, of his talents, he painted with so much timidity and caution, that he left many noble works unfinished; and as soon as Clement VII. gave him the office of Keeper of the Treasury Seals, he resolved to abandon the art altogether. Finding himself in easy circumstances, he gave himself up to a love of ease and pleasure, living in the society of his friends, and devoting much of his time to the charms of poetry and music, in which he excelled. He died in 1547.

wise attended to my business at the Mint, when the Pope again put me upon making a piece equal in value to two carlins, upon which was his Holiness's head, on the reverse Christ walking upon the sea, and stretching out his hands to St. Peter, with this inscription round it—*Quare dubitasti?** This piece gave such high satisfaction that a certain secretary to the Pope, a man of great worth, whose name was Sanga,† said on the occasion—"Your Holiness may boast of having a coin superior to that of the Roman Emperors, amidst all their pomp and magnificence." The Pope made answer—"Benvenuto may also boast of serving a prince of my rank, who knows his merit." I continued my grand work in gold, frequently showing it to the Pope, who was very earnest to see it, and every day expressed new admiration at the performance.

A brother of mine was at this time in Rome, in the service of duke Alessandro, for whom the Pope had procured the duchy of Penna; in the same service were also a considerable number of gallant men, trained in the school of that great prince Giovannino de' Medici; and my brother was esteemed by the duke, as one of the bravest of the whole corps. Happening one day, after dinner, to be in the part of the town called Banchi, at the shop of Baccino della Croce, to which all those brave fellows resorted, he had laid himself down upon a bench, and was overcome with sleep. At this time, there passed by a company of city guards, having in their custody one Captain Cisti, a Lombard; who had been bred likewise in the school of the same great Signor Giovannino, but was not then in the service of the duke. Captain Cattivanza degli Strozzi, happening to be in the shop of Baccino

* There is also mention made of this silver coin in the same treatise, *Dell' Orificeria*. Florivantes has given it out as the work of our author, and gives another of nearly similar design. It is distinguished, however, from that of Cellini, by having the date of the year XI. round the head of the Pope, and by representing our Saviour in the act of supporting St. Peter with his left hand, and blessing him with his right, whilst in the former Christ is seen stretching out his right hand only to the Apostle, without any date to it whatever.

† Battista Sanga, of Rome, secretary to Giammatteo Giberti, and afterwards to Clement VII, was celebrated for his very Latinical poems, and was carried off by poison at an early age.

della Croce, Captain Cisti saw him, and immediately cried out, "I was bringing you that large sum of money which I owed you : if you want it, come for it, before they carry me to gaol." This Cattivanza was very ready to put the courage of others to the proof, but did not care to run any risk himself ; and as some gallant youths were present, who, though willing to undertake this hazardous enterprise, were scarce strong enough for it, he desired them to advance towards Captain Cisti, in order to get the money from him, and, in case the guards made any resistance, to overpower them if they were able. These young men were only four in number, all of them beardless : the first was Bertino Aldobrandi, the second Anguillotto da Lucca ; I cannot recollect the names of the rest. Bertino had been pupil to my brother, who was beyond measure attached to him. These four bold young men at once came up to the city guards, who were above fifty in number, pikemen, musqueteers, and swordsmen. After a few words they drew their swords, and the four young fellows pressed the guards so hard, that if Captain Cattivanza had only shown himself a little, even without drawing his sword, they would inevitably have put their adversaries to flight ; but as the latter made a stand for a while, Bertino received some dangerous wounds, which brought him to the ground. Anguillotto too, at the same time, was wounded in his right arm, and being so far disabled that he could not hold his sword, he retreated in the best way he could ; whereupon the others followed his example. Bertino was taken up in a dangerous condition.

During this transaction we were all at table, having dined above an hour later than usual : upon hearing of the disturbance, the eldest of the young men rose from the table, to go and see the scuffle : his name was Giovanni. I said to him, "For God's sake, do not stir from hence, for in such affairs as this loss is always certain, and there is nothing to be gained." His father spoke to him to the same effect, begging he would not leave the room. The youth, without minding a word that was said to him, instantly ran down stairs. Being come to the place where the grand confusion was, and seeing Bertino raised from the ground, he began to turn back, when he met with my brother Cecchino, who asked him the cause of this quarrel. Giovanni, though

warned by some persons not to tell the affair to Cecchino, cried out foolishly and indiscreetly, that Bertino Aldobrandi had been murdered by the city-guards. At this my brother set up a loud howl, which might be heard ten miles off, and said to Giovanni—"Alas! unhappy wretch that I am: can you tell me which of them it was that killed him?" Giovanni made answer that it was one who wore a large two-handed sword, with a blue feather in his hat. My poor brother having come forward, and knowing the person by the mark he had been told of, fell upon the murderer with great agility and bravery, and in spite of all resistance, ran his sword through his body, pushing him with the hilt of it to the ground. He then assailed the rest with such intrepidity, that he alone, and unassisted, would have put all the guards to flight, had it not been that, unluckily turning about to discharge his fury upon a musqueteer, the latter finding himself obliged to fire in his own defence, hit the valiant but unfortunate youth just above the knee of the right leg, which brought him to the ground; whereupon the guards made haste to retreat, lest some other such formidable champion should fly to his assistance.

Finding the tumult continue, I likewise rose from the table, and putting on my sword, as swords were then worn by everybody, I repaired to the bridge of St. Angelo, where I saw a great concourse of people. I advanced up to the crowd, and as I was known to some of them, room was made for me, when they showed me what I by no means was pleased to see, though I had discovered a great curiosity to inquire into the matter. At my first coming up I did not know my brother, for he was dressed in different clothes from those I had seen him in a short time before: but he knew me first, and said, "Dear brother, do not be afflicted at my misfortune; it is what I, from my condition of life, foresaw and expected: get me quickly removed from this place, for I have but few hours to live." After he had related to me the accident that had befallen him, with all the brevity that such cases require, I answered him, "Brother, this is the greatest misfortune that could happen to me in this world; but have a good heart, for, before you die, you shall see me revenge your much lamented fate." The city-guard was about fifty paces distant from us; Maffio their captain having caused part of them to return, in order

to carry off the corporal, whom my brother had slain. I walked those few paces with the utmost speed, wrapped and muffled up in my cloak ; and as I had forced my way through the crowd, and was come up to Maffio, I should certainly have put him to death, had it not been that when I had drawn my sword half out of the scabbard, there came behind me Berlinghiero Berlinghieri, a gallant youth, and my particular friend ; and with him four brave young men, who said to Maffio, " Fly instantly, for this man will kill you ! " Maffio having asked them who I was, they answered, " that is the brother of him you see lying there. " Not choosing to hear anything farther, he retired with the utmost precipitation to the tower of Nona : the others then said to me, " Benvenuto, the hindrance we have been to you, however disagreeable, was intended for a good end. Let us now go to the assistance of the dying man. " So we turned back, and went to the assistance of my brother, whom I ordered to be removed to a neighboring house.

A consultation of surgeons being immediately called in, they dressed his wound, but he would not hear of having his leg cut off, though it would have been the likeliest way to save his life. As soon as they had done, Duke Alessandro made his appearance, and spoke to my brother with great tenderness ; the latter being still in his right mind, said to his excellency, " My dear lord, there is nothing I am grieved at, but that you are going to lose a servant, who may be surpassed by others in courage and abilities, but will never be equalled for his fidelity and attachment to your person. " The duke desired he would endeavor to live, declaring that he knew him to be in all respects a valiant and worthy man : he then turned about to his people, and bid them supply the youth with whatever he wanted. No sooner was the duke departed, but the overflowing of blood, which could not be staunched, affected my brother's brain, insomuch that he became the next night delirious. The only sign of understanding he discovered was, that when they brought the sacrament to him, he said, " You would have done well to make me begin with confessing my sins ; it does not become me to receive that divine sacrament with this crazed and disordered frame. Let it be sufficient that my eyes behold it with a profound adoration ; it will be received by my

immortal soul, and that alone supplicates the Deity for mercy and pardon." When he had made an end of these words, and the sacrament was carried away, his delirium returned again: his ravings consisted of the greatest abominations, the strangest frenzies, and the most horrid words that could possibly come from the mouth of man; and thus he continued during the whole night, and till next day. No sooner had the sun appeared on the horizon, but he turned about to me and said, "Brother, I do not choose to stay here any longer, for these people might make me commit some extravagant action, which would cause them to repent having any way molested me;" then disengaging both his legs, which we had put into a box, he made an effort as if he was going to mount on horseback, and turning his face about to me, he said three times, "adieu, adieu, adieu!" But at uttering the last, his generous soul departed. The hour for the funeral being come, which was about ten o'clock at night, I got him honorably interred in the church of the Florentines; and afterwards caused a fine marble monument to be erected over him, on which were represented certain trophies and standards. I must not omit that one of his friends having asked him, who it was that shot at him, and whether he should know him again, he answered in the affirmative, and told him all the marks by which he might be distinguished; and though he took the utmost care to conceal this declaration from me, I overheard all that passed, and intend in a proper place to give the sequel of that adventure.

To return to the tomb-stone above-mentioned: certain literati of the first rank who were well acquainted with my brother,* and greatly admired his prowess, gave me an epitaph for him, telling me that so brave a youth well deserved it.—It was as follows:

"Francisco Cellino Florentino, qui quod in teneris annis ad Johannem Medicem ducem plures victorias retulit, et signifer fuit, facile documentum dedit quantæ fortitudinis et consilii vir futurus erat, ni crudelis fati archi-

* Varchi pays a high tribute to the bravery and worth of Francesco Cellini, in the eleventh chapter of his History, where he also speaks at length respecting Bertino Aldobrandi, the before-mentioned pupil of the same; who fell in a savage duel, near Florence, March, 1530.—See Ammirato.

buso transfossus quinto ætatis lustro jaceret. Benvenutus frater posuit. Obiit die 27 Maii, MDXXIX."

"To Francesco Cellini, a Florentine, who as he had in his youthful days gained many victories for Duke Giovanni of Medici, plainly showed how brave and wise a man he would have proved, if he had not by a decree of cruel fate been shot by a musket in his twenty-fifth year. Benvenuto, his brother, erected this monument. He died on the 27th May, MDXXIX."

He was in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and though in the army was called Cecchino the musician, I chose to give him our family name, with the arms of Cellini. This name I ordered to be carved in the finest antique characters, all of which were represented broken, except the first and last. Being asked the reason of this by the literati who had written the epitaph for me, I told them that the letters were represented broken, because his corporeal frame was destroyed; and those two letters, namely, the first and last, were preserved entire—the first in allusion to that glorious present, which God has made us, of a soul enlightened by his divine rays, subject to no injury; the last on account of the great renown of his virtuous actions. This device met with general approbation, and the method was afterwards adopted by others. I caused the arms of Cellini to be wrought upon the same tomb-stone, in which I made some little alteration; for there are in Ravenna, a very ancient city, some of the Cellini family, who are respectable gentlemen, and have for their arms a lion rampant of the color of gold, in an azure field, with a red lily upon the right foot, and three little golden lilies upon the basis. This is the true coat of arms of our family;* my father showed me one which contained only the foot with the remaining particulars already described; but that of the Cellini of Ravenna pleases me most. To return to the devices which I ordered to be

* Such was Cellini's predilection for this coat of arms, that he has left us a drawing of them in black chalk, and in ink upon the card, under which is affixed the following notice, in his hand-writing:—"The original arms of the Cellini family, as worn by the gentlemen of the ancient city Ravenna, remaining in our house from the time of Cristofano Cellini, my great-grandfather, father of Andrea, my grandfather."

It is also stated in the Preface to Goldsmith's Art, edition of 1731. "We have for this reason subjoined the family arms thus preserved: to the portrait of our Author."

made for the monument, and to the arms in particular: the paw of the lion was represented upon it, and in the room of the lily I caused an axe to be placed in the paw, with no other view but to remind me of revenging his injured manes.

Meanwhile I exerted my utmost efforts to finish the work in gold which I was employed in by Pope Clement: his Holiness was very earnest to have it completed, and sent for me two or three times a week to observe my progress. He was more and more pleased with it every time, but frequently found fault with the deep sorrow which I expressed for the loss of my brother. Seeing me one day more dejected than usual, he said to me: "Benvenuto, I did not think that you were so weak a man; did you never know that death is unavoidable? You seem to want to follow your brother." I took my leave of his Holiness, and went on with the work which he had put into my hands, as well as the business of the Mint; still thinking day and night of the musqueteer that shot my brother.

He had formerly been in the light cavalry, and afterwards entered as a musqueteer amongst the city-guards. What increased my vexation and resentment was, that he had made his boasts in these terms: "If I had not dispatched that bold youth, he alone would quickly have made us fly, which would have been an eternal disgrace." Perceiving that my solicitude and anxious desire of revenge deprived me both of sleep and appetite, which threw me into a lingering disorder, and not caring to have recourse to any treacherous or dishonorable means, one evening I prepared to put an end to my inquietude. This musqueteer lived hard by a place called Torre Sanguigna, next door to a house occupied by a courtizan, whose name was Signora Antea, one of the richest and most admired, and who made the greatest figure of any of her profession in Rome. Just after sunset, about eight o'clock, as this musqueteer stood at his door with his sword in hand, when he had done supper; I with great address came close up to him with a long dagger, and gave him a violent back-handed stroke which I had aimed at his neck. He instantly turned round, and the blow falling directly upon his left shoulder, broke the whole bone of it; upon which he dropped his sword, quite overcome by the pain, and took to his heels. I pursued,

and in four steps came up with him, when raising the dagger over his head, which he lowered down, I hit him exactly upon his collar-bone and middle of the neck. The weapon penetrated so deeply into both, that though I made a great effort to recover it again, I found it impossible; for at this instant there issued out of Antea's house four soldiers with their swords drawn, so that I was obliged to draw mine also in my own defence.

Having left the dagger I retired, and for fear of a discovery repaired to the palace of Duke Alessandro, which was between the Piazza Navona and the Rotonda. I immediately acquainted his excellency with what had happened; who told me that if I had been alone upon the occasion, I might make myself quite easy and be under no apprehensions. He bid me at the same time proceed in the business I had undertaken for his Holiness, who was impatient to see it finished, and that I might work there eight days. He was the more ready to protect me, as the soldiers who had interrupted me, related the whole affair as it happened, mentioning the great difficulty with which they had drawn the dagger out of the neck of the wounded person, who was entirely unknown to them. But Giovanni Bandini* happening to pass that way told them that the dagger belonged to him, and he had lent it to Benvenuto, who wanted to revenge the death of his brother. The soldiers expressed great concern at their having interposed, though I had taken my revenge to the full.

More than eight days passed without the Pope's once sending for me according to his usual custom; at last he ordered the Bolognese gentleman of his bed-chamber to call upon me, who with great modesty said, that the Pope knew all that had happened, that his Holiness was very much my friend, and desired me to go on with my business without giving myself any uneasiness. When I came into the presence of the Pontiff, he frowned on me very much, and with angry looks seemed to reprimand me; but, upon

* A name famous in Florentine history. He was long in the service of Duke Alessandro, but being sent by Duke Cosmo to the Emperor, in 1543, he seized the opportunity of indulging his fierce and treacherous disposition by joining Filippo Strozzi. Detected in the conspiracy, he with difficulty got a sentence of death changed into perpetual imprisonment, in which he languished for fifteen years, in the keep of an old tower.

viewing my performance, his countenance grew serene, and he praised me highly, telling me that I had done a great deal in a short time: then looking attentively at me, he said, "Now that you have recovered your health, Benvenuto, take care of yourself." I understood his meaning, and told him that I should not neglect his advice. I opened a fine shop in the place called Banchi, opposite to Raffaello, and there I finished the work which I had in hand. The Pope soon after having sent me all the jewels, except the diamond which he had pawned to certain Genoese bankers, in order to supply some particular necessities, I took possession of all the rest, but had only the model of the diamond.

I kept five able journeymen, and besides the Pope's business, did several other jobs, insomuch that the shop contained different wares in jewels, gold and silver, to a very considerable amount. I had in the house a fine large shock dog, which Duke Alessandro had made me a present of: it was an admirable good pointer, for it would bring me all sorts of birds, and other animals, that I shot with my gun; and it was an excellent house-dog besides. It happened about this period (as my time of life permitted, being then only in my 29th year), that having taken into my service a young woman equally genteel and beautiful, I made use of her as a model in my art of drawing, and she likewise acted as my housekeeper. Our intimacy soon assumed an amorous character. Although in general no man's sleep is lighter than mine, it, upon some occasions, is very profound and heavy.

It happened one night, that a thief, who had been at my house, pretending to be a goldsmith, and had laid a plan to rob me of the above-mentioned jewels, watched his opportunity and broke into my shop, where he found several small wares in gold and silver; but as he was breaking open the caskets, in order to come at the jewels, the dog flew at him, and the thief found it a difficult matter to defend himself with a sword. The faithful animal ran several times about the house, entering the journeymen's rooms, which were open, it being then summer-time; but as they did not seem to hear him barking, he drew away the bed-clothes, and pulling the men alternately by the arms, forcibly awakened them; then barking very loud he showed the way to the thieves, and went on before, but they would not follow him. The scoundrels

being quite provoked with the noise of the dog, began to throw stones and sticks at him (which they found an easy matter, as I had given them orders to keep a light in their room the whole night), and at last locked their door. The dog having lost all hopes of the assistance of these rascals, undertook the task alone, and ran down stairs: he could not find the villain in the shop, but came up with him in the street, and tearing off his cloak, would certainly have treated him according to his deserts, if the fellow had not called to some tailors in the neighborhood, and begged, for the love of God, they would assist him against a mad dog. The tailors, giving credit to what he said, came to his assistance; and with great difficulty drove away the poor animal. Next morning when my young men went down into the shop, they saw it broken open, and all the caskets rifled; upon which they began to make a loud outcry, and I coming to them quite terrified, they said, "Alas! we are undone, the shop has been plundered and robbed by a villain, who has carried off everything valuable, and broken all the caskets." Such an effect had these words upon my mind, that I had not the heart to go to the chest, to see whether the Pope's jewels were safe; but being quite shocked at the report, and scarce able to trust my own eyes, I bid them open it, and see whether his Holiness's jewels were missing. When the young men, who were both in their shirts, found all the Pope's jewels, as likewise the work in gold, they were overjoyed, and said, "There is no harm done, since both the work and the jewels are untouched. The thief, however, has stripped us to our shirts; for as the heat was excessive last night, we undressed in the shop, and there left our clothes." Hearing this I perfectly recovered my spirits, and desired them to provide themselves with clothes, as I would pay for whatever damage had been done.

When I heard the whole affair at my leisure, what gave me most concern, and had thrown me into great confusion at opening the chest, was my apprehension lest I should be thought to have invented this story of the thief, merely with a design to rob the Pope of his jewels. Besides, it had been said to Pope Clement by one of his greatest confidants and others, namely, Francisco del

Nero, Zanna di Biliotti his accomptant, the Bishop of Vaison,* &c., that they were surprised how his Holiness could trust such a quantity of jewels with a wild young man, who was more a soldier than an artist, and not yet quite thirty. The Pope asked them whether they had ever known me guilty of anything that could justly give room to suspicion. "Most holy father," answered Francesco del Nero,† "I have not, for he never had any such opportunity before." To this the Pope replied, "I take him to be an honest man in every respect, and if I thought him otherwise, I should not trust him." This suddenly recurring to my memory gave me all the uneasiness I have described above.

As soon as I had ordered my journeymen to go and get themselves new clothes, I took both the work and the jewels, and putting them in their places as well as I could, went directly to the Pope, who had been told something of the adventure of my shop by Francesco del Nero. The Pope thereupon conceiving a sudden suspicion, and giving me a most stern look, said with a harsh tone of voice—"What are you come hither about? What's the matter?" To this I answered—"Holy father, here are all your jewels and the gold: there is nothing missing." His Holiness, with a serene brow, said, in allusion to my name—"Then are you indeed welcome." I showed him my work, and whilst he was examining it, told him the whole affair of the thief, the dilemma I had been in, and what had been the chief cause of my uneasiness. At these words he frequently looked me full in the face, in the presence of Francesco del Nero, seeming to be half sorry that he had not opposed that man's insinuations. At last the Pope turning all he had heard into merriment, said—"Go and continue to show yourself an honest man: I know you deserve that character."

* Girolamo Schio, or Seledo, Vicentino, a very expert minister in affairs of state, and confessor to Clement VII. Besides many important and delicate missions, he had the *additional burthen* of the bishoprick of Vaison, in the state of Avignon. He died in Rome, in 1533, aged 52 years. The Datario, Tommaso Cortez da Prato, before-mentioned, succeeded him in the bishoprick.

† This same Francesco, so very chary and considerate of other people's honor, was, according to Varchi, possessed of no such immaculate virtue himself.

CHAPTER XI.

The Author's enemies avail themselves of the fabrication of counterfeit coin to calumniate him to the Pope, but he vindicates his character to the satisfaction of his Holiness.—He discovers the villain who had robbed his shop, by the sagacity of his dog.—Inundation at Rome.—He is employed to draw a design of a magnificent chalice for a papal procession.—Misunderstanding between him and the Pope.—Cardinal Salviati is made legate of Rome in the Pope's absence, and greatly discountenances and persecutes the Author.—He is attacked by a weakness in his eyes, which prevents him from finishing the chalice.—The Pope at his return is angry with the Author.—Extraordinary scene between him and his Holiness.

As I continued to go on with the work, and at the same time did business for the Mint, there began to be current in Rome certain false coins impressed with my stamps, which my enemies immediately carried to the Pope, endeavoring to fill him with new suspicions to my prejudice. The Pope ordered Giacompo Balducci, master of the Mint, to use his utmost endeavors to discover the offender, that my innocence might be manifest to the whole world. This treacherous man being my sworn enemy, said—"God send, most holy father, that it may turn out as you say, and that we may have the good fortune to detect the criminal." The Pope thereupon turned about to the governor of Rome, and ordered him to exert all his diligence to discover the delinquent. At the same time his Holiness sent for me, and with great art and address entering upon the affair of the false coins, said—"Benvenuto, do you think you could find in your heart to make counterfeit money?" I answered, that "I thought myself much better able to counterfeit coins, than the low fellows that were generally guilty of that crime: for," added I, "the men who commit such offences, are not persons of any great genius, that can gain much by their business. Now, if I, with my slender abilities, make such profits that I have always money to spare, for when I made the irons for the Mint, I every day before dinner gained at least

three crowns (so much being always paid me for those instruments ; but the stupid master of the Mint hated me, because he fain would have reduced them to a lower price), what I gain with the favor of God and man is enough for me, without resorting to the infamous and less profitable trade of false coining." The Pope gave a particular attention to what I said, and though he had previously ordered that care should be taken to prevent my quitting Rome, he now commanded his attendants to make a diligent inquiry after the delinquent, but to take no farther notice of me, lest I should be offended, and he might perhaps lose me. Certain ecclesiastics having made a proper inquiry, soon discovered the criminal. He was a stamper of the Mint, named Cesare Maccheroni, a Roman citizen, and with him was taken another officer belonging to the Mint.

Happening just about this time to pass by the square of Navona with my fine shock-dog, as soon as I came to the door of the city marshal, the dog barked very loudly and flew at a young man, who had been arrested by one Donnino, a goldsmith of Parma, formerly a disciple of Caradosso, upon suspicion of having committed a robbery. My dog made such efforts to tear this young fellow to pieces, that he roused the city-guards. The prisoner asserted his innocence boldly, and Donnino did not say so much as he ought to have done, especially as I was present. There happened likewise to be by, one of the chief officers of the city-guards, who was a Genoese, and well acquainted with the prisoner's father ; insomuch that on account of the violence offered by the dog, and for other reasons, they were for dismissing the youth, as if he had been innocent. As soon as I came up, the dog, which dreaded neither swords nor sticks, again flew at the young man. The guards told me that if I did not keep off my dog, they would kill him. I called off the dog with some difficulty, and as the young man was retiring, certain little paper bundles fell from under the cape of his cloak, which Donnino immediately discovered to belong to him. Amongst them I perceived a little ring which I knew to be my property : whereupon I said, "This is the villain that broke open my shop, and my dog knows him again." I therefore let the dog loose, and he once more seized the thief, who then implored my mercy, and told me

he would restore me whatever he had of mine. On this I again called off my dog, and the fellow returned me all the gold, silver, and rings that he had robbed me of, and gave me five-and-twenty crowns over, imploring my forgiveness. I bade him pray for the Divine mercy, as I, for my part, did not intend to do him either harm or good. I then returned to my business, and in a few days after, Cesare Maccheroni the forger was hanged in the quarter called Banchi, opposite to the gate of the Mint: his accomplice was sent to the galleys. The Genoese thief was hanged in the Campo di Fiore, and I remained possessed of a greater reputation for probity than ever.

When I had at last finished my work, there happened a great inundation, which overflowed the whole city.* As I was waiting the issue, the day being far spent, the waters began to increase. The fore part of my house and shop was in the quarter of Banchi, and the back part jutted out several cubits towards Monte Giordano. Making the preservation of my life my first care, and my honor the next, I put all my jewels in my pockets, left my work in gold under the care of my journeymen, and taking off my shoes and stockings, went out at a back window, and waded through the water as well as I could, till I reached Monte Cavallo. There I found Signor Giovanni Gaddi, a clerk of the chamber, and Bastiano the Venetian painter. Accosting Signor Giovanni I gave him all my jewels to take care of, knowing he had as great a regard for me, as if I had been his brother. A few days after, the waters having subsided, I returned to my shop, and finished my work with the help of God and by my own industry so happily, that it was looked upon as the most exquisite performance of the kind that had ever been seen in Rome.† Upon carrying it to

* On the authority of Ludovico Comesio, this was the twenty-third inundation of the Tiber, on the 8th and 9th of October, 1530. It was so sudden and violent, that many persons were unable to escape, and bridges with the strongest buildings were in a few hours overwhelmed and washed away. The most extraordinary fact attending it was the perfect mildness of the weather, no rains having fallen for some time previous. See the same author, "De Prodigiosis Tyberis inundat.," Rome, 1531.

† This pontifical button, so much praised by Vasari, has been religiously preserved in the castle of St. Angelo, and is brought out with the diadem in legal form, in commemoration of the Passover, Christmas day, and St. Pe-

the Pope, I thought he would never have been tired of praising it. "If I were a great and opulent Emperor," said he, "I would give my friend Benvenuto as much land as his eye could take in; but as I am only a poor little potentate, I will endeavor to make such a provision for him, as will satisfy his moderate desires." After the Pope had made an end of his rodomontade, I asked him for a mace-bearer's place which was just then become vacant: he made answer that it was his intention to give me a much more considerable employ. I again desired his Holiness to grant me that other trifling post by way of earnest. He replied with a laugh, that he was willing to gratify me, but did not choose I should serve with the common mace-bearers. He advised me therefore to make it my agreement with them to be exempt from attendance; and to get me excused, he would grant them a favor, for which they had applied to him, viz., to be allowed to demand their salaries by authority: which was accordingly done. This place of mace-bearer brought me to the amount of above two hundred crowns a-year.*

Whilst I went on in the service of the Pope, sometimes employed by him in one way, sometimes in another, he ordered me to draw a fine chalice for him; and I accordingly sketched out a design and model of such a cup.† This model was of wood and wax; instead of the boss of the chalice, I had made three little figures of a pretty considerable size, representing Faith, Hope, and Charity: upon the foot of it, I represented three stories relative to those figures, on three bosses in basso rilievo; on one was the nativity of Christ, on another the resurrection, on a third

ter's, when the Pope himself chants mass. There is a more particular account of it in his "Oreficeria," Chap. V.

* The very learned Marini informs us that Cellini was preferred to the College of Mazzieri, or Mace-bearers, on the 13th of April, 1531, and that he gave up the office in favor of Pietro Cornaro, of Venice, in 1535. The Mazzieri were a sort of state sergeants, who preceded the Pope with the Apostolical arms, bearing rods like the ancient lictors.—See *Archiatri Pontificj*.

† The celebrated Mariette, in his copy of this Life, which formerly belonged to the distinguished painter Signor Bossi, secretary to the Academy of Fine Arts, in Milan, wrote here on this passage: "I have this beautiful design now in my possession."

St. Peter crucified with his head downwards—for in that attitude I was ordered to draw him.

During the progress of this work, the Pope several times desired to see it; but finding that his Holiness had quite forgotten to give me any preferment, the place of one of the fraternity del Piombo (the seal office) being vacant, I one evening asked him for it. The good Pope no longer recollecting the florid harangue he had made upon my finishing the other work, answered me thus: "The place you ask has annexed to it a salary of above eight hundred crowns a-year, so that if you were to have it, you would think of nothing afterwards but indulging yourself, and pampering your body; thus you would entirely forget that admirable art, of which you are at present so great a master, and I should be condemned as the cause of it." I instantly replied, "that good cats mouse better to fatten themselves, than merely through hunger; and that men of genius exert their abilities always to most purpose when they are in affluent circumstances; insomuch that those princes, who are most munificent to such men, may be considered as encouraging, and, as it were, watering the plants of genius: left to themselves they wither and die away—it is encouragement alone that makes them spring up and flourish. I must however inform your Holiness," added I, "that I did not petition for this preferment, expecting to have it granted me; I looked upon myself as happy in getting the poor place of mace-bearer: it was only a thought that just came into my head. You will do well to bestow it upon some man of genius that deserves it, and not upon an ignorant person, who will make no other use of it but to pamper his body, as your Holiness expresses it. Take example of Pope Julius, of worthy memory, who gave such a place to Bramante,* an ingenious architect." Having spoke thus, I made him a low bow, and took my leave.

* Donato Lazzari, surnamed Bramante, was born near Urbino, in the year 1444. After making a surprising progress in painting and architecture, he went to Milan, in 1746, to study the building of the Duomo, which then employed some of the most distinguished artists. He met with the patronage of Gio. Galeazzo, and of Lodovico and Ascanio Sforza, and engaged in several noble works, remaining at Milan until 1499. He thence went to Rome, enriching his genius, and improving his style upon the models of

Bastiano, the Venetian painter, then coming forward, said to him, "Most holy father, please to give this place to some person that exerts himself in the ingenious arts; and as your Holiness knows me to have dedicated my time to those studies, I humbly request you would think me worthy of that honor." The Pope made answer, "This devil Benvenuto cannot bear a word of rebuke: I did intend to bestow the place upon him; but it is not right to behave so proudly to a Pope: I therefore do not know how I shall dispose of it." The Bishop of Vaison suddenly coming forward, took Bastiano's part, and said, "Most holy father, Benvenuto is a young man, the sword becomes him much better than the monk's habit; please your Holiness to bestow it upon this ingenious man, Bastiano, and you may give Benvenuto some other lucrative place, which will suit him better." The Pope then turning about to Signor Bartolomeo Valori, said to him, "How much too hard you are for Benvenuto? Tell him that he himself was the cause of the place he applied for being given to Bastiano, the painter; and that he may depend upon it, he shall have the first lucrative post that becomes vacant: in the meantime, desire him to exert himself, and finish my business."

The evening following, at two hours after sunset, I happened to meet Signor Bartolomeo Valori* hard by the Mint, as he was driving on precipitately with two torches before him, being sent

antiquity. In Julius II. he found a patron, who knew how to appreciate noble works, and soon engaged him in numerous designs, both as an artist and an architect. In addition to these, he also availed himself of his knowledge of the military art, of no slight service to the Pope. Being chosen architect for one of the grandest churches in the world, he made the design, and proceeded with the work. But the architects who succeeded him almost entirely changed the plan, leaving few traces of Lazzari's own design. Of the most engaging manners, he was everywhere loved and respected. He was also a good poet and musician. He died at Rome, 1514.

