SHAKESPEARE'S EUROPE REVISITED:
THE UNPUBLISHED ITINERARY OF
FYNES MORYSON (1566 - 1630)

by
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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts
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No 1561.94 Σ.4.1.¹

The fourth Part of an Itinerary

written by Fynes Moryson gent:

first in the Latine tongue and then

by himselfe translated into English

Continuing

The discourse vpon seuerall heads

through all the Dominions he passed

in his trauell described in the former

three Parts

At London

Printed by . 1595² //

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¹ 1561 is the number assigned to this manuscript in Edward Bernard, Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum, (Oxford, 1697) a compilation of all the manuscripts in Britain. 94 is the manuscript number assigned to the volume within the collection of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The description reads, "The fourth part of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary. Licens'd by Tho. Wilson, June 14. 1626. Fol."

The epsilon 4 and 1 refer to its shelf marks within the archive at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and were added at a later time. The final 1, not to be confused with the number of this footnote, indicates that it was the first of twelve manuscripts kept at Epsilon 4. In the librarian's edition of Henry O. Coxe's Catalogus Codicum Mss. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur, 2 vols (Oxford, 1852), II, Catalogus Codicum Mss. Collegii Corporis Christi 33, E.4.1. are written in ink against a description of the manuscript.

² The 1595 is written in pencil, and was probably added long after the composition of the manuscript. It may refer to the year when Moryson returned to England after his first journey, and set out for his second. It is a mistake.
With [the] king[s] [James his] Majesties full and sole Priuiledge to the Author Fynes Morison gent his Executors Administrators Assignes and deputyes for xxij yeares next ensuing from the graunt thereof, to cause to be imprinted, and to sell assigne or dispose to his or their best benefitts, the former parts and this fourth Part of this booke entitled An Itinerary &c. aswell in the English as in the latine tongue; Straitly forbidding any other during the said yeares to imprint or cause to be imprinted to import vtter or sell or cause to be imported vtted or /10/ sold the said Booke or Bookes or any part thereof within any of his Majesties dominions, vpon payne of his Majesties high displeasure and to forfeit Three pounds lawfull English mony for every such Booke printed imported vtted or sold contrary to the meaning of this Priuiledge, besides the forfeuyture of the said Bookes &c. As appeareth by his Majesties leters Pattents dated the xxvth of Aprill the Fifteenth yeare of his Majesties Raigne of England Fraunce and Ireland And of Scotland the Fiftieth.\(^1\) /20/ //

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\(^1\) 25 April 1617. Regnal years were reckoned from the exact date of the demise or deposition of the previous monarch. Queen Elizabeth had died on 24 March 1603. James became King of Scotland on 29 July 1567. Thus, James was in his fiftieth regnal year in Scotland and fifteenth in England between 24 March and 28 July 1617.

One Royal Patent was sufficient to cover the three published volumes of 1617, and this handwritten fourth part. The Patent is dated the 29 April 1617 in the published volume, a facsimile of which is reprinted in Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1907 - 08), I, xxix, hereafter called Itinerary A. This manuscript
A Table of the Contents of the seuerall Chapters in this fourth Part.

The first Booke.

Chapter. I. Of the Turkes Commonwealth,\(^4\) vnder which tytle, I contayne the historicall introduction, the kings Pedegrees and Courts, the present State of publike affayres, The Tributes and Reuenues, the military power for Horse, Foote, and Navye, the Courts of Justice, rare lawes, more spetially those of Inheritance, and Contracts of mariage, the Criminall Judgments, and the diversity of degrees in Family and Common wealth. /10/

Chapter. ii. Of the Commonwealth of Poland according to the seuerall heads contayned in the title of the first Chapter.

Chapter iii. Of the Commonwealth of Italy according to the seuerall heads contayned in the title of the first Chapter.

\(^4\) The very disparate states that are all called Commonwealths, whatever their political form suggest that the nearest definition given by OED is the second, "The whole body of people constituting a nation or state, the body politic; a state, an independent community, esp. viewed as a body in which the whole people have a voice or interest."
And of the severall absolute Princes thereof. But in this Chapter only of the historicall Introduction in generall for all the dominions.

Chapter iii. Of the Commonwealth of Italy = namely the Pedegrees of the Princes, the Papall dominion, and the new power of the kings of Spayne in Italy. Of these I say, touching /20/ some of the heads conyteyned in the title of the first Chapter.

Chapter v. Of the Commonwealth of Venice in particular, touching some of the heads conteyned in the tytle of the first Chapter.

Chapter vj. Of the Commonwealth of the dukedom of Florence intermixed with that of the free Citty Lucca: Of both touching some of the heads contayned in the tytle of the first Chapter.

Chapter vii. Of the free Citty Genoa, and of the dukes of Mantua and of Vrbine touching some of the heads contayned in the tytle of the first Chapter.

Chapter viij. Of the Commonwealth of Italy in Generall, /30/ and of some of the greater States thereof in particular touching the remayning heads contayned in the tytle of the first Chapter.
Chapter i. Of the Commonwealth of *Fraunce* according to seuerall heads contayned in the tytle of the first Chapter of the former Booke.

Chapter ii. Of the Commonwealth of *Denmarke* according to the seuerall heads contayned in the tytle of the first Chapter of the former Booke.

{ c.w. Chapter iij }

Chapter iii. Of the Commonwealth of *England* according to the seuerall heads contayned in the tytle of the first Chapter of the former Booke.

Chapter iii. Of the Commonwealth of *Scotland* according to the seuerall heads contayned in the title of the first Chapter of the former Booke.

Chapter v. Of the Commonwealth of *Ireland* according to the seuerall heads contayned in the tytle of the first Chapter of the former Booke.

The third Booke. /10/

Chapter. i. Of *Germany* touching Religion.
Chapter. ii. Of Bohemia touching Religion.

Chapter iii. Of the Sweitzers, the Netherlande[s]rs, the Danes, and the Polonians touching Religion.

Chapter iii. Of the Turkes Religion.

Chapter v. Of the Italians or rather Romans touching Religion.


The fourth Booke.

Chapter. i. Of the Germans nature, and Manners, strength of Body, and witt, Manuall Arts [and manners], Sciences, vniuersityes, language, Pompe of Ceremonyes, especially in mariages, Childbearings, Christnings and Funeralls as also of their diuerse Customes, Sports, exercises, and particulary of hunting, hawking, Fowling, Birding, and Fishing.

Chapter ii. Of Swei[th]tzerland touching the heads of the first Chapter.

Chapter iii. Of the United Prouinces of Netherland touching
the heads of the first Chapter.

Chapter iii. Of Denmarke touching the heads of the first Chapter. /30/

Chapter v. Of Bohemia touching the heads of the first Chapter.

Chapter vi. Of Poland touching the heads of the first Chapter.

Chapter vii. Of Turky touching the heads of the first Chapter.

[Chapter vii] The fifth Booke.

Chapter. i. Of the Italians nature and manners, Bodyes, and witts, manuall Arts, Sciences, vniuersityes, language // iii

Ceremonyes, particulary in mariages, Childbearings Christnings and funeralls, as also of their diuerse Customes, Pastimes, exercises particulary hunting, hawking, fouling, Birding, and Fishing.

Chap: ii. Of the Frenchmen touching the heads of the first Chapter.
Chap: iii. Of England touching the heads of the first
Chapter.

Chap: iii. Of *Scotland* touching the heads of the first Chapter.

Chap: iv. Of *Ireland* touching the heads of the first Chapter.

Chap: vj. A generall and breife discourse of the *Jewes*, and of the *Grekes*. 
The fourth part of an Itinerary written by
Fynes Moryson Gent: contayning the Continuance
of the discourse begunn in the the former third
Part vpon seuerall heads through all the
dominions he passed in his Travell.

The first Booke.

Chap: i.

Of the Turkes Comonwealth, vnder
which tytle I contayne the historicall Introduction,
the kings Pedegrees, and Courts, the present State
/10/ of publique affayres, the Tributes, and Revenues,
the military power for Horse, Foote, and Navye, the
Courts of Iustice, rare lawes; more specially those of
Inheritance, and contracts of mariage, the Criminall
Iudgments, and the diversitye of degrees in Family and
Comonwealth.

Noe man can iustly expect from me a full, and exact
discourse vpon the heads aboue written, which few men,
(and that with extraordinary labour and practice) can write
of their owne [Country] [labour] that should be best knowne
to every man, But it ought to suffice, that I make such
observations as a Passenger can make in a Cursory Iourney
/20/ of a straunge Country, by reading, Conference, and
like objects of the sense. And because as many hearers of sermons come from Church well satisfied, if they have observed two or three witty exceptions against the Preacher; so in our age (as experience hath taught me) there be some Readers of the same Condition, with whom (among some other exceptions) my large writing in the former parts; hath turned to my reproofe, I will in this part write breifely, collecting myselfe from all excursions, as being drawne to the writing hereof, rather out of a naturall affection to glue all the members to this my vnlicked whelpe, then out of /30/ any desyre or hope fully to satisfy the curious readers of our Crittick age.¹

¹"Judging captiously or severely, censorious, carping, fault-finding." 2. OED Critic as an adjective is listed as obsolete, and the only citation that is earlier is in a definition of critico by John Florio in 1598. The next citation, in 1621, by R Johnson uses the phrase, "in this criticke age". Moryson includes a self-mocking echo of the description of Virgil's method of composition in the Life by Aelius Donatus, "...non absurde carmen se ursae more parere dicens et lambendo demum effingere", "...himself saying not absurdly to bring forth poetry in the way of a she-bear, and by licking finally to complete it." Virgil's licking included extensive cutting, whilst Moryson destroyed all of his work from 1606 - 1609. Moryson had laboured over his Itinerary from 1609 until at least 1625. It took eleven years for Virgil to create the Aeneid, the story of a pious traveller who finally fulfilled his destiny, hence the allusion. See Appendix Vergiliana, edited by R. Ellis (Oxford, 1907), 'Vita Donati', p. 8.
introduction of Turkye. Wicked Mahomet, were he an Arabian or Persian, was borne in the yeare of our lord 597. and wrote the Alcoran of his new religion about the yeare 622, whome his followers saluted king, and the Saracens (most truely called Agarines), leaving the pay of the

This historical description, and the subsequent description of the court officials owes much to Antoine Geuffroy who wrote Estat de la Cour du Grant Turc l'ordre de sa gendarmerie et de ses finances: avec ung brief discours de leurs conquestes depues le premier de ceste race, (Anvers, 1542). It was a bestseller. Subsequently augmented, the British Museum possesses the Briefue description de la Covrt dv Grant Turc, (Paris, 1543) which is the edition that I have consulted. Moryson refers to this author "writing in the French toung", fol. 559. This edition is referred to as Geuffroy hereafter. His work was translated into German, Latin and English. See Stephane Yerasimos, Les Voyageurs Dans L'Empire Ottoman (XIV - XVI siècles) Publications de la Société Turque d'Histoire VII, 117 (Ankara, 1991), pp. 199 - 200.

Moryson also consulted The ofspring of the house of Ottomanno, and officers pertaining to the greate Turks Court. Whereunto is added Bartolomeus Georgievits Ceremonies, and Religion of the Turkes: with the miserable affliction of those Christians, whiche live vnder their captiuitie and bondage. In the end also is adioyned the manner how Mustapha, eldest sonne of Soltan Soliman, twelfth Emperour of the Turkes, was murthered by his father, in the yere of our Lord 1553. all Englished by Hugh Goughe (London, 1569 - 1570), STC 11746. Moryson seems to use both these books for many details and this explains his later reference to "Geegievits" on fol. 559. I will refer to that book as Georgievits.

It is generally accepted that Mohammed was born about 570. Moryson may have been wishing to indicate that his alleged youth whilst writing the Koran was a further indication of its falsity. Moryson questions this date on fol. 350.

"St. Jerome (Ezek. Viii. xxv) identifies the Saracens with the Agareni (Hagarens, descendants of Hagar) 'who are now called Saracens, taking to themselves the name of Sara'. A. n. 1. a. Among the later Greeks and Romans, a name for the nomadic peoples of the Syro - Arabian desert which harassed the Syrian confines of the Empire; hence, an Arab; by extension, a Muslim." OED
Christian Emperor of the East, joyned their armes to his forces, against whome the Persian king drew to his ayde the Turquestanes inhabiting Turquemania or Turkye lying upon the Confines of Parthia. The said Persian king being overcome in the yeare 640.\(^5\) by the Mahometan Saracens, the Turquestans (vulgerly called Turkes) yeilded themselues tributory to these Saracens, and withall tooke their Mahometan Religion [falling among] \[which to this\] day they hold; But a difference of this religion falling among // [Chap]Booke.i. The Turkes Commonwealth. Chap:i. fol:2 the Saracens devided their Empire, [about the yeare 108], part following the Caliph of Persia and part the Sultan of Egipt.\(^6\) The Turkes about the yeare 1040. casting of the yoke of the Saracens, made themselues a king, and increased their kingdome with the fall of the Saracen Empire about the yeare 1080. The Tartars about the yeare 1258 cast the Turkes out of Persia where they planted Christian Religion and after subdued Syria,\(^7\) but the Sultan of Egipt droue them out of Syria about the yeare 1268. At last the

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\(^5\) The "Victory of Victories" which hastened the conquest of Persia by Islam was in 642. King Yazdigird was not assassinated for almost a decade after that defeat. See Encyclopedia of World History, edited by William L. Langer, fourth edition (London, 1968), subsequently referred to as EWH.

\(^6\) Moryson refers to the split of the Moslems into the Sunni and Shiite sects.

\(^7\) The Mongols captured Baghdad in 1258 and Aleppo and Damascus in 1260. The Mongols were not Christians, although there were a few heretical Christians among them.
Turquemans or Turkes seated in Asia the lesser, swallowed the Saracens Empire in the East. These Turkes had then fower /10/ Familyes, which like the Cantons of Switzerland governed their Commonwealth till Ottaman\(^8\) of the Ogusian family, suppressing the other three, and getting the whole Empire of the Turkes about the yeare 1300. left the name of Ottoman hereditary to the kings of the Turkes, as that of Cesar, was left to the Rommane Emperors. Orcanes the sonne of Ottoman seated himselfe at Prusa or Bursia in the lesser Asia.\(^9\) The Christian Emperor of the East required ayde against the Bulgarians of Amurath sonne to Orcanes, who inticed by the pleasant fertilitye of Greece passed the Hellespont with an huge army, and openly /20/ affecting the Empire of the East, in the yeare 1363. stayed in Thrace with his army.\(^10\) Cyriscelobes\(^11\) (or as others write

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\(^8\) Osman I (d.1326). His victory over the Byzantines at Baphaeon in 1301 established him as a great warrior for Islam, or Gâzi.

\(^9\) Orhan (1326 - 1362). Bursa was the capital of the Ottoman territories until the capture of Constantinopole.

\(^10\) Murad I (1362 - 1389) was not the first to enter Thrace. The Ottomans had exploited Byzantine factions since 1346, and the rebellion of the King of Bulgaria 1356 - 1366 provided opportunity for colonization beyond Thrace in Bulgaria itself. Murad's assassination by a Serb after the battle of Kossovo provides the material for and climax of the last act of Thomas Goffe's episodic play *The Courageous Turk* acted at Christ Church, Oxford in 1618. See Thomas Goffe, *The Courageous Turk*, ed. by Susan Gushee O'Malley (New York, 1979).

\(^11\) In Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, edited by Charles Hughes (London, 1903), p. 2, referred to hereafter as Hughes, it is spelt Cyrisceobes. Only where we disagree on
Calapin) being king of the Turkes in the yeare 1397, left his sonnes to be his heyres, but his brother Moses caused them all to be killed, whome his third brother Mahomett slewe with like trecherie, and became the first king of that name, from which tyme the manner of the Turkish kings to beginn their Tyrannicall governement with the cruell strangling of all their brothers first grew into Custome, and after was established for a lawe. This Mahomett the first, seated himselfe at Adrianopolis in Thrace, and subdued Macedonia. Amurath called vulgarly Morat:Beg in the yeare 1419. subdued Seruia, and gaue the transcription of words will the difference be noted. Where Hughes modernises, and omits repetitions, or substitutes j for i or u for v or vica versa the difference will be passed over, unless it helps to clarify what is unclear.

12 The Emperor's name was Bajazeth (1389 - 1402). His accession and strangling of his brother Jacup is the finale to Thomas Goffe's The Courageous Turk. His overthrow and suicide is depicted in the first part of Marlowe's Tamburlaine. Moryson may have got the name from Georgievits, sig. B3r, where he is described as "Cyriskelbes the sonne of Baiazetus, and fifte Emperour of the Turkes." However, he seems more likely to have got the name straight from Geuffroy, who mentions Calapin and explains that Cheleby "...est vng tiltre de noblesse, donne aux enfans de grans Turcs.", a title of nobility, given to the sultan's children. Moryson conflates father and son even though Geuffroy states that some of Bajazeth's children escaped after their father's overthrow. Sigs. H1r - H1v.

13 Presumably this is Moryson's transcription for Mūsā Çelebi (1411 - 1413) who was Bajazeth's son. Fratricidal strife among Bajazeth's sons continued until Mahomet I (1413 - 1421) was able to reunite the Ottoman lands by war.

14 "Amurath, que les Hungres et Sclauons appellept Amanrat, et les Turcs Moratbeg, ou Moratbey, & Moratbegy, qui signifie Morat seigneur." Geuffroy, sig. G3r. Geuffroy
Hungarians a wofull overthrow at Varna, and first instituted the famous military footmen called Ianizares.\textsuperscript{15}

Mahomett the second utterly extinguished the Christian Empire of the East, taking the head Citty thereof Constantinople in the yeare of our lord 1453. so first deseruing to be stiled the Emperor of the Turkes. In the meane tyme the Mahometan Parthians about the yeare 1350, had driuen the Christian Tartars out of the kingdome of Persia, and the Scithian Tamberlane in the [yeare] 1400, driving out them, had possessed /40/ himselfe of that kingdome. After Constantinople was taken by the Turkes Assimbeius descending of the Turkes did againe drive the Scithians out of the Persian kingdome in the yeare 1470.\textsuperscript{16}

is actually referring to Murad I, rather than Murad II who attacked Serbia. The Balkans came under Ottoman suzeranty after the battle of Kossovo in 1389, although this was repeatedly challenged. Murad II (1421 - 1444, 1446 - 1451) personally invaded Serbia in 1438, and declared it an Ottoman province in 1439.

\textsuperscript{15} Janissaries or in Turkish Yeniçeri comprised "the first standing army in Europe", Halil Inalcik, \textit{The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300 - 1600}, translated by Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London, 1973), p. 11, and referred hereafter as Inalcik. First levied from prisoners after the fall of Adrianople of 1361, they became "...the sultan's standing infantry corps, recruited from the devşirme (the levy of Christian children) and paid from the Treasury". Inalcik, p. 222. Moryson gets his incorrect information from Georgievits, "For euen sithens the time of Amurathes the second which first constituted the Ianitzaries, and disposed them in this order, we neuer reade that they loste the vniuersall and hole strength of any generall armye, but by experience haue rather knownen them, to be victours and conquerours." sig. B6v.

\textsuperscript{16} When a Turcoman Uzun Hasan Bey killed Abu Said in 1469, the "Timurid empire entered a new phase of disintegration", \textit{The Cambridge History of Iran}, 7 vols,
Baiazet the second possessed the Turkish Empire at Constantinople in the yeare 1481. and in the tyme of his Empire, Ismael Sophus king of Persia, reputed by his for a Prophet, became the Author of a new Mahometan sect, differing from that of the Turkes, as pretending a more pure reformacion thereof, and thereby sowed a successive and deadly hatred, rising from the said difference of religion, and to this day remaining betwene the Persian sect /50/ of the Persians, and the Arabian sect of the Turkes.¹⁷ Selimus Emperor of the Turkes subdued the Empire of the Saracen Sultan of Egipt, with his order of knights called Mamalukes utterly extinguishing them both in the yeare 1517, Amurath vulgarly Morat[h]t) the sonne of Selime¹⁸ succeeded Emperor in the yeare [1574. and was living in the yeare] when I began my journey towards Turky. He was said to haue liued with his Sultana (or Empresse) 32

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(Cambridge, 1968 - 91), VI (1986), 118. Moryson's date for the breakup of Tamburlaine's Empire is as good as any in what was a confused situation. Assimbeus is a corruption of Hasan Bey (1453 - 1478) an Akkoyunlu ruler of the Turkoman dynasty of the White Sheep reigning in Azerbaijan. I owe this information to Dr Rhoads Murphey of the Department of Byzantine and Ottoman Studies, Birmingham University, subsequently contracted to RM.

¹⁷ The fanatical god-king, Shah Ismail I (1501 - 1524) persecuted the Sunni Moslems and Turcoman tribes. Inevitably, the Persian and the Sunni Ottoman Empire came into regular conflict, and on the shifting frontiers war never really stopped.

¹⁸ In reducing his history, Moryson has conflated Selim I the Grim (1512 - 1520) who conquered much of present day Egypt, Syria and Arabia, with Selim II the Sot (1566 - 1574) and father of Murad III (1574 - 1595).
yeares, and to haue had no Concubine for the first 20 yeares, but the people murmuring, that contrary to the Custome of his Ancestors, he suffered the succession of his Empire to depend vppon one sonne, therevppon to /60/ // Booke i. The Turkes commonwealth. Chap:i. fol:3. haue taken some Concubines, and his observance of Chastity once broken, to haue had so many as they could hardly be numbred.19 He was of a meane stature, of a cleare complexion white and ruddy, a chearefull Countenance, and corpulent or fatt in the body. He greatly delighted in Jewells which he bought at high rates, and wore rich apparrell.20 He was of a merry disposition and hated

19 Moryson seems to be paraphrasing from a document written by one Solomon Ische. The slightly corrupted copy of a lost original is in the British Museum, and a facsimile of this copy is reproduced between pages 19 and 20 in the Rev. H. G. Rosedale's Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company (London, 1904), and referred to hereafter as Rosedale. Rosedale surmises that the author was a Court interpreter who probably sold information to the Venetians and English, as the reports to the Serenissima and Lord Burghley are so similar, p. 68. The document is written in Italian, a language in which Moryson was fluent. Even the order in which the writer tackles his topic is followed by Moryson. Since Moryson paraphrases, there seems to be no need for further translation. "...e stette Sultan Murat. 32. anni in sua compagnia. 20. de quali non tocco altra donna che lei, Ma mosso poi dalo stimolo fatto gli si de la Regina Madre...e finalmente del populo che diceua che non era bene che il regno stesse sotto la speranza de la vita di vn solo figliuolo, ne prese tante, che se ne e quasi perduto il numero." Page 2 of the document.

20 "Era Sultan Murat di mezzana statura, bianco, rosso, e si grosso che pareua che non hauea collo, era il suo volto regale, grande, bello, e giouale...Vestiuia ricca, e pomposamente e era molto dedito alle gioie, e pietre preziose...d'inestimabil valore." Page 2 of Ische's document in Rosedale.
crueltie, which his dying mother as it were by her last Testament (nothing being more religiously obsured by the Turkes then their parents last Will) charged him to avoyd. He loued peace, yet with good successe made warr against the Persians, not in person, but by his Generalls, which /10/ kinde of making warr is more commodious for these Emperors, then if in person they should lead their Armyes, since their Confines are farr distant from Constantinople where they alwayes winter, so as great part of the somer is spent in leading forth and bringing back their Army. Howsoever he was of a soft nature, and giuen to pleasure, yet in Affrick he subdued the kingdome of Tunis and razed Goleta to the ground, and in Hungarie he tooke Chiauerin and left the Hungarian warr hereditary to his sonne, who pursued the same with great earnestnes. He did willingly read histories, causing some to be translated into the vulgar tongue, and was /20/

21 "Era persona allegra, e giouiale, e nemico del far sangue, o fosse per sua natura, o come uogliono alcuni, perche la regina sua madre glielo hauea cossi lasciato in testamento." Ische, Page 2 in Rosedale.

22 "...fece sempre guerra per mezo de i suoi Capitani contra la persia molti anni, e conquisto la maggior parte di essa." Page 3 of Ische's document in Rosedale.

23 Goletta or la Goulette is the port very near Tunis. In 1574 it was a fortress guarding the Spanish protectorate of Tunis. Insufficiently garrisoned, it was captured after a short siege by Euldj Ali, a survivor of Lepanto. Thereafter the whole protectorate was soon under Turkish control. See J. H. Elliott, Europe Divided 1559 - 1598 (London, 1968), p. 196, referred to hereafter as Elliott.

24 Chianarini.
said to be an excellent Poett, inviting his Courtiers by rewards to that study. He greedily affected noueltie, and built the greatest part of his Imperiall Serraglio or Pallace. He loued Musick, but had not the patience to attend the tuning of instruments, so as the Venetians sending him a Consort which he desyred to heare, they could not be so ready after they had long expected him, but that vpon his sodeine Coming they were forced to spend a litle tyme in tuning their instruments, whereat he grew so impatient as he went away in anger, and would neuer come againe to heare them. Indeed I could neuer obserue that the Turkes haue any skill in musick, only I haue heard them play with a strong hand vpon a poore litle fidle nothing lesse then delightfully to the eare.

He was by nature carryed to extremes, seldom holding the

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25 "Era Sultan Murat, molto dedito alle lettere, e a legger le historie antiche di tutti gli Imperatori...e ne fece tradurre alcune in lingua Turchesca, e in particolar molto affetonato alla Poesia, ne la quale scrivera marauigliosamente..." Page 3 of Ische's document in Rosedale.

26 The Italian word serraglio has two etymologies. One from the late Latin serraculum a defensive enclosure or closed place, and the other from the Turkish saray, a court or palace. Moryson seems to embody both ideas here. See Nicola Zingarelli, Il nuovo Zingarelli: Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana, eleventh edition (Milan, 1990), referred to hereafter as Zingarelli.

27 "A company or set of musicians, vocal or instrumental, making music together." OED. n. II. 4.

28 It is called kemence.
meane,\textsuperscript{29} and easily beleued the first information without
due examination thereof, but he was said to be more
courteous and mercifull, and to haue gathered more treasure
then any of his Ancestors. He admitted his sonne \textit{Mahomet} to
Circumcision the fifteenth yeare of his age in the yeare
1580. which was performed in great Pompe with the presence
of many Princes Ambassadors.\textsuperscript{30} To his \textit{Sultana}, namely the
mother of his eldest sonne, he would neuer giue a letter
/40/ of dowry vulgarly called \textit{Chebin}, which only makes her
his wife and without which she is esteemed a Concubine and
slaue, and cannot be buryed by the syde of the Emperor.\textsuperscript{31}
And this he refused by the example of his father, and some
of his late Ancestors, thincking he should not long liue

\textsuperscript{29} "Seguiua in tutte le cose...sempre li stremi, e mai
si contentaua con il mezo." Page of 4 of Ische's document
in Rosedale.

\textsuperscript{30} "Fece feste alla circoncissione di questo Sultan
Meheinet suo figiuolo, e la fece durar molti giorni." Page 4 of Ische's document in Rosedale. Moryson's method of
working seems to have been that he had his notes in front
of him, which, as here, he expands with the recollections
of others. Moryson also has a nose for dates which help to
construct a time frame.

\textsuperscript{31} "Non fece alla regina, madre di questo Re...mai
chebin, ( che vuol dir carta dotale ) la quale colei che
non l'ha, non si puo chi amare ne moglie, ne Regina
legitimamente anzi e sempre schiaua..." Page 4 of Ische's
document in Rosedale. Again Moryson adds details from his
personal experience. He had seen the tombs of the Sultans,
and comments disparagingly on the fact that they were
served in death as in life. See fol. 567. \textit{Chebin} is the
gauze worn by ladies of a marriageable age, and so may well
have become a vulgar term for a dowry which normally is
\textit{çeyiz}. RM
after he had done it,32 which suspition was not without just cause, since the mother of the eldest sonne while the father liueth, is in seruile subjection to him, but when her sonne raigneth, out of his religious duty to her, vseth to haue great authority and liberty to liue at her pleasure. He raigned 19 yeares 26. dayes and liued 51 yeares, and dyed the second /50/ hower of the night upp on the 6. day of January after the old style in the yeare 1595, while I was yet in my Iourney to Constantinople.33 He left two daughters maryed, one to Ibrahim cheife Bashawe34 (or Visere) the other to Halil Basha, and besides 25. daughters kept in the old Serraglio to be marryed to like great Subiects by the Emperor their brother, and also he left 19. male children, // <fol:4..> Booke i. The Turkes Commonwealth. Chap:i. besides the eldest succeeding him and three of his

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32 Ische continues that if Murad gave a letter of dowry as his father had done to his mother, "...subito morirebbe / come suo padre che poco visse doppo che lo diede." Pages 4 - 5 in Ische’s document in Rosedale.

33 "Morto che fu adunque, Sultan Murat, in Lunedì a duo hore di notte alli. 16. di Gennaio alla moderna..." Ische p.5. in the document in Rosedale. The death of a Sultan was kept secret for as long as possible, lest the Janissaries sack the city in the succeeding confusion. This precise information suggests that Ische’s informants had access to somebody within the inner circle of government. Moryson anglicizes the date by taking it back ten days. Moryson had not started on the journey that was to take him to Constantinople until later in the year.

34 A Bashaw is a transliteration of başı, a head of one of the departments. Often a Bashaw would be a vizier as well. Vizier comes from "vezir: a minister of the sultan and member of the imperial council," Inalcik, p. 226.
Concubines great with Childe.

\{ m.n. 4,5. The Emperor then liu"ing. \}

Amurath being dead the Admirall presently sailed to Bursia in Magnesia\textsuperscript{35} that he might bring from thence to Constantinople Mahomet the third heyre of the Empire who publiquely and by day entred the Citty contrary to the Custome of his Ancestors who vsed to come by night, and to conceale the death of their fathers for feare lest the Citty might be sacked, by some mutiny of the Ianizaries.\textsuperscript{36} yea he spent eleuen dayes in this journey of his retorne and at last arrriued at Constantinople the 27th of /10/ January in the morning at the stayres of his Serraglio,\textsuperscript{37} after he had bene 12 yeares absent, wherein (according to their Custome) he had neither seene father nor mother. Then (according to the Custome) he gaue a boone or guift to the Admirall vppon his petition, and comaunded his fathers dead body to be carryed to the graue with great pompe vppon the

\textsuperscript{35} Bursa in Manisa, the former capital, was an important though declining centre of east west trade in this period, and a suitable place for the Sultan in waiting to get experience in governing.

\textsuperscript{36} Moryson naturally omits the praise that Ische expends on Sultan Mohammed's virtues, which, alone, according to Ische, prevented any disturbances.

\textsuperscript{37} "Venerdi adunque 27. Gennaio alla noua a quarto hore del giorno giunse in Constantinopoli il nouo Re Sultan Mehemet...presso al gran Serraglio, e guinse vndecii giorni doppo la morte di suo padre..." Ische, Page 6 in the document in Rosedale. In failing to anglicize the date here, Moryson makes it appear that Mohammed took three weeks rather than eleven days to reach Constantinople.
palmes of Eunuches who were clothed in black, yet wore their white heads, or Turbents ouer a black cap.\textsuperscript{38} The same evening his 19. brothers were brought to kisse his hands, at which tyme, he was said to haue wept, and in detestation of the horrible lawe \textsuperscript{20} to beginn their raigne with the cruell murther of their brothers, was said to haue sworne neuer to take any Concubine, nor to know any other Woman then his owne Sultana, yet after few dayes he receiued 50 virgins presented to him, and within few moneths, by that tyme I came to Constantinople, had 500. Concubines for his owne saddle, whereof that sommer going to the warr in Hungary, he was said to leaue 40. great with childe. His said brothers having done reverence vnto him, vnder pretence to be circumcised were led into the next chamber, where that Ceremony being performed \textsuperscript{30} to them, (whereby a Turke is called Musulman that is admitted into their Church), they were presently strangled by dumb men,\textsuperscript{39} and

\textsuperscript{38} Hughes changes to "rap", p. 6.

\textsuperscript{39} The subject was topical when Shakespeare was writing the second part of Henry IV which was late 1596 or 1597. Hal appears before his anxious brothers, and reassures them by saying,
Brothers, you mix your sadness with some fear.
This is the English not the Turkish court;
Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
But Harry Harry. V. 2. 46 - 49.
All references will be taken from William Shakespeare: The Complete Works, edited by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford, 1988). This stunning and incorrect anachronism, along with Cleopatra’s lace and the striking clock in Julius Caesar, implies that the play is in a dramatic present, even though the events took place in a time long past.
so laid in Coffins of Cypres, with their faces open, that the Emperor (after the Custome) passing through that chamber to visitt his mother, might see their faces, and with his eyes behold them both living and dead, lest any one should be preserved. The same brothers were thence carryed, and presently laid by their father in the same Coffines and in a stately Sepulcher built by Amurath of purpose for himselfe and them. Then the Emperour went to doe reverence to his mother in her lodgings; for as I formerly said, the Emperors make [great] religion to observe their dead parents last Testament, and to give their living mother great respect and power in state matters, whereupon I said the late Emperors were afraid to give the mother of their eldest sonne (though neuer so deare to them) a letter of dowry least she being thereby made Sultana, for hope of power in her sonnes tyme; should practice their death. And so great is this power of the mother in state matters, as the king of Persia [not] long before sent a woman to this Court for his Ambassador, as most fitt to treat with the Sultana and her women. /50/

When the Emperor had done reverence to his mother, he presently //

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40 "...e vsanza che egli debbia vederli viui prima, e dopo anco morti..." Ische Page 8 in the document in Rosedale.

41 Hughes changes to "lest", p.6.
Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. chap:i. fol:5.

putt out of his Pallace his fathers cheife Concubines, and sent them to the old Pallace or Serraglio, to be kept their by Eunuches apart with the rest of his fathers Concubines, and thence to be giuen in mariage by the Emperor to his greatest Subiects. Likewise he sent out his fathers Sodomiticall boyes. But the three Concubines left with childe by his father were left to the speciall charge of trusty Eunuches that the Children at the birth might be strangled if they proved male Children. Also he sent out of his Pallace the dumb men and dwarfes, in whom he tooke noe such delight as his father did. The said Concubines while the Emperor liueth, are for the most part kept in the old Serraglio with his sonnes and daughters, but in

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42 "...e furon condotte ad Eschi Serrai (che é il Serraglio vecchio) doue stanno le donne, e donzelle del Re....e d'uii s'atendera poco, a poco a maritarle, come é l'vsanza del regno." Ische, p. 9 in Rosedale. Compare the report of 31 January 1594/5 by Marco Venier, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople to the Doge and Senate, "His Majesty has made great changes in the Serraglio; he has expelled all the buffoons, the dwarfs, the eunuchs, and the women; they were all sent to the old Serraglio..." Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1592 - 1603 (London, 1897), p. 153. What is clear from this is that Ische and his friends were selling their information to all, for Ische also mentions the dwarfs and eunuchs. See below.

43 By the time that Ische wrote his document in February 1595 two male children had been born. They were drowned immediately, "e subito in aqua affogati." Ische's document in Rosedale, p.8.

44 "...e la gran turba di muti, e nani, con che se intrateneua il re suo padre, se intende che andaran tutti fuora del Serraglio, perche il nouo re non é ingente affetionato a simil gente." Ische, p. 9. of his document in Rosedale.
severall parts of the house onely the eldest sonne with his mother and some few Concubines in whose more frequent Conversation the Emperor is delighted, use to be kept in the Emperors owne Serraglio.⁴⁵ Ordinarily each hath 15. Aspers⁴⁶ a day for maintenance and is apparrellled twice every yeare at the end of their two lents. Certaine old women are sett ouer them, but the whole Serraglio is governed by an Agha⁴⁷ with Porters, & other officers being all gelded men. When it pleaseth the Emperor to take /20/ viewe of them they are all sett in order, and as he passeth by, he casts his handkercher to her whome he will haue brought to his bed, and she is presently carryed to the Bath where she is anoynted with balme and precious oyntments, & washed, and then richly apparrellled, is brought to the Emperors bed who giues her presently tenn thousand Aspers, and besides if she please him, vseth to

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⁴⁵ By the process of metonymy, serraglio means the harem itself in this passage.

⁴⁶ This name derives from the Byzantine Greek aspron, a reference to the colour of a base silver coin current between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and equivalent to the contemporary European denier. From 1328, Emperor Orhan imitated it, even down to the name akçe, which means whitish. This silver coin was the chief Ottoman unit of account. See Adrian Room, A Dictionary of Coin Names (London, 1987), pp. 20, 28, and referred to hereafter as Room. Moryson says that it is worth "some three farthings English", Itinerary A, I, xxv. This may seem too little for a silver coin, but the Turkish coinage had been debased, and was one of the causes of the Janissary revolts referred to later in this Chapter.

⁴⁷ "Ağa : Chief; master; head servant of a household." Inalcik, p. 217.
graunt her a boone or request for some brother, kinsman or freind of hers to be preferred to some gouernment, and from that tyme she is seperated from the other virgins, having a greater stipend for maintenance, and living with /30/ greater respect then formerly she did, especially if she proue with Childe. When any of them become 25. yeares old (at which age the Turks repute women past the best) they are maryed to officers in the Court, or Commanders in the Army, except they haue either borne children, or otherwise gotten fauour with the Emperor by wanton daliance, and young virgins [are] placed in their roomes.

This Emperor Mahomett the third living at the tyme I came to Constantinople, was borne in the yeare 1564. the moneth of August and began to raigne in the yeare 1595. being about /40/ 31 yeares of age. His eldest sonne was called Selim being about 14. yeares of age but vncircumcised, and it was expected, that with great pompe and Concurse of Princes Ambassadors, he should be circumcised in the moneth of August following at the end of lent, and the Feast of Beyram (as our Easter) which they keepe twice each yeare. And after that he was presently to be sent (according to the old Custome) to Bursia, of old called Prusa the ancient seat of the kings of Bithinia and after they were conquered made the seat of the Turkish Sultanes till they tooke Constantinople. And that Citty and Province he was /50/ to gouerne, and neuer more to see the face of his living
father, nor of his mother, till his father should dye, in regard of the great ielousye attending the throne of kings, which among the Turkes //

is so excessiue, as it takes away all naturall loue betweene fathers children and brethren. The Emperors second sonne was called Solyman. This Mahomett began his Empire with a guift to the Army of three millions of gold Sultanons, for the number of the soldiers was greatly increased, so as besides other orders, there were then at

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48 Moryson talks of the advantages of mature deliberation, of "riper yeares and second Counsells", before rushing into print like the scarce bearded German scholars. See fol. 471. Nevertheless, the disadvantage of waiting for over twenty years is that information can be out of date. Mohammed III (1595 - 1603) "...ended the practice of sending princes to governorships. He confined them instead to specially appointed quarters within the harem of the Palace, which came to be known as the kafes - the cage." Inalcik, p. 60. The psychological effects of this were devastating on the personalities of future Sultans, and this played no small part in creating the instability in the Ottoman state in the seventeenth century.

49 "The dignity or person of an emperor; also, the reign of an emperor ( obs ); = EMPERORSHIP." I. 3. OED.

50 A Sultanon, a gold coin was worth "six score Aspers" according to George Sandys as quoted in The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584 - 1602: With his Autobiography and Selections from his Correspondence, edited by Sir William Foster, Hakluyt Society, Series II, 67, (London, 1931), p. 294, referred to hereafter as Sanderson. The OED defines it as "A former Turkish gold coin valued at about 8s", and cites Moryson's Itinerary A as its second example, the first being in 1612.
Constantinople more then 24000 Ianizaries. Then he caused his fathers debts and all mony due for any soldiers stipends to be fully paid. Having a Ianizarie for my guide in spite of a great Chiavss offering by force to repel me (as I shall shew in the following discourse of the Ianizaries power) /10/ I did see this Emperor when he came riding to St Sophy the cheife Mosche or church ioyning close to his Pallace, at which tyme all the Commanders and officers on horseback, or on foote according to their place, came in the morning to the Emperors Serraglio and sett themselves in rancks, from the dore of his Chamber in

51 John Sanderson was often at Pera from 1592 - 97, which was the foreigner's district outside of the City of Constantinople. He translated a survey of the city in 1594, a copy of which was forwarded to Sir Robert Cecil. Moryson probably got the number directly from Sanderson, since it tallies with that given in the survey. See Sanderson, pp. 82 - 83.

52 Hughes transcribes it as "Chiaass", p.8. It is Moryson's attempt to transliterate Cavus, an official of the Palace, often sent to the provinces to convey and execute orders. In Ben Jonson's The Alchemist it is spelt Chiause. I. 2. 26 and 35. As Herford and Simpson note a Turk named Mustafa stayed in England from July to November 1607 claiming that he had a message from the Sultan about pirates sailing under English colours. The Levant Company merchants not wishing to offend the Sultan, and not fully appreciating that Mustafa took orders rather than gave them, kept him in considerable style at the inordinate sum of £5 per day. "He added a new word to the English language, 'to chouse', to cheat, because of the way he fooled the Levant merchants." Ben Jonson The Complete Works, Volume X, Commentary, edited by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, (Oxford, 1950), p. 61, hereafter referred to as Herford and Simpson. For the relevant passage of The Alchemist see Volume V, Plays (Oxford, 1937), p. 303.

53 Justinian's Church of the Holy Wisdom Hagia Sophia had been transformed to a mosque in 1453.
the third inner Court to the very dore of the Church on both sydes the way to guarde his person, who at last came riding on horseback with diuers horses richly furnished, and led empty by him, having many great men walking before him, and many footemen running by, vulgarly called Pykes,\textsuperscript{54} carrying short bowes and arrowes, and wearing a Cap of mingled Coulors in the forme of a suger loafe, with white shirts hanging out ouer their breeches, and when the people cryed Alla Hough\textsuperscript{55} (as we say long liue the king) the Emperor bowed downe his body. He had a round face which was faire and ruddy, but somewhat frowning, or austere, and he nourished [a] abroad and long black beard, but was very Corpulent or fatt, and seemed on horseback to be of somewhat a low stature. He was said to delight in the exercise of shooting, and to haue skill in the trade of a Fletcher, vsing to make many arrowes with /30/ his owne hand, and to glue them to his great Subjects for a present of no small importance, (as indeed all the Turkish Emperors vse to haue, and professe skill in one manuall trade or other). For his exercise of shooting, he had a paire of Butts in a priuate Chamber, and the first sommer within [one] few monethes after his coming to the Empire, being to lead his Army into Hungary, for prosecution of that warr which his father left him with the Emperor of Germany, and

\textsuperscript{54} Originally from the Persian peyk.

\textsuperscript{55} Allah Huwa Akbar, God is the greatest, the call to prayer. RM.
his great Commanders being loth he should take that journey, yet not daring to dissuade him themselues, and so inticing a Concubine in /40/ greatest grace with him to goe into him, while he was shooting, and by her best skill to divert him from that [exercise] enterprise, he scorning that boldnes in a woman, did in a rage putt her from him, and while she trembling euery ioynt hasted out of his Chamber, shott her in the back with an arrow,\textsuperscript{56} and so basely killed her, for whose death he did after more basely lament. He was reputed obstinate in his purposes, and of a great Courage, and surely he gaue good testimony of his Courage in the said expedition into Hungary, when all his men flying, he alone catching the gowne of his Prophett \textit{Mahomett} in his hand as a /50/ holy Relick, stood boldly at his tent dore, except you will rather call it pride then Courage, he being taught to thinck himselfe deare to God and greater, then whome fortune could hurt.\textsuperscript{57} Of this

\textsuperscript{56} It was a capital crime to turn one's back on the Emperor. Mindful of this, Thomas Dallam, the maker of the organ which was an accession gift to Mohammed III, found that he could not demonstrate his creation without turning his back. Since disobedience to the Sultan was also a capital offence, he found himself in a quandary! See Stanley Mayes, \textit{An Organ for the Sultan} (London, 1956), pp. 204 - 205.

\textsuperscript{57} Moryson probably heard about this from the English Ambassador, Edward Barton himself. The account in Samuel Purchas, \textit{Purchas His Pilgrimes}, 20 vols, (Glasgow, 1905 - 1907), VIII (1905), 320, referred to hereafter as Purchas, differs a little. "The Ambassador reported to Master John Sanderson, that the Hodjee or Schoole-master of the Great Turke, encouraged him in this extremity to get upon his Horse, wrapping himselfe in Mahomets Flag, and to take these three Arrowes, (m. n. \textit{This holy Flag and these}
Emperors death happening within few years and of his young son succeeding him, and of some great Commanders // Booke.i. The Turkes Commonwealth. Chap:i. fol:7.

thereupon raising Civil war, together with the Janizaries insolent mutiny and [thereupon raising Civil war] other passages of that State falling out since my being there, the French history compendiously treateth.\textsuperscript{58}

I shall not need to add any Genealogy of the Emperors, since they using to strangle all their brothers, and not only the daughters but the male children borne of them, being excluded from succession in the Empire, that Family of the Ottoman hath no collateral lines, neither can any man be said to be of the bloud Royall, but only the Emperors sons, kept for the like butcherie of their elder brother. Only the Common voice was, That the Emperor of /10/ Turk and the king of the Tartars were to succeed one an other upon defect of heirs males on either side.

\textit{Arrowes seeme to be reliques, and of holy esteeme as those three words also.)} and shoot them towards the Christians Campe, using these words following, Bismilla Rohmane Roheim; which he did. Cigallogli encouraged the Turkes to turne upon the Christians then busied in pillaging, and put them to flight."

\textsuperscript{58} It seems odd that Moryson did not first consult Richard Knolles's \textit{General Historie of the Turkes from the First Beginning of that Nation} which was published in 1603 and extended in a second edition of 1610, and in another edition of 1621. It seems unlikely that the "French history" could be Knolles's source, Jean Jacques Boissard's \textit{Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcorum} printed at Frankfurt in 1596, a year before Moryson's return from his second journey. Perhaps it is a later work written in French.
The Turkish Empire in our tyme is more vast and ample then ever it was formerly contayning most large provinces. In Africk it beginnes from the straight of Gibralter and so contains Mauritania, Barbaria, Egipt, and all the Coasts of the Mediterranean sea. The cheife Citty of Egipt Al-caiero hath rich traffick, and yeildes exceeding great Revenues to the Emperor though no doubt much lesse since the Portugalls sailing by the South coast of Affrick and planting themselues in the East, /20/ brought all the Commodities thereof into Portugall, from thence distributing them through Europe, which voyage in our dayes, is yearely made by the English and Flemings. From Egipt it contaynes in Asia the three Provinces of Arabia, all Palestina, Syria, Mesopotamia, the many and large Provinces of Natolia, or Asia the lesser, and of both the Provinces of Armenia to the very Confines of Persia (in these tymes much more straightned then in former ages) herein the famous Citty of Haleppo, whether all the precious wares of the East are b[r]ought by great Riuers and vpon the backs of Camells, yeildeth huge Revenues to the Emperor. /30/ In Europe it containes all Greece and the innumerable Ilands of the Mediterranean sea, some few excepted, (as Malta fortifyed by an order of Christian knights, Sicily [& Sardinia] subject to the king of Spaine, [Sardinia], and Corsica subject to the Citty of Genoa, and the two Ilands of Cephalonia, that of Corfu, of Zante and
of Candia with some other Ilands, subject to the Venetians). Also it contaynes Thracia, Bulgaria, Valachia, almost all Hungary, Albania, Slauonia, part of Dalmatia and other large Provinces to the Confines of the Germane Emperor, and king of Poland. /40/

The forme of the Ottoman Empire is meerely absolute, and in the highest degree Tyrannicall vsing all his Subiects as borne=slaves.

No man hath any free Inheritance from his father, but mangled if any at all, since all vnmovable goods belong to the Emperor and for moueable goods, they either haue litle, or dare not freely use them in life, or otherwise dispose them at death then by a secrett guift, as I shall shew in his place. Yea the Children of the very Bashawes and cheife Subiects, though equall to their fathers in military vertues (since there is no way to avoide /50/ contempt or liue in estimation but the profession of Armes), yet seldom rise to any place of gouernment: For this Tyrant indeed vseth to preferr no borne Turke to any high place, but they who sitt at the Sterne of the State, or haue any great Commaund either in the Army, or in Ciuill gouernment are for //

58 Crete.
60 Wallachia.
The most part Christians of ripe years, either taken Captives or voluntarily subjecting themselves, and so leaving the profession of Christianity to become Mahometans, or else they be the Tributary Children of Christian Subjects gathered every fifth year or oftner (if occasion requires), and carried far from their parents while they are young to be brought up in the Turkish religion and military exercises; So as when they come to age, they neither know their Country\(^{61}\) nor parents, nor kinsmen [so much as] by name. But of that after, I shall speake more in the due place.

All that live under this Tyrant, are used like sponges to be squeezed /10/ when they are full.\(^{62}\) All the Turkes, yea the basest sort, spoil and make a pray of the Frankes (so they call Christians that are strangers, upon the old league they have with the French) and in like sort they spoil Christian Subjects. The soldiers and officers seeking all occasions of oppression, spoil the Common Turkes and all Christians. The Governors & greatest Commanders make a pray of the very soldiers, and of the

\(^{61}\) "The land of a person's birth, citizenship, residence etc.; used alike in the wider sense of native land, and in the narrower one of the particular district to which a person belongs." \textit{OED} I. 4.

\(^{62}\) The idea is commonplace. Hamlet uses the same image to Rosencrantz. See \textit{Hamlet} IV. 2. 11 - 20.
Common Turkes, and of all Christians, and the superiors among them use like extortion upon the Inferiors, and when these great men are grown rich, the Emperor strangles them to have their /20/ treasure. So as the Turkes hide their riches and many times bury them under ground, and because nothing is so dangerous as to be reputed rich, they dare neither fare well, not build faire houses, nor have any rich household stuffe. The Emperor seldom speaks or writes to any, no not to his cheife Visers, but by the name of slaves, and so miserable is their servitude, so base their obedience, as if he send a poore Chiavss\(^{63}\) or messenger to take the head of the greatest Subject, he though riding in the head of his troops, yet presently submits himselfe to the execution. Neither indeed hath he any hope in resistance, since /30/ his equals are his enemies in hope to rise by his fall, his fellow soldiers forsake him as invred to absolute obedience, and he not knowing his parents, kinsmen or any freindes, is left alone to stand or fall by himselfe.\(^{64}\) Yea such is the pride of

\(^{63}\) Hughes has "Chiaass", p. 12.

\(^{64}\) This situation seemed so alien to Moryson, for the English were proud of their pedigrees and families. In Coriolanus the ideas of kin, kind, kith and kindliness fuse together, and the protagonist finds to his own cost that he cannot stand by himself. In this state there is no option. Moryson probably gets this story from William Lithgow, *The Total Discourse of The Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations* (Glasgow, 1906), p. 180, and referred to herafter as Lithgow. Achmet I (1603 - 1617) sent a message that he would pardon the family of the "Bassaw of Aleppo, who was also an Emeere, or hereditary Prince" for his rebellion, if the old man would submit to the sword.
this Tyrant, as the Emperor of Germany paying him some tribute for peace in Hungarie, he did not long before this
tyme write letters to him with the style of his slaue, had
not the Emperors Ambassador refused to receiue the letters
till the superscription thereof was altered: like is his
pride toward all Confederate Princes, neuer seeking /40/
the freindshipp of any by first sending Ambassadors to
them, but only accepting such as he liketh, vpon their
offer & desyre of amity, and league with him. If he admitt
any Ambassadors to his presence, he giues them no answer,
or at most in a word referres them to the cheife Visere,
not thincking it for his dignity to haue any particular
conference with them, only he vouchsafeth to behold their
presents or guiftes to the end they may become more large
and rich, neither is [any] admitted to him without bringing
a present. The Turkes in generall scorning all busines that
brings not profitt, and makes not /50/ entrance with a
present. This Tyrant seldoine speakes to any of his
subjects, but wilbe vnderstood by his lookes, having many
dumb men about his person, who will speake by signes among
themselves as fast as we doe by wordes, and these men
together with some boyes prostituted to his lust, and some
of his dearest Concubines, are only admitted to be

Dismounting from among his six hundred cavalrymen, and
realising the ultimate futility of his position, "...the
Bassaw went to prayer, and taking his leave of them all,
sate down upon his knees, where the Showse stroke off his
head, putting it in a Boxe, to carry it with him for
Constantinopie."
continually nere his person. The cheife Visere only receives his Commandements and his mouth giues lawe[s] to all vnder him, being of incredible //


power and authority by reason of this pride and retyrednes, of the Tyrant, were not this high estate of his very slipperye, and subject to sodaine destruction. They who are admitted to the Tyrants presence, must not looke him in the face, and having kist the hemm of his garment, when they rise from adoring him,65 must returne with their eyes cast on the ground, and their faces towards him, not turning their backs till they be out of his sight.

{ m.n. 9, 10. Captiues or slaues. }

Nothing can be imagined more miserable then a Towne taken by the Turkes, for they demolish all monuments sacred and prophane, and spare not the life of any one whose age or lamenes make him worth66 litle mony to be sold for a slaue, and they who scape the sword, are yet more miserable, [reserued as slaues for base seruices and filthy lusts,67 yea the yong men are most miserable] who forsweare

65 The very use of this word has superstitious, irreligious and Catholic overtones. Moryson often links the Turkish and Catholic threats together.

66 Hughes changes to "worthy", p. 13.

67 Hughes has "seruice", p. 13. As well as its usual meaning, I had wondered whether it had sexual connotations, but the first instances of the noun being so used are from the 1960s in the OED. The first instance of the verb in
Christ and become Mahometans to avoyd slavery of men, so becoming slaues to the divell. The Marchants or bawdes following the Camp, to buy slaues, sell them againe to any buyer whatsoeuer, at great prices, vsing no Compassion to noble, or aged persons, or to tender women and children, neither doth nobility make any man worth a peny more then an other, nor learning, or wisdome, or witt, which the buyers value not, but only respect beuty in women, or strength in men, except they haue skill in some in some manuall art, being Smiths or Sadlers (of whome they haue great vse for their horses) or Iewellers (whome they esteeme desyring to haue all their riches portable and easy to be hidden) or be skilfull in nauigation, for at this tyme they greatly wanted Saylors. And these kindes of Captiues, as they are better vsed then others, so are they more warily kept, and more hardly redeemed. Thus a Princesse or lady, if her maydseruant be fayrer then shee, and a Prince or lord if his manseruant be stronger then hee, shall in this Captiuity be forced to serue them in the most base offices can be imagined. The faire women and

this sense is from 1577. Moryson probably means menial duties here, even though it is followed by "and filthy lysts".

"Good or great mental capacity; intellectual ability; genius, talent, cleverness; mental quickness or sharpness, acumen." OED II. 5. a. As used on Fol. 1, "witty" has its modern meaning. The scant respect that the Turks show for nobility, age, and learning as opposed to strength and beauty juxtapose the differing cultural priorities of the beholder and the beheld.

39
boyes suffer fowle prostitutions, the strong men are vsed
to grinde in mills, to beare heauy burthens and to doe all
base and laborious woorkes. And if these who promise gaine
in the selling are thus vsed, what thinck you becomes of
those, who are lesse esteemed. The Marchants or Bawdes
buying these Captiues, lead them bound one to an other in
Chaynes, forcing the sick and weake with whips to march as
fast as the rest, or els cutt their throates if they be not
able to goe, and at night when they are brought into a
stable, and might hope for rest, then they suffer hunger,
the men are scourged with /40/ whips, the women and boyes
are so prostituted to lust, as their miserable outcryes
yeild a wofull sound to all that are neere them. While
myselfe was at Constantinople, I wento to view the
Besestein or Exchaunge, where I did see Captiues to be
sold, and the buyers had as much freedome to take the
virgins asyde to see and feele the parts of their body, as
if they had bene to buy a beast. For a woman not very
faire, I heard the Bawde demmaund three thowsand Aspers and
the buyer to offer eight hundred. The Ianizary who
conducted me by the Commaund of our Ambassador, told me at
the same tyme, that the sommer past when the Army was in

69 Compare "When we did visite and search them that we
were mindfull to buy, they were // strip'd starke naked
before our eyes, where the sweetest face, the youngest age,
and whitest skin was in greatest value and request...",
William Lithgow, The Total Discourse of The Rare Adventures
and Painefull Peregrinations (Glasgow, 1906), pp. 122 -
123.
Hungarie, himselfe /50/ bought a Captiue virgin, whome he had no sooner led to his Tent, but he found about her (hidden as priuily as can be imagined) more gold then he had paid for her. And while we walked together from the Besestein to the parts of the Citty further\textsuperscript{70} remoued, an old woman meeting vs, and taking vs for Christian Captiues, asked //

\textit{fol:10. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.}

our price of the \textit{Ianizarie} who telling me merrily thereof, I wished him to treat with her about buying vs, and for myselfe being leane and weake after a long sicknes, she could not be induced to give any more then an hundred Aspers, that is some Eight shillings fower pence English,\textsuperscript{71} but for one of our Ambassadors servants that walked with me, being of a strong able body, she offered fower hundred Aspers at the first word, though I had better worldly meanes to redeeme my head then he had, who was beside young having small experience or skill in arts, all which the Turkes despise in respect of their man slaues strength. The

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{70} Hughes has "farther", p. 15.
\item \textsuperscript{71} Moryson inflates his own value! Here he equates an asper being worth an English penny, whereas in his introduction he said that it was worth three farthings. See \textit{Itinerary A}, I, p.xxv. Whatever exchange rate is given, it still only amounts to about eight to ten days wages for an English workman. So much for an Oxbridge education! It is also worth reminding ourselves that just over half a century later, Englishmen were to create the Royal Africa Company for this trade which Moryson sees as an utter inversion of his English values. See Ralph Davis, \textit{English Overseas Trade 1500 - 1700} (London, 1973), p. 43.
\end{footnotes}
cheife slaues of the greatest /10/ men liue in some good fashion, and as all degrees in Turky are knowne by their heads, so they did weare redd veluett bonnetts raised in the Crowne of the head,. The lord hath absolute power of the goods, yea body and life of his Captiue or slaue, whereof they geld many, that they may be fitt to attend their Concubines & daughters. Yet I haue heard, and read of great lords killed by their slaues, when they had fore knowledge that they should be gelded by them.

Touching the Emperors revenues and Tributes, some say that the ordinary revenues amount yearely to eight some say to twelue millions of Sultanons; besides the pay of the Army; others affirme /20/ that they are fifteene millions yearely ordinary and extraordinary namely five brought in treasure, and tenn disbursed to pay the Army. But the stipends and [forces] payments for the Forces and the officers in that vast Empire being excessive great, it seemes not probable to me, that so much treasure should remayne, and yet for that huge Empire these Revenues seeme small, saue that in respect of the Soldiers Tyranny, all arts, traffique, and husbandry are generally neglected. besides that the subjects liues being prodigally wasted in warr, many large feildes & Countries be wast without Inhabitants or tillage. But howso/30/euer the ordinary revenues are great, surely the extraordinary are greater. Such are the Confiscations of goods where all manner of Subjects by many fraudes and
extortions, frequent in that Empire, have means to gather much treasure, and as every superior spoylest his inferior: so the great Tyrant wants not occasion at his pleasure to take the heads, and goods of the greatest when they are full of riches. Such are likewise the gifts and presents of unspeakable number and value, since no man hath any government without buying it, the same being oft sold to divers men at one time, besides that they are scarce warm in their /40/ seats before they are recalled by a Successor sent from Constantinople: So as they must vse great speed and cruel extortion to scrape together so much mony in short tyme, as will not only satisfy themselues but also afford them guiftes to be presented to the Emperor, and their cheife superiors, without which they can never make a good accompl of their imployment. Besides no Ambassador hath audience before he hath given his present; neither can any weaker Princes bordering vpon the Empire treat [without] about their affayres without like presents, or have peace, truce or immunityes without buying them. Such also are the goods of straungers dying /50/ in his Empire, to whom the Emperor is heyre, vpon which accidents of Christians dying besides taking their owne goods, many fraudes are putt vpon the rich as if their goods belonged to the dying men. In which kinde my brother dying by the way betwene Haleppo & Constantinople the Turkes pretending the Tynne and Cloth of English marchants to belong to my brother, and vpon his death to be due to
the Emperor extorted much //

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap.i. fol:11

mony of the Marchants before the goods could be released.

The Customes for marchandize are excessive great at Haleppo (a famous City of traffique) of 80 Chests of Indico\(^2\) eleuen were giuen to the Emperor for Custome, and of all other goods he had for custome generally five in the hundred; only the English nation had the fauour to pay three in the hundred; But these Customes are vncertaine, being increased or decreased at pleasure.

For reuenues of land, The Tymars\(^3\) giuen in farme only for life, (besides the horse and foote they are bound to finde as a horse for each 60 Sultanons rent; whereof I shall speake in due place) pay tythes and other duties /10/ to the Emperor. Thus the tythes and Tributes of the playne[s] of Tripoly alone, (by which the rest may be coniectured) were said to passe 200th thousand French Crownes yearely:

For the Turkes pay the Emperor the tenth part of all their fruites and Cattell. The Christians not only pay the fourth part thereof, [and of all gaine by manuall trades,] but

\(^2\) An obselete form of indigo. OED

\(^3\) The timar system was similar to the knight service in return for land of feudal Europe. Inalcik defines a timar as, "a fief with an annual value of less than twenty thousand akçes, whose revenues were held in return for military service." p. 226.
also being numbred by pole in their Familyes, each one pays a Sultanon or more for his head, if he be aboue fifteene yeares old, and if he haue no meanes to pay it, he must begg it from dore to dore of other Christians, and if he cannot so gett it, shall for want thereof be made the Emperors slaue.\textsuperscript{74} Besides that the /20/ Christians Children are exacted for Tribute, whereof I shall speake in his place.

Among many particulers wherein my selfe had experience of their extortion towards Christians, I remember that when wee sailed vppon the Coast in vnarmed Barques, wee were advised to avoyd putting into any harbour, as much as as we could, and especially not to goe on land, because the Gouernors of such Townes use to exact <from> Christians so driuen in, a zechine by the pole.\textsuperscript{75} And a kinsman of myne driuen into Tripoli Port, about this tyme, hardly escaped the /30/ trecherie of a Ianizarie who purposed to sell him for a slaue to the Turkes dwelling within land, to be imployed in seruice of husbandry, whence he should haue had small hope to be redeemed, since Christians traffique only

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{74} This poll tax paid by non Muslims was called the Haraç.
\item \textsuperscript{75} A former gold coin of Venice and Turkey. The OED quotes two instances from Moryson's Itinerary A, the most relevant of which here is, "In Turkey the gold zechines of Venice are most currant". II, 125. Sanderson mentions that they were preferred to Turkish coin, because of their constant fineness. p. 295.
\end{itemize}
in places neere the sea, and the Turkes within land carefully keepe their slaues vsing (besides many other meanes) the help of witchcraft, to bring them back when they runn away towards that sea. When we arriued in the Hauen of Joppa, any Turke would take from vs what he list, especially victualls, and when wee landed, having a safe Conduct to Hierusalem, from the Sobasha of Ramma, for which euery man paid six Zechines by the pole, yet wee were not free from the rapine of Mores, and Arabians all the way, flying vppon vs for vndue tributes or extortions by way of guift. These Arabians partly subject to the Turkes, partly to the Persian, yet liue as outlawes, spoiling all men that are not in pention to some great Family among them, in which case they will protect any marchant, and reueng his wrongs against all other men, euen of their owne nation. Neither can they be pursued by any Army, because at such tymes, they withdraw themselues into such places where an Army cannot follow them for want of water, the trouble of passing mountaines, and the huge aboundance of sand, which is carried with the windes like the flouds of the Sea, and ouer whelmeth all, who haue not the skill to void them by observing the windes. When we

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\[15\] Modern Jaffa.

\[17\] Subaşi defined by Inalcik as "the holder of a zeâmet, [a very lucrative timar] commanding a detachment of timar - holding sipâhîs, [cavalrymen] in the army and responsible for the maintenance of order in his district." p. 225. Rama is modern Ramla.
entred Hierusalem wee paid each man two zechines for tribute, and when wee entred the church //


built ouer the Sepulcher of Christ, wee paid each man nine zechines for tribute. So as the Emperors exactions vppon Turkes and Christians may appeare to be vnsupportable.