* Baccio, or Bartolomeo Valori, a Florentine, and a devoted friend to the house of Medici, was the commissary of Clement VI., to the prince of Orange at the siege of Florence. After succeeding in this design, Baccio, naturally of a restless and dissipated turn, in want of money, and thinking his services unduly appreciated (disappointed of a cardinal's hat) by degrees forsook his party, and boldly entered into the conspiracy of Filippo Strozzi. Shortly afterwards he was apprehended, and beheaded in Florence, together with his son and a nephew, in 1537, without being lamented by any party.

for by the Pope : upon my bowing to him, he called out to me, and in the most friendly manner told me all that his Holiness had said. I answered, that I would finish the work I had in hand with greater diligence than I had shown on any other occasion, but without hopes of being recompensed by his Holiness. Signor Bartolomeo thereupon reprimanded me, adding, that I should not receive the offers of a Pope in that manner. I replied, that if I were to depend upon such promises, before they took effect, I should be a fool ; and so I went about my business. Signor Bartolomeo, doubtless, informed the Pope of my bold answer, and in all probability added something to it ; for it was two months before his Holiness sent for me, and during all that time I would not go to court upon any account.

At length, the Pope becoming quite impatient for my finishing the chalice, gave orders to Signor Ruberto Pucci to inquire what progress I had made. This worthy man every day paid me a visit, and constantly said something kind and obliging to me, which I returned with the like courtesy. His Holiness, being upon the point of leaving Rome to go to Bologna, when he found that I never thought of going near him, sent of his own accord Signor Ruberto to desire me to bring my work, for he wanted to see how far I had proceeded. I took it with me, and showed his Holiness that the most important part of the work was finished, but requested him to advance me five hundred crowns, partly on account, and partly to buy some more gold, which was wanting to complete the chalice. The Pope said, "Make haste and finish it." I answered, in going away, "That I would obey him, if he would leave me money," and so took my leave.

The Pope set out for Bologna,* leaving Cardinal Salviati his legate in Rome, and ordered him to hurry me on with the work, expressing himself in these words, "Benvenuto is a man that sets but little value upon his abilities, and less upon me ; so be sure you hurry him on, that the chalice may be finished at my

* On the 18th November, 1532, Pope Clement set out for Bologna, to have an interview with the Emperor Charles V. He had before performed the journey in 1529, for the purpose of crowning him ; but judging from a comparison of dates and previous circumstances, of which the exact period is made clear, the journey here mentioned must be that of 1532.

return." This stupid Cardinal sent to me in about eight days, ordering me to bring my work with me ; but I went to him without it. As soon as I came into his presence, he said to me, "Where is this fantastical work of yours? Have you finished it?" I answered, "Most reverend sir, I have not finished my fantastical work, as you are pleased to call it, nor can I finish it, unless you give me wherewithal to enable me." Scarce had I uttered these words, when the Cardinal, whose physiognomy was more like that of an ass than a human creature, began to look more hideous than before, and immediately proceeding to abusive language, said, "I'll confine you on board of a galley, and then you'll be glad to finish the work." As I had a brute to deal with, I used the language proper on the occasion, which was as follows: "My lord, when I shall be guilty of crimes deserving the galleys, then you may send me thither; but for such an offence as mine, I am not afraid. Nay, I will tell you more, on account of this ill-treatment, I will not finish the work at all; so send no more for me, for I will not come, unless I am dragged hither by the city guards." The foolish Cardinal then tried by fair means to persuade me to go on with the work in hand, and to bring what I had done, that he might examine it. In answer to all his persuasions, I said, "Tell his Holiness to send me the materials, if he would have me finish this fantastical work;" nor would I give him any other answer, insomuch that, despairing of success, he at last ceased to trouble me with his importunities.

The Pope returned from Bologna, and immediately inquired after me, for the Cardinal had already given him by letter, the most unfavorable account of me he possibly could. His Holiness being incensed against me to the highest degree, ordered me to come to him with my work, and I obeyed. During the time he was at Bologna, I had so severe a defluxion upon my eyes, that life became almost insupportable to me, which was the first cause of my not proceeding with the chalice. So much did I suffer by this disorder, that I really thought I should lose my eye-sight; and I had computed how much would be sufficient for my support when I should be blind. In my way to the palace, I meditated within myself an excuse for discontinuing the work; and thought, that whilst the Pope was considering and examining my perform-

ance, I might acquaint him with my case ; but I was mistaken, for as soon as I appeared in his presence, he said to me, with many unbecoming words, " Let me see that work of yours : is it finished ?" Upon my producing it, he flew into a more violent passion than before, and said, " As there is truth in God, I assure you, since you value no living soul, that if a regard to decency did not prevent me, I would order both you and your work to be thrown this moment out of the window." Seeing the Pope thus transformed to a savage beast, I was for quitting his presence directly, and as he continued his bravadoes, I put the chalice under my cloak, muttering these words to myself, " The whole world would prove unable to make a blind man proceed in such an undertaking as this." The Pope then, with a louder voice than before, said, " Come hither : what's that you say ?" For a while I hesitated, whether I should not run down stairs. At last I plucked up my courage, and falling on my knees, exclaimed as loud as I could (because he continued to bawl), " Is it reasonable, that when I am become blind with a disorder, you should oblige me to continue to work ?" He answered, " You could see well enough to come hither, and I don't believe one word of what you say." Observing that he spoke with a milder tone of voice, I replied, " If your Holiness will ask your physician, you will find that I declare the truth." " I shall inquire into the affair at my leisure," said he. I now perceived that I had an opportunity to plead my cause, and therefore delivered myself thus ; " I am persuaded, most holy father, that the author of all this mischief is no other than the Cardinal Salviati : because he sent for me immediately upon your Holiness's departure ; and when I came to him, called my work a fantastical trifle, and told me he would make me finish it in a galley. These opprobrious words made such an impression on me, that through the great perturbation of mind I was in, I felt my face all on a sudden inflamed, and my eyes were attacked by so violent a heat, that I could hardly find my way home. A few days after, there fell upon them two cata-racts, which blinded me to such a degree that I could hardly see the light, and since your Holiness's departure I have not been able to do a stroke of work." Having spoke thus, I rose up and withdrew. I was told that the Pope said, after I was gone,

“When places of trust are given, discretion is not always conveyed with them. I did not bid the Cardinal treat people quite so roughly : if it be true that he has a disorder in his eyes, as I shall know by asking my physician, I should be inclined to look upon him with an eye of compassion.”

There happened to be present a person of distinction, who was a great favorite of the Pope, and equally conspicuous for his virtues and extraordinary endowments. Having inquired of the Pontiff who I was, he added, “Holy father, I ask you this, because you appeared to me, in the same breath, to fall into a most violent passion, and to be equally affected and softened into pity, so I desire to know who he is : if he be a person deserving of assistance, I will tell him a secret to cure his disorder.” The Pope made answer, “The person you speak of is one of the greatest geniuses, in his way, that the world ever produced. When I see you again, I will show you some of his admirable performances, as likewise the man himself ; and it will be a great satisfaction to me, if you are able to do him any service.”

In a few days the Pope sent for me after dinner, and the above-mentioned person of distinction was present. No sooner was I come, than his Holiness sent for the button of his pontifical cope, which has been already described. In the meantime I produced my chalice ; upon seeing which, the gentleman declared he had never beheld so extraordinary a piece of work in his life. The button being brought, his surprise was greatly increased : he looked at me attentively, and said, “He is but a young man, and therefore the better able to make a fortune.” He then asked me my name. I told him it was Benvenuto. He replied, alluding to my name, “Upon this occasion I am welcome to you : take lily of the valley with its stalk, flower, and beard all together, distil them with a gentle fire, bathe your eyes with the water several times a day, and you will certainly get rid of your complaint ; but before you begin the bathing, take physic.” The Pope spoke kindly to me, and I left him, tolerably well pleased with my reception.

It is true that I had the complaint in question, but I am inclined to think that I got it during my acquaintance with the female who lived with me at the time I was robbed. The disorder remained

latent for about four months, and then broke out at once : the only external symptom by which it showed itself was by covering me all over with little red blisters, about the size of a farthing. The physicians would never call this malady by its right name, though I told them the causes to which I ascribed it. They continued to treat me in their own way, but I received no benefit from their prescriptions. At last I resolved, contrary to the advice of the most eminent physicians of Rome, to have recourse to *lignum vitæ*. This I took with all the precautions and abstinence imaginable, and recovering surprisingly in the space of fifty days, was perfectly cured, and as sound as a roach. Then by way of recreation after what I had gone through, winter approaching, I took the diversion of fowling ; this made me wade through brooks, face storms, and pass my time in marshy grounds ; so that in a few days I was attacked by a disorder a hundred times more severe than the former. I put myself a second time into the hands of physicians, and found I grew worse every day by their medicines. My disorder being attended with a fever, I proposed to take *lignum vitæ*, but the physicians opposed it, assuring me that if I meddled with it, whilst the fever was upon me, I should die in a week. I resolved, however, to take it, even against their opinion, observing the same regimen as before. After I had for four days drunk the decoction of *lignum vitæ*, the fever totally left me, and I began to recover surprisingly.

Whilst I was taking this wood, I went on with the model of the work above-mentioned, and abstinence sharpening my invention, I performed the finest things and of the most admirable invention, that I ever did in my life. In fifty days I was perfectly recovered, and afterwards gave my chief attention to the preservation of my health. This long course of medicine being at last over, I found myself as thoroughly cured of my disorder, as if I had been new born ; and though I took pleasure in securing my much wished-for health, I continued to labor both on the work above-mentioned, and for the Mint ; and did as much as could reasonably be expected from the most diligent artificer.

CHAPTER XII.

Tobbia, the goldsmith of Milan, who had been condemned to death at Parma, for counterfeiting the current coin, is reprieved by Cardinal Salviati, legate of that city.—The Cardinal sends him to Rome as an ingenious artist, capable of rivalling our Author.—Tobbia is employed by the Pope, which gives Cellini great uneasiness.—In consequence of the calumnies of Pompeo, of Milan, Cellini is deprived of his place of engraver to the Mint.—He is arrested for refusing to deliver up the chalice, and carried before the governor of Rome.—Curious conversation between him and that magistrate.—The latter by an artifice persuades him to deliver up the chalice to the Pope, who returns it to the Author, and orders him to proceed with the work.

CARDINAL SALVIATI, with whom I had the difference above related, and who was so much my enemy, happened about this time to be made legate of Parma, when a certain Milanese goldsmith named Tobbia, was taken up in that city, for counterfeiting the current coin. Upon his being condemned to the flames, a great man spoke in his favor to the legate. The Cardinal caused the execution to be respited, and wrote to Pope Clement, giving him to understand, that there had fallen into his hands one of the ablest artists living in the goldsmith and jeweller's business, and that he had been condemned to be burnt for coining, but that he was a mere simpleton: this appeared by his saying he had asked the opinion of his confessor, who told him he gave him permission, and that he might do it with a safe conscience. He added, "If your Holiness should send for this great artist to Rome, you will have the means of humbling the pride of your favorite Benvenuto, and I make no doubt but the workmanship of Tobbia will please you much more than that of Benvenuto."

The Pope was accordingly induced by the legate's persuasion, to send for this person to Rome, and upon his arrival, ordered us both into his presence. He then commanded each of us to draw a design for setting an unicorn's horn,* the most beautiful that

* An animal hitherto supposed by naturalists to be fabulous. It has a

ever was seen, and which had cost 17,000 ducats: and as the Pope proposed making a present of it to king Francis, he chose to have it first richly adorned with gold: so he employed us both to draw the designs.*

When we had finished them, we carried them to the Pope. Tobbia's design was in the form of a candlestick: the horn was to enter it like a candle, and at the bottom of the candlestick he represented four little unicorn's heads—a most simple invention. As soon as I saw it I could not contain myself so as to avoid smiling at the oddity of the conceit. The Pope perceiving this, said, "Let me see that design of your's." It was a single head of an unicorn, fitted to receive the horn. I had made the most beautiful sort of head conceivable, for I in part drew it in the form of a horse's head, and partly in that of a hart's, adorned with the finest sort of wreaths and other devices; insomuch that no sooner was my design seen but the whole court gave it the preference. However, as some Milanese gentlemen of great authority were witnesses of this contest, they said: "Most holy father, if you propose sending this noble present to France, you should take it into consideration, that the French are an undiscerning, tasteless people, and will not be sensible of the excellence of this masterly-piece of Benvenuto's. But they will be pleased with these grotesque figures of Tobbia's, which will be sooner executed; and Benvenuto will in the mean time finish your chalice: thus will two works be completed at once, and this poor man will be employed, without having reason to complain that he has been brought hither for nothing." The Pope, who was in haste to have his chalice finished, readily acquiesced in the opinion of these Mila-

single horn, but the numerous horns we often see attributed to it (as fabulous as the animal itself), are either horns of other well known animals, or fishes' teeth, or the work of ingenious artists.—*Carpani*.

From all we hear of the fine specimen of the Unicorn's head—an unique we suppose, now in London—the Italian Commentator will soon be obliged to change his tone, and to believe in more things than he has "dreamed of in his philosophy."—*Ed.*

* In October, 1533, Clement VII. went to Marsiglia to hold a conference with Francis I., and Jovius relates that, on that occasion, the two Sovereigns vied with each other in the splendor and magnificence of their respective courts.

nese ; so the day following he gave the unicorn's horn to Tobbia, and sent me word by his wardrobe-keeper that I was to finish his chalice.

I made answer, that there was nothing I more ardently desired, than to complete the fine piece of work I was about ; adding, that if it were to be made of any other materials than gold, I could easily finish it myself, and that without assistance ; but that his Holiness must now supply me with more gold. Scarce had I uttered these words, when this man, a low retainer to the court, bid me take care how I asked money of the Pope : if I did, I should put him into such a passion, that I should afterwards repent it. To this I replied, " Then, good sir, please to inform me how bread can be made without flour ; just in the same manner can this work be finished without gold." The wardrobe-keeper, who felt the keenness of the ridicule, told me he would inform his Holiness of all I had said, and was as good as his word. The Pope flying into a most furious passion, said, he would see whether I was mad enough to neglect finishing it. He waited however two months, during which, though I had declared I would not work a single stroke, I had done quite the reverse, and wrought constantly with the utmost diligence ; the Pope, however, finding I did not bring the chalice, began to be greatly out of temper, and declared that he was resolved to punish me.

There was present, when he uttered these words, a Milanese, his Holiness's jeweller : his name was Pompeo, and he was a near relation of one Signor Trajano, who of all Pope Clement's servants, was most in his master's favor. These two in concert said to the Pope : " If your Holiness were to deprive him of his place in the Mint, perhaps he would think of finishing the chalice." The Pope replied, " That would rather be productive of two misfortunes—one that I should be ill served at the Mint, which is of the greatest consequence to me ; the other that I should certainly never see the chalice." The two Milanese, however, seeing the Pope very angry with me, used such persuasions, that at last he deprived me of my place in the Mint, and gave it to a young Perugian, who had the surname of Fagiolo.* Pompeo came to tell

* Vassari frequently speaks of a certain Girolamo Fagioli, goldsmith and sculptor, much distinguished about this period ; but styles him of Bologna, not of Perugia.

me from the Pope, that his Holiness had removed me from my place in the Mint, and would deprive me of something else, if I did not make haste to finish my work." "Tell his Holiness," answered I, "that he deprives himself and not me of the place in the Mint; that the case would be the same with respect to other matters; and that if his Holiness should be ever so desirous to restore my place to me, I would upon no account accept of it."

This vile wretch thought it an age till he could see the Pope again, in order to repeat to him every word I said, to which he took care to add something of his own. About a week after, the Pope sent me word by the same messenger, that he no longer desired I should finish the chalice, but wanted to have it exactly in the state to which I had brought it. I answered,—“Pompeo, this is not like the place in the Mint, which it was in his power to deprive me of: five hundred crowns, which I received, are indeed his Holiness's property, and those I will restore to him; as for the work, it is mine, and that I will dispose of as I think proper.” Pompeo hastened to repeat this to the Pope, with some severe and sarcastical expressions, which I threw out against himself, and which he well deserved.

Three days after, upon a Thursday, there came to me two of the Pope's favorite gentlemen of the bed-chamber, one of whom is now living, and a bishop. This was Signor Pier Giovanni, wardrobe-keeper to his Holiness; the other was of a still more noble family, but I cannot recollect his name. As soon as they entered my house, they addressed me thus: “The Pope sends us, Benvenuto, because you have trifled with him, and would not be prevailed on by fair means: we have orders, in case you do not give us the chalice, to conduct you directly to prison.” I looked them in the face boldly, and said, “Gentlemen, were I to give his Holiness my work, I should give him my property, and not his, and I do not intend to part with anything that is mine; for as I have brought this piece to a high degree of perfection, with the sweat of my brow, I do not care that it should be put into the hands of some ignorant fellow, who will probably spoil it.”

Whilst I spoke thus, there was present the goldsmith, Tobbia, who was so rash as to require of me the models of my work: the words with which I answered him, and which such a wretch well

deserved, it would not be proper here to insert. As the gentlemen of the bed-chamber pressed me to determine what I intended to do, I told them that I had already determined, and having taken my cloak, before I went out of the shop, I turned to an image of Christ, and said with the utmost reverence and devotion, holding my cap in my hand, "Merciful and immortal, just and holy Lord, all that thou dost is according to thy justice, which is not to be equalled; thou knowest that I am arrived at maturity of years, and that I was never before threatened with imprisonment for any action whatever; since it is now thy pleasure that I should go to gaol, I submit, and thank thee with a heart resigned." Then turning about to the two gentlemen, I said to them with a smile, which did not entirely conceal some perturbation of mind, "Surely, gentlemen, a man of my consequence well deserved such a guard as you; therefore put me between you, and conduct me wheresoever you think proper."

These two well-bred gentlemen, laughing very heartily, placed me between them, and chatting all the way, carried me before the governor of Rome, whose name was Magalotti;* there was with him the procurator of the Exchequer, and both waited my coming. The gentlemen laughing all the while, said to the governor, "We consign this prisoner to you; be sure to take proper care of him: we are very glad that we have saved your officers some trouble, for Benvenuto told us, that as this was the first time of his being arrested, meaner guards would have been unworthy of him." They repaired to the Pope, and having given him a circumstantial account of all that passed, he at first seemed to be ready to fly into a passion, but upon recollecting himself forced a smile, because there were present some noblemen and cardinals my friends, who were very much inclined to favor me. In the mean time the governor and the procurator partly rated, partly expos-

* Gregorio Magalotti was a great favorite of Pope Clement, who gave him the bishoprick of Lipari in 1532, and soon after that of Chiusi. He exercised the severest discipline in his office of governor, so as to be in frequent danger of assassination. He had the government of Romagna under Paul III., as well as the Embassy to Bologna, where he died in 1537. He published "A Treatise upon the nature of Passports and Safe-Conducts."—C.

A very important consideration for Hèretics and Ambassadors about that period.—Ed.

tulated with me, and partly gave me their advice, telling me, "That it was but just and reasonable, that he who employs another in any work whatever, should take it back, when and in what manner he thinks proper." I made answer, "that this was not agreeable to justice, and that a Pope had no right to act in that manner, because his Holiness was not like those petty tyrants, who oppress their subjects to the utmost, paying no regard either to law or justice; but he was Christ's vicar, and therefore was not allowed to pursue the same measures." The governor, in a tone and manner which might become a bailiff, cried out: "Benvenuto, Benvenuto, you will at last oblige me to use you according to your deserts." "If so," replied I, "you will behave honorably and politely to me; since I deserve no less." He then said, "Send for the work directly, and don't make me speak to you a second time." I thereupon rejoined: "Gentlemen, do me the favor to permit me to say but four words more in my defence." The procurator of the Exchequer,* who was a more humane magistrate than the governor, turned about to the latter; and said to him: "My lord, indulge him in a hundred words; provided he returns the work, that is sufficient." I then delivered myself in these terms:—"If a man were to build a house or a palace, he might justly say to the mason employed in that business, give me my house; I don't choose you should work any longer at my palace or my habitation; and, upon paying the mason for his trouble, he would have a just right to dismiss him. If it were even a nobleman, who gave directions for setting a jewel worth a thousand crowns, and if he perceived that the jeweller did not do it to his mind, he might say, give me my jewel, for I don't approve of your workmanship. But the present case is quite different; for neither a house nor a jewel is here in question: nothing more can be required of me but that I should return five hundred crowns, which I have received. So, my lord, do what you will; you shall have nothing more than the five hundred crowns, and

* Benvenuto Valentia was at this time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a friend of Magalotti, whose works he printed. He was a celebrated collector of ancient statues, of which he made a grand display in his native place of Trevi. See Ughelli and Tiraboschi.

this you may tell the Pope. Your menaces do not in the least intimidate me, for I am an honest man, and fear God only."

The governor and procurator of the Exchequer having risen from their seats, said, they were going to his Holiness, and that when they had received his orders, they would return to my sorrow. Thus I remained under a guard. I walked about in a little hall, and it was near three hours before they returned. Upon this occasion I was visited by all the chief men of our nation in the mercantile way, who earnestly entreated me not to contend with a Pope, as my ruin might very likely be the consequence. I made answer, that I had maturely considered the measures I was pursuing.

As soon as the governor returned with the procurator of the Exchequer, he called to me and said—"Benvenuto, I am sorry to come back from his Holiness with so severe an order: either quickly produce the chalice, or beware of the consequences." I made answer, that as I could never persuade myself that a vicar of Christ was capable of doing injustice, I would not believe it till I saw it; so that he might do whatever he thought proper. The governor replied—"I have two words more to say to you from his Holiness, after which I shall proceed to execute my orders. It is the Pope's pleasure you should bring your work hither, that I may get it put into a box, and then I am to carry it to his Holiness, who promises upon his word to keep it sealed up as he receives it, and will quickly return it to you without ever meddling with it: but he requires that this should be complied with, as his honor is concerned in the affair." To these words I answered smiling, that I would very readily put my work into his hands in the manner he required, because I was desirous to know what dependence there could be upon the faith of a Pope.

Accordingly, having sent for my work, I put it into his hands, sealed up in the manner required. The governor having returned to the Pope with the box sealed up as above, his Holiness, after turning it several times, as I was afterwards informed by the governor, asked the latter if he had seen my work? He answered that he had, and it had been sealed up in his presence; adding, that it appeared to him a very extraordinary performance. Upon which the Pope said—"You may tell Benvenuto, that

Roman Pontiffs have authority to loose and bind things of much greater importance than this ;” and whilst he uttered these words, he, with an angry look, opened the box, taking off the cord and the seal. He then examined it attentively, and, by what I could learn, showed it to Tobbia, the goldsmith, who praised it highly. The Pope asked him whether he would undertake to make a piece of work in the same taste, and according to the same model. The other answered he would. The Pope desired him to follow that model exactly : and turning to the governor, spoke to him thus :—“ See whether Benvenuto is disposed to let us have it in its present condition : in case he is ready to comply, he shall be paid for it, whatever price it may be valued at by any intelligent person. If he is willing to finish it, let him take his own time ; and should you find him disposed to go on with it, give him whatever assistance he can reasonably require.” Hereupon the governor answered—“ Most holy father, I am acquainted with the audacious character of this young man : grant me authority to deal sharply with him in my own way.” The Pope replied, that he gave him full liberty as to words, though he was sure he would only make the breach wider ; adding, that when he found all ineffectual, he should order me to carry the five hundred crowns to his jeweller Pompeo.

The governor being returned, sent for me to his apartment, and addressed me thus with the bluff air of a grenadier :—“ Popes have authority to loose and bind the whole world ; and what they do in this manner upon earth, immediately receives the sanction of heaven : here is your box, which has been opened and examined by his Holiness.” I then loudly exclaimed—“ I return thanks to heaven, that I am now qualified to set a proper value on the word of God’s vicerent.” The governor, thereupon, offered me many gross insults, both in word and deed ; but perceiving that all his brutality had no effect, he quite despaired of success in what he had undertaken, namely, to browbeat me into compliance : he, therefore, assumed a milder tone, and said to me—“ Benvenuto, I am sorry you should be blind to your own interest ; since that is the case, carry the five hundred crowns to Pompeo when you think proper.”

Having taken back the box, I went directly to Pompeo with the

five hundred crowns. The Pope thought, that either through inability, or some other accident, I should not carry the money quite so soon ; but as he had still a great desire to get me again into his service, when he saw Pompeo come smiling with the money, he began to rate him soundly, and expressed great concern that the affair had taken such a turn. He then said to him—"Go to Benvenuto's shop, behave with as much complaisance to him as your stupidity and ignorance will permit, and tell him, that if he will finish that piece of work, to serve as a shrine for carrying the holy sacrament in, when I walk in procession with it, I will grant him whatever favor he desires of me." Pompeo came and called me out of the shop, and behaving to me with a great deal of awkward ceremony and grimace, repeated all the Pope had said to him. I immediately made answer, that "the highest pleasure I could wish for in this world, was to recover the favor of so great a Pontiff, which I had lost not by any fault of my own, but by sickness and misfortune ; as also by the ill offices of those envious persons who take pleasure in injuring their neighbors. But, as his Holiness has a great number of servants," I continued, "let him no more send you to me, if he values your life ; and be sure you mind your own business. I shall never cease by day or night to think and do all I can to serve the Pope ; but remember that you have spoken ill of me to his Holiness, and never interpose any more in what concerns me : if you do, I will make you sensible of your error, by treating you according to your deserts." The fellow having left me, repeated every word I had said to the Pope, but misrepresented it in such a manner as to make me appear in a much worse light than I otherwise should have done. Here the affair rested for a time, and I again attended to my shop and business.

During this interval, Tobbia, the goldsmith, was employed in finishing the case and ornament for the unicorn's horn : the Pope had given him orders when he had finished that piece, to begin the chalice upon my model, which he had seen. Tobbia having shown his Holiness some specimens of his work, the latter was so little satisfied with them, that he began to repent his having ever differed with me, and expressed great dislike for the man's workmanship, highly censuring the person who had recommended

him: in consequence of which, Baccino della Croce often came to me from the Pope, desiring me to make the shrine in question. I told him that I entreated his Holiness to let me take my repose a little after the severe disorder with which I had been afflicted, and from which I was not yet thoroughly recovered, and that as soon as ever I was in a condition to work, I would devote all my hours to his Holiness's service. I had now begun to draw his likeness, and was employed in secret to engrave a medal for him.* The tools of steel, for stamping the medal, I made at home; in my shop I had a partner, who had been my journeyman, and whose name was Felice.†

* This is the medal of Peace, of which there is farther mention.

† Felice Guadagni, one of Cellini's most intimate friends, as will hereafter appear.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Author falls in love with a Sicilian courtesan, named Angelica, who is suddenly obliged by her mother to withdraw to Naples.—His despair upon the loss of his mistress.—He gets acquainted with a Sicilian priest, who professes necromancy.—Account of the magical spells used by the necromancer.—The Author attends the priest's incantations in hopes of recovering his mistress.—Surprising effects of the conjuration.—He receives a promise of seeing Angelica in a month.—Quarrel between him and Signor Benedetto, whom he dangerously wounds with a stone.—Pompeo of Milan representing to the Pope that the Author had killed Tobbia of Milan, his Holiness orders the governor of Rome to get him apprehended, and executed upon the spot.—He makes his escape, sets out for Naples, and meets his friend Solosmeo, the sculptor, on the road.

ABOUT this time I fell in love, as young men are apt to do. The object of my passion was a Sicilian girl, of extraordinary beauty, who seemed to repay my attachment with an equal ardor. Although we concealed our mutual regard from her mother, the old lady perceived it, and was apprehensive of the consequences. I had indeed formed a design to run away with the girl to Florence, and stay there a year with her, unknown to her mother. The latter being apprised of my intention, quitted Rome one night with her daughter, and having taken the road to Naples, gave out that she was going to Civita Vecchia, but went to Ostia. I followed them to Civita Vecchia, and committed innumerable extravagances in search of my mistress. It would be tedious to give a circumstantial account of all these follies; let it suffice to say, that I was upon the point of losing my senses or dying of grief.

Two months after, the girl wrote me word that she was in Sicily, extremely unhappy. I was then indulging myself in pleasures of all sorts, and had engaged in another amour to cancel the memory of my Sicilian mistress. It happened, through a variety of odd accidents, that I made acquaintance with a

Sicilian priest, who was a man of genius, and well versed in the Latin and Greek authors. Happening one day to have some conversation with him, when the subject turned upon the art of necromancy, I, who had a great desire to know something of the matter, told him, that I had all my life felt a curiosity to be acquainted with the mysteries of this art. The priest made answer, "that the man must be of a resolute and steady temper, who enters upon that study." I replied, "that I had fortitude and resolution enough, if I could but find an opportunity." The priest subjoined, "If you think you have the heart to venture, I will give you all the satisfaction you can desire." Thus we agreed to enter upon a plan of necromancy.

The priest one evening prepared to satisfy me, and desired me to look out for a companion or two. I invited one Vincenzo Romoli, who was my intimate acquaintance: he brought with him a native of Pistoia, who cultivated the black art himself. We repaired to the Colosseo, and the priest, according to the custom of necromancers, began to draw circles upon the ground with the most impressive ceremonies imaginable: he likewise brought thither assafœtida, several precious perfumes, and fire, with some compositions also which diffused noisome odors. As soon as he was in readiness, he made an opening to the circle, and having taken us by the hand, ordered the other necromancer his partner, to throw the perfumes into the fire at a proper time, entrusting the care of the fire and the perfumes to the rest; and then he began his incantations. This ceremony lasted above an hour and a half, when there appeared several legions of devils, insomuch that the amphitheatre was quite filled with them.

I was busy about the perfumes, when the priest, perceiving there was a considerable number of infernal spirits, turned to me, and said, "Benvenuto, ask them something." I answered, "Let them bring me into the company of my Sicilian mistress Angelica." That night we obtained no answer of any sort; but I had received great satisfaction in having my curiosity so far indulged. The necromancer told me, it was requisite we should go a second time, assuring me, that I should be satisfied in whatever I asked, but that I must bring with me a pure and immaculate boy.

I took with me a youth who was in my service, of about twelve

years of age, together with the same Vincenzo Romoli, who had been my companion the first time, and one Agnolino Gaddi, an intimate acquaintance, whom I likewise prevailed on to assist at the ceremony. When we came to the place appointed, the priest having made his preparations as before, with the same and even more striking ceremonies, placed us within the circle, which he had likewise drawn with a more wonderful art, and in a more solemn manner than at our former meeting. Thus having committed the care of the perfumes and the fire to my friend Vincenzo, who was assisted by Agnolino Gaddi, he put into my hand a *pintaculo* or magical chart,* and bid me turn it towards the places that he should direct me ; and under the *pintaculo* I held my boy. The necromancer having begun to make his tremendous invocations, called by their names a multitude of demons, who were the leaders of the several legions, and questioned them by the virtue and power of the eternal uncreated God, who lives for ever, in the Hebrew language as likewise in Latin and Greek ; insomuch, that the amphitheatre was almost in an instant filled with demons a hundred times more numerous than at the former conjuration. Vincenzo Romoli was busied in making a fire with the assistance of Agnolino, and burning a great quantity of precious perfumes. I, by the direction of the necromancer, again desired to be in the company of my Angelica. The former thereupon turning to me said, " Know, they have declared that in the space of a month you shall be in her company."

He then requested me to stand resolutely by him, because the legions were now above a thousand more in number than he had designed, and besides, these were the most dangerous, so that after they had answered my question, it behoved him to be civil to them, and dismiss them quietly. At the same time, the boy under the *pintaculo* was in a terrible fright, saying, that there were in that place a million of fierce men, who threatened to destroy us ; and that moreover four armed giants of an enormous stature were en-

* The most exact writers call it *pentacolo*, a sort of magical preparation of card, stone, and metal, on which are inscribed words and figures considered very efficacious against the power of demons.—See Ariosto, *Orl. F.*, c. 3, st. 21.

deavoring to break into our circle. During this time, whilst the necromancer, trembling with fear, endeavored by mild and gentle methods to dismiss them in the best way he could, Vincenzo Romoli, who quivered like an aspen leaf, took care of the perfumes. Though I was as much terrified as any of them, I did my utmost to conceal the terror I felt, so that I greatly contributed to inspire the rest with resolution; but the truth is, I gave myself over for a dead man, seeing the horrid fright the necromancer was in. The boy placed his head between his knees, and said, "In this posture will I die; for we shall all surely perish." I told him, that all those demons were under us, and what he saw was smoke and shadow;* so bid him hold up his head and take courage. No sooner did he look up, but he cried out, "The whole amphitheatre is burning, and the fire is just falling upon us;" so covering his eyes with his hands, he again exclaimed, that destruction was inevitable, and he desired to see no more. The necromancer entreated me to have a good heart and take care to burn proper perfumes; upon which, I turned to Romoli, and bid him burn all the most precious perfumes he had. At the same time I cast my eye upon Agnolino Gaddi, who was terrified to such a degree, that he could scarce distinguish objects, and seemed to be half dead. Seeing him in this condition, I said, "Agnolo, upon these occasions a man should not yield to fear, but should stir about and give his assistance; so come directly and put on some more of these perfumes." Poor Agnolo, upon attempting to move, was so violently terrified that the effects of his fear overpowered all the perfumes we were burning. The boy hearing the crepitation, ventured once more to raise his head, when seeing me laugh, he began to take courage, and said, that the devils were flying away with a vengeance.