{ m.n. 4, 5. The court and cheife officers of the state and Army.}

Constantinople the seat of the Empire is by the Greekes called Stamboll and more commonly by the Turkes Capy, that is the Port gate or Hauen and the Emperors Court is called Saray, which the Italians call Serraglio.

Touching the officers of the Court, first vnderstand that aswell they as the officers of the State are military men, since only [their heads] soldiers beare sway in this Empire and all the officers of Court /10/ follow the Emperor in the Army. Six young men or Pages, attend the Emperors person, two each day by course who pull of His Clothes at night, and putt them on in the morning, and watch all night at his Chamber dore, putting into his pockett each morning on the one syde a thousand Aspers, on the other syde twenty Sultanons, whereof what remaynes at night falls to them by
course for their availes. The first of them called Odabassi hath thirty Aspers, the rest twenty, or twenty five each day for their fee. The Capabassi or Captaine of the Court, an Eunuch and the Casnadarbassi cheife of the Treasurers, had each /20/ of them 60. Aspers by the day. The Chilergibassi cheefe of the dispensors or Pantlers, and the Sarandarbassi, or Saraybassi keeper of the Serraglio in the Emperors absence had each 50. Aspers by the day. And these fower officers of Court had 12 Eunuches under them. Of the tributary sonnes of Christians (hereafter to be discoursed of in due place) 500 are brought vpp in the Emperors Serraglio, from the age of 8

78 "Beneficial effect; advantage, benefit, profit." OED n. 1. The preceding is a rendering of Geuffroy, "...il est seruy de six ieunes enfans: deux desquelz font la garde, & veillent toute la nuit, lun au cheuet, & lautre au pied de son lict...Celux cy au matin le vestept, & luy metept en poches ou bourses de sa robbe, quilz appellent Caftan, en lune uingt ducatz dor, et en lautre la monnoye, qui sont mille Aspres.../...Et sil aduient, quil ne le despende ce iour, il demeure à ceulx qui lauoiient mis es dictes poches, ou ce qui en reste: car ceulx qui le vestept, le lendemain y en mettent dautres." Sigs. B1v - B2r.

79 Hâs oda başı "The chief of the Sultan's Privy Chamber", Inalcik, p. 221.

80 "Kapıçı başı, a commander of a unit of Palace gatekeepers", Inalcik, p. 222.

81 From Hazîne the Treasury, and başı head.

82 "Plus ya ung Capagaz capitaine de la porte, qui est Eneuche chastré tout...& a soixante aspres de gaiges chacun ijour." Geuffroy, sig. B2v.

83 From kiler larder and başı.

84 Saray is the court or palace, and by extension the harem.
yeares to 20 being the choyse of those Children, whereof many are deare to the Emperor in a most sinfull kinde, (for he, as all the Turkes, are [fully] [fouled] infected with burning lust towards boyes). These are instructed in reading, writing, the study of the lawe (so much as to be able to read it in the Arabian tongue wherein it is written), but they medle with no higher misteries, saue only horsmanship and use of their Armes. In the first they are instructed by old Talismans called Cozza, as it were doctors of the law, and twice in the yeare at each Beyram (so they call the Feast succeeding lent) they are apparrarelled in Cloth, never going out of the Serraglio till they be come to ripe age and are preferred to bee Sparoglans or Silichstars; In the meane tyme they live in Chambers as in our Hospitalls divided into tens, an Eunuch being sett ouer /40/ each tenn, who is called Capoglan

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Hughes omits the section in brackets. In the Edwardian age when even the so called "problem plays" of Shakespeare were deemed too explicit, this is not entirely surprising.

"A name formerly applied to a Turk learned in divinity and law, a Mullah; sometimes to a lower priest of Islam, a religious minister, a muezzin." OED. The third instance of this word quoted is this very passage.

The boys are promoted to become trainee cavalrmen, or armourers. I take Moryson's Sparoglan to be a mixture of of Sipâhî and oğlan, and Silichstars to be his transliteration of Silahdâr defined by Inalcik as "a custodian of the sultan's weapons" p. 225. This passage is virtually a direct translation of Geuffroy, sig. B3r, except for the imprecation against the Emperor's sodomizing of his youths.
The Serraglio or Pallace is some two myles in Circuit, having a spacious Garden kept by 35 Gardiners vulgarly called Bostangi, being Ianizarotti or inferior Ianizaries, who haue for stipend 3. or 5. Aspers the day, and are yearely apperarrelled in sky-coulored cloth whose hope of preferment is to become Ianizaries, Solacchs or Capigies. The cheife ouer them is called Bostangibassi, and hath 50 Aspers the day for fee, with many availes belonging to his office, neither doth he go out of the Serraglio, but only to looke to the Emperors gardens out of the Citty, in which they vse to take much pleasure, having /50/ alwayes two boates at the stayres of this garden, by which the Emperor may passe to other gardens, or rowe vppon the water for his pleasure, being rowed only by these gardeners, the cheife whereof is commonly in good reputacion with him by the often vse of

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89 In Turkish Bostancılar.
90 Hughes has "Janizarrotti," p. 19.
91 Janissaries are the standing infantry corps, Sollachi are as Moryson explains later; "...the strongest Ianizaries chosen out for the Emperor's guard", fol. 14, and Kapıçılars, the Palace Doorkeepers. Moryson still draws heavily from Geuffroy, who describes the Gardeners as "...sont vestus tous les ans une fois de drap pers ou turquin." Sig. B3v.
92 Bostancı başlı.
his service. The cheife of the Cookes in Court, is called Assibassi, who hath 50 Cookes vnder him (Assi signifying a Cooke) and this cheife hath 40. or 50. Aspers, whereas the rest haue only from 4 to 8. Aspers by the day each man. Among other ministers of the Court (who cannot without tediousnes be all named), one hundred // Booke.1. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i: fol:13. Ianizarotts bring wood by Cartloads, and haue each man three or five Aspers by the day, besides apparrrell. The Casnegirbassi that is Sewer or cheife of them that bring vpp the Emperors meat, hath 80 Aspers by the day, and vnder him one hundred Casnegirs, haue some 40. some 60 Aspers by the day. The charge of diett for the Emperor and all his Court was then said to be some 5000 Aspers by the day, by which small expence the temperance of the Turkish diett may appeare. Three cheife Porters called Capigibassi had each one hundred Aspers by the day, and one of them stands alwayes at the Emperors dore, /10/ having vnder them 250

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93 Moryson may have got this detail from Sanderson personally. He also mentions it. Sanderson, p. 89. Moryson does not mention that this officer was also the Sultan's personal executioner!

94 Aşı.

95 The Ḍaşnigır başı was not only the sewer, or head waiter, but also the chief taster. Inalcik, pp. 82, 218.

96 Moryson is not being ironic here. The cost of under £20 sterling would compare favourably with the Jacobean Court.

97 Kapıcı başı, "the chief gatekeeper of the Palace." Inalcik, p. 222.
Porters called *Capigi*, whereof each hath 5. or 7. *Aspers* by
the day. Some write that each of these three [cheife] Porters hath 250 vnder them, surely there be many in
number, and no Ambassador, or other having busines in
Court, doth enter the gate without giuing them a large
reward. They are often sent abroad with the Emperors
Mandates for the strangling of great men, and to see the
execution done. There be many Eunuches in the Court, aswell
blackmoores, as other with white skinnes, but all with
black harts having forsaken the faith of Christ, to become
*Mahometans*, and these haue the charge of keeping /20/ the
treasure, and the women.

The *Musteraga* is cheife of the *Musteraes* or Squiers of
the body, and these goe often to the [tables of the] great
Turkish Commaunders, and of all Ambassadors, being then
reputed as Spyes, making relation of their actions to the
Emperor. Some 30. or 40. Footemen called *Peychs* liue in
Court, who having (as they said) taken out their spleene or

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98 Thomas Dallam's interpreter was a Cornishman by
birth, who had turned Turk. See Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for
the Sultan* ( London, 1956 ), p.178. The fear of the
possibility of this happening, probably accounts for
Moryson's insistence on Barton's Christian credentials.

99 Mütefettika "One of an elite group in the Palace
formed from the sons of pashas and vassal lords". Inalcik,
p. 224. The aga ending suggests that he is the chief.
milt, were of wonderfull swiftnes in running, alwayes attending the Emperors stirropp. The Court Drogoman, or Interpreter of tongues, had some 500 Aspers by the day, and asmuch more by Timar, besides great guiftes from /30/ Ambassadors, and other men vsing his servise.

The Visers or Viceroyes residing in Constantinople being 4. of old, were 7 at this tyme. These together with the Mo[s]fty (that is the cheefe Interpreter of the law) may be said to be their Emperors Counsell of State. The cheefe of them is next to the Emperors person in dignity, by whome all his Commaunds are executed with absolute power, but a slippery estate to whome the rest are ioyned for assistance, but farr inferiour to [t]him in power, and one of these alwayes leades the Army when the Emperor goes not in person. The cheefe had 24000 Sultanons, /40/ each of the rest about 16000 yearely fee with thrice asmuch by Timar, besides their robes, and large guifts from Ambassadors, and all men preferred to any dignity yeilding an incredible reuenue. These reside in Constantinople, saue when they

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100 This may mean that their spleens have been extracted, as the OED gives the first sense of milt as the spleen in mammals, but sense II. 3. The roe or spawn of the male fish, may equally suggest that they were castrated.

101 "Plus a ledict Turc environ quarante Peich, qui sont comme lacquaiz et courriers a pied...et les appelent Vlach, ou Oulach." Geuffroy, sig. Clv.

102 "Müftî: An officially appointed interpreter of the şerîat," (the sacred law of Islam), Inalcik, p. 223.
follow the Emperor in the Army, and keepe Royall Courts and traynes some one of them, having some 600 slaues following them. They distribute all offices and gouernments, preferring none, nor yet speaking with any man, who hath not first giuen them a present, or bribe. And the dignityes of Viseres are for life. Next to these out of the City are the two Beglerbegs\textsuperscript{103} (or lords of lords) the one of Greece, or Romagna\textsuperscript{104} lying at Sophia in Bulgaria, or more comonly at the Emperors Court Commanding in cheefe all the Prouinces of Europe: the other of Natolia, or Asia the lesse, commuending all the Prouinces thereof yet vnder him of Romagnna being present. These are next the Generall in commuending the Army in sommer service, and commuand it absolutely at other tymes, //
and haue vnder them the inferior Bassaes\textsuperscript{105} not Visers and the Sangiachs (or Sangiglens (Sangis signifying a Standard) and all inferior Gouernors of Prouinces, Townes, and Castles,. He of Greece hath 10000 Sultanons yearely by Timar and was said to haue then vnder him 37. Sangiacchi,

\textsuperscript{103} "Beylerbeyi: The highest rank in the provincial government of the Ottoman Empire." Inalcik, p. 218.

\textsuperscript{104} Known to historians as Rumelia, it has nothing to do with the Italian province of Romagna.

\textsuperscript{105} This is another name for a bey. A bey normally ruled a sanjak, "...the chief administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire," Inalcik, p. 224. Moryson seems to have adopted an Italianized version in line 5, for the ruler of a sanjak. Such a provincial governor was known as a sanjak beyi.
400 Sobbassi,\textsuperscript{106} 50000. \textit{Spachi}\textsuperscript{107} and \textit{Timarioti}\textsuperscript{108} (who are not called \textit{Spachi}, because they possesse a small \textit{Timar} about the yearely value of 100 \textit{Sultanons}) and 60000 Achengi,\textsuperscript{109} or Adventurers who serue without stipend to be free of Tribute. And all these are horsemen not to speake of two or three other \textit{Bassaes} or \textit{Beggs} in \textit{Hungarie}, and those Confines /10/ with the \textit{Zangiacchs} and horsemen vnder them. The other of \textit{Natolia} having 4000 \textit{Sultanons} yearely by \textit{Timar}, was said to Commaund 12 \textit{Sangiacchi}, and 30000 \textit{Spachi} and \textit{Timariotts}. The \textit{Bassa} sett ouer \textit{Damascus}, \textit{Syria}, and \textit{Iudea} having 24000 \textit{Sultanons} yearely by \textit{Timar} was said to haue 2000 slaues, and to commaund 12 \textit{Sangiacchi} having 7000 \textit{Sultanons} by \textit{Timar}, and 20000 \textit{Spachi}, and \textit{Timariots} not to speake of some 30 \textit{Bassaes}, or \textit{Begs} in diuers Countries of \textit{Asia} the greater, with the \textit{Zangiachs} & horsemen vnder them. The \textit{Bassa} of \textit{Cayro}, \textit{Egipt}, \textit{Africk}, and \textit{Arabia} having 30000 \textit{Sultanons} yearely by \textit{Timar} was said to haue an infinite number /20/ of slaues, and to commaund 16. \textit{Sangiacchi}, and 160000 \textit{Spachi} and \textit{Timariotts}. [In generall] not to speake

\textsuperscript{106} Moryson has already talked about the \textit{Subaşı} of \textit{Rama} extorting money out of passing Christians on fol. 11. Under him were the timar - holding cavalrymen, (\textit{sipahi}) referred to as \textit{Spachis}.

\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Sipahi}, a cavalryman.

\textsuperscript{108} Hughes has "\textit{Timaristi}", p. 21.

\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Akinçi}, described by Philip Longworth as "mounted scouts and raiders" in his article 'The Senj Uskoks Reconsidered', \textit{Slavonic and East European Review}, 57, no. 3 (July 1979), 348 - 368 (p. 364).
of two or three inferior Bassaes or Begs in Africk. Those Beglerbegs command but for some yeares and the rest are often changed. In generall understand that these revenues of those great Commanders by Timar, and stipend, are nothing to them in respect of the treasure they gett by extortion, for which they are neuer questioned, so they be able to bribe the Emperor, and Viseres by presents at their retourne.

I retourne to the Commanders that reside at Constantinople, or follow the Army, marching thence. The Bassa of the Sea or Admiral commands all the Gallies and of old, this place belonged to the Sangiacch of Gallipolis till the great Pyrat called Barbarossa some 100 yeares past, had that place giuen him, from which tyme also this officer hath the title and dignity of a Visere Bassa, and hath yearely 14000 Sultanons by Timar out of three Ilands, being absolute Commandeur at Sea, but having the cheife Viseres Commission to direct and warrant his actions. He hath 14. Zangiachs or Gouernors of Citties vppon the Sea vnder him. The Ianizar=Agar or cheife of the Ianizaries is an office of great authority as shalbe shewed, and he hath

110 Barbarossa was appointed in 1533, so it was not quite a hundred years. See Inalcik, p. 105.

111 "As kapudan-i derya - grand admiral - Barbarossa united under his administration Algiers, which he himself had conquered, and the thirteen sanjaks on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean." Inalcik, p. 105.
1000 Aspers stipend by the day, and /40/ 6000 Sultanons yearely by Timar. The Chiause-Aga or cheife of the Chiauses (400 horsemen in number) is of so great authority, as being sent to any great man to see him putt to death, he is obeyed by word of mouth, though he have no mandate to that purpose. He and all vnder him, are [like] our Gentlemen Pentioners, & bearing a mace on horsback, ride before, and about the Emperors person, and are sent abroad vppon the foresaid or any other messages, and many of them attend at the Cheife Viseres Pallace to execute his Commaunds, and also in Courts of Iustice, and some of them follow the Beglerbegs in the feild. Two [C]Solachbassi command 150 of the strongest Ianizaries /50/ chosen out for the Emperors guard, and called Solacchi, and the Commanders ride on horsback neere the Emperors person, wearing long feathers, but they and their men are vnder the Command of the Ianizar=Aga, whom I did see riding by the Emperors side (as he vseth to doe) wearing a great plume of feathers, and being a goodly tall man. The Spacchoglan=Aga is a great office, and he hath 10 Sultanons each day in mony, and by

112 "Vng Chiausbassi capitaine des Chiauz...a si grande autorité, que sil va deuers ung des subjectz du grant Turc, de quelque estat, qualité, ou condition quil soit...& il lui die, quil est la enuoyé, pour auoir sa teste, & lempporter audict grant Turc, il est obey sur le champ, sans montrer autre commission ny mandement." Geuffroy, C2v.


114 The head of the trainee cavalrymen.
Timar. I passe over the Silichtar-Aga, two Olifagibassi cheefes of the orders, and the Mechterbassi who // Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chapt:i. fol:15 who hath 40. Aspers by the day and Commandes 60. Mechteri, who haue the charge to carry the Emperors Tents and Carpetts and to sett vpp and spread them: and the Sechmembassi having one 100 Aspers by the day with charge of the hunting doggs [and having under him some 2000 Ianizaries. I passe over the zagarzibassi having of a speciall kinde of hunting doggs and the] the Zachengibassi, having charge of some 100 Falcons: and [the] Imralem-Aga who caries the Emperors Standard, having 200 Aspers by the day: with many other like officers.

115 In Ottoman history there were six standing cavalry regiments, four were localized, and two to protect the Emperor, who went on the right hand or the left. This is the head of one of these two regiments. RM

116 As Silahdär is "A custodian of the sultan's weapons", (Inalcik, p. 225) the aga must be the chief custodian. I cannot find a meaning for Olifagibassi. The Çadir mehterleri were tent pitchers, and the Alem mehterleri standard bearers. In 1609 Inalcik puts the number of tent pitchers at 871, rather than the sixty that Moryson mentions. p. 83.

117 Zağar is Turkish for a lurcher.

118 In Turkish şahinici baş. Moryson chooses to name the keeper of the peregrine falcons. There were three other types of raptors kept for the sultan, each prized for its own generic capabilities, and having its own keepers. RM

119 This is Moryson's transliteration via Geuffroy for Mir alem, defined by Inalcik as "The keeper of the sultan's standards, tents, and military music." p.223. Moryson is tiring of Geuffroy, since he omits from this description the fact that this officer carries the emperor's horsetail ensign, in memory of Alexander the Great. Other operatives
Certaine swift horsmen called *Vlacchi* alwayes attend the Pallaces of the Emperor, and cheife *Visere* to carry letters, and woe be to those who furnish them not presently with horses.¹²⁰

Besides these officers in Court and Commanders of the Army, /10/ they haue Iudges who are skilfull in the *Mahometan* lawe, for they haue aswell humane as diuine lawes from *Mahomett*. The cheife Interpreters of these lawes called *Mosfty*,¹²¹ is had in exceeding great honor, whose voice is held for an oracle, and the Emperor consults with him in the most difficult matters, and vseth him with great respect. Next to him is the *Hosi* or *Hogsi*, who was schoole master to the Emperor in his youth,.¹²² Two *Cadilisquieri*,¹²³ (others write *Lischieri*) are Talismani as it were doctors of the lawe, and they are the cheife

as ostlers and highway keepers are omitted altogether. Sig. C3r.

¹²⁰ Moryson describes them on fol. 30 "They haue an other sort of horsmen, which wee call Adventurers, (they call *Vlacchi* if I be not deceiued) having no stipend, but the hope of preferment and freedome of tribute..."

¹²¹ Hughes has "Mofty", p. 23.

¹²² "Between 1579 and 1599 the tutor of Murâd III and Mehmed III, Sa'deddin, was the main voice directing the state's domestic and foreign policies..." Inalcik, p. 97. Barton, who seems to have loved politics, and to have had real influence, would certainly have informed Moryson about the intrigues at the Sublime Porte.

¹²³ "Kâdiasker: the highest judicial authority of the empire after the *şeyhülislâm*. There were two kâdiaskers, one for Rumelia and one for Anatolia." Inalcik, p. 222.
Iudges, one for Europe, the other for Asia, to whom all appeales are made, each having seven 1000 Sultanons /20/ yearly by Timar, Besides that the Emperor payes ten Clarkes for each of them, and each of them hath 200 or 300 slaues. At Constantinople they assist the cheife Visere, who committs civill causes to them, reserving Criminall to himselfe. They take place before the Visere, but are farr inferior to him in power, with his consent they place or displace all inferior Judges, as those called Cadi, who are Judges of Citties or Townes, and haue a kinde of Episcopall authority, and the Judges under them, aswell in Citties and Townes as in villages, called Percadi, and Nuipi, as also those that are called Sobassi. And upon these depend the Muctari /30/ or Sergeants, who apprehend guilty men, and execute Judgments, rewarded out of the malefactors goods. All these exercise horrible extortions upon all Turkes and upon Christians, especially those that are Subjects.

Among officers of State the Nisangibassi like the

124 "Kâdî: a judge administering both şerîfat and kânûn" (Islamic and sultanic law) Inalcik, p. 222. Moryson's comparison of the qadi's powers with episcopal authority, was more appropriate in his age when Church Courts dealt with morality, wills and marriage.

125 Naipe, a circuit judge, usually assistant of the qadi. RM

126 "Nisancı: the secretary of the imperial council who controlled the tuğra (the sultanic monogram) to be attached to official orders and letters." Inalcik, p. 224. Geuffroy
Chancellor of the Empire, keepes the Imperiall Seale taking place next the Beglerbegs, and having yearely by Timar 8000 Sultanons, and said to haue some 300. slaues bought with his mony, who (as all other Iudges) followes the beck of the cheife Visere. Of two Isnadicbassi or Defterdari (that is Treasurers) the one receiues /40/ the revenue of Europe, having 6000 Sultanons yearely by Timar and when the Emperor goes out of Constantinople (as sometymes he doth with the Army) he is left to gouerne the Citty in his absence: the other receiues the revenues of Asia and Africk, having yearely 10000 Sultanons by Tymar, but the availes of these offices are of farr greater moment. They haue vnder them 50 Clerkes, and to each of them the Emperor glues 30 or 40. Aspers by the day, besides many [other] helpers to cast vpp the accompts of the Casna or Treasure. They send their deputies into all Provinces, Citties, and Townes, who committ vnspeakable extortions, especially vppon strangers, widowes, /50/ Orphanes, Christians and the heyres of such as be dead. Two renders the name "Nassangibassi", sig. D1r.

127 The first word is probably a corruption of Hazine başı a head of the treasury. RM. "Defterdâr: A head of the Treasury", Inalcik, p. 219. Moryson probably means the same Turkish word, where on line 54, Desnedari weigh the money.

128 Moryson follows Geuffroy very closely here. See sig. C3v.

129 Hazine can be both treasure and treasury.
Rosunamci, or the cheife Clerkes, and 25 inferior Clerkes, receiue and disburse the mony, and each of the cheife hath 40 Aspers, each of the other hath 8. or 10. Aspers by the day. Two Desnedari waigh the Aspers each having 30 Aspers by the day. One Casnadarbassi or Thresoruer out of the Citty of Constantinople had 50 Aspers by the day and had vnder him 10 others having each 10 or 15 Aspers by the day. //

{ c.w. one Destermine }


one De[s]ftermine kept the Register of the Timars and had 40 Aspers by the day and he had vnder him 10 Clerkes, each having 10 or 15. Aspers by the day. The cheife Visere is as the Secretary of State, and he had vnder him two Riscatapi or Secretaries, who presented all petitions to him, and gaue his answer in writing.

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130 Rosunamci, a clerk in charge of the daily accounts of receipt and expenditure. RM and also in Redhouse. Geuffroy spells it "Rosumanegi", sig. C3v.

131 "Deftter Kethūdāsi: 'kethūdā of the registers', a provincial official controlling the timar registers." Inalcik, p. 219.

132 Moryson's description differs from Geuffroy, "Deux Deftferemyn, lun de Grece, et lautre de Asie, qui sont sur le Tymar, & tiennent le compte des Tymariotz: ont chacun cinquante aspres, & dix clerzz ou escripuiains, qui en ont quinze." Sig. C4r. According to Geuffroy there are two such chief clerks earning fifty aspers.

133 "Reǐsülküttab: chief of the clerks", Inalcik, p. 224.
{ m.n. 6 - 8. Of the cheife Visere then gouerning the state. }

When I was at Constantinople the cheife Visere was called I[A]braym Bassa, who had maryed one of the sisters of the Emperor (for the sisters are neuer putt to death with the brothers, but are maried to the greatest Subjectes the Emperor hath). He gouerned the Empire with absolute power, but was ruled and supported by the Sultana /10/ the Emperors mother. It was told me by men of Creditt, that he neuer lay with his wife without first asking her leaue, and when he came to her bed, he entred not at either side, but crept in at the feete, and if this be [the] Condition of them, that marry the sisters of the Emperor, they are more like their slaues then their husbands. And while I was yet at Constantinople one was apprehended, who attempted to kill this Visere with a knife, and he fayned himselfe madd, and though he was cruelly tormented, yet would not confesse why [he] attempted it,¹³⁴ nor any one that was priuy to his purpose. But the ruine of this Visere shortly following, shewed how slippery /20/ these high dignityes are, euuen in respect of the Envie among equalls, when the Emperor is not offended; For in October last past, some three monethes before I came to this Citty, the Emperor, retorned from the Hungarian warr, and having bene offended with Ibraym for

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¹³⁴ Hughes introduces a "had", p. 25.
some things\textsuperscript{135} had happened that Sommer in the said warr had taken from him the dignity of cheife Visere, while he was yet in Hungarie and giuen the same to Sigala Ogly an Italian Reneagate of Genoa, but receiuing letters from his mother at Adrianopolis on the behalfe of Ibraym, whome she supported, they preuailed so much with him, as he had presently restored Ibraym to his former dignity, and before /30/ the Emperor came to Constantinople, his mother and Ibraym had so incensed him against Sigala, as he was forbidden to enter Constantinople, the cheife pretended cause of which offence was, that Sigala had perswaded the Emperor in the choice of the king of the Tartarians to fauour a yonger brother who then followed him in the Army, wherevppon the elder brother getting the victory & kingdome, was much alienated from the Emperor. This Sigala was preferred to the dignity of a Bassa by the Hogsi (others write Hogsialer) the schoolemaster of the Emperor in his youth, and lest he should vse meanes to restore him to the Emperors fauour, his mother /40/ and Ibraym, vnder pretence of honor, but indeed to send the Hogsi so farr of, [as] by reason of his old age he should not be likely to retorne, procured the Emperor to make him the Gouernor of Meccha, so as all men reputed Sigala for a dead man. But myselfe in the springtyme returning into Italy, there heard by credible relation, that Sigala was receiued to the

\textsuperscript{135} Hughes changes to "some thing", p. 26.
Emperors fauour. When I was at Constantinople, Halil Bassa who had maryed an other of the Emperors sisters, succeeded the Admirall Vccelli an Italian Renagate of Calabria, being dead, but he began the exercise of that office with ill fortune, For myselfe in my retorne before I came to the straight of the Castles, being driuen by a storme into the Iland Aloni, not far distant from Constantinople, there heard that seuen of the Emperors Gallies were lost in that storme.

136 Moryson, being close to Barton, is so close to the events and intrigues at the Sublime Porte that historians at a distance have a clearer view without the rumour and misinformation of what are complicated events.

Damad Ibrahim Pasha, Mohammed III's brother-in-law became Grand Vizier in April 1596 primarily at the instigation of Mohammed's mother, Safiye. Mohammed was so grateful for the crucial intervention of Cigala Sinan at the victory of Mezö Kerésztés that he promoted him to be Grand Vizier whilst still in the field in October. Cigala on his part rewarded the other hero of the battle, the Tartar Feth Giray with his brother's Khanate. Gazi Giray Khan responded by massacring Feth and his whole family and all his supporters in 1597. Meanwhile back in Constantinople, Mohammed's mother got Damad Ibrahim reinstated in December 1596, and managed to patch up relationships with her old friend Gazi Giray Khan by getting him reinstated in 1597. See Carl Max Kortepeter, Ottoman Imperialism During the Reformation: Europe and The Caucasus, Studies in Near Eastern Civilization 5 (London, 1973), pp. 123 - 244, and referred to hereafter as Kortepeter.

137 Uluc Ali also known as kılıç Ali Ali the sword, and anglicized by J. H. Elliott, p. 196, as Euldj Ali, escaped from Lepanto, was made Grand Admiral in 1572, conquered Tunis and was dismissed in 1587. Halil Basha was brother-in-law to the Emperor, but was not Ali's immediate successor, being Grand Admiral from 1595 - 1598. RM.

138 Known today as Paşalimani adası. See Yerasimos, p. 424.
Touching Princes Ambassadors; The Persian and other like Potentates, vpon particular occasions send Ambassadors to Constantinople, but I did not heare a[f]t my being there, of any such [continually] residing in the Citty. Among the Christian Princes, I may say the like of the king of Poland. Of the rest only three had leiger Ambassadors at my being there, Namely Elizabeth Queen of England vpon amity contracted in her Raigne only for trafficque of Marchants. And the French /60/ //

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.fol:17.

king vpon a league made by Francis the first extending further then traffique as may appeare by some events of his tyme, and from this league all the Christians of our parts are called Francks in Turky. The third from the State of Venice vpon the necessity of many differences [happening][vpon the necessity] betwene that State and the Turkes, but he hath only the title of Bailye given him from his owne Nation. These three had houses in the Citty of Pera, or Galata, being as it were a Subvrbe of

139 "A variant on ledger - ambassador or ambassador ledger: resident or ordinary ambassador." OED. B. adj. I. 1.

140 "Balio (1) Governatore / Ambasciatore, messo." Zingarelli. An emissary or ambassador.

141 Hughes has "Persa", p. 27. Ambassadors' despatches to the Serenissima and to London were addressed "From the Vines of Pera," the diplomatic compound where infidels were allowed to grow vines and imbibe wine. See Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1592 - 1603 (London, 1897), passim.
Constantinople, seated on the north syde of a [very] narrow sea like a Riuuer. And they liued in great freedome having Ianizaries allowed to guard /10/ their persons, and houses, which were as Sanctuaries, no officer daring to enter them in making [any] search, and they as freinds had liberty to weare the apparrrell of their nations only when they went abroad, they wore a loose Turkish garment with sleeues to putt out their armes,. The Emperor of Germany had his leiger Ambassador in tyme of peace, but he as Tributary wore Turkish apparrell, and had his house in Constantinople, that they might more narrowly observer his actions. Myselfe being at Constantinople, lodged in the house of Master Edward Barton Ambassador for England, by his fauour, /20/ having also my diett at his Table, and one of the Ianizaries allowed him by the Emperor, daily conducted and guarded me, when I went abroad. Of whome for his great worth, and my loue towards him, I must add something to preserue his memory as much as I can. He was no more learned then the Grammer schoole and his private studyes in Turkye could make him, but he had good skill in languages, especially that of the Turkes. He was courteous and affable, of a good stature, corpulent, faire Complexion and a free chearefull Countenance, which last, made him acceptable to the Turkes, as likewise his person, /30/ (for

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142 Moryson almost certainly means Master rather than Mister here and at line 46. On fol. 18 he does not abbreviate.
they loue not a sadd Countenance, and much regard a comely person) but especially his skill in their language made him respected of them, so as I thinck no Christian euer had greater power with any Emperor of Turkye or the officers of his state, and Court, then he had in his tyme. When Amurath father to Mahomett the third began the Hungarian warr with the Emperor of Germanye, he cast his Ambassador into prison with sixteene servants, and some Barons and gentlemen of Germany (who at that tyme had the ill hap to be lodged in his house) and after many yeares, when the Emperor resolued to sett them at liberty, and the French Ambassador made great meanes, and gaue large guifts to haue the honor to send them back, the Emperor of his free will said, he would giue them to the Lutheran Elshi, (so they called the English Ambassador) and this shortly after he performed, delivering all those prisoners to his hands, and Master Barton as freely sent them into Germany. but I haue heard him complaine with greife, that for his

143 John Sanderson, who was Barton's deputy at Constantinople when Barton accompanied Mohammed III on his Hungarian campaign, concurs with this judgment, "I note the extraordinary esteme that was had of the ambassiatour aforesaid with them all in generall, both Christians, Turks, and Jewes. By meanes chefeelie of the Turks mother[s] favoure and some mony, he made and displaced both princes and patriarks, befrended viseroys, and preferred the sutes of cadies (who a thier chefe preestes and spirituall justisies)." Sanderson, p. 61. Sanderson goes on to mention that Barton's friendship with the Hoggie, or as Morison calls him on fol. 15, the Hogsi, the Emperor's tutor, greatly helped to influence imperial decisions in favour of the English.

144 Hughes changes to "call", p. 28.
Courtesy, he neuer receiued so much as thancks from the Emperor, but rather heard, that some imputations were laid vpon him in the Emperors Court, who therevpon incensed the Queene /50/ his mistres against him. The most proud Turkish Tyrant, as he disdaynes to speake to his owne Subjects; so when he admitts any Ambassador, he only adores his person, but seldom or neuer speaks with the Emperor, or at least neuer receiues any answer to his speach, whatsoeuer some may report to the Contrary. Yet //

The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

hath this master Barton our Ambassador receiued many tokens of speciall fauour in this Court. He had the Emperors graunt that Flemings and other Christians not being in league with him might enter his Havens vnder the protection of the English flag For which and some other causes, he was much envied by some Christians espetially by the French Ambassador who formerly had enjoyed that priuiledge.

Myselfe being at Constantinople, waited vpon Master Barton to the Serraglio, where was told he should be admitted to speake with the Emperor. In which case all his attendants should have kissed the hem of his garment, and /10/ each one should have receiued a Cloth of gold gowne (for they according to the old fashion of the East, still giue

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145 The release of "Signior Crotskii" and twenty-eight others, and Barton's hopes that "...my service therein shall be gracefull to his highnesse, and acceptable to his Majestie..." are expressed in the narrative and Barton's letters reprinted in Purchas, VIII, 304, 315.
rayments for rewards, and tokens of favour) but after long attendance the Emperor sent him the graunt of his petition, and a gowne of cloth of gold for himselfe, and so we were dismissed. When this Emperor Mahomett the third led his Army to the seige of Agria,\textsuperscript{146} in Hungarie, among the Christian Ambassadors, he chose Master Barton to goe with him, and when he returned to Constantinople, Master Barton being to goe to his house, the Emperor stayd on horsback till he came to kisse the hem of his garment, and till he returned /20/ to his horse, and was mounted, at which tyme he answered his wonted reuerence with bowing of his body, and so roade into the Citty, not without the wonder of all his Army, that he should doe such honor to a dog (for so they call and esteeme all Christians).\textsuperscript{147} But howsoever leiger Ambassadors vse not to refuse their attendance to the Princes with whome they reside, and howsoever Master Barton followed his Camp without bearing Armes; yet this his journey into into Hungary, made the Queene of England much offended with with him, for that he had borne the

\textsuperscript{146} Eger/Erlau. It was of strategic importance in that its fall cut the Habsburg supply lines to Transylvania then in revolt against Turkish rule.

\textsuperscript{147} Sanderson confirms this, adding that the "..Great Turke resaluted him, saluted me also and all our ambassadours trayne, and so turned his horse." Sanderson, p. 60. Mohammed III returned in triumph to his capital on 12 December 1596. (Sanderson, p. 166). The battles and this incident are also reported by Samuel Purchas, VIII, 319. Moryson did not arrive in Constantinople until mid January 1597 (See Itinerary A, II, 89) so he must have heard this by report.
English Armes vpon his Tent, whereof the French Ambassador accused him to the Emperor, and /30/ the French king, who expostulated with the Queene that her Armes should be borne in the Turkes Campe against christians, though indeed in that iourney, he intended and might haue had many occasions to doe good vnto the christians, but had neither will, nor meanes to doe them hurt. But the truth is, that howsoever master Barton had strong parts of nature, and knew well how to manage great Affaires in the Turkes Court; yet he coming yong to serue our first Ambassador there, and being left to succeed him, could not know the English Court, nor the best ways there to make good his actions. Besides that the English Marchants were /40/ ready to

148 Presumably the Germans unfortunate enough to have been in Turkey at the outbreak of hostilities in 1593 were given to Barton in order to increase his status as a broker in any peace negotiations. "The cheifest cause of our ambassitor his accompanying the Great Turke was to have concluded a peace betwext those two great potentates, as formerlie he had done betw[ene] the Poles and the Grand Turke deceased." Sanderson, p. 59. French complaints against Barton were hardly disinterested. The French, who had been in negotiation with the Turks since 1536, regarded the English traders as interlopers. They bitterly opposed the capitulations granted in 1581, and their subsequent renewals always entailed squabbling.

Barton knew well enough that he represented the Queen's very person, for he had used this very fact to appeal to the Sultan himself over the head of the Grand Vizier who had threatened him with prison. See Stanley Mayes, An Organ for the Sultan (London, 1956), pp.55 - 58. In accompanying Mohammed III, Barton seems to have sacrificed diplomatic protocol for the sake of a possible peace.

149 "Having great moral power for endurance or effort; firm in will or purpose." OED. 3.a. strong. This definition accords with Moryson's view of Barton.
accuse rather than excuse his actions in Court, being displeased with him for meddling in State matters, whereby their goods in Turky might upon some ill accident be confiscated: For howsoever he bore the name of the Queen's Ambassador, yet he lay there only for matter of traffique, and had his stipend of some 1500 Zechines by the yeare paid from the merchants. By the way give me leave to add that not only he, but all christian Ambassadors, have as great allowance as that before named from the Emperor of Turkye, though not in ready mony yet in mutton, Beefe, hay, oates, and like provisions, saue that /50/ they spend halfe thereof in bribes or presents to the officers of whom they are receiued. Nothing is more hateful to the Turkes then pouerty, who doe nothing without guifts, yet this our Ambassador notwithstanding he was poore, had power in his tyme both to create and depose Princes under that State. The Emperor Amurath made a king of Bulgarie at his request, and upon his word giuen for payment of his great tributes, which that king failing to pay, //

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap.i. fo:19.

and falling to the Christians party in open Rebellion, yet the Emperor not only forgave master Barton that ingagement,

150 Caught between the parsimony of the merchants of the Levant Company, and his mistress the Queen, Barton had real difficulty in maintaining his estate as an ambassador. Sanderson wrote that he died "not worth one asper", p. 281. As Treasurer to the Levant Company, Sanderson was in a position to know these things. Unlike Barton, he made money.
but in his last testament neuer disobeyed commanded Mahomett the third to remitt the same vnto him.¹⁵¹ And this Mahomett likewise did so much esteeme him, as he had power with him, to preferr a freind of his to be Patriacke of the Greekes (a place of as high dignity with the Greekes as the Papall seate with the Papists.¹⁵²) And when Mahometts Army was ready to march against the king of Poland, he had power to diuert him from that warr, and to make peace betweene them, for which good office the king of Poland retorneth thankes to the Queene of England.¹⁵³ /10/ Besides that in discourse with myselfe, I found him confident, that he should be the meanes to make peace betweene the Turke and the Emperor of Germany, but his vntymely death preuented

¹⁵¹ In 1592-1593 Barton did apply pressure for Michael of Wallachia to become voivode. Barton was not solely responsible, which may be the reason why he was forgiven when in 1594 Michael massacred his Turkish creditors and sided with the Habsburgs. See Kortepeter, p. 134.

¹⁵² Sanderson wrote of Meletus, Patriarch of Alexandria, "Yet did he aspire and get by Master Bartons meanes and his money to be Patriarke of Constantinople, which soone he was weary of, the Turkes ministers did so much and extraordinarily exact upon him. So that after his death [Barton's] he resigned it..." p. 126. The Rev. William Biddulph's account is that he was "manzulled" ejected, after Barton's influence was removed. See Samuel Purchas, VIII, 259.

¹⁵³ Unprovoked Cossack raids on Bender, Ochakov, and Gözlev nearly caused war in 1589/1590. "...upon the mediation of the English ambassador, Edward Barton, and the Hospodar of Moldavia, Bogdan, the Sultan agreed to accept a peaceful solution." See Kortepeter, p. 106. The Turkish/Polish treaty was subsequently renewed in 1591. Barton was not fully accredited Ambassador until 1596. See Rosedale, p. 83. The Sultan was Murad III, not Mohammed III as Moryson states.
that his hope. By these and other his like actions, it may appeare that they did him wrong, who did attribute his greatnes in the Turkish Court, to his betraying the Counsells of Popish christian Princes, especially such as were enemyes to the State of England. For as he was a man of good life and constant in the profession of the reformed religion, so he protested to abhor from furthering the Turkes designes against any the greatest enemy of his profession /20/ and Country, further then to diuert them for the tyme from some malicious attempt.154

{ m.n. 23, 24. Forayne Princes. m.n. 27, 28. The Queene of England. }

Touching forrayne Princes, England was so farr remoued from Turkye as from the forces thereof the Turkes could expect neither good nor ill, and when the Emperor beheld England in a Mapp, he wondred that the king of Spaine did not digg it with mattocks, and cast it into the Sea. But the heroick vertues of Queene Elizabeth, her great actions, in

154 Sanderson, whose acquaintance with Barton spanned over a decade, wrote in his confidential autobiography, "Master Barton, the Agent, [of the Levant Company] received me willingly, [in 1592] but I saw a great alteration; [from his previous posting in 1584 - 86 when Barton was merely secretary to Ambassador William Harborne] frome servinge God devoutly and drinkinge puer water, now to badnes stoutly and much wine (the witts hater)." p. 10. He called part of the embassy "Dianas gallery", in ironic allusion to the number of ladies coming and going. p. 10. Sanderson, however, was not a charitable man. Libellous epithets suchas "enviouse makbate", "trecherouse foole", "politique palterer" and "Puritan whoremonger" accompany the names of most of the embassy. See p. 281.

74
Christendome, and especially her preuailing against the Pope and the king of Spaine, her professed enemie, made her much admired of the Emperor, of his mother, and of all the great men of that Court, which did appeare by the letters and guiftes sent to her Maiestie from thence, and by the consent of all the strangers that liued in that tyme at Constantinople. 155

{ m.n. 34. The Persian king. }

For the Persian king; The Turkes held their strength to be farr greater then his in the bands of foote, and aswell in the quantity as the vse of Artillery. But the power of the Persian is in the troopes of horse, to which he only trusts, and howsoever by the same he hath often giuen great ouerthrowes to the Turkes; yet at the same tyme they gott Prouinces from him, and held them by strength of their Foote, and plenty of Artillery both which the Persian wants. And by Sea the /40/ Persian then could doe him no hurt, being hindred from building Gallies, or attempting any thing at Sea, by the forces which the Portugalles held aswell in the Persian as in the redd Sea.

155 The original purpose of the embassy as far as the Queen was concerned was to incite the Turks against the Spanish. Moryson is enjoying his nostalgia at a time when Count Gondomar was duping James I, and neutralizing English hostility with the prospects of the Spanish match between the Infanta and Prince Charles. One of the letters between the válide sultan, the Turkish Queen Mother, and Elizabeth I is reproduced in Rosedale, pp.2 - 5.
(m.n. 44, 45. Preste Iean or Gianni. m.n. 49. Seriffus)

In Africk Preianes\(^{156}\) commonly called Prester Gianni ruling the south parts towards the redd Sea is freed from the feare of the Turkes, not so much by Armes as by the high mountaynjes of the moone and the mountaines of Sand carryed with the wyndes like the waues of the Sea, yet haue they taken from him all his cheife places vpon the red-sea.\(^{157}\) The Seriffus his kingdome lyes from thence towards the west, not so large but more fertile then the other, /50/ and he doth no way acknowledge the Turkes, but is a free Prince, yet they are both kept from acts of hostility by their mutuall feare of the Spaniards lying vpon them.\(^{158}\)

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\(^{156}\) This seems to be a contraction of Prester John, the legendary Christian African King. The OED has a similar sixteenth century form Pretian.

\(^{157}\) OED has a burning or scorching whirlwind as the second meaning of Prester, a word derived from the Greek through Latin. William Lithgow placed the source of the Nile in the "montes Lunae", the mountains of the moon. See Lithgow, p. 280. There had been Turkish attacks on Red Sea ports. "In the yeare 1558. the Turke harried the whole territorie of Bernagasso (but since expulsed) and tooke from Prester Iohn whatsoever he was Lord of vpon that sea coast, especially the haunen and citie of Suauquen and Erococo, in which place the mountaines betweene Abex and the red sea, make a gate as it were for the traffique and carriages of the Abessines and Arabians." Giovanni Botero, The Travellers Breviat (London, 1601), p. 175, referred to hereafter as Breviat. Moryson melds myth and fact together here.

The Turkes do not willingly doe not prouoke but rather seeme to feare the Polonians, as very strong in braue troopes of horse, //

and no way yeilding to them in their body of Footemen. No doubt the Turkes haue diverse incursions] for a long tyme passed ouer without any reuenge diverse incursions and spoyles made by the Polonian Cosacchi, and of late haue for their owne purpose wincked at great injuredes offered by them. In the yeare 1597, when Mahomet the third beseiged Agrea in Hungarie and great troopes of Tartarians coming to his ayde, were to passe the Confines of Poland, they were ouerthrowne with a great prey taken from them by the Polonian horsemen called Cosacchi, about which action two Polonian messengers came in one and the same day to the Turkes Campe, whereof the first advised the Turkish Emperor that the Tartarians might be ledd an other way, lest they falling vpon the Cosacchi guarding the Confines, and they being both furious and prone to Armes, it should not be in the power of the Captaines of either syde to keepe them from mutuall injuredes, but was rather to be feared that they would ioyne in battell together. The second messenger brought newes, that they had fought, and the Tartarians were ouerthrowne; yet the Turkish Emperor

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An Italianate form of the word Cossacks.
with a chearefull /20/ Countenance was content to understand this act as hapning by chauncle, not of purpose according to the messengers relation, tho he could not but thinck it as manifest an iniurye as any open enemy could haue done him. Notwithstanding it cannot be denyed, that for the Common sloth of all christians, or the priuate want of mony, Artillery and all munitions, the Polonians haue not only not bene able to free the Moldauians and the walachians their Confederates from the slauery of the Turkes, but haue themselues lost to the Turkes a Territory lying vppon the black-sea or Euxine sea. /30/

{ m.n. 31. The state of Venice. }

On the Contrary the Turkes seemed of purpose to prouoke the Venetians with continuall iniuries, and they taught by experience to be ielous of the Spaniards ayde vppon any league, and themselues wanting victualls and soldiers, and equall strength of any forces to make warr without ayde against the great power of the Turkes, were content to stopp their fury by strong fortes, till by peaceable arts and guiftes, they might haue tyme to appease the Turkish Emperor, and make their peace with him, in which kinde they had vnfaithfull peace with him, troubled with many injurys, and yet were /40/ said to pay him the yearely Tribute of 18000 duccatts for enjoying the Ilands and Townes they possessed in the mediterranean sea, whereof notwithstanding he hath taken many from them at diuers
breaches of peace. While myselfe was in Turkye, certaine
Turkish Pyratts of the Southwest part of Morea or Greece,
spyling the Christians with a few small barques, had the
Courage to assaile a Venetian Shipp of 700 Tonns burthen,
and well furnished with brasse ordinance, which they tooke
and loaded all their Barques with the most precious
Commodityes thereof. Vppon Complaint of which hostile act
made to the Emperor /50/ of Constantinople by the Balye of
Venice for a shewe of Iustice he obtayned that a Chiauss
was sent thither to apprehend the Pyrats but they
withdrawing themselues into other Havens, and vsing meanes
by large presents to make the Chiauss their freind for the
present, and after in like sort to make their peace with
the Emperor, the cheife Visere and the Admirall they so
handled the matter as first the Chiauss retorned back with
answer, that they could not be found, and after the
Venetians were so tyred with delayes of Iustice in that
Court, as they were forced in the end to desist from
following the cause, without having any restitution.

{ m.n. 8, 9. The king of Spaine. }
The king of Spaine, being of the elder house of Austria had
no league nor Ambassador with the Turkish Emperor, and
howsoever about this tyme vppon a peace made, the king of
Spaine had sent an Ambas/10/sador to Constantinople; yet
master Barton the English Ambassador professed, that he had caused him to be stayd by the way and forbidden to come to Court, with absolute denyall of his residence in that Citty. The Spaniards and Turkes at that tyme did some hostile acts one against the other at Sea, and on both sides the Captiues were made Gally slaues, but they had no open warr, because the Territoryes of the king of Spain lay so farre of, as the Turkes could not assaile him without a strong Navy at Sea. In which Sea-fights, the Turkes had no confidence in their strength and much more feared to ingage themselves in such a kinde of warr since they receiued the great overthrow at Corsolari neare the Gulfe of Lepanto, by the Confederate forces of the king of Spain the Pope and the venetians under the generall Conduct of Don Iohn of Austria. And the Turkes more feare the Spaniards at Sea, because they have bene heretofore fouly defeated by the Portugalls, having Forts in the Red-sea; yet the king of Spain in regard of his dispersed dominions and distracted forces, hath neuer alone attempted the Turkes. It is very probable especially in respect of the infinite number of Christians groning vnder the Turkish

160 There was a trade war with the Portuguese in the Red Sea in 1551 - 52, "...in an attempt to redirect the flow of spices through the Middle East; but despite great efforts to maintain a fleet and naval bases in the Yemen and the Persian Gulf, this proved on the whole a failure." See G. R. Elton, Reformation Europe 1517 - 1559 (London, 1968), p. 146, referred to hereafter as Elton. Moryson is probably alluding to the absorption of Portugal into the Spanish monarchy after 1580, when he states that the Turks fear the Spaniards more after defeats by the Portuguese.
Tyrannye, that the king of Spaine might with the lesse charge and efusion [of] /30/ of bloud, haue conquered all Greece, and Palestine itselfe, then he made warr in those dayes with Christians, and howsoever his iust anger, and good reason, might moue him rather to subdue his rebelling Subiects; yet all men would haue iудged this a more honourable and religious warr, then that he made with England and Fraunce, except the Pope, with his votaries, who as he thought it for his greatnes to suffer the Greeke church at first to be subdued by the Turkes: so in our tyme he had rather see all Christendome turned vp-syde downe, then himselfe to fall from his Antichristian tyranny to the iust dignity of a Christian Bishopp. /40/

{ m.n. 42, 43. The Emperor of Germanye. }

The Emperor of Germany being of the yonger house of Austria, hath in our tyme continually borne an vnsupportable warr in Hungarye against the powerfull forces of the Turkish Emperor, and with losse of great part of

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161 Moryson may be alluding to the Dutch Revolt, or to that of the Aragonese of 1591 - 92. He may even be alluding to the Moriscos, whose loyalty and religious conversion was always viewed with suspicion until their ultimate expulsion from Spain in 1609 - 1610.

162 "II. 4. One who is devoted or passionately addicted to some particular pursuit, occupation study, aim, etc." OED

163 On Charles V's voluntary abdication in 1556, his brother Ferdinand became Holy Roman Emperor rather than his son Philip.
that kingdom; which ill successe Botero the Romane attributes to a false cause, as if the Germans had lost the glory of warr together with the puritie of Religion. For not to dispute of the Romane Religion to be nothing lesse then pure, no doubt the warr of Hungarie hath bene made by those Germanes who still remayne Papists, wherein the auxilarye bands of the very Italians haue as little preuailed against the Turkes, as any other,. And if ever the Germanes resume their old Custome to visitt, and reforme the Romane Church, I doubt not but the Italians shall finde them no lesse equall in the glory of warr, then they passe them in the truth of religion. But indeed the difference of religion betweenee the Emperor and the Princes of Germany, and the advantage //

of the Turkes horse swift to pursue, or saue themselues over the horse of Germany, howsoever able to endure assault, yet upon any disaster vnfitt to escape by flight and other like advantages of warr, on the Turkes part many and easy to be named haue made the Germanes vnable to

154 We have already met the work of Giovanni Botero, (1540 - 1617). He is also referred to by Moryson as Boterus. He is one of Moryson’s main sources. The Romane refers solely to his religion, since Botero spent from 1582 to 1598 in Milan in the service of the Borommeos, Carlo and Federico, and then until 1614 in the service of the Duke of Savoy. See State, pp. vii, viii. Botero seems to equate all the German States of the Empire with Lutheranism, whilst the whole thrust of his book is that Christians should unite against the ever present threat of the infidel. See State, p. 156, 220 - 224.
withstand the great power of the Turkes. And God graunt that the Princes of Germanye through their dissention, doe not lay open that easy way to the Turkes invasion as all christian Princes when they most would, shall hardly be able to stopp the same.

{ m.n. 10, 11. The foundations of the state and Army. } I haue formerly shewed that they which gourne the Turkish tyranny, /10/ are not Turkes borne, but voluntary or Captiue Christians turning Mahometans, and the Children of Christian subjects exacted for tribute and trayned vpp in the Turkes Religion and discipline, in parts so farr remoued from their native Country and freinds, as they forgetting both become most deadly enemyes to all christians. Each fifth yeare or oftner as need requires, the Turkes Emperor sends officers into Greece and Natolia165 (the lesser Asia) and to his Provinces in Asia the greater excepting some priuiledged places) to exact the tribute Children choosing in each family the children they iudge most strong, and of best Capacity for witt, of which they bring away tenn or twelue thousand /20/ at one tyme, and howsoever by old custome, they should only take the third sonne of a Family, yet now they spare not to take a mans only childe. The poorest of these may rise to the highest places of that State, if they can make their way by

165 Anatolia.
valour and wisdome. They are disposed by phisiognomy selecting the most witty to learne the lawe, the most beutifull to be brought vpp in the Emperors Serraglio, the strongest (according to their age and strength) to learne the vse of bowes and arrowes, whipping them so oft as they misse the marke, who are promoted to be solacchi (which are choice Ianizaries appointed for the Emperors guard) or els [learne] /30/ learne the vse of the sword and the peece, and then are made ordinary Ianizaries. But many of them especially those which are to make Solacchi and Ianizaries are first brought vpp for fower yeares in Caramania and Bursia vnder husbandmen who for their labour during those yeares mantaine them without any charge to the Emperor, in which tyme they learne the Turkes language and religion, and are invred to beare labour, hungry, and thirst. After with the rest, they are distributed into Colledges) where they liue together in large Chambers. Of these 500. chosen for beauty are brought vpp in like Chambers within the walles of the Emperors /40/ Serraglio. The like number of a second sort is brought vpp in the Colledge of Pera or Galata (. being as it were a Suburbe of Constantinople beyond the water). Of a third sort 300. are brought vpp in a Colledge of Adrianopolis in Hungarie. out of these and

166 "11. b. A portable fire-arm, hand-gun; as a musket, carmine, pistol, fowling-piece." OED
167 Karaman, a province in Southern Anatolia.
168 Hughes has "learne labour", p. 36.
some other Colleges, the troops of horses are supplied. namely the Spachi, the Silichtari, and the like. The rest of the tributary Children are called Azimogiani, and Ianizarotti, that is rude Ianizaries, and they are brought vpp in diverse Colleges of Bursia (or Bithinia) of Constantinople, and of Adrianoplis out of which ye Ianizaries come being the strength of the foote bands, and therefore /50/ chosen of the strongest Children in Europe, not of those in Asia, who haue euer bene reputed effeminate.

The second foundation of the Army is the Timariotti: For when the Emperor takes any Province, he retaynes to himselfe the Inheritance of the land, dividing it into Timars or Farmes which he giues only for life to his great vassals with Condition, besides the tythes & tributes, to finde him a certaine number of horse after 60. Sultanons yearely Rent for a horse, whereby he not only supplyes his troopes of //
{ c.w. horse, but }
Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fo:23. horse but in some sort establisheth husbandry, which being neglected by other Subjects in regard of the soldiers tyranny (the people having a proverbe, that no fruit will grow where the Emperors horse hath once sett his feete) by

169 "Acemî oğlan: a conscript later to join the Janissary corps." Inalcik, p. 217.
the giving of Commodity of husbandry to the soldiers themselves, it is for their owne profitt in some sort mantayned by them. Europe hath of old had some lands possessed by like tenure in Fee for life only, namely to serue the lord in his warres, and howsoever Emperors and kings haue made these lands to be hereditary, yet still the owners are bound to some military duties, the difference only is, /10/ that these lands at the first and the worst, had vnder christian Princes light military duties imposed on them, whereas the Turkish Tyrant, according to his absolute will & pleasure exacteth almost to the highest value of the land. These Tymariotts are horsemen, and are an unspeakable number, being thought to be some 250 thousand in Europe and almost 500 thousand in Asia the lesser, and the greater, and in Africk. They keepe in awfull subiection all the Christian Subjects vnder the yoke of extreme Tyranny, being sodenly ready, and sufficiently able to suppresse any the greatest sedition may be /20/ stirred vpp. Yet indeed the Christians, there borne and bred in slauery, especially having neuer tasted the

170 "T. 610. Where the Turk's horse once treads the grass never grows", is recorded by Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor, 1950) referred to hereafter as Tilley. His first recorded use is 1639. If Moryson refers to it as proverbial, it must be much older. It is mentioned in Botero's Breviat of 1601. But for the Timar system, Botero explains "...wheresoever the grand Seignior once treadeth with his horse hoofe, if it were not for this course, there neuer after would grow grasse againe." p. 43.
sweetnes of liberty, are of such abject myndes, as with the Israelites, they seeme to preferr an Egiptian bondage with slothfull ease, before most sweet Christian liberty, with some danger and hazard. Howsoeuer the number of these horsemen is so great, as two third parts being left at home for these and like ends; yet the Turkish Emperor can lead forth in his Army, for any sommers service some 200th thousand of them.

These foundations of the Army being laid, the Turkish Emperors /30/ not without cause use to vaunt, that they care not for the defeate, no nor yet the desertion of an Army, so their christian mares (so they call the women their Subjects) live and be fruitfull, and so they leese no Province, for these preserued, they doubt not in short tyme to strengthen or renewe their Army. And this makes them so prodigall of the subjects bloud, filling ditches with their bodyes in warr, so they may gett a Towne and Territory, and many other wayes of destroying them, as only fatted for slaughter.

{ m.n. 41, 42. Warfare in generall. }

Certaine positions of religion and the due conferring of /40/ rewards and punishments make the Turkes boldly adventure their persons and carefully performe all duties in warr. By blinde religion they are taught, that they mount to heauen without any impediment, who dye fighting

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for their Country and the law of Mahomet. And that a Stoicall Fate or destiny gouvernes all humane affaires, so as if the tyme of death be not come, a man is no lesse safe in the Campe then in a Castle, if it be come, he can be preserued in neither of them, and this makes them like beasts to rush vpon all daungers euon without Armes to defend or offend, and to fill the ditches with their Carkases, thincking to overcome by number alone, without military art. Againe all rewards as the highest digni"tes, and the like giuen continually by the Emperor to the most valiant and best deseruing, make them apt to dare any thing. And in like sort seuere punishments //

neuer failing to be inflicted on all offendors, more specially on such as brawle and fight among themselves who are punished according to the quality of the offence, sometymes with death, and also suchas breake martiall discipline, sometymes punishing him with death that pulls but a bunch of grapes in a vineyard. I say these punishments neuer failing to be inflicted vpon offendors,

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171 "For they fully beleue that by celestiall preuidence it is determined at what time, and after what sorte every mane shall ende his lyfe and dye, and therefore they thinke that no misfortune may chaunce vnto them before the prefixed houre." Georgievits, sig. B7r.

172 "Besides his Ianizars he hath the Azapi, a base Besonio, fitter for the spade then the sword...yea to fill trenches with their carcasses, and to make bridges of their slaughtered bodies for the Ianizars to passe ouer to the breaches." Botero, Breviat, p. 47.
make the soldiers formerly incouraged by rewards no lesse
to feare base Cowardise, brawling, fighting or any breach
of discipline, and keepe them in awe, as they keepe all
other Subjects and enemyes vnder feare of their sword
hanging ouer them. And the forme of this State being /10/
absolute tyranny, since all things must be kept by the same
meanes they are gotten, the State gotten and mantayned by
the sword, must needs giue exorbitant Priuiledges or rather
meanes of oppression to all the Soldiers (who (as I
formerly haue shewed) are not themselues free from the yoke
of the same Tyranny which they exercise ouer others, while
the superiors oppressing their inferiors are themselues
grinded to dust by greater men, and the greatest of all
hold life and goods at the Emperors pleasure. Vppon an
howers warning, among whome happy are the lean, for the
fatt are still drawne to the shambles. The poorest man /20/
may aspire to the highest dignityes, if his mynde and
fortune will serue him, but vppon these high pinnacles,
there is no firme abiding, and the same vertue and Starr,
that made him rise, cannot preserue him from falling. The
great men most rauenously gape for treasure, and by rapine
gett abundance, but when they haue it, all that cannot be
made portable, must be hidden or buryed, for to build a
fairer house, to haue rich houshold stuff, or to keepe a
good table, doth but make the Puttock a prey to the Eagle. Thus the Emperor nourishing poore men to strangle them when they are rich, /30/ seemes not vnlike the <Se>riff in Africk, whome Boterus the Romane writes gladly to giue large pentions and stipends to rich men, that he may gett their wealth by the law that makes him heyre to all his Pensioners, so as for feare of this fraudulent bounty, the richest men liue as farr as possibly they can from his Courts.174

Our Ambassador told me, that the Turkish Emperor giues daily stipend to some Eighteene hundred thousand persons, and that as well in peace, as in warr. The number seemed incredible vnto me though great part thereof should be of women and children having small stipends, except all that serue the Timariotts in tillage /40/ may iustly be said to liue of the Emperors purse. But no doubt his Army is mantayned as well in peace as warr, so as it seemes warr is litle more chargable vnto him then peace, yea more profitable by the gayning of Townes and Territories, saue

173 "1. b. fig. Applied opprobriously to a person, as having some attribute of the kite (e.g. ignobleness, greed)" OED.

174 "To be fingring the wealth of the richer sort, he hath alwaies some office or lieutenantship with an annuitie to sell them: but commonly to preuent those sales, they will not be acknowne of their abilities, remoouing their abodes far from the court and the kings sight, which is the cause that the citie of Fes is much fallen from the ancient splendour." Botero, Breviat, p. 167.
that it consumes his Subjects. The foresaid incredible number receiving stipend from the Emperor, makes me lesse wonder at the French gentle man Villamount, who writes that all the Turkes Subjects have some pay from him, tho it is most certaine that most Turkes borne, living as Pleibans vpon manuall Arts, and tillage, not only haue no pay, but are much oppressed by the soldiers.¹⁷⁵

Men of experience /50/ in Turkish affayres agree that the Emperor cannot gather all his forces into one Army, no Country being able to feed them, besides that the Christian Subjects living vnder great tyranny might haue meanes to rebell by such remote absence of the soldiers. But many of them thinck that the Emperor can make an Army of five or sixe hundred thousand, as he hath often led forth more then halfe the number //

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:25.

which I dare not attribute, with Boterus the Romane to the plenty of victualls in the Easterne parts, since of old, the Hunns Gothes and Vandalls in diverse Countries of Europe, and the dukes of Muscouy of late in the northern parts, haue led forth like huge Armyes.¹⁷⁶ But giue me

¹⁷⁵ This inaccuracy occurs in Book Three Chapter Five of Sieur de Villamont, Les Voyages dv Seignevr de Villamont (Paris, 1609), sig. 2V6v. I chose the Paris edition of 1609 as being as likely an edition as any that Moryson might have used.

¹⁷⁶ Botero is correct in praising the Turkish commissariat, or what he calls "corne and prouisions, store infinite." which made their armies so effective. Breviat, p. 48. Where Moryson is surely incorrect, is that the
leave to say, besides vulgar opinion, that the invention of
of Guns and Gunpowder was not diuelish and bloudy, but
profitable to all mankinde, since histories witnes, that
when battells were fought by hand strokes, then huge Armies
were levyed, and the part defeated ever lost greater
numbers, whereas since that invention, Armyes have not bene
greater then some 20000, and the part defeated seldome /10/
lost the fourth part, the rest retyring to safe Forts. As
also experience teacheth that the invention of dangerous
fights, as Rapiars, pist<o>lls and the like, hath caused
fewer quarrells and lesse bloodshed, then the old use of
swords and bucklers. Therefore I think that the great
Armyes of the Turkes may be attributed to their small
skill, and rare use of fighting with guns, which only some
part of the Ianizaries vseth, tho they have great store of
Artillery, which in like sort they cannot generally so well
manage as the Christians. Or els lett these great Armyes of
the Turke and Moscouite, be attributed to their tyrannicall
governments making all Subjects ready to follow them, and
all officers /20/ rather comitt any rapine, and not to
spare their owne goodds then the Army should be vnfurnished
with victualls to the hazard of their owne heads. But
especially the Turke may lead great Armyes, by reason of

barbarian tribes were actually migrating as a whole people
in late Classical times. The numbers included dependents,
rather than just fighting men. See R. H. C. Davis, A
History of Medieval Europe From Constantine to Saint Louis,
revised edition (London, 1970), pp. 21 - 37, referred to as
Davis hereafter.
his subjects singular temperance in diett. For they vse no wyne nor any kinde of drinck, but only water in the Campe, being also forbidden wine at home in peace by their lawe if they would observe it. Every man can carry his owne provision of meat being only Rice and hony, except sometymes they gett mutton, and their Cariages are not great, having in Campe as at home a small pott to seeth Rice or mutton, and vsing no Corsletts or other Armor for defence. /30/ Only they vse not to ly in Townes or villages but in the open feild, so as all sleeping under Tents, that kinde of baggage is great; For offensive weapons, they carry store of Artillery, but for great part in rude matter to be cast in the feild.\footnote{\textsuperscript{178} Of their Armes, I shall speake in due place, only I will say that all in generall are furnished with excellent short swords whereof they haue great store, those of Damascus being famous for the mettall, but they seeme not much to delight in}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{177} "1. a. A piece of defensive armour covering the body." \textit{OED}.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{178} Cipolla quotes this very passage when advancing the argument that technological improvement in arms and shipping ensured the ultimate supremacy of the northern European nations. A precision piece is hardly going to be produced on the hoof! In Cipolla's view, the Turks were too hidebound to realise that smaller, more accurate and more portable artillery pieces had superseded the bombards that had breached the walls of Constantinople in 1453. See Carlo M. Cipolla, \textit{Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400 - 1700} (London, 1965), p. 96n. At the Arsenal in Venice Moryson saw captured Turkish guns used as scrap. See fol. 171. However, with hundreds of miles to cover before reaching the war zones, it made sense to cast the cannon and balls in Bosnia, rather than transport everything from the capital. RM}
musketts, nor to haue such ready vse of them as the Christians. Whereas our Christian Soldiers are in tyme of peace cast out of pay, and exposed to perish by want, The Turkes haue asmuch pay /40/ in peace, as in warr, and so are more ready and willing to spend their life for the Emperor, and againe the Emperor receiuing no lesse Revenues in warr then in peace, yea rather more by selling Captiues at high rates, by turning subdued places into Timars, and by making good vse of victories in all parts, is thereby enabled at all tymes to make quarterly payment to his soldiers, wherein he neuer faileth. The Sangacchi going to or coming from their gouernments, ride in tyme of peace (as I thinck they march in their Armyes) with drumms and Hoboyes, or such lowde instruments as we in our Citties vse by night, but they haue two drums, one litle one to be beaten at one /50/ end, which they vse by the way, and a great one to be beaten at both ends, not wearing it about the neck when they beat it, but setting it downe vpon the ground, and with that they sett their watches. All degrees among them are knowne by their heads; For as all Turkes in generall weare white heads, (as the Persians weare greene) called by some Tsalma by others Tolopa, and vulgarly Talbent; so all/

179 OED's first definition is as "wind instrument of high pitch" now usually called the oboe.

180 Hughes changes to "Tulbent", p. 42. We use the word "turban".
degrees are distinguished by the same either by feathers and Iewells, or by the forme, [more] lesse or more rounde or long. This Tulbent is made of twenty or more ells\footnote{1. a. A measure of length varying in different countries. The English ell = 45in. } of most fine linnen, and very white, only the Christians wearing Shasses\footnote{Obsolete form of sash. } of mingled Coulors, and it is folded into a rounde or long forme, the Emperor, the Viseres and some cheife degrees putting out of the top, a peece of red-velvet, vppon which they fasten Iewells, and other things to distinguish their degrees. The Ianizaries, being in the house weare such a Tulbent without any red veluett, but when they goe abroad in the Citty, and in the Campe, or before any /10/ magistrate, they weare a Capp proper to their order, made of cloth standing vpp from the head, with very small brimmes\footnote{A minim seems to have been omitted. It should be “brimmes”. } and a guilded horne of brasse standing vpp before, and a flapp [like] [of] that of a French-hood falling behinde,\footnote{The “French Hood”, already very old fashioned by Morison’s day, was made famous by Queen Mary I (1553 - 1558). Worn towards the back of the head, it had a curved front border and horseshoe curve on the top of the crown. The flap that Morison refers to was a later addition. See C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington, Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1954), pp. 76, 82, 172, and Jane Ashelford, Dress in The Age of Elizabeth I (London, 1988), p. 151.} some having plumes of the
Ostridge fastned to the guilded horne, falling backward downe to the very leggs, which feathers they [only] weare who are of the guard to the Emperor, to the Viseires and some great persons. In like sort the Azimoglani weare Piramidall-capps like our suger loaues made of a mingled coulored stuffe. The [c] Turkes haue no fortifyed Townes or Castles in the hart of the Empire, excepting only /20/ the two Castles of Hellespont, and the two Castles of the black-sea, guarding the passages by Sea to Constantinople, neither haue they any vpon the Persians, who make warr after their owne manner, but vpon the Confines of Christians, they are forced to keepe the places, as they tooke them fortifyed from the Christians, namely Famogosta in the Iland of Cyprus, and an other in the Iland of Rhodes, and diuerse Townes in Hungarie, yet they keepe them rather with strong Garrisons, lying vpon the Frontiers ready to be drawne into the feild vpon all occasions, then with small numbers resolued to induce any long seige without /30/ present succour as Christians vse to keepe them.

{ m.n. 32, 33. Their discipline of warr. }

For their discipline of warres: They haue small art in ranging battells, especially in small numbers fitting them to the advantages of the place, and howsoever they haue officers for each tenn men, whome they readily obey, yet priuate men runn after a tumultuarye fashion to fight, and
they are often beaten out of their Tents to fight as in
like sort without discharge they leaue the place, and
retorne from fighting. In which respect, and because they
haue no Corsletts, or other Armor of defence, it is no
wonder that a small number of Christians in a strong Fort,
or vppon /40/ advantage of straights, and skill to chuse
places to fight fitt for their number, hath bene able to
resist, and sometymes to defeat their huge Armyes. But
their discipline is singuler in duely giuing rewards &
punishments. Whosoeuer disobeyes his Commaunder or neglects
his charge, may himselfe goe to the gallowes for he shall
neuer escape it, and he that he fights or performes his
charge brauely, may of a poore tribute childe become the
cheife visere of that Empire,. They keepe wonderfull
silence in the Army, speaking with becks, and signes, so as
they will rather lett a Captiue escape by flight, then they
will make the least noyse to /50/ stopp him. In their
huge Armyes there is, not one woman to be found; The
entring a vineyard or an orchard to steale anything, is a
Capitall offence. But aboue all things they are to be

185 "B. n. 1. a. A narrow confined place or space or way
generally. " OED.

186 Moryson is probably thinking of the siege of Malta
of 1565, when the Knights of St. John held out against
extraordinary odds.

187 "Ther is suche sylence obserued amonge them in the
nyght season, that they neglecte their captiues flyinge
awaye, for feare lest if a noyse, or clamour shoulde be
stirred, they should suf//fer the punishment ordrined for
ye breche of Sylence..." Georgievits, sigs. F3r - F3v.
prayed above Christians, and to be imitated by them, that single fights are forbidden them by the lawe of Mahomett, and by military discipline, vpon // Booke. i. The Turkes common wealth. Chapt. i fol. 27. paine of death, so as they never happen among them, as also that all brawles are seuerely punished as if such were unworthy to eat the Emperors bread, who fall out with their Fellowes, whome the lawe teacheth to ioyne in brotherly loue, and to vent all their anger and rage vpon the Common Enemyes of their Country and the lawe of Mahomett.

{ m.n. 8, 9. Of the seige of Agria. }

Some three monethes before my coming to Constantinople, Mahomet the third retorned thether from the seige of Agria in Hungary, and because our Ambassador and his gentlemen attended that Emperor in this Sommers warr, I thinck it not amisse to relate /10/ some things which I vnderstood from them by discourse. The Army began to march at midnight, and satt downe the next day about noone. The Emperor rode in the midst of the Army, with two viseres, one on the right, the other on the left hand, and before him certaine Janizaries of his guard carryed torches lighted in the darke of the night, and likewise certaine horsmen called Chiausslari bearing maces of yron in their hands kept the press from him. On both his sydes rode the horsemen called Spachi and Silichtari (of whome we haue spoken, and shall treat more particulery) being chosen men for the guard of
his person, /20/ and among them were the wagons of beautiful full boyes, serving the Emperors lust; For all Turkes in generall are madly carryed with that inordinate burning, being so far from thinking it a sinne, as if any Christian Ambassador upon their questions professe to abhorr from it, they either believe him not, or thinck he doth it upon ignorance, as having not tasted the pleasure; But in the meanetyme there was not one woman to be seen in that huge Army.\textsuperscript{188} The Emperor had two suites of Tents, whereof one was pitched in the present Campe, the other carryed before him to the next quarter, And when his /30/ Tents were once pitched, then all the Army according to their place and order pitched their Tents or Tabernacles about him, in a huge Circuite of ground, few or none sleeping in the open ayre. The discipline is so rigorous and severe against those that take any thing by force, as little boyes brought [all] things to be sold in the Campe, and no soldier (as I have said) durst spoile meadow corne, vineyard, or Orchard upon paine of death. The Beglerbey of Greece, and the Sangiacchs under them did in their severall gouernments furnish the Armies with muttons, and necessary provisions, which they might easely doe for that huge /40/ Army, their diett (as I have said) being very simple, with small or no variety or Change of meats, and did never fail in performance, such negligence never

\textsuperscript{188} Hughes omits lines 21 - 28, "and among...huge Army."
being passed over without severe punishments even to death. The Turkish Army thus marching forward, daily expected the coming of the auxiliary Troopes of the Tarters, of Circassia\textsuperscript{189}, usmg continually to serve the Turke, when he leads forth his Army to any sommer service, who within few dayes ariued and ioyned with the Turkes, but their troopes had bene broken by the way and in great part defeated, by the Polonian horsemen called Cosacchi, who lay to guard the Frontiers of Poland, for they both being feirce nations, could not be restrayned from incountring one an other by any Commaund of their Captaines tho the king of Poland, and the Turkish Emperor, were then in league of peace. These Tartars were said to eat the flesh of horses and Camells, not otherwise roasted then by putting it vnder their II fol:28. Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. sadles, and riding vppon it. They serue altogether on horsback, and when they come to any great riuer, the horses swimm\textsuperscript{190} ouer, and great part of the men passe by holding fast by the tailes of the horses, but the best sort carry boates of leather for that purpose. And the Turke vseth them only to forrage for his Campe, which they doe each man having some five spare horses tyed one to the taile of the other, still changing his horses as they grow weary, so as

\textsuperscript{189} "...a region of the northern Caucasus". OED.

\textsuperscript{190} A minim seems to have been omitted. It should read "swimm".
they being swift and thus often changed, these Tartars in short tyme range ouer large Compass of ground. The Turkish Emperor ariued with his Army at Buda in Hungarie vppon the second /10/ of September, and part of the Army begann the seige of Agria the xxjth of the same moneth, and after six dayes they beseiged the Christians burnt the Citty being a Bishopps seat, which the Turkes tooke at the first assault with losse of 800 men, but the Christians retyred into the Castle, and held out some 20 dayes seige, and yeilded vppon composition, which the Turkes kept not but killed them all. The christian Army consisting of Thirty two Thousand horse, and Twenty eight thousand foote, and having 120 peeces of Artillery, began to skirmish with the Turkes vppon the 23th of October. Mahomett the Turkish /20/ Emperor [himselfe] ariued not till the xxiiiijth of October at night. whose Army was thought to exceed three hundred Thousand fighting men, besides halfe as many more Camell driuers, and like base people. The 25th both Armyes skirmished, and the next day both were ranged in battell, but they were diuided by a River and a marrish191 ground. The Turkish history writes at large, how the Christians passed ouer the Riuier, tooke the Turkes Artillerye, and defeated the Army, [with] which [with] the Emperor Mahomett retyred to Agria for safety.

191 "B. adj. 1. Of the nature of a marsh, marshy". OED.
Only Sigala a Renegate\textsuperscript{192} of Genoa, and one of the Viseres /30/ retyred with some tenn thousand horse, and the troopes of Tartars vnto places of safety neere hand, whence beholding the Christians, not so much as turning the Turkes Artillery for their owne defence, to fall negligently vpon the tents for pillage, he fell vpon them thus scattered; and utterly defeated them who had gotten the victory, but could not use it. The Prince of Transiluania made a good retrait of his men with litle or no losse, but the Hungarians greedy of spoile, and the slow horsmen of Germany, and most of the Christian Army /40/ vnder the Emperors brother were killed to the number of some Twenty Thowsand; yet was the victory bloudy to the Turkes, who had some sixty Thousand men killed, and were putt in such feare, as for three dayes they durst not retorn to their Artillery and Tents, lest the Transiluanians should retorn and fall vpon them againe. Then about the end of October, the Turkish Emperor left tenn Thousand in Garrison at Agria, and distributed halfe his Army to winter in the Country of Belgrado, and with the rest returned to Constantinople, and the last day of his iourney incamped /50/ a myle without the Citty, which he entred the next day with great triumph as I haue formerly shewed.

\textsuperscript{192} A variant form of renegade. The first definition given by OED is, "An apostate from any form of religious faith, esp. a Christian who becomes a Muslim."
Thus farr I haue [trans][di]gressed to make a breife relation of that I heard from our Ambassador and his gentlemen who //

followed the Turkes Army in that sommers service; Now I retornne to follow the generall discourse of the Turkes forces and Common wealth.

{ m.n. 4, 5. Of their great ordinance. }
The Turkes haue in former victoryes taken great store of brass ordinance from the Christians, in Hungary, Cyprus and in Galetta, and it is manifest by all seiges and assaults made by them often, and with much fury, that either at home or brought by Marchants, they haue great plenty of Artillery, Bulletts and Gunpowder.

{ m.n. 10, 11. Of their horse and horsmen. }
Their horse are very beautifull having their skinns shining /10/ which is caused by the horsedung, which they lay vnder them first dried into powder, for I neuer saw any of them lye vppon any other litter, or soft thing vnder them, either in Asia subject to heat, or the more cold parts about Constantinople. They are very swift, and vsed by their Riders either to galloping or afoote pace, but not [p]taught to amble or putt to a trott or managed by Ryders as our great horses are, for indeed they are but of a midle stature the best of them, And thus vntaught they generally
hold vpp their nose with vncomelines. For this swiftnes rather then strength they are preferred /20/ before the heauy horse of Germany, the shock whereof they cannot beare, but they soone ouertake the horse of Germany flying, and easily scape from them being chased. They are not fitt for long iourneys, but soone tyred if they be putt to gallop, and no lesse tyre the Ryder, when they goe afoote pace. In warr they are only fitt for light horse, neither vse the Turkes any great horse armed, nor themselues (either horsmen or Footmen) weare any defensiue Armor, but only for offence carry lances and sheilds and good short swords. They haue no Racks\textsuperscript{193} nor mangers, but feed their horses on the ground. /30/ Their sadles are litle, and hard in the seate, for they vse no warr sadles which their horses cannot beare, and the Crooper\textsuperscript{194} is comonly wrought like a Caparison, and the stirrops are vnder the foot long, and sharpe beyond the heele of the Rider seruing them for spurrs, which I neuer saw vsed of any horsemen nor yet boots, all riding in their cloth stockings close to their

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{193}{"n. 2. 3. a. A frame made with upright bars of wood or metal to hold fodder for horses and cattle, either fixed in a stable, or movable so as to be placed where desired in a field or farmyard". OED.}

\footnotetext{194}{An obsolete form of crupper, of which the first definition given by the OED reads, "A leathern strap buckled to the back of the saddle and passing under the horse's tail, to prevent the saddle from slipping forwards."}
\end{footnotes}
breeches, and their bridles are like our snafles but commonly sett with Copper studds guilded, yea sometyme sett with glistering if not precious stones, For the Turkes are proud, as of their swords (in like sort adorned with stones) so no lesse of their horses, for which they will giue great prices. The horsemen for the most part are mantayned by the Timarrs as I haue formerly shewed, which are called Timariotts, and I haue likewise spoken of their incredible number and how they are distributed vnder the two cheefe Beglerbegs, and inferior Bassaes or Beggs. These liue all vppon Timars or Farmes, tilling their grounds by Christians, or Mores or their owne bought slaues, and many of them mantaine more horses then one for themselues, and they are of a mingled sort of people. But the cheife strength //

fol:30 Booke.i. The Turkes Common wealth. Chap:i.
of the Turkish horse is of them which were tributarory Children or or Captiues or Renegates and paid partly in mony, partly by Timar, being in number about Thirty thousand generally called Spachi and out of them some troopes are chosen to guard the Emperors person. The first of them in dignity are the Spachoglani, (Spachi signifying

195 Spelt in the OED as snaffle, this passage is given as the third illustration,"N. 1. 1. a. A simple form of bridle-bit, having less restraining power than one provided with a curb."

196 Many of such decorated artefacts can be seen in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul.
an horseman,) and Oglan a youth) who being tributary Children brought vpp in the Emperors Court, (except some Captiues & Renegates) attaine this degree while they are young; and from thence are promoted to the highest degrees as Sangiachs, Beglerbeges, Bassaes, and Visiers. Of them 3000 guard the Emperors person riding on his right hand, /10/ and each hath some Twenty, some Forty Aspers by the day, and each mantaynes fower or five slaues and horses for them. Their Aga hath 500 Aspers, or as others say tenn Sultanons by the day. His Checaya or lieuftenant hath a hundred Aspers by the day. But of the Cheife Officers stipends I haue formerly written; and will hereafter omitt them. The Silichtari are in the second ranck being of tributary Children, having the same stipends, and the same hopes of preferment to the highest places, only they differ in the Coulor of their pendants and in that they ride on the left hand of the Emperor, three thousand of them being likewise chosen to guard his person. Next to them two /20/ thowsand Olefagi (that is Stipendiaries\(^{197}\)) guard the Emperors person on both sydes hands, and eighty Muteferachi beare long lances before him, whereof the least hath tenn, the Cheife Eighty Aspers by the day. The Chiausalar, are horsemen, that beare sheilds and lances, and having broken their launces, they fight with their Simiters or short

\(^{197}\) "Of a soldier (now rare): Serving for pay, mercenary" *OED* Morison makes a noun of what is normally an adjective, hence mercenaries in daily pay.
swords, holding it disgracefull to thrust and kill with the point of the sword, or to kill an Enemyes horse, and having no other Armes of defence. Of these horsmen I did meet diverse Troopes in the way sent out by the Sangiachs to cleare the high way of Theuees, And they seemed to me so many Amades of Gaule. The horsmen in /30/ generall are armed with a Simiter or short sword, a weake launce and a round buckler or sheild, and some of them also carry short bowes and arrowes. They have an other sort of horsmen, which wee call Adventurers, (they call Vlacchi if I be not deceiued) having no stipend, but the hope of preferment and freedome of tribute, being said to be sixty Thousand, only when they are in the Army they are allowed victualls. Also I haue heard them called Achengi and [by] others Delli, but this last name I thinck to be giuen them in scorne as seeming madd; for so the Turkes call those that shew to be light headed by Countenance apparrell or gesture, as if they were madd men. /40/ And indeed these are in those kindes ridiculous, wearing a Gippo or Iackett, and breeches of the skinns of lyons and beares, with the hayre outward, and Capps of the skinns of ownces, & leopards couered

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198 This was an old chivalric romance parodied by Cervantes. Moryson implies that they are outdated and a little ridiculous.

199 Hughes substitutes "ownees", p. 49. Ownce is an obsolete form of ounce, "N. 2. 1. A name originally given to the common lynx...From 16th c. applied to various other small or moderate-sized feline beasts, vaguely identified." OED.
with an Eagles wing, which wings they also fasten to their bucklers and the hinder parts of their horses are couered with skinns of lyons and wilde beasts, affecting thereby to seeme terrible to their Enemyes. They are light horsmen and are armed with a Simiter or short sword, and a short weapon of yron hanging at their Saddles, bearing a [long] dart or short horsmans staffe in the right hand. I passe over the horsmen vpon the Confines, who /50/ make excursions into the Enemyes Country, and haue no pay but the booty they can gett, as also those that haue pay only in the tyme of warr, and serue for the baser Imployments. Neither will I speake of the great auxiliary troopes of the Tartars, comonly some 50 or 60 thousand, nor those of Walachia and Moldauia. Only I will add that the Turkish Emperor having these great numbers of //
{ c.w. horsmen }
horsemen, yet placeth small trust in them, being excellent in nothing but in swiftnes to pursue and fly, For the Timariotts and Spachi are corrupted with rurall sloth, or by living in Citties waxing Couetous, and louers of peace. And the very Spachoglans and Silichtars are in like sort corrupted by living in Court; and howsoever they rise to the highest dignityes, yet for the most part having bene prostitute to lust in their youth, this suffering like women must needs make them effeminate, and they being after vsed to liue in the Court, cannot but loue ease and
freedome from the labours and dangers of warr. Yet no doubt
the huge number of them /10/ keepes the great multitudes of
Christian Subjects in awfull 200 slauery, and were they not
disioyned by imployment in vast Prouinces farr remoued one
from the other, were they not of necessity to be left201 in
great numbers to keepe the Christian subjects in awe, so as
they cannot be gathered together, without great difficulty,
long tyme, and apparent dangers of rebellion, their huge
number might iustly seeme fearefull to all Christians that
ly nere their Confines.

{ m.n. 19. Of the footemen.}
The cheife strength of the Army consists in the Footemen
called Ianizaries (as a new order of Soldiers, who like the
Roman Triarii,202 /20/ come last to fighting, when others
have prepared the way and filled the ditches with their
bodyes, and they consist of Captiues and voluntary men of
ripe yeares forsaking the Christian faith and of the
Azimoglans, so called as boyes of tribute; yet all
tributary children are not so called as those who are
brought vp in the Emperors Serraglio and other Colledges,

200 Here this adjective is surely meant in OED's senses
I.1. and 2, "Causing dread; terrible, dreadful, appalling."
and "Worthy of, or commanding profound respect".

201 Hughes substitutes "best", p. 50.

202 As the name implies the Triarii were the third line
in the Roman battle order, and thus reserves.
whence they are made horsmen and preferred to the highest places of the State but only those Children which are severely brought vp under [the] husbandmen; and after in Colledges for this purpose, and are of the strongest children, and of the most warlick nations, for the greatest part of Europe, those of Asia, /30/ being rejected as of more soft and peaceable natures at least by old Custome for of late, this and all the austere institutions are neglected and infringed. These are first circumcised then instructed in the Mahometan law and that in places far distant from their Parents and Country, so as they easily forgett both, only calling and reputing the Emperor their father, and they are taken so young as they cannot remember any thing of Christian Religion, but are [easily] trayned vpp, and easily made deadly haters of all Christians. After they haue bene two yeares under husbandmen, they are brought to Constantinople and there receiued by the Azi/40/moglan-Aga who distributes them into Colledges there, and in other parts to be trayned as a Seminary of the Ianizaries. These Ianizaries were first instituted by Amurath the second in number sixteene thousand, and Amurath the third added two thousand to that number, which since hath bene much increased, and cannot be lesse then Forty thousand. Howsoever Sansouime and Botero Italians writt
them to be no more then 12 or at most 14 thousand;\textsuperscript{203} For
I haue formerly said that when Mahomet the third began his
Raigne, there were 24 thousand Ianizaries at Constantinople
which receiued his larges, and nothing was more generally
knowne at Constantinople /50/ then that 12 thousand of them
lye continually there in tymes of peace and the Common
voice was that the Beglerbeg of Asia had 12 thousand vnder
him, besides those in Egipt and them that lye vppon the
Persians And a farr greater number in all probality lying
vppon the Confines of Hungary, where they haue strong
enemyes bordering vppon them. Yet doe I not thinck them to
be 60. thousand as our Ambassadors men at Constantinople
affirmed to me.\textsuperscript{204} The Janizar-Aga or Captaine of them is
one of the greatest dignities in that Empire, to whome the

\textit{fol:32. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.}

Emperor, to whome the Emperor doth often giue a sister to
wife, but no man is had in such ielousy, the loue of the
Ianizaries being Capitall to him, so as he seemes to walke
vppon Thornes and bryers while he neither dares gaine their
loue for feare of the Emperor, nor vse them roughly for

\textsuperscript{203} Francesco Sansovino, \textit{Il tatti} (1521 - 1586) was
another of Moryson's sources. His \textit{Del Historia Universale
de'Turchi} was published in Venice in 1560, and reprinted in
1564, 1568, 1573, 1582, 1600, and 1654. BMGC Botero puts
their number at 24,000. \textit{Breviat}, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{204} Intelligence gathering for home consumption was one
of the tasks of any Ambassador. It is for this reason that
a copy of Solomon Ische's document came to be forwarded to
Lord Burghley in London.
fear of their insolency, and such is this ielousy, as he may not (according to the Custome) appoint his owne Checaya or lieuftenant, but the Emperor names him and giues him 200 Aspers by the day,²⁰⁵ as each Odebassi sett ouer tenn hath 40 Aspers,²⁰⁶ and each Boluibassi or Bolichbassi that is Captaine of one hundred hath 60. Aspers by the day.²⁰⁷ These may ride and these /10/ Commaunds, and to be Solacchi, are the highest prefferments a Ianizary can expect; For I haue formerly spoken of the Solachbassi having 300 Aspers by the day, sett ouer the Solachiers or Solacchi, which are some of the strongest Ianizaries chosen to guard the Emperors person, and armed with bowes and Arrowes, besides their swords wearing a Capp differing from the Ianizaries and having a larger stipend each man 20 Aspers by the day. All the male Children of Ianizaries (some say only the Eldest) as soone as they are borne, haue three or fower by the day, the younger Ianizaries haue noe more, but the rest haue eight Aspers by the day, and each new Emperor /20/ besides his largesse or donatiue adds an

²⁰⁵ Botero writing of the Janissary's Aga states that "There is not amongst the Turkish honors, an office more subject to enuie and ielousie then this captainship; for he and the Begler - bey of Greece may not choose their lieutenants, but the grand Seignior onely: the generall fauour of the Ianizars is his assured destruction." Breviat, p. 46.

²⁰⁶ Head of a company. RM.

²⁰⁷ Head of the Janissary mess. There were one hundred and one such heads, Bölükbaşı in the whole Janissary corps. RM.
Asper by the day or some like increase to each mans pay. Three of them in the Campe haue a horse allowed to carry their baggage, and to each hundred a Tent is allowed. At the ends of two lents or tymes of fasting, the Emperor apparrells them, and all without difference weare large Trowses with stockings undiuided from them, and a long gowne or upper garment both of violett coulored cloth. Some of them haue wiues contrary to their old institution or Custome, and these liue scattered through the Citty in litle houses, but the rest, by eights, by tenns and by twelues as it were in brotherhoods, liue in Colledges or houses appoin/ted for them, wherein they haue a Cooke, (tho lesse needfull since in their temperate diett each man may soone haue skill inough in that art) and Contributing their mony, they haue a Cater to buy their meat, and the yonger having lesse stipend bring in their meat, which is soone done, they having but one dish of meat, and a Cruse of water betweene three or fower. When they are past seruice of warr, they are putt to guard Castles, and keepe watches by night, and their Captaines likewise being old, haue the gouernments of those Castles. Some of them are

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208 James Howell put down the escape of the Poles [at Chocim in 1621?] to the Janizaries "...who rather than bear the brunt of the Battell, were more willing to return to their Wives and merchandizing..." See James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 176 (17 August 1623).
armed with Halberts, some with musketts, but their muskets are not very good; neither are they active or skilful in using them, and some only carry Semiters or swords. They who commend the Ianizaries that war being ended they willingly return to enjoy peace, do not consider that they have the same stipend in peace as in war, For if our men had the same, without doubt they would be no less glad of peace. In like sort they who praise them for laying down arms in time of peace, and not so much as wearing a sword, seeme not to have observed that they never have any single fights, and very seldom any quarrels among themselves. Whereas our soldiers are forced in peace to wear swords for their own defence. Besides that our men have no such authority over men of peace as they have, who are more feared bearing no weapons, then our men should be with swords and Pistolls. For as a Christian is most severely punished if he draw a knife against a Muslim, (that is a circumcised Turke) or strike him with the hand; so it is a greater offence for any Common Turke to resist a Soldier, who above all tremble for feare of the Ianizaries, so as I have seen one of them having no arms but [only] bearing in his hand (as their manner is) a Cudgell of an hard reed, more than an Ell long, not only beat many Citizens in Townes and Cittyes,

209 "A military weapon, especially in use during the 15th and 16th centuries; a kind of combination of spear and battle-axe". It would appear to be somewhat obsolete by the time Moryson wrote this.
but also a whole Careavan in the high way, /60/ of two or three hundred men, armed with musketts and swords, // Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap.i. fol:33.
till they obeyed all his Commaundements and kissed his feet for mercy. Of the last kinde my selfe did see a straunge example in my journey from Tripoly to Haleppo. Aboue all Soldiers the Ianisaryes are insolent aswell for priuilegeds, as because they take part one with an other in all tumults. When myselfe went to see the Emperor, and standing next to him, did fully behold him a Chiauss on horsback, bearing a mace, offered to thrust me back, and to strike me, but a Ianiizary that our Ambassador had sent to conduct me, putt him back, and when he would not admitt his excuse for me, but said it might not be indured that a /10/ Christian dogg should come soneare to the Emperor, presently other Ianiizaries whome I had neuer seene, ioyned with my guide, and threatned the Chiauss, so as in spite of his teeth, he was forced to lett me stand. No maruell then that these men willingly lay downe their Armes being without them as terrible as feirce mastyes to all inferiors they meet, for they are knowne by the Caps peculiar to their order, and if they be offended so much as with a looke, vpp goes their long Cudgell (which they call

210 "...notwithstanding his opposition...", see OED Tooth, III. Phrases. 5.

211 An old form of mastiff.
and they will give him that offends them, according to their pleasure hundreths of blowes vppon the belly or the /20/ back, or the soles of his feet, and that without any sentence or condemnation of a Judge, and not only for offences against themselues, but for mony giuen them by an enemy, so as being protectors of Christians, they will vppon their Complaints beate any other Christian or Plebeian Turke, till they craue mercy of him for whose sake they are beaten, except they haue also a Ianizarie to protect them, in which Case they vse not to fight, nor yet striue one with an other. And one Ianizarye of the least, is sufficient to guard a man against a thousand Mores, or Arabians or Plebeian Turkes in respect of his awfull authority /30/ ouer them, as also against all other Soldiers or Ianizaries in respect of their brotherly agreement, and feare to breake their law by fighting or quarrelling among themselues. Therefore the Christian Ambassadors at Constantinople haue assigned to each of them, fower or six Ianizaries, and the Consulls of Christian nations lying in other Citties and Townes, haue one or two of them to guard their houses and persons from all wrongs, neither will any Christian having meanes to spend, goe abroad in Cittyes and Townes or take a journey without a Ianizarie to guard him. And it is wonderfull, how faithfull and affable, they /40/ wilbe to a Christian thus

Hughes has "Mutcher", p. 54.
hyring them for hyring them for some viij Aspers by the
day, yea how readily they will serue him, doing his
busines, buying, and (if need be) dressing his meat,
especially if they haue taken this charge from any
Ambassador or Consul, to whome they must giue accompt of
his safety, and bring back letters, without which charge
out of meere rules of their law or nature, myselfe haue by
experience found them faithfull, courteous and faire
Companions. And by these services to Christians many of
them gett Crownes, and lead faire liues. Myself not well
knowing the Turkish fashions, and taking iourneyes without
any Ianizarie to /50/ protect me, did often by the way meet
Spachies and Ianizaries, who would take away my wine and
provisions of victualls, as if they had bene their owne,
and once being to take a Journey with some of them, our
Mucaro (that is he who letts horses and Asses)\textsuperscript{213} hearing
them inquire after our Condition, advised each of vs to
giue them //

tol:34. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.
halfe a Piastro or siluer Crowne, wherevppon they
undertooke to protect vs, who otherwise like to haue
plotted some mischeife against vs as at Tripoli some
Ianizaries had almost betrayed about this tyme an English
gentleman, by selling him to husbandmen, within land for a
slaue. An other tyme having a Ianizary to protect me, and

\textsuperscript{213} From Mekkárecî, a professional hirer of pack
animals. Moryson must have heard an Italian version. RM.
landing in a Greeke Iland, the wemen hidd all their bedding, bread and meat, lest he should force them to intertaine vs for litle or nothing, since they vs e to take any thing from them, and going iourneys in tymes of peace to extort victualls from them for litle or nothing, but when one of our Company /10/ being a Christian, and speaking the Greeke tongue, told them we would pay a iust and honest price for any thing we tooke, they presently receiued vs into their houses, and furnished vs with all necessaries for meat and lodging. An other tyme landing at an Iland of Greece without any Ianizarie to protect me, and walking abroad, a Plebean Turke mett me, and taking my hatt in his hand first desyred to borrow it for a base vse, (for the forme not vnlike the pann of a Closestoole) and after flung it into the durt. For a Christian having no Ianizarie with him cannot avoyd many such insolencyes, though myselfe had the happ to meet /20/ with very few like affronts, and neuer to receiue blow from Ianizarie or other, which notwithstanding are no rare accidents vnto Christians.

Of the Ianizaries it is vulgarly sayd they haue all skill in one manuall trade or other (as the very Emperor hath), but as all Turkes are idle, and very slow woorkmen for gaine, which they cannot enjoy further then from hand to mouth, so I did neuer see any Ianizarie working at his manuall trade. To conclude the insolency of the Ianizaries cannot well be imagined much lesse described, by whome the
Ottomon Empire seemes to stand, and the /30/ Emperors first to enter. For the heyre of the Emperor assoone as he is circumcised, vnder pretence to gouerne a Province, is sent away to be hidden from the Ianizaries lest they should cast their eyes vpon him, or he insinuated himselfe into their loue, and while in that Province he expects his fathers death, nothing is more dangerous for him, then to affect to be esteemed and renowned of them. The new Emperor thinkes not himselfe safe till he be saluted by them, beginning his Raigne with their iojyfull shouts, and a largesse or donatiue giuen to them, besides the fore said small increase of each mans pay. So as they are and still grow more /40/ and more like the Pretorian bands in the State of Rome, who being at hand nere the Citty, at first strengthned the choice of the Emperors, but at last named and deposed them at pleasure.214 No doubt the Ianizaries want litle of their power, and pride, for in the life of Amurath father to [Amurath] Mahomett the third living at the tyme of my being at Constantinople, they made a tumult requiring the head of the cheife Visere much esteemed of the Emperor only because he had putt a Ianizarie to death by due forme of Iustice, and the Emperor was forced to giue

214 It is natural for Morison to think of classical rather than contemporary parallels. However, in this particular instance, the comparison is illuminating. Like the Praetorian Guard, the Janissaries started to butcher the Emperors they were meant to protect. Osman II was killed in 1622 when he threatened their privileges.
them his head before they would be appeased.\textsuperscript{215} And because they will not be Iudged but by their owne Agha, nor can without /50/ tumult indure any of their number to be putt to death, the Custome was then priviately to strangle such of them, as had deserued to dye. At my being there I remember that walking in the streets, I did see a dead Carrosse that had bene cast out, which being naked the person and quality of the dead man could not be knowne, but the vulgar opinion was, that he should be a Ianizarie so strangled, because no man durst proceed against him by publick iustice. Many tumults //

\textit{Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:35}

like to the former haue bene raised by them, wherein they haue druen the Emperor into great straights, but none more famous then that which hapned there shortly after my retorne vpon the death of the Emperor then being, which the French history relates at large, and to the same I referr the Reader. Finally howsoever the wicked practice of killing the Emperors brothers, takes away all likely hood\textsuperscript{216} of any Ciuill warr among them (by which Commonly

\textsuperscript{215} Sokollu Mehmed who had been Grand Vizier for many years, (and subsequently had many enemies, amongst whom there may have been some Janissaries) was assassinated by a dervish in 1578. Mehmed Pasha, who was not a grand vizier, paid the Janissaries in debased coin, and he had to be sacrificed by Murad III in 1588. Since Moryson got his information from Barton, I tend to think this refers to the latter case, since Barton was in Turkey by that date. See Inalcik, p. 92.

\textsuperscript{216} Hughes has "good", p. 57.
all kingdoms and Empires haue bene ouerthrowne) yet Christians haue one probable hope, that as the Pretorian bands of Rome at last vsurping the power to name, and depose Emperors, /10/ without any decree of the Senate, and often contrary to the same, did first wound and by degrees weaken the majesty thereof, till it was transplanted into Germany, whereat this day it languisheth so the Ianizaries by like insolency, if not presently, yet in short tyme, will breake the power of the Turkish tyranny.

The Army hath other footmen but of small reputation being neither tributary children, nor trayned vpp in that discipline. Such are the Azapli, whome the Italians call Asappi, having no stipend in peace, but only in warr, being otherwise imployed about the Navye.217 And these are the sonnes of Turkes knowne from others by their fowre /20/ Cornerd Capp of redd cloth, vulgarly called Tachia.218 Also they haue an other kinde of Footemen like to the former called Voinichlar, raised out of Walachia, who haue no stipend at all, but serue in the Campe only to be free from Tributes.219 And both these kindes of Footemen are only

217 Variously transcribed as azeb and azap, they were marines.

218 The takke is the skullcap upon which the head-dress or turban sits. RM.

219 Voynuk was a slang term for a "non-Muslim serving as a horse groom in the Ottoman army." Redhouse Yeni Türkçe - Inglisce Sözlük, seventh edition (Istanbul, 1984).
vsed as Pyoners and for all base services. They only are beaten to the first assault of beseiged Castles, and exposed by the Turkes like so many beasts to be murthered, and fill the ditches, that vppon their dead bodyes the Ianizaries may by the breaches enter the Castles and Townes.

{ m.n. 31, 32. Of their nauall power.)

Touching the nauall power, I haue spoken of the Admirall among /30/ the cheife Comaunders. The Emperor cannot want matter to build Shipps, having most large Coasts of the Sea shadowed with vast woods, but his cheife woodds most vast, and most fitt to make tymber for this purpose, are said to be in Albania Carimania Trapezuntium and most abundantly in Nicomedia, all Prouinces lying close vppon the Sea. At this tyme whereof I write they had of their owne few and vnskilfull woorkmen to builde shipps; only there wanted not Couetous Christians, who for large stipends wrought with them, and taught their art vnto them, so as after the nauall defeate of the Turkes at Corzolari (called the defeate of Lepanto) they /40/ could the next yeare bring forth a Navye, which seemed able [and] and willing to fight with the christians. But no doubt the Gallies of the Turkes are neither so well built, nor so swift in saile, nor so fitt to fight, nor so strong, nor

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220 From the area of Trebizond in the north east of Turkey. OED lists "Trapezuntine" as a noun and adjective.
built of so durable Timber, as those of the Spaniards, Venetians and other Christians their enemyes. And howsoever the Gallies, some Fifty in number, yearely wont to be sent out, to cleare the Sea of Pyrats, and diverse lesse Gallies and small Barques armed by priuate Turkes to robb Christians (many tymes not sparing those that were in league with them,) gaue some good meanes to furnish the Turkes Nauie with Marriners; yet since the Iewes and Christians had all traffique in their hands, so as nothing was exported by Turkish Shipps, (excepting some twelue great Shipps each of seauen hundreth or a Thousand Tonns, built rather for burthen then warr, which the Emperor had to bring necessaryes yearely from Egipt, to Constantinople), and since all Turkes and Christian subjects//


are by nature slothfull, which kinde of men loue not the trouble and danger of the Sea, the Emperor was forced to vse Cow heards and Shepheardes to fitt the sailes, and row in the Gallies, And howsoever the Greekes had some practice at Sea, to sayle [by] the Coast rather then by Compasse; yet they being slaues and Christians, the Turkes could promise themselves no faithfull seruice from them especially in tymes of danger. So as I dare be bold to say the Turkish mariners were partly vnskilfull in the art, partly vnfaithfull to them, and generally all dasterly in Courage.
They consisted of Christians taken Captiues, most comonly in places /10/ farr distant from the Sea, and of condemned men, all chayned to the oares, except cases of necessity forced them to vse christian Greekes and Country people, and this made them gently to vse all Captiues and to preferr all voluntary forsakers of the Christian faith, who were skilfull Seamen, or Carpenters to build shipps (as also Sadlers for their horses and Iuellers to make treasure portable) and much to esteeme the said Captiues, if they would torne Mahometans. Barbarossa the famous Pyratt of the mediterranean sea, in the tyme of Charles the fifth Emperor of Germany, forsaking the Christian faith and becoming Mahometan, was made Admirall /20/ of the Turkish Nauye, who subdued the kingdome of Tunis in Africk and made the Turkes somewhat better Seamen then they had formerly bene, but nothing equall to the Christians. Their Navall power in those dayes was seene at Goletta, at Cyprus, at Malta, and at their great defeat at [the] Corsolari, since which ouerthrowe to the tymes whereof I write, they neuer drew forth their full forces to fight at Sea. They had at this tyme a place in Pera or Galata beyond the water from Constantinople walled in for building and wintering of Gallies, which the christians call Arsenale, the Turkes Terferate, And without the walles it had /30/ Thirty two vaults, but within, it was narrow and of small Compasse. They said that two hundreth woorkemen did daily labour
therein and two hundredth Masters or cheife Mariners, had each man ten Aspers by the day, and that Fifty Carpenters, and Artificers had each man twelve Aspers by the day when they wrought; and sixe Aspers when they had no woorke. That they had a thousand Asappi (vsed also for footemen in the Army as I formerly shewed) which did woorke about the Gallies, and had each man fower Aspers by the day. That in this Arsenale at that tyme were two hundred Gallies, and twelue Gallions, but that the Emperor /40/ could in short space for his full force send three hundred Gallies to Sea, besides some of fower oares and small Barques to victle and attend them.

Within some sixteene yeares last past, the generall peace of Christendomme made our soldiers, for want of meanes to liuе, turne Pyratts, who having no safety in the Ports of christian Princes, retyred themselues to Algier in Barbary, the people whereof and of the parts adioyning, are most daring of all the Turkes (except those perhaps vppon the Confines of Hungarie). They gladly intertayned these Pyratts, and were content at /50/ first to haue share of the spoyles and to goe with them to Sea, but of late they haue gotten some 60. or 80 good shipps of warr from the Christians by their meanes, and from them haue learned such skill to saile by the Compasse, as they haue bene able to man these Shipps with Turkes, and haue had the dareing to robb vppon the Ocean, which they never knew, nor durst
behold in any former age. And of what consequence this may proue //

{ c.w. , after ages }

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:37.

after ages shall finde (I feare me) by wofull experience.

{ m.n. 2, 3. Of their ciuill iustice. }

I haue formerly spoken of Iudges and magistrates, and the stipends they haue from the Emperor,. Now it remaynes to add something of Ciuill Iustice. The strict observance of lawes among the Turkes is worthely called Tyranny, as I haue formerly shewed, since that which is iust must be done iustly. Whereof there is no practice in this Empire. I formerly said that there be two supreme Iudges called Cadilischieri which reside at Constantinople, the one sett ouer the Causes of Asia, the other ouer those of Europe, both /10/ vnder the Mo[s]fti with absolute authority. These two appoint all inferior Iudges of the law, as those called Cadi, which are magistrates sett ouer Prouinces and Cittyes, with a mixed authority of our Bishopps, and lay Iudges, for the law of Mahomett is obserued aswell in administration of iustice, as in matters of religion. Each Citty and Towne hath military magistrates, as Sangiachi, who are like the Captaines of Garrisons, and Gouernors of Townes, and if there be any Castle or Fort, it hath also an Agha to commaund it. And as with vs in tyme of warr the Ciuill Iudges giue /20/ place to Marshalls having martiall
law in their hands; so among the Turkes living with the same discipline at home as in the Campe, (the Common wealth being as it were governed by the sword) These Cadies are under the authority of the Sangiachs in each Citty or Towne. And from them there isappeal granted to the Diuan or Court of the Basha gouerning diuerse Provinces and from those Courts to that of the Visperes in the Emperors Serraglio at Constantinople as from it to the M<o[s]f>ti the oracle of the Mahometan lawe, from whose sentence there is no appeale. One thing causeth great oppression to the Christian subiects /30/ that howsoever they are more in number then the Turkes; yet they have no peculiar Judges, but have their causes tryed under Turkish magistrates, where the witnes of a Turke is taken against a Christian, but not of a Christian against a Turke. What Iustice can be expected where a Common soldier for mony without [any] triall at law, or private examination of [of] the cause, will beat with Cudgells a Christian, or common Turke, euen accused by a Christian, till he craue mercy of his enemy. When wee being Christian straungers retorned from Hierusalem to Joppa, and there found an Arabian /40/ Turke, who had done vs wrong by the way, vppon our guides accusation, and three Meideines giuen to a Ianizarie, he was beaten till he kissed our feete, And if they dare doe this to the Turkes, how may you thinck Christians are vsed.

Hughes amends to "Visyeres", p. 61.
The false accusations and frauds, which daily they lay upon Christians especially upon strangers (whome they call Francks of their league with Fraunce) are vulgarly called Vanies. Such was that which Villamont a french gentleman relates of the Sangiach of Hierusalem, who cast the Guardian of the latin monastery into prison, pretending that a Spanish old woman coming with him, had brought the dead body of the knight of Spaynes sonne to be buryed there, and howsoever //

fol:38. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. the fraude was manifest; yet the Guardian vnderstanding that it was a mony matter, offered Thirty Crownes and the Sangiach demaunding five hundred, at last he paid Fifty to haue his freedome. The like is that which he also relates of the Christians at Tripoli, who being accused by the Turkes for killing a More, whose dead body was cast among their dwellings, were forced to pay one hundred Crownes to be acquitted. like fraudes they continually practice against Christian societys and privyate men by casting a dead body before their dores or burying it nere them, and as it were /10/ casually finding it out, or by like fraudes drawing them into suspition of Crimes, from all which notwithstanding they are redeemed with mony except they be accused to haue done or spoken any thing

222 Villamont, sig. 2K3r - 2K3v, Book II Chapter 18.
223 Hughes has "of", p. 62.
against Mahometts Religion or be intangled in like netts, from which there is no redemption but death or turning Mahometans. When my selfe and my brother tooke our journey from Haleppo towards Constantinople, an English Marchant Factor to Sir John Spencer Alderman of London\textsuperscript{224} sent divers Camells loaded with his masters goods, as kerseyes and Tinne, which were to passe in the same Carauan /20/ with vs, and howsoever the Cameldriuers, and many Turkes knew them to be his goods, and he not without a present or guift commended both vs and these his goods to the protection of a cheife magistrate passing along with vs; yet my brother dying by the way, all these goods were seized vpon for the Emperor, only to putt a vania vpon the marchant, who not without trouble and bribes long after recovered them againe.\textsuperscript{225} It cannot be expressed, what

\textsuperscript{224} "Sir John Spencer was a clothworker and one of the richest men in London. He was Alderman from 1583 to his death in March 1610, and was knighted in 1595. He was one of the leading members of the Levant Company." Sanderson, p. 6 note. The DNB records that in an age conspicuous for its charitable giving, Spencer left nothing of his vast wealth to any charitable cause. Spencer kept a tight rein on his servants. He recalled his agent George Dorrington from Aleppo for not hearing from him, and Francis, George's brother writes to Sanderson that Spencer "...considereth nothing but what is for his own benefit", pp. 171 - 172. On the contrary, Moryson held George Dorrington in high esteem,"...never to be named by me without mention of love and respect". See Itinerary A, II, 62 - 67. As Henry, Fynes's brother was already sick with dysentry before the journey started, perhaps Spencer blamed Dorrington for the seizure of his merchandize.

\textsuperscript{225} As Moryson italicized this word, it is almost certainly from the Italian. Avania means an unjust imposition imposed by Turks on Christians. Sanderson uses the word in this context when he got into trouble in
great injuryes the Turkes will doe vnto Christians vppon the lightest causes. When we came neere vnto Hierusalem, a horseman of the Army crossing our way /30/ rann a full course at one of our Company with his launce, in rest, who only escaped killing, by the slipping of the launce into the pannell of the Asse wherevppon he rode, and with like force he was ready to assaile each man of vs, and that only (as our Interpreter told vs) because wee did him no reuerence as he passed, so that we were glad to tumble off from our Asses, and bend our bodyes to him, which done,

Jerusalem in 1601, "By means of mony the Bassas Caia deputie, in his masters absence, thretned me imprisonment, toke away my swourd, and with // 12 ducats. of gould I stopt his mouth and salved the avania". Sanderson, pp. 18 – 19.

In a letter from Ralph Fitch at Aleppo to Sanderson at Pera dated 26 November 1596, it is apparent that the goods, some "20 sommes" or camel loads, "beinge in troble, returned hether." Sanderson, p. 165. This was almost five months after Henry Moryson's death on 4 July 1596. Ralph Fitch explored Persia, India and Siam from 1583 to 1591, and was consulted when the East India Company (which grew out of the Levant Company) wanted advice on local conditions for its early ventures. Fitch's story was reproduced by Richard Hakluyt in 1598. As Jack Beeching the editor of the abridged Penguin Hakluyt writes, "'Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o'th'Tiger' remarks the witch in Act I of Macbeth; and turning Hakluyt's page we read, with a secret shock, of a ship called Tiger, her destination Aleppo." Ralph Fitch was on his outward journey in 1583. See Richard Hakluyt, Voyages and Discoveries, edited by Jack Beeching (Harmondsworth, 1972), pp. 27, 252.

226 OED's entry for rest, "verb 3. 5. trans. To lay (a lance) in rest. Obs." uses a sole quotation from 1632, "The Corse Captaine ranne with his launce rested fully at him." The lance must have been in position for combat here and in Moryson's description.

227 "I. 1. A piece of cloth placed under the saddle to protect the horse's back from being galled (obs.); also the stuffed lining." OED.
he rode away with a sterne proud looke. For a Turke will not abide any christian to looke him full in the face without striking him, so as I then vsing to walke with my eyes cast on the ground, as going /40/ about some busines, tooke that ill custome which I could neuer leaue, though I haue often bene reprooved by freinds for the same. Neither may a Christian carry Armes, yea woe to him that drawes a knife against a Turke; so as we hearing what Asses patience wee must haue, except we would perish in the iourney, by our freinds advice left our Rapiers in a Chest at Venice travelling through all Turky with our hands in our hose. At Hierusalem wee were forced to beare a thousand iniuries, hardly keeping the very boyes from leaping vppon our shoulders from the Shopps and higher parts of /50/ the way while their Parents looked on, and commended them for so doing, besides many wrongs done vs in the way by Mores // Booke i. The Turkes Common wealth. Chap:i. fol:39.

228 It seems to be an almost universal phenomenon, that social status is related to height from the ground. Thus the pioneers have a lower status than the cavalrymen. As far as this sipahi was concerned, for Christian dogs to remain on their asses was in itself a provocation.

229 Moryson's description of the particular Turkish contempt against the Venetians, and the foolhardiness of carrying weapons gives added significance to Othello's final anguished outburst,
And say besides that in Aleppo once,
Where a malignant and a turbaned Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
I took by th'throat the circumcisèd dog
And smote him thus. V. 2. 361 - 365.
The man who had talked of his exploits to win Desdemona, remembers the most extraordinary one now that he has lost her.
and *Arabians*, who mixed with some other nations inhabit [that] that Country (the *Iewes* only living scattered vpon the Sea Coasts and in Citties of traffique) and a more wicked people cannot be imagined, so as the *Duke of Normandie* being carryed on some of their backs towards *Hierusalem*, & meeting a freind returning into *Fraunce*, did pleasantly and in that part iustly desyre him to tell his freinds there, that he saw him carried into heauen (meaning *Hierusalem*) vpon diuells backs, for litle better they were that carryed him. In our Iourney from *Tripoli*, to *Haleppo*, when our whole /10/ *Carauan* was in danger, for a fyre casually burning the Feilds, howsoever my brother and myselfe were free from causing it, yet we knowing how the magistrate would woorke vpon vs more then the rest, thought good to giue the *Ianizarie* that droue vs a large bribe to dismisse vs, and not to bring vs before him. And howsoever we were not altogether vnskilfull in the fashions of *Turky*, and did warily obserue the Customes, so as we neuer came within iust danger, nor prouoked any *Turke* [to strike] vs, (which kinde of wrong they are easily moued to offer any Christian) yet myselfe landing in the Iland *Aloni* /20/ had my hatt taken from my head (as I formerly said) and with words of scorne cast into the durt by a plebean *Turke* which I was glad to take vpp without any repining. And when I landed at *Constantinople* in a *Greeke* Shipp of

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230 Hughes omits "it", p. 63.
Candia, assoone as our Anchor was cast, many plebean Turkes, came aboard and the shipp being laded with muskedines,²³¹ they drunck as freely as if [any][they] had bene Owners, and the basest of them hardly held their hands from beating the best of the Greeke Mariners, whereof some were graue men, and well skilde in languages, though they neuer forbadd them to drinck. But within a short space, when a /30/ Ianzarize came to protect the Shipp sent from the Balye of Venice, it was no lesse straunge to see him alone beat out all the Turkes like so many doggs. To conclude it may appeare what iustice Christians may expect in this Empire by one example of the Venetians, who were in league with the Emperor, yet having a very rich Shipp robbed by Turkish Pyratts withdrawing themselfes, and bribing the cheife Visere [so as] after long delayes, [they] were forced to sett downe by the losse.

In generall howsoever the Turkes are seuer in punishing offendors, seldome vsing mercy, yet the [administration] [admiration] of iustice /40/ both towards Christians and Turkes, is made infamous by tyranny For first all Gouernors and iudges buy their offices and are often chaunged, so as they that buy being forced to sell, & hungerstarved flyes sucking more then those that are gorgerd, these Gouernors paying dearely for their places, and from the first

²³¹ "Muscadine 1. 1. In full muscadine-wine.= muscatel". OED.
entrance daily expecting a successor to recall them, [are in rapine not unlike the diuell] roaring like a lyon, because he knowes he hath but a short tyme. Againe no magistrate, nor yet a priuate man, will doe any thing for an other without a present or guift; yea the Courts of iustice are so corrupted with briberie, as the best cause is in danger to be /50/ lost, if mony be wanting, and where that is, an ill cause may pass and the woorst shalbe excused. The most Commendable thing is //

fo:40. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

that generally causes, are summarily decided and soone ended (excepting such cases as that of the Venetians foresaid shipp robbed, which they seeme to mingle with State matters.) And this exped[ition] is the greater, because they haue no multiplicity of lawes, or Pleaders, holding themselves to some morall rules left them by Mahomett. But especially because the magistrate is loth to leaue any cause to his Successor, that will yeild mony. Yea such is the Corruption of bribery and so generall, as when the Emperors mother sent a present of a whole linnen attyre richly wrought, to Elizabeth /10/ Queene of England, many peeces thereof were detayned by her women, to the vtter disgrace of the present, till our Ambassador redeemed them with more mony then [they they were woorth.] [halfe purloyned by the Officers] And as I formerly said [large allowance] the Emperors large allowance [vsed] to the Christian Ambassadors, vsed to be more then halfe purloyned
by the officers. Nether is the Emperors person free from this Corruption, no Ambassador or other great suiters being, admitted to his presence without larg presents. So as the office of the Capagi or Porters, keeping the gates of the Emperor, and other magistrates, is most gainefull /20/ for they will thrust Homer himselfe out of dores if he bring nothing.232

{ m.n. 22, 23. Of the lawes of inheritance. }

Touching the lawes of inheritance. The Emperor is heyre to all strangers dying in the hideous Gulfe of this vast Empire, be they neuer so rich Marchants; yet their goods are commonly by freinds sequestred before their death, as belonging to them. and so kept for the heyres or owners according to ev ery mans faith and honesty, which in so remote parts is not alwayes sound. And often the goods are secretly purloyned and more commonly stollen by them that are present at the partyes death. But /30/ the goods that remayne, and cannot well be hidden, are swallowed by this Gulfe. When my brother dyed in Asia, the Turkes of our Carravan not only snatched his goods, but myne also, and the magistrate (as I formerly said) seased the rich goods of Sir John Spencer, Alderman of London, in the Emperors Right, as if they had belonged to my brother. In like sort

232 Homer here probably stands for any blind man.
while I was at Scandelona, master Saunders coming from Constantinople to be Consul of the English Marchants at Haleppo, and dying by the way in Natolia, the Turkes tooke not only all his goods, but those also that belonged to his poore servants and followers. For this cause, my selfe being sick in Turkye, and fearing that my host hoped to haue my Crownes at my death, thought good to publish what mony I had about me, and so taking away all hope of gaine by my death from my Host and those of his house, from that tyme I found myselfe better vsed and attended by them.

The Condition of Subjects in Turkey is not much better. For vnmoveable goods: The Emperors soldiers haue none, nor yet his great Officers, being all Captiues or tributarye Children. And howsoever the Emperor subduing any Province divides it into Timars or Farmes giuing them vppon the foresaid Conditions to the cheife men of his Army, yet they hold them only for life, or at his pleasure. In other parts, and perhaps in these subdued Provinces, some say that private Turkes & christians haue inheritance of houses and lands, but surely they are not great for I did neuer see any Subject that was reputed to haue such inheritances,

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233 Hughes has "Scanderoon", p. 65. Formerly known as Alexandretta, it is now called Iskenderun.

234 Hughes omits "good", p. 66.

235 Hughes has "divided", p. 66.
but all looked like poore slaues, nothing being more //
Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:4i.
dangerous to any man then the reputation of rents or of mouable wealth. And the same men told me, that as the Turkes haue few lawes and short pleading, so for these lands (whatsoeuer they [th]be) their evidences are not great nor many having only a small paper subscribed by the Cady to witnes the emption or the discent.236

For moueable goods. The great men of the Army gather huge treasure, by extortion but the Emperor comonly strangles them, and takes all their goods, if they doe not convey them to some Childe or freind being most in Iewells and portable /10/ things. And for the rest of the great men he taketh their goods and giues their sonnes stipends for life. Some say that other Subiects make last wills and Testaments to giue their goods, whereof a third part belongs to the Emperor, but I rather thinck these goods are priuately conveyed to the heyre. For I am sure they are not possessed without much feare and danger, nor can be transmitted by publique act to the heyres without unavoydable oppressions. To conclude if any Turkes haue unmouable inheritances, they for these causes care not to increase them, and all their riches comonly consist/20/ing

236 "2. Roman Law. Purchase, in the contract of sale." OED. "Discent" would be the blood line of descent. Moryson's studies in the civil law are evident in his choice of words.
in moueable goods, they hide or bury them in life, and convey them secretly at death.

{ m.n. 23 - 25. Judgments corporall and capitall. }

Touching their Corporall and Capitall Judgments. For small offences they are beaten with Cudgles on the soles of the feete, the bellyes and backs, the strokes being many and paynefull according to the offence, or the anger of him that inflicts them. Myselfe did see some hanging and rotting in Chaynes vpon the Gallowes.

Also I did see one that had bene impaled (vulgarly Casuckde\textsuperscript{237}) an horrible kinde of death. The malefactor[s] carrys the woorden /30/ stake vpon which he is to dye, being eight foot long & sharpe towards one end, and when he comes into the place of execution, he is stripped into his shirt, and laid vpon the ground with his face downeward, then the sharpe end of the stake is thrust into his fundament, and beaten with beetles\textsuperscript{238} vpp into his body, till it come out, at or about his wast, then the blunt end is fastned in the ground and so he setts at litle ease, till he dye, which may be soone if the stake be driuen with fauour, otherwise, he may languish two or three dayes in

\textsuperscript{237} Kazik.

\textsuperscript{238} "N. 1. 1. An implement consisting of a heavy weight or 'head,' usually of wood, with a handle or stock, used for driving wedges or pegs..." OED.
payne and hunger, if torment will permitt him in that tyme to feele hunger; for /40/ no man dares giue him meat. They haue an other terrible kinde of death vulgarly called *Gancher*.239 The malefactor hath a rope or Chaine fastned about his body, whereof the other end is made fast to the topp of a Tower or of a Gibbett made high of purpose, and so this rope or chaine being of fitt length, his body is cast downe to pitch vppon a hooke of Iron, where he hangs till he dyes, with horror of the hight of payne, and of hunger. For howsoever he may dye presently if any vitall part pitch vppon the hooke, yet hanging by the shoulder or thigh he may liue long. And if any men giue /50/ these executed men, meat, or helpe to prolong their miserable life, he shall dye the same death; *Mores and christians* and they that are not of the Army, are often putt to this death, yea the *Beglerbegs* sometymes putt Gouernors to this death for extortions or Cruelties committed by them, or rather to gett their wealth. //

fol:42. *Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth Chap:i.* They haue an other terrible kinde of death to flea the

239 This may be Moryson's rendering of Villamont's *ganché*, sig. 2Z6r, Book III Chapter 9, which Randle Cotgrave renders, "Let fall (as in a strappado) on sharpe stakes pointed with yron, and thereon languishing vntill he dye." See his *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611), [STC 5830]. It is anglicized by William Biddulph, "And some are ganched in this manner..." See Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols, (Glasgow, 1905 - 1907), VIII (1905), 277.
skinn of from the living body, and thus they cruelly putt to death Bragadino a Venetian Gouernor of Famagosta in Cyprus, after he had yeielded the Citty vppon Composition for life to him and his soldiers.240

A Turke forsaking [his fayth] and a christian doing or speaking any thing against the law of Mahomett are burned with fyer. Traytors or those whome the Emperor so calles, are tortured vnder the nayles and with diuerse torments, but the great men of the Army are only strangled. /10/

A murtherer is putt to some of the former cruell deathes. A theefe is hanged, and I haue read of a soldier that had stollen milke and denied the fact, who was hanged vpp by the heeles, till he vomitted the milke, and after was strangled. The Adulterer is imprisoned for some moneths, and after redeemed with mony, but the Adultresse is sett naked vppon an Ass with the bowells of an oxe about her neck, and so she is whipped about the streets having stones and durt cast at her.241 If a Christian man committ

240 The Venetians had made a last stand at the fortress of Famagusta, and repelled the Turks for almost a year until, despairing of the Holy League ever rescuing them, Marc Antonio Bragadin surrendered in August 1571. By October the League had routed the Turks at Lepanto, but Cyprus was never recovered by Venice as the Holy League of the Papacy, Spain, and Venice then dissolved in recriminations.

241 Moryson read this in Georgievits, pp. F7r, F7v. The unfortunate Janissary was hung in Damascus.
fornication with a Turkish woman both are putt to death, and this Common danger to both, makes them /20/ more wary of others, and more confident to trust one an other. but the sinne is Common, and at Constantinople the houses of Ambassadors being free from the search of magistrates very Turkes, yea the Ianizaries guarding the persons and houses of these Ambassadors, will not stick to play the bawdes for a small reward. In case of this offence nothing frees a Christian from death, but his turning Mahometan. Yet I remember that I saw a Tower [from] [at] Tripoli called the tower of Loue, built by a rich Christian to redeeme his life being condemned for this Crime. But if a Turke lye with a Christian woman, /30/ he is not putt to death, but sett an vpon Asse with his face towards the tayle, which he holds in his hand, and hath the bowells of an oxe cast about his neck, and so is ledd through the streetes in scorne. If a Christian lye with a Christian woman, the fault is punished with paying of mony. All harlotts write their names in the booke of the Cady or the Sobbassa, and not only the Turkes but euen the Ianizaries are permitted to haue acquaintance with them so it be not in the two lents, wherein they yearely fast, For in that Case, while I was in Turkye many women /40/ were sewed in sacks, and so drowned in the Sea at Constantinople. Generally for greater Crymes, the Iudge of the Turkes deuiseth and imposeth a death [with] greater torment especially for reproching their law or Prophett, which a Christian cannot redeeme,
but by turning Turke.