In this condition we stayed till the bell rang for morning prayer. The boy again told us, that there remained but few devils, and these were at great distance. When the magician had performed the rest of his ceremonies, he stripped off his gown, and took up a

* This confirms us in the belief that the whole of these appearances, like a phantasmagoria, were merely the effects of a magic-lantern, produced on volumes of smoke from various kinds of burning wood.—Ed.

wallet full of books which he had brought with him. We all went out of the circle together, keeping as close to each other as we possibly could, especially the boy, who had placed himself in the middle, holding the necromancer by the coat, and me by the cloak. As we were going to our houses, in the quarter of Banchi, the boy told us that two of the demons whom we had seen at the amphitheatre, went on before us leaping and skipping, sometimes running upon the roofs of the houses, and sometimes upon the ground.

The priest declared, that though he had often entered magic circles, nothing so extraordinary had ever happened to him. As we went along he would fain persuade me to assist with him at consecrating a book, from which he said we should derive immense riches : we should then ask the demons to discover to us the various treasures with which the earth abounds, which would raise us to opulence and power ; but that those love-affairs were mere follies, from whence no good could be expected. I answered, "That I would have readily accepted his proposal, if I had understood Latin :"² he redoubled his persuasions, assuring me, that the knowledge of the Latin language was by no means material. He added, that he could have found Latin scholars enough, if he had thought it worth while to look out for them, but that he could never have met with a partner of resolution and intrepidity equal to mine, and that I should by all means follow his advice. Whilst we were engaged in this conversation, we arrived at our respective homes, and all that night dreamt of nothing but devils.

As I every day saw the priest, he did not fail to renew his solicitations to engage me to come into his proposal. I asked him what time it would take to carry his plan into execution, and where this scene was to be acted. He answered, "That in less than a month we might complete it, and that the place best calculated for our purpose, was the mountains of Norcia : though a master of his had performed the ceremony of consecration hard by the mountains of the Abbey of Farfa,* but that he had met with some difficulties which would not occur in those of Norcia ;"³ he added, "that the neighboring peasants were men who might

* Farfa is a village in the Labina, thirteen miles from Rome.

be confided in, and had some knowledge of necromancy, insomuch that they were likely to give us great assistance upon occasion." Such an effect had the persuasions of this holy conjuror, that I readily agreed to all he desired, but told him, that I should be glad to finish the medals I was making for the Pope first: this secret I communicated to him, but to nobody else, and begged he would not divulge it. I constantly asked him whether he thought I should, at the time mentioned by the devil, have an interview with my mistress Angelica; and finding it approach, I was surprised to hear no tidings of her. The priest always assured me, that I should without fail enjoy her company, as the demons never break their promise when they make it in the solemn manner they had done to me. He bid me, therefore, wait patiently, and avoid giving room to any scandal upon that occasion, but make an effort to bear something against my nature, as he was aware of the great danger I was to encounter; adding, that it would be happy for me if I would go with him to consecrate the book, as it would be the way to obviate the danger, and could not fail to make both him and me happy.

I who began to be as eager to undertake the enterprise, as he to propose it, told him, that there was just come to Rome one Giovanni da Castello,* a native of Bologna, and an excellent artist; that he was particularly skilful in making such medals of steel as I was employed about; and I desired nothing more than to emulate this great man, in order to display my genius to the world, hoping by that means, and not by the sword, to subdue my numerous enemies. The priest continued his persuasions notwithstanding, and said to me—"My dear Benvenuto, come along with me, and keep out of the way of a very great danger, which I see impending over your head." I had resolved, however, to

* Gio. Bernardi, a celebrated engraver of cameos, and in steel and crystal. After working some time for the Duke of Ferrara, he was invited to Rome by Jovius, where, under the patronage of the Cardinals Salviati and de' Medici, he produced some exquisite specimens of his art. He gave the portrait of Clement VII. on that fine medal, with a reverse of Joseph discovering himself to his brothers. He was very assiduous and rapid in his works. He was also a pontifical mace-bearer, and died at sixty years of age, in 1555.

finish my medal first, and the end of the month was now approaching, but my mind was so taken up with my medal, that I thought no more either of Angelica, or anything else, except my present task.

I happened one day, about the hour of vespers, to have occasion to go from home at an unusual hour to my shop (fronting Banchi, while my house was situated at the back), where I left all the business to the care of my partner, whose name was Felice. Having stayed there a short time, and recollecting that I had something to say to Alessandro del Bene, I instantly set out, and being arrived in the quarter of Banchi, accidentally met with a friend of mine, whose name was Benedetto: he was a notary public, a native of Florence, and the son of a blind man of Sienna, who lived by alms. This Benedetto had resided several years at Naples, from whence he went to Rome, where he transacted business for certain merchants of Sienna, of the name of Figi. My partner had several times requested him to pay for some rings, which Benedetto had given him to mend. Meeting him that day in the quarter of Banchi, he asked him again for the money with some asperity (which was customary with him), when Benedetto was with his employers. These people, observing what passed, rebuked the latter severely, telling him they would employ another person, to prevent their being any longer disturbed with such uproars. Benedetto made the best defence he could, assuring them that he had paid that goldsmith, and could not prevent madmen from raving. The merchants, not satisfied with the excuse, dismissed him their service. Immediately after this affair, he dressed himself and came to my shop, in a great rage, perhaps in order to abuse Felice. It happened that we met exactly in the middle of the Banchi quarter. As I knew nothing of what had passed, I saluted him with my usual complaisance, but he returned my politeness with a torrent of opprobrious language. I thereupon recollected what the necromancer had told me of an impending danger, and keeping upon my guard in the best manner I could, I said to him: "My dear friend Benedetto, don't be angry with me, for I have done you no injury, and know nothing of the misfortunes that may have befallen you. If you have anything to do with Felice, go and settle it with himself:

he is very able to give you an answer. As I am entirely ignorant of the affair in question, you are in the wrong to give me such language, especially as you know that I am not a man to put up with an affront." He made answer, "that I was thoroughly acquainted with the whole transaction, that it should not end so, and that Felice and I were both very great scoundrels."

By this time, a crowd had gathered about us to hear the dispute. Provoked by his abusive language, I stooped down, and taking up a lump of dirt (for it had just been raining), I aimed it at him, intending to throw it full in his face, but he bowed himself down a little, and it hit exactly in the middle of his head. In this dirt was a sharp flint which cut him most severely, so that he fell upon the ground insensible and like a dead person. From this circumstance, and from the quantity of blood which flowed from his wound, it was the opinion of all the bystanders that he was killed upon the spot.

Whilst he lay stretched out upon the ground, and some porters who were amongst the crowd expected to be employed to carry off the corpse, Pompeo the jeweller, whom the Pope had sent for about some job in his way, happening to pass by, and seeing the man in so dismal a plight, asked who had used him in that manner: he was told that Benvenuto was the man, but that it had been all the fool's own seeking. Pompeo ran in all haste to the Pope, and said to him, "Most Holy Father, Benvenuto has just murdered Tobbia: I saw it with my own eyes." The Pope hearing this, flew into a most violent passion, and ordered the governor, who happened to be present, to seize and hang me directly upon the very spot where the murder was committed. He enjoined him to use the utmost diligence in taking me, and upon no account to appear before him till he had seen justice done.

As soon as I beheld the unfortunate man in the situation I have described, I began to think of taking measures for my safety, seriously reflecting on the power of my enemies, and the danger in which this affair might involve me. I therefore quitted the place, and retired to the house of Signor Gaddi, clerk of the chamber, proposing to get myself in readiness with all possible expedition, and go where Providence should direct me; though

Signor Gaddi advised me not to be in such a hurry, as the danger might possibly be much less than I imagined. Having thereupon sent for Signor Annibale Caro, who lived in the same house with him, he desired him to inquire into the affair. Whilst we were talking of this matter, and the above orders were giving, there came to us a Roman gentleman who lived with the Cardinal de' Medici,* and had been sent to us by that prince. This gentleman taking Signor Gaddi and me aside, told us, that the Cardinal had repeated to him the words above-mentioned, which he had heard uttered by the Pope: he added, that it was impossible to save me, advising me to fly that first ebullition of anger, and not venture upon any account to stay in Rome. As soon as the gentleman was gone, Signor Gaddi, looking at me attentively, seemed to shed a few tears, and said: "Alas! how unfortunate am I, that I have it not in my power to assist you." I answered, "With the help of God, I shall extricate myself out of all difficulties: all I ask of you is, that you will be so good as to lend me a horse." Instantly a brown Turkish horse, one of the handsomest and best in Rome, was got ready for me: I mounted it, and placed a wheel-musket before the pommel of the saddle to defend myself.

When I arrived at Sixtus' bridge, I found the whole body of

* Ippolito, the same mentioned at page 89, a natural son of Julian, brother of Leo X., was made a Cardinal at eighteen years of age in 1529. He possessed all the qualities fitted for a prince, but by no means for an ecclesiastic. With a fine person, and accomplished in every manly and elegant art, he soon became weary of the churchman's gown, and delighted to wear the sword and mantle of the chevalier. Surrounded by military men, artists, and scholars, he boasted of assembling at his table persons of all nations and professions, speaking more than twenty different languages. In 1532 he was sent Apostolic Legate, at the head of ten thousand Italians against the Turks in Hungary, but so far awakened the suspicions of the Emperor by his martial character and ambition, that he was in a few days put under arrest. Unsatisfied with his immense wealth, and jealous of the power of the Duke Alessandro in Florence, he entered into a conspiracy against him, which was soon defeated. Failing in all his designs, and stung with insult and disappointment, he offered his services to Charles V. in the expedition to Tunis; but finding himself equally neglected by the Imperialists, this added disgrace threw him into a violent fever, of which he died in 1555. He left a natural son of the name of Asdrubal, who gave his countrymen an elegant translation of the Second book of the *Æneid*.

city-guards, horse and foot, drawn up there ; so making a virtue of necessity, I boldly clapped spurs to my horse, and by God's mercy passed free and unobserved. Thus I repaired with the utmost speed to Palombara, the place of residence of Signor Giambattista Savelli ; and from thence I sent back the horse to Signor Giovanni Gaddi, but chose to make a secret of the place where I was, even to that gentleman. Signor Giambattista, after giving me the kindest reception imaginable, and treating me in the most generous manner during two whole days, advised me to quit the place, and bend my course towards Naples, till the first gust of the Pope's fury was over. Having procured me company, he put me in the road to Naples.

I met by the way a statuary, a friend of mine, named Solosmeo, who was going to S. Germano, to find the tomb of Piero de' Medici at Monte Casini. This person informed me, that the very evening of my departure, Pope Clement had sent one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, to inquire after Tobbia ; and that the gentleman upon finding him at work, and that nothing at all had happened to him, nay, that he was quite ignorant of the whole affair, had made a report to his Holiness of the real state of the case. The Pope thereupon turned to Pompeo, and said, " You are a most abandoned wretch, but one thing I can assure you of, you have stirred a snake which will sting you, and that's what you well deserve." He next addressed himself to the Cardinal de' Medici, and desired him to inquire after me, telling him he would not lose me upon any account whatever.

In the mean time, Solosmeo and I jogged on together towards Naples, by way of Monte Casini, singing all the way.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Author arrives safe at Naples.—There he finds his mistress Angelica and her mother, which gives rise to an extraordinary interview.—He meets with a favorable reception from the Viceroy of Naples, who endeavors to fix him in his service.—Finding himself greatly imposed upon by Angelica's mother, he accepts of Cardinal de' Medici's invitation to return to Rome, the Pope having discovered his error concerning the supposed death of Tobbia, the goldsmith.—Curious adventure upon the road.—He arrives safe at Rome, where he hears that Benedetto was recovered of his wound.—Benvenuto strikes a fine medal of Pope Clement, and waits upon his Holiness.—What passed at their interview.—The Pope forgives and takes him again into his service.

SOLOSMEO * having reviewed his work at Monte Casini, we travelled together towards Naples. When we came within half a mile of that capital, we were accosted by an innkeeper, who invited us to put up at his house, and told us that he had lived several years in Florence with Cardinal Ginori,† adding, that if we would take up our quarters with him, we should meet with the civilest and kindest treatment. We told the man several times that we did not choose to stop at his house. The fellow, notwithstanding, continued to ride on with us, and sometimes turning back, repeated the same thing, telling us he should be very glad of our company at his inn. Tired at last of his importunity, I asked him whether he could direct me to a Sicilian lady, named Beatrice, who had a daughter called Angelica, and who were both courtezans. The innkeeper thinking I was in jest,

* Antonio Solosmeo da Stettignano, with the exception of the large figures, completed the whole of this magnificent tomb, which was begun in 1532, and which long engaged the talents of the most eminent artists;—Antonio da St. Gallo, in the architecture, Giuliano da St. Gallo, for the statues, and Matteo de' Quaranta, a Neapolitan. Solosmeo was pupil to Sansovino, and being of an animated and daring character, very satirical, and a declared enemy of Bandinelli's, he stood in high favor with Cellini. See Gattula and Vasari.

† Carlo Ginori was Gonfalonier of the Florentine Republic in 1527.

made answer ; "Curse on all such, and all that take pleasure in their company ;" then clapping spurs to his horse, he galloped off as if determined to quit us entirely.

I began to applaud the address with which I had got rid of this impertinent devil ; though I still was never the nearer, for when I recollected my passion for Angelica, I fetched a deep sigh, and began to talk of her to Solosmeo. As we were thus engaged in chat, the innkeeper came riding up to us again full speed, and as soon as he joined us, said, "Two or three days ago, there came a lady and her daughter to lodge next door to me, of the very name you mention, but whether they are Sicilians or not I cannot justly say." I replied, "The name of Angelica has such charms for me, that I am resolved by all means to take up my quarters at your inn." Thus we rode into Naples with the innkeeper, and dismounted at his house. I thought it an age till I had put everything belonging to me into proper order ; and then went to the house adjoining to the inn, where I found my dear Angelica, who received me with the greatest demonstrations of affection and kindness. I continued with her from eight o'clock that evening until the following morning. Whilst I enjoyed the exquisite pleasure of her company, I recollected that this very day the month was expired, which had been fixed in the necromancer's circle by the demons : so let every one who has recourse to such oracles, seriously reflect upon the dangers which I had to encounter.

I happened to have in my purse a diamond, which was particularly noticed by the goldsmiths ; and though but a young man, I was generally known in Naples for a person of some consequence, and greatly caressed by the citizens. Amongst others a very worthy man, a jeweller, named Signor Dominico Fontana, was lavish of his civilities to me, so as to discontinue the business of his shop during three days that I passed at Naples ; he moreover introduced me to the Viceroy, who had intimated a desire to see me. As soon as I came into the presence of his excellency, he showed me a thousand civilities, during which my diamond dazzled his eyes. When at his particular desire I had shown it him, he told me, that if I were disposed to part with it, he hoped I would not forget him. Upon his returning me the

diamond, I again put it into his excellency's hand, telling him, that both the jewel and its owner were very much at his service. He declared that he set a high value upon the diamond, but should be better pleased if I would reside at his court ; adding, that he would take care that I should be satisfied with my treatment. Many civilities thereupon passed between us ; but the conversation afterwards turning upon the value of the diamond, his excellency commanded me to set a price upon it. I told him that it was worth exactly two hundred crowns. To this his excellency made answer, that I appeared to him not to be unreasonable ; but that he ascribed the extraordinary beauty of the stone to its being set by me, who was one of the first men living in the jewelling business ; and if it were set by another hand, it would not seem to be of half the value. I told him it was not I that had set the diamond, for the work was but indifferent, and that he who did it, had considered only its intrinsic value ; but, if I were to set it myself, it would appear to much greater advantage, and shine with redoubled lustre. Thereupon I put my thumb-nail to the ligatures of the diamond, and drew it out of the ring ; then rubbing it a little, I handed it to the Viceroy. His excellency's surprise was equal to his satisfaction, and he wrote me an order that the two hundred crowns which I demanded should be paid at sight.

At my return to my lodgings I found a letter from the Cardinal de' Medici, by which I was desired to return to Rome without loss of time ; and, immediately upon my arrival, to dismount at his palace. When I had read the letter to Angelica, she with a flood of tears entreated me either to stay at Naples, or to carry her with me to Rome. I answered, that if she chose to accompany me to Rome, I would give her the two hundred ducats, which I had received from the Viceroy, to keep for me. Her mother, seeing us close in conversation, came up to us, and accosted me thus—" Benvenuto, if you propose carrying my Angelica to Rome with you, leave me fifteen ducats to pay for my lying-in, and afterwards I will follow you myself." I told the old beldame, that I would leave her thirty with pleasure, if she would let her daughter accompany me. This being agreed, Angelica requested me to buy her a gown of black velvet, as that

manufacture was cheap at Naples. I consented to everything, and having sent for the velvet, bargained for it myself. The old woman thereupon thinking me soft and easy to be made a dupe of, asked me for fine clothes for herself and her son, and a larger supply of money than I had promised her. I complained of this in gentle terms, and said, "My dear Beatrice, is not what I have offered you enough?" She answered in the negative. I then told her, that what was not enough for her would suffice for me; and taking my leave of Angelica, who shed tears at parting, whilst I only laughed, I set out in order to return to Rome.

I left Naples with my pocket full of money by night for fear of being way-laid and assassinated, which is a common thing in that country. When I arrived at Selciata, I with great valor and address defended myself against several men on horseback, who attacked and would have murdered me. Having left Solosmeo busy with his monument at Monte Casini, I one day stopped at the inn of Adananni to dine. Near this place, I shot at some birds and killed them, but at the same time tore my right hand with the lock of my gun; and though the hurt was not of much consequence, it had an ugly appearance, the blood flowing in copious streams from my hand. When I had got to the inn, and put my horse in the stable, I was shown into a room, where I found several Neapolitan gentlemen just going to sit down to table, and with them a young lady, one of the most lovely creatures my eyes ever beheld. At my entering the chamber, I was attended by my servant, a clever stout young fellow, armed with a long partizan: the sight of us, together with the arms and the blood, threw the poor gentlemen into such a panic (there being a nest of assassins in the place), that rising from their seats they in the utmost terror and consternation prayed to God to assist them. I told them with a smile that God had already heard their prayers, and that I was ready to be their defender against whoever should dare to attack them. I then asked them to help me to some sort of bandage for my hand, when the beautiful lady took a handkerchief embroidered with gold, in order to make a bandage. I declined this offer, but the lady tore it in two, and wrapt up my hand in it herself with a grace inexpressible. Our fears seemed to be now removed, and we dined together cheerfully. Dinner being over we

mounted on horseback, and travelled on in company. Yet as there still remained some distrust on the side of the gentlemen, they caused the lady to engage me in conversation, leaving us at some little distance, and she and I rode on together. I made a sign to my servant to lag behind, so that we had an opportunity of conversing on subjects which are not to be disclosed to all the world. Thus was my journey to Rome the most agreeable I ever had in my life.

Upon my arrival in that city I went to alight at the palace of the Cardinal de' Medici. I soon was introduced to that prince, and paid my respects to him, with thanks for his favors: I at the same time requested him to secure me from all danger of imprisonment, or even from a fine if it were possible. The Cardinal appeared overjoyed to see me, and desired me to fear nothing: he then turned to one of his gentlemen, whose name was Pierantonio Pecci of Sienna,* and bid him, in his name, command the city-guards not to meddle with me. He asked him next in what condition the person was, whom I had wounded in the head with a stone? Pierantonio answered that he was very ill, but would soon be worse; for having heard that I was at Rome he declared he would willingly die to do me a spite. The Cardinal answered laughing: "That the man could not have taken a surer way to convince us, that he was born in Sienna." Addressing himself next to me he said: "For my sake and your's avoid being seen in the quarter of Banchi for four or five days, after that you may go where you please, and let fools die when they will."

I went to my own house, and set about finishing the medal I had begun, which was a head of Pope Clement: on the reverse was a figure representing Peace. This was a little female, dressed in a thin garment, with a torch in her hand, a heap of arms tied together like a trophy, near to which was part of a temple, with a figure of Discord bound by many chains, and round it these words as a motto: *Clauduntur belli porta.*† Whilst I was em-

* He afterwards passed into the service of Catharine de' Medici, and having attempted to surprise and deliver up Sienna to the French, he was declared a rebel by the Spaniards.—See Pecci, Mem. de Sienna.

† This medal was struck in reference to the peace, which continued throughout Christendom from the year 1530 to 1536. It was published by

ployed about this medal, the man whom I had wounded was cured. The Pope was incessantly asking me why I did not go near the Cardinal de' Medici, though every time I visited his Holiness he put some job of importance into my hands, which was sufficient to prevent me. When I had finished the medal, it came to pass that Signor Piero Carnesecchi,* the Pope's chief favorite, became my patron. He took care to acquaint me that his master was extremely desirous to retain me in his service. I told this gentleman, that I should soon make it appear that I had been always animated by an equal zeal for his Holiness.

Having a few days after finished my medal, I stamped it upon gold, silver, and copper, and showed it to Signor Piero, who immediately introduced me to the Pope. I was admitted into the presence of his Holiness one day just after dinner: it was in the month of April, and the weather very fine, when he was at Belvidere. Upon entering the apartment I delivered him the medals, with the steel instruments which I used in stamping them. He took them into his hand, and observing the great ingenuity with which they were made, looked at Signor Piero and said—"Were the ancients ever as successful in striking medals as we?" Whilst they both were examining, now the instruments, now the medals themselves, I addressed the Pope in the most modest terms I could think of. "If the influence of my adverse stars had not

Molinet and Bonanni, who were equally unacquainted with the artist, and the description he gives of it, both in this place and in the *8th Chap. of the Oreficeria*. Thus in explaining the figure of Fury, they gave her the name of Discord, Mars, or a personification of War. That beautiful design of Peace of Guercino's, engraved by Rosaspina, seems to have been taken from the reverse.

* A Florentine, distinguished for his learning and agreeable qualities, and a great favorite with Clement VII. His society was much sought by most of the literary geniuses of the time, as appears from the letters of Mureto, Bonfadio, Casa, Flaminio, and others; but having formed an intimacy with Giovanni Valdes, in Naples, and with Melancthon in France, he imbibed the doctrines of those innovators. Accused of heresy at Rome, in 1546, he was, in the first instance, absolved: but, on a fresh accusation, he was condemned by the Inquisition for contumacy. At the instance of Pius V., he was sent by the Duke Cosmo to Rome, where he was beheaded and burnt, as an obstinate heretic, in August, 1567.

been counteracted by a power still greater than theirs, your Holiness would have lost a faithful and zealous servant, without its being either your fault or mine. For it must be allowed to be right and well-judged in cases of the utmost emergency, to do according to the proverbial expression of the vulgar, namely, to look before you leap;* since the wicked, lying tongue of one of my malicious adversaries had so irritated your Holiness against me, that you were incensed to the highest degree, and commanded the governor to seize and hang me directly. I make no doubt, however, that your Holiness, upon reflecting on your loss, and the prejudice you had done to your own interest, in depriving yourself of such a servant as you acknowledge me to be, would have felt some remorse and been sorry for what you had done. Neither parents, nor masters, possessed of prudence or good nature, will ever proceed to sudden severities against their children or their servants, since to repent afterwards of what they have done in a passion can avail them nothing. But as the Divine Providence has defeated this malignant influence of the stars, and preserved me for your Holiness's service, I must entreat that for the future you would not so easily suffer yourself to be set against me."

The Pope having made an end of looking at the medals, was listening to me with the greatest attention. As there were present several noblemen of the first rank, he colored a little, and appeared to be in some confusion; but not knowing how to palliate what he had done, he declared that he did not remember to have ever given any such order. Perceiving this, I turned the conversation to other topics, in order to amuse him, and dissipate his confusion. His Holiness again entering upon the subject of the medals, asked me by what means I had contrived to stamp them so well, being so very large, for he had never observed any antique medals of the same size. We talked of this for a while, and his Holiness being apprehensive that I might say something still more severe than I had done already, told me that the medals were very fine, and that he was highly pleased with them, and should be glad to have another reverse made to them, agreeable to his fancy, if

* An Italian proverb:—"Si deve segnar sette e tagliar uno." To mark seven and cut off one. So translated by Dr. Nugent.—Ep.

medals of that sort could be stamped with two reverses. I declared they could. Upon this he ordered me to represent that part of the history of Moses, where he strikes the rock, and water issues from it, with a Latin inscription to this effect, *ut bibat populus*.* He then added, "Set about it, Benvenuto, and when you have done, I will begin to think of providing for you." As soon as I was gone he boasted that he would find me constant employ, so that I should have no occasion to work for anybody else. Thus encouraged, I exerted myself to the utmost, and lost no time till I had finished the reverse, with the figure of Moses upon it.

* This reverse is also to be seen in Bonanni, with the allusion occasioned as follows: when the Pope was at Orvieto, in 1528, having noticed the scarcity of water to which the city was liable, built upon a rock, at a distance from any spring, he ordered Antonio da S. Gallo to open a large well, which was in fact a wonderful effort of art. It was cut through the solid rock to the depth of 265 feet, and 25 ells wide. It has two flights of hanging steps, one above the other, to ascend and descend, executed in such a manner, that even beasts of burden may enter; and by 248 convenient steps to arrive at a bridge, placed over a spring, where the water is laden. And thus without returning back, they arrive at the other stairs, which rise above the first, and by these return from the well by a passage different to the one they entered. This work was nearly finished at the death of Clement VII., and it was therefore natural that he should record this singular fact by a medal.

CHAPTER XV.

Pope Clement is attacked by a disorder of which he dies.—The Author kills Pompeo of Milan.—He is protected by Cardinal Cornaro.—Paul III., of the House of Farnese, is made Pope.—He reinstates the Author in his place of engraver of the Mint.—Pier Luigi, the Pope's bastard son, becomes Cellini's enemy.—He employs a Corsican soldier to assassinate the Author, who has intelligence of the design, and escapes to Florence.

In the meantime, the Pope was taken ill, and his physicians being of opinion that he was in great danger, my adversary, who was still afraid of me, hired certain Neapolitan bravoës to treat me in the manner he was apprehensive I should treat him: so that I found it a very difficult matter to defend my life from his attacks. However I went on with my work, and having finished it, waited on the Pope, whom I found very ill in bed; he gave me nevertheless the kindest reception, and expressing a desire to see both the medals and the instruments with which I had stamped them, ordered his spectacles and a light to be brought, but could discern nothing of the workmanship. He therefore began to examine them by the touch, and having done so for a time, he fetched a deep sigh, and told some of his courtiers, that he was sorry for me, but if it pleased God to restore his health, he would settle matters to my satisfaction. Three days after he died, and I had my labor for my pains. I took heart notwithstanding, and comforted myself with the reflection of having acquired by means of those medals so much reputation, that I might depend upon being employed by any future Pope, and perhaps with better success.

By such considerations did I prevent myself from being dejected; and totally forgetting the injuries I had received from Pompeo, I put on my sword, and repaired to St. Peter's, where I kissed the feet of the deceased Pontiff, and could not refrain from tears. I then returned to Banchi, to reflect undisturbed on the confusion that happens on such occasions. Whilst I was sitting

here in the company of several of my friends, Pompeo happened to pass by in the midst of ten armed men, and when he came opposite to the place where I sat, stopped awhile as if he had an intention to begin a quarrel. The brave young men, my friends, were for having me draw directly, but I instantly reflected, that by complying with their desire, I could not avoid hurting innocent persons; therefore thought it most advisable to expose none but myself to danger. Pompeo having stopped before my door, whilst you might say a couple of *Ave Marias*, began to laugh in my face; and when he went off, his comrades fell a-laughing likewise, shook their heads, and made many gestures in derision and defiance of me. My companions were for interposing in the quarrel, but I told them in an angry mood, that I was man enough to manage all my feuds by myself; so that every one might mind his own business. Mortified at this answer, my friends went away muttering to themselves: amongst these was the dearest friend I had in the world, whose name was Albertaccio del Bene, own brother to Alessandro and Albizzo, who now resides in Lyons, and is exceeding wealthy. This Albertaccio del Bene* was one of the most surprising young men I ever knew, as intrepid as Cæsar, and one who loved me as he loved himself. He was well aware that my forbearance was not an effect of pusillanimity, but of the most daring bravery which he knew to be one of my qualities. In answer therefore to what I said, he begged of me as a favor, that I would indulge him so far as to take him for my companion in whatever enterprise I might meditate. To this I replied, "My dearest friend, Albertaccio, a time will soon come when I shall have occasion for your assistance; but on the present occasion, if you love me, do not give yourself any concern about me; only mind your own affairs, and quit the place directly, as the rest have done, for we must not trifle away time."

These words were uttered in great haste: in the meantime my enemies of the Banchi quarter had walked on slowly towards a

* Cellini has already mentioned at page 75, his intimacy with the family of the Bene. Alberto, of whom he again speaks as a person of singular merit, is praised in a letter written by Bembo, directed to him at Padua, in 1542, for his elegant compositions, and for his critical taste in subjects relating to the fine arts.

place called Chiaavica, and reached a cross-way where several streets meet ; but that in which stood the house of my adversary, Pompeo fled directly to the Campo di Fiore. Pompeo entered an apothecary's shop at the corner of the Chiaavica, about some business, and stayed there some time : I was told that he had boasted of having bullied me ; but it turned out a fatal adventure to him. Just as I arrived at that quarter, he was coming out of the shop, and his bravoes having made an opening formed a circle round him. I thereupon clapped my hand to a sharp dagger, and having forced my way through the file of ruffians, laid hold of him by the throat so quickly, and with such presence of mind, that there was not one of his friends could defend him. I pulled him towards me, to give him a blow in front, but he turned his face about through excess of terror, so that I wounded him exactly under the ear ; and upon repeating my blow, he fell down dead. It had never been my intention to kill him, but blows are not always under command.

Having withdrawn the dagger with my left hand, and drawn my sword with the right, in order to defend myself, when I found that all the heroes of his faction ran up to the dead body, and that none of them advanced towards me, or seemed at all disposed to encounter me, I retreated down the street Julia, revolving within myself whither I could make my escape. When I had walked about three hundred paces, Piloto, the goldsmith, my intimate friend, met me, and said, "Brother, since the mischief is done, we must think of preserving you from danger." I answered him, "Let us go to Albertaccio del Bene, whom I told awhile ago that I should shortly have occasion for his assistance." As soon as we reached Albertaccio's dwelling house, infinite caresses were lavished on me, and all the young persons of condition, of the different nations in the quarter of Banchi, except those of Milan, made their appearance, offering to risk their lives in order to preserve mine. Signor Luigi Ruccellai also sent to make me a tender of all the service in his power, as did likewise several of the nobility besides him, for they were glad that I had dispatched Pompeo, from an opinion that he had insulted me past all enduring ; and they expressed great surprise that I had so long been patient under accumulated injuries.

In the meantime, the affair coming to the knowledge of Cardinal Cornaro, he sent thirty soldiers, and as many spear-men, pikemen, and musqueteers, who were charged to conduct me to his house. I accepted the offer and went with them, accompanied by more than an equal number of the brave young fellows above-mentioned. Signor Trajano,* Pompeo's relation, and first gentleman of the bed-chamber, being likewise informed of the affair, sent a person of quality, of Milan, to Cardinal de' Medici, to acquaint him with the heinous crime I had committed, and excite him to bring me to condign punishment. The Cardinal immediately made answer, "Benvenuto would have done wrong not to prefer the lesser to the greater evil: I thank Signor Trajano, for having informed me of what I was ignorant of." Then, in the presence of the person of quality above-mentioned, he turned to the Bishop of Trulli, his intimate acquaintance, and said to him: "Make diligent inquiry after my friend Benvenuto, and conduct him hither, because I intend to befriend and assist him, and shall look upon his enemies as mine." Hearing this, the Milanese gentleman colored, and left the place; but the Bishop of Trulli came in search of me to Cardinal Cornaro's palace. Upon seeing his reverence, he told him, that the Cardinal de' Medici had sent for Benvenuto and proposed taking him under his protection. Cornaro, who was one of the most whimsical men breathing, flew into a violent passion, and told the bishop that he was as proper a person to take care of me as the Cardinal de' Medici. The bishop replied, that he begged it as a favor, that he might be allowed to speak a word to me about some other business of the Cardinal's. Cornaro made answer, that he should not see me that day. The Cardinal de' Medici was highly incensed at this; however I went the night following without Cornaro's knowledge,

* There is a letter of Bembo's, dated 1530, directed to Messer Trajano Alicorno, master of the bed-chamber to our Lord the Pope; from which it is conjectured, he must have had great influence with the Pope. I presume he was a Roman, since I find in the inscriptions of Rome, collected by the Galletti, others of the same name. In other respects, he seems not to have enjoyed any great reputation; for Pao. Jovio, in a letter dated 1535, mentions that Trajano could obtain payment of his pensions which were granted to him rather by good fortune than by merit.

well guarded, to pay him a visit. I then begged of him as a favor that he would permit me to stay with Cornaro, telling him of the great politeness with which the latter had treated me; and that if his reverence would suffer me to stay at that Cardinal's palace, I should always be sure of an additional friend in my utmost need, otherwise his reverence might dispose of me as he judged proper. He made answer that I might act as I thought fit.

I then returned to Cornaro, and a few days after Cardinal Farnese* was elected Pope. As soon as this new Pontiff had settled other affairs of greater importance, he inquired after me, and declared that he would employ nobody else to stamp his coins. When he spoke thus, a gentleman, whose name was Signor Latino Giovenale,† said that I was obliged to abscond, for having killed one Pompeo, a Milanese, in a fray: he then gave an account of the whole affair, putting it in the most favorable light for me that was possible. The Pope made answer: "I never heard of the death of Pompeo, but I have often heard of Benvenuto's provocation; so let a safe-conduct be instantly made out, and that will secure him from all manner of danger." There happened to be present an intimate friend of Pompeo's, who was likewise a favorite of the Pontiff; this was Signor Ambrogio, a native of Milan. This person told his Holiness, that it might be of dangerous consequence to grant such favors, immediately upon being raised to his new dignity. The Pope instantly said, "You do not understand these matters: I must inform you, that men who are masters in their profession, like Benvenuto, should not be subject to the laws; but he less than any other, for I am sensible that he was in the right in the whole affair." So the safe-conduct being immediately made out, I entered into his service and met with great encouragement.

* The same already mentioned, page 81. He was elected to the papal chair on the 13th of October, 1534.

† Latino Giovenale de' Manetti, extolled by Bembo, Sadoletto, Castiglione, and others, as an excellent poet and scholar. He was equally distinguished for his knowledge of antiquities and the fine arts. On Charles the Fifth's arrival in Rome, he was fixed upon to accompany that sovereign in a survey of the ancient monuments. He conducted many important negotiations both at Rome and elsewhere, and would have arrived at still higher honors, had he consented to devote his days to celibacy. (See Marini.)

About this time, Signor Latino Giovenale came to me, and gave me an order to work for the Mint directly. Thereupon all my enemies rose up against me, and used their utmost endeavors to prevent me from being employed in that department. I began to make the stamps for crown-pieces, upon which I represented the bust of St. Paul with his legend, *Vas Electionis*.* This piece proved far more agreeable to his Holiness than those of the other artists, who worked in competition with me; insomuch that he declared that I alone should have the stamping of his coins. I therefore exerted all my diligence in my art, and Latino Giovenale introduced me occasionally to the Pope, who had made choice of him for that purpose. I applied again for the place of engraver to the Mint; but the Pope having asked advice upon this point, told me that I should first receive pardon for the manslaughter, which I should have by the festival of the Virgin Mary in August, by order of the Caporioni;—for every year at that solemn festival, twelve persons under sentence of banishment are pardoned upon the account of those magistrates. He directed at the same time that during this interval, another safe-conduct should be taken out in my behalf, that I might remain till then secure and unmolested.

My enemies finding that they could by no means whatever exclude me from the Mint, had recourse to another expedient to wreak their malice. Pompeo, whom I sent to the other world, having left a portion of three thousand ducats to a bastard daughter of his, they contrived to prevail upon a favorite of Signor Pier Luigi, † bastard son to the Pope, to marry her; which was brought

* This piece of coin is mentioned in the Catalogue of Saverio Scilla Molinet, who produced a medal of Paul III. with the very same motto of *Vas Electionis*, is of opinion, that he thus meant to allude to the very unanimous consent of the Cardinals in electing this Pontiff, which, according to Jovius, was carried by acclamation with the general voice.

† Pier Luigi Farnese, a natural son of Paul III., whose violent and savage temper so long disturbed the repose and glory of this Pontiff, who always evinced for him the utmost paternal tenderness. The titles of Gonfalonier of the Church, Duke of Castro, Marquess of Novara, and lastly, in 1545, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, were in a short period conferred upon him; but he wholly disappointed the high expectations formed of him. Ungoverned, rash, and dissipated, his contempt of his father's counsels and his

about by means of that lord. This favorite was a little country fellow, in narrow circumstances: it was said that he received but very little of the money, for Pier Luigi laid hands on it, and was for converting it to his own use. But as this fellow had several times, through complaisance to his wife, requested Pier Luigi to get me taken into custody, the latter promised to bring it about, as soon as the high favor in which I was with the Pope had somewhat subsided. Things continuing in this state about two months, as that servant endeavored to get the portion paid to him, Pier Luigi avoided giving a direct answer, but often told him, and his wife still oftener, that he would revenge the death of her father.

Though I knew something of what was in agitation, whenever I happened to appear in the presence of Pier Luigi, he was lavish of demonstrations of kindness to me: he had, notwithstanding, at the same time, secretly given orders to the captain of the city-guard, either to cause me to be seized, or to get somebody to assassinate me. As he thought it most advisable to determine upon one of these two methods, he employed a cut-throat of a disbanded soldier to do the work; and my other enemies, especially Signor Trajano, promised to make the vagabond a present of a hundred crowns: the latter declared thereupon, that he would make no more of it than swallowing a new-laid egg. Having heard the whole affair, I kept a constant look-out, and went always well accompanied and armed with a coat of mail, for I had received permission from the government. This bravo was so covetous, that in order to engross the whole money to himself, he thought he might undertake the murder unassisted. One day, just after dinner, they sent for me in the name of Signor Pier Luigi. I went directly, as that lord had often talked to me about several pieces of plate of new invention, which he proposed to have executed. I left my house in a hurry with my usual arms, and went down the street Julia, not thinking to meet anybody at that time of day.

When I was at the top of the street, and preparing to turn towards the Farnese palace, it being customary with me to take the round-about way, I saw the same bravo quit the place where he was sitting, and advance to the middle of the street. Without

usage of his own courtiers were the cause of his being assassinated by the latter in the year 1547.

being in the least disconcerted, I kept on my guard, and having slackened my pace a little, approached the wall as close as I could, to make way for the ruffian, and the better to defend myself. He drew towards the wall, and we were near to each other, when I plainly perceived by his gestures, that he had a design upon me, and seeing me alone in that manner, imagined it would succeed. I broke silence first: "Valiant soldier," said I, "if it were night-time you might possibly have mistaken me for another, but as it is broad day-light you must be sensible who I am, and that I never had any connection with you, nor ever gave you offence, but should rather be disposed to serve you, were it in my power." Upon my uttering these words, he, with a resolute air, and without ever quitting his ground, told me that he did not know what I meant. I replied, "But I know very well what you mean; yet your enterprise is more dangerous than you are aware of, and the success may be very different from what you imagine. I must tell you, that you have a man to deal with who will sell his life very dear; neither does your design become such a brave soldier as you appear to be." All this while I stood upon my guard with a stern and watchful eye, and we both changed color. By this time a crowd was gathered about us, and the people perceived what we were talking of, so that not having the spirit to attack me under those circumstances, he only said, "We shall see one another again." I answered, "I am always glad to see gallant men, and those that behave themselves as such."

Having left him, I went to Signor Pier Luigi, but found that he had not sent for me. From thence I returned to my shop, when the bravo gave me notice, by means of a particular friend of his and mine, that I need be no longer under any apprehensions from him, since he would for the future consider me as a brother; but that I should beware of others, for many persons of distinction had sworn they would have my life. I returned him thanks by the messenger, and kept upon my guard in the best way I could.

A few days after I was told by an intimate friend, that Signor Pier Luigi had given express orders for taking me that evening: this I heard at eight o'clock. I thereupon spoke to some of my friends, who advised me to make my escape without loss of time: and as the order was to be carried into execution at one in the

morning, I took post at eleven for Florence. The truth is, when the soldier had miscarried in his enterprise for want of courage, Signor Pier Luigi had, by his own authority, given orders that I should be arrested, to make Pompeo's daughter easy, who was restless to know where her portion was deposited. Unsuccessful in his two first attempts to revenge the death of that woman's father, he had recourse to a third, of which I shall give the reader an account in its proper place.

CHAPTER XVI.

Duke Alessandro receives the Author with great kindness.—The latter sets out from Florence with Tribolo and Sansovino, two sculptors, upon a tour to Venice.—They pass through Ferrara, and meet with several adventures upon the road.—After a short stay at Venice, they return to Florence.—Odd story of the Author's behavior to an inn-keeper.—At his return to Florence he is appointed master of the Mint by Duke Alessandro de' Medici, who makes him a present of a very curious gun.—Ill offices done the Author by Ottaviano de' Medici.—He receives a promise of pardon from Pope Paul III. with an invitation to return to Rome and enter again into his service.—He accepts of the invitation, and goes back to Rome.—Generous behavior of Duke Alessandro.

Upon my arrival at Florence I paid a visit to Duke Alessandro, who gave me the most gracious reception, and even pressed me to stay with him. There happened to be in Florence at that time a statuary, named Tribolo,* to one of whose children I had stood godfather. In some conversation between us, he acquainted me that Giacomo del Sansovino,† his first master, had sent for him to

* Niccolo de' Pericoli, a Florentine, whose extraordinary humor and vivacity, from his earliest years, acquired for him the name of *Tribolo*. He was an eminent sculptor, and produced some specimens of such very extraordinary merit, that they were believed to be from the hand of Michel Angelo. He was also equally excellent in other branches of his art; and, among other ingenious works, produced a topographical relievo of the city and environs of Florence, one of the earliest efforts in that branch of art, which has since been carried to such a degree of perfection by the Signor Exchaquet, and by Gen. Pfiffer, of Lucerne. His success in hydraulics, to which he also applied himself, was not equally great.

† Giacomo was born in Florence, and assumed the name of Sansovino, from the master under whom he studied, Andrea Contucci da Monte a Sansovino, one of the most eminent sculptors of his time. His family name was Tatti. His works acquired him a high reputation at Rome and Florence. In the year 1527 he visited Venice, and being made architect to the Procurature he renounced the study of sculpture, to devote himself entirely to his new profession, by which he obtained equal reputation and emolu-

Venice; and as he had never seen that city, and expected to gain considerably there, he was glad of an opportunity of making the trip. He asked me whether I had ever seen Venice? I answered in the negative; whereupon he pressed me to bear him company. I immediately accepted his proposal, and told Duke Alessandro that I intended to undertake a journey to Venice, and, upon my return, should be at his service. This he made me promise, desiring, at the same time, that I would call upon him before my departure. I got myself in readiness the next day, and went to take my leave of the duke, whom I found at the palace of Pazzi, where the wife and daughter of Signor Lorenzo Cibo* were also lodged. Having given his excellency to understand that I was just setting out for Venice, an answer was brought me by Signor Cosmo de' Medici, the present Duke of Florence, that I should go to Niccolo di Monte Acuto, to receive fifty crowns, of which his excellency made me a present, and that after I had taken my pleasure at Venice, he expected I would return to his service.

Having received the money from Niccolo, I repaired to my friend Tribolo, who was ready for his journey, and asked me whether I had bound up my sword: I told him that a man who was just mounted for a journey, had no occasion for any such precaution. He replied that it was the custom in Florence, for that there was in that city a certain Signor Maurizio, who for the least offence used to plague and persecute everybody, so that travellers were obliged to keep their swords bound up till they had passed the gate. I laughed at this: so we set out with the Procaccio, or postman of Venice, named Lamentone, and travelled in his company.

ment. He was thus enabled to leave his son, Francesco, a noble fortune, which is, perhaps, the reason he has written so many indifferent books. Giacopo died in 1570, aged 93 years.

* Lorenzo Cibo, brother of the Cardinal already mentioned (p. 49), was Marquess of Massa, where he resided. It appears, on the authority of Varchi, that his marchioness was a little too often honored with the visits of the duke, who had very nearly paid a high price for his attentions. The Cardinal de' Medici, and Giambattista Cibo, Archbishop of Marsiglia, and a relation of the lady, had taken measures in 1535 to rid the marquess of the invader of his honor, by means of a small barrel of gunpowder, placed under his chair near the bed, but from some accident it failed to explode.

Having passed the other towns without stopping at any of them, we at last arrived at Ferrara, and took up our quarters at the inn in the great square. The Procaccio went in quest of some of the Florentine exiles, in order to deliver them letters and messages from their wives: for such was the pleasure of the duke, that this fellow should speak with them, but no Florentine traveller was to take the same liberty, upon pain of being involved in their punishment. In the mean time, as it was not above six in the afternoon, Tribolo and I went to see the Duke of Ferrara come back from Belfiore, whither he went to be present at a tournament. At his return we met with several of the exiles, who looked at us attentively, as if to force us to speak to them. Tribolo, who was one of the most timorous men breathing, said to me every moment, "Neither look at nor speak to them, if you intend ever to return to Florence." So we stayed to see the duke's entrance; then going back to the inn, we found Lamentone. It was almost eleven o'clock at night when Niccolo Benintendi made his appearance with Piero his brother, and an old man whom I take to have been Giacomo Nardi,* together with several young gentlemen. The Procaccio went to talk with the Florentine exiles: Tribolo and I stood at some distance to avoid their conversation. After they had chatted a considerable time with Lamentone, Niccolo Benintendi said: "I know those two men there very well. What's the reason they make such a difficulty about speaking to us?" Tribolo begged I would remain silent. Lamentone told them that we had not the same permission as he had. Benintendi swore it was all mere nonsense, and wished the devil might take us, with other imprecations. I looked up and said in the gentlest terms I could; "Dear gentlemen, do but seriously consider that you may hurt us, but it is not in our power to be of any

* Giacomo, born of a noble family in Florence, 1476, highly distinguished himself both as a soldier and a statesman, and rendered great services to the Republic. He was afterwards declared an enemy to the Medici, his fortunes confiscated, and he himself imprisoned. His pleasing qualities and powerful talents acquired for him the praises and esteem of his contemporaries. He chiefly resided at Venice, where he wrote the history of his country, a translation of Titus Livy, and other excellent works. He lived beyond his 80th year.

manner of service to you ; and though you have given us language by no means becoming gentlemen, yet we are willing to overlook that affront." Thereupon old Nardi declared, that I spoke like a worthy young man. Niccolo Benintendi said : " I know how to deal both with them and the duke." I answered that he had behaved very ill to us, and that we had nothing to do with him or his affairs.

Old Nardi took our part, and told Benintendi that he was in the wrong. The latter still continuing to insult us with abusive language, I assured him that I would presently take such a course with him as he would not like, so he had best attend to his own business, and let us alone. He replied, that he held both the duke and us in abhorrence, and that we were no better than so many jackasses. I thereupon gave him the lie, and drew my sword ; the old man, who wanted to be the first to get down stairs, had not descended many steps, when he tumbled down, and all the rest fell over him. I rushed towards them, and brandishing my sword, cried out in a furious manner, " I will kill every man of you ;" but I took particular care not to hurt any one, as I might easily have done. The innkeeper hearing the noise set up a loud outcry ; Lamentone begged for quarter ; one cried out, " Oh, my head !" another, " Let me get out of this cursed place." In short there was a most horrid uproar, you would have thought a whole herd of swine had got together : at last the innkeeper came with a light, when I drew back and put up my sword. Lamentone told Niccolo Benintendi that he had behaved very ill : the landlord assured him, that it was as much as his life was worth to wear arms in such a place—" If the duke," said he, " were to be acquainted with your insolence, he would order you to be hanged. I will not treat you as you deserve ; but begone from my house, and let me see you no more at your peril." After this speech the host came up to me, and as I was going to make an apology for what had passed, he would not suffer me to say a word, but telling me he knew I was entirely in the right, advised me to beware of them upon the road.

As soon as we had supped, the master of a bark came to carry us to Venice : I asked him whether he would let us have the bark to ourselves, to which he agreed. In the morning we took

horse betimes, to ride to the port, which is but a few miles distant from Ferrara. When we got thither, we met with the brother of Niccolo Benintendi, and three of his companions, who waited my coming: they had with them two pikes; and I had purchased a fine spear at Ferrara. Being thus well armed, I was not in the least terrified, as Tribolo was, who exclaimed, "God help us! these men have waylaid us, and will murder us." Lamentone, addressing himself to me, said, "The best course you can take is to return directly to Ferrara, for I see there is great danger: my dear Benvenuto, avoid the fury of these savage beasts." "Let us go on boldly," said I: "God assists those who are in the right; and you shall see how I assist myself. Is not this bark hired for us?"—"It is," answered Lamentone. I then rejoined, "We will make our passage without them, or I will die for it." I spurred my horse forward, and when I was within ten paces of them dismounted, and boldly advanced with my spear in my hand. Tribolo stayed behind, and had so contracted himself upon his horse, that he seemed to be quite frozen. Lamentone, the Procaccio, who always puffed and blew in such a manner that he might have passed for Boreas, now puffed and blew more than ever, being impatient to see how this fray was to conclude.

When I reached the bark, the master told me, "that there was a considerable number of gentlemen from Florence, who wanted to sail in the vessel, if it were agreeable to me." "The boat," said I, "is hired for us, and for nobody else, and I am very sorry that I cannot have the pleasure of their company." To this a stout young fellow, named Magalotti, answered, "Benvenuto, we will contrive matters so as to put it in your power." I replied, "If God and the justice of my cause, together with my own arm, have any efficacy or influence, you will never be able to fulfil your promise." Having uttered these words, I leaped into the bark, and turning the point of my weapon towards them, said, "By this I will prove to you that I cannot comply with your request." In order to show that he was in earnest, Magalotti clapped his hand to his sword, and made towards me; when instantly I jumped upon the side of the bark, and gave him so violent a thrust, that, if he had not instantly fallen flat, I should have run him through the body. His companions, instead of assisting him,

retreated, and I, seeing that it was in my power to kill him, would not repeat my blow, but said, "Arise, brother, take your arms, and go about your business: I have sufficiently shown you that I can do nothing contrary to my own will." I then called to Tribolo, the master of the bark, and Lamentone, and we set out for Venice together.

After we had sailed ten miles upon the Po, the young fellows above-mentioned, having embarked in a skiff, came up with us, and when they were opposite to our boat, that fool Piero Benintendi said to me, "Benvenuto, this is not the time to decide our difference, but you are to be seen again at Venice." "Take care of yourself," said I, "for I am going thither, and shall frequent all places of public resort."

In this manner we arrived at Venice; where I applied to a brother of Cardinal Cornaro's for permission to wear a sword. He told me that I was at liberty to do so, and the worst that could befall me was, that I might lose my sword. Thus having received permission to carry arms, we went to visit Giacompo del Sansovino the statuary, who had sent for Tribolo: he caressed me greatly, and invited us both to dinner. In his conversation with Tribolo, he told him he had no business for him then, but that he might call another time. Hearing him speak thus, I burst out a-laughing, and said jestingly to Sansovino, "His house is at too great a distance from yours for him to call again." Poor Tribolo, quite shocked at the man's behavior, said, "I have your letter in my pocket, inviting me to come and see you at Venice." Sansovino replied, "that such men as himself, of abilities and unexceptionable character, might do that and greater things." Tribolo shrugged up his shoulders, muttering *patience* several times. Upon this occasion, without considering the splendid manner in which Sansovino had treated me, I took my friend Tribolo's part, who was certainly in the right; and as the former had never once ceased to boast at table of his own performances, whilst he made very free with Michel Angelo and all other artists, however eminent, I was so disgusted at this behavior that I did not eat one morsel with appetite. I only took the liberty to express my sentiments thus: "O Signor Giacompo, men of worth act as such; and men of genius, who distinguish themselves by their works, are

much better known by the commendations of others, than by vainly sounding their own praises." Upon my uttering these words we all rose from the table murmuring our discontent.

Happening the very same day to be near the Rialto, I met with Piero Benintendi, who was in company with several others, and perceiving that they intended to attack me, I retired to an apothecary's shop till the storm blew over. I was afterwards informed that young Magalotti, to whom I had behaved so generously, had expressed a great dislike to their proceedings, and thus the affair ended.

A few days after, we set out on our return to Florence. Happening to lie at a place on this side of Chioggia, on the left hand as you go to Ferrara, the landlord demanded his reckoning before we went to bed. Upon my telling him, that in other places it was customary to pay in the morning, he answered, "I insist upon being paid over-night, and as I think proper." I replied, "That when people insist upon having things their own way, they should make a world of their own; but the practice of this globe of ours was very different." The landlord said, "That it did not signify disputing the matter, for he was determined it should be so." Tribolo trembled with fear, and by signs entreated me to be quiet, lest the man should do something worse; so we paid him in the manner he required, and went to bed. We had very fine new beds, with everything else new, and in the utmost elegance. Notwithstanding all this, I never closed my eyes the whole night, being entirely engaged in meditating revenge for the insolent treatment of our landlord. Now it came into my head to set the house on fire, and now to kill four good horses, which the fellow had in his stable. I thought it was no difficult matter to put either design in execution, but did not see how I could easily secure my own escape and that of my fellow-traveller afterwards.

At last I resolved to put our baggage into the ferry, and requesting my companions to go on board, I fastened the horses to the rope that drew the vessel, desiring my friends not to move it till my return, because I had left a pair of slippers in the room where I lay. This being settled, I went back to the inn, and inquired for the landlord, who told me that he had nothing to say to us, and that we might all go to the devil. There happened to

be a little stable-boy in the inn, who appeared quite drowsy. He told me, that his master would not stir a foot for the Pope himself, and asked me to give him something to drink my health; so I gave him some small Venetian coin, and desired him to stay awhile with the ferry-man, till I had searched for my slippers. I went up stairs, carrying with me a little knife, which had an exceeding sharp edge, and with it I cut four beds, till I had done damage to the value of, upwards of fifty crowns. I then returned to the ferry, with some scraps of bed-clothes in my pocket, and ordered the person who held the cable to which the ferry was tied, to set off with all speed. When we were got to some little distance from the inn, my friend Tribolo said, "that he had left behind him some little leather straps, with which he used to tie his cloak bag, and that he wanted to go back in search of them." I desired him not to trouble his head about two little straps of leather, and assured him that I would make him as many large ones as he should have occasion for. He told me that I was very merry, but that he was resolved to return for his leather straps; but as he called out to the ferryman to stop, I bid him go on, and in the meantime told Tribolo all the damage I had done at the inn, in proof of which I produced some of the scraps of the bed-clothes. He thereupon was seized with a panic so violent, that he never ceased crying out to the ferry-man to make haste, and did not think himself secure from danger, till we arrived at the gates of Florence. When we had thus reached our journey's end, Tribolo said to me, "Let us bind up our swords, for God's sake; and do nothing to bring us into any more scrapes, for I have been continually scared out of my wits for some days past." "My good friend, Tribolo," answered I, "you need not bind up your sword, for it was fast enough during the whole journey." This I said because he had not shown the least sign of courage upon the road. He looked at his sword, and said, "By the Lord, you say true; it is still tied up in the very same manner it was before I went from home." My fellow-traveller thought I had been a bad companion to him, because I had shown some resentment, and defended myself against those who would have used us ill; while I looked upon him in a worse light, for neglecting to assist me upon those

occasions ; let the impartial reader determine who was in the right.

Upon my arrival at Florence, I went directly to Duke Alessandro, and returned him a great many thanks for the fifty crowns, telling his excellency, that I was ready to undertake anything to serve him. He answered, that he wanted me to be engraver to his Mint. I accepted the offer ; and the first coin which I stamped was a piece of forty pence, with the duke's head on one side, and on the other his arms. After that I made a stamp for the half Giulios, upon which I represented the head of St. John with the full face. This was the first piece of the kind that had been ever made of so thin a plate of silver. The difficulty of such a piece of work is known only to those who are masters of the business. I then made stamps for the gold crowns, on which a cross was represented on one side, with certain figures of little cherubims, and on the other were the duke's arms. When I had finished this job, that is, when I had stamped these four sorts of pieces,* I requested his excellency, that he would provide apartments† for me, according to his promise, if he was satisfied with my services. He answered in the most obliging terms, "That he was perfectly satisfied, and would give the proper orders." When I spoke to him on this occasion, he happened to be in his armory, in which was a fusil of admirable workmanship that had been sent him from Germany. Seeing me look very attentively at this fine piece, he delivered it into my hand, telling me, that he knew very well how fond I was of fowling, and, as an earnest of what he

* In a letter from Bembo, addressed to Varchi, dated the 15th July, 1535, he says, "I have received the impressions of the seven different coins from the hand of Benvenuto, all as excellent as his other works." The opinion of his contemporary Vasari, though he was by no means on favorable terms with Cellini, is no less honorable to him as an artist. "When Benvenuto had the making of the coins in the Roman Mint, they were the most beautiful which ever appeared there. After the death of Clement, the reputation which he thus acquired obtained for him the same situation at Florence, where he cast such exquisite specimens representing the head of the Duke Alessandro, that they are held in as much estimation as the ancient medals, and I think very deservedly so, as in this effort he appears to have even surpassed himself."

† In fact, he never before mentioned these apartments.

proposed doing for me, he desired I would choose any other gun except that out of his armory ; assuring me, that I should meet with some that were full as handsome and as good. I accepted of his kind offer, and returned him thanks ; whereupon he gave directions to the keeper of his armory, one Pietrino da Lucca, to let me have any piece I should make choice of: he then said many obliging things to me, and withdrew, to give me an opportunity of pleasing my fancy. I stayed some time behind, picked out the finest and best gun I ever saw in my life, and carried it home with me.

Two days after, I waited upon him with some little sketches which I had received orders from his excellency to draw, for some works in gold: these he had given me directions to begin directly, proposing to send them as presents to his consort,* who was then at Naples. I again pressed him to provide for me in the manner he had promised. He thereupon told me, that I should make the mould for a fine portrait of him, as I had done for Pope Clement. I began this portrait in wax, and his excellency gave orders, that at whatever hour I came to take his likeness, I should be admitted. Perceiving that the affair hung a long time upon my hands, I sent for one Pietro Paolo of Monte-ritondo, the son of him at Rome, whom I had known from a child ; and finding that he was then in the service of one Bernardaccio, a goldsmith, who did not use him well, I took him from his master, and taught him the art of coining. In the meantime I drew the duke's likeness, and often found him taking a nap after dinner, with his kinsman Lorenzo† de' Medici, who afterwards murdered him, but with no-

* Margaretta, a natural daughter of Charles the Fifth, by Margaret Van-gest, betrothed as before-mentioned to Alessandro, in 1530. The nuptials were celebrated in Naples, February, 1536, when the duke visited that place for the purpose of dissuading Charles from his intended expedition to Tunis. The bride did not arrive at Florence until the May following, having then but just completed her fourteenth year.

† He is also called Lorenzino, and was descended from Lorenzo, a brother of Cosmo, "the father of his country." He was at that time about twenty years of age, by no means deficient in talent and cultivation. He was in strict intimacy with the Strozzi, avowed republicans, but treacherous in his conduct to both parties ; he betrayed their designs to the duke, in order to obtain his confidence. Having thus become his favorite minister, and the

body else. I was very much surprised that so great a prince should have so little regard to the security of his person. It came to pass that Ottaviano de' Medici,* who seemed to have the general direction of affairs, showed a desire, contrary to the duke's inclination, to favor the old master of the Mint, named Bastiano Cennini. This man, who adhered to the ancient taste, and knew but little of the business, had caused his ill-contrived tools to be used promiscuously with mine in stamping the crowns. This I complained of to the duke, who finding that I spoke the truth, grew very angry, and said to me, "Go tell Ottaviano of this, and let him see the pieces." I went directly, and showed him the injury that was done to my fine coins: he told me stupidly, that it was his pleasure to have matters conducted in that manner. I answered, that it was a very improper manner, and extremely disagreeable to me. He replied, "But suppose it should be agreeable to the duke?" "Even so I should disapprove of it," answered I, "for the thing is neither just nor reasonable." He then bid me begone, telling me I must swallow the pill were I even to burst. Upon my return to the duke, I related to him the whole contest between Ottaviano de' Medici and myself, requesting his excellency not to suffer the fine pieces which I had stamped for him to be brought into disgrace; and at the same time I desired my discharge. He then said, "Ottaviano presumes too much: you shall have what you require of me, for the insult upon this occasion is offered to myself."

That very day, which was Thursday, I received from Rome

companion of his pleasures, he induced him to abandon himself to his inclinations without restraint.—Carpani.

Lorenzino long premeditated the assassination of the duke, his cousin, as appears from the well-known anecdote of the reverse of Cellini's medal, and which Lorenzo amused himself with turning into a pun.—Ed.

* Ottaviano was related to neither of the branches of the Medici, who had the government of Florence. He was, however, a decided friend to their party, and possessed considerable influence and authority in the city. This was farther promoted by his marriage with a daughter of Giacompo Salviati, no less than by his eminent qualifications as a courtier. He was proportionably arrogant and overbearing towards his inferiors, hated by his equals, and generally believed unworthy of the high station, which, by little merit of his own, he had obtained.

an ample safe-conduct of the Pope's, directing me to repair forth with to that city, at the celebration of the feast of the Virgin Mary in August, that I might clear myself from the charge of murder. When I waited on the duke, I found him in bed; being indisposed, from some intemperance, as he told me himself. I finished in a little more than two hours, what remained for me to do of his waxen medal, and he was highly pleased with it. I then showed his excellency the safe-conduct, which I had received by the Pope's order, telling him at the same time, that his Holiness was for employing me in some works, which would give me an opportunity of seeing once more the beautiful city of Rome, and in the meantime I would finish his excellency's medal. The duke answered half angry, "Benvenuto, do as I desire of you: I will provide for you and assign you apartments in the Mint, with much greater advantages than you could expect from me, since what you ask is but just and reasonable. Who else do you think is able to stamp my coins like you, if you should leave me?" I replied, "My lord, I have taken care to obviate all inconveniences: I have a pupil of mine here, a young Roman, whom I have trained to my business, and who will serve your excellency to your satisfaction, till I finish the medal, and at my return I will devote myself for ever to your service. As I have a shop open in Rome, with workmen and some business, as soon as I have received my pardon at the Capitol, I intend to leave all my affairs at Rome under the care of a pupil of mine, who resides in that city, and then, with your excellency's permission, I will come back to serve you." Upon this occasion there was present Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom the duke made several signs for him to join in persuading me to stay; but Lorenzo never said more than, "Benvenuto, your best way would be to remain where you are." I made answer, that I was resolved by all means to see Rome again. Lorenzo did not add another word, but continued to eye the duke with the most malicious glances. Having finished the medal, and shut it up in a little box, I said to his excellency: "My lord, you shall have reason to be satisfied, for I will make you a much finer medal than that of Pope Clement. It is natural that I should succeed better in this than in the other, as it was my first essay; and Signor Lorenzo, being a person of learning and genius, will

furnish me with a device for a fine reverse." Lorenzo instantly replied, "That is the very thing I was just thinking of, to give you the hint of a reverse worthy of his excellency." The duke smiled, and looking upon Lorenzo, said, "You shall give him the subject of the reverse, and he will stay with us." Lorenzo thereupon answered without hesitation, "I will think of it as soon as I possibly can: my intention is to produce something to surprise the world." The duke, who sometimes was inclined to think him a little foolish, and sometimes to look upon him as a coward, turned about in bed, and laughed at his boasts.