{ m.n. 46, 47. Of degrees in the common wealth and Family. }

Touching degrees in the Common wealth, and Family, I haue spoken of the former particularly in this Chapter, and haue shewed that they are all knowne by their heads, I will only add that there be not any noble Familyes in this Empire, excepting that of the Emperors, who are called Ottomans, /50/ of the first of that Family Founder of the Turkish Empire. There be no dukes, Earles, Barons, knights nor gentlemen neither can any vertue bring a man to such dignityes, the greatest //

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap.i. fol:43.

men being slaues howsoever with military titles and gouernments like players on a Stage they carry themselues like Princes for the short and slippery tearme of life. A man most basely borne may attaine the highest places vnder the Emperor, So [he] will [he] turne Mahometan and be strong valiant and active of body and mynde. Neither doth the valor or greatnes of the father anything profitt, but rather hurt the sonne, all authority in the Empire being putt in the hands of new men, that are Captiues or tributary Children or such as turne Mahometans at ripe yeares. They haue no Gentry nor high /10/ nobility by discent, nor Armes belonging to seuerall Familyes. Only the Emperor to leade[s] his Army, hath a Standard, and therein

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beares a new moone. For the Turkes when they first see a new moone, fall to their prayers, and thanck God they haue liued to see it.

Of the miserable state of Captiues whose buyers haue power ouer their goods, and ouer their bodyes to prostitute them to lust, to make them Eunuches; and to dispose of them at pleasure, I haue formerly spoken, as likewise I haue shewed, that the Condition of borne Turkes, and of christian Subjects, is /20/ in many [things] litle better then that of slaues.

For the priuate Family each man may haue, as many wiues as he is able to feede so he take a letter of permission from the Cady, and some of them keepe their wiues in diuerse Cittyes to auoyd the strife of women; yet if they liue both in one house with him, they seldom disagree, being not preferred one aboue an other. The Turkes vse not to take a dowrye but as they buy captiue women, (whome they may sell againe or keepe for Concubines or for any other seruice); so they also buy Free women to be their wiues, so as the father is /30/ inriched by having many and fayre daughters. Diuorce is permitted for peruerse manners, for barrennes or like faults allowed by the Cady. As they buy Captiue women, so may they buy any other for Concubines so they write

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242 Hughes has "leasure", p. 70.

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their names in the booke of the *Cady*. For as Christians are marryed by Preists in the Church; so Turkes are marryed by taking a letter, or bill from the *Cady* (who is their spirituall Iudge) and writing the mariadge in his booke at his priuate house. But at the day of mariadge, they also vse to bathe, and to pray in their *Moschees*.

Lastly it is no disgrace to be borne of a Captiue woman, or out /40/ of mariadge, for that is the Condition, of the very Emperors, whose mothers are Captiues, and before the birth of their first sonne, neuer haue [a] letter of dowry to make them free women and wiues, which after they haue a sonne was of old wont to be graunted them, but the Emperors of late tymes seldom give that letter to them, for ielousy lest they should practice their deathes to haue power in the raigne of their succeeding sonne.

To conclude howsoever this power of the *Turkish* Empire may seeme dreadfull to all Christendome; yet the Emperors of late being giuen to pleasure and nothing warlike, the whole force being /50/ //

fol:44. *The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii.*

not possibly to be vnited for feare of *Christians*, and other subjects rebelling, the greatest part of the Army consisting of baser kindes of horsmen and footemen, the best horsemen generally being corrupted with rurall sloth and dilicate living in Cittyes, the best footemen the
Ianizaries having lost the old seuerity of manners, and therewith the old valor of their Predecessors, many of them being now marryed, and all prone to insolent mutinyes, the soldiers generally wanting defensiue Armes, and for offence having few musketts or shott (great part of the Foote vsing bowes and Arrowes in stead thereof, as the horsmen /10/ haue no Carbines,243 but staues or speares), the particuler soldiers of Asia being more effeminate then the rest, the iustice of the State being growne to the hight of extortion, and oppression, the zeale of their religion being generally in all degrees abated, and the great Commaunders having of late made strong rebellions against the Emperors, For these reasons, and because no Tyranny, (especially so great as this) hath euer bene durable, and lastly because [no Tyranny (especially so great as] th[is]e Empire is so great, as by his owne weight it seemes to threaten ruine, Christians may well hope that the power of this great enemy /20/ is declining, if not sodeinely falling, which God in his mercy graunt.244

243 A cavalryman's pistol. OED's first recorded use is 1605.

244 Clothes and customs, and the organization and causes of Turkish military might, along with predictions of imminent collapse were the staple fare of most contemporary descriptions. Western Europeans were too ready to anticipate the Ottomans being sick men of Europe. In 1683, half a century after Moryson's death, the Ottomans launched a devastating attack on Vienna which almost succeeded.
Chap:ii.

Of the Common wealth of Poland according to the seuerall heads conteyned in the title of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 27, 28. The historicall Introduction }

For the Historicall Introduction, know that the Polakes or Polonians are discended of the old Sarmatians or Slauonians, of which nation Lechus a young Prince, to avoid factious sedition at home, ledd forth a Colony in the yeare of our lord /30/ 550, and planted himselfe in a Country full of thick woods, which since hath bene called Poland of the plaine ground.¹ The Family of Lechus being extinguished, twelue Palatines gouerned the Common wealth, called Vuoyeuuodes to this day,² and next to the king in authority, not hereditary, but chosen by the king for life.

¹ Sarmatism was "...a theory elaborated by various writers at the beginning of the [sixteenth] century to the effect that the Polish szlachta [nobility] were not of the same Slav stock as the peasantry, but descendants of the Sarmatians, a warrior people from the Black Sea Steppe who had swept through South-Eastern Europe in the sixth century...its influence was visible in manners and tastes." Adam Zamoyski, The Polish Way, (London, 1987), p. 107, and referred to hereafter as Zamoyski. I have not been able to find Lechus, but he may be as mythical as the Sarmatian descent of the Polish nobility. Poland was so called because the pacific agriculturalists, called themselves people of the fields, Polanie. Zamoyski, p. 8.

² Wojewoda. Moryson seem to be transposing later developments, since the Palatines, which this word means, were the ministers of individual Dukes. Zamoyski, p. 25.
But after twenty yeares these Palatines disagreeing, Cracus nephew to the king of Bohemia was chosen Prince About the yeare 700, who built the Cittye Crakaw, at this day the seate of the kings. His Family being extinguished, in the yeare 730, the Common wealth was againe /40/ gouerned by twelue Palatines to the yeare 750; at which tyme the people growing weary of many Gouernors, againe chose them a Prince. About the yeare 842 (others write 806. ), Piasti was chosen Prince, whose Family ruled to the yeare 1370, as it were by hereditary succession, but so as every Prince was chosen to succeed the other. Myesco a Prince of that Family became Christian with all the nation in the yeare 965 </>. whose sonne Boleslaus had the title of// Booke i. The Common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii. fo:45. king and a Crowne giuen him in the yeare 1000. by the Germane Emperor, Otho the third with freedome from all tributes and homage to the Emperor. Cassimere a Prince of the said Family being a Monck the Polonians obtayned of Pope Benedict in the yeare 1041. to haue him freed of his vowe, and to be their king, vppon three Conditions, first that each man of that kingdome by the pole should yearely

\[^{1}\text{Cracow.}\]

\[^{4}\text{Mieszko I, Duke of Poland (966 - 992) was succeeded by his son Boleslaw I (992 - 1025), who was recognized as King of Poland by Emperor Otto III. The Piast dynasty lasted until 1370. Zamoyski, pp. 10 - 12.}\]

\[^{5}\text{Kazimierz I (1034 - 1058), had had to flee during the civil war, but was restored in 1040. Zamoyski, pp. 17 - 18.}\]
pay an halfpenny to the Bishopp of Rome (called St. Peters
due) secondly that all the men should shawe the haire of
the head vpward aboue the eares (which most of them vse to
this day ). Thirdly that /10/ vpon holy dayes all the men
should weare white linnen Cloth for girdles,. About the
yeare 1124 the Palatine of Crakawe forsaking the king in a
battell for shame hanged himselfe, since which tyme the
Castellan of Crakaw (contrary to the manner of Poland) is
preferred before the Palatine in dignitye and authority.⁶
King Cassimere not long after dying, the kingdome was long
divided betweene that kings sonnes till by their death, it
was againe vnited vnder one king. About the yeare 1370.
knight Cassimere in his life tyme appointed Lodwike his
sisters sonne, by the king of Hungary to succeed /20/ him,
and the kingdome of Poland came to a straunger, which had
bene to this tyme gouerned by naturall Polonians.⁷ But
Lodwick being dead the Polonians gaue a yonger daughter of
the foresaid extinct Family (not respecting any right of
the Eldest sister) to Iagellan Duke of Lituania and chose
him king in the yeare 1386.⁸ Albrecht master of the knights
of the Teutonick order in Prussen did in the yeare 1521.

⁶ The name Castellan (Kasztelan) derived from "...the
royal castle from which he exercised judicial,
administrative and military authority on the king's
behalf." Zamoyski, p. 25.

⁷ Louis of Hungary (1370 - 1382).

⁸ The name of Iogaila Duke of Lithuania was transformed
to Jagiello, and the consequent dynasty named after him.
Zamoyski, pp. 43 - 44.
make agreement with the king of Poland that the order being extinct, the king should presently have part of Prussen, and part should remayne to him and his heires males with \(/30/\) the title of duke, and for want of such heires fall to the king of Poland. The foresaid Family of Iagellon beginning to raigne 1386. by continuall descent succeeded in that kingdome to the yeare 1572, as if it had bene by right of inheritance, yet not one of them being Crowned that was not first chosen in a solemne and free Assembly by the Palatines and gentlemen of Poland. At that tyme the heires males of that Family failing, Henry of Valois brother to the French king was chosen king, and he within few yeares returning to inherrit the kingdome of Fraunce the Polonians \(/40/\) in the yeare 1575, chose for their king Stephen of the Family of Bathori, Prince of Transiluania, and howsoever part of the Polonians at the same tyme chose Maximilian brother to the Emperor of Germany, yet he made no warr for that right, after Stephen was possessed of the kingdome.

\{ m.n. 46, 47. The king then liuing. \}

Stephen being dead some of the Polonians in the yeare 1587. chose Sigismund the third who liued and raigned at the tyme of my being there, and was sonne and heyre to the king of Suecia and by the mothers syde of the foresaid Family of
Iagellon. But an other part did againe choose the said Maximilian who beseiging Crakawe was opposed, and putt to the woorst by zamoski the Archchancelor of Poland and so he returning into/
{ c.w. Germany. }
fol:46. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii.
Germany to reinforce his Army, Sigismund was crowned the same yeare at Crakawe. Zamosky followed Maximilian and defeating his forces tooke him prisoner in the moneth of January 1588. and kept him in Poland till the moneth of September in the yeare 1589, at which tyme he freed himselfe as the Germans write) in the manner following. A place in Silesia was appointed for treaty of peace, whether the Polonians brought Maximilian, and the Silesians at the same tyme levying forces for Hungarie, Maximilian by that meanes finding his party strongest, the Polonians being farr inferior in number refused to retorne with them into Poland. At last Sigismund marrying the daughter of the Archduke of Gratz vnkle to Maximilian, he yeilded his right to Sigismund. The Tartarians in the yeare 1589 prouoked by the Cosacchi Polonian horsmen vppon the borders, did invade Podolia with a great Army, but were defeated by the

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9 Sigismund or Zygmont III (1587 - 1632) was the son of John III of Sweden and Catherine Jagiellon.
10 We would probably say "worsted".
11 Podolia is now in the south-western part of Ukraine.
Polonians and lost 25000 men in that battell. wherevpon they craued ayde of the Turkish Emperor, so as the Cosacchi also prouoking the Turkes by many skirmishes vppon the Confines of Walachia and the Cheife Gouernors of the Turkes demaunding of Zamoski to /20/ haue the breakers of peace deliuered to his hands to be punished and Zamoski referring the matter to the king, and the king referring it to the Generall Assembly of the Nobles, the Turkes in the yeare 1590 prepared for open warr, and were ready to invade Poland, had not the English Ambassador at Constantinople made peace betweene them as the Common voyce was, and as himselfe avowed to me.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{12} For Edward Barton's influence at the Sublime Porte, see fols. 17 - 19.
king, (whereof the historyes yeild many examples) and had
great respect for want of heyres males to the Father to
chuse the male childe on the mothers syde of the blood
Royall /40/ if he were Capable of that dignity, (for which
respect Sigismund the king then living was chosen by them).
In the tymes betweene the death of the king, and the Choyce
of the new king, by an old lawe the Arch Bishopp of Gesna
hath the priuileged to call the Assemblyes, and to publish
the choyce of the king, who is chosen by the Palatines,
Bishopps Castellanes deputies of Townes and Cityyes, and by
all the gentlemen. For euen those gentlemen, haue voyces
who are become so poore, as they are forced to attend on
other gentlemen as likewise those who come from holding the
plowgh, bare footed /50/ without hose or shoops, haue
asmuch freedome in their voices as any other. At this
election to avoide confusion, they ch[oo][u]se Certaine
gentlemen who like Tribunes pronounce the voyces, and these
in latter ages haue vsurped so great authority to the //

{ c.w. preiudice, }

13 Also spelt Guesna on fols. 48 and 55, Gniezno is its
modern name. Zamoyski, pp. 95 - 96.

14 Hughes changes the word to "shooes", p. 75, which
would mean that Moryson is repeating himself. Perhaps the
'h' of the preceding word "hose" infected this word. I
wonder whether the word was meant to be "slop" or "slops",
which OED variously defines as a jacket, footwear or baggy
breeches. See n 1. meanings 2, 3 and 4.

15 A soaring birth-rate among the minor nobility meant
they had nothing to offer except a vote and a sword. As
they could not indulge in trade, they were obliged to take
service." Zamoyski, p. 137.
Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii fol:47.

preiudice of the kings (whome they daily restraine within stricter limits) as therein the [passe] Bishoppe of Leopolis and his Suffragane yea the very Palatines, and Castelanes.16 Their History sheweth that some Prouinces of Germany belonged of old to Poland, which in process of tyme by Contracts of mariage, by diuisions of Prouinces among brothers, and by warr especially Ciuill, became alienated from Poland which notwithstanding [hath] in the meane tyme vnited to itselfe many other Prouinces no lesse then the former in greatnes, riches and power. The heyres males of the dukes of Masouia, failing that dukedome was vnited to /10/ to Poland.17 The large dukedome of Lituania18 was vnited to the same, by Duke Iagello when he was Chosen king of Poland vppon his mariage to a daughter of the last kings bloud, and howsoever the Princes of Lituania being of the dukes Family long deferred the vniting of that Prouince to Poland, lest they should loose an hereditary Dukedome for an electiue kingdome, yet their [heyres] males fayling, it

16 On p. 75, Hughes amends "the" to "they" and adds a "the" before the Bishop of Leopolis, (Lwów ? OL has Löwen berg) to make sense of this sentence. A Suffragan is subject to the authority of a senior bishop. Morison means that the gentlemen, those whom Zamoyski calls the szlatcha, have grown more powerful at the expense of the king, and other notables. Note how a classical political model, the Tribune, is the first to spring to Morison's mind.

17 The Mazovian dynasty died out in 1526. Zamoyski, p. 33.

18 Lithuania.
was at last fully united to the same. The Province of Livonia was wonn by Armes from the order of the Teutonick knights and from the dukes of Moscouy. After warr betweene the Polonians and the said order of knights, at last agreement was made, that the Polonians should presently possess great part of the dukedom of Prussen, and the said order being then extinguished, the rest should remayne to the master thereof with title of duke, and to his heyres males, he being a Germane Prince of the Family Brandeburge, yet as for want of heyres males that part also should be united to the kingdom of Poland. This Province is more ample and rich then almost any other of the Germans, whose language they speake. The Citizens and Marchants are most rich and magnificall, and the husbandmen are very rich and next to the English of any I haue seene in forayne parts. The Cittyes are many and stately as Konigsberg the seate of the duke, as Marienburg a Fort and Cheife Citty of the Polonians part, as the free Citty Danzk, sumptuous in buildings and famous for Traffique, and the little but most pleasant Citty Meluin, and more pleasant for the Civill Inhabitants, where the English Marchants had their Staple, which is of no

19 Livonia is modern Latvia.

20 It is an irony of history that the Brandenburg Hohenzollern male line did not fail.

21 Marienburg, or Malbork.

22 Gdańsk.
small moment to inrich any Cityy. 23 The two Cityyes last named are free and gouerned by their owne magistrates, yet acknowledge the king of Poland, who hath an officer in each /40/ of them to gather his tributes, but they will not receiue his forces, nor himselfe without a limitted trayne. And the king is contented with this their subjection, lest they should refuse to pay his tributes, and they being Germans, and the Cityies well fortifyed, and bordering vpon the Sea, should seeke meanes to vnite themselves to the Empire, and the free Cityyes thereof. King Sigismund at this tyme raigning, was also by Inheritance king of Suetia, but that kingdome was not otherwise vnited to Poland. 24 If a man consider the large Circuit 25 of the vast Provinces and the vnited /50/ power of the king, the Palatines and the gentlemen to resist Common enemyes, he will say this kingdome is most ample and powerfull. But if withall he obserue the many and vast deserts and woods, the moderate

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23 "In 1579 the small town of Elbing defied the powers of the Hanseatic League by offering privileges to English traders, and these were taken up by London as well as by provincial merchants, who came together to form the Eastland Company." Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade 1500 - 1700* (London, 1973), p. 18. Moryson visited Elbing in August 1593. The "Staple" that Moryson refers to is Elbing, the chief place from where Baltic grain was imported, and to which English cloths were exported. See OED, and *Itinerary A, I, 128 - 130.*

In the margin and in what appears to be a later hand, are written "Konigsberg Danzk. Meluin."

24 He inherited it on the death of his father, John III of Sweden, in 1592.

25 Circumference. OED
riches of private men, rather //

fol:48. The common wealth of Poland Chap:ii.

serving to live plentifully at home, then sufficient for
the undertaking of any great actions abroad, the former
amplitude and power, will seem many extenuated. And lastly
if he consider the kings limited power often subject to
the constraint of the Palatines in publick Counsells, and
the Palatines, Castellanes and Gentlemans immunity from
lawes and liberty in generall, and absolute Command with
power of life and death in their owne Territories, and
lands the said amplitude and power of the kingdom will
appear to be vanished into smoke; yet every [thing] king
hath more or lesse authority, and respect, as he is [more]
/10/ more or lesse wise, and valiant. For in the age past
Stephen Bathori Prince of Transiluania being Chosen king of
Poland, was said upon pretence of publick occasions to
have raised an Army, and still keeping himselfe armed and
strengthned therewith to have abated the pride of the
Palatines & Gentlemen, and then joining himselfe with

26 Unfortunately for the Poles, Sigismund III was
neither wise nor valiant. One of Moryson's sources, Bodin
writes "The highest degree of compulsion is power of life
and death, that is of condemning to death, or of pardoning
those who have incurred this sentence. This is the highest
attribute of sovereignty, proper to the majesty of a
prince, and inherent in him to the exclusion of all other
public persons." Jean Bodin, Six Books of the
Commonwealth, abridged and translated by M. J. Tooley
(Oxford, 1955), p. 91. Yet Moryson was able to see that
even with split sovereignty, the constitution could work,
with a strong personality such as Stephen Bathory (1575 -
1586) as king.
Zamosky Chauncellor of the kingdome, and his faction, to haue preuailed so farr against the Contrary faction as he banished, yea putt to death (a thing neuer heard of in Polonia) some of the Storosky a cheefe Family on that part.27 It belongs to the king to appoint publick assemblyes /20/ and with consent of the same to make peace and warr, and to giue for terme of life, the places and digniye of Counsellors Bishopps Palatines and Castellanes; For these dignityes are not hereditary, but only giuen for life by the king, who is also the head of these Assemblyes, and the supreme Iudge of all Causes euening concernning gentlemen whose pride, and liberty is such as he cannot well moderate, and suppress, so great is this authority and power of the king. Breifely I say that Poland is divided into the greater, whereof the cheife Citty and seat is Guesna, and the lesser Poland whereof the /30/ Cheife Citty and seate of the kings is Crakawe, besides the vnited Prouinces, All which are gouerned by Palatines Castellanes Captaines, Iudges, Senators or the kings Counsellors.

27 "Barthory co-operated with Zamoyski and his followers and most of the nominees were chosen from this party, to the dissatisfacion of the family of the Zborowski and others." The New Cambridge Modern History, The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution 1559 - 1610 (Cambridge, 1968), p. 386.
The Palatines vulgarly wawo[fe]des<sup>28</sup> are in severall principalityes. The Castellanes <as>their leuientes, are leaders of the gentlemen. The Captaines, are Gouernors of Forts, and Castles: The Iudges or Burgraues determine Criminall, and Ciuill Causes. The Bishopps of old 9. be many in number by annexed Provinces, the Palatines of old Fifteene now 26. The Castellanes are about sixty five, and the number of the rest is farr /40/ greater. Besides they haue great Ciuill and martiaall Officers, Civill as two Chauncellors that haue the great Seale, and two Vicechancelors having a lesse Seale two Secretaryes having no voyce in the Senate. Martiaall, as two Marshalls, two Generalls of Armyes. 91. Colonells Chosen by the king. In generall obserue that only the Castellane [of] Crakawe hath place of the Palatine thereof, as I shewed in the History, and so of all other Palatines vpon the Cause therein mentioned. The Historyes often make mention of two noble Familyes, the Zborowski seated neare [t] the Confines of Prussen and the /50/ Zamoiisky of greater power seated vpon the Confines of Transiluania.

{ m.n. 53, 54. The king and his Court. }

My selfe did see Sigismund the third and his Queen at the Port of Dantzt, a free Citty of Prussen, where 30. shipps of Swecia, and one of Holland (in which shipp the king //

<sup>28</sup> This is an effort at anglicizing wojewoda. On Fol. 44 it is anglicized to "vuoyeuuodes".

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and Queene passed) were ready to conduct him into his hereditary kingdome of Suecia, expecting nothing but a faire wynde. He made this voyage to take possession of his Fathers kingdome lately dead, [which in the meane tyme was gouerned by his vncle] which in the meane tyme was gouerned by his vncle Charles, not without the suspected fauour of the people, he being of the reformed Religion as they were, but the king being brought vpp by his mother in the Roman Religion. The king was tall of stature, somewhat leane of body, with a long visage and browne Complexion, and the hayre of his head was black /10/ and short, with a thinn, short, and sharpe pointed beard of a yelowish Coulor. He wore a litle black silck bonnett hanging downe about his neck, and plaine black garments, he then mourning for his father. The Queene of the Family of Austria and the house of Gratz, was of a low stature, a full face, and sanguine Complexion. When the Gentlemen brought [vpp] meat for the king, one went before with a short white staffe in his hand, and three gentlemen carryed vpp each of them three Couered dishes with a white Napkin betweene every dish, and each of them had a Page to beare vpp the trayne of his gowne, /20/ for they did weare two long Garments, the Inner hanging to the knees, the other to the Anckles. They who kept the dore of the Chamber, wherein the king and the Queene did eat were base Groomes, and they admitted any man to enter, so as the roome was full with people of all
Conditions, and those that stood somewhat distant from the Table, putt on their hatts, only when the king did drinke, the Queene herselue, and they that satt at the Table rose vpp, and all that were in the Chamber putt of their hatts. They seemed not to know any such reuerence, as kneeling to the king, or putting of the hatt to the Chaire of estate,. The /30/ king came to this Port, an english myle distant from Dantzt, where there was only house, and that very vnfitt to receiue a king with his trayne, because some [few] dayes before, a tumult had happened at Dantzt, betweene the Polonians and the Citizens which Credible men thus related to me. A Porter of the Citty being loded, and passing by a Polonian, first hurt him with his burthen, then bad him take heed, wherevppon he (as all Polonians) are soone stirred vpp, and prone to quarrells) drew his short sword or Semiter, and therewith almost cutt of the poore Germans Arme, who running through the streets, /40/ bewayled his mayme, and so stirred vpp the Citizens, as they killed Fifteene Polonians, and among them, a boy that carryed meat to his master, these being all they could meet, For there were no other Polonians in the Towne, but only those of the kings Court. Of the Germans no more than fower were killed, but the king had fower hundred footemen of his Guarde called Haiducs, who were lodged in the Subvrbs, and vpon this Tumult marched with banner displayed towards the Citty, and had not the Gates bene shutt vpon them in fitt tyme, no doubt there had bene farr
greater slaughter. The king was most /50/ //


offended at the shewing of a peece, 29 the bullett whereof came in at his Chamber window. 10 At last the Magistrates with great difficulty appeased the multitude, For the Germans having the advantage doe not willingly forbeare, neither can the Polonians though upon disadvantage, easily sett downe by the losse. The tumult being appeased, the Magistrates made a Proclamation to have him made knowne that shott into the kings Chamber, and (as it seemed for forme) promised an hundred Guldens to any man should bring him forth, but neither could he be found, nor were the Polonians herewith satisfyed. 31 The king had /10/ come [from] Crakaw to Danzt in boates upon the River Vistula vulgarly wexel. Crakaw is the seat of his Court, and I understood by some Polonian Gentlemen, that he there mantayned for his guard 60 horsmen called Hascheri, whereof each man had fourteene Guldens by the moneth, and 400 Footemen called Haiducs whereof each man had fower Guldens

29 A firearm. OED

30 In this age of assassination, it may well have been a Swedish bullet. Sigismund was going to Stockholm for his coronation, with his Catholic retinue. Clement VIII hoped to reconvert Sweden through him, a situation which the Lutheran Swedes could hardly view with equanimity. See Elliott, pp. 384 – 386.

31 "Thirty Polish Grosch makes a silver Gulden; 40 a Reichs Doller," Itinerary A, I, xxiv, and since a Reichs Doller is worth four shillings and four pence, the reward offered was worth a little over fourteen pounds.
by the moneth. And that his [Soldiers] [Courtiers] kept 2000 horses, some one officer keeping eight horses with the monethly stipend of Thirty Guldens. But that these stipends were slowly payd, the king being alwayes in their debt, and hardly making full payment once in fower /20/ yeares. Neither did these Courtiers or officers eat in the Court, there being no Table kept but the kings, the reuersion whereof serued the Queenes women. So as howsoever the king might be well attended riding abroad, yet within dores his Court seemed to haue small magnificence.

{ m.n. 27, 28. The kings revenues and tributes. }
Indeed the kings revenues are small, For the mynes of siluer belonging to him are few, and [yeild not great] [the] profitt, and the Citties of traffique being few, and the exactions not great, his Customes also are small. The mynes of salt also being /30/ to the king, and yeild him greatest profitt, but the Gentlemen haue a portion thereof at a moderate price, whereof they sell, what they cannot spend themselues. And this salt is partly decocted of water, but most growes in pitts, and is digged vpp in

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32 The Haiducs as Moryson explains on fol. 52 are the footmen of the royal guard.

33 The ladies dependent upon the Queen finished what was left. Moryson uses "reversion" in the sense of coming into possession of something when another has done with it. OED

34 Boiled from water. OED
black and great peeces like stones. The king hath also
certaine Territories of land proper to himselfe, wherein he
hath absolute power, the husbandmen being his slaues, as
particuler Gentlemen haue in their owne Territories And all
things being very cheape in Poland, excepting forayne
Cloathes, Stuffes \(^{35}\) wynes and /40/ spices, these Reuenues
may well answer the kings expences, but for publicke vses,
I could neuer heare nor read that the kingdome had any
great Treasure. Diverse affirme, \(^{36}\) that the mynes of siluer
and salt, yeild the king sixe hundred thousands Crownes
yearely, yet understand that part thereof was ingaged by
Sigismund Augustus, and that almost halfe was alienated by
Henry of Valois to diuerse gentlemen for gayning their
loue. They said also that Lituania and other Prouinces giue
the king all necessaries for food, while he keepes his
Court among them. And that in /50/ publike Causes of warr,
and necessityes of State, Subsidies are imposed by consent
of the generall assembly, aswell vppon lands, as beare, and
all things to be sold. The dukes //

part. of Prussen yeildes him yearely twenty thousand
Crownes and the king of Polands part thereof being as great
and [as] as fruitfull, cannot but yeild him [litle] [like]
profitt. It is most certaine that the king hath [also] many

\(^{35}\) Furnishings. OED

\(^{36}\) Many [writers?] affirm that....
means of great moment to gratify his Subjects as the appointing of his Counsellors and great Officers, the keeping of Castles and Territories, which he gives to gentlemen for life, and if he would make profit thereof, he might very much increase his Revenues, but in that case he should offend the Gentlemen, whose love the kings are so careful to preserve, as they not only bestow these gifts freely among them, but commonly grant to the Palatines and Castellanes, such rights as belong to the king in their seuerall Territories. But it is a matter of no small moment, that upon any invasion of enemies, or upon offensive war decreed by common Consent in publick assemblyes, the Gentlemen are bound to assemble, and serve, upon their own Costs and Charges, in whom is all the strength of the kingdom, so as no great Treasure is required for defending the same, or for making offensive war decreed by publick Consent. /20/

{ m.n. 21 - 23. The horse and horsmen. }
The Polonians are a warlike nation, valiant, and active, but all their strength consists in their horse, whereof they have so great number, as some affirm they can bring a hundred thousand horse into the field, and one Province of Lituania, can bring 70 thousand, and king Stephen in the [last] last age had 40. thousand in his Army. Of these
horsmen, some are called *Hussari*, who are armed with long speares, a sheild, a Carbine or short gunn, and two short swords, one by the horsmans syde, the other fastned vnder the left syde of his sadie. The light horsmen called *Cosachi* are armed with /30/ short swords Iauelin, bowes and arrowes, and a Coat of maile and the whole Country of *Poland* being playne, this great body of horsmen must needs be a [power] strength to the kingdome. The horses are of small stature, but of no lesse agility, then those of the *Turkes* and singuler in boldnes for any seruice of warr. Yet are they all made G[u]eldens; And the gentlemen are not prouder of any thing, then of their horses and horsmanship professing to weare long garments, as Commodious for horsmen, that they may cast their vpper garment vppon their horses when they are heated with running,. And for this Cause /40/ [many] haue their bridles (which are alwayes snafles by which the horses are easily turned) sett with studds of gold or siluer, sometymes having gold Chaynes, and like ornaments at the eares of their horses, and Commonly paynting the mayne and taile yea the whole body, excepting the back of their horses with light Coulors, as Carnation and the like,

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37 Zamoyski calls them Husaria. See pp. 152 - 157. *OED* traces the etymology from the Hungarian *huszar*. Originally Hungarian light cavalry of the late fifteenth century, distinguished by their brilliant dress and ornament, their *brio* and style was copied throughout Europe.

38 Horses castrated when foals or colts, geldings, are generally more docile.
therein seeming ridiculous, that whereas art imitates nature, these Coulers are such as are most unnaturall for horses. 39 They haue guilded stirropps as also spurrers which are some handful long at the heele. Not only soldiers but Ambassadors and their gentlemen, /50/ haue the hinder part of their horse couered with the wings of an Eagle, or skinn of a Tyger, or leopard or some like ornament, either for beauty, or to seeme more terrible, as in //

fol:52. Booke.i. The comon wealth of Poland. Chap:ii. generall all haue them couered, some lesse, some more richly 40 The Polonian horsmen restraine the incursions of the feirce Tartars, and seeme so bold to the Turkes, as they haue no hart to invade Poland; Neither can the Moscouites indure their assault, howsoever for feare of their Tyrant, they must be prodigall of their bloud. 41 The

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39 Between pp. 190 and 191, Zamoyski reproduces a fragment of a painted parchment scroll, now in the Royal Castle, Warsaw, of the entry of Konstantia Habsburg into Crackow in 1605. Normally horses were painted red and white, the colours of Poland, but some wag must have mixed the colours. However, as OED reminds us, carnation can occasionally mean crimson. Nevertheless, the colours on the scroll look more flesh tone than crimson.

40 The Husaria or winged cavalry "...wore wooden arcs bristling with eagle feathers rising over their heads like two wings from attachments on the back of the saddle or the shoulders. Over one shoulder they wore the skin of a tiger or leopard as a cloak. These served to frighten the enemy's horses, and indeed the enemy himself, and the wings had the added advantage of preventing Tartars eager for ransoms from lassoing the Polish riders in a mêlée." Zamoyski, p. 156.

41 Presumably Moryson is thinking of Ivan the Terrible. However, as Ivan died in 1584, it may be that in using the word "tyrant", Moryson is thinking of the organized repression that the office of tsar represented, and that
Polonians haue no care to fortify Cittyes professing nothing more to be disgracefull then to fly from their enemyes, and vaunting to defend their Country with their owne brests, not with walled Townes. which they lesse desyre to fortify lest their kings should /10/ vsurpe power ouer them by giving the keeping of such places to their deuoted servants.

{ m.n.13. The footmen. }
The Germans inhabiting strong Cityes haue no cause to feare the Polonians, having no strong body of Footmen to force them For those that dwell in the Cittyes of Poland, are marchants or Tradesmen, both enemyes to warr, and the Country people are all slaues, a generation not capable of military glory. And of these should the bands of Foote consist; For the gentlemen are all horsmen, and the strength of horse being only in the playne Feild, strong Townes need not [feare] them. Thus whiles /20/ the kings authority is limitted so as he cannot make warr of himselfe, nor force his subiects to take Armes with him, and while they want treasure the sinew of warr, except the warr and the meanes to raise mony be decreed in the generall Assembly, it falles out, that as in the Comunion

Ivan had instituted against the corporations, the boyars (old nobility), and the liberties of the peasant. For all the Moscovite spilt blood, the Peace of Yam Zapolsky, 1582, was a recognition of military failure. See Koenigsberger, pp. 251 - 255.
of Plato, what all men care for, each man neglects; so many
tymes a Senate of many heads, is either diuerted from the
best Counsells by Confusion of opinions, or letts the best
occasion slipp by slow and too late resolutions.\textsuperscript{42} For
which Causes, and for the foresaid want of Footmen, the
Polonians, howsoever in a Common /30/ danger they readily
concurr to stopp any invasion; yet seeme vnfitt to
inlarge their kingdome by Conquering new Provinces. The
strength of their warfare consisting in their horse, and
their slaues seruing only for Pioners,\textsuperscript{43} or like oxen to
draw Artillerie, and for like vses, whensoever they raise
an Army the Footmen are mercenary strangeurs, commonly
Germans Hungarians, and Slauonians (whereof king Stephen
had sixteene thousand in his Army). But the king mantaynes
a certaine number of Hungarian and Slauonian Footmen, not
sufficient to serue in the Army, but only to guard his /40/
owne person, and these being commonly taken for Polonians

\textsuperscript{42} The reference to the "Comunion of Plato", would
indicate his Republic. In Book II, 416, he forbids private
property. The other quotation that Mr. Frank Beetham,
referred to hereafter as FB, of the Classics Department,
the University of Birmingham, supplied is from the Laws,
VI, 780a, "Of course, whoever means to reveal laws to
states to tell them how they ought to act in both their
public and communal lives, and does not even think how much
necessity there should be for private affairs, but thinks
that each man ought to have authority to live the day as he
pleases and does not think that anything must be through
regulation, but leaves private affairs altogether outside
the laws, and still thinks that they will be willing to
conduct their common and civic life through laws, does not
think correctly."

\textsuperscript{43} Usually the advance guard who dig trenches, and
prepare for the main body of the army.
are called *Haiducs*, and are most bold in fighting & undaunted\(^4^4\) in receiving ugly wounds, and maymes made by the *Simeters* or short swords they use.\(^4^5\)

\(^{m.n.\ 45}\) *Their nauall power.*

All parts of *Poland* lying within land excepting *Prussen* and part of *Liuonia*, which are subject to the king under a free yoke, and have few ships of their own, most commonly using those of strangers for traffic\[^c\]*ke, the *Polonians* may be said to be altogether ignorant in Navigation. So as when king *Stephen* had besieged *Danzt*, and the Citizens, had hyred a /50/ //

*Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland Chap:ii. fol:53.*

*Flemish* ship, to Cut down a Bridge of wood, by which the *Polonians* passed over the River, the *Dantzkers* at this day tell for a least, that the *Polonian* footmen stood upon the bridge to defend it thinking with their Pikes to stopp the shipp under all sailes with a strong gale of wind, till the shipp cutting the bridge with an instrument in the Prowe, these ignorant men were all drowned in the River.

\(^{4^4}\) *Undaunted?*

\(^{4^5}\) Being neighbours to the Poles, the Turks had some influence upon them, particularly in the design of weapons. Moryson even mistakes Polish variations for the Turkish scimitar. The curved eastern sabre was modified by the Hungarians, and further adapted by the Poles to give it a very high ratio of cutting power for effort expended. It was regular issue from the late sixteenth century. *Zamoyski*, p. 155.
In generall the warfare of Poland hath three impediments one of wanting mony and power in the kings to make peace and warr, both these being raised and determined in Parliaments and againe the want of Footmen for which they use strangers, but (as I formerly sayd) it hath more or lesse reputation and power according to the kings person. For the histories shew that some vnwarlike kings haue suffered losses, and indignityes without reuenge or repayre of them, but their Successors being valiant [being valiant], and of warlike myndes haue not only recovered and repayred those losses and wrongs, but haue at home kept [p]the proude Gentlemen in awe, and haue abroad mantayned their owne and their kingdomes reputation against all their powerfull neighbors. The Polonians suffer the present vsurpation of the king of Suecia confining vpon Liuonia because they haue not power at Sea, and cannot lead an Army against him by Land without great difficultyes, neither doth he offend them being restrayned by iust feare of the Danes and Moscouites, continuall enemyes to that kingdome, and bordering it on all sydes. The duke of Moscouye, in the warr for Liuonia, with Stephen king of Poland, did by

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46 In 1620, the Jesuit-influenced Sigismund III (1587 - 1632) whilst proclaiming neutrality, sent his Hapsburg relations 10,000 cavalry to help suppress the Elector Palatine in Bohemia. Taking this as a pretext, the Protestant Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, besieged and took Riga, the Livonian capital in 1621, but did not press his advantage further until 1625 when all Livonia was taken. See Zamoyski, p. 133, and Parker, p. 211.
his victorys finde him so powerfull, as he was content to have peace with him. The Moscouite hath his /30/ [sonne] [subiects] more at Command and more united under tirannicall obedience, but the Polonians are more valiant, more bold and apt to dare any thing in a just warr decreed by publike Consent. The Moscouites are more [fitt to] defend fortified places, the Polonians invincible in the playne Feild. The Moscouites lesse feare hunger and want of necessaryes, the Polonians more despise the sword and death. The neighbor Germans feare not the power of the Polonians, wanting footmen (as I sayd) to force their strong Cittyes, and the Polonians doe nothing lesse then feare the Germans in the playne Feild since in such /40/ fights the Polonians, though farr inferior in number boast themselves to have often preualied against the Germans, as namely of late in the warr of Prussen, and likewise when Maximilian the Emperors brother, was taken prisoner in the Feild. The Tartarians haue often made incursions into Poland, but rather as Robbers then as Invaders, wasting the Country for the tyme, but neuer planting them selues therein, and this they haue done in tymes betweene the death of kings, when the Polonians wanted their head to lead them, yet euen then haue they often (of old and lately in the age past, and this /50/ //

fol:54[6]. Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii.

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47 Hughes adds "and Choyce", p. 86. It is not in the original.
present) bene beaten back with such overthrowes as they had little cause to brag of their booty. The Turkes haue subdued the Prouince of walachia,\footnote{Wallachia is the land of the Vlachs. A Turkish dependency in Moryson's time, it is now part of Romania. \textit{OED}} the Prince whereof did homage to the king of Poland, and haue bene bold to prouoke the Polonians in tymes betweene the death and Choyce of kings, or when they had vnwarlike kings. Againe the Polonians remembring the great defeat of king Ladislaus by the Turkes and being compassed on all sydes with the aboue named \footnote{This is probably a reference to the annihilation of the Hungarian forces by the Turks at Mohacs in 1526. King Louis who died on the battlefield was a Jagiellon, and, therefore, related to the Polish dynasty. See Koenigsberger, p. 233.} neighbors, and warily obseruing the \footnote{Wallachia.} myndes of Christian Princes, are not willing to make warr against the Turkes.\footnote{But no doubt the Turkes had rather make \footnote{Any} warr then against the Polonians, in regard of their strength in horse, wherein the Turkes ouertopp all other enemys fearing to be forced by them to fight a battell with all forces. And for this Cause they haue of late borne with the Polonians seruing against them in Valachia,\footnote{And with many incursions made by their Cosacchi that is light horsmen into the Confines of Turkye. As also when the Tartarians passed the Confines of Poland to ayd the Turkish Emperor, at the seige of} and with many incursions made by their Cosacchi that is light horsmen into the Confines of Turkye. As also when the Tartarians passed the Confines of Poland to ayd the Turkish Emperor, at the seige of
Ag[ri]a in Hungary,\textsuperscript{51} and were utterly overthrown by the Polonian Cosacchi, the Turkish Emperor was Content to dissemble as if he thought this hostile act to have happened by Casualty,\textsuperscript{52} though the same day the Polonian Ambassador came to the Turkish Court to excuse the king in Case they should fight, a messenger within few houers after arrived there, who related the defeat and overthrow of the Tartarians.

\textit{\{ m.n. 25. Ciuill iustice \}}

The Polonians owe their lawes aswell martiall as Ciuill, which at this day remayne in force to Cassimere the great Crowned in the yeare 1333. But besides these Provinciall lawes or Statutes, the Ciuill Causes of debts of Inheritances, and the like as also cases belonging to our spirituall Courts about dowries divorces, last Testaments, and the like are determined, by the Ciuill and Common /30/ lawes there in Common use, the sommes\textsuperscript{53} of Gentlemen and of Citizens studying those lawes in the vniuersityes, and many of them taking the degree of doctors. In Cittyes they haue two Courts of Iustice, the inferior of certaine Richters or Judges from whome the greiued party may appeale to the superior Court of the Senators. And from both these if the

\textsuperscript{51} Eger. For details of this campaign, see Fols. 27 - 29.

\textsuperscript{52} Chance. \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{53} Hughes corrects to "sonnes", p. 87.
cause be of a certaine value, as aboue one hundred pounds, the greiued party may appeale to the kings Courts of Justice, which are like wise two, the one of Iudges called Assessors from whome appeale is likewise admitted to the highest Court where the king setts in person, attended by his lords spirituall and temporall, not vnlike our Starr Chamber. And these Courts are in the place where the king resides for the present, be it at Crakawe, or at warsaw, where he commonly abides, or otherwhere. The causes of dowrye and inheritance are determined by the Ciuill and Cannon lawes. The daughters and sonnes haue equall portions. If the husband outliue the[r] wife, he hath halfe the goodds, and the other halfe is divided among the Children, as likewise if the wife outliue the husband, and when the [longer] living Parent dyes, that halfe also is divided among the Children. Among gentlemen the eldest sonne may haue the Cheife house, and lordshipp, but if the value exceed the portions of his brothers and sisters, he must pay them that proportion in mony. For our strange [lawe] of giuing all the land to the eldest sonne, is not

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54 Star Chamber, so called from the fretting on the roof, was a court to punish breaches of the King's Peace, normally presided over by three Chief Justices and the Lord Keeper. It only acquired its odious reputation after Moryson's death, when unpopular fiscal policies were forced through. See J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 117 - 120.

55 Hughes transcribes "Common" law, p. 87, but if that is meant a minim has been missed.
practized among them.\textsuperscript{56}

\{ m.n. 54. \textit{Capitall Judgments} \}

Touching Capitall Judgments. The gentlemen, trusting to their exorbitant priuiledges, often comitt murthers against straungers or any other prouoking them to anger; For they cannot be iudged but in [a] generall assembly which is comonly called at \textit{Warsaw} where also the kings are chosen, and that but once in two yeares (except // \textit{Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii. fol:55.} [to] the kings death, or some like great occasion of meeting happen) and then they are tryed by the most voyces of gentlemen, who are thought partiall Judges in a Common Cause, which may concerne any of them vppon the like [occasion] euent; yet men of Creditt report that they proceed directly [against] in this manner. The dead Corpes of the murthered is imbalmed and brought to that assembly, whether the murtherer is cited, and not appearing is banished, looseth his goods, his howses being pulled downe, and the very trees being turned vpp by the rootes, and his person made infamous, but appeaing\textsuperscript{57} as commonly they doe, he must either purge himselfe by the /10/ law or sometyme by the fauour of great freinds by voyces finding him not guilty of murther, (but neuer by any pardon which the king

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{56} Moryson says this from the heart, being the third son of five.

\textsuperscript{57} Hughes amends to "appearing", p. 88.
neither doth nor can graunt) or els must dye, but in that
case his goods goe to his Children or heyres. And the
gentlemen for murther are beheaded, whereas others haue
their bones broken vppon a wheele. Of late a slaue, that
had killed his master (as I vnderstood by credible report)
had first one hand, and foot cutt of in the place where he
did the fact,\textsuperscript{58} and after in the place of execution had
first the other hand and foote cutt of, then [had] a large
thong of his skinne fleaed\textsuperscript{59} round /20/ about his body, and
lastly being yet aliue, had his body cutt into fower
quarters. Coyners of mony by the lawe are to be burned, but
sometymes in mercy are only beheaded. They that sett houses
on fyre are fastned to a Gibbett and smoked to death. He
that deflowres a virgine of [most] noble Parentage, must
dye by the law and generally he that Comitts a rape is
burned. Adulterers by the law are beheaded, if they be
accused; but I heard that gentlemen maryed, did many tymes
keepe Concubines, seldom questioned, neuer condemned to
death for it, being (as I haue formerly sayd) only to be
tryed in cases of life by gentlemen /30/ in the said
generall assemblyes. //

\{ m.n. 33, 34. Degrees of common wealth and Family. \}

Touching degrees in Common wealth and Family, the

\textsuperscript{58} Crime. \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{59} This is an obsolete form of "flayed". \textit{OED}
Archbishop of Guesna is primate and borne legate to the Pope, and crowneth the kings. The Archbishop of Lempurg and diverse Bishopps [haue] priuiledges as Princes. I did only <se>heare of two Earles of Osterloch, but I neuer heard nor read of anymore Earles nor any Barrons among them. The highest secular dignityes, are these of the Palatines and Castellanes, Marshalls Chauncellors Vicechauncellors Generalls and Colonells, which are only for life. The next and cheife for number and power is that of the /40/ gentlemen who haue very great priuiledges aswell in the choyce of the kings as in all things judged by the publike assembly (wherein as I sayd Crymes Comitted by themselues are judged by themselues) and also in the absolute Command of their owne Territories, wherein they haue power of life and death over their owne slaues, and all Confiscated goods and tributes, as the king hath in his territories. These priuiledges were first graunted them by Cassimere the great Crowned in the yeare 1333. and since by other kings haue bene increased, alwayes with so much diminution of the kings power, And the priuiledges of the nobility are comunicated to the nobles of /50/ Conquered, and united Provinces. Every king at the end of his Coronation doth with solme Ceremony, knight some Counsellors and gentlemen. And some two or three dayes

Privileges are given to, or shared with, the nobility of lands conquered or in union. See communicate v 3 and 4. OED Morison uses the word in the Latin sense of communicare to share.
after, coming into the market place of Crakawe to take the oath of the Citizens and their guiftes presented him, he doth againe draw the sword, and knight some men of best meritt. But they are not dubbed after the manner of our knights, nor haue any additio[n] to their names as Sir. with vs, and if perhaps they [had] [add] the title of knight to their written stile, yet are they not vulgarly named by it. All these haue moderate //

fol:56. Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:iii riches scarce sufficient to buy forayne Commodityes, farr brought and much vsed by them as Spanish wynes and spices and stuffes of silke, and English Cloth, the greatest not having aboue 5000 libri yearely Rent, excepting the duke of Prussen, of Brandeburg house, and the duke of Curland of Denmarks Family, no[r]t were subject.6 The marchants and Artisans in Cittyes are not many in number, there being few Cittyes for so great a kingdome, neither are they rich dwelling farr from the Sea, so as straungers fetch their Commodityes, and they are subject to the gentlemen in whose Territories they dwell as they are subject to the king that live in his Territoryes. The /10/ rest a[re] meere slaues,

6 Hughes makes sense of this by inventing "nor were they subject.", p. 90, which was certainly untrue in the case of Duke of Prussia, who did homage for his lands as late as 1641. Zamoyski, p. 158. The cadet branch of the Danish royal house may also have been subject. Shakespeare gets Hamlet to use a similar idiom, identifying his person with the monarchy and even the land, when he reveals himself with "This is I, / Hamlet the Dane." Hamlet, V. 1. 253 - 254.
(as in Bohemia) the lord having power over their bodyes and goods, and over their children to make them servants, in their household, and if they have skill in any art to make them work for their lordes profit, for they cannot work for themselves; nor have any proper goods, all belonging to the lord; yea the Germans affirm, and write that in Lituania, the lord will cut off his slaves foot, lest he should run away. But their servants attending their persons, are commonly poor Gentlemen: For many Gentlemen are so poor as they drink water, and follow the plough bare footed, yet loose they not their right to be gentlemen, nor their /20/ voices in general assembly, as in choyce of the king, and like occasions. These gentlemen servants wait with their hats on, and set at their masters table, both at home and abroad where their masters are invited. For they account it a disgrace to have slaves wait on them, yet some will apparel their slaves as Gentlemen to attend on them to the Court, or to Cities, and when they return take this apparel from them. The Polonians are Courteous and kind hearted, and so use their wives with much love and respect, as also these Gentlemen servants, with mildness and affability. In general a gentleman will not marry a merchants daughter, /30/ nor any ignoble woman, for any riches whatsoever, and if any should so marry, his kinsmen would force him to be divorced. For they are Careful not to stayne their nobility, insomuch as a gentleman will not buy or sell anything, but his owne
Corne and Catle.
Chap:iii

Of the common wealth of Italy according to the severall heads contain'd in the title of the first Chapter, and the severall absolute Princes thereof. But in this Chapter only of the /40/ Historicall Introduction in generall for all the Dominions.

{ m.n. 43, 44. The Historicall Introduction }

Italy was inhabited at first by the Ligurians and Hetrurians,¹ then by the Galles, who called the lower part thereof Gallia Cisalpina, that is on this syde of the Alps² till at last the Romans subduing all made the Inhabitants free of the City of Rome,³ and sent out many Roman Colonies to possesse part of the subdued Territories My purpose is only to write of Italy, and the growing of these


² Which side? Cisalpine usually means on the Italian side. John Webster in The Devil's Law Case, ed. by Frances Shirley (London, 1972) seems to exploit this confusion when he gets the Italian Contarino to say,

Yet I have heard
Of divers, that in passing of the Alps
Have exchanged their virtues at a dear rate
For other vices. I. 1. 62 - 65.

Is Webster drawing attention to the stock nature of the English perception of Italians, or to the reasons advanced against travelling?

³ Freedom of the City of Rome, defined by OED as "The right of participating in the privileges attached to citizenship...". 13. b.
powers by which it is now swayed. Of the Empire I haue spoken in the Comon wealth of Germany, here I will only remember that /50/ Constantine the great the first Christian Emperor crowned in the yeare 306 first seated himself at Constantinople and dividing the Empire among his Children, so weakned it, as after commonly it had two Emperors one of the East seated at Constantinople [and] and another of the west seated at Milan. The foresaid Gallia Cisalpina with all the rest of Italy, was for many ages subject to the Roman Emperors heathen and Christian till the barbarous Gothes about //

Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:57.

the yeare of our lord 476, invaded Italy, and forced Augustulus Momillus the westerne Emperor to depose his Imperiall Crowne and made Rauenna the seat of their kings.

The westerne Empire being thus extinguished, Iustinian Emperor of the East by Narses his liutenant ouercame the Gothes, either driuing them out of Italy, or making them his Subiects, and dyed himselfe in the year 565. In the name and right of the Eastern Emperor seated at Constantinople, Narses with title of duke of Italy had his seat at Rome and divided [italy into] seinteene Prouinces, and Gouerned them by Consular Prefects, by Correctors and

4 Barbarian Invasions of Italy had happened for over a century before Romulus Augustulus was deposed in 476.

5"...under the empire, a legate sent as governor of a province."", in this case, from Byzantium. OED consular a. and n. B.
by /10/ Presidents. But at this tyme Italy had also fower cheife Ecclesiasticall dignityes, the Bishopp of Rome pretending right of the old Emperors, and present dukes seat, the Patriarke of Aquilegia pretending right of antiquity, the Arch-Bishopp of Rauenna pretending right of the Exarches seate (whereof we shall speake) and the Arch Bishopp of Milan pretending right of that Citty (having bene the seate of the last western Empire[s]rs and since the extinguishing of them being now the seat of the Consular Prefect of [them] Liguria) : which fower Bishopps vppon these rights from this tymes for many yeares /20/ contended for primacye. Narses hearing that he should be recalled in disgrace by the Eastern Emperor, did incourage the lombards to invade Italy. Longinus succeeded Narses, and seating himselfe at Rauenna, left the title of Duke stiling himselfe Exarche of Italy, and in the place of the Prefects and Presidents, he appointed dukes ouer the seuerall Citties, and fortifyed them against the Lombards. Albonius duke of the Lombards, having taken Milan, was

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6 "To profess or claim to have (a right, title, power, authority, or the like); to claim. Obs." OED pretend. v. 5. b.

7 Aquileia "...was one of the oldest bishoprics in Italy and, according to tradition, St. Mark was its 1st bp. and wrote his Gospel there." Sugden.

8 "Under the Byzantine Emperors, the governor of a distant province, as Africa or Italy; in the latter case with title 'Exarch of Ravenna'." OED 1. The Exarch's seat represents his authority. The later Western Emperors had abandoned the insecurity of Rome to hide in the marshes of Ravenna, hence its prestige and the Bishop's claims.
saluted king in the yeare 570. and from this tymne Lombard
dukes were sett ouer the Provinces and Citties of Italy, as
their king subdued them. Antharis king of the Lombards,
became a /30/ Christian, but presently fell to the Arrian
heresy, and he made a league in the yeare 586, with the
Exarche, and his Successor returned to the Catholike faith.
Peace was made in the yeare 599. betwenee the king of the
Lombards and the Exarches (under whose Command, the
Romans, aswell the Bishopps and the Citizens, were alwayes
comprehended) Iohn the Patriarke of Constantinople vnnder
Mauricius the Emperor stiled himselfe vniversall Bishoppp,
but Gregory the great Bishoppp of Rome wrote bitterly
against
{ m.n. 39. The Popes supremacy. }
the new presumption, and exceeding pride of this title,
saying that the very Apostle Peter suffered not himselfe so
to be called. /40/ Yet the Emperor Phocas having murthered
Mauritius, and usurping his Empire to gains the fauour of
Boniface the third and next Bishoppp of Rome, gaue him this
proud title, which his Successors hold to this day. From
this tymne in the warres betweene the declining Exarches and

\footnote{A heresy named after Arius (d. 336), who held that
the Father was greater than the Son. Most barbarian tribes
were converted to Christianity by Arians, with the
exception of the Franks who became Catholics and,
therefore, champions of Papal claims. This confusing period
is well explained in R. H. C. Davis, \textit{A History of Medieval
Europe From Constantine to Saint Louis} (London, 1970), and
referred to hereafter as Davis. He also has a full
definition of Arianism, pp. 16 - 17.}
the Lombard kings daily preuyaling against them, the power of the Romane Bishopps continually

\{ m.n. 47. Popes ambition. \}

increas[ing]ed who having hitherto called the Emperors their sacred lordes, and having promoted the Romane affaires by supplications to them, now on the Contrary affected nothing more then to receiue from the Emperors titles of honor and reuerence, and began to /50/ despise the Imperiall maiesty, till at last Philippicus Emperor of

\{ m.n. 51 - 54. Marke Idolatry the first ground of the Popes Dominion in Italy \}

the East about the yeare 712, forbidding the woorshipping of Images Constantine Bishoppp of Rome called a Counsell of Italian Bishopps, and therein decreed the woorshipp of Images, and forbadd the stamping of letters or Coynes with the Emperors Image, so as all Italy being amased with this noueltie, the people of Rauenna killed the Emperors Exarche.\(^{10}\) And now the Bishoppp of Rome, began to vse the helpe of the Lombards to support them against the Exarches of the Emperor. At last the king of the Lombards in the yeare 725. cast the Emperors Exarche out of Rauenna, taking that Citty, /60/ and Leo Emperor of the East comaunding all

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\(^{10}\) Philippicus was a usurper, hence the reaction of Pope Constantine. Iconoclasm only became imperial policy in 726 under Leo III. See John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries* (London, 1988), pp. 354 - 357. Moryson is conflating events. As the preceding marginal note makes clear, iconoclasm appealed to Protestants with their suspicion of images.
Images there to be broken down in the yeare 726, Gregory Bishopp of Rome did excommunicate him, and absolued the Italians from the othe of // { c.w. fidelity, they } fol:58. Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:iii.
of fidelity they had made to him, so as on all sydes of Italy the magisstratestrates of the Emperor, either had their eyes putt out [or] were killed. Thus Rome and the dukedome thereof first came into the Bishopps hands who yet in long tyme attayned no absolute or temporall Command therein, as hereafter will appeare. The Exarches had recouered Rauenna and some part of their dominion in Italy till the king of the Lombards in the yeare 752, againe taking Rauenna putt a finall Periodd to the Exarchate of the Eastern Emperors. { m.n. 8, 9. Popes seeke aide from Fraunce. }

But when the said king by right of the Exarchate subdued by him, challenged obedience and tribute from the /10/ Bishopps of Rome, they terrifyed begann to sollicitt ayde and support against the Lombards from the kings of Fraunce, choosing rather to yeild superiority to the French farr distant then to be vnder the Lombards so neare at hand to exact obedience and punish ambitious innovations. Histories witnes that Stephen Bishopp of Rome about the

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11 Both words would have a sinister implication to Moryson's contemporaries that is lost on us. The meaning is that the Lombards would punish the Pope's self-seeking political opportunism. See OED innovation, 2. b.
yeare 760 was the first Bishopp Rome had seene carryed [aboue] opon mens [sr]shoulders. Pipin the French king\(^1\) having made a league with the Roman Bishopp (or the Pope) against the lombards, the Bishopps of Fraunce first came into Italy to the meetings or Counsells appointed by the Popes. Charles /20/ the great the king of Fraunce coming at the instance of the Pope with his Army against the Lombards, subdued them, and made himselfe lord of all Italy in the yeare 773\(^1\) and coming to Rome in the 774, gaue to the Popes the Exarchate and the Pentapolis (or 5. Citties) as they write, but the Popes neuer possessed them that I can read to the tyme of Pope Alexander the sixth, as hereafter shalbe shewed. Now according to the diuision first agreed vppon in Fraunce, Charles kept the kingdome of Italy to himselfe by right of Conquest, and was Crowned with the Lombards yron Crowne at Modoetia.\(^1\) Againe coming

\(^1\) Pepin 'the short' King of the Franks 751 - 768.

\(^1\) Although invested in 773, Pavia the last Lombard stronghold did not fall until 774.

\(^1\) There was disagreement as to exactly what was given. Charlemagne restored to the Papacy "everything that had been taken from it by King Didier", but nothing more, and that included the overlordship which was still vested in him by right of conquest. However his actions confirmed the existence of the Papal Patrimony formerly given by his father Pepin. See Davis, p.148. Modoetia is probably a corruption of Modicia, or Monza. Thomas Coryat also writes that this was where the iron crown of Lombardy was kept, "...about some ten miles from Milan." See Coryat, I, 252. Pavia was the former Lombard capital, and although his biographer Einhard does not mention it, Charlemagne would almost certainly have been crowned there. "It would be natural for Moreyson to suppose that the ceremony must have been held in Monza." Private communication from Professor
to Rome he called a Council /30/ wherein by the consent of 154. Bishops it was decreed, that Charles should name all Archbishops and Bishops, neither should any other be installed then such as he named, that he should choose the Popes or Bishops of Rome and should set in order the Apostolike seat. Only he still left Apulia and Calabria to the subjection of the Eastern Emperors, which after being possessed by the Normans shall give the name to the Neapolitan kingdom Churches and Monasteries as yet had paid diverse tributes to the Lombard kings, and the Lombards brought in the Salick lawe, so as Italy was governned by a threefold law, the Roman, the Lombard, and the /40/ Salick, and to the tyme of the Emperor Lotharius the second it was free for every man to professe and choose after which of these lawes he would liue Charles the great gave certain dukedomes in Fee to some Lombard Captaines and their heyses males. Shortly after the Hunns invited by the Lombards made bloudye incursions into Italy.

Brian Pullan, Professor of Modern History, The University of Manchester, and referred to hereafter as BP.

The setting in order included calling a synod in December 800 for Pope Leo III to compurgate his innocence by oath against charges of adultery and perjury. See Davis, pp. 148, 149.

Lothar II (855 - 869) was ruler of Lotharingia, which includes Lorraine. His brother Louis II (855 - 875) was Emperor and ruler in Italy.

"I. 1. b. Phrases, (as) in or of fee (=L. in, de feudo, ut in feudo): by a heritable right subject to feudal obligations. Now only Hist." OED
The Romans in the yeare 798 to recover their old liberty from the Pope, raised a sedition, wherein they wounded Pope Leo, and cast him halfe dead into prison. After Leo fled to Charles the great in Fraunce who coming [to Rome] in the yeare 801,\textsuperscript{18} pronounced Leo to be /50/ innocent, and was then saluted Emperor of the west, and being Crowned at Rome, left the title of a Patritian of Rome formerly giuen him, and styling himselfe Romane Emperor and Augustus did againe reuiue the Empire of the west. Henceforward the the History will shew how [the] Popes tyred the Emperors their absent lorde with continuall treasons, and when they came armed for reueng to Rome, appeased them with prayers and teares; yet no sooner were they retorned home, but againe they raised Ciuill warrs against them till at last they fully freed them selues of the Emperors yoke.

Charles Emperor of the west, about the /60/ yeare 803, made a league with Nicephorus Emperor of the East wherein Signonius writes, that it was expresly sett downe that the //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:59.

Venetians (who vpon the incursions of barbarous people, had retyrèd into lakes of the Sea, and there of many Ilands

\textsuperscript{18} Leo fled to Charlemagne at Paderborn which was in the kingdom of the Franks, if not in France. Both returned to Rome in 800, not 801 as Morison states.
had made one City, and had Chosen them a duke; should
remayne free, and liue safely betwene both Empires. But
I finde that the Venetians had not yet any City on firme
land subject to them, and only mantayned their liberty
sometymes by the support of the one Empire, sometymes of
the other. The Successors of the westerne Empire, aswell
French as Germans, for many yeares, sometymes left the
Choyce of the Popes to the Clergie and people of Rome,
sometymes for there dissention resume it to them /10/
selues investing the Popes and defending them against the
Romans who could not long indure their Command, and often
established many Churches with new lawes, and had their
Ambassadors at Rome to assist the choyce of the Popes, and
to invest them, as histories doe largly sett downe, vpon
which I cannot particularly insist.

{ m.n. 17 - 19. Against the Popes Primacy. }
The Arch bishopp of Milan about the yeare 845, rejected the
primacye of the Pope, and in more then two hundred yeares
following could not be brought to his subjection. In like

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This may be later Venetian propaganda, for as Frances Yates reminds us at the beginning of her *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975), pp. 1 - 2, the imperial ideal was all-inclusive and universal. Carlo Sigonio (c.1520 - 1584) was a great classical scholar, humanist and historian. His *C. Sigonii de regno Italium* was published in Venice in 1574, and deals with the history of Italy from the Lombard invasions of 568 until 1200. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, 29 vols (Cambridge, 1910 - 11), and hereafter referred to as *EB.*
sort the Arch Bishopp of Ravenna in the yeare 859, by a publike /20/ act in writing denied the Pope to haue any authority ouer him, and reiected his Primacye.

{ m.n. 23, 24. Pope and Princes of Italy grow. }
The Successors of Charles the great first dividing the Empire, and then Fraunce being divided from Germany retayning the Empire to itselpe, and the Germaine Emperors making many vnhappy voyages into Italy, where many of them dyed, and some were apparently knowne to be poysioned, not only the Tyranny of the Popes was daily increased, but the power of the Italian Princes became more and more absolute as the historyes of following tymes, playnely shewe. /30/

In the meane tyme the Romans in the yeare 878 cast their Pope into Prison who escaping excomunicated the Romans, and fledd to the French Emperor. And now Rome being divided into two factions, the Tusculan Earles aspired to bring the Citty of Rome vnder their subiection. The Emperor Charles called Crassus\(^\text{20}\) being distracted from the affayres of Italy by difficult warrs, and the Saracens spoyling the same, the Italian Princes resuming their old Courage in the yeare 884, perswading Pope Adrian to make two decrees, one that the Pope might be chosen without the presence of the Emperor king of Italy, the other /40/ that this Emperor


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dying, the kingdome of Italy with the title of Emperor should retorne to the Princes of Italy. (But neither [the] decree had [the] successe they wished. The Germans shortly after, Crassus being dead, chose Arnolphus duke of Easterly Fraunce in Germany to be Emperor, but Berengarius a Prince of Italy invaded the kingdome of Italy in the yeare 888. fauoured by the Pope and the greater part of Italy.

{ m.n. 49. two Popes. }

An exceeding dissention rose in the Church of Rome in the yeare 891, one Faction chusing Sergius, the other Formosus for Pope, betweene whome and their Fauerors great seditions grew, /50/ so as Arnolphus Emperor of Germany called in by Formosus in the yeare 896, recovered the kingdome of Italy, and receiued the Imperiall Crowne at Rome, yet so as the faction of Sergius opposed him, and not only Arnolphus was poysoned but many Popes by the like and other vntymely deathes were taken away, and Berengarius shortly after [recovered] [receiued] the kingdome of Italy. And now the Competitors of that kingdome freely gaue their freinds all digniites and priuiledges, but the Hungarians one one syde and the Saracens on the other inuaded Italy, and spoyled it /60/ //

fol:60. Booke i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

{ m.n. 1, 2. The German Emperors. }

The race of Charles the great being extinct in the yeare 911 ) the Germans leaving the French to their owne king chose Conradus duke of Franconia to be Emperor. The Marquis
of Tuscia by right of his wife in the year 926, was lord of the City of Rome being not yet under the power of the Popes. Otho the third Emperor of Germany in the year 961 overthrewing Berengarius, was crowned king of Italy, and in the year 962, was annoynted Emperor in Rome, and about this time Pope Leo confessing that the free choyce of the Popes by the Clergie and people of Rome, had bene more for the dignity then quiett of the Church, did resigne to the Emperor and his Successors the choyce investiture [of the] and consecration of the Popes and other Bishopps. The Romans expelling the Popes chosen by the Emperor, and chusing newe in their places, the Emperor Otho returned into Italy in the year 967: where he severely punished and cast out the Consuls, the Tribunes, and the Prefect of Rome, and having established the government of Rome, did in his retourne confirme the State of Venice. The Marquis of Este in the year 970 obtained Ferrara with the title of Duke, and the Emperor gave the Dukedom of Milan to a Plebean person, and made some Cittyes free, others he gave to Marquises and Earles, reserving the supreme power to himselfe, but he left them all tribuitary to the Emperor, also he erected Fees, and gave Provinces to his Princes with title of Dukes, whence a newe kynde of Nobility came

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21 Moryson means Emperor Otto I "the Great" (936 - 973).

22 He set up large feudal estates. See erect v. 2 and fee n. 2. I. 1. a. OED
into Italy, they being only reputed noble, who had these previledges and dignityes. Hethertwo the Arch Bishops of Milan annoyning the Emperors, who of /30/ old were seated in that Citty, could by no power of the Popes be established vnder their obedience. Henceforward the German Emperors were first annoynted and Crowned at Achen\textsuperscript{23} in the Chayre of Charles the great, and whyle they Composed the State of Germany sent Ambassadors into Italy to take [the] oath of fidelity from the Italyans, whom themselves shortly followed into Italy with a powerfull Army, and at Milan receaved the Iron Crowne of the Lombard kings of Italy, and at Rome receaved the Imperiall Crowne. And henceforward historyes relate great /40/ warrs betwene the Popes and Emperors, the Popes power Consisting in his thunderboltes of excommunication, and seditions therevpon rising,\textsuperscript{24} and the Emperors power consisting in the Faith of his subiectes, which those terrors could not withdrawe from him, and in his Armes, to whch the Popes were often forced to yealde, yet so as by the support of the Italians, and [the] by the superstition of Religion, they daily grewe in welth and power, making it a common practise to obaye the Emperour comming with an Army, but as soone as he was gon

\textsuperscript{23} Aachen.

\textsuperscript{24} This may be a conscious imitation of François Hotman's polemic Brutum Fulmen, brutish thunderbolt, against Papal excommunications. See Robert M. Kingdon, Myths About the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres 1572 - 1576 (Cambridge, Mass. 1988), p. 216.
to make /50/ all his actes voyde, and ether to kill or to
depose the Popes he had established, so as nothing became
more frequent then the daily death or chaunng of Popes,
Abut the yeare 984 seven
{ m.n. 53 - 55. Seuen Electors of the Emperor Established.
}
German Electors of the Emperor were established, with the
Consent of the Pope being a Garman. The Venetians about the
yeare 998. added Istria and Dalmatia to their dominion. //
Booke i The Commonwealth of Italy Chap iii fol.6i
The Cittyes of Genoa, of Pisa, and of Florence, in the
yeare 1004. by braue actions began to drawe the eyes of
Italy towards them, a volume of [the] Popes Decretals was
first made in the yeare 1008. The Grecians subject to the
Eastern Emperors, being cast out of Apulia and Calabria in
the yeare 1017, the Normans hauing serued brauely in the
warr, possessed those provinces, and yealded due obedince
to the Emperor, among whome, about the yeare. 1042. fyue

25 A decretum or pontifical decision, usually on
matters of discipline, is recorded as early as 385. See
Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles B. Hebermann,
Edward A. Pace, Conde B. Pullen and others, 15 vols
(London, 1907 - 12), referred to as CE hereafter. The
compilation of such canon case law was part of the reform
process of the eleventh century. Davis records the first
such handbook as the Decretum of Burchard, (c. 1000) p.
243.

26 The Normans were invited into mercenary service by
the Lombards in 1016. At Cannae in 1018 the Byzantines
resisted Norman encroachment, and it was not until 1046
that the Normans "had conquered the greater part of Apulia
and Calabria". Davis, p.236.
brothers Viscardi were eminent in reputation, from whom
descend the first kings of Naples hereafter to be named.
The /10/ Arch Bishop of Milan being Earles of the
Citty, appoynted their Vicounts to governe [in] the same,
whome the historyes shewe after this tyme to make
themselves at last absolute lordes of the Citty. About this
tyme, a long lasting dissention grewe at Milan, betweene
the gentlemen and the people, and at Rome the faction of
the Tusculan Earles perverting the election of the Popes,
placed in that seate men nothing lesse then holy or
learned, governing all at their pleasure. And about this
tyme th[is]e question of the Corporall presence of Christ
in the sa[c]rament first grewe /20/ in France, which not
withstanding was not determined by the Popes for some
hundraeths of yeares after, every man in the meane tyme
hauling freedome to beleue or not beleue it. Pope Benedict
for a great some of mony appoynted Gregory a Roman to
succeede him, but the Bishops reieected his election, and
Henry Emperor of Germany made Clement the second Pope, who
called a Counsell in the yeare 1047. in which he made a
decree against Symmony, which his successour did not
convert against Patronns takeing mony, but perversely used

27 Benedict IX (1033 -1045) a debauchee sold the Papacy
to his godfather Gregory VI (1045 - 1046) who was a
reformer. EWH.

28 "The act or practice of buying or selling
ecclesiastical preferments, benefices, or emoluments..."
OED
it to forbidd the Emperor or any lay person to confer Bishoprickes or benifices, and in the same Council it was decreed that the Emperor should sett in order the Romane Church, and shoulde conferme Bishopps. About this tyme the Emperor for summes of mony gaue Earledomes to the foresayd Normans. And nowe fewe or no Popes satt in the seate of Rome without Competitors, but two or more chosen at one tyme, cursed one another with Ecclesiasticall Censures, and { m.n. 38, 39. Maring forbid } about this tyme they first forbad Preists to marry, and Cardinall Hildebrand vsed all meanes to hinder, that prophane persons (so they called the Emperor and all lay men ) should not chuse the Pope or giue Bishoprickes and Benifices; The Arch Bishop of Rauenna in the yeare 1052, imitating his Predecessors, stroue with the Pope for primacy, denying to yealde him any obedience. The Pope being cited by the Emperor Henry the third, came to him from Rome into Saxony, in the yeare 1056, where the Pope was present at this Emperors death then hapning, with whome the greatnes of the Empire fell. For this Pope shortly after dyed, as one too obedient to the Emperor, for such Popes hauing not the Roman ambition, were neuer long liued: and the Emperors Some Henry the 4th being but a Chylde, first his Chyldehoode, then his turbulent raigne,

29 Victor II (1055 - 1057).
30 Sonne. A minim is missing.
gaue the Popes meanes to rayse theire power and pryde, and the Italians fitt occasions to free themselues from subiection to the Emperors.

{ m.n. 56, 57. The Popes ryse with the Emperors fall. }

The succeeding Pope taxed the Emperor Henry the 4th being yet a Chylde, with heresy, in that he being a prophane //

fol.62 Booke i The Commonwealth of Italy Chap iii fo

person (so they tearme all the layity ) did notwithstanding conferr Bishopricks, (a strang example then, and no lesse

{ m.n. 3. Primacy }

strang heresy ) The Archbishops of milan had now for more then 200th yeares denied any obedience to the Popes, and now in the yeare 1058. this arch Bishop at a meeting of his Bishops, there contrary to the Popes former decree, determined that it was

{ m.n. 7, 8. Priest's Mariage: }

lawfull for Priests to marrye. Nicholas the second chosen Pope in the yeare 1059.\[31\] made a decree that the Popes should be chosen by Cardinalls, whose name now first begann

{ m.n. 10. Cardinalls. }

/10/ to growe in reputation. And the Emperor Henry the 4th being a Child of .7. yeares age, the same Pope made a decree that no benifice should be taken from any lay person. The same Pope a bout this tyme withdrewe the Duke of Apulia and Calabria and the Prince of

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\[31\] Nicholas II (1058 - 1061).
Capua from the Emperors obedience, to become liegemen and tributary to the Sea of Rome. The Citizens of Milan rejected the Popes legats as having no power in ordering that Church, and when their Arch Bishop yielded to them, they most bitterly reproached him for so doing. Alexander the second in the year 1061. was chosen Pope, the very Romans then desiring the Emperor to give them a Bishop after the old manner. The Archbishop of Milan in the year 1065. did again reject the Popes decree forbidding Priestes to marry. The Emperor Henry the 4th divorcing his wife in the year 1068. did alienate the myndes of the Germans from him, and gave the Pope advantage to excommunicate him, and to cite him to appeare at Rome to answer this cause of his divorce. The Romans in the year 1073. chose the abouenamed Hildebrand a furious Cardinall to be Pope, who called himselfe Gregory the 7th. He forbade any lay man to conferr any benefice, and excommunicated the Princes taking part with the Emperor, and commanded the decree against the marriage [to be] of Priestes to be published in Germany, but the Arch Bishop of Metz wrote backe vnto him, that he had not power inough to force the observation thereof; Now the Popes began to sett vp an Archbishop of Milan against the true Archbishop allowed by the Emperor & defended by
the people. The Emperor Henry the 4th in a Parliament deposed Pope Gregory, and the Pope againe depriv'd the Emperor of all his dominions by obsoluing his subjectes from their oath of fidelity, and excommunicated him, wherevpon the Princes of Germany forsooke him, so as in the yeare 1077. he was forced to come to Rome, and with submission to craue the Popes favour, for which doing his owne Germans more forsooke him, and the Italyans depis'd him, so as he was now stirred vp to revenge this disgrace, which the Pope hearing, presently rais'd vp a competitor of of the Empire against him. The Emperor in a solemn assembly judge the Pope to be depriv'd, and in the yeare. 1083. droue Pope Gregory out of Rome, who fled to Salernum, and there abode with Robert Duke //

Booke i The Commonwealth of Italy Chap.iii fol 63

of the Normans, while the Emperor established a newe Pope Clement in his seate, at Rome. This Gregory was the first Pope that vilify'd an Emperor, and prostituted Imperiall majesty to Papall pryde, who dying, the Italyans chose Victor to be Pope, whome they mantayned against the Emperors Pope, so as now for long tyme Rome had two or many Popes at once. Pope Victor stirred vp Conrade the Emperors eldest sonne to rebell against his father about the yeare

32 The old name for Salerno, the capital of the Normans.
1094, which wicked act first opened the way to the liberty of Italy and the tirannye /10/ of the Popes. The Roman Pope did agayne sett vp an Archbishop of Milan to oppose him against the Emperors Archbishop, and to reduce that church to the obedience of the Roman Sea, which it had so many yeares rejected. Pope Vrban had perswaded the french to a warre for the recovery of the Sepulcher of Christ, and returning into Italy in the yeare 1096 vsed the same forces against the emperors Pope, & expelling him out of Rome, recovered that Citty. The Popes about this tyme continued to perswade like expeditions /20/ into the holy land, and not only vsed the forces by the way to theire private endes, but by this Crafte wore out the forces of theire enemyes, devoted to Religion, by long and difficult warrs, while in the meane tyme they cherished and strengthned theire frendes at home. The Bishop of Florence in the yeare 1104. preached publikely that
{ m.n. 27. Antichrist. }
Antichrist was already borne. At last the Popes raysed Henry the second sonne of the Emperor Henry the 4th to rebell against his Father, and the Bishopps of Germany in a publike /30/ assembly tooke from the Father the Imperiall Crowne, and gaue it to his sonne Henry the fifth, in whose raigne the worthy Father, who (as I remember ) had fought more then sixtye battailes in person, was by his wicked

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1093.
sonne and the Clargye driven to that want, as in the Cathedral church of Spire, which himselfe had built, he begged a Preben\textsuperscript{34} for his maintenance, and could not obtayne it, yea his dead body (as excommunicated by the Pope) was fyue yeares left vnburuyed at Spire,\textsuperscript{35} his wicked sonne Henry the fyfth /40/ being Emperor. And now the Italyans dispensing the Emperor, gott liberty, determining all controversyes by Ciuill Armes, and the Cittyes were governed by three Counsells yearely chosen, hauing ouer them Consulls, or Pretors, and military magistrates, chosen by the Cittizens. The Earles and lordes of Castles joyned theselues to the Cittyes, and the power and revenue of Bishops ob<a>ying the Emperor daily decreased, only the power of the Popes grewe by the fall of others. Pope Pascall in the yeare .1107. /50/ by arenewed decree forbad the Emperor and all lay persons to medle with giuing any church livings. And now the Cittyes of lombardy made mutuall leagues one with another, and were all in tumult by Ciuill Armes. Yet Corsus a Cittizen of Rome dared many hostile acts against the Pope, who craved ayde aginst him //

\{ c.w. from the \}

\textsuperscript{34} "Prebend n. 1. The portion of the revenues of a cathedral...granted to a canon or member of the chapter as his stipend. Also transf." \textit{OED} The irony stems from Moryson's use of this word. Its etymology from the Latin \textit{præbenda} a daily pittance, means that the churchman is denying the Emperor of the very charity he receives.

\textsuperscript{35} Speyer.
From the Prince of Cueta. The Emperor Henry the fiftth in the yeare 1110. raysed an Army to passe into Italy, which the Pope vnderstanding, stirred vp the Princes and the Citties of Italy against him, but he comming to Milan, there receaved the Crowne of Iron, and gott the Pope into his handes and vnder his power, so as he was gladd to remitt all Iniuryes past to the Emperor, and vnder Seale to confirme the investiture of Bishopps to the Emperor, and to sett the Imperiall Crowne vpon his head at Rome, where in the masse the Pope tooke /10/ the wafercake consecrated for our lords body, and diuiding it betwene the Emperor and himselfe, sayd these wordes: As this part of the life giuing body is diuided, so of vs two lett him be diuided from the kingdome of Christ, who first breakes this agreement made betwene vs. Yet the Emperor was no sooner retorned into Germany, but this Pope Curssed by his owne mouth, breake all the agreement as extorted from him by force, and excommunicated the Emperor, which the Rebelion of the Germans presently followed. For in this age and at all tymes, warre /20/ followed the Papes thunderbolts, as raynes followes thunder, whereby it appeares they haue more confidence in the temporall then spirituall sworde. Milan affecting the Dominion of Lombardy, did againe take armes. Mathildis the Countesse of Toscany, dyed in the yeare 1115. and they write shee gaue all her dominions to the Roman church, which as Imperiall fees [von her] vpon her want
of heires males belonged truely to the Emperor, neither
could the Popes possesse any part thereof without Armes,
no[t][r] to this day haue they gott possession of them. The
Romans vpon the death of theire Prefect, against the Popes
will declared his sonne Prefect, /30/ and pulled downe the
towers of the Popes frends, and drove the Popes out of
Rome. The Archboshopps of Rauenna to this day would not be
subject to the Roman Church, and the Emperor returning into
Italy placed Pope Gregory the Eight at Rome, forcing Pope
Gelasius to fly to Gaieta. At last the Emperor renounced
the giuing of Benifices and Bishoprikes to the Popes, with
that great losse to the Empire obtayning peace, and dyed in
the yeare 1126. After warr rose in Germany, the Cittyes
of Italy revenged mutuall wronges by warr, and now the
Popes began first to exact oathes of obedience from
Abbotts, which they as vniustly claymed. Rogerius about the
/40/ yeare 1128. wrote himselfe king of Italy, and
acknowledging the kingdome, with Apulia, and Calabria, to
be Fees of the Roman Church, made himselfe the Popes
vassall. The German Emperor Lotharius did most thinges at
the Popes beck, so as not aboue, but together with the

36 Gelasius II (1118 - 1119).
37 To obtain peace, the Emperor Henry V (1106 - 1125)
renounced his powers at the Concordat of Worms in 1122.
Modern Historians tend to agree with Moryson, "...the
factor which damaged his power irreparably was that he lost
the religious authority which normally belonged to the
office of a king." Davis, p.256.
38 1130.
Pope, he was content to giue the Ducall Banner to the Duke of Apulia. He decreed that the Italians (who had hetherto liued after a triple lawe, at their e coyse after which they would liue, namely the lombard, the Salick, and the Roman lawe) should hereafter be iudged by the Ciuill lawe. He erected universjtyes, and placed Professors of the Ciuill lawe, first at Bologna and after in other places, and after he had restored the use of learning, formerly abolished by Invasions of barbarous people, he dyed in the yeare 1138. After warr rose in Germany betweene the Competitors of the Empire, and now it was thought no strang thing, that the Pope should assume to himselfe authority in the Emperors Election, who had formery choses Popes, and should excommunicate all that opposed his election. But at this tyme Rogerius King of Sicily, not regarding the Popes thunderboltes, did in spite of them, retayne the election and //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy Chapt:iii. fol:65. [and] Consecration of his owne Bishopps, and defeating the Popes Army, tooke the Pope and kept him prisoner. The Romans in the yeare 1143. professed that only the care of the church belonged to the Pope, and therefore by their owne voyces chose

{ m.n. 3, 4. Rome drives out the Pope. }

33 "Choyse".
40 "formerly chosen"?
Senators, and Judges, and a supreme magistrate over them, to whom they gave all domestic and foreigner tributes and Customs, taking them from the Pope, and saying he ought to be content with his Tythes and free gifts, and in the year 1145, they drove the Pope out of Rome, and for many years would not receive him in to the City, obstinately /10/ protesting, that only the Care of the Church matters, belonged to the Pope, yea exhorting the Emperor utterly to abolish the Popes authority over the City. And howsoever the Pope Eugenius having levyed forces for the war of Hierusalem and Converting them against the Romans, was for feare received by them into the City, yet shortly after they drove him out againe with armed force. About the year 1152. Gratian reduced the Popes law into volumes called the decretals. Now the Germans had chosen Frederick Barbarossa for Emperor, who with an Army brought the Pope into /20/ Rome, and there received the Imperial Crowne. Shortly after when the Popes legate said to his face that the Empire was in the Popes gift, he ran at him with his drawne sword and sent him back to Rome, so as the Pope was forced by other legates to excuse the former, and to pacify this Emperor who by Armes reduced the Cityes of Italy to

41 Little is known about Gratian who produced his work in the decade 1140 - 1150. Moryson calls his work codifying "Pope's law" because of the strong bias manifested towards Papal claims and supremacy. "He is the true founder of the science of canon law." CE His work was the starting point for all future codifications, as Moryson recognises on fol. 90.
his obedience, and caused a decree to be made in a publike Assembly, that all the Regall rights belonging to Charles the great were due vnto him, which he tooke in the very Bishoppricks and exacted fodder in the very Territory of Rome, and in all /30/ writings sett his owne name before the Popes. Shortly after the Cardinalls disagreeing in the election of the Pope, some chose Alexander the third, some Victor the fourth. In the horrible scisme following betweene them, the two factions of the Guelphs, and Gibellines, one Imperiall the other Papall which had many yeares destroyed Germany, now begann to divide and spoyle Italy.42 The Emperor Frederick tooke part with Pope Victor reiecting Alexander, who earnestly sought his fauour. Pope Victor excommunicated Pope Alexander and he did the like against Pope Victor and the Emperor, and /40/ so withdrew himselfe into Fraunce. The Emperor beseiged Milan, being in league with Alexander, and taking the Citty, vtterly raced it to the ground. On all sides he sett ouer the Cittyes of Italy Imperiall magistrates called Podesta, which name for the Gouernors of Cittyes hold to this day. But in the yeare 1167, the Cittyes of Lombardy made a league against this Emperor, and cast out his Magistrates. The king of Sicily tooke part with Pope Alexander, and the kings of England and Fraunce acknowledged him for Pope. The Emperor

42 Moryson gives a misleading impression by reversing the order in which he introduces Guelph and Ghibelline. The Guelphs supported the Papal party, the Ghibellines the Imperial party.
Frederick in the yeare 1168 returned into Germany, wherevpon /50/ his faction in Italy, distrusting the affayres of the Empire //

fol:[.]66 Booke i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. made their peace, and tooke part with his Enemyes there. The Citizens of Milan did againe build their Citty. Pope Alexander offered the Romans to be content with the oversight of sacred things, and to remitt all other to them, yet they would not receiue him into the Citty. In this age the Popes canonized for Saints the very Rebells to the Emperor and kings, so they fauoured them. The Emperor Fredrick retorning into Italy had many vnhappy Conflicts with those that were in league against him, so as he was forced in the yeare 1177. to sue for Popes Alexanders fauour, and coming to Venice prostrated /10/ himselfe before him, who proudly trode vppon his neck, & abusing the words of Dauids psalme in a great audience, and to the dislike of all good men, prophanely said, the young lyon and the Dragon shalt thou tread vnder thy feete. Now Pope Alexander the third having no Competitor was adored of all men. [The third having no Competitor] ; He pardoned the

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41 The decisive battle against the Lombard League of northern Italian cities was at Legnano in May 1176. Cutting his losses quickly, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa made his peace with Alexander III at Anagni in October.

44 "Thou shalt walke vpon the lion and aspe: the yong lion and the dragon shalt thou treade vnder thy feete." Psalm 91. 13. This is subsequent Protestant propaganda. Alexander III excused Barbarossa from the most demeaning ceremonies. See Davis, p.333.
Romans vpon Condition[s], that their Chosen Senator should not enter vpon their office, before they had sworne to attempt nothing against the Pope: he made a decree that only the Cardinallls should haue power to chuse the Popes, and in the yeare 1181 /20/ he dyed. The Romans cast his Successor out of Rome. The Emperor Frederick gaue large Priuiledges to the Citties of Italy, and made peace with them, and in particuluer for Milan, he graunted that the Pretor\textsuperscript{45} should be an Earle, and should haue power of [or] life and death. Clement the third a Citizen of Rome being chosen Pope in the yeare 1188,\textsuperscript{46} pacifyed the Romans, and graunted them that they should chuse a Patritian Senators and [a] Prefect, so as they should be invested by the Pope. Now the Cittys of Lombardy made mutuall leagues, and pulled downe the Castles of such as fauoured the Emperor. In the yeare /30/ 1190. the Emperor Henry for mony gaue large priuiledges to the Cittyes of Italy. The free Cittyes of Genoa and Florence in the yeare 1196 chaunged their Consulls to [be] Pretors. Pope Celestine sent legates into Bohemia and Poland to forbidd Preists mariadge, but they { m.n. 35. mariadge. }

\textsuperscript{45} Pretor, the Latin word for Governor or Chief Magistrate.

\textsuperscript{46} 1187.
called the patrimony of St. Peter, and to that end excomunicated the Germans possessing them. /40/

{ m.n. 41, 42. The Pope in generall. }

Thus it appeareth by Histories aboue mentioned that the first Popes to the yeare of our lord 311, were holy & learned men, and many of them Martirs vnder heathen Emperors. for about that tyme liued Constantine the great and first Christian Emperor. Then coming to riches and ease, and asserting more and more the title of Holines, & reuereence from men, rather [then to be holy, and haue spirituall graces from God, they] attayned this greatnes, when Boniface the third chosen in the yeare 607, by taking vppon him, the title of vniuersall Bishopp laid the foundation of the Papall tyranny and supremacy. After this all Corruptions of /50/ manners and doctrine beginning at Rome infected all the Church, and the Popes having gayned the opinion[s] of Holines and spirituall power, now laboured for temporall dominions. //


and to haue temporall power over Emperors and kings, to which end Pope Gregory in the yeare 726. first despised & excomunicated the Easterne Emperor,\footnote{Gregory II (715 - 731) was attempting to save images from the iconoclast Emperor Leo III (717 - 741).} then Gregory the seauenth chosen in the yeare 1073, openly raysed rebellions against the Westerne Emperor and not only excomunicated but
deposed him, and first vilifyed the Imperiall majesty. And Alexander the third in the yeare 1177., attayned the highest of this greatnes, treading with his Feet vppon the Emperors neck, after many horrible scisms of the Church, and vnspeakable treasons of the Popes. Hereafter, I am to speake of the /10/ Station, and then of the fall of this greatnes, aswell spirituall as temporall, namely how the Popes (neuer so wicked ) dominered ouer Emperors and kings, in the blinde tyme of ignorance, and superstition, till the Emperor Charles the Fifth was crowned in the yeare 1519, and how from that tyme Religion began to be reformed and the Popes greatnes in both the said powers to decline.

{ m.n. 18, 19. The station of the Popes greatnes. }
Pope Innocent in the yeare 1198. made the Chapter of the decretalls, by which the Popes challeng power to allow or reiect the Chosen Emperor, and them selues to chuse him, /20/ if the Electors refuse to doe it, [either] and to preferr either Competitor that hath equall voices. Pope Innocent the fourth chosen in the yeare 1241,\(^{48}\) first gaue the Cardinalls a redd-hatt, as a badge of their ambition to be made Martirs for the Church. Pope Vrban the fourth chosen in the yeare 1261, as Naucerus witnesseth,\(^{49}\) had

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\(^{48}\) 1243.

\(^{49}\) The Classical name of Johannes Vergenhans van Wyck, a German jurist, chronicler and philologist, who died in 1510. Hyamson.
not yet recovered the Popes seate at Rome. I haue said that the Emperors by little and little sold dukedomes and Earldomes to the Italian Princes & freedome to diuerse Cittyes graunting them all absolute power. This Pope \{ m.n. 30, 31. Sicily and Naples \} transferred the new erected kingdome of Naples /30/ and Sicily to Charles Earle [of] Aniou of the French kings bloud. Pope Nicholas the third chosen in the yeare 1277. brought Rome into Subiection, as Martinus Polonus witnesseth.\(^5^0\) The Sicilians hating the French conspir[ing]ed with the king of Arragon against them, and this king having his Navye ready to enter the Port, in the yeare 1282, the Sicilians at an Evensong killed Eight thousand French, and in place of the French, tooke the king of Aragon to be their king,\(^5^1\) but Naples still remayned

\(^5^0\) Martin of Poland, also known as Martin of Troppau, (d.1278) was the first of the chroniclers of Chronica Pontificum et Imperatorum, which dealt with Popes and Emperors side by side, one line per year, fifty lines per page. Moryson may be looking at the work of one of Martin's imitators. The version first printed in Turin in 1477 Martini Poloni Chronicon Summorum Pontificum et Imperatorum has no connection with Martin. See CE, entry listed under Martin of Troppau.

\(^5^1\) This is the Don Pedro of Much Ado About Nothing. The gallants who have returned from the wars have been fighting the French who tried to recuperate their losses after the Vespers. Shakespeare gives the historical circumstances scant attention. However, it is a background of deceit and war. It is worth quoting from the source, as it casts further light on the Claudio/Hero relationship; the penalty for disloyalty was terrible. "Nor did they massacre only the men and women of the French nation...afterwards, if any woman was proved to have been got with child by a Frenchman she was killed without pity; whence arose the melancholy fame of the 'Sicilian Vespers'. King Piero of Arragon
vnto the French with title of a kingdome, and vppon this
Act Sicilian Vesper grew into a Prouerb. /40/ Whiles the
Popes
{ m.n. 40, 41. The Pope[s] }
and all Italy acknowledged the Emperors for their lordes,
the Emperors vsed to come with an Army into Italy to
receiue the yron Crowne at Milan, and the Imperiall Crowne
at Rome, to inuest the Popes or to redresse their wrongs,
to giue law and Compound Controuersies, and to receive the
Italians homage till by the ambition of the Popes arming
their subjectes against them at home, and woorking treasons
against them in Italy (so as they could not be safe from
poyson in the very receiuing of the holy Sacrament) the
good German Emperors tyred with these broiles, and finding
that /50/ they had nothing from the Empire but a bare
title, bearing all the burthen by their owne patrimony,
cast of all care of forayne matters, and as vnable to beare
that burthen, sold (not only in Italy, but in very Germany)
dukedomes and Earldomes and //

Palatinates, first as hereditary Fees, and after as
absolute dominions renouncing their very right to the
Investiture, and in like sort sold to the cheefe Cittyes

hearing of this came quickly thither with his army, and
made himself lord of the Island..." Quoted from La Prima
Parte de le Novelle del Bandello (Lucca, 1554) Novella
XXII, translated by Geoffrey Bullough in Narrative and
Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare edited by Geoffrey Bullough
freedome and absolute power. And Rodulphus of Habspurge the first Emperor of the Austrian Family, chosen in the yeare 1273. first refused to come into Italy, whome all his Successors followed in that point, except Lodwike the Bauarian, and some few other. This Rodulphus granted to the aboue named Pope Nicholas the third, Rauenna, and the old Exarchate, to the end he should gather strength against the Saracens and Infidells [in] Pope Boniface the Eight chosen /10/ in the yeare 1288, openly wrote himselfe lord of the world, aswell in temporall as spirituall matters, after the example of the old Augusti, who were both high Preists and Emperors. And now the power of the Emperors being subdued, the Popes began to bring all kings vnder their yoke, so as the kings laboured nothing more, then to haue such Popes chosen as would fauour them, since the hinges of Christendome turned at the Popes beck, to this end giuing large bribes to the Cardinalls, and hence forward the Court of Rome was distracted with diuerse

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52 Louis IV (1314 - 1347) invaded Italy 1327 - 1330, as did his predecessor Henry VII (1308 - 1313). EWH

53 In 1302 Boniface VIII (1294 - 1303) issued the Bull Unam Sanctam. It was the last high medieval statement of the subordination of the secular to the spiritual power. The fact that Boniface was such a cynically secular cleric has meant that he has attracted criticism from Dante to Dario Fo. Morison skilfully builds his argument, that the Popes were like the old (heathen) Roman Emperors who from Julius Caesar onwards had the title Pontifex Maximus, the high priest of the religion of the state.
factions of the most powerfull kings.\textsuperscript{54} The /20/ said Pope, Boniface the Eight first excomunicated Phillipp the French king, who despised this Thunderbolt, then vnknowne to our parts, and soone found meanes to destroy that Pope. Clement the fifth a Frenchman chosen Pope in the yeare 1305, seated himselfe at Auignon in Fraunce leaving Rome to be gouerned by three Cardinalls with Senators power. Pope Iohn chosen in the yeare 1316, satt at Auignon, and Pope Nicholas the Fifth at the same tyme chosen by the Emperor seated himselfe at Rome. At this tyme the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines in Italy did many bloudy acts one against /30/ the other. The vicounts of Milan by litle and litle had gott the dominion of the Citty, and the Territory, and having bene first called Captaines then Imperiall vicars at last Iohn Galleacius obteyned the title of Duke from Wenceslaus chosen Emperor in the yeare 1376.\textsuperscript{55} Pope Gregory the Eleuenth chosen in the yeare 1376. brought back his seat from Auignon to Rome, [acknowledged by the Italians].\textsuperscript{56} Pope Vrban the sixth succeeded him at Rome


\textsuperscript{55} Gian-Galeazzo Visconti (1378 - 1402) was created Duke in 1396 by Emperor Wenceslas (1378 - 1400).

\textsuperscript{56} Gregory XI (1370 - 1378) died at Rome before he could return to Avignon.
acknowledged by the Italians, Germans and English, but Pope Clement the seauenth at the same tyme chosen, and acknowledged by the French, Spaniards /40/ and Scotts seated himselfe at Auignon. After three Popes together were chosen, Iohn the 22, seated at Rome, Gregory the t[enth]welueth seated at Rimini, and Benedict, the thirteenth seated in Spaine. And

{ m.n. 44, 45. Naples and Sicily }

now Ioane Queene of Naples first adopted Alphonsus king of Arragon, and after reiecting him adopted Lewes of the foresaid race of the French Earles of Aniou, but she being dead, the lorde of the kingdome receiued Alphonsus, and he dying left the two kingdomes of Arragon and Sicily to his brother, but gaue the kingdome of Naples gotten by himselfe to Ferdinand his Bastard. In the [meane] tyme /50/ of the aforesaid great schismes of many Popes chosen together, the reformed religion first began to take roote in Germany and other parts. But the

{ m.n. 53, 54. Reformed religion. Councells aboue Popes. }

Councell of Constance vulgarly Cosnet[h]z, deposed the foresaid three Popes, and chose Pope Martin //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:[.]69.

the fifth in the yeare 1417. Pope Eugenius the fourth chosen in the yeare 1431, was cited to the Councell at Basell, and not appearing was for diuere Crimes deposed.

The male [kinde] [lyne] of the Galleaci[a]j dukes of Milan being extinct, howsoever
Alphonsus king of Aragon and Sicily was made heir by the last Testament of the last duke; yet Franciscus Sfortia by right of his wife base daughter to the last duke, made himselfe duke of Milan neglecting to be confirmed by the Emperors letters Patents. But this Francis leaving a sonne of vnripe yeares puple to his brother Lodouicus Sfortia, he gott the Emperors grant/10/ to the prejudice of his Nephew and Puple. The foresaid Ferdinand king of Naples, and Lodowick duke of Milan,

as Tutor to his Nephew, and the Common wealth of Florence, made a league of mutuall defence, in the yeare 1480, cheifly intending thereby to keepe downe the power of the Venetians whome they obserued to affect the Empire of Italy, by the discord of the Princes thereof. The French king Charles the Eight, heyre to the Earles of Aniou, and so having right to the kingdome of Naples, howsoever he found [Pope] Alexander the sixt (that Monster of men) most opposite to his designes, /20/ yet entred Rome with his Army, and extorted from the Pope his grant of the kingdome of Naples which shortly after in the beginning of the yeare 1495, he subdued, driving Alphonsus king of Naples out of that kingdome. At this tyme the Pisans of late yeares subject to the State of Florence, rebelled against them, in

57 "Illegitimate, bastard. ? Obs." base. a. 7. OED

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hope to recover their own liberty by help of the Garison soldiers left there by the French king, and about this time the Family of the Medici, for many years powerful in the Free-state of Florence, being hated by the said French king, /30/ was banished out of that City. But the French at Naples giving them selves to their pleasure, and (after their manner) governing that kingdom insolently, and without order and wisdom, Charles the French king was no sooner returned into France; But the Princes and people of Naples recalled their old king. At this time Genoa of old a Free City, acknowledged for lord the Duke of Milan, and the Family of Ballio became lords of Perusia. Ferdinand king of Naples in the year 1497. expelled the French out of that kingdom, and died in the height of his /40/ honor, leaving Frederick his uncle to succeed him. Pope Alexander the sixth, at this time aided by the Family Colonna made war against the Family Vrsini, they being the most potent Familyes of Rome. Charles the French king dying in the year 1498., Lewes the twelfth succeeded him, whose Progenitors the Dukes of Orleance coming on the mothers syde from the Galeacij Dukes of Milan, had long made war with no success against the Family of Sfortia for that dukedom. And now Pope Alexander the sixt desyrous to advance Cæsar his sonne, and to that end resoluing to exchaunge /50/ sacred indulgences for prophane dominions,

58 The Baglioni were tyrants of Perugia.

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graunted Lewes the French king to be divorced from his wife, [and Flaminia] who ayded the Pope to subdue the Prouinces of Emilia [and rayeds] and Flaminia,53 //
{ c.w. and rayesd }

fol:70. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:i.iii.
{ m.n. 1. Milan. }

and raised his sonne Caesar to great dignities,. King Lewes being thus in league with the Pope, vpon the only shewing of his Army subdued the dukedome of Milan in the yeare 1499, Lodouicus [Sfortia] flying into Germany. And Caesar the Papes sonne subdued many Cityyes of Em<ili>a and Flaminia expelling the Venetian Gouernors, and private lorde of the same. But in the beginning of the yeare 1500, Lodouicus Sfortia recovered the dukedome of Milan from the French whome the people began to hate, only the City of Genoa refused to retorne vnder his gouernment. Yet this happy success of Sfortia /10/ was interrupted by a Mutiny of the Sweitzers hyred to fight on his syde, by whome he was forsaken, and flatly betrayed into the hands of the French, who having him prisoner recovered the dukedome againe, with no lesse speed then lately they had lost it.

{ m.n. 15, 16. The kings of Spaine. }

Ferdinand King of Arragon and Sicily added to these two

53 The Via Flaminia was one of the great Roman roads leading from the capital to Ariminium, modern Rimini. It was never a province as such, unlike Emilia Romagna. Sugden.
kingdomes [(by the mariage of the heyre ) the [two] kingdome[s]] of Castile in Spaine and about this tyme being first called king of Spaine, was the first of the Spanish kings, whome we read to be of any great power, or to haue laid his hands with the other great kings of Christendome to sway /20/ the stern thereof, and he having also expelled the Mahometan Mores and so recouered the kingdome of Granata from them had the title of Catholick king giuen to him and his successors by the Pope.  

{ m.n. 25. Naples. }  
This Ferdinand (as I formerly shewed) gott the kingdome of Sicily from the French by a murthering Vesper, (or Euensong Massacre) and now with faith litle answering his Catholick title conspired with the French king in the yeare 1501. against his kinsman Frederick king of Naples whome they cast out of [t]his kingdome, and according to their /30/ former agreement diuided the same betweene them, king Ferdinand having for his part the dukedomes of Apulia and Calabria, and the French king Lewes the twelueth taking the rest of the kingdome for his part, with title of king of Naples. But in the yeare 1502, dissention began betweene these two kings, Which broke into open warr, in which Ferdinand king of Spaine, casting the French altogether out of that kingdome in the yeare 1503, made himselfe absolute,  

60 Moryson is referring to the events of 1282, when the Aragonese family triumphed over Charles of Anjou.
and sole king of Naples.

{ m.n. 40. The Popes. }

In the same yeare [Pope] Alexander the sixth and his sonne Cæsar, having invited certaine Cardinalls to dyne in a Garden whome they ment to poyson, the Pope himselfe, by a mistaking of the botleman was poysoned by the same Cupp he had prepared for others, and dyed thereof the same night, and his sonne Cæsar by like error, only tasting the Cupp kept his bedd long in danger of death. Herevppon the Roman Princes Vrsini, returned to possesse their Inheritances, and likewise Ballio Lord of Perusia, and also duke of Vrbin, and the Princes of Pesaro of [Caramine] [Camarine], and of Senogallia, all cast out by the Armes of the /50/ said Pope,. and his sonne, recovered their dominions, only Emilia remayned subject to Cæsar, but Pope Iulius the [Emperor, and the French king] second

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61 The fiction of the poisoning of Alexander VI and Cesare Borgia, and the (authentic) list of the deposed princes returning is taken by Morison from Book Six of Francesco Guicciardini's work subsequently called La Historia di Italia on the title page of the first edition of 1561 of Florence. Retranslated by Geoffrey Fenton from a French translation, the work Morison is most likely to have read is his second edition of 1599, entitled The Historie of Guicciardin translated by Geffray Fenton (London, 1599), and referred to hereafter as Fenton. "...the Vrsins and all the Romish Barons restored them selues to their estates...& John Pawle Baillon vnder hope of a certaine intelligence, had assailed Perousa...The Duke of Vrbyn, the Lordes of Pesere, of Camerin, and Sini Gale, did the like in their estates." p.237. We know them as the Orsini, Giampaolo Baglioni tyrant of Perugia, the Duke of Urbino, the Lords of Pesaro, Camerino and Sinigallia. 221
taking him prisoner while he lay sick, forced him to resigne the same into his //

Booke. i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap: iii. fol: 7i. hands. This Pope Iulius the Emperor and the French

{ m.n. 1. Italy. }

king in the yeare 1504. made a league against the Venetians, And howsoever the Venetians yeilded to the Pope Rimini and other Townes which they had taken by Armes in Emilia, yet they could not therewith pacify him,. This Pope by his Armes subdued Perusia, and in the yeare 1506. by ayde of the French subdued Bologna, casting out the Family of Bentiuoli,62 and so added both those Citties and Terrotories to the patrimony of the Church. In this yeare, a dissention grew at Genoa, betweene the Common

{ m.n. 10. Genoa. }

people and the nobles, /10/ and the people being moued to take Armes, spoyled the houses of the Nobles, and made a law, that of the magistrates lately divided equally, now two parts should fall to the people, and one only to the nobles; and daily growing more insolent rebelled against the French, creating eight popular Tribunes to gouerne them, so as the French Gouernor terrifyed with the danger left the Citty,. And now the people chose a Plebean duke and casting downe the French Armes, erected those of the Emperor. But the French king in the yeare 1507 leading his

62 The Bentivogli.
Army to Genoa, their duke despoyring of his safety, ran away, and the people yielded the City to the king's pleasure, who restoring their former government to them, yet deeply fined the State, and built a Fort to keep them in awe, and in place of the old stamp of their Coyne, gave them his own Image in token of their absolute subjection to him. At Camra in the year 1508, Pope Iulius the Emperor, the French king, and the king of Spaine, all made league together against the Venetians, each one to recover the rights they challenged from that State, more expressly the Pope named Facu[c]za, Rauenna, and Seruia, besides these Townes which the Venetians had already yielded to him, the Emperor named Paduoa, Vicenza, Verona belonging to the Empire, the Province Frioli and Taurisum as hereditary to the house of Austria, the

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63 It is known as the League of Cambrai. Fenton spells it "Cambray", p.309.

64 Faenza, Ravenna and Cervia. Fenton produces the names in this order, although Moryson seems to have missed Rimini. It could be objected against my transcription that "Facuza" is in fact Faenza with a badly formed "e" and the "u" being an "n", but I have decided to produce what appears to be there.

65 Friuli and Trevigi, modern Treviso. Fenton translates "...for the king of the Romains, Padua, Vicensa & Verona, appertaining to him in the name of the Empire, and the places of Friul and Treuisan, being parcell of the inheritance of the house of Austria". pp. 311, 312. Fenton might have used the latter form because later on he translates the arguments of "Domenico Treuisan a Senator of great authoritie", p.313 who influenced the Venetians against accepting the humiliating terms offered by Julius II. The family name Trevisan implies that his ancestors originally came from Treviso. Taurisum is a mistake for Tarvisium, Treviso. See Orbis latinus, compiled by J. G. T.
French king named Cremona, Giruddadad, Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema, the king of Spaine named the hauens and townes of the Neapolitan kingdome taken by the Venetians, all to be recouered by these powerfull Princes from one State of Venice. In the yeare 1509, the French Army defeating the Venetians tooke Brescia, and Bergamo from them. The Pope by advantage of the French victory, and the reputation thereof rather then by Armes, tooke from them Facuza, Rauenna, and the Townes of Emilia. The king of Spaine reaped the same fruit of an others labour, namely of the French kings victory; For the Venetians freely yeilded aswell to the Pope as the king of Spaine all things they had taken by Armes and thus ye Common wealth of Venice which had gaped for all occasions to vsurpe the dominions of others, with a wonderfull force fell itselxe into headlong ruine. But the Pope suspecting the power of the French, to preuent the finall ruine of the Venetians at last gaue audience to their Ambassadors sent to sue for his fauour. In the meane tyme the Emperor had taken from the Venetians, the Cittyes and Territoryes of Verona, Vicenza, and Padoua. This yeare the Pisons, at last were reduced to the subiection of the Florentines who vsed them

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66 Ghiaradadda, also known as Agnadello, the site of the battleground so fatal to Venetian hopes in 1509.
with singuler lenity, and faithfulnes. The Venetians recouered Padoa from the Emperor, but the duke of Ferrara fighting with the Venetian shippes vpon the Coast of his Country, defeated the same and cast the Venetian magistrate out of Ferrara, who by ancient leagues had long bene allowed to live in that Citty, as a Iudge of all Causes concerning the State of Venice /10/ or the Subjects thereof. The Pope Iuliuis the second in the beginning of the yeare 1510. freed the State of Venice from excomunication, after they had consented to the following conditions. namely that thenceforeward they should not medle with giving any dignity of the Church, but should confirme the Popes disposall of them. That they should not medle with Tythes, or any goods of the Church. That they should renounce all rights in Townes subject to the Pope, namely the having of the foresaid magistrate in the City of Ferrara. That they should freely permitt the Popes Subjects to saile vpon the Adriatique Sea (or Gulfe ) without /20/ exacting any tribute or Custome from them, and should not receiue any enemyes or Rebells to the Roman sea. From this tyme the Venetians daily recouered many Townes they had lost. And now the Pope beginning to resolue to subdue [many] [divers] Citties, and Territories, and to driue the French out of Italy, by whose ayd he and his Predecessor had much increased their temporall patrimony in Italy, to that end made a league with the Sweitzers. And because he could not draw the duke of Ferrara from his faith to the French king,
he did (upon St. Peters day when all rents are paid to the Church of Rome, ) refuse to receive the rent /30/ or Tribute due from the duke of Ferrara, alledging that Pope Alexander the sixth vpon giuing his daughter in mariage [to] to the said duke, had reduced his yearely Tribute from fower thousand to an hundred ducates, which graunt he affirmed to be utterly voyd, and of no force. Presently the Pope cast a French Cardinall into prison, and professing himselfe open Enemy to the French king, graunted the kingdome of Naples to the king of Spaine, vpon the same tribute, which the kings of Arragon were wont to pay; whereas the French had paid yearely for the same fower hundred Eighty pounds of gold. /40/ And this he did, not so much because the king of Spayne had tyed himselfe to send three hundred armed horsmen, whensoever they were required, to defend the Pope, as to oblige him in freindshipp against the French king. Then the Pope excommunicated the duke of Ferrara, and the Generall of the French Army in the yeare 1511. But the Citizens of Bologna cast out the Popes soldiers, and receiued Bentiuoli with the french ayding him. Also the Emperor and the kings of Spaine and Fraunce with the authority of five principall Cardinalls, called a

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67 The ducat was usually a gold coin first minted in by Roger II of Sicily in 1140 for his Duchy of Apulia. Venice first minted a Ducat in 1284, but in Morison's time it was more an accounting term, and a generic term for a gold coin, although Venetian ducats were exceptionally minted in 1561 and 1608. See Room, p. 72, and Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), p. 461.
Councell to be held at Pisa, for reformation of the Roman Church, which came to nothing, because the Emperor and king of Spaine fell to the Popes party. After the French had obtained many victories, at last they were cast out of the dukedome of Milan by the Sweitzers seruing the Pope in great numbers out of the hatred they bore to the French king. The Citties //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol 73.
of Parma and Piacenza, freely and willingly yeilded to the Pope as members of the old Exarchate. The French Gouernor flying from Genoa, that Citty chose Fregosa for their duke. The Townes which the French had taken in Emilia and Flaminia returned all to the Popes subjection. Bentiuoli forsooke Bologna which the Pope recouered, and severely fined the Citizens. giuing them no more any part in their owne gouernment. The Venetians recouered all their Townes and Territories on the firme land, except those Townes which were yeilled to the Pope, from whose hands (as from Hell) there is no redemption. /10/ The same Iulius the second, caused the Family of Medici, that was banished out of Florence [to be recalled into their Country,] tand, restored to their former dignity. The Sweitzers would in any Case haue the dukedome of Milan restored to Maximilian Sfortia grandChilde to Lodowick Sfortia formerly cast out of the same. Pope Iulius the second dying in the yeare 1513, Leo, the tenth a Florentine of the Family of Medici succeeded him. The French king Lewes the tweluth recouered
the dukedome of Milan, and the State of Genoa, but soone after his Army being overcome by the Sweitzers, Milan was returned to Sfortia, and Genoa to the former /20/ State. But this french king dying in the yeare i5i5, Francis the First succeeded him, with whome the duke of Genoa made agreement, that laying aside that title of duke, he might be Gouernor of the Citty vnder the king, and this French king defeating the Sweitzers Army, recouered the dukedome of Milan couenanting with Maximilian Sfortia to giue him a pention wherevppon he should liuе in Fraunce, who vppon these Conditions gaue himselfe into the kings power. The Pope Leo the Tenth restored Parma and Piacenza to this french king. And this Pope casting the duke of Urbine out of that /30/ dukedome, gaue the same (as a Fee of the Church) to his Nephew Lawrence of the Family of Medici.

Ferdinand king of Spaine of Sicily and of Naples dying, his Nephew Charles succeeded him, who being also Nephewe to the Emperor Maximilian the First, shortly after succeeded him in the great dukedome of Burgundy, and the large Provinces of Netherland, and in the yeare 1519, was also chosen Emperor, the Fift[t]h of that name. This Emperor Charles the Fift[t]h being in league with Pope Leo the Tenth, tooke Milan and diuerse Citties of that dukedome in the yeare 1521; and the Pope recouered from /40/ the French

68 "3. A grandson. Obs. (Common in the 17th c.)" OED

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the Citties of Parma and Piacenza. Pope Leo shortly after dying, the duke of Vrbin was recalled by the people, and recovered his Territory. Pope Adrian (who had bene schoolemaster to this Emperor) succeeded Leo. While the French sought to recover the dukedom of Milan, the City of Genoa returned to the former State, chusing them a duke, and casting out the French soldiers. And thus the French againe lost the possession they had of Italy in the yeare 1523, and Charles the Emperor yeilded to the Pope, that Frauncis Sfortia, should have the dukedom of Milan. Adrian the Pope dying in the yeare 1523, Pope Clement the seventh Florentine of the house of Medici succeeded him. The French recovered Milan in the yeare 1524, but in the beginning of the next yeare, the French king Francis the First being taken prisoner by //

fol:74. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

Charles the Emperors Army at Pauia, the Emperor tooke all that the French possessed in Italy, not restoring the dukedom of Milan to Francis Sfortia, but keeping it himselfe by right his victory. In the yeare 1528, the Citizens of Genoa pulling done the Fort, which the French yeilded to them, gott [absolute] absolute liberty, and instituted a new forme of government chusing a Senate of fower hundred Citizens, but reserving eminent authority in greatest affaires to Andrew d'Auria who declined, the envy of the people by not medling with the choice of the duke and Magistrates, nor with the expence of /10/ the Treasure.
Pope Clement the seauenth being (as I said ) a Florentine of the house of Medici by the ayd of the Emperors Soldiers in the yeare 1530 beseiged Florence and with ye slaughter of many Citizens and destruction of noble Familyes, established the cheife of the house of Medici to be duke of Toscany, in that greatnes which to this day they hold, saue that Pope Pius the Fifth did after giue them the title of the great duke of Toscany. And the Emperor to please the Pope invested Francis Sfortia in the dukedome of Milan, but kept the Forts in his owne power. Pope Paul the third succeeded Clement, and Francis Sfortia /20/ dying, the Emperor Charles the Fifth vnited the dukedome of Milan to his hereditary dominions. The french king Henry the second succeeded Francis the First in the yeare 1547. Pope Paul the third of the Family Farnese, gaue the Citties of Parma and Piacenza to his sonne Peter Lodowick Fernese, and to his heyres males with title of the Duke of Parma, who holds that dukedome to this day in Fee from the Church of Rome. This Pope allowed the society of the Iesuites and to him dying in the yeare 1548, Pope Iulius the third succeeded and he dying Pope Marcellus the second was chosen, but liued not absoue twenty /30/ dayes, and Pope Paul the Fourth borne at Naples was chosen in the yeare 1555. This Pope and Cosmo de Medici duke of Florence sent their forces against the Free Citty Sienna, defended by a Garrison of

[^3]: 1549.
the French, and taking the City, the same with the Territory was united to the State of the duke of Florence by consent of the Pope and the Emperor Charles the Fifth.\textsuperscript{70} This Emperor dyed about three years after, and the Empire of Germany fell to his younger brother Ferdinand, long before chosen king of the Romans, whose posterity enjoys it to this day but Philipp sonne and heir to Charles succeeded him in the /40/ kingdoms of Spaine, Sicily, and Naples in the dukedom of Milan, in the lordship of the west Indies, and in his dominions of Burgundy, and Netherland, to the which \textsuperscript{71} our age he hath added the kingdom of Portugal, with the dominions of the East Indies thereunto belonging. About the same time the French king Henry the second dyed,\textsuperscript{71} and his son Francis the second succeeded him. And now France began to be distracted with dissensions about the reforming of religion, so as they could no longer prosecute the war of Italy, and scarcely had power to defend the kingdom from the usurpation of the king of Spaine, and of the faction or /50/ league, by which the duke of Guise aspired to make himself king of France.

\{ m.n. 53, 54. \textit{The declining of the Popes greatness.} \}

The historyes shew that in the age last past, the Popes of

\textsuperscript{70} Siena was incorporated with Florence in 1555.

\textsuperscript{71} 1559.
Rome by Armes at home ioyned many temporall dominions of Italy to the patrimony of the Roman Church. Now lett vs obserue. how in the meane tyme abroad in forraine kingdomes, the spirituall power of the Popes began to diminish. For the religion reformed to the prejudice of the Popes power began to spread it selfe from the tyme of the Councell of Constance (vulgarly Costnetz ) called [by] the Emperor in the yeare 1417, and growing daily in Germany, was at last so much increased there by [the] preaching of Luther and other learned men, as it gaue many troubles to the Emperor Charles the fifth, from the first day of his being chosen Emperor to the tyme of his death, being about some /10/ 40 yeares. After the same reformed religion began to spread in Fraunce. The Popes hitherto raysiaing warre at home, and abroad, and now fauouring one, and now the other party, (with such art and equall handling of the scales, as the kings and Princes making the warrs, litle increased their power ), did themselues notwithstanding much increase[d] the patrimony of the Roman Church. But now the troubles about religion, making Ciuill warrs in Fraunce, the Popes could no longer temper the affayres of Christendome by keeping the meane, as they had done, but were forced for hatred of the reformed Religion to /20/ depress the kings
of Fraunce, and for protection of the Roman Church, so to advance their Champion the king of Spaine, as at length the french kings being neglected, and little esteemed at Rome, all things were there governed at the will of the Clients of the king of Spaine. And indeed for the tyme, the Romans little feared the new risen power of the king of Spaine, being abroad distracted by important warrs with England, Netherland, and Fraunce, and at home beseiged, [and] as it were manacled by the authority of the Iesuits, and other Churchmen. As in like sort the Spaniard feared not to uphold the Popes power /30/ though long tyme fatall to temporall Princes, finding that he could use it to the ruine of his enemyes, and to the advancing of his owne affaires, aswell because he supported the Roman Church against the Protestants of the reformed religion, as for that the Spanyshe double Pistoletts bore such sway in the Colledge of the [p]Cardinalls, as nothing was more sure then speedy death to any Pope that began to declare himselfe ill affected to the Spanish party. In generall

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12 Moryson is referring to Papal support of the Catholic League headed by the Duke and Cardinal of Guise which opposed King Henry III (1574 - 1589). OED defines depress as "1. trans. to put down by force, or crush in a contest or struggle; to overcome, subjugate, vanquish. Obs."

13 Philip II would have been delighted if his relations with the Papacy had been as cordial as the Protestant myth makers pretended. The naval victory of Lepanto was not exploited because of mutual suspicion. Moryson puns on pistolets in the senses of "A small fire-arm" I. 1. and "...foreign gold coins" II. OED quotes Moryson Itinerary A, II, p.154, "...the double pistolet contains two French
through all Christendome, the Papists prosecuted the poore Protestants with fyre and sword, who though most weake in apparent /40/ meanes of resistance, daily preuailed and gott some ground of their malicious Enemyes, till almost all Germany, Bohemia, and Netherland and the better part of Sweitzerland, all the kingdomes of England Scotland, Denmarke, Norway, and Sweden, and great part of the kingdomes of Fraunce and Poland, being fallen from any the least obedience to the Pope, at last in the yeare 1588 the wheele of Christendome was so turned, as the advantage of power was on the Protestants party for numbers though not for riches. I say in the yeare 1588 long since foretold to be wonderfull, as it manifestly proued. For it had bene no /50/ wonder that Spaine with that [power] [powerfull] party, should haue subdued litle England assisted by none but only the Netherland[ers], or that the duke of Guise by assistance of the powerfull league, should haue vsurped Fraunce, but that in the said yeare the Fleete of England should beat the invincible Navye of Spaine (as they styled it) //

fol:76. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

the duke of Guise should be killed, the Cardinall his brother strangled and the Queene mother of Fraunce should at the same tyme dye,74 and so the face of all Christendome

Crownes."

74 Catherine de Medici died in January 1589, 1588 old style.
should be changed, this was indeed a markable event of the said wonderfull yeare. This great Change in the publick state of Christendome made like chaunce in the Counsells of Princes, which now begann to be so gouerned, as if the Popes partly iudged it best for their owne affayres, if not to deale more gently with the Protestants, partly in regard of their innocencye, yet at least not to prouoke them rashly in reguarde of their power. Notwithstanding the Warr /10/ with words did not cease betweene them, the Pope sending his Fryers and especially the Jesuites his spyes swarming like Locusts in all parts of Christendome [Notwithstanding the the warr with words did not cease betweene them] [to teach in the very Pulpitts and by printed bookes, that it was a pious and meritorious] deed to kill any king or Prince forsaking the Roman faith and to use the seale of Confession for the Combining of seditions Rebellions and Treasons, and secretly by preaching in Conventicles to diuert the people from the reformed Religion, and from their obedience due to their Princes.

If any man desyre to know the affayres of Christendome /20/ from the tyme of Pope Paul the fourth to the tyme of Clement the Eight when I passed through Italy, lett him read the historyes of Germany, England, Fraunce, and Netherland, where the Cheife actions haue bene managed; For I finde nothing changed in the State of Italy, whereof I write in this place, till the yeare 1598, in which Alphonso
duke of Ferrara, dying without a lawfull heyre male, and Cæsar his base sonne taking possession of the dukedome, whose investiture therein Alphonso yet living could neuer obtayne of the Pope by mony or intreaty, the Pope lord of that Fee did excommunicate the said dukes base sonne /30/ and all his party, so as he terrifyed with that Thunderbolt, and wanting the protection of forrayne power (without which the weake Italian Princes for long tyme haue attempted nothing ) layd asyde Armes, and taking Conditions of peace, retyred to Modena with title of duke. And thus the Pope without labour or bloud, added to the patrimony of the Roman Church, the rich Citty of Ferrara with the fertile territory, out of which the Princes of Easte had for long tyme rysed very great Revenues.75

75 Este.
Chap: iii.

Of the common wealth of Italy namely the Pedegrees of the Princes, and the Papall dominion, and the new power of the kings of Spaine in Italy; Of these I say touching some of the heads contayned in the title of the first Chapter.

The Popes of Rome and the dukes of Venice haue no hereditary succession, but are chosen for life, so as I omitt their private Pedegrees.

< [sixty] [seuenty] seuen transplaced comes in the sixtenth syde after this > ¹ ¹⁄₁ /'

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:77.

The Pedegree of the Neapolitan kings

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¹ In attempting to follow Moryson's intentions, I continue with his fol. 77 which is gathered in eight folio pages, sixteen sides, further on. I then return to these pages fol.93 to fol.108 in their due place.

² 1266 new style.
Conradine beheaded by his Competitor Charles the first king of Naples and Sicily.

Charles the second king of Naples taken in a fight at Sea, by the Aragonians, did renounce his right to the kingdom of Sicily. He married the daughter of Stephen king of Hungarie and dyed Anno. 1309.

Charles duke of Anjou by the grant of Pope Urban the fourth made king of Naples and Sicily, first of that name made war with Manfrede beheaded Conradine, lost Sicily by the bloody Vespers Anno. 1282, and dyed Anno. 1284.

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Ferdinand dyed when the French king Charles 8 came to invade the kingdom of Naples. The French king Charles the eight heyre to the Earles of Anio, cast Alfonso out of the kingdom of Naples, but his sone Ferdinand recovered the kingdom from Charles, expelling the French.

Alfonso king of Naples, cast out by the French king Charles. He dyed Anno 1495. Frederick king of Naples after his nephew Ferdinand cast out of his kingdom by his Cousen Ferdinand, king of Spaine and by the French king Lewes the twelth.

Ferdinand recovered Naples from the French king Charles and left it to his uncle dying Anno. 1497.

Ferdinand king of Spayne devided the kingdom of Naples with Lewes the French king, and they first expelled Fredericke king of Naples, after this Ferdinand expelled also the French, and was king of Naples and dyed Anno 1516.

The French king Lewes the eighth conspired with Ferdinand king of Spaine to drive Frederick king of Naples out of his kingdom, and the king of Spaine shortly after drove the French out and became king of Naples.

Ioane married to Philipp of Austria sonne to the Emperor Maximilian the first.

Ferdinand Emperor of Germany, of whom are the present Emperors.

The Emperor Charles the fifth king of Naples dyed Anno 1518. Ferdinand Emperor of Germany, of whom are the present Emperors.

Philipp king of Spaine heyre to the Emperor Charles the fifth, from whom the kings of Spayne have the kingdom of Naples.

The Pedegree of the Duke of Milan.

To the vicounts of Milan governing that City and Territory under the Empire, about the yeare 1000, succeeded Ioan Galeacius created duke of Milan by the Emperor Venceslaus in the yeare 1195, he dyed in the yeare 1246.


5 A mistake for 1558.

6 1396.

7 1447.
Booke. The common wealth of Italy. Chap.iii. fol:79.

The French king Lewis, who came to that University, and by right he was duke of Milan, he dyed Anno 1512.

Galeacius Maria Sfortia, duke killed by the Citizens Anno 1477.