I then took my leave without any ceremony, and left them together. The duke, who never thought I would leave him, said nothing farther. When he was afterwards informed that I had set out for Rome, he sent one of his servants after me, who overtook me at Sienna, and gave me fifty gold ducats as a present from his master, desiring me to return as soon as I possibly could, and adding from Signor Lorenzo, that he was preparing an admirable reverse for the medal which I had in hand. I had left full directions to Pietro Paolo, the Roman above mentioned, in what manner to stamp the coins; but as it was a very nice and difficult affair, he never acquitted himself in it as well as I could have wished. There remained at this time above twenty crowns due to me from the Mint for making the irons.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Author, soon after his return, is attacked in his house by night by a numerous posse of sbirri, or constables, who were sent by the magistrates to apprehend him for killing Pompeo of Milan.—He makes a noble defence, and shows them the Pope's safe-conduct.—He waits upon the Pope, and his pardon is registered at the Capitol.—He is taken dangerously ill.—Account of what passed during his illness.—Surprising fidelity of his partner Felice

IN my journey to Rome, I carried with me the fine gun which had been given me by Duke Alessandro, and with great pleasure made use of it several times by the way. I had a little house in the Street Julia at Rome, but as it was not in order upon my arrival in that capital, I went to dismount at the house of Signor Giovanni Gaddi, a clerk of the chamber, to whose care I had at my departure committed a quantity of choice arms, and many other things upon which I set a high value. I did not therefore choose to alight at my own shop, but sent for my partner Felice, and desired him to set my little house in order. The day following I went to lie there, and provided myself with clothes and all other necessaries, intending the next morning to pay my respects to the Pope, and thank him for all favors. I had two servant boys, and a laundress, who cooked for me incomparably.

Having in the evening entertained several of my friends at supper, and passed the time very agreeably, I went quietly to bed; but scarce had the morning dawned, when I heard a violent knocking at the door. I thereupon called to the eldest of my boys, named Cencio (the very same that I carried with me into the necromancer's circle), and bid him go and see what fool knocked at such a strange rate at that unseasonable hour. Whilst Cencio was gone, I lighted another candle (for I always kept one burning by night), and immediately put over my shirt an excellent coat of mail, and over that again some clothes, that accidentally came to hand. Cencio returning, said, "Alas! master, it is the captain of the city-guards with all his followers; and he declares,

that if you make him wait, he will pull the door off the hinges : they have lighted torches, and a thousand implements with them." "Go tell them," I answered, "that as soon as I have huddled on my clothes, I will come down." Thinking that it might be an attempt to assassinate me, like that already made by Signor Pier Luigi, I took an excellent hanger in my right hand, and in my left, the Pope's safe-conduct, and ran directly to the back window, which looked into certain gardens, where I saw above thirty of the city-guards, which convinced me that it would be impossible to make my escape on that side. Having placed my two boys before me, I directed them to be ready to open the door when I should bid them : then holding the hanger in my right hand, and my safe-conduct in my left, quite in a posture of defence, I ordered the boys to open the door and fear nothing.

That instant Vittorio, the captain of the city-guards, rushed in with two of his myrmidons, thinking they should find it an easy matter to seize me ; but when they saw me prepared for them, they fell back, and said one to another, "This affair is no joke." I threw them the safe-conduct, and said, "Read that : you have no authority to arrest me, and I am resolved you shall not so much as touch my person." The captain of the guard ordered some of his followers to seize me, adding, "That he would examine the safe-conduct at his leisure." Upon this I was animated with new courage, and waving my sword, I exclaimed, "You shall not take me alive !" The place we were in was very narrow : they seemed determined to have recourse to violence, and I was resolved to defend myself. The captain perceived that there was no other way of getting me into their power but that which I mentioned. The clerk being called, whilst he was reading the safe-conduct, the captain made signs two or three times to his men to lay hands on me ; but they were intimidated at seeing me continue in the same posture of defence. At last giving up the enterprise, they threw the safe-conduct upon the ground and went away without me.

I went to bed again, but found myself extremely fatigued, and could not sleep a wink afterwards. Though I formed a resolution to get myself blooded as soon as it should be day, I asked the advice of Signor Giovanni Gaddi, who consulted his physician : the

latter desired to know whether I had been frightened. Here was a pretty physician, to ask such a question, after I had related an event so replete with terror. He was one of those vain triflers who are always laughing, the least trifle being sufficient to put him into a merry mood: so in his usual jocular strain he bid me drink a glass of good Greek wine, be cheerful, keep up my spirits, and fear nothing. Signor Giovanni then said, "A statue of bronze or marble would have been afraid upon such an occasion, much more a man." This precious physician replied, "My lord, we are not all formed in the same manner: this is neither a man of bronze nor of marble, but of iron itself." So having felt my pulse, he burst out a laughing, as was customary with him, and said to Signor Giovanni: "Do but feel this pulse, it is neither that of a man nor of a timorous person, but of a lion or a dragon." But I, finding my pulse immoderately high, knew what that meant, and perceived that my doctor was an ignorant quack, who had neither studied Galen nor Hippocrates; but for fear of increasing the terror and agitation I was in, I assumed an appearance of intrepidity and resolution. In the meantime Signor Giovanni ordered dinner to be served up, and we all dined together. The company, exclusive of Signor Giovanni, consisted of Signor Luigi da Fano, Signor Giovanni Greco, Signor Antonio Allegretti, all men of profound learning, and Signor Annibale Caro, who was very young. The conversation, during the whole time that we were at table, turned upon no other topic but the gallant action which has been related above. They likewise caused the whole story to be related by my boy Cencio, who was very ready witted, had a becoming confidence, and fine person. The lad, as he related my bold exploit, assumed the attitudes which I had thrown myself into, and repeated exactly the expressions I had made use of, constantly making me recollect some new circumstance; and as they asked him several times whether he had been afraid, he answered that they should propose the question to me, for he had been affected upon the occasion just in the same manner that I was. This trifling became at last disagreeable to me, and finding myself very much disordered, I rose from table, telling the company that I intended to change my clothes, and to dress myself, together with my boy, in blue and silk; for I proposed, in four

days' time, upon the festival of the Virgin Mary, to walk in procession, and that Cencio should carry before me a white torch lighted. Having left them, I went and cut out the blue clothes and a fine waistcoat of blue silk, with a little cloak of the same; and I made a cloak and a waistcoat of blue taffety for the lad.

As soon as I had cut out the clothes, I repaired to the Pope, who desired me to confer with Signor Ambrogio, as he had given orders for a work of great importance, which I was immediately to take in hand. I went directly to Signor Ambrogio, who had received a circumstantial account of the whole proceedings of the captain of the city-guards, was in the plot with my enemies to drive me from Rome, and had reprimanded the captain for not taking me; but the latter alleged in his vindication that he could not do it in defiance of a safe-conduct. This Signor Ambrogio began to talk to me of the work which the Pope had proposed to him; and next desired me to commence the designs, declaring that he would afterwards provide whatever was necessary. In the meantime the festival of the Virgin Mary drew near; and as it was customary for those who have received such a pardon as mine, to surrender themselves prisoners, I went again to the Pope, and told his Holiness that I did not choose to be confined, but begged it as a favor of him that he would dispense with my going to prison. The Pope answered that it was an established custom, and that I must conform to it. I fell upon my knees again, and returned thanks for the safe-conduct which his Holiness had granted me: adding, that I should return with it to serve my patron the Duke of Florence, who waited for me with so much eagerness and ardor of affection. Upon this, his Holiness turned about to one of his confidants and said, "Let the pardon be granted to Benvenuto without his complying with the condition of imprisonment; and let his patent be properly made out." So the patent being settled, the Pope returned it, and caused it to be registered in the Capitol. Upon the day appointed for that purpose, I walked very honorably in procession between two gentlemen, and received a full pardon.

About four days after I was attacked by a violent fever, which began with a most terrible shivering. I confined myself to my bed, and immediately concluded the disease to be mortal. I sent,

however, for the most eminent physicians of Rome, amongst whom was Signor Francesco da Norcia,* an old physician, and one of the greatest reputation in his business in that city. I told the physicians what I apprehended to be the cause of my disorder, and that I had desired to be let blood, but was dissuaded from it; but if it was not too late, I begged they would order me to be bled. Signor Francesco made answer, that bleeding could then be of no service, though it might have been so at first; for if I had opened a vein in time I should have had no illness, but now it would be necessary to have recourse to a different method of cure. Thus they began to treat me, to the best of their knowledge, and with the utmost care. My disorder, however, gained ground daily, so that in about a week it rose to such a pitch that the physicians gave me over, and directed that whatever I desired should be given me. Signor Francesco said—"As long as there is breath in his body, send for me at all hours, for it is impossible to conceive how great the power of nature is in such a young man: but even if it should quite fail him, apply these five medicines one after another, and send for me. I will come at any hour of the night, and should be better pleased to save his life than that of any Cardinal in Rome."†

Signor Giovanni Gaddi came to see me two or three times a day, and was continually handling my fine fowling-pieces, my coat of mail, and my swords, saying—"This is very fine; this again is much finer." The same of my little models, and other knick-knacks, insomuch that he quite tired my patience. With him there came one Mattio Franzesi,‡ who seemed quite impatient till I was dead; not because he was to inherit anything of mine, but

* Francesco Fusconi was physician to Adrian VII., to Clement VII., and to Paul III. He possessed a distinguished reputation in his profession, and had amassed immense wealth.

† Fusconi was a great admirer of the fine arts, and collected many beautiful ancient statues: it is not surprising, then, that he took so much pleasure in the society of Benvenuto.

‡ Franzesi is distinguished among Italian poets for his humorous pieces, and the correctness and ease of his versification. He stands among the Testi di Lingua, in the list of Berni, and other burlesque writers. Ranking with the Florentine nobles, he generally resided at the Court of Rome, esteemed and loved both by his noble and learned contemporaries.

he wished for what Signor Giovanni appeared to have so much at heart. I had with me my partner Felice, of whom mention has so often been made, and who gave me the greatest assistance that ever one man afforded another. Nature was in me debilitated to such a degree, and brought so low that I was scarcely able to fetch my breath; but my understanding was as unimpaired as when I enjoyed perfect health. Nevertheless I imagined that an old man of a hideous figure came to my bedside, to haul me violently into a large bark: I thereupon called to my friend Felice, and desired him to approach and drive away the old villain. Felice, who had a great friendship for me, ran towards the bedside in tears, and cried out—"Get thee gone, old traitor, who attemptest to bereave me of all that is dear to me in life." Signor Gaddi, who was then present, said—"The poor man raves, and has but a few hours to live." Mattio observed, that I had read Dante,* and in the violence of my disorder was raving from passages in that author; so he continued to say laughing—"Get hence, old villain, and do not disturb the repose of our friend Beavenuto." Perceiving myself derided, I turned to Signor Gaddi, and said to him—"My dear sir, do not think I rave: what I tell you of the old man who persecutes me so cruelly is strictly true. You would do well to turn out that cursed Mattio, who laughs at my sufferings; and since you do me the honor to visit me, you should come in the company of Signor Antonio Allegretti and Signor Annibale Caro, with the other men of genius of your acquaintance, who are very different in sentiment and understanding from that blockhead." Thereupon Signor Gaddi, in a jesting way, bid Mattio quit his presence for ever. However, though the fellow laughed, the jest became earnest, for Gaddi would never see him more, but sent for Signor Antonio Allegretti, Signor Lodovico,† and Signor Caro.

* Alluding to the following grand lines from "The Inferno," so simply and nobly rendered by Mr. Cary.—Ed.

"And lo! towards us, in a bark,
Comes on an old man, hoary white with age,
Crying, 'Wo to you, wicked spirits: hope not
Ever to see the sky again,' &c.

CARY'S DANTE.

† Lodovico da Fano, before mentioned among the other friends of Gaddi (pp. 109 and 185).

No sooner had those worthy persons appeared, than I began to take comfort, and conversed with them awhile in my right senses. As I, notwithstanding, from time to time urged Felice to drive away the old man, Signor Lodovico asked me what I thought I saw, and what appearance the old man had. Whilst I was giving him a description of this figure, the old man pulled me by the arm, and dragged me by main force towards his horrid bark. When I had uttered the last word, I was seized with a terrible fit, and thought that the old man threw me bodily into the vessel. I was told that whilst I was in this fainting fit, I struggled and tossed about in bed, and gave Signor Gaddi abusive language, telling him that he came to rob me, and not for any good purpose; with many other ugly expressions, which occasioned a great confusion to Gaddi; after which, as I was told, I left off speaking, and remained like a dead creature for above an hour.

Those that were present, imagining that the agonies of death were coming upon me, gave me over and went to their respective homes. Mattio heard the news, and immediately wrote to Florence, to Benedetto Varchi,* my most intimate friend, that I had expired at such an hour of the night. That great genius, upon this false intelligence, which gained universal credit, wrote an admirable sonnet, which shall be inserted in its proper place. It was three hours before I came to myself, and all the remedies prescribed by Signor Francesco having been administered without effect, my good friend Felice flew to the doctor's house, and knocked till he made him awake and get out of bed: he then with tears in his eyes entreated him to come and see me, as he was afraid I had just expired. Signor Francesco, who was one of the most passionate men living, answered, "To what purpose should

* Benedetto Varchi, or da Montivarchi, a Florentine, was one of the most learned and elegant writers of his age. As a supporter of the Strozzi, he was numbered among the exiles in 1537, and spent many years in Venice, Padua, and Bologna, in habits of the strictest intimacy with the most illustrious characters of each place. Recalled by Cosmo, through the mediation of Luca Martini, in 1542, he was taken into that Duke's service, and employed in writing his intended history. Of the greatest integrity, and with excellent dispositions, he every way fulfilled the expectations of his Prince, by inviting his subjects to the study of letters, and promoting a knowledge of literature, and the purity of the Tuscan language throughout Italy.

I go? If he is dead, I am more sorry for him than yourself. Do you think, even if I should go, that I am possessed of any nostrum to restore him to life?" Perceiving, however, that the poor young man was going away in tears, he called him back, and gave him a sort of oil to anoint the several pulses of my body, directing my little fingers and toes to be pressed hard, and that they might send for him again in case I was to come to myself. Felice, at his return, did all that he was ordered by Signor Francesco; and having in vain continued to do so until day-light, they all believed the case to be hopeless, and were just going to lay me out. In a moment, however, I came to myself, and called to Felice to drive away the old man that tormented me. Felice was for sending for Signor Francesco, but I told him that he need not send for anybody, that he had nothing more to do but to come close to me himself, for the old man was afraid of him, and would immediately quit me upon his approach. Upon Felice's coming up to the bedside, I touched him, and then my imagination was impressed, as if the old man had left me in a passion: I therefore entreated my friend to stay constantly by my bed-side.

Signor Francesco then making his appearance, declared that at any rate he would save me, and that he had never in his life known a young man of so vigorous a constitution. Then sitting down to write a recipe, he prescribed perfumes, poultices, washings, unctions, and many things more, too tedious to enumerate. In the meantime I found myself in a sad perplexity, a prodigious crowd being come to see my resuscitation. There were present men of great importance, and in vast numbers, before whom I declared, that what little gold and money I had (the whole might amount to the value of about eight hundred crowns in gold, silver, jewels, and money) I desired to be made over to my poor sister, who lived at Florence, and whose name was *Mona Liperata*. The remainder of my effects, whether furniture or other things, I left to my poor Felice, with a legacy of fifty gold ducats besides, to purchase clothes. Upon my uttering these words, Felice threw his arms about my neck, and protested he desired nothing but that I should recover and live. I then said, "If you wish me to live, touch me in this manner, and scold the old rogue who is so much afraid of you." When I spoke thus, some pre-

sent were quite frightened, being sensible that I did not rave, but spoke coherently, and was in my senses. Thus my disorder continued for a time, but it soon began to abate imperceptibly, and I recovered. The kind Signor Francesco visited me four or five times a-day, but I saw no more of Signor Gaddi, whom I had put into such confusion. My brother-in-law came from Florence for the legacy, but being a very worthy honest man, was highly rejoiced to find me alive. It was a great consolation to me to see him, and he behaved to me with the utmost kindness, declaring that his visit was with no other view but to take care of me himself; so he did for several days, and then I dismissed him, having scarce any doubt of my recovery. At his departure he left the sonnet of Signor Benedetto Varchi, which is as follows :

SONNET UPON THE FALSE REPORT OF THE DEATH OF BENVENUTO CELLINI.

Who shall, *Franzese*, ease our present grief?
 Can streaming tears and sorrow soften death?
 Can sad complaints bestow the wish'd relief?
 Since our loved friend resigns his latest breath.

His soul, with all the shining graces fraught,
 In early youth felt friendship's sacred flame,
 To tread the rugged path of virtue taught,
 To mount the skies, and leave a matchless name.

O gentle shade, if in the realms of day,
 Thou'rt sway'd by love or tender friendship's pow'rs;
 Hear me bewail my loss in mournful lay,
 Not weep a friend transferr'd to heavenly bow'rs.

To blissful seats, in glories bright array'd,
 Too soon, alas! thou'st wing'd thy rapid flight;
 The great Creator, to full view display'd,
 There without dazzling meets thy ravish'd sight.

Thus thou beholdest in yon radiant sphere,
 Him,* whom thy art so well depicted here.

My disorder was so exceedingly violent, that there appeared no

* Alluding to the representation of the Deity, on a medal of Cellini's.—
 P. 104.

possibility of a cure, and the good Signor Francesco de Norcia had more trouble than ever, bringing me new remedies every day, and endeavoring to strengthen and repair my poor crazy frame ; but notwithstanding all the pains he took, it did not appear possible for him to succeed. All my physicians left me, despairing of success, and quite at a loss what course to follow. I was troubled with a violent thirst, but for several days observed the rules they prescribed me ; while Felice, who thought his achievement great in saving my life, never quitted my bedside : at the same time the old man, who had so persecuted and harassed me, began to be less troublesome, though he sometimes visited me in my dreams. One day Felice happened to be out, and there were left to take care of me, an apprentice, and a girl named Beatrice, a native of Pistoia. I asked the apprentice what was become of my boy Cencio, and why I had never seen him there to attend me. The lad told me, that Cencio had been afflicted with a more severe disorder than myself, and was then at the point of death ; adding, that Felice had strictly enjoined them to conceal it from me. When he told me this, I was very much concerned : I then called to Beatrice, who was in another room, and begged of her to bring me a large basin, which stood hard by, full of cold water. The girl ran directly and brought it. I desired her to hold it up to my mouth, telling her, that if she would let me drink a good draught, I would make her a present of a new gown. Beatrice, who had stolen some things of value from me, and was apprehensive that the theft might be discovered, wished very much for my death : she therefore let me, at two draughts, swill myself with as much water as I could swallow, so that I may say, without exaggeration, that I drank above a quart. I then covered myself up with the bed-clothes, began to sweat, and fell asleep. Felice returning after I had slept about an hour, asked the boy how I had been while he was out ? He answered, " He could not tell, but that Beatrice had carried me a basin full of water, that I had drank it up, and he did not know at that time whether I was alive or dead." I was afterwards told that the poor young man was so affected at this intelligence, that he was almost ready to drop down dead. He took a stick, and soundly cudgelled the girl, upbraiding her bitterly for her treacherous conduct, and de-

claring that she had been the cause of my death. Whilst Felice was beating, and the girl screaming, I dreamt the old man had cords in his hands, and that upon his making an attempt to bind me, Felice had come up, and given him so violent a blow with an axe, that the old rogue ran away, crying out, "Let me be gone; I will not return in haste." In the meantime Beatrice ran into my chamber, roaring and bawling so loud that I awoke, and said, "Let the girl alone; perhaps with a design to hurt me, she has done me more good than you, with all your attendance and kind attentions: now lend me a helping hand, for I have just had a sweat." Felice, recovering his spirits, rubbed me well, and said all that he could to hearten me; and I, finding myself much better, began to have hopes of my recovery. Signor Francesco soon made his appearance, and seeing me so much better, the girl crying, the apprentice running backwards and forwards, and Felice laughing, concluded from this hurry that something extraordinary had happened, which was the cause of so great a change. Immediately after came in Bernardino the quack, who had been against bleeding me in the beginning. Signor Francesco, who was a man of sagacity, could not help exclaiming on this occasion, "O, wonderful power of nature! She knows her own wants, and physicians know nothing!" The fool Bernardino* thereupon said, "that if I had drunk another flask, my recovery would have been still more speedy." Signor Francesco da Norcia, from his great experience, treated this opinion with the contempt it deserved; saying, "The devil give you good of such a notion;" and turning about to me, asked me whether I could have drunk any more? I answered that I could not, as I had completely quenched my thirst. Then addressing himself to Bernardino, "Do not you see," said he, "how nature took just what answered her purpose, and no more: in like manner she required what was necessary for her relief, when the poor young man begged of you to bleed him. If you knew that drinking two flasks of water would have saved his life, why did you not say so before? Had you done this, you might have boasted of the cure." When he

* Probably Bernardino Lilj da Todi, of whom little more is known than the name, physician to the Roman Senate about the year 1528.

had spoken thus, the quack went off in anger, and never had the assurance to make his appearance again. Signor Francesco directed that I should be removed out of that apartment to a lodging upon one of the hills of Rome.

Cardinal Cornaro, having heard of my recovery, ordered me to be carried to a house which he had at Monte Cavallo. That very evening I was conveyed in a sedan well covered and wrapt up. No sooner was I arrived, but I fell a vomiting, and whilst my stomach was discharging itself, there issued from it a hairy worm, about a quarter of a cubit long: the hairs were very long, and the worm was shockingly ugly, having spots of different colors, green, black, and red—it was kept to be shown to the doctor. Signor Francesco declaring he had never seen anything like it, addressed himself thus to Felice: "Take care of your friend Benvenuto, who is now cured: do not let him be any way intemperate, for though he has escaped being hurt by one excess, another may occasion his death. You see his disorder was so violent, that when the holy oil was brought him, it was too late. I now perceive that with a little patience and time, he will be again in a condition to produce more master-pieces of art." He then turned about to me and said, "Dear Benvenuto, be careful, and do not indulge yourself in any excess, for as you are now recovered, I intend you shall make me an image of our Lady, which I will always honor for your sake." I promised to follow his advice, and asked him whether it would be safe to have myself removed to Florence. He answered that I should stay till I was a little better, and we saw how nature stood affected.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Author upon his recovery sets out for Florence, with Felice, for the benefit of his native air.—He finds Duke Alessandro greatly prepossessed against him, by the malicious insinuations of his enemies.—He returns again to Rome, and attaches himself with assiduity to his business.—Strange phenomenon seen by him in coming home from shooting in the neighborhood of Rome.—His opinion concerning it.—News of the murder of Duke Alessandro, who is succeeded by Cosmo de' Medici.—The Pope having received intelligence that the Emperor Charles V. was setting out for Rome, after his successful expedition against Tunis, sends for our Author, to employ him in a curious piece of workmanship, intended as a present for his Imperial Majesty.

HAVING waited a week, I found in myself so little alteration for the better, that my patience was almost tired out; but after I had continued in that suspense about fifty days, I resolved to wait no longer, and having accommodated myself with an open carriage, my dear friend Felice and I set out directly for Florence. I sustained no injury from my journey, but arrived safe at my sister's house,* where I was the cause of lamentation and joy almost in a breath. Many of my acquaintances now crowded to see me, and amongst others Pier Landi, who was one of the best and dearest friends I ever had.

A day or two after, there came one Niccolo da Monte Acuto, who was likewise my particular acquaintance. He had heard the duke say, "it would have been better for Benvenuto if he had died, for in coming hither he has fallen into a snare, and I will never forgive him." Poor Niccolo said to me, with the tone of a man in despair, "Alas! my dear Benvenuto, what brought you

* Cellini arrived at Rome on the 9th November, 1535, as we learn from a letter of Varchi to Bembo, dated the tenth, in which he says, "our friend Benvenuto arrived in an easy carriage yesterday evening from Rome, not quite recovered from his fever, but so well as not to give us any uneasiness on his account." How agreeable this information was to Bembo, we may gather from his reply to Varchi on the 28th of the same month.

hither? Did you not know that you were upon bad terms with the duke? I have heard him swear that you had fallen into a snare." I answered, "Signor Niccolo, I beg you will put his excellency in mind that Pope Clement was going to treat me in the same manner, and with as little reason. Let him but suffer me to recover my health thoroughly, and I shall convince him that I am the most faithful servant he ever had in his life, and that some of my enemies have prejudiced him against me."

The person that had thus brought me into disgrace with his excellency, was Giorgetto Vasellai, of Arezzo,* the painter, in return for many favors I had conferred on him. I had maintained him at Rome, and borne his charges, though he had turned my house topsy-turvy; for he was troubled with a sort of an ugly dry leprosy, which made him contract a habit of scratching himself continually; hence, as he lay with a journeyman of mine, named Manno,† whilst he thought he was scratching himself, he tore the skin off one of Manno's legs, with his great claws, for he never pared his nails: Manno thereupon left me, and would have put him to death; but I found means to reconcile them. I afterwards got Giorgio into the service of the Cardinal de' Medici, and was always a friend to the man. In return for all these favors and acts of friendship, he told Duke Alessandro that I had spoken ill of his excellency, and had made it my boast that I should be one

* Giorgio Vasari, one of the most eminent artists and versatile geniuses of the age, but too much inclined to dictate to others at the same Court, for which he frequently comes under our Author's lash. Deficient in that pure and delicate taste requisite in a fine colorist, his pictures are rather distinguished for facility and freedom of design, acquired in the schools of Michel Angelo and Andrea del Sarto, than for the finer excellences of the art. He was a more complete master of architecture and ornamental designs. But however excellent in these, his reputation was raised still higher by his great work on the fine arts and the most celebrated artists of Italy—a history to which the talents of his greatest contemporaries also contributed, and which was thus rendered one of the most complete, elegant, and delightful productions in the Italian language. He is accused of partiality to the Florentines, but in a work abounding in such general merits, we may almost pardon it.

† Vasari, who admits that he had been much in Manno's company, says he was a man very eminent in his art (of a goldsmith), and of unexceptionable conduct of manners. He was a Florentine, but chiefly worked at Rome.

of the first to scale the walls of Florence, and assist his enemies against him. These words, as I understood afterwards, he dropped at the instigation of Ottaviano de' Medici, whose aim was to be revenged for the trouble I had given him by the duke upon occasion of my coins, and my departure from Florence. But as I knew myself entirely innocent of the charge, I was not under any sort of apprehensions: what contributed still more to make me easy was, that the worthy Signor Francesco da Monte Varchi* attended me with the utmost care, and had brought thither my dear friend Luca Martini,† who passed the greatest part of the day with me.

In the mean time I despatched my trusty partner Felice to Rome, to look into the state of my affairs in that city. In about a fortnight's time I was able to sit up in my chamber, but had not yet so perfectly recovered the use of my limbs, as to be in a condition to walk; I therefore desired to be carried into the palace of the Medici, to the little terrace, and there to be left seated till the duke should pass by. Several of my friends at court expressed great surprise that I should take the trouble to get myself carried in that manner, whilst I was so very infirm; telling me, that I should have waited till my health was thoroughly restored, and then have visited the duke. A great number had now gathered about me, and they all seemed to consider my being there as a sort of miracle, not so much from their having heard I was dead, as because I appeared like a spectre. I said to the gentlemen present, that some malicious villain had told the duke, that I had boasted I should be one of the first to scale his excellency's walls, and that I had spoken disrespectfully of him; therefore I could neither live nor die contented, till I had cleared myself from the infamous aspersions cast upon me, and discovered the villain that gave rise to so black a calumny. When I spoke thus, there was gathered about me a crowd of courtiers, all of whom seemed

* A distinguished naturalist, and extremely devoted to the fine arts.

† An eminent and learned character of great influence and authority at the Court of Duke Cosmo, of which he availed himself, for the protection of letters and learned men. He produced two excellent burlesque pieces, no less humorous and elegant than those of Berni and others. He was also very intimate with Caro, as appears from a volume of "The Letters."

highly to compassionate my case, and expressed their sentiments variously concerning it: as for me, I declared my resolution never to quit the place, till I had discovered my accuser. When I had uttered these words, Signor Agostino, the duke's tailor, mixing with the gentlemen belonging to the court, came up to me, and said, "If that is all you are so solicitous to know, you shall soon be satisfied." Just at that instant Giorgetto, the painter, of whom mention has been made, passed that way: Agostino said, "There goes your accuser; whether what he says be true or false, you know best." Though I could neither stir nor move, I boldly asked Giorgetto whether it was true that he had accused me in that manner. Giorgetto answered that it was false, and that he had never said any such thing. Agostino then replied, "Abandoned wretch, don't you know that I speak upon a certainty?" Giorgetto instantly quitted the place, declaring with the most consummate assurance, that it was false he had ever said any such thing. A short time after the duke himself appeared: I caused myself to be supported in his excellency's presence, and he stopped. I then said, that I was come there for no other motive but to justify my conduct. The duke looked at me attentively, and expressing great surprise that I was still alive, bid me endeavor to show myself an honest man, and take care of my health. As soon as I had got home, Niccolo da Monte Acuto came to me, and told me that I was in the most dreadful jeopardy conceivable, such as he never should have believed; that I was a marked man; that it was most advisable therefore for me to endeavor to recover my health with all convenient speed, for danger impended over my head from a man that was to be feared. He then added, "Consider with yourself how have you offended that good-for-nothing Ottaviano de' Medici?" I answered that I had never offended him, but that he had wronged me; so I related to him the whole affair of the Mint. His reply to me was, "Go your ways, in God's name, with all the expedition possible, and make yourself quite easy, for you will have the pleasure of being revenged sooner than you desire." I made a short stay to recover my health, gave Pietro Paolo my directions with regard to stamping the coins, and then set out upon my return to Rome, without saying a word to the duke, or to anybody else.

Upon my arrival at that capital, after I had sufficiently enjoyed myself in the company of my friends, I began the duke's medal, and had in a few days engraved the head upon steel: it was the finest piece of work of the sort that ever came out of my hands. At this same time I was visited every day by a foolish sort of a person, named Francesco Soderini.* Upon seeing what I was about, he said to me, "Cruel man, will you then immortalize so fierce a tyrant? As you never made anything so fine before, it is evident that you are our inveterate foe, and equally a friend to that party; yet both the Pope and he would have hanged you twice unjustly: one was the Father, the other the Son, now beware of the Holy Ghost." It was believed for a certainty that Duke Alessandro was the son of Pope Clement.† Signor Francesco farther added, and even swore, that if he had had an opportunity he would have stolen the irons, with which I made that medal. I replied that he had done well to tell me his mind, for I would take particular care he should never see them again.

I then sent to Florence to let Lorenzo know, that it was time for him to send me the reverse of the medal. Niccolo da Monte Acuto, to whom I wrote on this occasion, returned for answer "that he had applied to that melancholy enthusiast Lorenzo,‡ who assured him that he thought of nothing else day and night, and that he would finish it as soon as he possibly could."§ He at the same time advised me not to depend upon that reverse, but devise one of my own imagination, and as soon as it was finished, carry it to Duke Alessandro. Havingd rawn a sketch of what appeared to me a proper reverse, I began to work upon it with all expedition. But as I had not yet thoroughly got the better of my late dreadful disorder, I frequently took the recreation of fowling. On these occasions I was accompanied by my dear friend Felice, who understood nothing of my business, but from our being inse-

* He had been banished Florence, as an enemy to the Medici, in 1530.

† Thus stated by Ammirato, and Antonio Magliabecchi.

‡ Lorenzino had been humorously termed a philosopher by the duke, not because he studied, but because he was fond of going alone, and appeared to give no attention to wealth and honors.—See Varchi.

§ Alluding to his intended assassination of the Duke Alessandro, his relation, which he meant to give Cellini as a reverse to the Duke's head.—Ed.

parable companions, it was generally thought that he must have talents that way ; so as he was a very facetious person, we several times diverted ourselves with the reputation which he had acquired. His name being Felice Guadagni, he would sometimes play upon the word, saying, " I should have little right to be called Felice Guadagni (gains) if you had not procured me so great a reputation, that I may justly be named from gain." My answer to him was, that there are two methods of gain, the first that of gaining for ourselves, the second that of gaining for others ; and in him I was much better pleased with the second method than the first, as he had gained me my life.

Such conversations as these frequently passed between us, but particularly once at the Epiphany, when we were both near the Magliana. The day was then almost spent, and in the course of it I had shot a considerable number of ducks and geese ; so having, as it were, formed a resolution to shoot no more that day, we made all the haste we could to Rome, and I called to my dog, to whom I had given the name of Baruccio. Not seeing him before me, I turned about and perceived the well-taught animal looking at certain geese, that had taken up their quarters in a ditch. I thereupon dismounted, and having charged my piece shot at them from a considerable distance, and brought down two with a single ball, for I never charged my piece with more, as it carried two hundred cubits. In this manner I seldom missed my mark, and there is no method that provés so successful. Of the above-mentioned two geese, one was almost dead, and the other, though wounded, made an impotent attempt to fly : my dog pursued the last and brought it to me. Seeing that the other was sinking in the ditch, I came up to it, trusting to my boots, which were tolerably thick : however, upon pressing the ground with my foot, it sank under me ; and though I took the goose, the boot which I had on my right leg was filled with water. I held my foot up in the air to let the water run out ; and, having mounted on horseback, we returned to Rome with the utmost expedition : but as the weather was extremely cold, I felt my leg frozen to such a degree, that I said to Felice—" Something must be done for the relief of this leg, for the pain it gives me is insupportable." The good-natured Felice, without a moment's delay, alighted from his

horse, and gathering thistles and bits of wood was going to make a fire: in the mean time having put my hands upon the feathers on the breast of the goose, I felt them very warm; upon which I told Felice that he need not trouble himself to make a fire; and, filling my boot with the feathers, I felt a genial warmth which invigorated me with new life.

Having again mounted our horses, we rode full speed to Rome. It was just night-fall when we arrived at a small eminence; and happening to look towards Florence, we both exclaimed in the utmost astonishment—"Great God! what wonderful phenomenon is that which appears yonder over Florence!" In figure it resembled a beam of fire, which shone with an extraordinary lustre. I thereupon observed to Felice, that some very great event must have happened at Florence. At our return to Rome it was exceedingly dark: when we were come near the Banchi quarter, and not far from our own house, I happened to ride an ambling horse that had a great deal of fire and mettle. There was a heap of rubbish and broken tiles in the middle of the street, which neither my horse nor I perceived. He ascended it with precipitation; and then descending, stumbled in such a manner, that in his fall his head came between his legs; but by God's providence I escaped unhurt. The neighbors came out of their houses with lights upon hearing the noise. I had then got up, and ran to my house quite overjoyed at having received no harm on the occasion, when I had been so near breaking my neck. I found some of my friends at home, to whom, it being summer-time, I gave an account of my achievements in fowling, and the strange phenomenon by fire. They said—"Heavens! what can the meaning of such an appearance be?" "Doubtless," answered I, "some revolution must have happened at Florence." Thus we supped together cheerfully, and late the day following news was received at Rome of the death of Duke Alessandro. Thereupon several of my acquaintances came to me and said, "Your conjecture was very right, that something extraordinary happened at Florence."

In the meantime Signor Francesco Soderini came trotting up on a little mule, and laughing ready to split his sides. "This," cried he, "is the reverse of the medal of that vile tyrant, which you

were promised by your friend Lorenzo de' Medici :* you were for immortalizing dukes, but we are no longer for dukes :” and so he turned me into ridicule, as if I had been a ringleader of one of those factions by which men are raised to ducal authority. Just at this time there arrived one Baccio Bettini, † who had a great mis-shapen head like a basket, and was as stupid as an owl : even he must rally me upon my attachment to dukes, and say—“ We have unduked them at last, and we will have no more dukes, though you were for immortalizing them.” When they had quite tired my patience with their senseless stuff, I at last said to them, “ O you fools ! I am a poor goldsmith, and work for whoever pays me, yet you upbraid and turn me into ridicule, as if I were the ringleader of a party. I will not, however, in return reproach you with the avarice, folly, and worthlessness of your ancestors ; but I must tell you in answer to all your insipid raillery, that before two, or at farthest three days are over, you will have another duke, and perhaps a much worse than your last.”

A day or two after Bettini came again to my shop, and said, “ You have no occasion to spend your money to pay messengers, since you are acquainted with events before they come to pass : ‡ What familiar spirit are you indebted to for your intelligence ?” He then gave me to understand that “ Cosmo de' Medici, son to

* Lorenzo took the duke privately to his own house, on the night of the 6th of January, 1537, under pretence of his meeting a lady, a relation of Lorenzo's, of whom he was deeply enamored. When he had brought the duke into the chamber, he closed the door, and, drawing forth a dagger, attacked and assassinated him alone on the spot. This ferocious action is described by Varchi in his fifteenth book, and also by Segni in the seventh, where both these writers suppose the event to have taken place in 1538.

† Bartolomeo Bettini was the particular friend of Buonarroti, and must have been a person of immense wealth, as he took great pleasure in having a number of the best artists employed for him.

‡ The crime committed by Lorenzo was rendered worse than useless : he himself fled like a madman to Venice, while the party of the Medici soon prevailed over the weak and divided friends of the Republic. Cosmo was elected duke in Florence on the 9th of January following, and exercised his power with justice and moderation. Lorenzo, after some time residing at Constantinople, went to France, and thence to Venice in 1547, where he was assassinated by two soldiers who would take no reward, as one of them had been among the guards of the late Duke Alessandro.

Signor Giovanni, was made duke, but that he was invested with dignity on certain conditions, which would prevent him from being arbitrary, and indulging his own capricious fancies." I now had an opportunity of laughing at them in my turn, so I said, "The citizens of Florence have put a young man upon a mettlesome horse; they have fitted him with spurs, left the bridle to his guidance and set him at liberty upon a fine plain, in which are flowers, fruits, and all things that can please and delight the senses and imagination: after this they direct him not to go beyond certain limits assigned. Now pray tell me who has the power to prevent him, when he has an inclination to pass them? Laws cannot be prescribed to him who is master of the law." From that time forward they ceased to molest me.

Beginning now to attend the business of my shop, I set about some little jobs which were not of any great importance; for I made the recovery of my health my chief care, and did not think myself yet entirely secure from a relapse. About this time the Emperor returned victorious from his enterprise against Tunis,* when the Pope sent for me and asked my advice what sort of present he should make that prince. I answered, that the most proper present to make his Imperial Majesty was a golden crucifix, for which I had devised a sort of an ornament which would be extremely suitable, and do both his Holiness and myself great honor; having already made three small figures in gold, round, and about a span high. These were the same figures that I had begun for the chalice of Pope Clement; and which were intended to represent Faith, Hope, and Charity.† I therefore added, in wax, the whole remainder of the foot of the cross. Upon my carrying it to the Pope with the figure of Christ in wax, and several other elegant ornaments, his Holiness appeared to be highly pleased, and before I left him we agreed upon everything that was to be done, and calculated the expense of the undertaking.

* Cellini, on the mention of this reverse promised to him by Lorenzo, 1535, has thought proper to describe the death of the Duke Alessandro, which happened in 1537, reverting to the year 1535, since Charles V. arrived at Naples from his expedition to Tunis, the 30th November, 1535.

† See page 125. These three heads must have been master-pieces in their way, as they are mentioned also by Vasari with the highest praise.

This was a little after sunset, and the Pope had given orders to Signor Latino Giovenale to supply me with money the next morning. Latino, who had a great dash of the fool in his composition, wanted to furnish the Pope with a new invention, which should come entirely from himself, so that he counteracted all that his Holiness and I had settled. In the morning, when I went for the money, he said to me, with all the stupidity and presumption* so inherent in his nature: "It is our part to invent, your's to work: before I left the Pope, yesterday in the evening, we hit upon a much better plan." When he had uttered these words, I did not suffer him to proceed, but said, "Neither you nor the Pope can ever think of a better device than this, in which Christ is represented with his cross, so you may talk in the courtier's trifling strain as much as you please." Without making any answer, he quitted me with great indignation, and endeavored to get the work put into the hands of another goldsmith; but the Pope was against it.

His Holiness sent for me directly, and told me "that I had given very good advice, but that they intended to make use of an office of the Virgin Mary, with admirable illuminations, which had cost the Cardinal 'de' Medici above two thousand crowns, and that this would be a very proper present for the Empress; that the Emperor should afterwards receive what I had proposed, which would be indeed a present worthy of his Majesty; but now there was no time to lose, that prince being expected in about six weeks." For this prayer-book, the Pope wanted to have a cover made of massy gold, with the most curious workmanship, and adorned with a considerable number of jewels, worth about six thousand crowns: so when he had furnished me with the jewels and the gold, I immediately set about the work, and, as I used all possible expedition, it appeared in a few days to be of such admirable beauty, that the Pontiff was surprised at it, and conferred extraordinary favors upon me, at the same time forbidding that fool, Giovenale, to disturb me in my business.

* Monsignor Marini very naturally observes, that he could not help laughing when he came to this passage of Cellini, in which he accuses Latino Manetti of folly and presumption, with such *unconscious naïveté*, as if he *himself had been a perfect pattern of modesty and discretion*.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Emperor Charles V. makes a triumphant entry into Rome.—Fine diamond presented by that Prince to the Pope.—Signor Durante and the Author nominated by his Holiness to carry his presents to the Emperor.—The presents sent by the Pope.—The Author makes a speech to the Emperor, who admits him to a private conference.—He is employed to set the fine diamond, which the Emperor had presented to the Pope.—Signor Latino Giovenale invents some stories to prejudice his Holiness against the Author, who, thinking himself neglected, forms a resolution to go to France.—Anecdote of his boy Ascanio.

WHEN I had almost finished the work above-mentioned, the Emperor arrived at Rome,* and a great number of grand triumphal arches were erected for his reception. He entered that capital with extraordinary pomp, which it is the province of others to describe, as I am not to treat of subjects that do not concern me. Immediately upon his arrival, he made the Pope a present of a diamond, which had cost him twelve thousand crowns. The latter sent for me, and putting the diamond into my hands, desired me to make a ring for it suited to his finger; but at the same time told me, that he wished me first to bring him the book unfinished as it was. When I carried it to his Holiness, he appeared to be highly pleased with it, and consulted me respecting the excuse to be made to the Emperor, for the non-completion of the work. I said, "That the most plausible apology was my being indisposed, which his Imperial Majesty would be very ready to believe, upon seeing me so pale and emaciated." The Pope answered, "That he highly approved of the excuse, but desired me to add in his name, that in presenting his Majesty with the book, I at the same time made him a present of myself." He suggested the words I was to pronounce, and the manner in which I was to behave: these words I repeated in his presence, asking him whether he approved of my delivery. He made answer,

* He entered Rome on the 6th of April, 1536.

“ That if I had but the confidence to speak in the Emperor’s presence in the same manner, I should acquit myself to admiration.” I replied, “ That without being in the least confusion, I could deliver, not only those words, but many more, because the Emperor wore a lay habit like myself, and I should think I was speaking to a human form : but it was quite different when I addressed myself to his Holiness, in whom I discovered a much more awful representation of the divine power, as well because of his ecclesiastical ornaments which were heightened with a sort of glory, as on account of his venerable and majestic age ; all which circumstances made me stand much more in awe in his presence, than in that of the Emperor.” The Pope then said, “ Go, my good friend Benvenuto, acquit yourself like a man of worth, and you will find your account in it.”

His Holiness at the same time ordered out two Turkish horses, which had formerly belonged to Pope Clement, and were the finest that had ever been brought into Christendom. These he committed to the care of Signor Durante,* his chamberlain, to conduct them to the porch of the palace, and there present them to the Emperor, at the same time directing him to make a certain speech on the occasion. We both went together, and when we were admitted into the presence of that great prince, the two horses entered the place with so much stateliness and ease, that both the Emperor and all the bystanders were astonished. Thereupon Signor Durante advanced in the most awkward and ungracious manner, and delivered himself in a sort of Brescian jargon, with such hesitation, and so disagreeably, that the Emperor could not help smiling. In the meantime I had already uncovered my work, and perceiving that his Majesty looked at me very graciously, I stepped forward and expressed myself thus : “ Sire, our holy father, Pope Paul, sends this office of our Lady, as a present to your Majesty. It was written, and the figures of it drawn, by the ablest man that the world ever produced. He presents you likewise with this rich cover of gold and jewels, which as yet

* Durante Duranti, a learned prelate, skilled in a knowledge of jurisprudence, and a patron of the fine arts. He was High Chamberlain to Paul III., who had such a particular regard for him, that he made him a Cardinal in 1544, and afterwards Bishop of Brescia. He died in 1587, aged 71.

remain unfinished in consequence of my indisposition : upon this account his Holiness, together with the book, presents me also, desiring that I should come to finish the work near your sacred person, and also serve your Majesty in whatever you require of me, so long as I live." To this the Emperor made answer : " The book is highly agreeable to me, and you are so likewise ; but I wish you to finish the work for me at Rome, and when it is completed, and you are thoroughly recovered, I shall be glad to see you at my court." In the course of his conversation with me, he called me by my name, which I was greatly surprised at, as there had not passed a word between us in which it had been mentioned. He told me at the same time, that he had seen the button of Pope Clement's pontifical habit, upon which I had designed such admirable figures. In this manner we protracted our discourse for the space of half an hour, talking upon many other curious and entertaining subjects. I acquitted myself upon the whole better than I expected ; so that when the conversation came to a pause, I bowed and retired. The Emperor was then heard to say : " Let five hundred gold crowns be given to Benvenuto without delay." The person who brought them, inquired which was he that had delivered the message from the Pope to the Emperor. Durante thereupon came forward, and robbed me of the money. I complained of this to his Holiness, who desired me to be under no apprehensions, for he was sensible how well I had behaved, and I should by all means have my share of his majesty's bounty.

Upon returning to my shop, I exerted myself with the utmost assiduity to finish the ring for the diamond, upon which account four of the most eminent jewellers in Rome were ordered to consult with me. The Pope had been given to understand, that the diamond had been set at Venice by the first artist in the world, whose name was Miliano Targhetta ; and as the stone was somewhat sharp, it was thought too difficult an attempt to set it, without the advice and assistance of others. I made the four jewellers highly welcome ; amongst whom was a native of Milan, named Gajo. This was one of the most arrogant blockheads breathing, who pretended to great skill in what he was altogether ignorant of : the rest were men of singular modesty and merit. Gajo took

the lead of the rest, and said, " Endeavor to preserve the tint of Miliano: to that, Benvenuto, you must show due respect; for as the tinging of diamonds is the nicest and most difficult article in the jeweller's business, so Miliano is the greatest jeweller the world ever produced, and this is the hardest diamond to work upon." I made answer, that it would be so much the more glorious for me to vie with so renowned an artist: then addressing myself to the other jewellers, I added, " You shall see now that I will preserve the tint of Miliano, and try whether I can in so doing improve it: in case I should fail of success, I will restore its former tint." The fool Gajo answered, " That if I could contrive to be as good as my word, he would bow to my superior genius." When he had finished, I began to make my tints. In the composition of these, I exerted myself with the utmost diligence, and shall in a proper place inform the reader how they are made.

I must acknowledge that this diamond gave me the most trouble of any that ever before or since fell into my hands, and Miliano's tint appeared to be a master-piece of art; however, I was not discouraged. My genius being upon this occasion in a particular manner sharpened and elevated, I not only equalled, but even surpassed it. Perceiving that I had conquered Miliano, I endeavored to excel even myself, and by new methods made a tint much superior to my former. I then sent for the jewellers, and having given to the diamond Miliano's tint, I afterwards tinged it again with my own. I showed it to the artists, and one of the cleverest amongst them, whose name was Raffaello del Moro, took the stone in his hand, and said to Giovanni, " Benvenuto has surpassed Miliano's tint." Gajo, who could not believe what he heard, upon taking the jewel into his hand cried out, " Benvenuto, this diamond is worth two thousand ducats more than it was with Miliano's tint." I replied, " Since I have surpassed Miliano, let me see whether I cannot out-do myself." Having requested them to have patience a few moments, I went into a little closet, and unseen by them gave a new tint to the diamond: upon showing it to the jewellers, Gajo instantly exclaimed, " This is the most extraordinary case I ever knew in my life; the diamond is now worth above 18,000 crowns, and we hardly valued it at twelve thousand."

The other artists turning about to Gajo, said to him, "Benvenuto is an honor to our profession: it is but just that we should bow to the superiority of his genius and the excellence of his tints." Gajo made answer, "I will go and inform the Pope in what manner he has acquitted himself; and contrive so that he shall receive a thousand crowns for setting this diamond." Accordingly he waited on his Holiness and told him all he had seen: the Pontiff thereupon sent three times that day to inquire whether the ring was finished.

Towards evening I carried it to him; and as I had free access, and was not obliged to observe any ceremony, I softly lifted up a curtain, and saw his Holiness with the Marquess of Guasto,* who would fain persuade him to something he did not approve of. I heard the Pope say to the Marquess, "I tell you no, for it is proper that I should be neuter in the affair.† As I immediately drew back, the Pope himself called to me; upon which I advanced, and put the fine diamond into his hand: his Holiness then took me aside, and the Marquess retired to some distance. The Pope, whilst he was examining the diamond, said to me, "Benvenuto, pretend to talk to me of some subject of importance, and never once leave off whilst the Marquess stays in this apartment." So choosing the subject that was most interesting to myself, I began to discourse of the method which I had observed in tinging the diamond.

* Alfonso d'Avalos, Marquess of Guaslo or Vasto, succeeded to the immense riches as well as to the reputation of the great Ferdinando d'Avalos, Marquess of Pescara. He had just arrived from the expedition to Tunis, where he had served as lieutenant-general, under the Emperor. To fine military qualities, he added lofty but generous manners, and a cool calculating mind equal to any undertaking. When governor of Milan, he caused two of the ambassadors of Francis I. to be assassinated on their way to Venice and Constantinople, in order to possess himself of their instructions, and traverse their designs. War being on this declared, in the famous battle of Ceresola, he was seized with such a panic of falling into his enemy's hands, that he lost the battle by retiring precipitately in an early part of the day. He did not long survive his fame, dying in his 42d year.

† Charles X. declared his intention of renewing the war against Francis when at Rome. Savoy had been already occupied by the French king, and Charles had in vain attempted to rouse the Pope to take part against him. He had the terrible picture of the unfortunate Clement too recently before his eyes, to think of intermeddling again so soon among these Christian potentates, and resolved to remain neutral.

The Marquess stood leaning on one side against a tapestry-hanging; sometimes he turned round on one foot, sometimes on the other.* The subject of this conversation of ours was of such consequence, that we could have talked upon it three hours. The Pope took such delight in it, that it counterbalanced the disagreeable impression which the conference with the Marquess had made upon his mind. As I mixed with our conversation that part of natural philosophy which is connected with the jeweller's art, our chat was protracted almost the space of an hour, and the Marquess's patience was so worn out, that he went away half angry. The Pope then showed me great demonstrations of kindness, and concluded with these words, "My dear Benvenuto, be diligent in your business, and I will reward your merit with something more considerable than the thousand crowns which Gajo told me you deserved for your trouble."

I took my leave, and his Holiness praised me afterwards in the presence of his domestic officers, amongst whom was Latino Giovenale, who, being now become my enemy, endeavored to do me all the ill offices in his power. Perceiving that the Pope spoke of me so advantageously, he said, "Benvenuto indeed is acknowledged to be a person of extraordinary talents; but though it is natural for every man to be partial to his own countrymen, and give them the preference, still the manner of speaking to so great a personage as a Pope, deserves a proper degree of attention. He has had the boldness to declare, that Pope Clement was the handsomest prince that ever existed, and that his virtues and abilities were worthy of his majestic person, though he had adverse fortune to struggle with. This man at the same time affirms, that your Holiness is quite the reverse, that your triple crown does not sit well on your head, and that you appear to be nothing more than a figure of straw dressed up, though you have always had prosperous fortune." These words were pronounced in so emphatical a manner by the person that spoke them, who knew very well how to give them a proper emphasis, that the Pope believed him. I had, notwithstanding, neither uttered such words, nor had it ever come into my head to make any such comparison.

* This is, at least, the reading in the Laurentian MS.

If the Pope had had it in his power to do it without hurting his character, he would certainly have done me some great injury, but being a man of understanding, he pretended to turn the thing into a jest: yet he bore me an inconceivable grudge in his heart, and I soon began to perceive it; for I had no longer the same easy access to him as formerly, but found it exceedingly difficult to be admitted into his presence. As I had long frequented his court, I immediately concluded that somebody had been doing me ill offices with him, and upon my artfully tracing the affair to its source, I was told all, but could not discover the person who had thus traduced me. I for my part was incapable of guessing who it was: had I come to the knowledge of the villain, I should have wreaked an ample revenge.

In the meantime I worked at my little book with the utmost assiduity, and when I had finished it, carried it to the Pope, who upon seeing it could not contain himself, but extolled it to the skies. I thereupon reminded him of his promise of sending me with it to the Emperor. He made answer, that he would do what was proper, and that I had done my part. He then gave orders that I should be well paid for my trouble. However, for the different works upon which I had been employed two months, I was paid five hundred crowns, and no more. All the great promises that had been made me were totally forgotten. I received for the diamond, a hundred and fifty crowns only; the remainder I had for the little book, for which I deserved above a thousand crowns, as the work was rich in figures, foliages, enamel, and jewels. I took what I could get, and formed a resolution to quit Rome directly. His Holiness sent the book to the Emperor, by a nephew of his, named Signor Sforza:* that great prince was so pleased with the present, as to bestow excessive praises on it, and immediately inquired after me. Signor Sforza having received

* Sforza Sforza, son of Bosio, Count of Santa Fiore, and of Costanza Farnese, a natural daughter of Paul III. He was then only a youth of sixteen years of age, but had at that time volunteered into the veteran army of Charles V., and proved one of the first commanders of the age.—See Ratti's *History of the Sforza Family*.

proper instructions, made answer, that an indisposition had prevented my waiting upon his Imperial Majesty; for I was afterwards informed of all that had passed upon the occasion.

Having in the meantime got myself in readiness for a journey to France, I proposed visiting that kingdom unaccompanied, but could not do as I intended on account of a youth who lived with me, and whose name was Ascanio. This young person was the best servant in the world: when I took him into my house he had just left a master, named Francesco, who was a Spanish goldsmith. I was unwilling to receive the lad for fear of having some dispute with the Spaniard, and therefore told him that I could not receive him, lest his master should be offended. At last the young man contrived to get his master to write me a letter, intimating that he had no objection to his entering into my service. He passed several months with me as meagre and lean as a skeleton. We called him the old man, and I thought that he was in fact old, as well because he was so good a servant, and so knowing, as because it did not appear probable that at the age of thirteen (for he said he was no more), he should be possessed of such maturity of understanding. To return to my subject: the young man in a few months began to improve in his person, and, getting into good plight, was becoming the handsomest young fellow in Rome. As I found him so good a servant, and so apt and ready in learning my business, I conceived as great an affection for him as if he had been my son, and kept him as well dressed as if I had really been his father. Seeing himself so much altered for the better, he thought himself very happy in falling into my hands, and went several times to return thanks to his old master, who had been the cause of his good fortune. The Spaniard had a handsome young wife, who frequently said to Ascanio, "My lad, how have you contrived to grow so handsome?" (for it was customary with them to call him lad at the time that he lived with them.) Ascanio answered, "Donna Francesca, it is my new master I am obliged to for this improvement in my person, and in everything else." The malicious woman was not well pleased that Ascanio should praise me; however, being loosely inclined, she stifled her resentment so as to caress the youth a little more perhaps than was

consistent with the laws of strict virtue ; and I quickly perceived that he went much oftener to see his mistress than had been usual.

It happened one day that he struck one of my apprentices, who, upon my return home, for I had been out at that time, complained to me that Ascanio had beat him without his having given him any sort of provocation. I thereupon said to Ascanio, "Never presume again to strike anybody that belongs to my family, either with or without provocation, for, if you do, I will make you feel the weight of my arm." To this he made a pert answer ; so I immediately fell upon him, and laying on both with my hands and feet, gave him the severest correction he had ever received in his life. As soon as he could get out of my grasp, he ran from the house, without either cloak or hat, and for two days after I neither knew nor inquired what was become of him. At length a Spanish gentleman, named Don Diego, came and desired to speak to me. This was one of the most generous men I had ever known in my life. I had executed several orders for him, and had then some in hand : in a word, he was my very good friend. He gave me to understand that Ascanio had returned to his old master, and desired I would please to let him have his cloak and hat. I answered, "That Francesco had behaved very ill, and acted in a very unpolite and ungentleman-like manner ;" adding, that if he had sent me word immediately upon Ascanio's repairing to him, that he had taken refuge at his house, I should have been very ready to have discharged him ; but that as he had kept him two days without ever letting me know anything of the matter, I was determined the lad should not stay with him, but insist that upon no account he should keep him any longer in his house.

Don Diego told what I had said to Don Francesco, who only turned it into jest. The next morning I saw Ascanio employed upon some little trifling knick-knacks in his master's shop. As I passed by he made me a bow, and his master burst out a-laughing : he then sent to me Don Diego, the gentleman above-mentioned, to desire I would let Ascanio have the clothes which I had given him ; but that if I chose to do otherwise, he did not care, for the lad should never want for clothes. Hereupon I turned to Don Diego, and said, "Signor Don Diego, I never in my life knew

a more generous or a more worthy man than yourself, nor a person of greater integrity, or more just in all his dealings ; but this Francesco is the very reverse of you in every respect : he is one of the most worthless scoundrels breathing. Tell him from me, that if he does not before the bell rings for vespers, bring back Ascanio to my shop himself, I am determined I will have his life ; and tell Ascanio, that if he does not quit the place where he is, in the time which I have allotted his master, he must expect the same fate." Don Diego made no reply ; but, instantly departing, repeated all I had said to Francesco, who, upon hearing this intelligence, was frightened out of his wits, and did not know what to resolve upon. In the meantime Ascanio went in quest of his father, who was just arrived at Rome from Tagliacozzo, the place of his nativity. Upon hearing the disturbance that had happened, he was the first to advise Francesco to bring back Ascanio to me. Francesco said to Ascanio, "Go yourself, and your father will go with you." Don Diego then interfered, saying, "Francesco, I see impending danger : you know better than I do what sort of a man Benvenuto is. Carry the boy back to him without any sort of apprehension, and I will accompany you."

I had now got myself in readiness, and was walking to-and-fro in my shop, intending to wait till the bell rang for vespers ; and then to make this one of the most desperate affairs I had ever been concerned in, during the whole course of my life. Just then entered Don Diego, Francesco, Ascanio, and his father, whom I did not know. Upon Ascanio's entering, I looked angrily at them all, when Francesco, who was as pale as death through fear, said, "I have here brought you back your servant Ascanio, whom I entertained in my house without any intention to offend you." Ascanio then said, in a respectful manner, "Master, forgive me ; I am come here to submit to whatever you shall please to enjoin." I asked him whether he was come to serve out the time he agreed to. He answered that he was, and never to leave me more. I then turned about to the apprentice whom he had beaten, and bade him reach him that bundle of clothes, saying at the same time, "Here are all the clothes that I gave you ; with these I likewise restore you to your liberty, so you may go wherever you think proper." Don Diego, who by no means expected this,

was in the utmost astonishment. At the same time both Ascanio and his father entreated me to forgive and take him again into my service. Upon my asking him who the person was that pleaded his cause, he told me it was his father, to whom, after much entreaty, I said, "As you are his father, I am willing, upon your account, to take him again into my service."

CHAPTER XX.

The Author sets out with Ascanio for France, and passing through Florence, Bologna, and Venice, arrives at Padua, when he makes some stay with the celebrated Cardinal Bembo.—Generous behavior of the latter to Cellini.—The Author soon after resumes his journey, and travels through Switzerland.—He is in great danger in crossing a lake.—He visits Geneva in his way to Lyons, and after having rested four days in the last mentioned city, arrives safe at Paris.

I HAD formed a resolution to set out for France, as well because I perceived that the Pope's favor was withdrawn from me, by means of slanderers who misrepresented my services, as for fear that those of my enemies who had most power and influence might still do me some greater injury: for these reasons I was desirous to remove to some other country, and see whether fortune would there prove more favorable to me. Having determined to set out the next morning, I bid my faithful Felice enjoy all I had as his own till my return; and in case I should never come back, my intention was that the whole should devolve to him. Happening at this time to have a Perugian journeyman, who assisted me in the last mentioned work for the Pope, I paid him off and dismissed him my service. The poor man entreated me to let him go with me, offering to bear his own expenses: he observed to me, moreover, that if I should happen to be employed for any length of time by the King of France, it was proper I should have Italians in my service, especially such as I knew, and were most likely to be of use to me. In a word, he used such persuasions, that I agreed to carry him with me upon his own terms. Ascanio happening to be present at this conversation, said to me, with tears in his eyes, "When you took me again into your service, I intended it should be for life, and now I am resolved it shall." I answered, that it should not be so upon any account. The poor lad was then preparing to follow me on foot. When I perceived that he had formed such a resolution, I hired a horse for him likewise, and

having put my portmanteau behind him, took with me a great deal more baggage than I should otherwise have done.

Leaving Rome* I bent my course to Florence, from whence I travelled on to Bologna, Venice, and Padua. Upon my arrival at the last city, my friend Albertaccio del Bene took me to his own house from the inn where I had put up. The day following I went to pay my respects to Signor Pietro Bembo,† who had not then been made a cardinal. He gave me the kindest reception I had ever met with; and said to Albertaccio, I am resolved that Benvenuto shall stay here with all his company, if there were a hundred in number: so make up your mind to stay here with him, for I will not restore him to you upon any account. I stayed accordingly to enjoy the conversation of that excellent person. He had caused an apartment to be prepared for me, which would have been too magnificent even for a cardinal, and insisted upon

* He set out from Rome the second day after Lent, 1537, as appears from a letter of Varchi to Bembo, dated the 5th April of the same year; as is also Cellini's first letter given at the end of his life.