Leves poisoned his nephew and so came to be duke of Milan whose the French king Lewis the zijth cast out of that dukedowe, and he dyed Captive in France Anno 1508.

Francis Sfortia after the French king Francis the first was cast out obtained of the Emperor Charles the fifth to be duke of Milan, but the Emperor after taking the French king Francis prisoner at Pavia, by right of his victory, challenged the dukedowe of Milan, which upon the death of Francis Sfortia, Anno 1535 he took into his possession and left hereditary to his heir Philipp king of Spain, and to this day the king of Spain is Duke of Milan.

The Pedegrees of the great Dukes of Toscany or Hetruria.

Eberardus Medices a Citizen of Florence of a most ancient Family about Anno 1400.

John Medices Captaine of the Justice dyed Anno 1428.

Cosimo Medices styled the great was imprisoned through the easy of some Citizens of power, and escaping lived in exile at Venice, but was soon called home by the Citizens where he banished the troublers of the peace, and was by a publick decree called Pater patria, the father of his Country; He had to wife Constance de Bardi, and dyed Anno 1464. after he had lived 75 years.

Lawrence Medices had to wife Genera Carrafaensi a Florentine.

fol:80. Booke i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Medici</td>
<td>Admitted as a private citizen of Florence. Marries Lucretia Tornabouria.</td>
<td>1472</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>Governor of Florence as a citizen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wounded. Served the king of Sicily and Duke of York against the Florentines.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Great preserver of peace in Florence and Italy.</td>
<td>1491</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After death in 1491, all in combustion of war.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First wife was a daughter of the Duke of Savoy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second wife, Claricia Ursina, bore him children.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother was killed.</td>
<td>1503</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drowned.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Had a second wife, Alfonsaria Ursina.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>Banished, served the French King in banishment, drowned.</td>
<td>1503</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second wife, Catherine Sforza.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christened with the name of Lewis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julián</td>
<td>Ruled as Magister Magnificus. Banished.</td>
<td>1554</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Made Pope. Called himself Clement VII.</td>
<td>1534</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After his father's death, became Pope.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His brother also banned and served the French King. Died 1504.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Had a second wife.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosimo</td>
<td>Banished with his father.</td>
<td>1559</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruled as Duke of Tuscany. Married Leonora daughter to the Viceroy of Naples. Died 1574.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 1469.
10 Giovanni.
Catherine married to the French king
Henry the 2. fater to the three kings, dyed Anno.1589 beginning.

Alexander borne of a Concubine cherished by Pope Leo the tenth his great uncle, banished by the Florentines, but his kinsman Pope Clement the 7th by the favour of the Emperor Charles the Fifth Anno. 1535. made him first duke of Florence formerly a free City, in hope to satisfy his lust, he was drawn into the house of his Cosen Lawrence, who killed him Anno. 1537. He had to wife the base daughter of the Emperor called Margarett, and left her a widow.

Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:8i.

Francis great duke of Tuscany married
Isabella married to
the duke of Ferrara-
Alfonso the 2.

Ferdinando after the death of
his brother Francis put
of his Cardinalls habit
and was great Duke. And
Anno. 1539 married Catherine
daughter to Charles Duke of
Lorraine, both living when I
passed through Italye.

Of him comes
Lawrence who killed
Alexander the first
duke for which he was
condemned to dye by
the Senate of
Florence, Anno. 1534. of his age 23.

The Pedegree of the Marqueses of Este after created Dukes of Ferrara, Modena, and Regio.

From Actius Maxius Augur who in the line of Tarquinias Priscus king of the Romans about the 40 yeares from the building of Rome, did cut a whetstone with a Razor, discends Cais Actius who lived under the Emperor Theodore about the yeares of our Lord, 390.

Cais Actius chosen Captaine by the Inhabitants of Este to defend them from the Tyranny of the Gothes dyed Anno. 428.

Tiberius dyed. Anno. 428.

Forestius helped those of Aquilegia against Attila buryed there Anno. 453.

Marius by the helpe of Theodricus king of Italy recovered his Inheritance and dyed Anno. 558.

Fl: Acarius the builder of Ferrara served the Emperor in his warrs against Attila and the Vandals and dyed Anno. 478.

Bonifacius served Marses in the warrs against Totila Anno. 558.

Henry created first Earle of Este, [sayd Pipin king of Italy against] by the Emperor Charles the great, and by himselfe over the Fren a Garisons in Italye was kill'd. Anno. 747.

11 1537 as Moryson correctly states under Alexander.
Berengarius Earle of Este ayed Pipin king of Italy against the Venetians, and he dyed Anno. 840.

fol:82. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:83.

Berengarius Earle of Este ayed Pipin king of Italy against the Venetians, and he dyed Anno. 840.

Otho Earle of Este invented by the Emperor Lodowicus the second, Anno. 854.

Sigibert the First Prince of Luca when Berengarius tyrannized in Italy, subdued Pares, and Segis, and he dyed Anno. 945.

Berengarius Earle of Este took part with Berengarius. He dyed Anno. 925.

Azo the 5. married Mathildis of his kindred in the fourth degree but was separated from her by the Pope. He served the Emperor Henry the 3d. in his warrs, & suddenly dyed Anno. 1081.

Theobald Earle of Este dyed Anno 1007.

Sigibert created Marquis of Este by Otho i. dyed Anno. 992.

Hugo the 2d] Earle of Tuscia and Marques of Milan and Genoa by the Emperor Otho i, made his Lieutenant in Italy dyed Anno 1053.

Aso. 3. Marquis of Ferrara, fell from Berengarius to the Emperor Otho. He dyed. Anno. 954.

Mathildis Duchess of Lombardy and Tuscia Marquis of Pares, Manlia, Ferrara Brutaria Spoleto, Ancona and Pesaro, married to her Cousen Azo the 5th, but divorced from him by Pope Gregorie the 7th. Her forces overcame the Emperor Henry 4th and drove him out of Italy. She obstinately defended the Pope, ruled by the Salique lawe, but wrote with Lombard letters, At her Command the laws of Justinian were published, and she dyed Anno. iii3, and bequeathed Lombardy, Tuscia, and Ferrara to the Pope, which thence is called the patrimony of St. Peter, though the Popes had no present possession thereof. And here upon a voyce was said to be heard from heaven, that a woman had given poisoned temdered with honey to christians for drink, as if that guilt had corrupted the Roman Bishops.

Hugo the 3d Earle of Tuscia and Marques of Genoa given him by the Emperor Frederick the first and dyed Anno i29i.

Obizo had Mutina and Rhgio given him by the Emperor & dolok the first, and dyed Anno i29i.

Obizo the 6th Marquis of Este had the Marquisates of Genoa and Milan given him by the Emperor Frederick the first and dyed Anno i194.

Otho the 5th had Mutina and Rhgio given h m by the Emperor & dalphe the first, and dyed Anno i29i.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Azo 10. Marquis of Este, Ancona Ferrara Mutina and Ehgio and dyed 1308.</th>
<th>Aldebrand the third dyed 1318.</th>
<th>Francisco Marquis of Este and Ancona made war upon his brother Azo for marrying the daughter of Charles king of Sicily who being killed 1312, the Pope gave Ferraria to Robert king of Sicily.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reinaldo drove the Pope's Garrison out of Ferraria Anno 1317</td>
<td>Otho 7th Marquis of Este Ac. was excommunicated by the Pope for holding Ferraria, and dyed Anno 1341</td>
<td>Azo 12. Marquis of Este Ac enemy to Nicholas 3 Marquis of Ferrara, dyed 1390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aldebrand 4. dyed Anno 1361.</td>
<td>Albert founded the university of Ferraria Anno 1392, dyed Anno 1393.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Azo excluded a Child, could not after recover his right but dyed in banishment Anno. 1402</td>
<td>Nicholas 3. a bastard, dyed by the Venetians against Azo the 12, who would have excluded him as base borne, dyed Anno 1441.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hercules i. succeeded his brother [Borsi] Borsius, the second Duke of Ferraria Mutina, and Ehgio, bravely defended himself against Pope Sixtan 4, and the Venetians, recalled from Naples by Borsius and made his heyre</td>
<td>Leccell his base some sent his brother Hercules to Naples, ruled in his stead, and dyed Anno 1450.</td>
<td>Borsius base borne, created duke of Mutina, and Ehgio, by the Emperor Frederick 3. Anno. 1452, dyed unmarried Anno 1471.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicholas a child commended to Borsius to have the dukedom at full age, taken prisoner was beheaded without the privity of his uncle Hercules.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alphonso i. duke of Ferrara and Marquis of Este, bore the threats and arms of 3 Popes, and dyed at the siege of Bastona. Anno 1554. a</td>
<td>Hippolito Cardinal of Este, pulled out the eyes of his brother Julio, because his mistresse was in love with him for his eyes, and dyed Anno 1520.</td>
<td>Beatrice married to Lodovico Sforza duke of Milan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Isabella married to Francis Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.</td>
<td>Julio bastard had his eyes pulled out by his brother but recovered the use of one eye and dyed Anno 1505.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fol:84. Booke.i. The comon wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By Lucretia Borgia daughter to Pope Alexander 6. married 1514 he begat Hercules 2. duke of Ferrara and Marquis of Este, who served the French king Henry. 2 against Philipp king of Spain, he after married Renata daughter to the French king Lewes, and had a dukedom in France for her d'eye and dyed. Anno: 1559.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hippolito, 2</th>
<th>Cardinall of Santa Maria in Aquino</th>
<th>Ferdinand</th>
<th>Alfonso Marquis of Montella married Julia daughter to Francis duke of Urbine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1539.</td>
<td>Marquis of Massa maried Maria Cordona.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alfonso 2. Duke of Ferrara, Matiza and Marquis of Este, led against the Turks 400 horse and 300 fo te, Anno 1566. He married Lucretia daughter to Cosmo duke of Florence, and Barbara daughter to the Emperor Ferdinand and Anna daughter to Gulielo Gonzaga duke of Mantua.

By a Concubine he had Cesar who was forced to yeild the dukedoms of Ferrara to the Pope, content to have Modena with the title of duke, He married the daughter to the Duke of Mantua, and still lieth.

Cesar hath a sister married to a Prince in the kingdom of Naples.

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The Pedegree of the Dukes of Mantua.

Aloysius Gonzaga descended from the Germans seated himselfe at Mantua.

Guido Gonzaga had part of the Territory of [the] Rhegio given him in Fee from Aso the 10th Marquis of Este.

Lodowicus Gonzaga the Tyrannie of [the] Bonacessij being extinct with full consent of the people became Prince of Mantua anno. 1328, and dyed 1360.

Lodowicus Gonzaga Prince of Mantua and viccar of the Empire was beheaded by the Mantuans for adulterye Anno 1382.

G[.]iobanni Francisco Gonzaga first created Marquis of Mantua by the Emperor Sigismund Anno 1433. dyed 1444.

Lodowicus Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua married Barbara daughter to Johan: Marquis of Brandenburg in Germany and dyed Anno 1478.

Carole married Lucia daughter to the Marquis of Terrara

Alessandro

Frederico. 3 Marquis dyed Anno 1464.

Francisco Gonzaga a Cardinal.

Barbara married to the duxe of Wirtesberg, in Germany.

Susanna married to Caleati Sfortia duke of Milan

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:85.
The Pedegree of the duke of Parma.

The Family Farnese came out of Germany into Italy some 700th yeares past, though they desyre rather to be Toscanes, they alwayes followed the Faction of the Guelphi and the first mention of this Family in Histories, falles vppon the yeare 1627.12

Ranuccio in the East part of Toscanye is said to have intertayned king John with the Queene of England passing to Naples about the yeares 1250.

Alessandro Farnese created Cardinal by Pope Alexander the sixth, came himselfe to be Pope about the yeare 1534, he made his sonne Pedro Lodouico duke of Parma, and Piacenza and built the Pallace of the Farnese at Rome, and is reported to have sayned himselfe to be sickly, that the Cardinalls might be thereby induced to chuse him Pope.

Pedro Lodouico the above named bastard of Pope Paul the third, was first created duke of Castro, then duke of Parma; he was said to be murdered by men hyred by those of the noble Family D'Auria in the City of Genoa, after whose death the Emperor Charles the fifth tooke into his power the Citties of Parma and Piacenza.

fol:86. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

12 627 ?
Of the Popes Power in generall, How it grewe.

{ m.n. 3 - 5. Of the Popes power in generall, how it grewe. }

The Roman Empire through many ages vastly inlarged howsoever it groned vnder the weight of it selfe and was weakened by the wickednes of the Emperors, and the licentiousnes of the Pretorian Souldyers, yet had no enemy how powerfull soeuer more fatall to it, then the humble obsequiousnes of the Servant of Servants (for so the Pope is styled) yet no doubt all Popes were not wicked, but in tyme ambition, /10/ and with it all wickednes, by degrees invaded the Roman Sea. The Popes of the first rancke to Miltiades setting at Rome about the yeare 305.\(^{13}\) a little before the Ragne of the Emperor Constantine the great, were all godly, learned, vigilant, poore, and for the most part martyres. But they of the second rancke from Siluester the

\(^{13}\) Miltiades (311 - 314). EkH

247
first, made Bishopp of Rome in the yeare 311,\textsuperscript{14} and the
fyfth yeare of Constantyne the great, to Pope Sabinian
about the yeare 604. howsoeuer they were not ill men, yet
were they inventers of humane /20/ traditions and too much
desyrous, by vndecent ambition, to exalt the Roman Sea
aboue others, for which some of them are numbred among the
forerunners of Antichrist. As for them of the third rancke
from that tym to this present, what kynde of men they haue
bene appeares by the Ecclesiasticall and prophaine
historyes. This three headed or tripplecrowned monster hath
devoured the two headed Eagle of the Empire, not vnlike the
Snake halfe killed with colde, which reviued in the husband
mans bosome, stunge him to death who saued her life.\textsuperscript{15} For
/30/ the first Roman Bishopps, for theire holines &
humility, were much reverenced by the Emperors, but theire
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\textit{Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:87.}

\textsuperscript{14} Sylvester I (314 - 335). EWH

\textsuperscript{15} As Moryson makes clear later, the triple crown
represents the Pope and the two Eagles the Empire of the
East, Byzantium, and the Empire of the West, the Holy Roman
Empire. It is an interesting inversion that the man
nourishes the female snake in his bosom. It is a fable
derived from \textit{Esop}, which Moryson and his siblings would
probably have learnt in Latin. \textit{Esop}'s fables were very
popular in this period, for their simplicity and didactic
value, as the number of references in \textit{STC} demonstrates. In
\textit{The fables of Esope in Englysshe with all his life} (London,
1551), [\textit{STC 179}], there is the fable 'Of the Man and the
Serpent'. 
"...and for the great wynter and froste the
Serpent was harde and almost deade for colde, wherof the
goodman pytied and toke and bare her before the fyre." sig.
H3v. Incidental details differ, but the moral is the same.
Evil yields evil.
Successours, inriched by the Emperors bounty and pyety, to treade their benifactors heads under their feete, first made use of the diuision of the Empire into orientall, and occidentall, then of the Occidentall Emperors remouing his seeate from Rome to Milan, and those partes at the foote of the Alpes. But when the Occidentall Empire was destroyed by the Gothes, then the Roman Bishopps stucke fast to the Orientall Emperors, to be defended from that barbarous people under their protection, as in like sort the Lombards Conquering the Gothes kingdome in Italy, and being as yet Pagans these Bishopps subiected them selues to the protection of the same Emperors, who being farr distant could lesse bridle their ambition, and so they daly increased their owne riches and dignity. Yet when the lombards became Christians, these Bishopps upon a new pretence of defending the worshipp of Images, forbidden by the Emperors of the East, durst be so Impudent, as first to excommunicate them, and after invading theyre possessions in Italy, by deuiding the pray with the lombards, and by absoluing the people from the oath of Alegance, to expell the Emperors altogether out of Italy. After lest the Emperors should recover theyre owne, and lest the lombards should bring Rome and them into subiection, these Bishopps sowed mutual warrs betweene them to weaken their forces, and to increase their owne power, as arbiters of all
Controversyes betweene them, and these Foxes now takeing one now another parte, labored nothing more then to destroy them both, and never ceased, till at last in long processe of tyme, the Orientall Empire was so wasted, by theyre owne dissentions, and by the Covetousnes of the Genoesi\textsuperscript{16} for great sommes of mony transporting the /30/ Turkes out of Asia into Europe, as that Empire was in the end utterly destroyed by those Turkes. For the Greeke Church, abhorring the errors and tiranny of the Popes was by the Popes authority over the westerne Princes abandoned to this more then Babilonian servitude, so as the Citty of Constantinople, one of the heads of the two headded Eagle of the Empire, was in the yeare 1453. taken by Mahomett king of the Turkes, who vpon that Empire thus subdued tooke the tytle and possession thereof. And as for the Lombards

\textsuperscript{16} This form seems to be between the Italian Genovesi and the English Genoese.
with Charles the great, whereby the patrimony of St Peter (as they call it) was much increased, they were also the authors of the distuction /50/ of the lombards kingdome. After because these powers being taken away, it was apparant that Barbarous people (the scourges of God) would not cease to afflict Italy, these Roman Bishopps thought good to erect agayne and as it were agayne bringe out of the graue, the Imperiall majesty of the west, and conferred that dignity on Charles the great, most ambitious vpon any colourable pretence to rayse his power and State,

{ c.w. in which }

fol:88. Booke i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. in which first stepp they gayned two important aduantages, first to haue theyre Temporall lord farr distant, whereby they might more safely deny or more fraudulently yealde him obedience: secondly that whereas they ought them selues and all they had to the old Emperors, now in the new erection of the Empire of the west, these Emperors seemed to be in some sorte obliged to them for this dignity at least in fitt tymes they sticked not to boast so much. The Roman Bishopps long obeyed this Charles and his Secessours, to be defended in the Dominion they had vsurped from the Emperors of the East, and /10/ likewise against the Cittizens of Rome, dayly attempting to recover the liberty they (among Others) had lost by vsurpation. And while the race of Charles lasted and long after these Bishopps durst not in deede or worde offend the powerfull Emperors, and were so
farr from Challenging any authority in nameing or chusing any Emperor, as they were gladd with thanckefullnes to receave that Bishoppricke from the Emperors, and with patience to be deposed by them vpon theire ill demmeanure. But at last the Romans by Custome growing more patient of theire Bishopps yoke, and the power of the Eastern Emperors /20/ being fallen to a lowe degree (vnder envy or feare), these Bishopps or Popes seriously bent all theire forces to establish theire tyranny in Europe. To omitte theyre contentions with the Orientall Patriarkes, about theire primacy or equality, which by the wofull ruine of these Churches were now ceased, in the first place they bent all theire force a gainst the Riualls of theire power in Italy, namely the great and ancient Archbishops of Milan and of Rauenna, who for many ages had ether denyed them any primacy, or had assumed it to themselues, and these in tyme they /30/ brought to obedience, by power of Armes and all possible meanes limiting and restrayning theire power and authority, and cutting of or deminishing theire Jurisdicctions ouer other Churches. But still two great impediments choked the current of the Popes ambition, namely the deuine authority of Gods worde, and the Awfull reverence and most ample power of the sacred Empire of the west, and it will not be a fruitlesse labor breveely to obserue how they layed sacrilegious hands vpon these holy things, notwithstanding that in the historicall introductions of Germany Italy and /40/ Fraunce a more
large treatise is generally made, of the begining and increase of St Peters Patrimony, of the Popes supremacy, of their choyse, of the Emperors choyse, vniust depositions by them and continuall vexations by thunderbolts of excommunication, by cups of poyson, by raysiaing vp rebellious subjectes (yea most wicked sonnes) in armes against them, and of like Papall practises. First to make blunt the sharpe edge of Gods worde, they raysiaed vp Scholasticall Diuinity and thereof divers Sects, these called Thomists, these Scotists, these Reals. these Nominals, /50/ by whome the pure streams of Diuinity being by degrees polluted with the dreggs of Philosophy, and through vnprofitable questions, the Popes tyranny was first established.\footnote{Thomists were followers of St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1227 - 1274). Known as the Angelicus Doctor for his mastery of theology in the Summa Theologica, he reconciled much of Aristotle's thought with Christian philosophy. Scotists were followers of John Duns Scotus (c.1265 - 1308) who was known as Doctor Subtilis. The CE admits that "...subtle discussions and distinctions which to this age are meaningless, abound in his works". His followers attacked the humanists of the succeeding age and also became known as 'dunces'. Realists and Nominalists were the two main schools of thought within medieval philosophy. Realists were the inheritors of the Platonic tradition, and the philosophy lead to Neoplatonism and metaphysical thought in the seventeenth century. CE}

\footnote{PEO\textit{ophy saia} or "sayn"?} The say\footnote{PEO\textit{ophy saia} or "sayn"?} pollution or confusion of Philosophy did breake downe the force of the Scriptures, and the heape of // Booke I The Commonwealth of Italy Chap:III. fol: 89. vnprofitable questions disparaged the authority of diuinity. I call these and such like vnprofitable
questions: namely: whether God may command any ill, yea
even the hatred of himselfe: whether he could from eternity
haue made this world better then he hath made it. Whether
he can make a man that may not haue the power to sinne.
Whether he can make that vndonne which is donne, and a
Virgin of a hore. Whether God be conteyned in any
Predicament. Whether God can produce and preserve
universall nature without particulars: to omitt the
questions of Notions, /10/ formalities, quiddities,
Individualls, and arable of such like.18 All Schooles were
set on worke with these wranglinges, by which the pure
latten tounge was torned into a base and barbarous
language, for the disputations were full of obscure
distinctions, and Pharses, yea Students were Commanded by
Statute to use those and no other kynde of formes of speech
in disputing. Then followed the wicked doctrine, of
Purgatorye, of Indulgences, of praying to Saynts, of the

18 These problems were tackled by the Schoolmen, the
philosophers of the medieval schools who were trying to
determine what correspondence intellectual concepts have
outside of our intellect, often referred to as the "problem
of universals". What relation do these notions or forms
have to the individual? CE Punning, Morison loses patience
with these "quiddities", in both senses of "1. The real
nature or essence of a thing; that which makes a thing what
it is. 2. A subtlety or captious nicety in argument; a
quirk, a quibble. (Alluding to the scholastic arguments on
the 'quiddity' of things.)" OED There was a long lived
fashion to denigrate the medieval as against the classical
age. In the eighteenth century, Fielding could jovially
dismiss the period as "centuries of monkish dullness". See
Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones* edited by R. P. C. Mutter
(Harmondsworth, 1966), p.87. It was not until the Romantics
and Victorians that a reassessment of solid medieval
achievement took place.
Masse, and the like, repugnant to the word of God, yet whosoever doubted of any such invention, /20/ was presently pronounced to be an heretike. From this tyme lay men ceasead to reade the Scriptures, which they might not haue in the vulger tounge, yea very Schollers were more reputed for skill in these doctors, writings, then for knowledge and readines in the scriptures. And now they taught the people to bable prayers in the laten tounge, and nothinge of the vulgar tounge was any more hearde in the churches. Indeede it behoued the Pope to haue the people at his beck, who being blynded with Ignorance and superstition, as the learned Clarkes /30/ were on his syde for theire owne intrest, it was more easye to force Princes and the nobility to blynde obedience. After this tyme it was lesse danger to offende against the gospel then against the decrees of the Popes, who began to sell all thinges for filthy gayne, without difference of persons, which Christ offers of free guift only to the beleueuers. At last they became so impudent, as in the Counncell of Constantia (vulgarly Costnetz) a decree was made, that howsoever Christ gaue his last supper to his Disciples in both kyndes of bread and wyne, and the /40/ primitiue Church kept this Institution, yet this notwithstanding, no Priest vnder payne of excommunication should giue the same to laymen in both kyndes, but only in that of bread. The Father of th[is]e [foresayd] scholasticall diuinity, was lanfrank made Archbishop of Canterbury in England in the yeare
and there followed Him Anselm in the yeare. Hugo de Sant Victore about the yeare 1127. Gratian about the yeare 1151, Peter Lombard stiled the master of the Sentences about the yeare 1160. And those that came after did with more boldenes corrupt the Scriptures, as Albertus Magnus. Thomas Aquinas, Durandus, Scotus, Nicolaus, de Lyra, and Bonaventura, to omitt the rest. To this add the obscure translation of the scriptures, which howsoever they were content to hyde, and forbidd the reading thereof without doing any open

19 Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury (1070 - 1089) was followed by St. Anselm (1093 - 1109). They were both Italians, intent on establishing the new Cluniac (monastic) and Gregorian reforms in England. The latter was a philosopher and "one of the fathers of scholastic theology". The Norman Conquest of England had been given Papal benediction. It can be viewed as a reforming movement within Church and State.


21 Peter Lombard (c.1100 - c.1164) was known as Magister Sententiarum because of his four part work the Sentences. In a long series of questions it covers the whole body of theological doctrine and unites it in a systemized whole.

22 Albertus Magnus (1206 - 1280) was a scientist, doctor and theologian. One of his pupils was St. Thomas Aquinas. Moryson could mean Durandus of Troarn (1012 - 1089) Benedictine writer and reformer and contemporary of Lanfranc and Anselm, or Durandus of Saint Pourçain (d.1332) a Dominican theologian. Nicholas de Lyra (1270 - 1340) was a Professor of Theology at the Sorbonne and a specialist in Hebrew and textual exegesis. He influenced Luther, and therefore his inclusion here is surprising. St. Bonaventure (1221 - 1274) was a practical Churchman and Cardinal - Bishop as well as being a friend of Aquinas, a teacher and philosopher.
violence to the text; yet it is as cleare as the light itselfe that they forbore not to corrupt the writings of the old fathers and divines, yea of very historyes and Poetts, as may appeare by many old and new Copyes still extant yea in the Councell of Trent, many bookes were noted with a black quill, of particular places to be left out, or altered to their purpose, at the next printing of those Authors, then which nothing could be invented more iniurious to the living or dead writers. Lett the Reader observe the Papall pollicy. No dead man might come to heauen, hardly be layd in his graue, except he gaue some thing to the Church; and whatsoever was once giuen, could by the Popes law neuer be alienated, so as the blinde deuotion of the laymen dayly robbed their heyres, to make the Churchmen rich, till they had gotten almost the third part of euerie kingdome, and the sonnes of the nobility were glad by their fauour to enjoy their fathers landes in Fee

21 "...in bad sense, political cunning." Policy, n. 1. 3. **OED** A modern historian has called the implementation of the reforming decrees of the Council of Trent not as Morison and some historians see it "an arbitrary imposition by a few authoritarian prelates...[but] the most universally popular movement in the whole history of Italy..." Eric Cochrane, *Italy 1530 - 1630* edited by Julius Kirshner, Longman History of Italy (Harlow, 1988), p. 188, and known hereafter as Cochrane. Even in censorship this was the case. The Florentine Republicans in 1529, the Siennese in 1541 and the Venetian Senate in 1543 were starting to ban heretical books, Cochrane, p. 142. Thus when the commission "...charged with determining which books currently in circulation actually fell within the Council's general categories of wholly prohibited, partially prohibited or prohibited until emended" (Cochrane, p. 188) began its work, the atmosphere for protecting the faith was conducive.
from them, becoming vassalls for them to Bishops and Abbotts. To breake the power of the Emperors, greater /20/ force of Armes, and no lesse subtle Craft were required. The Emperor had commaunded the Ciuill law to be repayred and published for vse in Courts of Iustice, and to shake of this yoke, the Popes published a new law, compiled of their owne decrees and Statutes, wherewith they bound mens Consciences vnto them. For the Monke Gratian in imitation of the Pandects of the Ciuill lawe did in the yeare 115i make a woorke of decrees out of the decrees of Councells and Bishopps, and the writings of Fathers, which contaynes the foundations of the Cannon lawe, and the sinewes /30/ of the papall Tyranny. Gregory the ninth in imitation of Justinians Codex, did in the yeare i227 make bookes of decretalls out of the Epistles of Popes. Pope Boniface the Eight, added the sixth booke of decretalls, namely new Statutes made by himselfe and his last predecessors. Pope John the 22th in the yeare 1317, made an end of that woorke, and published the Clementyere Constitutions and the Extrauagants, seuerally commaunding them to be receiued in all Courts of Iudgment, and all schooles making Doctors of that lawe in Bonomia (/40/ vulgarly Bologna) with statutes for taking of their degrees, and for the Ceremonyes thereof. 24 With this Bulwarke the Popes fortifyed their

24 Gregory IX's Decretals were published in 1234. They had entailed a complete revision, although about 90% were to be found in Gratian. Boniface VIII updated the decretals for his age in 1298. His successor Clement V wanted a
tyranny against the Imperiall lawes. And herein they extoll
themselves above all Creatures, make Emperors and kings
subject to them, place all lawes in their owne brest,
compare themselves to gold, Emperors to leade, themselues
to the sunne, Emperors to the moone, yea make the Emperor
a sawe, which can doe nothing except it be drawne by the
Popes hand, teach that the Pope is subject to no mans
judgment, neither can be /50/ //

Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:9i.
tyed or vntyed by any secular power, that he may iudge all
men and [may] be iudged by no man, and that all temporall
power is subject to the spirituall sword; yea therein is
found in express wordes the forme of an oathe whereby
Emperors are bound to yeild obedience to the Pope; yet
hitherto the very Churchmen retayned due reuerence to
Emperors and kings, and due loue and respect to laymen, to
whome the Church did owe the guift of many ample benefices,
and particuluer Clergymen daily with thankfullnes receiued
them by the guift of lay Patrons, till the Popes declared
it an heresy for any layman /10/ to giue a Bishopprick,
Abbye or any other Benefice (though their forefathers were
the Founders of them) or for any Clergy man to receiue them
of their guift, and so assumed that [absolute] [Infinite]

further official collection made, but he died before they
were published by John XXII in 1317 under the title
Constitutiones Clementinae. The Extravagantes, the work of
private individuals, were so called "because they were not
included in the official collections". CE
Prerogatiue to their owne power and right only, whereby in short tyme they alienated the myndes of all Clergie men from their Princes and lay Superiors, and firmely obliged them only to depend vpon the Papall power, only able to advance them, and vpon that ground tooke the boldnes after a new manner formerly vnknowne to the Church, to exact an oath of obedience from all Clergymen, /20/ and so to make voyd their oathe of obedience to their seuerall kings and Princes vnder pretence that therein the greater bond to the Popes was alwayes vnderstood to be excepted. Henceforward the Popes in every kingdome had more subjects in number, and especially in politike or superstitious faithfulnes then the right kings and Princes thereof, and from all places scraped, and yearely drewe to Rome great treasure gratifying out of speciall grace the Princes with blessed Roses and like trash, 25 and aswell them as the people with indulgences and imaginary graces of /30/ moderne invention in leiu thereof. And to binde the Clergymen yet more firmely to the Papall Chayre. The Popes gaue them through all kingdomes an abhominable immunitye that they should not be bound to answer for any Crime in Courts of Iustice before a lay Iudge. This immunitye produced impunity, and impunity made all wickednes abound in Clerkes more then others, who ought to shyne in life and doctrine before

25 "IV. 2. Golden rose an ornament wrought of gold, blessed by the pope on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and usually sent as a mark of favour to some notable Roman Catholic person, city, or church." OED
others, and the guilt of wicked Acts, with liberty or
Conniuency to committ them (the greatest punishment of
Clerkes for murthers being /40/ only the close immuring in
a Monastery) did setle in their myndes, a strict obseruance
of all Papall lawes. Besides the infinite numbers of
Clarkes and Monckes inthralled to the Popes obedience, they
had diuerse religious orders of military knights instituted
by the Popes, whose number was great, valour yet greater,
and yearely Reueneues greatest of all, and all those tyed
to the Popes obedience, with firme bonds of superstition,
and wealth. Such were the Templary //
{ c.w. knights [of St.] }

fol:92. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.
knights confirmed in the yeare 1124., and for many
notorious Crymes dissolved in the yeare 1312.26 Such were
the Hospitall knights of St Iohn, confirmed in the yeare
1119, who after were called the knights of the Rhodes,
having taken and inhabiting that Iland, till the Turkes
tooke it from them in the yeare 1522, From which tyme to
this day, they are called the knights of Malta, inhabiting
that Iland, fortifyed for the defence of Italy, and they

26 The Knights Templars were founded in 1118, and in
1128 at the Council of Troyes adopted the rule of St.
Benedict. Their secret rites of initiation, and their
enormous wealth gave rise to scandals which Philip the
Fair, who was greedy for their wealth expolited by
obtaining 'confessions' by torture. Sodomy, heresy, and
devil worship were imputed to them. The Gascon Clement V
weakly dissolved the order in 1312. Many ex-members
joined the Knights of St. John. CE
were enriched with the Rents, and goods of the Templaries extinguished. Such were the Teutonike or German knights, instituted /10/ (as were the rest) in Palastine about the yeare 1190, who druen from thence, came to inhabitt Prussia in Europe whereof late the order ceased, the king of Poland taking part of their land; and [giving] the rest in Fee to the master of the order with title of a duke.27 Such are the knights of St James in Spaine confirmed by the Pope in the yeare 1158,. And such was the order of the Fencers in Liuonia.28 The said knights of Malta (and in like manner the rest) are bound by oathe, to obey the Pope, to defend the Roman Religion, to fight against any other as hereticall, to woorshipp the Masse, /20/ to keepe Fasting dayes, to say ouer their beades often each day, to visitt the Pope once in the yeare, and to doe many like duties.

The Creation of Cardinalls, Bishopps and Abbotts is a great bulwarke of the Papall Tyrannye. For they being Princes and Gentlemen of the greatest Familyes in all kingdomes, had thereby power, (and [{} for their private Interest, no lesse desyre) to uphold the Corrupt state of the Church.

27 "Beginning the trek into the Lutheran camp", Albrecht of Hohenzollern Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights "dissolved the order, secularised its lands, and, as a vassal of the king of Poland, became the first German duke of Prussia." G. R. Elton, Reformation Europe 1519 - 1559 (London, 1963), p.63.

28 Founded in 1197, the Ensiferi or Swordbearers of Livonia were instituted to protect Christians against pagans in the Baltic. They became part of the Teutonic Order in 1238. CE
Besides no man in any kingdome excelling in knowledge, valour, or any usefull quality, was left without some dignity or pention to oblige him in mantayning /30/ the said Corrupt state of the Church. But of greatest moment were the [G]Serm[ons] and bookes of innumerable Clerkes and Monckes, by which they confirmed the people in superstition, in contempt of the Temporall power of Princes, and in raising seditions against them. And aboue all other, the Iesuites haue of late most preuayled in this kinde, who insinuating themselves to follow kings and Princes Courts, and to be their Confessors, and being at the Command of the Generall of their Order, bound to goe into any kingdome to further the Popes Counsells, and by their /40/ auricular Confessions having meanes to drive into mens hartes, and the most secret Corners thereof, and being indeed imployed as spyes and bound to write all affayres at large weekly to their Prouincialls, who abstract the most important relations, and send them weekly to the Generall of their Order residing at Rome, it is no wonder that the Papall yoke is so hardly shaken of. To this end also serue the Seminaryes or Colledges in the last age built at Rome, and in some Cittyes of Netherland vnder the fayre pretext of releiuing those that leaue their Countryes for loue /50/ to the Roman Religion, but indeed to breede young men of all //

{ m.n. 53, 54. 93 comes in 32 sydes before this [bef] counting backward }

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nations for the foresaid employment, as they say to be sent into the vineyard, but indeed to breede the seditious subjects of forayne Princes, who may at their superiors Command (, to which they vowe blinde obedience without any examining whether the end be lawfull or vnlawfull) be thrust headlong with vnavoidable dangers even of their Liues, to trouble the peace of such States as dare make opposition to the Papall Tyranny. These fraudes and bulwarkes haue made the Pope dare to despise the Imperiall maiesty, to stirr vpp Ciuill warrs in the Empire, yea to animate /10/ wicked Children of Emperors to take vpp Armes against their fathers, and when by the Imperiall Army ledd to Rome, the Popes at any tyme were compelled to due Conditions of respect, and obedience [vnto] [vpon] their oathes, yet to keepe them no longer then till the Imperiall Army was retorned out of Italy, and then to thunder against the Imperialls, direfull excomunications made dreadfull by their Clients Sermons and Bookes, by which and like practices, the Popes so vilifyed and weakned the Emperors, as renouncing their authority from all antiquity to gourene /20/ chuse and depose Popes, they now by newe and formerly vunknowne example, were forced to receiue that Imperiall Crowne from the Popes fauour, which from the tyme of Charles the great, the Emperors vsed first to putt on at Rome, only for the secrett awfulnes of State, which the old
dignity of that Citty seemed to gie the stile & title whereof they still reteyned, or at least [they] could not obtaine this Crowne without the Popes fauour, or if coming with an Army, they obteyned it by force, and brought the Popes Bishopps and Princes of Italy to subjection by Armes, /30/ yet all these expeditions were soone made voyd by the foresaid fraudes, and even by poysoning the Emperors, yea in the very Communicating of the Lords supper. So as their Successors terrifyed with these Tragicall events, ceased to medle any more in the government of Italy, and sold for mony hereditary Principalities to those Princes, who formerly had gouerned the Territories vnder the Imperiall authority, and likewise the freedome of Citties to the Citizens thereof. Thus the Emperor Charles the fourth in the yeare 1378 sold Milan, and the Territory to the Vicounts thereof, /40/ and caring more for his kingdome of Bohemia, then for the Empire, sold all dignityes in Italy, whence he could scrape any Treasure, and after in the tymes of other Emperors, the Princes, and Citizens of Italy, still bought for mony Confirmations of old, and increases of newe Immunityes; For (to my knowledge) only Venice, among the Cittyes of Italy hath bene free from the first foundation, For the Citizens thereof, after the fall of the Western Empire vpon the invundation of barbarous nations into Italy, fledd into the Ilands of that Cittye and there retayned /50/ their liberty, at first with great art temporising with the Emperors of the East, and the kings of
the Gothes and Lumbards //

1. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

and after with the Emperors of the west renewed, so as some of them haue made league and freindshipp with the Venetians but neuer any challenged vassalage of them for the Citty itselfe. The Popes by the Anarchicall gouernment of Italy deuided among Petty Princes and free Citties, by twice dividing the prey of Italy once with the Lombard kings against the Eastern Emperors, [and] Secondly with the French king Pipin against the Lombards, but especially by the Exchange Pope Alexander the sixth made with the French king Lewes the xijth of spirituall indulgences for temporall aydes, whereby /10/ all Emilia and Flaminia fell to the Popes subjection, to which they had only pretences by the former practices but neuer gott possession, and likewise by their sowing dissention among the Italian Princes, which they well knew with singuler craft to turne to their owne profitt, at least vppon their ostention of piety being made Arbiters, and reserving to St Peter either some present part of the thing controverted, or [the future succession in these Fees for want of heyres Males, in which sort they long since] to be present lords of the Fee controuerted, to which Princes yeilded, in /20/ hope to enjoy it more safely vnder their patronage, and to haue the future succession in those Fees for want of heyres males, in which sort they long since intruded into diuerse Lordshipps and in <our> age haue gott in possession the
rich dukedome of Ferrara, I say by these meanes the Popes have gotten the ample Territoryes called the patrimony of St Peter, casting the Family of Bentiuoli out of Bologna, the ancient Lords of Perusia the Family of Malatasti out of Rimini and Pesaro, the montefeltri out of Vrbine, the Manfredi out of Faenza, the Aledosij out of Imola, the Free /30/ Citizens out of Ancona, and the Venetians out of Rauenna. For as for Rome the first Emperors of the west gaue them liberty to practice by remouing their seat from thence to the Foote of the Alpes, but they neuer gott possession of Rome and the Territorye, till they excomunicated the Emperors of the East forbidding the woorshipp of Images, nor enjoyed the same without many oppositions made by the kings of Italy, nor without many and long rebellions of the Roman Citizens. And as for the donation of Constantine, they might thereby gett some pretences but neuer gett ought in possession, and indeed it is /40/ thought a meere fable, so as it is a speach vulgarly receiued, that the Pope desyrying to see the Charter by which the Venetians challenged some priviiledges, and they not being willing to shewe it, should merily answer, that he should finde it written vppon the backsyde of Constantines donation. To conclude by all the foresaid

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29 The Donation of Constantine was a document forged probably in the eighth century to substantiate papal claims to secular power. It purports to date from c. 317. It is to Pope Sylvester from Constantine, the first Christian Roman Emperor, in which he is happy to decamp to Constantinople and to leave the Lateran palace, Rome, Italy and all the
fraudes and practises, the Popes did so establish their tyranny in forayne parts, aswell as in Italy it selfe, as this man stiled the Seruant of Gods Servants, became the lord of Lords euenuer their Lordes heritage, vsurping supreme power in the uniuersall World, not only in spiri/tuall things, but vnder that pretext also in Corporall and Temporall matters, challenging all power in heauen it selfe, and opening the Gates thereof only to them who satisfied their coueteousnes, and obeyed their decrees, finding meanes of pardon, not only for living sinners, but also for the dead, namely //

Booke i. The common wealth of Italy. Cap:iii. fol:95.

by the offerings of Priestes, by the prayers of Saynts, by their freinides and kinsmens giuing of Almes and fasting by woorkes more then required, (as Pilgrimages to Images and the like) by the Colledges of Moncks (which the people held to be fountaynes of good workes, and they who could not enter into them, yet might buy the Monkes merrits, and to be buryed in one of their hoods, in which case they were thought to want no holynes) by Indulgences for sinnes sett at a certaine price euery sinne, how enormious soeuer, whereof /10/ a good Author writes a booke to be extant.

western regions to the pontiff and his successors forever.

The humanist Lorenzo Valla (1405 - 1457) was the first to prove that it was a forgery, and as such it constitutes an important part of Guicciardini's attack on the Papacy in his notorious Book Four. See Francesco Guicciardini, The History of Italy translated and edited by Sidney Alexander (New York, 1969), p. 142 and note.
still in France) by the fyer of Purgatory, by masses and watchings.  

And to these polluted fountaynes forsooth of sacred treasures many more might be added, I will only remember one, not least profitable to the Popes Chamber, namely dispensations of marriage, not only for degrees forbidden in the scripture, but for others farr more remoued, which the Popes haue added, lest they should want sinnes to which they might not giue, but sell pardons. To omitt many fowle practices herein as dispensing with incest, lett the Reader obserue /20/ in Guicciardine how dearely Pope Alexander the sixth sold a dispensation of diuorce to the french king Lewes the xijth  

and read the french history, how in the Case of the french king Henry the fourth, one Pope allowed his first marriage, dispensing with all impediments, and an other Pope pronounced a nullity therein, nothing in the meane tyme being changed in his case, but only the kings his Queenes, and the Popes myndes.  

Now for many ages this beast hath exalted himselfe in the Temple of God to be

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10 I have found it impossible to recognize which Huguenot polemicist from the information given.

31 This is a theme which Moryson has treated on fol. 69, and to which he returns on fol. 404. It was a sordid exchange of money and property for a divorce which enabled Louis XII to keep the Duchy of Brittany within the French Crown by marrying its heiress.

32 Clement VIII’s need to counter Spanish influence meant that ultimately he was sympathetic to Henry IV’s difficulties.
adored by the kings of the Earth, giving Cardinalls the right syde hemm of his garment, to Bishopps his right knee, to all others without distinction his shooe to be kissed in forme of adoration, and prophanely treading the necks of Emperors and kings vnder his feete.

{ m.n. 35 - 38. Against Boterus writing of the Pope. } 

Iohannes Boterus Benesius in his politike relations, while in each Comon wealth he followes the discourse he had with Natiues and approued Authors generally comes neare the marke, but in the late differences of religion, and the warrs of our tyme, and the age before vs, he manifestly declares himselfe a Pentioner to Spaine, and a vassall to his Roman Bishopp; For first he calles the Navies of England and the victories thereof in a long and iust warr with Spaine, nothing els but Piracye, then howsoever he cannot deny the famous victoryes of the English by land in old tymes, yet in our late warr with Spayne he partially detracts from our actions, and concludes that the English neuer did any famous exployt since Gunns and great Artillery were in vse, whereas we dare appeale to the Spaniards //

fol:96. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. themselues what they haue gotten from vs by Armes, and

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whether they reputed not the English as braue enemyes as any with whome they had to fight, whereof many and cleare examples might be giuen aswell by Sea, as in Fraunce and the low Countryes. But in the point of Religion he is most partiall, and thereby doth more grosly err, while[s] he detracts from the actions of the English and Germans since they fell from the obedience of the Roman Bishopp, and partially relating them, attributes his imaginary ill successes to the Lutheran heresy as he calles it, and that in Cases no way pertayning to /10/ religion, though it be most apparent that these Nations neuer flourished more then in this last and former age.34 But when he takes any occasion to mention the Pope, then like a Parasite [he] extolls all his affaires, calling his power the highest topp of humane power. Wherein he forgetts how he extorted his priuate temporall power in Italy, and with what fraudes he vsurped the same from the Emperors of the East, the Lombardes the Venetians, and the Italian Princes, and Howe the Citizens of Rome for many yeares, tooke all Customs and Tributes from him, forcing him /20/ to be content with his Tythes till he forsooke Rome which he could not bring in subiection, till the Citizens finding the want of those Commodities which their Bishopps Court[s] drew thether, 

34 Botcro as a good Catholic is hardly likely to extol Protestant victories. He does talk of "The dissoluteness and licence introduced into Germany by Luther and into England by Calvin..." State, p. 156, but he is level headed enough to recognize English maritime expertise, Breviat, pp. 16 - 17.
thought good to recall him, and so were in tyme by foraine 
forces brought absolutely vnder its yoake. And he forgetts 
that among the Iewes the Tribe of the Leuites having the 
Tythes, had no inheritance in the land divided among the 
other, Tribes,35 And that Christ forbad his Apostles to be 
temporall lords, as vnfitt for their office and that St. 
Peter himselfe, forbade his Fellow ministers /30/ to vsurpe 
any lordshipp ouer Christs flock.36 He saith that the 
kingsdomes of England, and Ireland belong to the Pope in 
Fee, because king John was forced to yeild to the Popes 
Tyranny, but he nor any king, euer had power to alienate or 
glie away his Successors right.37

Touching the Pope spirituall dominion, he passeth all 
bounds of modesty, and fayleth in the very foundation, 
attributing vnto Peter alone the keyes of binding, and 
loosing, which Christ gaue ioynently to all Apostles: 
whatsoeuer yee shall bind on earth, shalbe bound in heauen

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35 "For the riches of the children of Israel, which they shall offer as an offering vnto the Lord, I have giuen the Leuites for an inheritance: therefore I haue saide vnto them, Among the children of Israel, ye shal possesse none inheritance." Numbers 18. 24.

36 See Mark 10. 42 - 45, which includes the admonition "And whosoeuer wil be cheife of you, shalbe the servaunt of all."; and I Peter 5. 3, where the Elders are to administer, "Not as though ye were Lordes ouer Gods heritage, but that yee may bee ensamples to the flocke."

37 I cannot find this reference. King John (1199 - 1216) had to surrender his kingdoms to Innocent III to get the interdict lifted in 1213. Davis, p. 309.
For Christ sent all his Apostles as his father sent him, and so Peter had only a joint Commission with the rest and his Successors if they challenge a more ample Commission must require more than was given [to] by Christ by his father. And indeed he can prove no authority given to the Bishop of Rome by the scriptures, but only in his own diocese. He saith that Pope Xistus the 4th bragged that in regard of the Clerks and monks acknowledging the Pope for their Prince, he could never want money, so long as he had [a] hand and pen to demand it. Let him remember how unjustly the Popes /50/ got this power over the Clergy, and monks in prejudice of their right kings and lords. He adds that Pope Pius the 4th gathered 400th thousand Crowns of the Clergy, and religious orders. Let him consider how much all men repined in all ages of the Popes tyranny at these great extortions, and remember with what scandal Leo the tenth.

38 "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Matthew 16. 19, and "Verely I say unto you, WHATSOEVER YEE BIND ON EARTH, SHALL BE BOUNDE IN HEAVEN: AND WHATSOEVER YEE LOOSE ON EARTH SHALL BE LOOSED IN HEAVEN." Matthew 18. 18.

39 Sixtus IV (1471 - 1484), a venial Pope. Moryson uses the classical spelling, probably after the translator of Botero's Breviat, where this saying appears. p. 66. CE

40 There is a minim missing. It should be "vniustly".

41 Pius IV (1559 - 1564). I cannot find this reference but Moryson may be confusing his pontiffs.
expected mony,\textsuperscript{42} and the great defection following whereby the Popes have lost the ample revenues they were wont to draw from Germany, England, and other great dominions. He saith that no Tribunall on earth is above the Popes; yet the scriptures teach that St. Paul appealed to the Tribunall of Caesar,\textsuperscript{43} and historyes witnesse, that Pope Gregory the great called the Eastern Emperor his lord.\textsuperscript{44}

And lett him remember that all the power the Popes have is grounded upon pretended rights granted from Tyrants and usurpers, as the Emperor Phocas killing [himselfe] his lord and master, and Pipin of Fraunce, and such Princes usurping States from the right heires, whose parts the Popes ever followed as most skilfull to fish in troubled waters.\textsuperscript{45} He saith the Pope in matters of faith is

\textsuperscript{42} Unusually, Hand One is unclear due to the word being written over again. It may be "extorted".

\textsuperscript{43} "I appeale vnto Cesar", Acts 25. 11.

\textsuperscript{44} Gregory I (590 - 604).

\textsuperscript{45} To Moryson this is a further Papal blasphemy. Christ wanted his followers to be fishers of men. See Mark 1. 17, and Matthew 4. 19. Phocas and Pepin are two examples crucial to the central thesis of Protestant historiography on the human (as opposed to divine) origins of Papal power. They were repeated at the set-piece treason trial of the Gunpowder plotters where the whole case against Catholicism was rehearsed before sentence. "Phocas a lasciuous faithlesse tyrant, wickedly embrued with the slaughter of Mauritius his master, wife, and heires..." sig. 2M2r, joined "Zacharie the Pope [who] deposed Childericke of Fraunce, for nothing else there specified Sed quia Inutila, but onely for that he was reputed vnprouitable to gouerne." sig. T4r. See A true and perfect relation of the proceedings at the several arraignments of the late traitors (Guy Fawks, H. Garnett) (London, 1606), [STC 11618]. For a modern assessment of these events see Davis,
of absolute authority, from which appeals to general Councells are not lawfull. Yet in the first Councells, he had no authority above other Bishopps, and by late Councells out of Italy Popes haue bene condemned of Crimes and /20/ heresyes and for the same deposed. And it is a ridiculous argument whereby he proues the Emperors power, [whereby he proues] inferior to the Popes [because that Emperors are limited by oathe at their] Coronation, but the Popes power is neither by Councells, nor any other way limitable, for if this were not most false, the Popes would not so often haue bene frighted with Councells called by the Emperors, as wee read them to haue bene in many histories and namely Guiccardines, all compiled by men of the Roman Religion And St, Bernard of the same religion prescribes many due limitts to a just Bishopp of Rome, wherein it were to be wished they would /30/ contayne


46 Moryson is alluding to the events in Book Ten of Guicciardini's history, when Louis XII called a Council to Pisa in 1511 which enraged Julius II to the extent that he called a rival Lateran Council. In Book Twenty the Emperor Charles V tries to persuade Clement VII to call a Council in 1530. "Touching the generall counsell there was nothing concluded to the liking of the Emperor, who still solicited the Pope to send out present summons for it but he refused to accomplish the motion, alleging that as in that ill disposition of the time and mens minds, there would be danger least the kings of England & Fraunce wold not appeare..." Fenton, p. 939.

47 St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090 - 1153), controversialist, mystic, and preacher of the Second Crusade. CE
themselves. He boldly saith the Popes feed the Flock by doctrine, sacraments and example[s]; and with the same breath he addes that they doe this by deputies, making belike the Pope Christ's viccar, and all other Clerkes the Popes vicars. It is too manifest what dumbe teachers the Popes haue beene for almost a thousand yeares. And for the Sacraments how they feede, to omitt many other inuention[s] that one decree shall witnesse by which the Communion in one kinde of bread is commaunded notwithstanding that Christ instituted it in two kindes of bread and wyne, and the primi/40/tiue Church, so gaue the lords supper. What examples of good life most of the Popes haue beene, I appeale to the best Historians and Poetts of Italy, Germany and Fraunce all of the Roman religion. If he doe these offices by deputies, that substitute who makes another substitute, and that continually, ill deserues the title [the] of Christs vicar. He saith that the Pope defends the flock from the wolfe as from Heretikes but a wise observer shall finde, that the Popes doe not so much oppugne old wicked heresyes as new heresyes of their owne making, and Coyning as the heresy to deny, that the Pope may /50/ depose kings and absolue subjects from the oath of allegiance, the heresy in a layman to glue a Benefice in a Clergyman to take it of his guift, which by old positions

[48] "2. fig. To assial or oppose actively by speech, writing, action, or influence of any kind; esp. to call in question (a state of things), controvert (a statement, belief, or the like)." OED

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of divinity were not thought heresyes, as by the same Historians may appeare, and since the Popes haue graunted the Collation of Benefices to the kings of Fraunce and to others for the tyme, either it is no heresy so to giue and take them, or Popes haue done as wickedly in // fol:98. Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. permitting a knowne heresy, as they did [at] first, in wresting that right from Princes and laymen, and appropriating it to themselues. He adds that the Popes roote out heresyes by Synodes and Councells. But lett him read Sigonius a Popish writer and Petitioner, confessing the Pope to haue forced the Fathers by feare and threats to consent to his decrees; Lett him read the same Sigonius and other Popish Historians confessing from the mouth of all good and best learned Christians, that the Church had great need of reformation, especially in the head thereof, and witnessing that the Antichristian /10/ Popes of the last rancks aboue named abhorr[ing]ed from nothing more then from a generall Councell[s] in a free vnsuspected place, neuer calling them but at Rome or places vnder their power, except they were sometymes called otherwhere against their wills. He adds that the Popes not preuailing by Synods and Councells against heresyes, were forced to flye to excomunication, deliuering the excomunicated ouer to the sword of secular Princes, and so had destroyed the Albigois
in Fraunce. Yet if he had read Sigonius, Guicciardine and other Historians of the Roman Religion, he might have found Popes and Cardinalls using this temporall sword with their owne hands, I confesse rarely with good successse, the Popes and Cardinalls having Commonly bene taken prisoners, or suffered great Calamityes in their persons. But this deliuering ouer to the secular sword, hath bene a faire Cloake for ambitious Princes, of which protecting the Church, the Spaniards, none of the oldest Christians haue in these Corrupt tymes made profitable vse aboue others. St. Paul excomunicated the incestuous person, but was so farr from animating any man to kill him, as having left his soule in that fearefull state for Gods iudgments, he soone had Compassion on him. But these Popes not content to exclude men from heauen, doe presently without giving space of repentance raise vpp temporall persecution against them. You shall not finde a Pope of the third or last ranck excomunicate any Prince, but he hath first rasesd vpp a temporall enemy to take Armes against him, so as we finde in their leagues with temporall kings and Princes expresse Conditions, that assoone as the temporall sword is ready to be drawne, the Pope shall giue the Alarim with their thunderbolts, not to speake of their inconstancy in the same warrs to flye from syde to syde, and vse the same

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49 The Albigensians, a heretical sect living in the south of France, were crushed with exceeding brutality from 1209 - 1213. Since they were heretics, the war was pronounced a 'crusade'. Davis, pp. 350 - 352.
thunderbolts now against one, then the other part, as if a Prince were presently to be deliuered ouer to Sathan, assoone as the Pope for his priuate auayle had left his party, without doing any ill act against religion. Surely if they had confidence that God would power his judgments on those they excomunicate, they would not take such Care to be seconded by seculer power. Besides the best historyes witnes that the Albigois were only dispersed and in our age grew strong againe in Fraunce, and there suffered /50/ for profession of the truth the persecutions, which we haue heard of and seene. 50 He proues the temporall power to be inferior to the spirituall power, by the examples of Samuell, creating Saul king, and after deposing him, and of Elias creating many kings of Israell. But it is one thing to create, an other to anoynt, one thing to depose, another to denounce Gods sentence of deposition. And these Prophetts were warranted //
{ c.w. for their }
Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:99.
their doing by Gods expresse Comaundement, whereas howsoever wee read some of the Popes to haue bene Coniurers

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50 Moryson obviously thinks the Albigensians to be like the Lollards or Hussites, precursors of the Reformation. They believed that only God the Spirit was perfect, the material world was evil, so Christ could not have been incarnated. Davis, p. 350.
and familiar with the diuell; yet not one of them hath made knowne any such speciall Commission, for these were speciall actions of those Prophetts, not generally practiced by all. Neither did Samuell raise vpp warrs and seditions against Saul, as Popes vse to doe in like cases, nor yet absolue the Israelites from the bond of allegiance to Saul, as they doe, but when he had denounced Gods sentence against him, he left to God the Execution which was not done till long after, and that when Samuell was dead. /10/ And for the superiority of kings ouer Preists and ecclesiasticall affayres for the forme and order of them, lett him remember that both the Trumpetts were giuen to Moses though Aaron had vse of one to call the Congregation at the appointment of Moses, yea it is expresly said to Moses, both the Trumpetts shalbe to thee, he shall be thy Prophett, and thou shalt be his. 


> Blasphemous exorsist, heere are no divills
> Which thou canst conjure, with thy divilish spirit.

The play had been performed before James I on 2 February 1607. Moryson might have been present at Court representing the interests of himself or his late master's wife, Penelope Rich. However, the Borgias became part of Protestant myth, and another rod with which to beat the Catholics.

52 Saul and his sons were killed on Mount Gilboa, I Samuel 31. 1 - 6.

53 The making of the trumpets occurs in Numbers 10. 1 - 10. Aaron being Moses' prophet is in Exodus 7. 1.
Iudah, and he published it, David ordered the services of the Priests and singers, and Salomon deposed one high Priest (being a Type of Christ, far above his pretended vicar) and /20/ gave that office to another. He brings many examples of Popes excommunicating Emperors, [but they are most of late times. The Popes revered the Heathen Emperors,] and no lesse the Christian[s] for many hundred yeares, and ether the succeeding Emperors became worse then the heathen, or the succeeding Popes degenerated from their Predecessors. And no doubt it is a most weak argument, that because a thing hath often beene done, therefore it may lawfully be done. He brings like examples of many Emperors disobedient to Popes that were unfortunate. No Maruell, since the Popes persecuted and brought them to misery, for otherwise I finde [...] [no] kings [more] [as] rich and glorious, /30/ then those that reigned before the Papall tyrannye, or since have cast of that yoake. And he could not have instanced a worse example then that of the French king Henry the third, in Gods just judgment killed by a Fryer, because he commanded the Cardinall of Guise to be strangled. For first he records an horrible Act against a Fryer, and this king was a most superstitious Papist, or seemed so, and without doubt was of no other religion, and for the strangling of the

54 "So Salomon cast out Abiathar from being Priest unto the Lorde, that he might fulfill the wordes of the Lorde, which hee spake against the house of Eli in Shiloh." I Kings 2. 27. Abiathar was a political priest.
Cardinall, the French histories make both the kings and his killing to be the iust iudgment of God /40/ to both, in that they were great Actors in the most bloudy massacre[s] of Fraunce, whereof not one escaped without exemplary iudgment. But perhapps he doth not so well beleeeue the histories as the Mapp in Sala Regia of the Popes Pallace, where myselfe did reade this Massacre approued by the Pope for a holy religious act. He brings for prooffe of the Popes power, the Examples of kings and Princes acknowledging those tytles not from Emperors, but from Popes, and willingly making their dominions tributary to [St] Peter,. The first Example, he brings of the first kinde /50/ fell about a thousand yeares after Christ, and the rest long after, when the Popes did beate downe the Emperors reputation, and exalted their owne, and so witnesse the //

fol:i00. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. Popes vsurpation rather then right. And for the examples of the second kynde, it is, not to be wondred at, that Princes daily intangled in troubles by Papall practises were Willing to pay tribute to the Roman Church, without which they had no hope of peace, or that the Popes for their greatnes and ostentation of piety in a superstitious age,

\[55\] Moryson relates how shocked he was in 1594 on his visit to Rome to see this in the kingly hall or Sala Regia, "I wondred to see the Massacre of Paris painted upon the wall, with the Popes inscription greatly commending that detestable cruelty." Itinerary A, I, 280.
being commonly Arbiters in Princes Controuersies, one of the Competitors to haue his fauour should yeild to the intayling of his principality to the Roman Church after the heyres males of his body should faile. It is most ridiculous that he makes the Popes /10/ the only Peacemakers among Christian Princes, and cheife defendors of Christendome from the Saracens and Turkes, For the most approued Historians of the very Roman Religion witnesse, that the Popes of the last ranck from 600th yeares past, haue bene the only makebates,⁵⁶ raysers of Warr, and sowers of sedition, in kingdomes they ment to bring vnder their yoake. When they were to breake the Emperors, they gaue Fraunce and other kingdomes rest; but that being broken, all the rest had a share in their turbulent practises. So as most worthy Petrarch /20/ could not to forbear to say (though they haue raced it, and many like speeches out of his sonnetts) that the Roman Church in playne termes was in his dayes

Nido di tradimento in cui si cuoa

Quanto mal, per il mondo hoggi si[f] spande.

The nest of treason, where wee hatred see

All ills, that through the world dispersed bee.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ "1. One who or something which creates contention or discord; a breeder of strife. (Common in the 16th - 17th cent.) arch." OED

⁵⁷ Three censored sonnets by Petrarch, numbers 106 to 108 form the preliminary matter to Two Discourses of Master Frances Guicciardin, which are wanting in the thirde and fourth Bookes of his Historie translated by W. I. (London,
For their defence against Sarracens and Turkes it concernes the Popes deeplie for their owne sakes to keepe them as farr as they can from Italy. And otherwise the most can be said, is their perswading of expeditions into the holy Land, whereof the Historians so write, as they glue manifest suspitions, that the Popes intentions were not sincere in furthering them, since thereby they exposed the Emperors and kings with their vassalls and freinds to great dangers and certaine expence of treasure, euer sending out those they loued least, while in the meane tyme they not only practised against their good successe abroad, but kept their owne freinds at home, daily growing more aboundant in riches, and stronger in faction. Besides that the Popes made priuate use of theise soldiers in their passage, to subdue their rebellious Citizens of Rome, and for like purposes. Likewise by these expeditions they dispersed the forces of Princes, when with vnite power they should rather haue broken the Popes power before it had gotten strength to breake them. Not to speake of many other suspected ends,

1595). These lines are taken from sonnet 106, (Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie pioua) and are rendered thus,

Oh neast of sinne, wherein now hatched is,
That euill which through al the world is spread...

This sonnet also appears in Sir Robert Dallington's, Aphorismes civill and militarie: amplified with authorities, and exemplified with historie, out of the first quaterne of Fr. Guicciardine. A briefe inference vpon Gviciardines Digression (London, 1613), sig. 2Y2v [STC 6197], referred to hereafter as Dallington, Aphorismes, and is translated as,

Thou neast of treasons, wherein hatched lies
All mischiefes broached through our Hemisphære...
manifestly inferred by the Historians of these tymes. He concludes that the Pope hath no superior, but only God, nor any æquall vpon earth, his power being seated beyond the wayes of the yeare and the Sunne. Behold the Pope not content with the lott of Jupiter and Neptune, but intruding also vpon the Inheritance of Pluto. And I conclude that no doubt his power was so transcendent, and built vpon so strong pillers of policy, as it seemed vunresistable & everlasting, had not God disposed of them to breake downe their owne //

Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:[i9i2]
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woorke with their owne hands. First by their insatiable avarice, while they invaded the temporall Inheritances of laymen, and sett the deliuerance from Hell the possession of heauen, all humane and divine happines at sale to him to him that would give most, though otherwise he deserved least. Seconly by their monstrous ambition and pryde, the Popes treading vnder theire feete the neckes of Emperors and kings, and the Bishops at home dominering ouer them in theire owne dominions, wherein the Foxes were not so wise

58 The Popes are not content with the heavens and the seas, but also intrude into the underworld. The gods mentioned are the respective pagan deities of these places.

59 There is a ghost of a reference here to Samson destroying himself by pushing over the pillars. See Judges 16. 29 - 30. Tetzel was sent on a sales campaign of indulgences into the German states, and Luther challenged the need for indulgences for money when the Grace of Christ is free.
as to lett the lyons sleepe. Thirdly by theire thunderbolts of excommunication more frequent then the thunderbolts of Jupiter, even in matters of State not concerning Religion, whereby these censures grewe in contempt: for Seneca sayth truly, Severity leeseth the sole prop it hath of authority by continuall vse, Fourthly by horrible schytismes among the Popes and great Church men, whereby they being often deuided, bitterly rayled against the other on sermones and written booke, both for impure life and doctrynes, laying open the same and the hipocrisye of their fayned devotiones, which otherwise lay men had not so easily perceaued. Yea many Popes rysing vpp at one tyme, setting in diverse Cittyes and kingdomes, objected horrible Crymes and heresyes one against the other, and excomunicated on the other thereby teaching laymen to detest their persons, and to despise their excommunications. Lasty by their insulting ouer laymen, while they excluded them out of the Chancells, as vnholly

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60 Tilley records a proverb "J 81 Far from Jupiter far from thunder." Moryson's relative Charles Merbury (who left him a legacy in 1597 according to J. C. Whitebrook in 'Fynes Moryson, Giordano Bruno and William Shakespeare', Notes and Queries (October 1936), 255 - 260 (p. 256) ) records a similar Italian proverb "Volete star lontan da Gioue & dal Folgere", in A briefe discourse of royall monarchie. Wherunto is added a collection of Italian proverbes (London, 1583), p. 9, [STC 17823].

men, and denied them the Cupp in the lorde's supper, which only Preists, as holy and perfect men, still enioyed, and generally oppressed the laymen as the Prouerbe is) by living vppon their goods in extorted oblations,62 by knowing their secretts in auriculer Confessi/30/ons, and by defiling their wiues vnder pretence of shrift. These extreme insolencies spread from the hart of extreme parts of Christendome, [brought them to extreme hatred, and at last to extreme contempt,] so as the Princes and people to auoyd this tyranny, gladly gaue eare to the Preachers of reformrd religion. Neither did God permitt that these Fishermen being thus hurt, should grow wiser, for they would not admitt the least reformation, whereby the defection from the Roman Religion, might haue bene somewhat moderated but grew more madd, perswading Massacres vnder hand,63 and when they were done openly approuing them as holy /40/ Acts, and vsing like practises in the murthers of kings as meritorious Acts, attempted by very Fryers, and praysed by very Popes, with Panaggericall orations, and at last

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62 There is no obvious proverb that Tilley records, but as oblations are religious thanksgiving offerings, "P 586 Such priest such offering" may be a possibility.

63 There are many candidates for underhand massacres, but one of the most notorious was the attempt against the Servite Friar Paolo Sarpi whose defense of Venice and himself against Papal excommunications, and his subsequent History of the Council of Trent earned him great Protestant and Venetian respect. It was as if the Roman Church were declaring war on all dissenting intellectuals. See John Leon Lievsay, Venetian Phoenix: Paolo Sarpi and Some of His English Friends (Kansas, 1973), pp. 1 - 85.
plotting in England a diuelish way by Gunpowder to blow vpp
at a blast the kings Maiestie: with all the bloud Royall,
and Lords temporall and spirituall assembled in Parliament.
In which kingdome (I may boldly say) no law hath bene made
against Papists, but prouoked by their owne actions. Thus
they made cleare that Antichrist was come, whereof many
before doubted, and as great troopes were at first /50/
converted to Christ by the Apostles miracles, so now
kingdomes and Provinces at once fled out of Babilon, and
seperated themselues from Communion with the Roman
Church. For not to speake of Greekes, and Eastern
christians neuer obedient to the Roman church, it is
wonderfull that in lesse, then one //
fol:[i923] i02 Booke i. The common wealth of Italy.
Chap:iii.
hundred yeares space more then halfe Europe hath shaken of
the Popes yoake. I speake of the number of persons, not
Compasse of land, lest any man should obiect the desert
kingdomes of Spaine, and the Colonies of the Indies. So as
they remayne vnnder that yoke, find it more easy, having
Pardons and Roman graces at better rates, perhapps in some
places freely. For that wolfe stripped of his lyons skinn,
doth not roare as he was wont, and it cannot be but that

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All of this is influenced by Moryson’s reading in
Revelations. There is no doubt that he regards the Papacy
as Antichrist, the Whore of Babylon complete with Imperial
pretensions, "And the woman which thou sawest, is the great
citie, which reigneth ouer the kings of the earth."
Revelations 17. 18.
Roman Crowe spoyled in part of the Imperiall Eagles Feathers, and likely to haue the /10/ rest in short tyme pulled away, wilbe exposed naked to laughter, and woors Calamityes. 65

{ m.n. 13, 14. The Election of the Popes. }

To returne to my purpose, I will first beginn with the election of the Popes. I will not speake of the Popes living, or at their death appointing their Successor, whereof only one example is alledged, that manner admitting many ambiguityes and Contrarietyes, which they say was prohibited in the Councell at Antioch, but in generall, not for any speciall Bishopprick. But first I finde that of old, the Roman Bishopps (as all other) were chosen by the voyces /20/ of laymen, and the Clerkes of the diocesse, till Damasus and Vrsinus striuing for the Bishopprick of Rome, about the yeare [6] 366, and murthers being committed in that schisme, the Emperor of the West interposed his authority and named the Bishopp. 66 And not long after about the yeare 420 [the like Schisme] falling betweene Bonifacius and Eubalius, the Emperor of the West, Honorius

65 One of Æsop's fables is of a crow who found some eagle feathers, and dressed up in them only to be scorned. In The fables of Æsope in Englysshe with all his life (London, 1551), sig. k3r, there is a similar tale, although it concerns a Jay and a Peacock, with the moral "None oughte to were and put on hym another mannes rayment."

66 He was known as Damasus I (366 - 383), and Ursinus is recorded as an anti - Pope (366 - 367). EWH

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confirmed Bonifacius.\textsuperscript{67} Marke how soone schismes, began in the Roman Church, even within few yeares after the Emperor had giuen rest to christian Churches and they began a litle to be inriched, and that the /30/ Empire of the West began to decline, which withstood the coming of Antichrist till it was taken away, as the Apostle foretold. Then barbarous nations invading Italy and suppressing the Empire of the west, Theodorike king of the Gothes in a meeting at Rauenna, refused Laurentius, and confirmed Symachus Bishopp of Rome.\textsuperscript{68} After the Emperors of the East subduing the Gothes, and raigning in Italy, the Custome was that the Emperors should name or at least confirme the Bishopps of Rome, neither durst any chosen Bishopp be consecrated till that Emperor had approued /40/ him. But when these Eastern Emperors, were cast out of Italy, and the Lombard kings possessed great part thereof, the Bishopps were made by the factions of the Romans, and neighbor Princes, with a kinde of election for forme sake. Generally from these tumultuous tymes to this very day, the election of the Bishopps of Rome, which they will needs haue made by inspiration of the holy spiritt, was most rarely made without vprore of Armes through all the Citty, and threatnings of factions distracting the myndes of all, which were to chuse the

\textsuperscript{67} The events referred to happened in 418. Eulalius (418 - 419) is known as an anti - Pope, Boniface I was Pope from 418 until 422. \textit{EWH}

\textsuperscript{68} Symmachus (498 - 514) is listed as a Pope and Laurentius (498 - 505) as an anti - Pope in \textit{EWH}. 290
Bishopp euen since the Cardinalls had that /50/ power, in which tyme if lesse bloud hath bene shedd, & lesse open force vsed, surely the Corruption of bribery and crafty // Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:[i094]  
i03.

practises haue more abounded. But to procede particularly the old Empire of the west destroyed by barbarous nations being renewed in the French king Charles the great, both he and his race in Fraunce and his Successors in Germany, till after Otho the third did all name the Popes, except sometymes they gaue the Clergie, and the people of Rome leaue to chuse them. Pope Gregory the seauenth chosen in the yeare 1073 did first bend hirnselfe seriously to beat downe the Emperors power, and beginning with his election by the People and the Clergie, extorted that power from the Emperor /10/ Henry the fourth. From that day till the Imperiall power was fully broken, the Pope seldome blessed, but often cursed the Emperors persecuting them for this right, and for very temporall power they challenged aboue them. After the election of Popes by the people and Clergy of Rome seldome falling out peaceable, some power in the election was giuen to the Cardinalls, by consent of the Clergie and people, which by degrees was increased, till at last in the yeare 1274 at the Councell of Lyons in the tyme of Pope Gregory the Tenth, the /20/ sole power of this election was confirmed to the Cardinalls alone. Euer since mony hath borne sway in that election, not only kings
Ambassadors giving the Cardinalls great bribes, to chuse some man they best liked, but also the freinds of the Competitors ingaging their patrimonyes, and giving all the mony they could make to preferr their kinsman, knowing he would amply reward, and raise their fortunes when he was chosen. And as they avoyd to chuse a Pope of great freinds, lest he should oppress them, so more often to sell their voyces, they /30/ alwayes chuse an old man and one that is sickly or at least faynes him selfe so to be, as some haue done. The Cardinalls are alwayes distracted by Princes factions, and in tyme of warr when Armyes are in Italy, they follow the stronger part, yet Popes so chosen against their myndes, commonly by sicknes or poyson dye soone after. At the first institution of these Cardinalls to be Electors, they were to be shutt vpp in the Chamber where the Pope dyed, no man being admitted to speake with any of them, and all Cautions were vsed, that they should receiue /40/ no messages or letters, and if they agreed not within three dayes, many write that for five dayes after, each Cardinall had only one dish at a meale, and if in that tyme they agreed not, they had only bread wyne and water till a Pope was chosen by them. The Pope being dead, they were tyed to expect for tenn dayes the coming of absent Cardinalls, which notwithstanding coming after, the Conclaue was shutt, were admitted to enter. This forme was confirmed by Clement the fifth chosen about the yeare // { c.w. i305, with }
i305. with expresse prohibition that the same in the 
vacancy should not be altered by the Cardinalls; yet Pope 
Clement the sixth chosen in the yeare i342, added some 
moderations aswell about the partition of the Cardinalls 
Celes where the Cardinalls did severally eate and sleepe, 
and the furniture thereof, as for their diett, and like 
things. At this day the Custome is, that when the Pope is 
dead, the Cardinalls putt on a peculier garment in signe of 
their Iurisdiction, and the people taking Armes, keepes the 
gates of the Citty, the Cardinalls Pallaces, and /10/ like 
places. The first and second day, the Cardinalls consult of 
publike affayres, and of preparing the Conclaue, in which 
they are to meet, then the deade[s] Popes body is brought 
to St. Peters Church, except he haue appointed some other 
Church for his buriall, which is reuested in pontificall 
habitt, and in solemne presence of the Cardinalls layd 
uppon a bedstead like a Beere, and so exposed to the people 
to kisse his feet. But historyes witnes that their bodyes 
have bene sometymes handled by the people with lesse 
reuerence, yea with dispitefull malice in the highest /20/
kinde, and not to speake of other examples famously knowne, 
in the last age, the people flocked to see the body of Pope 
Alexander the sixth as a monster depriued of his deadly 

6% "1. a. Arrayed in ecclesiastical vestments" OED

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sting, and freely powred horrible curses vppon him. The third day of the vacation, the Ambassadors of the Emperor, kings and absolute Princes are admitted to commend him to the Cardinalls, whome they iudge fittest to be Pope, wherein they respect their own masters affayres. In the vacancy the great Chamberlane gouernes Rome, but nothing can be dispatched in the Chauncerye, For assoone as the Pope is dead, the vicechauncellor calles in the Bulls and Seales, and rayseth the Popes name ingrauen on one syde of them, and so defaced past vse, giues them to the keeping of his owne Chamberlane. The offices of the great Chamberlane, and great Penitentiarye only remayne stable in the vacancye. After the Funeralls on the nynth day they celebrate the masse of the holy Ghost (as they call it). Then the Cardinalls enter the Conclaue, contayning the most fayre Chappell of Pope Sixtus quintus, proper to the Popes Court and the Pauline Chappell, and the Sala Regia, that is the kingly Hall, seated betweene these Chappells, all diuided by Trauerses of Arras cloth, as into monasticall Cells, for the Cardinalls lodgings. Thus ent<err>ed, they meete in the Pauline Chappell, and take

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\*7* i.e. of the Papacy being vacant.

\*71* Moryson explains on fol. 109 that the Great Penitentiary "hath vnder his power all dispensations, absolutions, Indulgences and guiftes (may I not say sales) of Benefices and Bishoppricks (the very Cardinalls giuing a feeling thanckfulnes to the Pope himselfe before they be created), and the profitts of Resignations and Alienations."
the oathe of those that keepe the Passages within and without the Conclaue, which as yet remaynes open, that Ambassadors may negotiate their Masters Requests about the Election. The next day it is shutt, so as no man may enter but only a Cardinall arriving at Rome, and all messages or letters are excluded. Vnderstand /50/ that only the Cardinalls that are Bishopps, Preists or deacons // Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:[i96] i05.

haue power in this election, though the Cardinall Archduke of Austria being only Subdeacon had a voyce in the choyce of Pope Sixtus quintus by a speciall priuiledge giuen him from Pope Gregory the xijth. The inclosed Cardinalls haue their diett daily serued in at a window, with curious search that no letters be convayed in the dishes or otherwise. Each Cardinall may haue two attendants, which are called Conclauists. The next day after the Conclaue is shutt, the Deane of the Cardinalls after masse sung, distributes to them the Sacrament of the Alter, which donne they all /10/ meete in the Pauline chappell, and by a statute of Pope Pius the fourth, each one giues his oath before the Master of the Ceremonyes. Each day after some one of the Cardinalls sings a masse in the Pauline Chappell (which they call the masse of the holy Ghost) and then they meet for the choyce of the Pope. This Election hath bene and is made by Comprimise, by scrutiny and by adoration. That of Comprimise is worn out of fashion, as they say,
because the Cardinall of [Saint] Eustacius, having many voyces compromitted to him, chose himselfe Pope, who was called John the /20/ xxijth. In scrutiny each man writes his voyce in a folded paper, and in this as other manners of election, two third parts of the Cardinalls must agree vpon the choyce of one man, or the voyces giuen for that day are made voyd. Sometymes the scrutinye is made voyd by the coming of the Cardinalls, that is when renouncing written voyces, they come in person to him they chuse. They haue a third manner of scrutinye, and as the first kinde is called secrett, because they secretly giue their written voyces, so this is called open, because each /30/ man openly in the assembly, and with a loud voyce pronounceth by word of mouth the man he chuseth. The election by adoration, is when the Cardinalls assembled turne to him they chuse, and fall vpon their knees before him. And howsoever they compare this election to that which was anciently tearmed by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, which this generall Consent of all in one mynde seems to inferr; yet it is not reputed so good and lawfull as that by scrutiny, because the example of many cheife Cardinalls consenting in one /40/ man, often drawes many of the Inferiors observing their Concurse, and fearing he wilbe chosen without them, to be carryed by the presse to this

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12 The anti-Pope John XXIII (1410 - 1415) was deposed by the Council of Constance which he had been forced to call. EWH

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adoration, and so to make him Pope whom they never meant to chuse when they came to the meeting, lest they incurr equall danger of the Elects displeasure by unchearefull [displeasure] coming among the last, as if they stood out with the rest that give no consent to his election. The man thus chosen by two third parts of the Cardinalls, either by scrutiny or adoration is Pope, and presently the cheife of the Bishopps /50/ Cardinalls goes to signify unto him, that he is chosen, and then all the rest rise to congratulate him, and putting a white vesture upon him, give him the Ring of the Fisher, and pray him to make knowne by what name he wilbe //

fol:[i96] i06 The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.
called. For the Popes alwayes change their owne names and one observes well, that commonly they chuse a name contrary to their nature, as to be called Leo, when they are timorous by nature, and Clement when they are fierce and cruell, and Boniface when they have a crabbed countenance. And this Custome hath bene from the yeare \[\] 844, (as they write) when the Chosen Pope called Hogsface (or a name of that sense) tooke the name of Sergus the second. Then the cheife of the deacon Cardinalls opening the windowe, putts out a Crosse, and Cryes to the people /10/ with a loude voyce, I tell you of great icy, we haue a Pope. The most reuerent C. E. is chosen the cheife Bishopp and hath

1 The "E" here is a specimen initial, but may stand for exemplum.
chosen to himselfe the name of [Et] &c This done his garments are taken of, which belong to the ministers of Ceremonies, and he is clothed in Pontificall habitt, and the Cardinalls kisse his feete, hands and mouth. Then the Conclaue is opened, and the soldiers spoyle or snatche to themselues all things there belonging to the Cardinalls and the people runn to the Chosen Popes Pallace in the Citty, and violently take all his goods therein. Then the Pope is /20/ carried vpon mens shoulders to the Church of St Peter, the Clergye singing about him, Behold the great (or high) Preist. There the Cardinalls, Bishopps & Prelates adore the Pope againe, and after he hath giuen the people his blessing, and plenary Indulgence, he is in like sort carryed to the Pallace of St Peter. After few dayes, he is solemnly brought to St. Peters Porch, where the Popes Triple Crowne [is sett (tiara)] [is sett] on his head called by some hara(m) by others regnum, all sett with most precious Iewells, which they say the french king Clodinius of old gaue to the Popes.74 /30/ Then many Ceremonies are vsed, as setting Flaxe on fyre with Crying holy father,

74 The Reverend J. Clifford Culshaw tells me Haram is Hebrew for "devoted to God and therefore to be destroyed", which fits neatly with Moryson's view of the Pope as Anti-Christ. FB quotes from Niemayer's Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus which gives ara(m) = hara(m) = porcherie = pigsty, the obvious place for Hogsface. See above. Professor Brian Pullan's suggestion was that the word was tiara (or tiaram in the accusative case), a symbol Papal power. However, the 't' would be of an unusual form for Hand One. Regnum means sovereignty. Clovis, who was baptised c.496 - 506, was the first Christian Frankish King. Davis, p. 48.
thus passeth the glory of the world, and many such like. In the last place this Pope makes a solemn procession to St. John Lateran, and he feasts the Cardinalls. They say that in our age the place of Election is changed into the large rooms of St. Peters Palace.

{ m.n. 36, 37. The Popes Common wealth and Court. }

I proceed to the Popes Common wealth and Court. And first to shew that all things are sold at Rome, I will remember in generall that the very offices of Justice are sold, as the Emperor Charles the Fifth doth witnesse, whose contrary /40/ Councell to his sonne befor his death, we haue in written relations. Agayne that all affayres in the Roman Courts passing many hands, the smallest things are not obtayned without great expence of mony, for which I appeale to Villamount a French gentleman of the Romar religion, who in his Itinerarie (or relation of his Trauells doth write, that he obtayned at Rome the Popes License to visit the monuments of Hierusalem, and his pardon also for his sinnes, the Pope for his License subscribing, fiat vt petitur (that is lett it be as is asked) and for his pardon subscribing, /50/ Fiat felix (that is lett him be happy) and I know not what happines he found by his Pardon, but I dare say his licence profited him nothing above others that wanted it) in his journey to Hierusalem, yet for these rotten wares, he confesseth that he was forced to have eleuen officers hands, with no lesse trouble, then if he
had bene suiter for a Bishopprick. But to returne to the purpose, the Senate of the Pope and //

The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol [i08i]
i07

Cardinallls, is vulgarly called the Consistory. The Cardinallls were of old only xij after the number of the Apostles, and sometime more, according to the number of the Parishes of Rome, whereof they were Curates, men of small or no reputation, the redd hatt scarlett gowne, and all things of dignity being later inuention. Now the number is farr greater, having beene increased by diverse Popes so as in our age 70 haue bene made at one tyme, and alwayes some places are kept voyd to gratify great persons.

About the tyme whereof I write, they reckoned seuen /10/ Bishopp Cardinallls, namely the Cardinall of d'Ostia (who consecrates and installes the new Popes; Cardinall Porticese, Cardinall d'Albe, Cardinall Prænestine, Cardinall Tusculane, Cardinall de Sabin, and Cardinall de Sant: Rusina: These sett neere the Pope, when himselfe celebrates Masse, and assist him therein at Festiualls in St. John Lateran. They reckoned 5i Preist Cardinallls, who

"Celà fut cause que ie retarday vn peu mon voyage pour auoir licence de sa Saincteté, laquelle il m'accorda & signa de sa main, mettant au bas: Fiat ut petitur, & pour l'absolution de tous pechez, il escriuit plus au bas, fiat fælix. Et comme ie pensois estre depesché après qu'il l'eust signee, ie fus esbahy qu'elle passa par autant de mains/ comme faict l'expedition d'vn benefice, scauoir par celle du Sous-dataire, des Visiteurs, Reuisiteurs, Cardinal Dataire, & au Registre, tant qu'en icelle y auoit onze signatures." Book I Chapter 25, sigs. H7r - H7v.
serue in the Cheife Churches of Rome, seauen at a Church, and assist the Pope when he sings masse. And they reckoned ii deacon Cardinalls, who attayre the /20/ Pope when he sings masse and serue[s] him at the Alter. This Senate of old assembled twice, now meetes but once a weeke, and they consult of the election of ArchBishopps Patriarkes, Bishopps &c of faith and of all great matters, concerning religion, and of preserving and increasing the spirituall and temporall Patrimony of the Pope. And in this Senate all kings and absolute Princes, haue their Proctors to manage their affayres, And all petitions haue their answers sealed with the Apostolicall subscription which they carry /30/ to the vice Chauncerie, where they receive answer in writing conformable to that was sealed vpp in the Consistory.

{ m.n. 33, 34. The private Patrimony of St Peter. }

Touching the Popes priuate temporall State or Power in Italy called St. Peters Patrimony: First I haue shewed, that as the donation of Constantine is thought fabulous; so at the best it is only a pretended title, For the Popes enjoy no temporall principality from such ancient tymes, howsoever in later tymes the pretence of that old title might give some Coulor to their vsur/40/pations, But at this day the Pope hath the Prouinces of Latium, and Spoleto (or Vmbria), first invaded at his casting the Easterne Emperors out of Italy, and after in [a] long process of tyme confirmed. The Prouinces of Romania (or Flaminia) of
Morchio, of Emilia (or Lombardia di qua del Po) and of Bononia; all challenged by old titles from Constantine, and Charles the great, but first possessed with Armes in the tyme of Pope Alexander the sixth, by the ayde of the french king Lewes the xijth. some hundred yeares past: and the dukedome of Ferraria /50/ // Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol [98] 108 [fol:99] falling to the Pope as lord of the Fee for want of heyres males within lesse then Twenty yeares last past before the writing hereof, yet with Composition to giue in Fee to the last dukes base sonne, and his heyres males, the Citty of Modena and some small Inheritances. All these Territories lye close together all the breadth of Italy and in the midst thereof from one Sea to the other, only the dukedome of Vrbine (whereof the Pope is Feaudatorie lord) lying betweene them, and towards the East they border on the kingdome of Naples, as towards the west, on /10/ the dukedome of Florence and the Free State of Venice. Herein are numbred Fifty or more Cittyes, but excepting Roma, Bologna and Ferraria, most of them deserue scarcely the names of Townes, howsoever they are poorely walled, and graced with Bishoppricks, And the Pope hath in them only two hauens, namely Ancona vppon the Adriatique Sea, and Ciuita Vecchia vppon the Tirrhone Sea, where the Hauen of

16 "...Romagna, Flaminia, the Marches, Emilia (or Lombardy from here to the River Po) and of Bologna..."
the Tyber at Ostia, hath in the old Emperors tymes, bene stopped with Obelisks that no enemyes might sodenly come by sea to Rome, and now Tyber ends there in a /20/ lake, where only small boates can enter. Besides the Pope hath from the first kinde of possession Beneuentum, with the Territory thereof in the kingdome of Naples, and by the guift of a Queene of Naples he hath Auignone in the kingdome of Fraunce. He hath many Princes to his vassalls, as the king of Naples, the king of Sicily, and the dukes of Vrbine, of Parma, and of Massarine. And as I haue shewed, that the Popes neuer wanted art, nor force to intrude to be lords of Principalityes by Fee, so when they fall voyd for want of heyres males, the people willingly /30/ become the Popes Subjects, as some what more milde lords then the Princes of Italy are, who always oppresse them with greuous exactions. The foresaid Territories are fertile and yeild plenty of victualls did they not permitt transportation to feede other adioyning Prouinces. The banished men on the borders of the kingdome of Naples not Farr distant from Rome, doe much afflict these parts, but Sixtus quintus first found a remedy against them by rewards of mony and their owne pardons for killing one an other, whereby they are ielous of an other and are soone broken. /40/ The rents of the patrimony of St Peter are much alienated yet are said to yeild yearely a million and halfe Crownes into the

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Popes Chamber. Touching some particular.
The Costumes of Rome all deductions
made yearely yeild------------------------17000. Crownes
The Triennall Subsidy of Marchia--------14958. Crownes

In augmentation----------9912. Crownes

The Triennall Subsidy of Rome all
deductions made &c-------------------29758 Crownes.

Of Vmbria and Perusia all deducted &c 29076 Crownes./50/

Of Latium or Campagna di Roma all
deducted--------------------------------13632. Crownes

[Augmentation.]--------------------------6325.

{ m.n. 53, 54. 109 transplaced comes in 16 sydes after this
}

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol.i09.
Taxes of horses in Marchia------------------77221. Crownes.

Transportation of Corne------------------30000. Crownes.

Besides these particular revenues vulgarly in good
relations thus esteemed, and many others omitted, the Popes
haue reserved rents for feudatory Prouinces. As namely for
the kingdome of Naples of old as some write 48000 ducates,
but I finde in Guicciardine and the french Historiographer
John de Serrie and in like approved authors, that of old
the Popes received yearely for that kingdome 7000 ducates,

"The silver Crowne" is worth "almost five shillings
English..." Itinerary A, I, xxiv.

Jean de Serres (c.1540 - 1598) theologian, and
historian whose work on France Moryson used extensively.
Hyamson.
and a little white Hackney or mule, which are ledd spare before /10/ the Pope when he rides in triumph, so many in number as himselfe hath satt yeares in the Papall throne. And that the Neapolitan kings of the french house of Aniou paid of old 480 pounds of gold yearely and 7000 ducates in siluer, and the said Hackney or Mule,. And the said french Historiographer Page 899. writes, that the Spaniards after payd yearely to the Pope, 8000 ounces of gold with a white Hackney or mule, aforesaid, and that the viceroy of Naples in person of the king his master, vseth to doe homage, to the new chosen /20/ Popes.80

{ m.n. 22 - 25. The generall spirituall and temporall power of the Popes. }

Touching the generall power of the Popes challenged by Christs guift to St Peter, aswell spirituall as the temporall therevppon depending. First for the spirituall power, when John, Patriarke of Constantinople tooke on him the title of vniuersall Bishopp only for the dignity of the

80 "He [Henry IV] continued in Rome vntill Easter, [1600] during his aboad, he did see the Vice roy of Naples make his entry into Rome, comming to do homage vnto the Pope for the Realme of Naples, presenting vnto him a white Steede, for an acknowledgement of the fee, for the inuestiture of Naples, for that is one of the Realmes which holds in fee and doth homage vnto the Church of Rome and for that reason (besides the eight thousand Ounces of Gold which they owe yeerely,) they are bound to take armes for the defence of the Church." Jean de Serres, A General Inventorie of The History of France, translated by Edward Grimeston (London, 1607), p. 899, [STC 22244] and referred to as Serres hereafter.
Imperiall seate, not for any Clayme from Peter by succession, then Pope Gregory the great thundred against him as a forerunner of Antichrist; yet the next Successor to Gregory /30/ in Rome tooke the same title by the guift of Phocas murtherer of the Emperor Mauritius his lord and made other vse of this spirituall supremacy then the Greeke Patriarke had done, euenn that abhominable vse which we reade and see. And this power had his beginning more then 600th yeares after our Lords death. For the temporall power therevppon depending, it was first challenged by wicked Hildebrande called Pope Gregory the seauenth, chosen in the yeare 1073, and from that day to this hath caused /40/ much bloud shedd in Christendome, but yeilded to the Popes farr greater profitt, then St Peters private patrimony. All the Reuenues hereof are committed to one of the Cardinalls called the great Penitentiarye. who hath vnder his power all dispensations, absolutions, Indulgences and guiftes (may I not say sales) of Benefices and Bishoppricks (the very Cardinalls giuing a feeling thanckfulnes to the Pope himselfe before they be created), and the profitts of Resignations and Alienations, Among the dispensations some be of /50/ great moment, as those in mariage for the degrees forbidden by mans lawe and Gods lawe, too, (with leaue be it spoken) those for legitimating bastards, for pardoning // fol:[i00] The comon wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.
murthers, for pluralityes, for Simony, for banishment for
oathes, vowes, and lawes broken, for uttering these goodly
war<es> the Pṇitinentiary hath his deputyes in the
greatest churches of Rome; but the cheife dispensations he
reserves to himselfe, and for the Petitions if he thinck
good, and the thing vsed to be granted, he subscribes in
the Popes name, by vertue of his office fiat in forma, or
de speciali, or de expresso &c. But at this day the
multitude of humane lawes and of the lawes of Popes and
Councells growing infinite, he doth not alwayes /10/
subscribe definitiuely, and in that Case his deputyes
examine the Cause, and then giue absolution. This office
hath twenty four Advoctates to lay open the Causes of
Petitioners and to procure the dispatches of the Bulls, for
so they call the grants. These wares yeild great yearely
rents, besides that the Pope selles all offices, and hath
each three yeares an ayde of the Clergie imposed by Pope
Paul the third, and many foraine Collections. So as Pope
Sivtus the fourth might well brag, that he could not want
mony /20/ so long as he had a hand and a penn to demaund
it. And it is no maruell that Pope Pius the fifth in fiue
yeares layd vpp fiue millions of gold in the Castle of St.

§1 "Utter. v. I. l. a. To put (goods, wares, etc.)
forth or upon the market; to issue, offer, or expose for
sale or barter; to dispose of by way of trade; to vend,
sell. Obs. in very frequent use from c1540 to c1655." OED

§2 "It seems fairly clear from the context that they
must be formulas used by the Penitentiary and his officials
for introducing certain types of concession or
dispensation. 'By special grant', or 'By express
permission...' BP
Angelo, and that Pope Paul the third ayded the Emperor Charles the fifth with i2000 foote and fiue hundred horse, and Pope Pius the fifth ayded the french king Charles the ninth with 4000 foote and 2000 horse, and of late to take the possession of Ferraria, he raised 20000 Foote of his owne Subiects in Marchia and Romagna and 2000 horse. For Marchia alone affords 20000 Foote, they being the only good foote in Italy, and the rest reputed base and of small or no value. Besides that the Pope for his glory State, or cause of religion, neuer wants great Princes to protect him. But to speake some thing of his Rents in particuler.

The alienations for life are sayd to yeild into the Popes Chamber yearely 508000 Crownes. The Rent of St. Peter on St. Peters day 31000 Crownes. The datary or dispatcher of the Popes Bulls 68250 Crownes. The forayne Collections are vncertaine, but one yeare with an other that of Spaine is said to yeild 44000 Crownes. That of Portugall 22000 Crownes. That of Italy i2000 Crownes. Add to this that the Popes goings out are nothing in respect of his comings in. His household retinue, hath small wages & stipends. His Nuncio in Toscany hath 57 Crownes by the moneth. in Fraunce, 145, in Sauoy, 115 in Germany, with the Emperor 230, in Venice [230, and in Poland 230.] The Captayne of his guardes hath yearely 2400 Crownes. The leiutenant 639.  

83 "1. An officer of the Papal Court at Rome, charged with the duty of registering and dating all documents issued..." OED
the /50/ stipend of the guard of men at Armes and light horse //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:[9]iii
amounts yearely to 100[0]77 Crownes: the stipend of the
guard of Sweitzers 10932 Crownes. their apparrell 2600, and
the Sweitzers Capps and feathers yearely 200 Crownes. Their
lesser and greater Ensignes 1000 Crownes: The hyre of
horses for the Sweitzers when the Pope goes out of Rome,
one yeare with an other about 250 Crownes. The Sweitzers of
the Popes Guard are in number 200, who have the foresaid
stipend and the yearely allowance for apparrell, but no
diett at the Popes charge. And this nation is by the
Italians /10/ reputed so faithfull, as most Italian Princes
have Companies of the same to guarde their persons, Courts
and the Gates of their Citties.

{ m.n. 15, 16. Courts of Requests and other Courts. }
The Pope hath two Courts of Requests vulgarly called
Audienze, the one of Justice, the other of Grace, and each
hath his Judges. All the Cardinalls skilfull in the lawes,
may sett in that of Grace, and none vnskilfull therein
setts in either. But each one hath one Cardinall more
specially ouer it, and certaine Judges [....] called
Referendaries, determining Causes by number of voyces. /20/
The Referendaries meeete once in the weeke, and if need be
appoint a day for the whole Senate to meeete,.. propound the
Causes to be determined, whereof when the Fathers haue
disputed, if any cause be rejected, it is propounded no more. The Judges write under the Petitions their opinion of the equity, and the Cheife Cardinall grants ordinary, yea and greater requests so as the Pope rarely subscribes to any, but when he subscribes, to causes of Justice, he writes *Placet I.*, to causes of grace *Fiat ut petitur I.* And this letter *I.* /30/ signified the Christian true name of the Pope then being, who by his Popedome styled [.] *Clement* the Eight, had *Ipolito* for Christian name, and *Aldebrandino* for Sirname. And if the Pope grants any thing of his free will, he addeth *motu proprio*. The Cardinall cheife or master of the Office subscribeth *concessum in presentia D. N. Papæ*. granted in the presence of our Lord the Pope, and that by vertue of his office though it be not granted in the presence of the [doubtfull] Pope, but he addeth also his owne name. In doubtfull /40/ Cases all of the Senate ioyntly subscribe their opinion under the Petition.

The Pope hath three manners of dispatching Causes, namely by the Chauncerie under the Seale thereof, by the *Chamber*, under the seale thereof, and by the *Secretaryshipp* under the Fishermans Seale. Ouer the Chancery a Cardinall is sett with title of *Vicechancelor*, the prime office of Rome, for dignity authority and profitt, having great power in

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*It is pleasing, Ipolito; Let it be as asked for, Ipolito.*
bestowing all Benefices of the Church. /50/ // fol:ii2 The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

The Apostolicall Chamber is the Popes household Court, over which he setts six household Prelates called Clerici, of the Greeke word whereof Clerkes haue their name, as selected men. And with these Counsellors, he consults his owne affaires proper to himselfe as the Gouernment of the City, his temporall dominion, and the Accompts of his Treasure. Here he was wont to chuse Magistrates, of whom the Chamberlane at this day takes their oathes. Here as in the Chauncerie Benefices use to be granted. And here as in the supreme Court, he was wont to heare all Appeales. The Chamberlane with the Consent of his Assessors /10/ and many tymes of himselfe alone writes Mandates to the Judges about prophane Causes in the temporall dominion of the Church belonging to the Magistrates, and about the payment of Tythes and other things belonging to the Judgment of the Chamber, and alwayes he writes in the name of the Pope, as if himselfe had written it. The Treasorer of the Chamber keepes and disburses the Popes Rents. The Auditor is sett over spirituall Causes. The Gouernor of the Chamber judgeth Capitall Causes, having the execution of the secular Arme in diverse Causes, as the Complaints of vassalls after forme of the Roman Statutes /20/ or according to the Common Lawe, but he medles not with Excommunications and Censures of the Church which properly belong to the Auditor. The President of the Chamber is over the Accompts of the
Treasure, which he takes as well from Rome as all Provinces, and having censured them referres them to the Senate. The Advocate of the Chamber defends the Causes of the poore, and all private men against the Advocates of the Treasure, among which one is chosen to plead the causes of the Treasure in other Courts. The Proctor of the Treasure among other dutyes lookes that the Notaries /30/ make publike Records for perpetuall memory of things belonging to the Popes power and State. Namely submission or Homage done to the Pope by any king or Prince and such like things. The Commissary of the Chamber is sett ouer all exactions, Customs, coyning of mony, and other things that are not Judiciall, but at this day his place is of small respect, because the Gouernor, Treasorer and Proctor intermedle with his [d..ht] Office. The last Assessor in [the Chamber] is the Clerich of the Cardinalls, who defends their Rents and Causes. This Senate vseth to meet thrice each weeke, /40/ in the Apostolicall Chamber, and howsoever there be many Judges in Rome, yet the number of Prisoners being very great, the Fathers of this Court, as supreme Judges, many tymes in the yeare visitt the Prisons with the inferior Judges, and moderate their Judgments if need be.

The affayres of the Church increasing daily, the Popes haue withdrawne themselues from the trouble of this Court, and rarely sett to judge therein except it be to heare some cause of the Treasure or like great matter, /50/ having
erected a private Council of some chief men called household Secretaries, with which familiar friends he determines many causes of the Chamber at this day, as the Choyce of Magistrates, and the like.

The Pope permitts the Romans to have their Magistrate whome they call Senator, and he dwells in the Capitoll, and judgeth the Causes of the Citizens. At this day he hath three viccaries under him, from whose judgments, if any man appeale, Each vicar hath his [a] superiour judge in the Capitoll to heare these Appeales, And if this Judge confirme the former sentence, then the Romans have municipall lawes to forbidd the Citizens any further appeale. Besides some several trades or arts have their peculiar Courts of Justice And the Artizans choose their Consulls to judge their causes, from whom they may appeale to the Judges of the Capitoll, and this Jurisdiction of the Capitoll was granted by Pope Iulius the second. Also the Pope hath his viccar in Rome who hath the Preists under his Jurisdiction, and in his Courts all Clergy men are punished, deposed, and judged for all their Causes. This vicar visiteth all Monasteries that are not exempted by speciall privilege, he giues many Benefices, punisheth offenders, and imposeth on them a signe of penance. He hath also under his Jurisdiction, all the Iewes widowes Pupills,
and poore men, and his authority in many things extends forty miles out of Rome. He doth accompany the Judges visiting the Prisoners, and deliuers over to the secular power such as are condemned to corporall punishment, and hath under him two substitute vicars, and four publice Notaries. For the Cityes and Townes the Pope governes them by legates, and vicelegates, and bestowes /20/ these places on his kinsmen and Favourites. Thus much shall suffice of the Courts of Justice in Rome, and the Popes Territoryes. Lett me only add that it hath alwayes bene fatall to the Popes not to sett long in that Chair, and to dye vntymely deaths. At first most of them were Martyrs, under cruell Emperors, after most of them perished sometymes by open violence of barbarous kings, but most Commonly by secret Treasons of poysen, by which one faction of Rome tooke away the Popes advanced by the other Faction, and when the Emperors had established any Popes, /30/ they seldom liued long, and sometymes were taken away before the Emperors Armyes were retorned over the Alpes. After the Popes had by Tyrannicall prescription vsurped power over Christian Princes, and their Choyce was [ad]comitted to Cardinalls, [through the ambition or covetousnes of them,] fewe Popes were Chosen that were not of decrepitt age, or sickly, or at least fayned themselues to be sickly, yet if they liued longer then was expected, these Cardinalls seldom had the patience to stay for their naturall death, but either through Covetousnes oftner to sell their voyces, or
through ambition to have them or their friends chosen Popes, this Chayre of St Peter was ever found far more slippery than any dominion in the world. It is true that sixteenth century Popes had a startling death rate. Pius III (1503), Hadrian VI (1522 - 1523), Marcellus II (1555), Urban VII (1590), Gregory XIV (1590 - 1591), Innocent IX (1591) all lasted a matter of weeks or months. Often a decrepit compromise candidate would be acceptable to the heads of closely fought factions as in 1503 when Cesare Borgia tried to prevent (ultimately unsuccessfully) the elevation of the old Borgia enemy, Cardinal della Rovere.

Moryson is referring to 'The Outrage of Agnani' of 1303, when Philip the Fair's agents tried to arrest Boniface VIII in his bedchamber. In this case two rough diamonds were scratching each other. See Daniel Waley, Later Medieval Europe From St Louis to Luther (London, 1964), p. 54, referred to hereafter as Waley.


315
the Roman Church to sett vpp a french Pope chosen by the //
fol:ii4. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.
Cardinalls of the french nation and faction, and residing
in Fraunce against the Italian Pope residing at Rome. In
all which tymes the Popes on both sydes fayled not to
drink the dreggs of poysoned Cupps. The Popes Parasites
much declame against the freedome, which the Gallicane
church hath from the first challenged against the Papall
vsurpation. No doubt all Churches should be free[d] no
lesse then the french, but I confesse they meritted
pruiuledge aboue others, in that being Christians of the
Primitiue Church, they were most vnwilling to come vnder
the Popes yoke, in all ages to the vttermost /10/ by witt
and force resisting that tyranny. And they must likewise
confesse to haue had aboue all Christian kingdornes, space
and meanes to confirme and setle their Church in the truth
being free from all papall practises, whiles the Popes were
long tyme wholy taken vpp in subduing the Emperors power
vnder their feete. For howsoever the Britaines were
converted to Christianity in the Primitiue Church, yet the
Saxon kings that gaue the name of England to Britany, were
first converted or established Christians, when the Popes
had with opinion of sanctity, and by Armes subdued the
Emperors, and /20/ gayned greater power in Fraunce, and

88 The French were prepared to create a schism to keep
a Pope at Avignon, when the anti-pope Clement VII was
elected in 1378. See Waley, pp. 124 - 125.
among all Christian Princes. So as being in the first foundation seasoned with Romish superstitions, they had neither the means nor the will to resist the Popes, which the French had. Notwithstanding when the Popes began to usurp over their temporal power, they could no more endure that then the French, and restrained the same by forbidding his Legates to pass the Sea into England, or mony to be transported thence to the Popes vse, and by making a party in the Colledge of the Cardinalls. Some 200th yeares past the house of Austria by nuptiall Contracts getting the principalityes of the Low Countries, and the kingdomes of Spaine, first layd hand to the sterne of Christs Shipp, and became great in Italy and powerfull in the factions of the Cardinalls Colledge, and by nothing more sustayned and increased their greatnes, then by professing the protection of the Roman (stiling itselfe the Catholike) church, when all other Christian Princes groning vnder that yoke, begann to hate the tyranny thereof: For it is remarkable, that nothing hath more strengthened the Popes then two Acts of ambitious and Covetous Princes, while the ambitious desyring to invade one an other, were content to take a pretended title of Territories from the Popes guift, and while the Covetous desyring to raise mony were content to take the Popes leaue to exact uppon the Clergie, whereby when the Pope should turne from them (which he did as lightly as the wynde) they had (as it were by Prescription) graunted two mayne prejudices to the Pope,
one to transferr kingdoms at his pleasure, the other to have a supreme power over the [ir owne] Clergie in their owne dominions. But not to insist therevppon, I say that in all these tymes, whiles the Cardinalls were divided into facti/50/ons of England Fraunce and Spaine, the Popes neuer liued free from the treasons of the aduerse part. Shortly after England falling from the Popes obedience, and trusting to the defence of Armes, neglected to practice any faction or party among the Cardinalls. About this tyme, Fraunce being rent in peices be Ciuill warrs, betweene the Papists and Protestants, the french kings began to haue small or no care of Italian affayres. So as the kings of Spaine dominering alone //
Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:ii5. at Rome, had power to promote all Cardinals at their pleasure and by their helpe to haue such chosen Popes as they best liked, who liued no longer then they promoted all Spanish affayres and shewed themselues well affected to them both in word and deed. In which point the yonger sonne of the Church, matched or ouertopped the Romans in their owne art, making great shew to woorshipp the Popes while he might vse their authority to his owne profitt, but taking order they should be (Diui modo non viui) Saints in heauen rather then Princes on earth when once they declared any
ill affections to Spaine. And lest herein I should seeme to write from any nationall hatred, I desyre them, who doubt in so cleare a Case, to remember how Pasquin (the statua of libells divulging the voyce of the people, proverbiaedly called the voyce of God or truth) lately in our tyme bore in his hand a cleane sheete of paper, and his Fellow Marsorius demaundung the reason, his answer was annexed, that he ment to tender the same to the Popes Holynes, that he might presently make his last will and Testament, since he having lately declared some ill affection to the Spanish affayres, was not like to live long after. But (to the former purpose) the Ciuill warrs being ended in Fraunce by the valor and wisdome of the French king Henry the fourth, the Cardinalls of the French nation and faction began againe to beare some sway, and to Counterpoise those of the Spanish faction in Rome, and the Princes of Italy in like sort began to leane to the French kings protection. Yet the French at that tyme

99 This a cynical reference to the Roman custom of deifying, giuing the title divus, to good but dead, and therefore, powerless Emperors. Thus Nero would not have qualified. The Latin tag means "gods now not living" or in FB's slick translation "the late but no longer the great".

90 "Once Henry IV and Clement VIII had made their peace, the papacy was in a position to return to the balance of power politics which had served it so well before Spain became supreme." Elliott, p. 378. For Clement, the first prize was Ferrara, into which Papal troops marched unopposed in 1598. Henry IV had promised to intervene, personally coming over the Alps, thereby enabling Clement to face down the Spanish. The Catholic Church militant and triumphant haunted Moryson's imagination.
worne out with home Calamityes, the wounds whereof were not yet healed,\textsuperscript{91} did not affect nor were like to imbrace any expedition into Italy, so as the french kings party at Rome and in all Italy, was more strengthened by the hatred the /30/ Italians bore to the Spaniards, then any firme confidence they had in the Patronage of the french against them.\textsuperscript{92}

\{ m.n. 33, 34. King of Naples and Sicily. \} 

The kingdome of Naples and the kingdome of Sicily (sometymes disioyned though at this tyme vnited) are Fees of the Roman church and so possessed by the king of Spaine. In the historical introduction of the third Chapter, I haue shewed how the Pope became lord of the Fees, and how they were possessed first by the french, after by the Spaniards, and in this Chapter treating of St. Peters patrimony, I haue sett downe the tribute paid for them. And it is no maruell that Contrary to the Popes /40/ Custome in generall to giue small rest to those that with hold greatnes or riches from them, and in particular to make

\textsuperscript{91} In 1608 when Coryat disembarked in France, one of his first impressions was the extent of the devastation still apparent. "About eight miles beyond Boulogne I saw a very ruinous Monastery, which belike was battered down in the civil warres." Thomas Coryat, Coryat's Crudities 2 vols (Glasgow, 1905), I, 159, referred to as Coryat hereafter.

\textsuperscript{92} In Venice politics divided between the vecchi (who placated Spain) and the giovani (who wanted to take a firmer stance). Until France had recovered, this policy had its limits. See Elliott, pp. 377, 378.
dayly graunts of new Pattents for these kingdomes, yea
diuerse tymes two Pattents of them at one and the same tyme
the kings of Spaine haue notwithstanding long possessed the
same with peace if we consider the great power he hath in
Italy, and that Rome is compassed, and as it were beseiged
by his forces. When myselfe and my Consorts entred Naples,
because we were apparrelled like frenchmen, not only those
of the abiect sort, but also miserable men (as Prisoners)
and some of the more Ciuill sort mocked vs /50/ by words
and gestures as we passed the streets, by which and like
arguments they spared not to manifest their hatred to the
Frenche to whome they had formerly bene subiect. Neither
[did] did they forbeare by discourse and otherwise to shew
their hatred to the Spaniards then Lords ouer them, having
long bene reputed a //
fol:116 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.
wauring people, not able to commaund nor willing to obey.
But the Spaniards held them by a strong hand, For besides
many Garisons in the Cittyes and the Forts built vppon the
passages of that kingdome, they kept three strong places in
the Citty of Naples, namely the two Castles built in the
playne vppon the Seasyde, and a third Fort of a greater
strength built by the Emperor Charles the Fifth on the Topp
of a Mountayne, who at first made shew to inlarge the
Carthusian Monasterye adioyning, but when he had layd the
foundation guardable, did by night draw vpp Ar/10/tillery
into it, and soldiers to defend it, turning the same to a
strong Fort, which the Monckes thought built for their lodging. And because the Citty bore in their Armes a wilde horse without bridle or sadle, the Emperor Charles when he had built this Fort said merily, that he had putt a bridle in the wilde horses mouth. In these three Forts the Spaniards haue a great Garison of soldiers.

The kingdome is gouerned by a viceroy residing at Naples, who at this tyme was named Don de Suenda Sonica Count of Mirandola,. Each day at fower a Clock in the after/20/noone he vsed to giue audience to Petitioners, and when the Complaint was opened, either gaue present Iudgment, or delayed the Cause if it required further consideration. There did I see him being a decrepitt old man, so as he could not goe but was carryed by his servants, yet about matters of loue, he was sayd to haue great amitye., with the Neapolitan Prince of Salerno. He was said to haue stipend from the king of Twenty fower thousand Crownes yearely, besides the pay of Fifty dutchmen for his guarde, having each man Fifty Crownes by the moneth from the king, out /30/ of which pay, he was said to detayne asmuch as payde twenty Spaniards of his household. The Viceroy was sayd to be changed, and a new sent out of Spaine, at the end of each third yeare. //

{ m.n. 35, 36. The Dukedome of Milan. }

Further the king of Spaine possesseth in Italy the dukedome
of Milan by right of the sword. For when the Family of Sfortia was extinct the Emperor Charles the Fifth of the Elder house of Austria invaded the same by the sword, and by transactions with the kings of Fraunce, and so transferred it to his sonne Phillipp king of Spaine, who held it, and transferred /40/ it to his Successors without taking any investiture from the German Emperors of the yonger house of Austria, who challenged that right to be falne back to them for want of heyres Males of the Family of Sfortia. Thus the kings of Spaine having Sicily, Naples and Milan, may be reputed lords of a third part of Italy. In the vast Citty of Milan, I did see, or obserue nothing that did equall the daunger I incurred by entring the same, when England had Warrs with Spaine. At this tyme whereof I write the Vice duke was called Don Iean Ferando de Valasco by Inheritance /50/ Constable of Castella. This Citty is vast and hath great riches being excellently seated, for the traffique of Fraunce, Germany and Italy, and the whole territory is a playne Country, and a very fertile soyle, more specially for pastures which are rarely founde in other parts of Italy, so as it yeildes not only plenty of Cattell, butter and Cheese to spend at home, but //
{ c.w. also to }
Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:ii7.
to export, by which and the Customes of traffique, the dukes haue raised great Reuenewes, but the king of Spayne keepes so strong garisons in the impregnable Castle of
Milan, and the Fortes of other Cittyes, as neither it nor the kingdomes of Naples and Sicily bring no great quantity of Treasure into his Coffers. For at this tyme Italy was sayd to yeild to the king of Spaine yearely lower millions of ducates of gold, and great part of the revenue of Naples being at that tyme ingaged for the kings debts. Sicily was said to supply Naples yearely with 400th thousand ducates of Gold, besides other /10/ supplyes made by the Councell of Spaine for the affayres of Italy. Since for defence of the same, the king was sayd then to mantayne ordinarily in diverse Cittyes and Forts tenn thousand Spanish foote, one thousand two hundreth armed Horse, and 300th light horse, besides that for defence of the Coasts from Turkes and Pyrats, he did then mantayne 24 Gallies at Naples, i2, in Sicily, 16, at Genoa, and 3 in Sauoy in all 55 Gallies. Neither can he keepe them in obedience without this charge, For the Neapolitans doe not hate the Spaniards more then the Milanesi, who seemed much inclined /20/ to rebellion, were not their owne power curbed with a strong hand, were not the kings of Fraunce distracted from recovering their right in that dukedome, And were not the Emperors of Germany vnable in respect of the Turkish warres, and unwilling in respect of Consanguinity with the kings of Spaine to recover their right in the investiture thereof; yet the Milanesi at this tyme spared not to manifest their malice to the Spaniards. For myselfe heard many not of the lowest ranck often carping and scoffing at the pride of the
Spaniards, as if every base groome in Spaine /30/ when he came into Italy, would indure no lesse title then a gentleman of Castilia, and also at their poore diett at home, and plentifull feeding abroade, at other mens Costs, and at their guilded rapiers and daggers, which they bragg to haue bene vsed by their Progenitors in famous battells, yet sometymes laid to pawne for a poore debt. But nothing was so common in the mouthes of the meamer sort, as to sing base balletts of the Spaniards, as among others that vulgar song of Lombardy.

Quando son'in lor'terra - If at home you doe them take, /40/
Fan le scarpe di cordella - Shooses of Cordouan they make,
Quando sono in questi paesi - But [if] with vs if you them see
Tutti son'conti et Marchesi - Marquesses or Counts they bee
Con la cappa infoderata - With their Cape richly lyned
Con la spada margentata, - With their raper siluered &c.

In a word vppon any mention of a Spaniard or the sight of any one passing by, these Italian Subiects did not cease both by wordes and gestures to witnes the malice they bore vnto the Spaniards.

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§§ An extra 'm' seems to have been included in error.
Of the common wealth of Venice in particular touching some of the heads contayned in the title of the first Chapter.

The first Chapter.
The free State of Venice, besides the stately City of Venice built within Channells of the Sea vpon litle Ilands, hath vnder it vpon the firme land of Italy, the fayre and well fortifyed Cityes of Paduoa, Vicenza, Verona, Bergamo, Vdane, and /10/ Treuoso\(^1\) with their Territories, and the Castle or walled towne of Crema. It hath also vnder it and adioying to the foresaid Territories, at the Foote of the German Alps, the Province of Forum Iulij vulgarly Friol,\(^2\) the fertile Province of Istria being a Peninsul vpon the Gulfe of Venice, diuerse Cityes vpon the Sea coast of Dalmatia as Cattaro and Zara,\(^3\) and many litle Ilands within the said Gulfe, out of which in the Mediterranean sea it hath subject to it, the Ilands of Corfa, of Cephalonia the greater, and the lesser of Zante, the rich, and goodly Iland of Candia and the litle /20/ Iland Serigo.\(^4\) The Pope Alexander supported by the

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\(^1\) Padua, Udine and Treviso.

\(^2\) Friuli.

\(^3\) Now Kotor and Zadar.

\(^4\) Cerigo, now known as Kithira, an island south of the Peloponnese.
Venetians till in that Citty he trode vppon the neck of the Emperor, for [in]gratitude gaue the Commaund of that Sea (namely the large Gulfe of Venice) to this State, I know not by what right, except it were that by which the diuell promised to give the kingdomes of the earth, yet such a title as Princes haue in like cases bene content to take from him, for such things as they desyred to gett and preserue by the sword. From this right they haue a Custome yearely vppon Ascention day (as I remember) that the duke and /30/ the Senators (with great pompe and solemnity, and with loude instruments of musick tooke boate in the Bucentoro (so called of the Capacity to beare two hundreth men) and rowe to the mouth of the Hauen entring the Mayne Gulfe, where the duke casts a gold ring into the Sea, by that Ceremonies espousing it to the State of Venice. Notwithstanding Pope Iulius the second extorted from them pruieledge of freedome vppon this Gulfe for all the Popes territories lying there vppon. Of old they had the Iland of Cyprus in the bottome of the straights nere Asia, and many Citties /40/ vppon the Continent of Grece, all which the Turkish Emperor now possesseth, either wonn by the sword, or at diuerese tymes yeilded to him by transactions of

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5 This was the final temptation of Christ by Satan in the wilderness. See Matthew 4. 8, and Luke 4. 5. The Pope here is a Satanic tempter.
This State was in great danger to lose their virgin liberty in the age before this wherein we live, when the Princes of Italy by their growing power, judging them to affect the dominion of all Italy, did jointly combine against them, so as the Pope the Emperor of Germany, the king of France, and the king of Aragon, Castile, Naples, and Sicily, for diverse ends and provoked by diverse injuries, did all make league, and at one time with their forces assaile the Venetians, having none to take their part. In which war Lewes the king of France tooke from them Cremona, and diverse other places which // Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:i[0]i9. himselfe had granted them, while they assisted him to conquer the dukedom of Milan, all which the king of Spain to this day possesseth with the said dukedom taken from the French. Also the Pope making use of the French victoryes, tooke from them Rauenna Faenza Rimini and all the adjoyning territories, and as there is no redemption from Hell, so to this day, they have not recovered any thing out of his Pawes, nor euer attempted any recovery. The same victory of the French against the Venetians gaue Ferdinand king of Aragon fitt opportunity to take from them.

Venice had come face to face with the Ottoman Turks since the elimination of Byzantium. The Venetian losses were mostly "of old", particularly in the war of 1499 - 1503. Cyprus was lost in 1571. John Julius Norwich, Venice The Rise to Empire (London, 1977), known hereafter as Venice Rise, and John Julius Norwich, Venice The Greatness and the Fall (London, 1981), known hereafter as Venice Fall, provide much of the basic information that follows.
Monopoli /10/ Brandusio, Trani and Ottranto, Sea bordering Cittyes of the kingdome of Naples formerly ingaged to them for great sommes of mony, all which the king of Spaine his successor holds to this day. In like sort Maximilian the Emperor by the said victory and ayde of the french forces, tooke from the Venetians, Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso, all strong and rich Cittyes of Lombardy, with large and rich Territories, lying at the foote of the German Alps, and likewise great part of the Province Frioli and the very Citty and Territory of Padoua compassing the lakes /20/ of Venice, which now had lost all dominions vpon firme land. But the Venetians to stopp the Popes mouth, yeilded to him whatsoever he asked, and supported by his freindshipp and factions, daily growing betweene the Emperor[s] and the kings, did preuaile against the Emperor, forsaken by both the kings, and soone recovered from him all he had taken from them, with which dominions they rest contented to this day, without attempting to increase the same, by any new Invasion or by recovering that they lost to more powerfull enemyes. This Common wealth of Venice hath lasted more /30/ then a thousand two hundreth yeares, and he that shall see the grauity and wisdome of their Senate, and the iustnes of their gouernment, would judge it likely to last so long as the Sunne and moone indureth; yet many reasons make it

† Brindisi.
 unlike to increase and grow much greater; For all Italy being divided into many parts of free Citties & principalityes every small warr threatens ruine, and destruction to the whole Country. And the Venetians are taught by experience of the foresaid Combination against them to preferr a secure peace though dearely bought, to the /40/ vncertaine event of warr promising gayne. As also the Princes of Italy, so feare their safety in tyme of troubles as they are likely all to ioyne their forces against the first disturber of peace. Yea the very Bishopps of Rome, which of old sowed and raysed all dissentions and warrs, now since the falling of many kingdomes and Provinces from their obedience finding that they cannot fish in troubled waters as they [were] wont, but rather that the wonted reuerence to that Sea is so decayed, as the preuayling party would in all likelyhood force them to reformation of the Church, and deprие them /50/ of their temporall dominions, haue of late applyed their Councells to peace, espetially in Italy, where the danger of warr // fol:i[i]20 Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:[iii]V.

would be so neare them to woorke these effects, as no doubt they would oppose themselues against the Rayser of warr in Italy, both by their forces and excommunications. Whereas forrayne kings and Princes under the Popes obedience take it as [a] great fauour from them to haue their subiects and freinds made Cardinalls, the Venetians that their Common
wealth may longer last, desyre nothing lesse, then that the Pope should preferr any gentleman of Venice to that dignity, being terrifyed from this ambition by the Examples of the family of Medici in Florence, whereof diuerse being made Cardinalls & after /10/ Popes vtterly ouerthrew the liberty of their Country, and brought it in hereditary subiection to their owne Family. For they are not ignorant what braue feates the Popes haue played in those cases, taught by many examples, but more specially by that of Pope Julius the second, who had the power by the foresaid league to ruine them, and soone after by forsaking that league, and turning his fauour towards them, to inable them in short tyme to recouer the dominions they now hold vpon firme land.

Touching the Correspondencye this State holds with bordering /20/ Potentates. First for the house of Austria, besides the old ielousyes, which moued the Emperor Maximilian to ioyne in the foresaid fatall league against them, the Emperor Rodulphus about the tyme [when] [that] I was in those parts, did vehemently expostulate with the Venetians for building vpon the frontiers of Frioli, a

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8 Moryson is thinking of the two Medici Popes, Leo X (1513 - 1521), and Clement VII (1523 - 1534). The latter suppressed the republic by enlisting the help of Charles V, who, embarrassed at the Sack of Rome by his troops in 1527, lent help at the siege of Florence of 1530. See Book XX of Francesco Guicciardini, The History of Italy, edited by Sidney Alexander (New York, 1969), pp. 430 - 431, and pp. in Fenton.
most strong Fort. This Fort they called Palma, and it was built in a round forme with nyne bulwarkes in the wall, having the markett place in the Centre or Navell, from which all the streets grew by litle and litle larger towards the wall, so as from the markett place, all the streets lay open to the seeue. In memory of this Forte built, the State of Venice then stamped a Coyne, with this inscription on the one side in latin, Paschale Ciconia duke of Venice in the yeare 1593, together with an Image of a winged lyon, representing St. Marke the Tutelar Saint of that State, and this inscription on the other syde in latine the propagnaele (or fort) of Frioli, of Italy, and of the Christian faith, Palma, together with the signe of the Crosse and the Mott in latine, vnder this signe thou shalt overcome. The Venetians professed to build this Fort against the Turkes but the Emperor tooke it in ill part, not only because it was built vppon his Frontiers, but also for that he thought it seated within his Territory; yet the Venetians knowing that his forces were imployed in Hungary against the Turkes, and that he had no warlike disposition, litle regarded his expostulations, not like to breake out into blowes.

9 The motto or legend on the coin In hoc signum vinces with the cross is an allusion to the dream of the Christian Emperor Constantine before he overcame the heathen Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in 312. The implication is obvious. The ungodly barbarians come from the Empire.
For the Turkish Emperor, the Venetians had not many years past joyned in league against him with the Pope, and Phillip king of Spaine, and obtayned a great Navall victory, yet in that and other leagues with diuerse Popes, more specially the /50/ league they made with the Pope, against the duke of Ferraria, they haue by experience found their Confederacye not to be relyed vpon, while in the very beginning of the warrs vndertaken, the //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:[..]V. fol:i2i
Popes vsed to withdraw from expences, and having attayned their owne particular ends, made no scruple to forsake their Confederates, yea offer to terrify them, by Ecclesiasticall Censures from pursuing the Enterprises vndertaken.10 And in the said league against the Turkes, they found the Spaniards so reserued to their owne ambitious Counsells, as they could neuer promise themselues faithfull second in any attempt, or playne dealing in resolutions, but still feared to be exposed alone to [all] the danger when it should be greatest, so as in respect of some detected purpose of surpris[...]ing /10/ Corfu, and like ielousyes, they found it unsafe to give the Spanish shipps free vse of their Hauens, euen in that tyme, when

10 Moryson is probably alluding to the time of Sixtus IV (1471 - 1484). Sixtus supported Venice in the war against Ferrara of 1481. In 1483 with his southern frontiers threatened, Sixtus changed sides, and put Venice under interdict for not doing likewise! See John Julius Norwich, Venice Fall, pp. 103 - 106.
they were thus ioyned in the said league.\textsuperscript{11} For these reasons, it was then thought, that nothing but extreme necessity, could draw the Venetians to make any new league with them against the Turkes, and [that] they judged it more profitable for their Common wealth, to strengthen their dominions against the Turkes by strong Forts, and upon any imminent feare of invasion, to purchase peace by large bribes, and like expence of Treasure. /20/ And as generally in respect of the gentlemens effeminatenes, trayned vpp in delicacye, and wantonnes, and of the Senators wisdome imbracing peace as the best end of all warrs, and not willingly plunging into vnecessary troubles, they were iudged at this tyme litle to affect Counsells of any Warr, so more specially from the Turkes they suffered many great and daily iniuryes, and the spoyling of some rich shipps in the Mediterranea\textsuperscript{n} sea, rather then they would enter warlike lists with their vast power, yea not only paid yearely tribute to the Turkish /30/ Emperor, for the peacable possession of some Ilands in that Sea, but at all tymes when they understoold his mynde to be incensed against them, were ready to please him, with rich guifts, which haue power to appease both Gods and

\textsuperscript{11} The Spanish were in league with Venice's old enemy the Genoese. The geographical position made the Genoese alliance crucial to Spanish interests in the Italian wars against France. Andrea Doria returned to Genoa rather than help the Venetians when Corfu was attacked by the Turks in 1537. Moryson always imputes the worst of motives to Spain. See John Julius Norwich, \textit{Venice Fall}, pp. 193, 194.
diuells.