† Pietro Bembo, born at Venice, received an excellent education under the best discipline of some of the most learned universities of the age. He had so highly distinguished himself before the time of Leo X., that, on that Pontiff ascending the papal chair, he was invited to the place of secretary, with a salary of 3,000 crowns in addition to considerable ecclesiastical rank and benefices. On the death of Pope Leo, Bembo having amassed some property, and giving way to a passionate admiration of a beautiful lady called Marosini, no less than to his love of letters, retired to Padua. He there collected a splendid library, and entered into habits of intimacy with the learned and scientific characters of that place. He formed a museum and a botanic garden, and such was his liberality to poets and scholars, that he soon became a centre of union for the taste and literature of all Italy. Paul III., ambitious of adding such a name to his College of Cardinals, was frequently dissuaded from it, by the malicious accusations of atheism and dissipation, brought against him by his enemies. But, on the death of the lady to whom he was attached, having answered the charge of want of orthodoxy, he was elected in 1539, and invited to Rome. He soon discovered by his great qualities, how well entitled he had been to this dignity, by his devotion to the Pope and to the church. He had the merit of restoring the Latin language to the polished style and graces of Cicero; and of leading back his countrymen to a purer taste in Tuscan poetry, by imitating Petrarch. He has, however, been censured for following too closely in the footsteps of those two great masters of poetry and eloquence, as well as for too great study of refinement and elegance of style.

my sitting constantly next to him at table : he then intimated to me in the most modest terms he could think of, that it would be highly agreeable to him if I were to model his likeness. There was, luckily for me, nothing that I desired more ;* so having put some pieces of the whitest alabaster into a little box, I began the work, applying the first day two hours without ceasing. I made so fine a sketch of the head, that my illustrious friend was astonished at it ; for though he was a person of immense literature, and had an uncommon genius for poetry, he had not the least knowledge of my business ; for which reason he thought that I had finished the figure, when I had hardly begun it ; insomuch, that I could not make him sensible that it required a considerable time to bring it to perfection. At last I formed a resolution to take my own time about it, and finish it in the completest manner I could : but as he wore a short beard according to the Venetian fashion, I found it a very difficult matter to make a head to please myself. I however finished it at last, and it appeared to me to be one of the most complete pieces I had ever produced. He seemed to be in the utmost astonishment ; for he took it for granted, that as I had made it of wax in two hours, I could make it of steel in ten : but when he saw that it was not possible for me to do it in two hundred, and that I was upon the point of taking my leave of him, in order to set out for France, he was greatly concerned, and begged I would make him a reverse for his medal, and that the device should be the horse Pegasus in the midst of a garland of myrtle. This I did in about three hours, and it was finished in an admira-

* A medal of Bembo had already been struck by Valerio de Belli, in 1532, and is now in the Museo Mazzucchelliano. It has the head without a beard ; and on the reverse, a figure of a man seated beside a fountain. But as this did not altogether please, Benvenuto undertook to produce a better in 1535 ; but not having it in his power to go to Padua, he made up his mind to prepare the reverse for it at Rome. We are convinced of this, from a letter of Varchi to Bembo, dated 3d July, 1536, as well as from part of a letter of Cellini himself, addressed to Luca Martini, mentioned by Martelli in one of his to Bembo, where he says, " I have heard from M. Benedetto (Varchi) of the wish of Monsignor Bembo respecting the medal, and I will do what he desires me. Indeed, I shall have particular pleasure in obliging him : only I must beg that I may have the reverse as I please, and with some motto in honor of so great a man."

ble taste : he was highly pleased with it, and said, "Such a horse as this appears to be a work ten times more considerable than that little head upon which you bestowed so much pains : I cannot possibly account for this." He then desired me to make it for him in steel, and said, "I hope you will oblige me ; you can do it very soon, if you will." I promised him that, though it did not suit me to make it there, I would do it for him without fail at the first place at which I should happen to fix my residence.*

After this conversation, I went to bargain for three horses, which I had occasion for on my journey to France. My illustrious host, who had great interest in Padua, secretly befriended me on the occasion ; insomuch that when I was going to pay for the horses, for which I had agreed to give fifty ducats, the owner of them said to me, "In consideration of your merit, sir, I make you a present of the three horses." I answered, "It is not you who make me the present ; and I do not choose to accept it of the real donor, because I have not earned it by my services." The good man told me, that if I did not take those horses, I could not get any others in Padua, but should be under a necessity of walking. I thereupon went to the munificent Signor Pietro, who affected to know nothing at all of the matter, but loaded me with caresses, and used his utmost persuasions to prevail upon me to stay at Padua. I who would by no means hear of this, and was determined to perform the journey at any rate, found myself obliged to accept of the three horses, and with them instantly set out for France.

I took the road through the Grisons, for it was unsafe to travel any other way on account of the war.† We passed the two great

* Cinelli informs us, that he had seen "a very beautiful medal by Cellini, with the head of Cardinal Bembo, having on the reverse a Pegasus, both of them admirably executed," belonging to Antonio Magliabecchi. Among the four medals of Bembo in the Mazzucchelli Museum, the largest and the best has exactly the reverse here described, which would lead us to take it for a Cellini, if the learned Mazzucchelli himself did not convince us of the contrary, by observing that it bears the title of Cardinal, has a long beard to the portrait, and wants the crown of myrtle on the reverse, so as not at all to correspond with the model by Cellini.

† In 1537, the Imperialists, after their famous retreat from Provence, gave battle to the French in Piedmont, and resisted until the truce con-

mountains of Alba and Merlina* (it was then the eighth of May, and they were covered with snow notwithstanding), at the utmost hazard of our lives. When we had travelled over them, we stopped at a little town, which, as nearly as I can remember, is called Valdistate,† and there took up our quarters. In the night there arrived a courier from Florence, whose name was Burbacca. I had heard this courier spoken of as a man of character, and clever at his business, but did not know that he had then forfeited that reputation by his knavery. As soon as he saw me at the inn, he called to me by my name, and said that he was going about some business of importance to Lyons, and begged I would be so good as to lend him a little money to defray the expense of his journey. I answered that I could not lend him money, but if he would travel in my company, I would bear his charges as far as Lyons. The rogue then began crying, and counterfeited great concern, telling me, that when a poor courier, who was about business of importance to the nation, happened to be in want of cash, it was the part of a man like me to assist him. He told me at the same time, that he was charged with things of great value belonging to Signor Filippo‡ Strozzi; and as he had a casket with a leather cover, he whispered me very softly, that there were jewels to the amount of many thousand ducats in it, together with letters of the utmost consequence from Signor Filippo Strozzi. I thereupon desired him to let me fasten the jewels somewhere about his body, which would be running less hazard than carrying them in the casket; at the same time he might leave the casket, worth perhaps ten crowns to me, and I would assist him as far as five-and-twenty. The fellow made answer, that he would travel with me in that manner, since he had no other remedy, for it would do him no honor to leave the casket; and so we were both agreed.

cluded in November, and a peace was stipulated the year following for ten years.

* The principal mountains which Cellini had to pass, in his road through the Grisons, were the *Bernina*, near Puschiamo, and the *Albula* in Engadina. Merlina (in the text) is a corruption of Bernina.

† Wallenstadt, in the province of Sargans.

‡ Filippo was, at this period, at the head of the Florentine exiles, and fell into the hands of Duke Cosmo on the 1st August, 1537.

Setting out betimes in the morning, we arrived at a place situated between Valdistate and Vessa, where there is a lake fifteen miles long, upon which we were to sail to Vessa. When I saw the barks, I was terribly frightened, because they are made of deal boards, neither well nailed together, nor even pitched; and if I had not seen four German gentlemen, with their horses in one of them, I should never have ventured on board, but have turned back directly. I thought within myself, at seeing the stupid security of these gentlemen, that the waters of the German lakes did not drown the passengers like those of Italy. My two young fellow-travellers said to me: "Benvenuto, it is a dangerous thing to enter one of these barks with four horses." My answer to them was: "Don't you see, you poor cowards, that those four gentlemen have entered one before you, and that they sail away merrily? If it were a lake of wine, I should fancy that they were rejoiced at the thoughts of being plunged into it; but as it is a lake of water only, I take it for granted they have no more inclination to be drowned in it than ourselves." This lake was fifteen miles long, and about three broad: the country, on one side, was a lofty mountain full of caverns, on the other it was level and covered over with grass.

When we had advanced about four miles, it began to grow stormy, insomuch that the watermen called out to us for help, begging that we would assist them in rowing; and so we did for a time. I signified to them soon after, that their best way was to make the opposite shore; but they affirmed it to be impossible, because there was not a sufficient depth of water, so that the bark would be soon beaten to pieces in the shallows, and we should all go to the bottom. They however still importuned us to lend them a hand, and were constantly calling out to each other for assistance. As I perceived them in such terror and jeopardy, having a sorrel horse on board, I put on its bridle, and held it in my left hand. The horse, by a kind of instinct and intelligence, common to these animals, seemed to perceive my intent; for, by turning his face towards the fresh grass, I wanted him to swim to the opposite shore, and carry me over upon his back. At the very same instant there poured in from that side a wave so large that it almost overwhelmed the vessel. Ascanio then crying out,

"Mercy! help me, dear father!" was going to throw himself upon me; but I clapped my hand to my dagger, and bid the rest follow the example I had set them, since by means of their horses they might save their lives, as I hoped to save mine; adding, that I would kill the first who should offer to throw himself upon me.

In this manner we proceeded several miles in the most imminent danger of our lives. When we had advanced about half-way, we saw a piece of level ground under the foot of a mountain, where we might get ashore and refresh ourselves. Here the four German gentlemen landed. But upon our expressing a desire to go on shore, the watermen would not consent to it upon any account. I then said to my young men, "Now is the time, my boys, to show your spirit; clap your hands to your swords, and compel them to land us." We effected our purpose with great difficulty, as they made a long resistance; however, even after we had landed, we were obliged to climb a steep mountain for two miles, which was more difficult than going up a ladder of equal height. I was armed with a coat of mail, had heavy boots, with a fowling-piece in my hand, and it rained as hard as it could pour.* Those devils of Germans ascended at a surprising rate with their horses, whilst ours were quite unequal to the task, and ready to sink with the fatigue of climbing the rugged steep.

When we had mounted a good way, Ascanio's horse, which was a fine Hungarian courser, had got a little before Burbacca, the courier, and the young man had given him his pike to carry. It happened, through the ruggedness of the road, that the horse slipped, and went staggering on in such a manner, being quite helpless, as to come in contact with the point of the courier's pike, which he could not keep out of the way, and which transpierced the beast in the throat and killed it. My other young man, in attempting to help his brown nag, slipped towards the lake, and caught at a very small vine-branch. Upon this horse there was a cloak-bag, in which I had put all my money, with whatever else I had most valuable, to avoid being under a necessity of carrying it about me. I bid the youth endeavor to save his life, and never mind what became of the horse: the fall was of above

* Cellini says, *Quanto Dio ne sapeva mandare.*

a mile, and he would have tumbled headlong down into the lake. Exactly under this place our watermen had planted themselves, so that if the horse had fallen, it would have come directly down upon their heads. I was before all the rest, and waited to see the horse tumble, which seemed without the least fear, to go headlong to perdition; I said to my young men, "Be under no sort of concern: let us endeavor to preserve ourselves, and return thanks to God for all his mercies. I am most sorry for poor Burbacca, who has lost a casket of jewels to such an enormous amount. Mine is only a few paltry crowns." Burbacca told me he was not concerned for his own loss, but for mine. I asked him why he was sorry for my trifling loss, and not for his own, which was so considerable. He then answered me in a passion, "In such a case as this, and considering the terms we are upon, it is proper to tell the whole truth. I knew that you had a good heap of ducats in the cloak-bag: as for my casket, which I affirmed to be full of jewels and precious stones, it is all false: there is nothing in it but a little caviar." When I heard this I could not help laughing; the young fellows laughed also; as for Burbacca, he lamented, and expressed great concern for my loss. The horse made an effort to relieve and extricate itself, when we had let it go, so that it was happily saved. Thus laughing, and making ourselves merry, we again exerted our strength to ascend the steep mountain.

The four German gentlemen who had got to the summit of the craggy precipice before us, sent some peasants to our assistance. At last we arrived at the miserable inn, wet, tired, and hungry. We were received in the kindest manner by the people of the house, and met with most comfortable refreshment. The horse which had been so much hurt was cured by means of certain herbs of which the hedges are full; and we were told, that if we constantly applied those herbs to the wound, the beast would not only recover, but be of as much use to us as ever: accordingly we did as we were directed. Having thanked the gentlemen, and being well refreshed and recovered of our fatigue, we left the inn, and continued our journey, returning thanks to God for preserving us from so great and imminent a danger. We arrived at a village beyond Vessa, where we took up our quarters: here we heard the watch sing at all hours of the night very agreeably;

and as the houses in town were of wood, he was constantly bidding them to take care of their fires. Burbacca, who had been greatly frightened in the day-time, was continually crying out in his dreams—"O God, I am drowning!" This was occasioned by his panic the day before, and by his having indulged the bottle too freely, and drinking with all the Germans. Sometimes he roared out—"I am burning;" sometimes "I am drowning;" and sometimes he thought himself in hell suffering punishment for his sins. This night passed away so merrily that all our anxiety and trouble were converted into laughter.

Having risen very early next morning, we proceeded on our journey, and went to dine at a very agreeable place called Lacca, where we met with the best of treatment. We then took guides to conduct us to a town called Zurich. The guide who attended me passed over a dyke which was overflowed, so that the stupid creature slipped, and both the horse and he tumbled into the water. I, who was behind, having that instant stopped my horse, stayed awhile to see him rise, and behold, the fellow, as if nothing at all had happened, fell a singing again, and made signs to me to go on. I thereupon turned to the right, and, breaking through certain hedges, served as a guide to Burbacca and my young men. The guide began scolding, telling me in the German language, that if the country people saw me, they would put me to death. We travelled on, and escaped this second danger.

Our next stage was Zurich, a fine city, which may be compared to a jewel for lustre, and there we stayed a day to rest ourselves. We left it early in the morning, and arrived at another handsome town called Solthurn. From thence we proceeded to Lausanne, Geneva, and Lyons. We stopped four days at this last city, having travelled thither very merrily, singing and laughing all the way. I enjoyed myself highly in the company of some of my friends; was reimbursed the expenses I had been at; and at the expiration of four days, set out for Paris. This part of our journey was exceedingly agreeable, except that, when we came as far as Palesse, a gang of freebooters made an attempt to assassinate us, and with great difficulty we escaped them. From thence we continued our journey to Paris, without meeting any ill accident, and travelling on in uninterrupted mirth, arrived safely at that metropolis.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ungrateful behavior of Rosso the painter.—The Author is introduced to the French King, Francis I., at Fontainbleau, and meets with a most gracious reception—The King offers to take him into his service, but, from a sudden illness, he conceives a great dislike to France, and returns to Italy.—Great kindness of the Cardinal of Ferrara to the Author.—Adventures on the road from Lyons to Ferrara.—Cellini is kindly received by the Duke.—He arrives at Rome, where he finds Felice.—Curious letter from the Cardinal of Ferrara concerning the behavior of Cardinal Gaddi.—The Author is falsely accused by his servant Perugia of being possessed of a great treasure, of which he had robbed the Castle of St. Angelo, when Rome was sacked by the Spaniards.—He is arrested and carried prisoner to the Castle of St. Angelo.

AFTER having rested myself a short time, I went in search of Rosso,* the painter, who was then in the service of King Francis. I took it for granted that this man was one of the best friends I had in the world, because I had in Rome behaved to him in as obliging a manner as it is possible for one person to behave to another ; and as a concise account may be sufficient to convey an idea of my conduct to the reader, I will here lay the whole before him, that the sin of ingratitude may appear in its most odious and shocking colors.

When he was at Rome, he endeavored to depreciate the works of Raffaello da Urbino, at which his scholars were provoked to such a degree that they were bent on killing him : this danger I preserved him from, watching over him day and night with the greatest fatigue imaginable. Upon another occasion he had spoken ill of Signor Antonio da San Gallo, an excellent architect ; in consequence of which the latter had him soon turned out of an employment, which he had procured for him from Signor Agnolo da Cesi, and from that time forward became so much his

* The French (who seem very fond of disguising names) call him Maitre Roux.—ED.

enemy, that he would have starved, if I had not often lent him ten crowns for his support. As he had never discharged this trifling debt, I went to pay him a visit, being informed that he was in the King's service, and thought he would not only return me my money, but do all that lay in his power in recommending me to the service of the great monarch. But the fellow no sooner saw me, than he appeared to be in a terrible confusion, and said, "My friend Benvenuto, you have put yourself to too great an expense to come so long a journey, especially at such a time as this, when the court is entirely taken up with the approaching war, and can give no attention to our trifling performances." I answered that I had brought with me money enough to bear my expenses back to Rome, in the same manner that I had travelled to Paris; adding, that he made me a very indifferent return for all I had suffered on his account, and that I began to believe what Signor Antonio da San Gallo had told me concerning him. Upon his turning what I said into a jest, I saw through his low malice, and showed him a bill of exchange for 500 crowns addressed to Ricardo del Bene. The wretch was greatly ashamed, and would have detained me in a manner by force, but I laughed at him and went away in the company of a painter who happened to be then present. His name was Sguazzella,* and he was a Florentine likewise. I went to lodge and board at his house, having with me three horses and three servants. I met with the best of treatment here, and paid liberally for it.

I afterwards solicited an interview with the King, to whom I was introduced by Signor Giuliano Buonaccorsi† his treasurer. I was in no haste on the occasion, as I did not know that Rosso had exerted himself to the utmost to prevent my speaking to his majesty. As soon as Signor Giuliano perceived this, he carried me with him to Fontainebleau, and introduced me into the presence of the monarch, of whom I had a most favorable audience a whole hour. The King was preparing for a journey to Lyons, which made him desire Signor Giuliano to take me with him, adding,

* Andrea Sguazzella went with his master Andrea del Sarto to France, and there produced many estimable works.

† A Florentine exile mentioned by Varchi. I suspect, however, he was not the same who attempted to kill Cosmo I., executed in Florence in 1543.

that they should discourse by the way of some fine works which his majesty intended to have executed. So I travelled in the retinue of the court, and cultivated the friendship of the Cardinal of Ferrara,* who had not as yet received the scarlet hat. I had every evening a long conversation with this great personage, who told me that I should stay at Lyons at an abbey of his, and there enjoy myself till the King returned from the campaign; adding, that he himself was going to Grenoble, and that I should find all proper accommodation at his abbey at Lyons.

Upon our arrival at that city I was taken ill, and Ascanio found himself attacked by a quartan ague, so that I was quite disgusted with the French court, and began to be in the utmost impatience to return again to Rome. The Cardinal seeing me resolved to go back, gave me a sum of money to make him a bason and a cup of silver. Things being thus settled, my young man and I set out for Rome, extremely well mounted.

As we crossed the mountains of the Simplon, I happened to fall into the company of some Frenchmen, with whom we travelled part of the way: Ascanio had his quartan ague, and I a slow fever, which I thought would never leave me. My stomach was so much out of order, that for four months I hardly eat a roll a week, and was very eager to get to Italy, choosing rather to die in my own country than in France. When we had passed the mountains of the Simplon above-mentioned, we came to a river hard by a place called Isdevedro.† This river was very broad and deep, and had a long narrow bridge over it without any rails. A considerable dew had fallen in the morning, so that when I came to the bridge, which was some time before the rest, I perceived it to be very dangerous: I therefore ordered my young men to dismount, and lead their horses. Thus I safely got over, and rode on talking to one of the Frenchmen, who was a person

* Ippolito da Este, son of Alfonzo, Duke of Ferrara, was elected Archbishop of Milan at fifteen years of age. Residing at the French court, he obtained many benefices, and was at length made a Cardinal in 1539. Faithful to the ruling bias of his family, Ippolito persevered in patronizing artists and learned men, in whose company he was accustomed to relax his mind from the vexations and tedious cares of state.

† The Doveria, in the Valdivedro.

of condition. The other, who was a scrivener, stayed behind us, and laughed at the French gentleman and me, for being so fearful about nothing as to take the trouble of walking. I turned about, and seeing him at the middle of the bridge, begged of him to come on cautiously, as the place was exceedingly dangerous: the other, keeping up to the national character of his country, told me in French, that I was a poor, timid creature, and that there was no danger at all. Whilst he uttered these words, he spurred his horse a little, which, instantly stumbling, fell by the side of a great stone: but as God is very merciful to fools, the stupid rider and his horse both fell into a great hole.

As soon as I perceived this, I began to run as fast as I could, and with great difficulty got upon the stone; from this I hung suspended, and catching at the border of the scrivener's cloak, pulled him up by it, whilst the water still ran from his nostrils; for he had swallowed a great quantity of it, and narrowly escaped being drowned. Seeing him at last out of danger I congratulated him on his escape, and expressed my joy at having saved his life. He answered in French that I had done nothing at all, and the point of most importance was his having lost a bundle of papers, to the value of many a score of crowns, and this he seemed to say in anger, being still wet, and his clothes all dripping with water. I turned about to our guides, and desired them to help the fool, telling them I would pay them for their trouble. One of the men exerted himself to the utmost, and fished up his papers, so that the scrivener lost nothing. The other would put himself to no trouble to assist him or save his bundle, and therefore deserved no recompense.

When we were arrived at the place above-mentioned, we had made up a purse amongst us, which was to be at my disposal. After dinner I gave several pieces out of the common purse to the guide who had helped the scrivener; the latter said that I might be liberal of my own, for he did not intend to give the man anything more than was in our agreement for conducting us. This provoked me to give the sordid wretch much opprobrious language. The other guide, who had taken no trouble, came up, and insisted on sharing the reward: when I told him, that he who had borne the cross, deserved the recompense, he answered, that

he would soon show me a cross, at which I should bewail my folly. I told him that I would light a candle at that cross, by means of which I hoped that he should be the first who would have cause to weep.

As we were then upon the confines of the Italian and German territories, the fellow ran to alarm the neighborhood, and returned with a hunting-pole in his hand, followed by a crowd. I being still on horseback, cocked my piece, and turning to my fellow-travellers, said, "I will begin with shooting that man, and do you endeavor to do your duty: these fellows are cut-throats and common assassins, who catch at this opportunity to murder and rob us." The innkeeper, at whose house we had dined, then called to one of the ringleaders of the band of ruffians, who was a man advanced in years, and begged he would endeavor to prevent the mischief likely to ensue, telling him that they had a young man of great spirit to deal with; that even if they were to cut me to pieces, I should be sure to kill a number of them; and that after all I might very probably escape out of their hands, and even kill the guide. Thereupon the old ruffian said to me, "Go your ways; you would have enough to do to cope with us, even if you had a hundred men to back you." I, who was aware that he spoke the truth, and finding resolution in despair, had determined to sell my life as dear as I could, shook my head and answered, I should have done my best, and endeavored to show myself a man.

We continued our journey, and as soon as we put up in the evening, we settled accounts with regard to our common purse. I separated from the sordid scrivener with the utmost contempt; whilst I had a great esteem for the other Frenchman, who was in every respect a gentleman. Soon afterwards I arrived at Ferrara, accompanied only by my two fellow-travellers on horseback.

I had no sooner dismounted, than I went to pay my respects to the duke, that I might set out next morning for our Lady of Loretto. After I had waited till it was dark, the duke made his appearance: I kissed his hand, and he received me with all possible demonstrations of kindness, desiring me to stay to supper. I answered him in the politest manner, "Most excellent sir, for these four months past I have eaten so little that it is almost a

wonder I should be alive: as I am, therefore, sensible that I can eat nothing that is served up to your table, I will pass away the time you are at supper in chat, which will prove more agreeable to us both, than if I were to sup with your excellency." Thus we entered into a conversation which lasted till late at night. I then took my leave, and, upon returning to my inn, found grand preparations made there; for the duke had sent me the remains of his supper, with plenty of excellent wine, so, as I had passed my usual time of supper by two hours, I sat down to table with a most voracious appetite; and this was the first time I had been able to eat heartily during the course of four months.

Having set out in the morning, I repaired to our Lady of Loretto, and after paying my devotion at that place, I continued my journey to Rome, where I found my faithful friend Felice, to whom I resigned my shop, with all my furniture and ornaments, and opened another next door to Sugarello, the perfumer, which was much more spacious and handsome than that which I had quitted. I took it for granted, that the great French monarch would forget me, and therefore I engaged in several works for noblemen. Amongst others I began the cup and bason that I had promised to make for the Cardinal of Ferrara. I had a number of hands at work, and several things to be done both in gold and silver. I had made an agreement with my Perugian journeyman, who had kept an exact account of all the money that had been laid out for him in clothes and other articles (which, with his travelling expenses, amounted to about seventy crowns), that three crowns a month should be set aside to clear them off, as he earned above eight crowns a month in my service. In about a month the rogue left my shop, whilst I had a great deal of business upon my hands, declaring that I should have no farther satisfaction. I was advised to have recourse to the law for redress, for I had formed a resolution to cut off one of his arms; and should certainly have done it, if my friends had not remonstrated to me, that I should take care how I attempted any such thing, as it might be the cause not only of my losing the money entirely, but even of my being banished a second time from Rome; since it was impossible to tell how far my violence might extend. They added, that it was in my power to get him arrested directly, by

virtue of the bill in his own hand-writing, which I had in my possession. This advice I determined to follow, but chose to behave as dispassionately in the affair as I could. I commenced a suit with him before the auditor of the chamber; and, having succeeded in it, I threw him into prison, in consequence of a decree of the court, after the cause had been several months depending. My shop was at this time full of works of great importance; and, amongst others, were the ornaments in gold and jewels of the wife of Signor Girolamo Orsino,* father to Signor Paolo, now son-in-law to our duke Cosmo. These pieces I had brought pretty near a conclusion, and others of still greater importance offered every day. I had eight hands in all, and worked day and night myself, excited by the desire of reputation and profit.

Whilst I was thus assiduous in going on with my business, I received a letter from the Cardinal of Ferrara, the purport of which was as follows:—

“My dear friend Benvenuto,—A few days ago his Most Christian Majesty mentioned your name, and said he would be glad to have you in his service. I told him that you had made me a promise, that whenever I should send for you upon his Majesty’s account, you would come directly. His Majesty replied, ‘I desire he may be supplied with money, to enable him to perform the journey in a manner becoming so eminent an artist.’ Upon saying this he instantly spoke to his admiral to order me to be paid a thousand gold crowns out of the treasury. Cardinal Gaddi happened to be present at this conversation; who, thereupon interposing, told his Majesty that it was unnecessary for him to give such an order, as he had himself remitted to you a proper supply of money, and you were already upon the road. Now if this should not be the case, if you have neither received the money, nor are set out upon the journey, nor have heard anything of the matter, but should it be a mere finesse of the Cardinal, to show that he patronizes men of genius favored by the King,

* Girolamo Orsini, lord of Bracciano, married Francesca Sforza, daughter of Bosio, Count of Santa Fiora. His son, Paolo Giordano, created Duke of Bracciano in 1560, married, in 1553, Isabella de’ Medici, a daughter of Cosmo I.

or to make an ostentatious parade of having befriended you, as I am inclined to think it is nothing more, immediately upon receiving this letter, which contains the real truth, send me your answer. In consequence thereof I will at my next interview with the great monarch, contrive, in the presence of the crafty Cardinal, to make the conversation turn upon you, and I will tell him that you never received any of the money which Cardinal Gaddi pretends to have remitted to you, nor ever set out upon the journey, but are still at Rome: and I intend to make it evident that Cardinal Gaddi said this merely through vanity, and shall contrive matters so that his Majesty shall again speak to his admiral to order the charges of your journey to be defrayed by the treasury; thus you may depend upon receiving the supply promised you by this munificent prince."

Let the whole world learn from hence, the great power and influence of malignant stars and adverse fortune over us poor mortals. I had never spoken twice in my days to this foolish little Cardinal Gaddi, and he did not play me this trick with any view to hurt or injure me, but merely through folly and senseless ostentation, that he might be thought to patronize men of genius, whom the King was desirous to have in his service, and to concern himself in their affairs in the same manner as the Cardinal of Ferrara. He was guilty of another folly in not apprising me of it afterwards; for rather than expose him to shame, I should, for the sake of my country, have thought of some excuse to palliate the absurdity of his conduct. I had no sooner received the letter from the Cardinal of Ferrara, but I wrote him back word that I had heard nothing at all from Cardinal Gaddi, and that even if he had made me any proposal I should never have quitted Italy without the knowledge of my friend the Cardinal of Ferrara; especially as I then had in Rome more business than I ever had before; but that at the first intimation of his most Christian Majesty's pleasure, signified to me by so great a personage as his reverence, I should instantly lay aside all other business, and set out for France.

When I had sent my letters, my treacherous Perugian journeyman thought of playing me a trick, in which he was but too successful, through the avarice of Pope Paul Farnese, and still more

through that of his bastard son, who then had the title of Duke of Castro.* This journeyman gave one of the secretaries of Signor Pier Luigi to understand, that having worked in my shop several years, he had discovered that I was not worth less than eighty thousand ducats; that the greatest part of this wealth consisted in jewels which belonged to the church; that they were part of the booty I had possessed myself of in the Castle of St. Angelo, at the time of the sack of Rome; and that there was no time to lose, but that I ought without delay to be taken up and examined.

I had one morning worked above three hours at the jewels of the above-mentioned married lady; and whilst my shop was opening, and my servants were sweeping it, I put on my cloak in order to take a turn or two. Bending my course through the Julian street, I entered the quarter called Chiavica, where Crispino, captain of the city-guard, met me with his whole band of followers, and told me roughly, I was the Pope's prisoner. I answered him, "Crispino, you mistake your man." "By no means," said Crispino; "you are the ingenious artist Benvenuto: I know you very well, and have orders to conduct you to the Castle of St. Angelo, where noblemen and men of genius like yourself are confined." As four of his soldiers were going to fall upon me, and deprive me forcibly of a dagger which I had by my side, and of the rings on my fingers, Crispino ordered them not to offer to touch me: it was sufficient, he said, for them to do their office, and prevent me from making my escape. Then coming up to me, he very politely demanded my arms. Whilst I was giving them up, I recollected that it was in that very place I had formerly killed Pompeo. From thence they conducted me to the Castle, and locked me up in one of the upper apartments of the tower. This was the first time I ever knew the inside of a prison, and I was then in my thirty-seventh year.

* Pier Luigi was created Duke of Castro in 1537.

CHAPTER XXII.

Pier Luigi, the Pope's illegitimate son, persuades his father to proceed against Cellini with great severity.—Cellini undergoes an examination before the governor of Rome and other magistrates.—His speech in vindication of his innocence.—Pier Luigi does his utmost to ruin him, whilst the French King interposes in his behalf.—Kind behavior of the governor of the Castle to him.—Anecdotes of the friar Pallavicini.—The Author prepares to make his escape with the assistance of his boy Ascanio.—The Pope is offended at the French King's interposition, and resolves to keep the Author in perpetual confinement.

PIER LUIGI, the Pope's illegitimate son, considering the great sum of money which I was charged with having in my possession, immediately applied to his father to make that money over to him. The Pope readily granted his request; at the same time adding, that he would assist him in the recovery of it. After I had been detained prisoner a whole week, they appointed commissioners to examine me, in order to bring the affair to some issue. I was thereupon sent for into a large handsome hall in the Castle, where the examiners were assembled. These were, first, the governor of Rome, Signor Benedetto Conversini,* a native of Pistoia, who was afterwards Bishop of Jesi; the second, the prosecutor of the Exchequer, whose name I cannot now recollect; † the third, the judge of criminal causes, named Signor Benedetto da Galli. ‡ They began first to examine me in an amicable way, but afterwards broke out into the roughest and most menacing terms imaginable, occasioned, as I apprehend, by this speech of mine:—"Gentlemen, you have for above half an hour been questioning me about an idle story, and such nonsense,

* Conversini was made Bishop of Forlimpopoli, in October, 1537, and in 1540 he had the Archbishopric of Jesi. He bore a high character, and was well skilled in the jurisprudence of his time.

† It was Benedetto Valenti, mentioned at p. 137.

‡ Perhaps we ought to read *Benedetto da Cagli*, of whom mention is made again.

that it may be justly said of you that you are trifling, and there is neither sense nor meaning in what you say ; so I beg it of you as a favor, that you would tell me your meaning, and let me hear something like sense and reason from you, and not idle stories and fabulous inventions." At these words the governor could no longer disguise his brutal nature, but said to me, " You speak with too much confidence, or rather with too much insolence ; however, I will humble your pride, and make you as tame as a spaniel, by what I am going to tell you, which you will find to be neither an idle story nor nonsense, but such conclusive reasoning that you will be obliged to submit to it." So he began to deliver his sentiments as follows :—

" We know with certainty, that you were in Rome at the time of the sacking of this unfortunate city, and in this very Castle of St. Angelo, where you performed the office of gunner. As you are by trade a goldsmith and jeweller, Pope Clement, having a particular knowledge of you, and being unable to meet with others of the business, employed you secretly to take out all the precious stones from his crowns, mitres, and rings ; and putting an entire confidence in you, desired you to sew them up in your clothes. You availed yourself of that confidence to appropriate to your own use to the value of 80,000 crowns unknown to his Holiness. This information we had from a journeyman of yours, to whom you discovered the whole affair, and boasted of the fraud. We now therefore enjoin and command you to find these jewels, or the value of them, after which we will discharge and set you at liberty."

I could not hear these words without bursting out into a loud laugh. When I had sufficiently indulged my mirth, I expressed myself thus : " I return my hearty thanks to God, that this first time it has pleased his divine majesty that I should be made a prisoner, I have the happiness not to be confined for any criminal excess of passion, as generally happens to young men. If what you say were true, I am in no danger of suffering corporal punishment, as the laws at that time had lost all their force and authority ; for I might excuse myself by affirming that, as a servant to his Holiness, I had kept that treasure as a deposit for the Apostolical See, with an intention to put it into the hands of some

good Pope, or of those that should claim it of me, as you do now, if the fact were as you represent it." The tyrannical governor would not suffer me to proceed any farther, but interrupting me at these words, cried out in a fury, "Give what gloss you please to the affair, Benvenuto, it is enough for us that we have discovered the person who possessed himself of the treasure. Be as expeditious therefore as possible; otherwise we shall take other methods with you, and not stop at words." As they were then preparing to depart, I said to them, "Gentlemen, you have not finished my examination: hear me out, and then do as you please." They seated themselves again, though they appeared to be much enraged, and unwilling to hear anything I could say for myself; nay, they seemed to be in a manner satisfied with their inquiry, and to think that they had discovered all they wanted to know. I therefore addressed them in the following terms:—"You are to know, gentlemen, that I have lived in Rome nearly twenty years, and I was never before imprisoned either here, or anywhere else." At these words the brute of a governor interrupted me and said, "Yet you have killed men enough in your time." I replied, "This is your bare assertion, unsupported by any acknowledgment of mine: but if a person were to endeavor to deprive you of life, no doubt but you would defend yourself in the best way you could; and if you were to kill him, you would be fully justified in the eye of the law: so let me conclude my defence, as you propose to lay it before his Holiness, and profess that you mean to pass a just judgment.

"I must repeat it to you, gentlemen, that I have been nearly twenty years an inhabitant of this great metropolis, and have been often employed in works of the greatest importance. I am sensible that this is the seat of Christ, and should, in case any temporal prince had made a wicked attempt against me, immediately have had recourse to this holy tribunal, and to God's Vicegerent, to prevail on him to espouse my cause. But, alas! what power shall I have recourse to in my present distress? To what prince shall I fly, to defend me from so wicked an attempt? Should not you, before you ordered me to be arrested, inquire where I had deposited the 80,000 crowns in question? Should not you likewise have examined the list of those jewels as they

were carefully numbered in the Apostolical Chamber five hundred years ago? In case you had found anything wanting, you should have taken my books and myself, and confronted them with the jewels. I must inform you, that the books, in which the Pope's jewels and those of the triple crown have been registered, are all extant; and you will find that Pope Clement was possessed of nothing, but what was committed to writing with the utmost care and exactness. All I have to add is, that when the unfortunate Pope Clement was for making an accommodation with the Imperial freebooters, who had plundered Rome and insulted the church, there came a person to negotiate the accommodation, whose name was Cæsar Iscatinaro,* if my memory does not fail me, who having virtually concluded the treaty with that injured Pontiff, the latter, in order to compliment the negotiator, let a ring drop from his finger, worth about four thousand crowns, and upon Iscatinaro's stooping to take it up, his Holiness desired him to wear it for his sake. I was present when all this happened, and if the diamond be missing, I have told you what became of it; but I am almost positive that you will find even this registered. You may therefore well be ashamed of having thus attacked a man of my character, who has been employed in so many affairs of importance for the Apostolical See. I must acquaint you, that had it not been for me, the morning that the Imperialists scaled the walls of Rome, they would have entered the Castle without meeting with any opposition; I, though unrewarded for my services, exerted myself vigorously in managing the artillery, when all the soldiers had forsaken their posts. I likewise animated to the fight a companion of mine, named Raffaello da Montelupo,* a statuary, who had quitted his post like the

* He means to speak of Gio. Bartolommeo di Gattinara, brother of the celebrated Mercurio di Gattinara, High Chancellor of Charles V. He was Regent of Naples, and being present at Rome with the Imperial army when Clement was besieged, he concluded the capitulation entered into on the 5th June, 1527, which is published at the end of Guicciardini's account of the sack of Rome, but which was not observed.

* He not only excelled Baccio, his father, who had been a sculptor, but under the direction of Michel Angelo, produced some statues of first-rate merit. He successively worked at Rome, at Loretto, at Orvieto, and at Florence, his native place.

rest, and hid himself in a corner quite frightened and dismayed; when I saw him entirely neglect the defence of the Castle, I roused his courage, and he and I, unassisted, slaughtered such numbers of our foes, that the soldiers turned their force another way. I was the man who fired at Iscatinaro, upon seeing him speak disrespectfully to Pope Clement, and behave insolently to his Holiness, like a Lutheran and an impious heretic as he was. Pope Clement notwithstanding caused the person who had performed that glorious action to be sought all over the Castle in order to have him hanged.* I was the man that shot the Prince of Orange in the head, under the ramparts of this Castle. I have, moreover, made for the use of the Holy Church, a vast number of ornaments of silver, gold, and precious stones; as likewise many medals, and the finest and most valuable coins. Is this then the priest-like return which is made to a man, that has served you with so much diligence and zeal? Go now and repeat to the Pope all I have said, assuring him that he has all his jewels, and that I got nothing else in the Church's service at the melancholy sack of this city, but wounds and bruises; and reckoned upon nothing but an inconsiderable recompense which Pope Paul had promised me. Now I know what to think of his Holiness, and of you his ministers."

Whilst I uttered these words they stood astonished, and looking attentively at each other, departed with gestures that testified wonder and surprise. They then went all three together to inform the Pope of what I had said: the latter in some confusion gave orders, that a diligent and accurate inquiry should be made into the account of all the jewels, and upon finding that none of them were missing, they left me in the Castle without taking any further notice of me. Signor Pier Luigi, however, went so far as to endeavor to destroy me, in order to conceal his own misconduct in the affair.

During this time of agitation and trouble, King Francis had

* Valdes informs us, that whilst Gio. Bartolommeo di Gattinara was employed in going from one party to the other, endeavoring to conclude the armistice, a shot was fired at him from the Castle, which broke his arm, and takes occasion to insinuate that Clement VII. had thus violated the common law of nations. It here appears to be entirely the fault of Cellini.

heard a circumstantial account of the Pope's keeping me in confinement so unjustly ; and as a nobleman belonging to his court, named Monsieur de Monluc, had been sent ambassador to his Holiness, he wrote to him to apply for my enlargement to his Holiness, as a person that belonged to his Majesty. The Pope, though a man of sense and extraordinary abilities, behaved in this affair of mine like a person of as little virtue as understanding : the answer he returned the ambassador was, " That the King his master need not give himself any concern about me, as I was a very turbulent, troublesome fellow ; therefore he advised his Majesty to leave me where I was, because he kept me in prison for committing murder and other atrocious crimes." The King of France made answer, " That justice was strictly observed in his dominions, and that as he rewarded and favored good men, so he punished and discountenanced the bad : " adding, " That as his Holiness had suffered me to leave Italy, and had been no longer solicitous about my services, he, upon seeing me in his dominions, had gladly taken me under his patronage, and now claimed me as his subject." Though these were the greatest honors and favors that could possibly be conferred upon a man in my station of life, they were highly prejudicial and dangerous to my cause. The Pope was so tormented with jealous fear, lest I should go to France and discover his base treatment of me, that he was constantly watching for an opportunity to get me dispatched, without hurting his own reputation.

The constable of the Castle of St. Angelo was a countryman of mine, a Florentine, named Signor Giorgio Ugolini. This worthy gentleman behaved to me with the greatest politeness, permitting me to walk freely about the Castle on my parole of honor, and for no other reason, but because he saw the severity and injustice of my treatment. Upon my offering to give him security for this indulgence, he declined taking it, because he heard everybody speak of me as a man of truth and integrity, though he knew the Pope to be greatly exasperated against me. Thus I gave him my word and honor, and he even put me into a way of working a little at my business. As I took it for granted, that the Pope's anger would soon subside, on account not only of my innocence, but of the King of France's intercession ; I caused my shop to be

kept open, and my young man Ascanio came often to the Castle, bringing me some things to employ me; though I could do but very little, whilst so unjustly confined. However, I made a virtue of necessity, and bore my hard fortune as well as I could, having won the hearts of all the guards and soldiers belonging to the garrison. As the Pope sometimes came to sup at the Castle, whenever this happened, it was not guarded; but the doors were left open like those of any other palace. On such occasions the prisoners were put under closer confinement; but this general rule was not observed with respect to me, for I was always at liberty to walk about the courts. Under these circumstances I was frequently advised by the soldiers to make my escape, and they declared that they would assist me in the recovery of my liberty, being sensible how unjustly I was treated. The answer I made them was, "That I had given my word and honor to the constable of the Castle, who was one of the most worthy men breathing, and had conferred great favors on me."

Amongst the soldiers who advised me to make my escape, there was one, a man of great wit and courage, who reasoned with me thus; "My good friend Benvenuto, you should consider that a man who is a prisoner, neither is nor can be bound to keep his word, nor to anything else: take my advice, and fly from this villain of a Pope, and from his bastard son, who have sworn your destruction." I being determined rather to lose my life than break the promise I had made to the worthy constable, bore my hard lot as patiently as I could, and had for the companion of my confinement a monk of the Pallavicini family, who was a celebrated preacher. He was confined for heresy, and had a great deal of wit and humor in conversation, but was one of the most profligate fellows in the world, contaminating himself with all sorts of vices: I admired his shining qualities, but his odious vices I freely censured and held in abhorrence. This monk was constantly preaching to me, that I was under no obligation to keep the word I had given to the constable of the Castle, because I was a prisoner. I answered, "That he spoke like a monk, but not like a man: for he that is a man and not a monk, thinks himself obliged to keep his word upon all occasions, and in whatever circumstances he happens to be situated. Therefore, as I was a

man and not a monk, I was resolved never to violate my plighted faith." The monk perceiving that he could not corrupt me by all the subtle and sophistical arguments which he urged with so much force, had recourse to other means to seduce my virtue. For several days after, he read to me the sermons of the monk Jeronimo Savonarola, and made so admirable a comment upon them, that I was more delighted with it, than even with the discourses themselves, though they had given me such high satisfaction; in fine, I had conceived so high an opinion of him, that I would have done anything else at his recommendation, except breaking my word. The monk seeing me astonished at his great talents, thought of another expedient; so he asked me what method I should have recourse to, if they had made me a close prisoner, in order to effect my escape. Desirous of giving the ingenious monk some proof of my own acuteness, I told him that I could open any lock, even the most difficult, especially those of that prison, which I should make no more of forcing than of eating a bit of cheese. The monk, in order to make me discover my secret, began to disparage my ingenuity, observing that men who have acquired reputation by their talents, make many boasts, and that, if they were afterwards called upon to carry their boastings into execution, they would soon forfeit all the reputation they had acquired: adding, that what I said, seemed so far to pass all the bounds of probability, that he apprehended were I to be put to the trial, I should come off with but little honor.

Finding myself pushed hard by this artful monk, I told him that I generally promised much less than I was able to perform, and that what I had said concerning the locks was a mere trifle; for I would soon convince him that I had said nothing but the truth: in a word, I inconsiderately discovered to him my whole secret. The monk, affecting to take little or no notice of what he saw, immediately learned the mystery. The worthy constable continued to allow me to walk up and down the Castle, as I thought proper, and did not even order me to be locked up at night, like the rest of the prisoners; at the same time he suffered me to work as much as I pleased in gold and silver, and wax. I had been employed some weeks on a bason for the Cardinal of Ferrara, but, being weary of my confinement, I grew tired also

of large works, and only amused myself with now and then making little figures of wax. The monk stole a piece of this wax, and by means thereof put in practice all I had inconsiderately taught him with regard to counterfeiting the keys of the prison. He had taken for his associate and assistant, a clerk named Luigi, who was a native of Padua: upon their attempting to counterfeit these keys, the smith discovered them. As the constable sometimes came to see me at my apartment, and saw me working in this wax, he immediately knew it, and said, "That poor unfortunate Benvenuto has indeed been very hardly used; he should not however have concerned himself in such tricks, since I have done so much to oblige him: for the future I must confine him close prisoner, and show him no indulgence." So he ordered me to be closely confined, and with some circumstances of severity, which I suffered from the reproaches and opprobrious language of his servants, who had been my well-wishers, but now upbraided me with the obligations their master had laid me under, calling me an ungrateful and faithless man. As one of them was more bitter and abusive on the occasion than was consistent with decency, I, being conscious of my own innocence, answered boldly, that I had never acted the part of a traitor or a faithless man; that I would assert my innocence at the hazard of my life; and that if either he, or any other, ever again offered to give me any such abusive language, I should, without hesitation, give him the lie. Not being able to bear this affront, he ran to the constable's apartment, and brought me the wax, with the model of the key. As soon as I saw the wax, I told him that both he and I were in the right; but begged to speak with the constable, that I might let him into the whole affair, which was of much greater importance than they imagined. The constable soon after sent for me, and I told him all that had passed: he thereupon put the monk into close confinement, and the latter informed against the clerk, who had nearly been hanged for it. The constable, however, hushed up the affair, which was already come to the ears of the Pope, saved the clerk from the gallows, and restored me the same liberty as I had enjoyed before.

But, finding I had been treated with so much rigor in this affair, I began to think seriously, and said within myself, "If this man

should again happen to take such a whim, and not choose to trust me any longer, I should not wish to be obliged to him, but should make a trial of my own skill, which I doubt not would have a very different success from that of the monk. I got my servants to bring me new thick sheets, and did not send back the dirty ones: upon their asking me for them, I answered, that I had given them away to some of the poor soldiers; adding, that if it should come to be discovered, they would be in danger of being sent to the galleys: thus my journeymen and servants, Felice in particular, took the utmost care to keep the thing secret. I pulled all the straw out of the tick of my bed, and burned it, for I had a chimney in the room where I lay. I then cut those sheets into a number of slips, each about one-third of a cubit in length, and when I thought I had made a sufficient quantity to reach from the top to the bottom of the lofty tower of the Castle of St. Angelo, I told my servants that I had given away as much of my linen as I thought proper, and desired they would take care to bring me clean sheets, adding, that I would constantly return them the dirty ones. This affair my workmen and servants quickly forgot.

The Cardinals Santiquattro and Cornaro caused my shop to be shut up, telling me in plain terms that his Holiness would not bear of my enlargement, and that the great favor shown me by the King of France had rather been of prejudice than any benefit to me. They added, that the last words which Mons. de Monluc had spoken to the Pope, by the direction of the King, were, that his Holiness should get the cause tried by the ordinary judges of the court; and that if I had any way transgressed I should suffer the punishment ordained by the law; but in case I were innocent, it was but just they should discharge me. These words provoked the Pope to such a degree, that he had almost formed a resolution to detain me prisoner the rest of my days. It must be acknowledged that the constable of the Castle, on this occasion, espoused my cause to the utmost of his power.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Quarrel between the Author and Ascanio.—Strange disorder of the constable of the Castle, which causes an alteration in his behavior to Cellini. —The latter is confined more closely than ever, and treated with great severity.—His wonderful escape out of the Castle.—He is received and concealed for a time at Cardinal Cornaro's palace.

My enemies, when they saw that my shop was shut up, took every opportunity to insult and revile my servants and friends who visited me in my confinement. It happened that Ascanio, who came twice every day to see me, begged that I would get a little waistcoat made for him of a blue satin waistcoat of mine, which I had worn but once, when I walked in procession with it. I told him that it was no time nor place for such finery. The lad was so affronted at my refusing him a rag of a waistcoat, that he declared he would go home to his father's, at Tagliacozzo. I answered with indignation, that I should be glad if I were never to see his face more ; and he swore, in a most furious passion, that he would never again appear in my presence. Whilst this altercation passed between us, we were walking round the battlements of the Castle, and as the constable himself happened to be taking a turn at the same time, we met him just as Ascanio said to me, "I am going to leave you, farewell for ever." To this I answered, "For ever let it be, and to make it more certain, I shall speak to the guards not to let you pass for the future : " so turning to the constable, I earnestly entreated him to command the sentinels never to suffer Ascanio to pass, telling him at the same time, that the good-for-nothing fellow came only to increase my sufferings, and therefore I begged it as a favor, that he might no longer have any admittance. The constable was sorry for what had happened, as he knew the lad to be possessed of an uncommon genius, and as his beauty was so great, that those who had seen him but once could not help conceiving an affection for

him. The young man left the place weeping, having about him a short sword, which he sometimes wore, concealed under his clothes. As he was coming out of the Castle, with his face bedewed with tears, he happened to meet two of my most inveterate enemies, Jeronimo the Perugian, and Michele, both goldsmiths. This Michele, who was a friend to that Perugian rogue, and an enemy to Ascanio, said to the latter, "What can this mean? Ascanio weeping! Is your father dead? I mean your father at the Castle?" "He is living," answered Ascanio, "but you are a dead man." Thereupon raising his arm, he, with his sword, gave him two wounds, both on the head: with the first he brought him to the ground, and with the second he cut off the fingers of his right hand, at the same time wounding him on the head; so that he lay motionless, like one deprived of life.

The Pope, having received information of what had happened, said with great indignation, "Since it is the King's pleasure that Benvenuto be brought to a trial, go, bid him prepare for his defence in three days' time." The proper officers came to me from his Holiness, and delivered themselves according to his directions. The worthy constable upon this, repaired to the Pope, and made him sensible, that I had nothing at all to say to the affair, and that I had turned off the youth who had committed that rash action: in short, he defended my cause so well, that he prevented me from falling a victim to the Pontiff's resentment. Ascanio fled to Tagliacozzo, to his father's house, and wrote to me from thence to beg my pardon a thousand times, and acknowledge his fault in having added to my sufferings by his misbehavior. He concluded by assuring me that if God should ever be so merciful as to deliver me from my confinement, he would never again forsake me. In my answer I desired he would endeavor to improve, telling him that if the Almighty restored my liberty, I should certainly send for him.

The constable of the Castle had annually a certain disorder, which totally deprived him of his senses, and when the fit came upon him, he was talkative to excess. Every year he had some different whim: one time he conceited himself metamorphosed into a pitcher of oil; another time he thought himself a frog, and began to leap as such; another time again he imagined he

was dead, and it was found necessary to humor his conceit by making a show of burying him: thus had he every year some new frenzy. This year he fancied himself a bat, and when he went to take a walk, he sometimes made just such a noise as bats do; he likewise used gestures with his hands and his body, as if he were going to fly. His physicians, who knew his disorder, and likewise his old servants, procured him all the pleasures and amusements they could think of; and as they found he delighted greatly in my conversation, they frequently came to me, to conduct me to his apartment, where the poor man often detained me three or four hours chatting with him. He sometimes kept me at his table to dine or sup, and always made me sit opposite to him: on which occasion he never ceased to talk himself, or to encourage me to join in conversation. At these interviews, I generally took care to eat heartily, but the poor constable neither ate nor slept, insomuch that I was tired and jaded by constant attendance. Upon examining his countenance, I could perceive that his eyes looked quite shockingly and that he began to squint.

He asked me whether I had ever had a fancy to fly: I answered, "that I had always been readiest to attempt such things as men found most difficult; and that with regard to flying, as God had given me a body admirably well calculated for running, I had even resolution enough to attempt to fly." He then proposed to me to explain how I could contrive it. I replied, that when I attentively considered the several creatures that fly, and thought of effecting by art, what they do by the force of nature, I did not find one so fit to imitate as the bat. As soon as the poor man heard mention made of a bat, his frenzy for the year turning upon that animal, he cried out aloud, "It is very true, a bat is the thing." He then addressed himself to me and said, "Benvenuto, if you had the opportunity, would you have the heart to make an attempt to fly?" I answered, that if he would give me leave, I had courage enough to attempt to fly as far as Prati by means of a pair of wings waxed over. He said thereupon, "I should like to see you fly; but as the Pope has enjoined me to watch over you with the utmost care, and I know that you have the cunning of the devil, and would avail yourself of the oppor-

tunity to make your escape, I am resolved to keep you locked up with a hundred keys, that you may not slip out of my hands." I then began to solicit him with new entreaties, putting him in mind that I had had it in my power to make my escape, but through regard to the promise I had made him would never avail myself of the opportunity. I therefore besought him for the love of God, and as he had conferred so many obligations on me, that he would not make my condition worse than it was. Whilst I uttered these words, he gave instant orders that I should be secured and confined a closer prisoner than ever. When I saw that it was to no purpose to entreat him any farther, I said before all present, "Confine me as close as you please, I will contrive to make my escape notwithstanding." So they carried me off and locked me up with the utmost care.

I then began to deliberate upon the method I should pursue to make my escape: as soon as I saw myself locked in, I set about examining the place in which I was confined, and thinking I had discovered a sure way to get out, I revolved in my mind in what manner I could descend the height of the great tower. Having first of all formed a conjecture of the length of line sufficient for me to descend by, I took a new pair of sheets which I had cut into slips, and sewed fast together. The next thing I wanted was a pair of pincers, which I took from a Savoyard, who was upon guard at the Castle. This man had care of the casks and the cisterns belonging to the Castle, and likewise worked as a carpenter; and as he had several pairs of pincers, and one amongst others which was thick and large, thinking it would suit my purpose, I took it, and hid it in the tick of my bed. The time being come that I intended to make use of it, I began with it to pull at the nails, which fastened the plates of iron fixed upon the door, and as the door was double, the clenching of those nails could not be perceived. I exerted my utmost efforts to draw out one of them, and at last with great difficulty succeeded. As soon as I had drawn the nail, I was again obliged to torture my invention, in order to devise some expedient to prevent its being perceived. I immediately thought of mixing a little of the filings of rusty iron with wax, and this mixture was exactly of the color of the heads of the nails which I had drawn; I with it counter-

feited the resemblance on the iron plates, and as many as I drew I imitated in wax. I left each of the plates fastened both at top and bottom, and re-fixed them with some of the nails that I had drawn; but the nails were cut, and I drove them in slightly, so that they just served to hold the plates. I found it a very difficult matter to effect all this, because the constable dreamed every night that I had made my escape, and therefore used to send frequently to have the prison searched: the person employed on this occasion had the appearance and behavior of one of the city-guards. The name of this fellow was Bozza, and he constantly brought with him another, named Giovanni Pedignone; the latter was a soldier, the former a servant. This Giovanni never came to the room, where I was confined, without giving me abusive language. The other was from Prato, where he had lived with an apothecary: he every evening carefully examined the plates of iron above-mentioned, as well as the whole prison. I constantly said to him, "Examine me well, for I am positively determined to make my escape." These words occasioned a bitter enmity between him and me.

With the utmost care I deposited all my tools, that is to say my pincers, and a dagger of a tolerable length, with other things belonging to me, in the tick of my bed, and as soon as it was daylight, swept the room myself, for I naturally delighted in cleanliness, but on this occasion I took care to be particularly neat. As soon as I had swept the room, I made my bed with equal care, and adorned it with flowers, which were every morning brought me by a Savoyard. This man, as I have observed before, took care of the cistern and the casks belonging to the Castle, and sometimes amused himself with working in wood: it was from him I stole the pincers, with which I pulled out the nails that fastened the iron plates on the door. To return to my bed: whenever Bozza and Pedignone came, I generally bade them keep at a distance from it, that they might not dirty and spoil it: sometimes I would say to them (for they would now and then merely for diversion tumble my bed), "You dirty wretches, I will draw one of your swords, and give you such a chastisement as will astonish you. Do you think yourselves worthy to touch the bed of a man like me? Upon such occasion I should

not spare my own life, but am sure that I should be able to take away yours : so leave me to my own troubles and sorrows, and do not make my lot more bitter than it is. If you act otherwise, I will show you what a desperate man is capable of." The men repeated what I said to the constable, who expressly commanded them never to go near my bed, ordering them at the same time when they came to me, to have no swords, and to be particularly careful with respect to every other circumstance. Having thus secured my bed from their searches, I thought I had gained the main point, and was on that account highly rejoiced.

One holiday-evening the constable being very much disordered, and his madness being at the highest pitch, he scarce said anything else but that he was become a bat, and desired his people that if Benvenuto happened to make his escape, they should take no notice of it, for he must soon catch me, as he should doubtless be much better able to fly by night than I ; adding, " Benvenuto is only a counterfeit bat, but I am a bat in good earnest : let me alone to manage him ; I shall be able to catch him, I warrant you." His frenzy continuing thus in its utmost violence for several nights, he tired the patience of all his servants ; and I, by various means, came to the knowledge of all that passed, though I was indebted for my chief information to the Savoyard, who was very much attached to me.

As I had formed a resolution to attempt my escape that night, let what would happen, I began with praying fervently to Almighty God, that it would please his Divine majesty to befriend and assist me in that hazardous enterprise : I then went to work, and was employed the whole night in preparing whatever I had occasion for. Two hours before day-break I took the iron plates from the door with great trouble and difficulty, for the bolt and the wood that received it made a great resistance, so that I could not open them, but was obliged to cut the wood. I, however, at last forced the door, and having taken with me the above-mentioned slips of linen, which I had rolled up in bundles with the utmost care, I went out and got upon the right side of the tower, and having observed from within two tiles of the roof, I leaped upon them with the utmost ease. I was in a white doublet, and had on a pair of white half hose, over which I wore a pair of little light

boots, that reached half way up my legs, and in one of these I put my dagger. I then took the end of one of my bundles of long slips, which I had made out of the sheets of my bed, and fastened it to one of the tiles of the roof that happened to jut out four inches; and the long string of slips was fastened to the tiles in the manner of a stirrup: when I had fixed it firmly, I addressed myself to the Deity in these terms: "Almighty God, favor my cause, for thou knowest it is a just one, and I am not on my part wanting in my utmost efforts to make it succeed." Then letting myself down gently, and the whole weight of my body being sustained by my arm, I at last reached the ground.

It was not a moonlight night, but the stars shone with resplendent lustre. When I had touched the ground, I first contemplated the great height which I had descended with so much courage; and then walked away in high joy, thinking I had recovered my liberty. But I soon found myself mistaken; for the constable had caused two pretty high walls to be erected on that side, which made an inclosure for a stable and a poultry-yard: this place was fastened with great bolts on the outside. When I saw myself immured in this inclosure, I felt the greatest anxiety imaginable. Whilst I was walking backwards and forwards, I stumbled on a long pole covered with straw; this I with much difficulty fixed against the wall, and by the strength of my arms climbed to the top of it: but as the wall was sharp, I could not get a sufficient hold to enable me to descend by the pole to the other side. I therefore resolved to have recourse to my other string of slips, for I had left one tied to the great tower: so I took the string, and having fastened it properly, I descended down the steep wall. This put me to a great deal of pain and trouble, and likewise tore the skin off the palms of my hands, insomuch that they were all over bloody; for which reason I rested myself a little, and was reduced even to wash them in my own water. When I thought I had sufficiently recruited my strength, I came to the last wall, which looked towards the meadows, and having prepared my string of long slips, which I wanted to get about one of the niched battlements, in order to descend this as I had done the other higher wall, a sentinel perceived what I was about. Finding my design obstructed, and myself in danger of my life, I resolved to

cope with the soldier, who, seeing me advance towards him resolutely with my drawn dagger in my hand, thought it most advisable to keep out of my way. After I had gone a little way from my string, I quickly returned to it; and though I was seen by another of the soldiers upon guard, the man did not care to take any notice of me. I then fastened my string to the niched battlement, and began to let myself down. Whether it was owing to my being near the ground, and preparing to give a leap, or whether my hands were quite tired, I do not know, but being unable to hold out any longer, I fell, and in falling, struck my head, and became quite insensible.

I continued in that state about an hour and a half, as nearly as I can guess. The day beginning to break, the cool breeze that precedes the rising of the sun brought me to myself; but I had not yet thoroughly recovered my senses, for I had conceived a strange notion that I had been beheaded, and was then in purgatory. I, however, by degrees recovered my strength and powers, and perceiving that I had got out of the Castle, I soon recollected all that had befallen me. As I perceived that my senses had been affected, before I took notice that my leg was broke, I clapped my hands to my head, and found them all bloody. I afterwards searched my body all over, and thought I had received no hurt of any consequence; but upon attempting to rise from the ground, I found that my right leg was broken three inches above the heel, which threw me into a terrible consternation. I thereupon pulled my dagger with its scabbard out of my boot: this scabbard was cased with a large piece of metal at the bottom, which occasioned the hurt to my leg; as the bone could not bend any way, it broke in that place. I therefore threw away the scabbard, and cutting the part of my string of slips that I still had left, I bandaged my leg as well as I could. I then crept, on my hands and knees, towards the gate, with my dagger in my hand, and, upon coming up to it, found it shut; but, observing a stone under the gate, and thinking that it did not stick very fast, I prepared to push it away; clapping my hands to it, I found that I could move it with ease, so I soon pulled it out, and effected my egress. It was above five hundred paces from the place where I had had my fall, to the gate at which I entered the city.

As soon as I got in, some mastiff dogs came up, and bit me severely : finding that they persisted to worry me, I took my dagger and gave one of them so severe a stab, that he set up a loud howling ; whereupon all the dogs in the neighborhood, as it is the nature of those animals, ran up to him ; and I made all the haste I could to crawl towards the church of St. Maria Transpontina. When I arrived at the entrance of the street that leads towards the Castle of St. Angelo, I took my way from thence towards St. Peter's-gate ; but, as it was then broad day-light, I reflected that I was in great danger, and happening to meet with a water-carrier, who had loaded his ass, and filled his vessels with water, I called to him, and begged he would put me upon the beast's back, and carry me to the landing-place of the steps of St. Peter's church. I told him, that I was an unfortunate youth, who had been concerned in a love-intrigue, and had made an attempt to get out at a window, from which I had fallen, and broken my leg ; but as the house I came out of belonged to a person of the first rank, I should be in danger of being cut to pieces, if discovered. I therefore earnestly entreated him to take me up, and offered to give him a gold crown ; so saying, I clapped my hand to my purse, which was very well lined. The honest waterman instantly took me upon his back, and carried me to the steps before St. Peter's church, where I desired him to leave me and to run back to his ass.

I immediately set out, crawling in the same manner I had done before, in order to reach the house of the duchess, consort to Duke Ottavio, natural daughter to the Emperor, and who had been formerly married to Alessandro, the late Duke of Florence. I knew that there were several of my friends with that princess, who had attended her from Florence ; as likewise that I had the happiness of being in her excellency's good graces. This last circumstance had been partly owing to the constable of the Castle, who, having a desire to befriend me, told the Pope that when the duchess made her entry into Rome, I prevented a damage of above a thousand crowns, that they were likely to suffer by a heavy rain ; upon which occasion, when he was almost in despair, I had revived his drooping courage, by pointing several pieces of artillery towards that tract of the heavens where the thickest clouds

had gathered ; so that when the shower began to fall, I fired my pieces, whereupon the clouds dispersed,* and the sun again shone out in all its brightness. Therefore it was entirely owing to me that the above day of rejoicing had been happily concluded. This coming to the ears of the duchess, her excellency said, that Benvenuto was one of those men of genius, who loved the memory of her husband, Duke Alessandro, and she should always remember such, whenever an opportunity offered of doing them services. She had likewise spoken of me to Duke Ottavio her husband. I was therefore going directly to the place where her excellency resided, which was in Borgo Vecchio, at a magnificent palace. There I should have been perfectly secure from any danger of falling into the Pope's hands ; but as the exploit I had already performed was too extraordinary for a human creature, and lest I should be puffed up with vain-glory, God was pleased to put me to a still severer trial than that which I had already gone through.

What gave occasion to this was, that whilst I was crawling along upon all four, one of the servants of Cardinal Cornaro knew me, and running immediately to his master's apartment, awakened him out of his sleep, saying to him, " My most reverend lord, here is your jeweller Benvenuto, who has made his escape out of the Castle, and is crawling along upon all four, quite besmeared with blood ; by what I can judge from appearances, he seems to have broken one of his legs, and we cannot guess where he is bending his course to." The Cardinal, the moment he heard this, said to his servants, " Run and bring him hither to my apartment, upon your backs." When I came into his presence, the good Cardinal bade me fear nothing, and immediately sent for some of the most eminent surgeons of Rome to take care of me ; amongst these was Signor Giacopo of Perugia, an excellent practitioner. This last set the bone, then bandaged my leg, and bled me. As my veins were swelled more than usual, and he wanted to make a pretty wide incision, the blood gushed from me with such violence, and in so great a quantity, that it spirted into his face, and covered him in such a manner that he found it a very difficult matter to

* Query, Will this round assertion of Cellini's be borne out by the testimony of Dr. Franklin and others?—Ed.

continue his operation. He looked upon this as very ominous, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to attend me afterwards; nay, he was several times for leaving me, recollecting that he had run a great hazard by having anything to do with me. The Cardinal then caused me to be put into a private apartment, and went directly to the Vatican in order to intercede in my behalf with the Pope.

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