Touching the Popes, as the Indians are sayd to sett vpp one Candle to God that it may doe them good, and an other to the diuell that he may not hurt them, so the Venetians having bene smitten with the Popes thunderbolts, were thought to affect their blessing, rather for the ill they feared by /40/ wanting it, then any good they expected from it, yet if their displeasure should be unavoydable, seemed lesse then of old to feare the declining terror of their thunderbolts, as since that tyme they haue brauely made knowne to the World by bold and open Contestations against the Popes temporall power in forrayne Dominions.12

Touching the king of Spaine, since by succession he attayned large dominions in Italy, he hath made no warr vppon the Venetians, either for the foresayd reason of

12 This undoubtedly refers to the interdiction pronounced against Venice by Paul V from 1605 - 1607. It was the last time that a modern Pope tried to behave like a medieval one, by defending the benefit of clergy from any lay jurisdiction whatsoever, and by insisting that the state had no powers to regulate bequests. The pamphlet war generated was partly translated into English at the very period when Moryson was beginning to write the histories of the countries that he had visited. There were even English hopes, advanced by the Veretian embassy staff, and particularly by Sir Henry Wootton and William Bedell the chaplain, that Venice could be won from the Catholic camp. The final result in 1607 was a humiliating defeat for the Papacy, and three assassination attempts against Venice's able defender, the theologian Fra Paolo Sarpi. See John Leon Lievsay, Venetian Phoenix: Paolo Sarpi and Some of His English Friends (1606 - 1700) (Kansas, 1973), pp. 11 - 25.
their generall[s] desyre of peace, and carefull auoyding all occasions of new /50/ troubles, or for that he being taken vpp fully with the warres of Netherland, England, and Fraunce, and thinking vpon good successe in them, Italy compassed with his forces, and diuided into small principalityes, would of it selfe, or without any strong constraint soone fall into his subjection, did for that tyme only intend all advantages of his affayres in those // { c.w. parts leaving }

fol:122. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V.

parts, leaving Italy at rest. And noe doubt both the Venetians and all the Princes and free States of Italy, were not a little glad of his ill successe in those warres, and in the end reioyced to see the French lillyes\(^\text{13}\) flourish againe by the Prowes and wisdome of their king Henry the fourth, whereby the scales of Christendome, being more equally ballanced, they hoped to finde Protection and succour against any ambitious desseigne\(^\text{14}\) of Spayne to invade their liberty, which had long and strongly laboured by all meanes to erect their new Empire in the West. Yet had the State of Venice, more then the rest, /10/ great confidence in their owne strength, aswell by reason of their many places strongly fortifyed, as of their Navye; I meane Gallies aptest to fight in these Mediterranean Seas,  

\(^{13}\) The fleur de lis was the French royal symbol.

\(^{14}\) The French spelling, common in the sixteenth century. OED
in the number and goodnes, whereof they equalled or indeed much surpassed the king of *Spayne*.

{ m.n. 16. *The Duke.* }

The Common wealth of *Venice* consists of an head and a body divided into three parts, namely the Gentlemen, Citizens and Artificers, being a mixt government, *Monarchicall*, in respect of the duke, *Aristocraticall* in respect of the Gentlemens Counsells, or Courts, bearing cheife sway and *Democraticall* in respect of Citizens exercising offices of great authority in the *chauncerie*, and otherwise. For the great Chauncelor is a Citizen, and as it were a Tribune of the people, [and the three Aduocates (vulgarly Auogadori) are Cittisens, and meerely Tribunes of the people,] of which one must alwayes be present in any of the great Counsells, and likewise the Secretaries are Citizens. Only the dignityes of the duke and of the Procurators (or Proctors) of St. *Marke*, are for life, all other officers whatsoeuer are Chosen for a limitted tyme, of all which, I will particularly write some thing, but breifly.15

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15 "Moryson has altered Contarini's famous theory of the Venetian mixed constitution. In Contarini's version only the nobility come within the pale of the constitution at all, and the democratic or popular element in the constitution consists of the very large noble Great Council. Moryson says, quite differently, that the democratic element arises from the involvement in public business of non-noble citizens, who can become Secretaries or even the Grand Chancellor himself. He then makes the misleading remark that the *Avogadori* are mere citizens, although in reality they are nobles. Contarini...refers [confusingly] to nobles as *cives*, since they are the only
Gentlemen may enter the great Counsell at the age of \( \frac{30}{2} \) Twenty five yeares, and giue their voyces (that Counsell being of all gentlemen, and only of them) but each ones Father mother or nearest kinsman must first confirme that his age by oath, and by two witnesses must in like sort testify him to be sonne of the Gentlemen he pretends to be his father. Yea a gentleman may b[y] lott come to th[e]is dignity sooner, For vppon the fourth of December every yeare the gentlemen of Twenty yeares age goe to the Auogadori di commune, and prouing their age and their fathers as aforesaid, each one takes from them a Tickett, which they carry to the \( /40/ \) Secretary of the Quarantia criminale (so called of the Iudges number for Criminall Causes) who writes their names, and vppon the day of St. Barbara\(^{16} \) putts the same Ticketts into a Picher before the duke and his Counsellors, and vppon the other syde as many Balls covered with siluer, and so called siluer Balls are putt into a picher, and as many golden Balls, as equall the

people who enjoy full civic rights. Perhaps Moryson was misled by the full title of the Avogadori, who were called Avogadori di Comun, into thinking that they were tribunes of the non-noble people — whereas in fact they were noble attorneys-general, supposed to act as guardians of the laws." BP Bodin, another of Moryson's sources, will have no truck with this splitting of logic, "...if the nobles or wealthy alone govern the state, and reserve lands and honourable charges for their own class, one can say not only that the state is an aristocracy, but also that it is governed aristocratically. Such is the case of Venice." See Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, abridged and translated by M. J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955), p. 74.

\(^{16}\) 4 December. CE

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fifth part of them, which done the duke by lott takes out each Tickett seuerally, & reading the gentlemans name, takes a Ball out of the pitcher of the other syde, which being of gold, the gentleman is presently /50/ admitted to his voyce in the Councell, but being of siluer he is putt [of] to the next yeare, and so from yeare to yeare is receiued or putt of by lott till he come to the yeare of xxv. yeares age, at which tyme without lott, by his owne right, he is admitted into that Counsell, and to haue his voyce therein. For the old Custome for gentlemen to enter, the Counsell two yeares before they could giue any voyce, is now out of vse. //

Booke i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:i[i]23.

But if the Father of any gentleman through absence or for any other cause, neuer entered that Counsell, then his sonne cannot be admitted till he goe, and make knowne his right to the said Auogadori, who propound his cause in the foresaid Quarantia criminale. where his right is iudged. And lest any man should fraudently putt himselfe vpon this tryall, he must lay downe fiue hundred ducates, which he looseth if he be iudged to be no gentleman. The Chamber wherein this Counsell is kept, being in the Dukes publike Palace, is very fayre, large and lightsome, with windowes, /10/ and adorned with most rare woorkes of Paynters, and they say, it is Quadrangular, but I measured

"a. 1. Having the effect or appearance of lightness..." OED
the insyde 76,. ordinary paces long, and 32 broade. There is a Tribunall or Throne of wood to be remoued at pleasure, much higher then the other seates, and vpon ix double Bankes, and it hath two principall gates. In this Chamber, the great Counsell meetes every Sunday in the afternoone, and vpon occasion oftner; As when the Counsell of [the] Pregadi is to be Chosen, and here they chuse all magistrates, and the /20/ Assembly is called together by the sound of a great Bell, touling for the space of a whole hower, After which tyme the Chamber is shutt, and may not be opened to lett any man enter, except it be one of the Counsellors or one of the Auagadori,\textsuperscript{18} or one of the heads of the Counsell of the [Quaranta] Counsell of Tenn, called Capi del consiglio di dieci or one of the Censors. Vpon the dukes left hand sett the six Counsellors the three heades of the Counsell of Quaranta (that is Forty men) then the foresayd three heads of the Councell of Dieci, then the three Auogadori, and the two Censors, all which /30/ weare the ducall Robe [... sleeves] or gowne of Scarlett with large wyde sleeves, open at the hands, and lyned with rich Furres. Neare the dukes throne are two benches vpon which the Chauncelor and his officers sitt. In generall, I can hardly beleue, that the Roman Senate passed that of Venice in grauity of Countenance or statelynes, <of> ornaments, and all the Gentlemen, aswell as the Senators, weare gownes

\textsuperscript{18} Although it is the same hand, the spelling changes from Auogadori to Auaguadori and back again.
and little Caps vpon the Crowne of the heads, not only in Councell, but [also] at all tymes, when they goe abroad. The rest of the great Counsell haue no /40/ places assigned to them, but sett promiscuously, only the brothers and the sonnes of the living and deceased dukes, and knights, and doctors haue priority of place, and all the gentlemen giue due respects one to an other, in which outward things the Italians seldome fayle. Before the Duke three pichers are sett, which are shutt, so as no man can looke into them, and in the two on each hand of the third being in the midst of them, Eight hundreth siluer Balles are putt in each of them, which equall or some what passe the number of the gentlemen being i500, or /50/ more that come to Counsell, besides some thousand more that are vnder 25 yeares, and come not to Counsell. And in each of the same Pichers, 30 balles of gold or guilded, //

19 The Italian reputation for superficial courtesy which means very little is one complaint of the banished earl, the centre of moral gravity, in Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller. Italy makes a young man "...to kiss his hand like an ape, cringe his neck like a starveling, and play at heypass, repass come aloft, when he salutes a man." Thomas Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works, edited by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth, 1972), p.345.
Auditors, who take an oath of the gentlemen to observe the lawes of the Counsell, namely that no man for a sett tyme shall remoue from his seate, neither shall seeke any magistracye by vndue meanes, and the like. Then three of the Counsellors sett downe by the three /10/ pichers. And first the lott is drawne out severally, by which [the] order is prescribed how the gentlemen shall come from their Benches, and who shall come to the Picher on the right hand [and who to that on the left hand.] Then in this order each Gentleman comes to his owne Picher, and draws out a ball, which if it be siluer he layes it asyde, and goes back to his seate, but if it be gold, he deliuers it into the hand of the Councellor, and going to the midle picher he draws out an other ball, which being siluer he returnes to his seate, but being gold, he is one of the Electors, /20/ and sitts downe in place [a] appointed, with his back to the Company, that no man by any beck or signe, may desyre his voyce. Thus in order the Electors are made by lott, and because some magistrates place admitts two and some fower Competitors, and Comonly nine magistrats are chosen each day, those that admitt two haue Eightene, and those that admitt fower haue 36, Electors. Then the Secretary in a place apart, reades the Statutes, and putts ix balles into a Picher, which the ix first Electors draw out, and thereby understand what Competitor /<0/> for each Magistrates place the lott will haue each man name, and if casually eleuen or more magistrates be to be Chosen, he that names the first
Competitor, names also the tenth, and the second the Eleuenth, and so forward. These electors may chaunge their voyces one with an other, but they must be suertyes for those Chosen by them with whome they haue chaunged, if that Magistrate haue any thing to doe with the treasure. This done the first Elector names his Competitor, who in like sort vndergoes the lott of the nyne Electors, and if /40/ he haue six voyces he is approved, but if he haue fewer the Elector must name an other man till one be named that hath so many voyces. Thus the Competitors being Chosen in order, the Electors cannot retorne againe [againe] into the Counsell, except they be Counsellors or some principall men. One thing I haue omitted, that among the Electors two of the same Family cannot be admitted, but one of them must be referred to the second course of [the] Electors. The names of the Competitors chosen is as aforesaid, are by the Secretaryes exhibited /50/ to the great Chauncelor, among whome those that admitt exception [for] being intangled in publike debt, or with like note disabled, use to be rejected, and the rest are allowed or disallowed by voyces, but first the Competitors themselves and all their kinsmen of bloud goe out of the //

{ c.w. Councell, }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:i[i]25. Councell. Then the first of the Competitors is named, and certaine young men goe about, whereof each carryes two boxes, one white, an other greene, and they that approve
the Competitor named, put a ball into the white boxe, they who disapprove him, putt it into the greene boxe, which done, the Counsellors number the balls or voyces, and if the Competitor haue more then halfe, the gentlemens voyces, then he is capable of being that magistrate, till the rest of his Competitors, haue vndergone the like trall of voyces, for then he among them, who hath most voyces /10/ aboue the halfe number, is chosen magistrate. In the like manner all Magistrates are chosen, the kinsmen, of the Competitors [....]always going out of the Counsell, and when all are Chosen, they are all commaunded to come before the Censors, and each one takes his oathe that he vsed no vndue meanes to attayne the place to which he is chosen. But if not any one of the Competitors for any one magistrate, had more then halfe the voyces, none of them is reputed chosen. And in that case, because of an old lawe, this great Counsell must be dissolved before the setting of the sonne, /20/ if they haue not tyme that day to take voyces againe, then new Competitors must be named the next day following.

The Counsell vulgarly called *di Pregadi*, is reputed among the Cheife members of this State, which of old conteyned no more then sixty persons, but the multiplicity & consequence of affayres daily increasing, now twenty, then more were added to them, till the number of those added, equalled those of the first institution, so as at this day this
Counsell contaynes i20 persons, and among the first sixty, only three, among the added sixty, only two, may be of the same /30/ Family. Moreover the Duke, the six Counsellors, all the Counsell of Dieci (or tenn men) the Auogadori (or Advocates), all the Procurators (or Proctors of St. Marke), the Forty Criminal Judges, three Inferior Counsellors, the two Censors, are by their places of this Counsell without any Election therevnto. Also three di Castaldia, three Governors of the Revenues, three overseers of victualls, and fower of salt, three Chamberlaines of the Common, three old Auditors, and three new, three Provisors of the Common, three masters of the Arsenall, three Provisors of the Chambers /40/ three other Provisors, and three officers called Cataueri haue their voyces in this Counsell.²⁰ But some are admitted to the Counsell that haue no voyces, as the Colledge of the Sauij,²¹ three Provisors of the waters, three Provisors for health, and three for Customs, and Tolls, the Provisors for Alexandria, twelue Provisors for Damasco, and twelue for London. This Counsell hath the name Pregadi, because the Judges called to meeting, were invited by prayers, and intreatyes, and these Judges, as all other magistrates are chosen by the foresaid great Counsell, and by an old Custome, /50/ in tymes of danger to the State,

²⁰ All these functionaries and their official duties are described in more detail later in this chapter. See fols. 133 - 135.

²¹ Sages, wise men.
all were admitted to this Councell for more grace or honor, who releiued the Commonwealth by lending sommes of mony. This Councell vseth to be //

foli26. Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V.
called together at the pleasure of the Senators, [from] [some] officers going about to invite them, and a Bell sounding before the hower of the meeting, and (as I remember) they ordinarily mette vppon Saterday each weeke. There can be nothing determined, except fower of the Counsellors, and 60, of them that haue voyces [to] be present. In this Counsell new lawes are made, and they who perswade them, first propound their reasons in the Colledge, where they being allowed, the matter is referred to this Counsell, and being approved therein, the law hath force, and is published. /10/

In like sort this Senate determines warr, peace, truce, and the greatest affayres of the State, and chuseth the generall of the Army, the Campe master and the magistrates called Sauij grandi, and Sauij d[e]i terra firma, and all things are concluded (as in the great Counsell) by the lott of voyces, and by more then halfe part of the voyces, so as he that most voyces aboue the halfe part, is preferred before the rest. But the Generall of the Army chosen by this Senate with the Competitors, may be approved or reiected in the great Counsell. Lastly in this Senate /20/ all the Captaynes and military men propound their Petitions
to be determined by the same.

The Col ledge is the third member of the Common wealth and consists of three magistrates, Six Sauij grandi, that is [to say]) sixe great Sages or wise men), five Sauij of firme land, and five of the Sea, in all sixteene, and in this Counsell enters the Senate [called] la Signoria representing the person of the State, namely the duke, the sixe Counsellors, the three heads of the Forty Criminall Judges called Capi, di Quaranta, (which Senate is /30/ admitted also in the great Counsell, in the Counsell of Pregadi and of the Dieci). Of this Colledge, five haue vnnder their authority all affayres of the Continent, or firme land, Five the affayres of the Sea, and six both affayres with superintendancye, but of late the Sages of the firme land haue bene adivesd æquall to the grand Sages, and those of the Sea, are of lesse estimation, which of old were preferred to those of firme land, when the State had greater power at Sea, and lesse at land, then now it hath. All these /40/ Sages are Chosen in the Counsell of Pregadi. If any thing of the firme land be to be de<termin>ed, the grand Sages, and these of firme land, may exclude those of the Sea affayres, but most commonly being admitted to Consultations, they are only barred from having any voyces in determining; yet if any Sea matter be handled, the Sages of these affayres, cannot exclude the other, or debarr them of their voyces, . When they haue
delivered their judgments, a Secretary writes them downe, and after, those Sages doe more at large /50/ yeild the reasons of their judgments before the Counsell of Pregadi, which done the matter is [there] determinined by voyces, which you must alwayes vnderstand to be dumbe, not in open wordes, but by diverse balles putt into diverse boxes. If any opinion be so generally displeasing as most //
of the Judges put their balls into a third boxe, being as it were nutrall (which voyces are called not sincere) that opinion may be no more propounded. And [b]lest the Common wealth should be depriued of any mans Judgment it is the Custome that any man may deliver the same to one of the Judges who use to propound it, and putt it to voyces. These three kindes of Sages are chosen at diverse tymes, not all at one tyme, and their office indures for six moneths, and before them are handled all matters concerning the Army, and forces by /10/ land and Sea, and they receiue all publike letters and giue Audience to all Ambassadors of forayne States.

When the duke (being the supreme Magistrate) is dead, the six Counsellors with the three heads of the Forty called Capi di Quaranta (whome I sayd with the duke to [pre] represent the person of the State, and to be called la Signoria) doe enter the publike Pallace, and the eldest of the Counsellors is reputed vice Duke, and signeth some
things, as certaine notes concerning the Choyce of a new duke, but publike letters are written ioyntly in all their names, and those are shutt vpp in the Pallace, neuer coming out till a new Duke be chosen. And howsoever the Citty vseth no more to be troubled with the death of a duke then of any other great gentleman, yet a guarde of Armed men is by old Custome to watch before the Pallace.\[22\] The dead body of the duke clad in the Ducall vesture is layd in a withdrawing Chamber where for three dayes continually twenty gentlemen in Scarlett gownes sett about it, then his Funerall is performed, which done the great Counsell is called together, and the Chauncelor signifyes that a new duke must be created, and to that end they are to chuse five Correctors, and three Inquisitors. Then the eldest Counsellor being vice duke, makes an oration in praise of the deceased Duke, and exhorteth the Gentlemen to chuse a new Duke profitable to the Common wealth. Then the lawes of this Election being first read, they chuse the said Correctors and Inquisitors in like manner as other Magistrates are chosen. The office of the Correctors is to propound new lawes to be made, which they finde by experience fitt to restrayne the succeeding Dukes power.

\[22\] "There is in the Cittie of Venice no greater alteration at the death of their Duke, then at the death of any other private Gentleman." Gasparo Contarini, The Commonwealth and Government of Venice Written by the Cardinal Gasper Contareno, translated by Lewes Lewkenor (London, 1599), pp. 156 - 157. I will refer to this book as Lewkenor, as he includes material not in Contarini.
And the office of the Inquisitors is, to inquire into the life and actions of the deceased Duke that in case he hath offended against the Common wealth they may accuse him, and punishment may be layd vpon his Heyres, which must alwayes be a mulct of mony. Thus the Duke [of] Lored[i]ano being dead, was condemned that he had not liued with magnificence fitting his dignity, and his heyres were fyned at a 1500th ducates. The decrees of the Correctors and Inquisitors are seuerally /50/ reproued or reiected in the great Counsell by the foresaid //

fol:i28: Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V.

dumbe voyces, namely Balls, and no gentleman vnder thirty yeares age may come into this great Counsell, though generally it consist of all the nobility aboue xxv yeares age. Thirty golden balls and as many siluer as the gentlemen of the Counsell be in number, are putt into a picher, and one of the Counsellors brings a boy out of the

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23 "1. A fine imposed for an offence." OED It was a relatively modern word when Moryson used it, and has largely gone out of modern use. OED's first example is from 1591, the last from 1894.

24 This may have been retrospective spite against Doge Pietro Loredan (1567 - 1570). As il Dose della carestia, he was blamed by the people for the famine of 1569 - 1570, and the consequent adulteration of loaves with millet. See Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), pp. 112 - 113. The fine was a symbolic criticism of his failure to provide generous relief in the time of scarcity.
Church of St Marke adjoyning to the Pallace, (who formerly vsed to goe before the Duke in publike processions, and so is to goe before the next Duke, and when he comes to ripe age is made one of the Secrataryes.)

/10/ This boy drawes out the balls and when a golden ball falls to any gentleman by lott, all [the] [his] kinsemen in the Counsell are numbred and vse to goe forth, because they are no more admitted to any lott for the rest of the thirty balls, which being in like sorte drawne out, the Counsell is dismissed, and the thirty gentlemen that haue them by lott, are commaunded to sett downe before the Signoria representing the State (as aforesayd) and twenty one silver and nyne golden balls are put into a Picher, and they to whome the nine golden balls fall by lott, being shutt /20/ into a Chamber, and giuing oath to make a good choyce may not come forth till they haue chosen Forty gentlemen of diverse Familyes, [are] all to be named by them and each one to be approved by seuen voyces of the nyne, which done they certify the same to the Senators representing the State, who assemble the great Counsell, whe[n]re the great Chauncelor with two Secretaryes demaunds the names of the Forty Chosen and reades them aloude, and they are presently

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25 It was generally the youngest member of the Signorià who chose the ballotino, the first boy he saw when leaving the Basilica of St. Mark. See John Julius Norwich, Venice Rise, p. 190. OED explains how it gave us our word, ballot. "1. A small ball used for secret voting; hence, by extension, a ticket, paper, etc. so used." Black balling also ultimately derives from Venetian practise.
putt into a chamber a part, and if any of them be not present they send /30/ for them, with Caution that no man speake with them by the way. Then before the said Senators 28. siluer and i2 golden balles, are drawne out of a picher for these Forty Chosen gentlemen, and they who haue by lott the twelue golden balls, are shutt into a chamber, and taking the former oath, chuse 25. gentlemen of diuerse Familyes each one by ix voyces of i2. These 25. come to the said Senators, and i6, siluer ix golden balls being drawne out for them, the ix that haue by lott the golden balls in like sort name and chuse by /40/ seauen voyces 45 gentlemen of diuerse Familyes, and for them 34 siluer, and 11. golden balls being drawne out, they who by lott haue the 11 golden balls, chuse 4i gentlemen alwayes of diuerse Familyes, each one chosen by nyne voyces of [the] eleuen. These 41. gentlemen being the Electors of the Duke, goe to heare Masse, and then being shutt into a Chamber each one in writing names one to be Duke, but all of them neuer name more then Eight, judged capable of that dignity. Then the names of the Competitors are drawne by lott out of a /50/ picher, and the first being drawne out, if perhapps he be one of the Electors, he is shutt into a Chamber for that purpose, and it is permitted to all to object against him what they can, which done he is called back to the Electors, and the objections being read to him, he is permitted to answer them, and then he vndergoes the dumb // Booke.i. The Common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:i[i]29.
voyces of the 41. Electors shewing consent or dislike by balls putt into boxes of diuerese Coulors, and if he haue 25 voyces, he is chosen Duke, otherwise the rest of the Competitors are drawne out and vndergoe this tryall one by one till so many voyces agree vppon one of them. Then the Electors make knowne the Chosen duke to the said Senators, who first come to congratulate him, then all the Bells are rong, his kinsmen come to visitt him, new mony is coyned in the Dukes name, and the duke with the 41 [one] Electors goes to the Church of St, Marke, where the eldest Elector pre/10/sents him to the people, and after wonted acclamations the duke makes an oration to the people, and giues his oathe before the Procurators of St. Marke. This done the duke his Standard bearer, and his dearest freind[s] who carryes the Purse of the new Coyne to be dispersed among the people, sett downe vppon a portable seat made of purpose, and the Maryners of the Arsenall carrye[s] this seate vppon their shoulders rounde about the markett place, and sett it downe at the gate of the Pallace, where vppon the stayres, the six Counsellors, and the three heads of /20/ the Quaranta meete the duke, and the eldest of the Counsellors putts the Ducall Cap vppon the head of the Duke.26

26 It was known as the corno ducale. See Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice (Princeton, 1981), pp. 221 - 222, for its religious symbolism.
While I lived at Venice I did often see the Duke, and once more fully when the French Duke of Neuers came to visit him. The Duke was a very old man for such are commonly chosen.\(^{27}\). His habit was proper to that dignity of Scarlett and rich Furres, but in the sleeves differing from private men, and under his Ducall Cap he wore a white Coyfe hanging down from his ears over his neck.\(^{28}\) The magistrates called the Sauij grandi, in blew gowns stood by the Duke, and the six Counsellors in red gowns (for the youngest gentlemen is gowned, all of one fashion and of

\(^{27}\) The Doge Morison would have seen in 1594, would have been Pasquale Cicogna (1585 - 1595), who was in his mid eighties. I have gleaned this from Giustiniano Martinioni's additions to Francesco Sansovino's Venetia Città Nobilissima 1663 (reprinted, Farnborough, 1968), p. 623. Ludovico Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers (1539 - 1595) was "...third son of Duke Federico of Mantua and Margherita Paleologo. He had been nominated by his maternal grandmother, Anne of Alençon, heir to the property she possessed in France. Sent to the French court at the age of ten, he became very prominent there as a stalwart of the Catholic party...He married Henrietta of Cleves and acquired control over his wife's possessions, also becoming Duke of Maine and the Rethelois, and a Peer of France. In general, Venice and France were drawing close together during the early 1590s, because Venice moved promptly to recognize Henry IV as King of France and to persuade the Pope to do so. The visit of Nevers, a French aristocrat of Italian birth, may well have been connected with this matter." BP These personal contacts were not without significance, since Venice supported the claims of his son Carlo Gonzaga (1580 - 1637) to the Duchy of Mantua, which the Habsburg Emperor disputed. BP

\(^{28}\) "n. 1. b. In later use, worn by men only as a night-cap, skull-cap, under-cap. Obs." OED Originally Byzantine, the crmauro was reinterpreted by Sansovino as a Venetian substitute for a regalian symbol, something resembling the fascia used by ancient kings as a crown. See Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice (Princeton, 1981), pp. 207 - 208.
black Coulor, and aswell young as old weare very litle Capps on the Crowne of the head). At this tyme I obserued that one of the Counsellors alwayes stood so neare the Duke, as no word could passe betweene him and the french Duke which was not heard by one or more of them. And indeed it is vulgarly sayd that the Duke may not receiue a letter, no not from his sonne or wife, but one of these /40/ Counsellors must be at the reading of it, nether can he send any publike or priuate letters, but vppon the like Condition, yea the Duke may not without leaue goe out of the Citty, which Peter Loredon asked, and obtayned to goe to his village in the Country, but the like vseth seldom or neuer to be asked or obtayned. Many publike Precessions are yearely appointed, wherein the Duke betweene two cheife Ambassadors, and accompanied with the graue Senators, with a gentleman carrying a naked sword by his syde, with many banners before him and with Trumpetts, and Bells sounding /50/ is carryed in a guilded chayre about some parts of the Cittye with a Canopye ouer his head, and not only all the pompe but the very spaces of tyme, and place in those processions //

fol:i[2]30. Book.e.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. are prescribed by the lawes. Not to speake of the like pompe [being] in going to Sea vppon [vppon] the Assention day to cast a ring into the Sea as a pledge of mariage betweene it and the State. And I remember that in the markett place of St [.].Marke nere to the Publike Pallace

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where the Duke resides, there be two stately carued Pillers, vpon which they say that a Duke seeking to oppresse the liberty of the State, was hanged in a tumult. 29 And it was vulgarly sayd that the duke must in all Processions (as myselfe obserued often to be done) passe through these Pillers, I know not whether by law or Custome Sansouine reports, that a Duke making an oration, a gentleman that told him that he spake idly, was seuerely punished for the same, yet no doubt, excepting those outward pomps the Duke hath no more authority then one of the honourable Senators. Sansouine reports that the Duke hath yearely 3500. ducates from the State, and that he is tyed to keepe an honourable Family, but the written relations testifye that he hath weekly a hundreth zechines of Gold, and it cannot be imagined, how priavately he liues, neither indeed doe the Italians know what it is to keepe a Court fitting the greatnes of a Prince, or surely

29 This probably owes more to myth than fact. Vitale Michiel II (1156 - 1172) was stabbed to death in a riot. Marino Faliero (1354 - 1355), the subject of a play by Byron, did attempt to subvert the republic and massacre the oligarchy, but he was decapitated, rather than hanged, within the inner courtyard of the Doge's palace. As Sansovino puts it, "... fu decapitato in quel luogo, dove hebbe la corona Ducale." See Book XIII of Francesco Sansovino, Venetia Citta Nobilissima 1663 (reprinted, Farnborough, 1968), p. 569, (referred to hereafter as Venetia), and John Julius Norwich, Venice Rise, passim. The columns, which were taken from Constantinople, are mentioned by Sansovino in Book VIII on pp. 316 - 317.
they haue small practice thereof. Likewise he writes that the Duke is tyed fower tymes yearely to invite the gentlemen to a Feast, not the same men often, but all in order, so as they of equall age and Condition are invited together, And that the Duke yearely giues each gentleman a guift, of old fyue wilde ducks of the Sea, in these dayes a Coyne stamped of purpose with the inscription of the Dukes name, and the yeare of his Dukedome.

"In fiscal documents of 1582-3, which contain statements of the income and expenditure of the Venetian Republic, the Doge's salary is given as 4,800 ducats a year, which does indeed suggest that Sansovino underestimated it (though it didn't quite amount to 100 gold ducats a week, as Moryson surmises). See Bilanci generali della Repubblica di Venezia, ed. Fabio Bestia (Venice, 1912), p. 323." BP

"Et perche si restrignesse ancora molto pià con la nobilità, s'ordinò, che ogni anno facesse quattro Conuiti, accioche comunicando in quell'occassione la sua conversazione con diversi nobili d'ogni grado, & èta, venisse à sembianza de i conuiti de i Lacedemoni..." Sansovino, Venetia, p. 487. "And in order to have closer bonds with the nobility, it was decreed, that four feasts would be held every year, with a view to communicating on that occasion his conversation with various members of the nobility at every level, and of every age, that it should resemble the feasts of the Spartans." Since Moryson seems to contradict this, Professor Pullan suggests that he is probably working from memory.

"...still known as oselle in memory of the birds they replaced." John Julius Norwich, Venice Fall, p. 180. In Book XI Sansovino writes,"...ne primi tempi, il dono era di/ cose mangiatuiue, si tramutò in vna moneta di argento", Venetia, pp. 486 - 487. "...at the outset, the gift used to be comestibles, then it changed to silver coin." Moryson takes material from various sources, without always correctly attributing it, since the following also seems to be a source. "Whereas Contaren, in the former treatise writeth of a present of fiue wild Duckes, which the Duke was // yearely accustomed to send to every Gentleman that had not beene at his feast, now since the time in which he wrote, that kind of present is turned into a peecce of
The six Councillors without whom the Duke can do nothing are aged gentlemen of greatest reputation. Three of them use to be chosen at one time, and the Counsell of Pregadi names one Competitor for each place, and the great Counsell chooseth the rest by lot, and aswell the first as the latter, are approved or rejected in the great Counsell. Yet those named by the Counsell of Pregadi are commonly approved, aswell because they are named with sincere judgment, as because the Senators that named them procure their friends to choose them. The Duke and these six Councillors, give audience to Ambassadors receive and read letters written to the State, grant privileges, and dispatch many affairs, but the Duke can do nothing without four of them be present, whereas they can dispatch any thing in the Duke's absence, and in the Causes to be propounded to this or that Counsell, any one of them not having any of the rest to join with him, hath more authority than the foresaid great Sages, or the three heads or Cheifes of the Counsell of Tenn. For in the great Counsell, or in that of the Pregadi, he alone may propound any thing, but not in the Counsell of Tenn, except three other consent with him. These Councillors are chosen for a year, but they assist the Duke only Eight monethes

silver coyn, upon one side of which is the picture of a mark reaching a standard to the Duke, and on the other the names of the Duke, with the year of his reign with this circumscription. Donum A. G. Ducis Venetorum," Lewkenor, pp. 158 - 159. See the picture of Doge Cicogna's osella reproduced after this text, $ \text{f. 178}$. 

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for they are tied to sett fower monethes in the Court called Quarantia criminale, either at the beginning or ending //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol: i[2]3i of the yeare. So as there be alwayes nine Counsellors, whereof six assist the duke, and three sitt in the said Court. Also the Duke, and these sixe Counsellors are assisted by three of the said Court called Capi di Quaranta, and these three [of the said Court] are chosen continually for two monethes by the rest of the said Forty Judges of the said Court. And the duke with these nine, are vulgarly called the Signory, representing the State of Venice. The duke and the Counsellors may be present, and propound things to be deliberated vppon, in the Colledge of the Sages, in the /10/ Counsell of the Pregadi, in the great Counsell, and the Decemuirall Counsell, so as nothing of moment is done without the Dukes presence, but nothing is done, by his owne authority alone. All letters are written in the name of the duke, and signed by him, adding the name of the Counsell, or of the heads that decreed the dispatch, and the Answers of them are in like sort retorned from these to whome they are written, be they Subjects or forayne Princes. And all Priuiledges and publique graunts, are made in the name of the duke. He was wont /20/ euery Wednesday to visitt the Courts of Iustice, and to exhort the Judges to doe Iustice, hearing the Petitions of all Plaintiffs, commaundung the Judges to doe them right, or

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reprouing them that rashly complayned without cause,, but now he keepes not a sett day, but doth this on the sodaine any day at his pleasure.

{ m.n. 27, 28. The Decemuirall Counsell. }

The Decemuirall Counsell or Counsell of Tenn, is like the dictatorshipp of Rome, saue that this is perpetuall, the other was only appointed in tymes of danger. This Counsell is of equall authority with that of the Pregadi, for it consults /30/ of publike affayres, having no superior Counsell, but exerciseth this authority only in cases of greatest moment, as in the decrees of peace and warr, which being handled in the Counsell of the Pregadi, to which they properly belong, the affayres would not be dispatched with due secrescye, and necessary Celerity. And in these Cases letters are written in the name of the duke, and this Counsell, and the answers are made to them, and they exclude the heads of the Quarantia and the Sages of the Sea from deliberating of these affayres. The Counsell

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33 It was established for just two months in 1310 after the suppression of Baiamonte's revolt, and became permanent, in the same way that the Roman dictatorship was infinitely prolonged by Julius Caesar. In both cases this aroused opposition. At the time that Moryson was writing this, Renier Zen and his followers tried to call the Ten to account. See Harvey, and John Julius Norwich, Venice Rise, and his Venice Fall.

Moryson follows Lewkenor closely, "The counsell of tenne is a mightie member of the Venetian commonweALTH, hauing in some sort a kinde of likenesse, in authority to the Romaine Dictator, that was created in times of danger..." p. 159.
is assembled by the three heads or Cheefes of the /40/ Counsell, and therein must assemble the Duke, his Counsellors, the Decemuiri, the great Sages, and the Sages of firme land, with fifteene Assistants, Advocates and nyne Procurators of St. Marke, but only the Duke, the Counsellors, the Decemuiri, and the Assistants haue voyces.

At first it was of small authority, but grew great in tyme, drawing to it selfe all Causes of Treason, of Coyners, of Sodomye, and the like, and having vnder it the Gallyes marked with C. X. , for Capi Dieci, that is heads of Tenn,\(^3\) also having the Care of great Ordinance, and munition, but of these things /50/ the Counsell iudgeth of itselffe without the Assistants. The Decemviri, or Tenn Counsellors, are chosen by the great Counsell, and each moneth three of them are chosen to be heads or Cheifes, whereof one each weeke is President of the Counsell, and these three //

\(^3\) "...the Councell of tenne haue certaine Gallies in the Arsenall particularly belonging to their commandement & charge, signed with these two letters c. and x. for Capi de dieci." Lewkenor, p. 159.

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Councillors judge any cause, the man judged may not defend his cause, by himselfe or by any other, except some one of them will defend it, but they examine him writing his answers, and there is no appeale from their Judgment, which can only be changed by themselves /10/ or by their Successors, for they exercise this place for one yeare.

{ m.n. 13, 14. The Procurators of St. Marke. }

The office of Procurators is of great estimation, not for the gouernment of the Common wealth, but for the dignity of that degree, they being (as the Duke) chosen for life, and the office being of great antiquity seldom any being chosen Duke who was not Procurator. At first there was only [one] Procurator of St. Marke, but the Reuenuwes of that Church greatly increasing, an other was made, and after a third in the yeare 1270, then a fourth, and /20/ shortly two other, and in the yeare 1423, three more were made,. Lastly in the yeare 1509, when the Common wealth was distressed by the French, king Lewes the 12th and his Confederates, the State was forced to make six Procurators more, and to giue this honor to such men as releiued the Common wealth with mony. By their authority they may

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...there was neuer in Venice any gentleman of any principall reckoning, but that did thinke himselfe greatly honored with this dignitie, and since the first institution thereof, few haue beene chosen Dukes, that had not first beene Procurators." Lewkenor, p. 160. Moryson seems to have Lewkenor in front of him throughout the section on the Procurators.
compell all heyres to performe the wills of the Testators. They weare ducall Robes, and haue place of all magistrates, but in the publique processions, the Counsellors and the heads of the Quarantia /30/ or Counsell of Forty goe on the right hand of the duke, and the Procurators in their order[s] goe on the left hand. The State allowes each of them a Pallace, or sixty ducates yearely in leiue thereof, till one of the Publique Pallaces fall voyd. They are admitted in the Councell of Pregadi, but the nyne eldest are chosen in the Decemuirall Counsell [and they may be] and they may be chosen to be of the great Sages or of the Assistants in the Decemuirall Counsell, but may beare no other magistracys, neither are they admitted, [neither are they admitted] into /40/ the great Counsell, but only at the Election of the Duke, and that by a late pruiledge, but the great Counsell being called, they were wont of old to attend in the Courtyard and be ready to appease by their authority any sodeine Commotion of the people, by which it seemes probable that of old they were not admitted at all into the great Counsell, but the Common wealth becoming peaceable, their attendance in the Court yarde is growne out of vse. In the passed age their estimation began to be diminished, when the state in tymes of danger was forced to add more to their /50/ number, who were nothing equall to the former in dignity, so as at this tyme they were in all 24 in number.
This shall suffice of the supreme Magistrates, I will add something of the Inferior. the Court of Petitions at this tyme, whereof I write, judg'd of Causes aboue 50 ducates // Booke i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:1[2]33. in bargaynes and Controuersye, betweene marchants and masters of Shipps, and in Causes of Pupills and Testaments. The Court of mouables answerable to the former, judgeth cause[s]>[th] vnder Fifty ducates. A Procurator judgeth the Causes belonging to the Procurators, and the Complaynts of wiuces against their husbands,. The Court of Property judgeth of dowryes after mariagia dissolved, the diviision of Inheritances, the succession of those that dye without wills, and all Controuersyes of neere kinsmen. The Examiner takes the oathes of witnesses for /10/ perpetuall memory, when any one feareth lest his witnesses should dye or leaue the City. He hath also care of sales, Guiftes proscriptions, Sequestrations, breuiaries of Testaments,\textsuperscript{36} Conditionall legacyes. And these iudge all the Causes of the Inhabitants only. Among the Courts of St. Marke are the Cathaueri, fiscall Judges, who take care of publike things, Seaze the goods of those that dye without wills, having no Successor, levye the Fynes imposed vppon any by other Judges, determine the Causes of Mariners and of Treasure found by land, and goods found by Sea. /20/ And of old they

\textsuperscript{36} "I. a. A brief statement, summary, epitome. ? Obs."

\textit{OED}
were wont to take the names of Pilgrimes to the holy Land, and to judge their differences, but at this day the names of Pilgrimes are not taken, neither doe any Gallyes (according to the old Custome) transport them yearely from Venice to Palestine. The Piomego\textsuperscript{38} iudgeth vsurious Contracts, taketh care of [the] high ways and that no building be sett out further into the streets, or vppon the Channells of the Sea, then the lawe permitteth. And in this particular my selfe remember, that not long before my being at Venice, a gentleman of the house /30/ of Grimani built a stately Pallace nere the Realto, the foundations whereof reached much further into the great Channell, then any other building, for which cause the Pallace should haue bene pulled downe, had not the builder found speciall fauour to redeeme that fault by a very great Fyne. The

\textsuperscript{37} Moryson parphrases Lewkenor's description, "These are Judges of the confiscations, and exactors of the publique duties, they were created in the yeare 1280. They succeed in the goods of those that die intestate, if they haue no lawfull heires. They gather in those penalties as are by the other Judges inflicted vpon offendors. They are Judges ouer the officers of shipping. They make publike sales in name of the commune: they are Judges of such things as are found at sea, or treasures that are found at land. They heare such differences as do arise between pilgrims that go to the holy land, and the matters of the ships wherein they go, & the names of the pilgrims are registered in their office..." p. 181. Note how Moryson brings the information up to date, from his personal knowledge. Names of pilgrims are no longer taken. However, he falls to note that the Cattaveri "...had acquired another function - in that they had jurisdiction over the Ghetto, or at least over the part of it occupied by the Germanic Jews, and were required to enforce the wearing of distinctive headdress by Jewish men." BP

\textsuperscript{38} Piovego is the normal Venetian spelling. BP
Judges called *Sindici* judge of Fees in going to lawe, that the Coueteousnes of Aduocates may be restrayned. *Sopracastaldi* judge executions and appeales are made from them to superior Judges.\(^3\) The old Auditors judge of Appeales, and send them back /40/ to the *Quarantia ciuile* (that is the Court of the Forty Judges for Ciuill Causes). They cannot admitt new witnesses which were not produced in the first Iudgment of the Cause, except sentence were giuen in the absence of one of the parties (namely of the defendant or Plaintiffe.) The new Auditors heare forayne Appeales, and if all of them (being three) doe with one consent approue any one Iudgment, no further appeale is admitted in that Cause. But they medle not with any Iudgments giuen against Soldiers in pay; which are referred to the *Sages of firme* /50/ land called *Sauij di terra firma*. When the Gouernors (called *Podesta*) ouer Cittyes and villages, goe out of their //

\(^{3}\) "There are other called *Sopracastaldi*, whose office is to serue executions vpon judgement, so that they are called Judges of executions. They haue the selling of such goods as are attached by executions, & haue the hearing of all such differences as do arise about such attachments, executions, contradictions, &c." Lewkenor, p. 182.
respect of the multitude of Causes to heare forayne Appeales vnder the value of 50 ducates. The Ciuill magistrates of the night haue care of the executions of forayne Iudgments, and the letting of houses, and iudge some mixt causes in part Criminall. The Criminall magistrates of the night first instituted by Duke Marino Morosini, haue the care to preuent the fyring of howses, and murthers and incursions made by night, And they haue power of Capitall Iudgment, assisted by the Quarantia Criminall or the Court of Proprio or Property, they also iudge such as haue two Wiues or husbands, and Rauiishers of Virgines, and Receiuers of Theeues, and the Controuersyes of Iewes, with any Christian, as also the Phisitions and

40 "The Auditori Novissimi were established during the reign of the Doge Pietro Lando (1538-45). According to Girolamo Bardi, they were established in order to expedite justice for the poor, since the Auditori Novi were liable to be too much occupied with the cases of the great who lived in the dominions of Venice. See his Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia (Venice, 1606), p. 88. Sansovino says some of the same things, and adds the detail that the Auditori Novissimi were established in Lando's sixth year, about 1543-4 (Sansovino, p. 596)." BP

41 After Desdemona's flight, Brabanzio in Othello orders up "some special officers of night." I. 1. 184. They were more like the English constables at this time, having "onely power to correct base vagabonds and tryfelings offences." Lewkenor, p. 97. Their written testimony, and depositions from witnesses would be used in the Court of Property, (which could inflict capital sentences.) See Lewkenor, pp. 96, 97.

42 It would be doubtful if, as in The Merchant of Venice the Doge would have been present at a controversy between a Jew and Christian. Yet Shakespeare embodies a larger truth, in that Shylock is able to appeal to the Venetian respect for the rule of law,

If you deny me, fie upon your law:

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Surgeons who glue not vpp the names of such as being wounded are vnder /20/ their Cure. The Quarantia vecchia ciuile)(or old 40 Judges for Ciuill Causes) iudgeth the Causes sent thither by the old Auditors, as the new Quarantia iudgeth these [causes] sent thither by the [old] [newe] Auditors. The Colledge of 25 Judges definitiue determineth Ciuill Causes from 50 to 300, ducates, and for two monethes heard domesticall, for 2 monethes forayne Causes. The Judges of the Quarantia criminale, for honor are clothed in Robes of Paonazzo (that is of Peacocks blew, which I thinke, we vulgarly call Turkey Coulor) when they are sett in the Court, where /30/ the duke himselfe was of old wont to sett, but now (as I formerly sayd) three of the Counsellors sett there in his steede. These heare Criminall Causes aswell formerly vnheard, as coming to the Court by appeales, where Aduocates plead the Causes of the accused, and sometymes they defend their owne Causes. The Judges for the waters vulgarly called Signori all'Acque haue care of all concerning the Lagune or Channells of the Sea, as the Cleansing thereof and the like. Other Judges haue Care of Corne and prouision of victualls. Others prouide /40/ for the health of the Citty, that no person infected with the

There is no force in the decrees of Venice. I stand for judgement. Answer: shall I have it? IV. 1. 100 - 102.

41 Paonazzo is a purple, or a more violet blue than peacock blue. Zingarelli defines it as a bluish violet, "di colore bluastro e violaceo."
plague be receiued into the same, vnder whome are the
Phisitians, the Mountibankes and the like, and in their
Court the names of the Curtizans or Harlotts are written.
Others are sett ouer the Tolles and Customes to see that
private men deceiue not the State. Five Iustices of the
peace punish those that breake the peace by striking
wounding, or doing any other injury. The Court of old
Iustice setts a price vppon fruiteis, and like things and
punisheth those that deceiue with false weights and /50/
measures, and from them appeale may be made to the Cataueri
and old Auditors. Three Consulls among the //
Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence. and Lucca. Chap:vi.
Marchants judge of Contracts. Three called Sopraconsuli
judge of marchants banckrowting, and giue the Creditors
security to keepe them from prison, and cite such as flye,
and sell their goods to satisfy the Creditors, so Farr as
they can, and judge of other mens goods founde in their
possession, dividing the goods equally among the
Creditors." The Judges of the Pomps haue care there be no
excesse in diett, or apparrell, and in that kinde punish or

"Sopraconsuli are those that haue to doe with
Marchantes that breake bankerout, and with matters of
pawnes. They grant protection to such as are indebted,
whereby their bodies may be kept free from prison: they
proclaime with a very solemne ceremony those that are
fugitiue for debt..." Lawkenor, p. 183. In 1597, Moryson
had a personal experience with these officers who had kept
his belongings safe, when the merchant with whom he and
Henry Moryson had left their goods went bankrupt.
give liberty to the Harlotts.\textsuperscript{45} Other Judges oversee the meale for just weight, and that it be not musty. The Judges of /10/ the new Iustice oversee the Innes and the letting of Chambers.\textsuperscript{46} Others have care of the salt; For the \textit{Venetians} have a bay course salt in their owne Territorie, which must be sold by forbidding the sale of forrayne white Salt.\textsuperscript{47} Others have Care of building shipps, and the building or repayring of Bridges. Others oversee things sold in the markett, and punish them that use fraud in making of Cloath. Lastly the Chamberlanes of the Common, keepe the Treasure of the State, which is issued by the Mandates of the Colledge subscribed by the Counsellors, and the magistrates, called \textit{Sauij} or \textit{Sages}. The \textit{Venetians} affirm, that the State each fifth yeare chooseth Judges to examine the faults of Gouernors, which notwithstanding the old Auditors continually heare, who judge of forrayne appeales. The Gouernor of a Citty or any village is called

\textsuperscript{45} "\textit{Signori delle pompe} who are diligently to looke into the reformation of apparell, and moderation of excesse generally in all other expenses..." Lewkenor. p. 155.

\textsuperscript{46} Lewkenor writes of the \textit{Iustititia Nova} as overseers of Inns, and the liquor they sell. p. 184.

\textsuperscript{47} Is bay in opposition to white, and therefore the salt an unattractive red-brown ? Or does it refer to the inlets where the salt was extracted from seawater ? \textit{OED} offers a third possibility. "2b. A piece of low marshy ground producing large number of Bay-trees." "On the West side, the Citty is compassed with marshes, and after five miles with the territory of Padoa. On the North side with marshes..." \textit{Itinerary A, I}, 163. However, the examples cited from \textit{OED} are from the late eighteenth century onwards.
Podesta, and is sent thether for a yeare, or some such tyme, yet while I liued at Padoua, there was in Fifteene monethes but one Gouernor though a new Gouernor were still expected. And these Gouernors are only Gentlemen of Venice, chosen in the great Counsell, and after their gouernments are punished if they haue offended in Coueteousnes, or in not doing iustice.

48 "Unfortunately there are no surviving records from the governors of Padua for the years 1589-1603, so it is not easy to say specifically why the Podestà was not changed in 1593-4. The office was a high-ranking and probably very expensive one, and often it must have been difficult to find suitable candidates at the appropriate time, experienced and rich patricians who were free of other duties. Because of the expense involved, it was the kind of job that people might prefer to dodge if they could find an excuse. For similar reasons, ambassadors could be stuck with a post abroad for much longer than they had expected." BP
Chap: VI.

Of the common wealth of the Dukedome of Florence intermixed with that of the Free Citty of Lucca; of both touching some of the heads contayned in the tytle of the first Chapter.

Florence, is sayd to haue beene inhabited some yeares /40/ before the birth of Christ, and to haue bene destroyed by Totilas king of the Goathes,¹ or as others write by the Frisolanes, a people of that Territory, at this day subject to the Florentines,² and that Emperor Charles the great after that he had overcomne the Lombards returning from Rome, that way tooke such delight in the pleasantnes of the Seate, as he caused the Citty to be built // fol:1[2]36. Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence and Lucca. Chap:VI. againe in the yeare 802 from which tyme it was vnder the

¹ As here, the spelling (and the pronunciation) of Goths and goats used to be similar. Touchstone uses this in a lumbering word play, "I am here with thee and thy goats as the most capricious poet honest Ovid was among the Goths." All of this is lost on Audrey, but not on Jaques. See As You Like It III. 3. 5 - 6. Similarly, Dallington writes of the descent of the Italians to explain the "Gotish behauiour and insolence of the Pesant." Tuscany, sig. K2v.

² Inhabitants of Fesulæ? "The Citie of Florence, after many conflicts with the olde City of Fesulæ, (whereof now almost remaineth no memory, but the hills whereon it stood)...got the vpper hand..." Dallington, Tuscany, sig. C3v.

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Emperor, and other Princes, till the yeare 1287, when the Citizens bought their liberty for in 6000 [yeares] Crownes from Rodolphus Emperor of Germany, which liberty they enioyed many yeares, till the Family de Medicis growing great brought them in subiection, which Familye beares fiue Pills, gules, and one Azure in a feilde ore for their Coate of Armes. Cosmo de medicis was the first of that Family, that grew eminent in the Citty, who had such power as he might easely haue /10/ disposed of that Common wealth, but for the publike good he attempted no change, and dyed in the yeare 1464. His sonne Peter the first kept his fathers authority; and the loue of the Citizens, wisely gouerning the Common wealth, rather as a private Citizen then as a Prince. The Pedigree of this Family insert[ing]ed in the beginning of the fourth Chapter of this booke, among other Princes of Italy, doth giue light to that I now write. The said Peter left two sonnes Lorenzo called the Great, and Iuliano. By a Conspiracye of the /20/ Familyes de Paccij, and de Saluiati, the yonger Iuliano was killed, but

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3 Morison ignores Dallington who quotes Guicciardini in claiming that Charlemagne did not "reedifie it". Sig. C4.

4 The heraldic word that Morison means is a "pile", generally thought to represent arrowheads "issuing...from the...top of the escutcheon..." OED n. 1. 4. The Medici arms consist of five red piles and one blue on a gold field.

5 Known as the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478. Pope Sixtus IV and Ferrante of Naples were also involved. See Wailey, pp. 223 - 224.
Lorenzo keeping his [old] authority, demeaned himselfe so modestly and so wisely, as he seemed not only to gouerne the Citty, but all Italy, the Princes thereof reverencing him, and seeking Counsell of him as from an Oracle. But he dying in the yeare 1492, his sonne Peter the second, seeking to rule as absolute Prince, when Lewes the french king entered Italy, with an Army, was banished with his brothers Giouanni and Juliano. At which tyme Pope Alexander the sixth /30/ sought to bring that State subject to his sonne Cæsar Borgias, who to that end Peter being dead, laboured to bring back his two brothers from banishment, but their reuocation was effected in the yeare 1512, by Ramondo Generall of the Army of Ferdinand king of Naples, yet still the Cittizens had theire wonted magistrate called Gonfaloniere, and theire Prior of Iustice, and howsoever the Commonwealth was gouerned at the becke of the Pope Leo the tenth, and Pope Clement the seuenth, both of the Family De Medici, and by theyre favorites, yet the sayde Ma/40/gistrates were yearely chosen, till Pope Clement the seuenth being besidged by the Emperor Charles the fyfth, the Florintynes resolved in the yeare [i527] 15[0]27 to take Armes for the recovery of theire liberty. Wherevpon the Pope after obtayned of the Emperor desirious to regaine

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6 conducted himself, see OED, v. 1. 1.

7 It literally means a standard bearer, although Zingarelli defines a second sense as head of the civil government.
his fauor, to send the Prince of Orange with his Army to Florence, who droue the Cittizens to such want of vittles as they were forced to obey the Pope in receauing his kinsman Alexander sonne to lawrence, and in electing him perpetuall Prior, whome shortly after in the yeare /50/ [i535] 15[5]35. the said Emperor created Duke of Florence, giuing him his base Daughter to wife. Alexander // Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence and Lucca.. Chap:Vi. fol:i[2]37. was killed by one of his kinsmen in the yeare 1537.³ And Cosmo [sonne] to Iohn succeeded him first stiled great Duke from which tyme to this day, that family by right of inheritance succeeds in that Dukedome, as absolute Princes. The sayd Pope Clement the seuenth was a bastard, and historyes record with what art he proued himselfe legitimate, for bastardes are not capable of the Papall seate. Now the family de Medici begann to be [in] great [[in]] estimation, hauing had diuers Popes and Cardinallls, and the French King Henry the second hauing married one of that family namely /10/ Queene Catherine that so wonderfully in our age troubled Fraunce by factions, which she ravsed, and so tempered, as the strongest still had neede of her helpe (but understand that Henry the second was a younger brother when he maryed her and by the death of his elder brother came to that Crowne) yea Pope Leo the

³ He was killed by his cousin Lorenzo. The incident provided the basis of Alfred de Musset's Lorenzaccio, 1834.
tenth Chusing 30 Cardinallls together of his owne faction, left the Papall Sea as it were intaled to his Family, for by them Iulio de Medici was likewise chosen Pope who wrote himselfe Clemen the seuenth. Fraunces the last [duke] deceased duke before my being /20/ at Florence, had to wife Ioane of the house of Austria sister (if I be not deceaued) to the Emperor Charles the fifth,9 and by her had a sonne who dyed yong, and two daughters Leonora then maryed to the Duke of Mantua, and Maria then a virgin and a most fayre lady, of whose marryage I shall hereafter speake. His wife Ioane being dead, he liued long vnmaryed, and it was vulgarly spoken aswell among his subiectes as strangers, and a thing so well knowne in Italy as I thincke it fitt for good vses to be here mentioned, that during the tyme of his single life /30/ a Floryntine marchant intangled in his loue a Venetian gentleman10 called la Signora Bianca di Capelli, so as shee stole from her frendes, and being his Concubyne came with him to Florence, where he hauing wasted his estate in shorte tyme, shee was thought a fitt pray for

9 This section is reproduced in Thomas Middleton, Women Beware Women edited by J. R. Mulryne, The Revels Plays (Manchester, 1975), pp. 178 - 179 as a possible source for the play. Mulryne notes that there are various details in Moryson and in Middleton that are not in the main source Celio Malespini's Duecento Novelle.

"sister...the fifth", is omitted by Hughes, probably because the information is incorrect. Duke Francesco (1574 - 1587) had Charles V's niece Joarna, who died in 1578, as his first wife. Long before she died, Bianca had become his mistress. See Mulryne, p. xxxix. I shall use his edition hereafter.

1 Hughes corrects it to "gentlewoman" p. 94.
a better man. Wherevpon Duke Fraunces, after the manner of Italy, in the tyme of Carnovall or shrouetyde going masked through the streetes with a little basked of egges filled with Rose water, passed by her windowe and threw vp an egge, which shee caught and returned it broken into his /40/ bosome, and so [most] modestly played the wanton with gracefullnes, as the Duke inamored brought her to his Palice, where shee being his Concubyne, first brought him a sonne called Antonio, then seeming to make conscience to liue a Concubyne, at last shee had the power to make him to take her to wife, which donne shee bent all her witts to haue her sonne legitimate, and admitted to succeede in the dukedome, and while Cardinall Ferdinand brother to Duke Fraunces opposed this her desseigne, it happened that he came to Florence to passe some dayes merrily with the /50/ Duke, and they being to goe on12 hunting earely in a morning, the duchesse sent the Cardinahl a Marchpayne for his breakfast,13 which he returned with due Ceremony saying that he did eate nothing but that was dressed by his owne

11 Take hold of glory.
   Do not I know y'have cast away your life
   Upon necessities, means merely doubtful
   To keep you in indifferent health and fashion-  
   A thing I heard too lately, and soon pitied?


12 Hughes substitutes "out", p. 95.

13 The old English form of marzipan. OED suggests that German success in exporting this confection, prompted the use of the German word.
Cooke, but the Duke by ill happ meeting the messenger, did eate a piece thereof, and when the Duchesse sawe it broken, shee smiled and spake some wordes of Ioy, but the messenger telling //


her the Cardinall Answer, and that the Duke had eaten that pice, shee with an vnchanged Countenance tooke another pice, and hauing eaten it, locked herselfe in a clossett, and herevpon the Duke and she dyed in owne hower,\textsuperscript{14} and the Cardinall Ferdinand succeeded \textsuperscript{15} in the Dukedome, who liued at the tyme when I was at Florence. Duke Fraunces (as I heard from Credible men) was of a meane stature, black hayre, nothing curious or sumptious in Apparell, not delighting in hunting or any laborious exercises, but giuen much to his studdyes, hauing invented the melting of the Cristall of the mountayne,\textsuperscript{16} and delighting to make Porcellana d'India which wee call China dishes, and to Cutt Iewells, and sett the false to make them appeare true, to

\textsuperscript{14} It is possible that disease such as malarial fever rather than poison could have killed them. In this age Italians and poison automatically go together in English minds.

\textsuperscript{15} Moryson already knows that he is dead. Ferdinand I reigned from 1587 - 1609.

\textsuperscript{16} "2. a. A mineral, clear and transparent like ice; esp. a form of pure quartz having these qualities. Now more particularly distinguished from other senses as rock-crystal, formerly also crystal of the mountains." It was thought to be a form of ice, hence why the Duke attempted to melt it. OED
norish silke wormes, to distill many waters, for which he had many fornnaces, to make bulletts to breake and murther. He was sayd to be of good and sounde Judgement, warye in speech, eloquent to discourse of the Mathemmatiques or such thinges wherein he was more Conversent, fauthfull in his promises, a louer of peace, frugall, popular, and so confident as by night he would walke out alone. The noble Familyes of Dulci and Caponi are sayd to haue /20/ Conspired to kill him, and his two brothers Cardinall Ferdinand and Don Petro, but that one of the consperitors made knowne their purpose, wherevpon they were all put to death, yet the Duke vsed such moderation therein, as he scarcely confiscated 3000 Crownes of their goods, and put the Judgement of them to the publike magistrates, who had not yet forgotten the loue of their owne liberty, nether did he after the manner of the Italian factions punish [anye] any of their Familyes that were Innocent, but still held in his seruice with good estimation the brother of a Cardinall one of the Consperitors. /30/ Don Petro yongest brother to Duke Frances married the daughter of Don Garzia di Toledo a Spaniard brother to his mother, so as his wife

\[17\] He is unlike the Duke of Florence who orchestrates the catastrophe in *The White Devil*. Perhaps in his moderation he was following the hard nosed advice in Chapter 17 of *The Prince*, "...he refrains from the property of others, because men forget more quickly the death of a father than the loss of a father's estate." See Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, selections from *The Discourses* and other writings, edited by John Plamenatz (London, 1972), p. 105.
was his cosen germane, of whome he had a sonne, yet because he liued in spayne, he was sayd to be lesse loved of Duke Frances, so as he perswaded Cardinall Ferdinand his brother not to be a Cardinall Priest, that he might succeede him hauing no sonnes, and might be free to marrye. This Ferdinand hauing giuin[g] vp his Cardinall hatt, possessed the Dukedome when I was in Florence, being of a meane stature, Corpulent, /40/ and fatt with great legs one eye a little squinting or some such way blemished, his visage broode\(^\text{18}\) and full with a great Chinn and a browne bearde; not thicke of hayre and kept short. He seemed to mee to haue nothinge in his apparell furniture or trayne to drawe mens eyes vpon him.\(^\text{19}\) His Cloke was of blacke Cloth with one silke lace, his breeches were rownd of black velvett without any the least ornament, he wore lether stockings and a lether sheath to his sworde, his Coach was lyned with

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\(^{18}\) "Broad".

\(^{19}\) By the time that Moryson had written this description of the niggardly Duke, he was probably used to the pomps and display of the court of James I. However, as Moryson himself remarks on this page, the Florentines had not forgotten their liberty. In "drawing men's eyes", (an echo here of Henry IV, describing how, as Bolingbroke, he won men's hearts from the rightful king? See I Henry IV III. 2. 29 - 91) their thoughts may have stretched to treason. Moryson tones down Dallington's unflattering portrait, "The Gouernment (to speake in one word, and not to vse a harder terme) is meerely Despoticall, The Prince himselfe is of stature meane, of colour by complexion browne, by yeares grisled, of body corpulent, of age somewhat aboue fiftie, his name Ferdinando, who (till his brothers death) was Cardinall, which dignity he hath since renounced, hauing attained this Scepter, whereof hee had not beene capable, if he had before entered the order of Priest-hood." Tuscany, sig. F4r.
greene velvett, but wore till it was thredbare, neither was it drawn with braue horses /50/ but such as seemed to come from the Plough, and those that went on foote by his choach spake to him with their heads covered, only the Bishop of Pisa sat in the Coach with him on the same side, and on his right hand, who was his chief favorite. He was said to be of good & sound judgment, affable, and mercifully disposed, and in matters of love to desire the first gathering of the Rose, but never after to care for the tree. At the same time when I did see him passing the streets of Florence, his Duchess was in //

{ c.w. his Company, }


his Company carried in a litter upon men's shoulders, for that she was great with child, she was daughter to the [son] Duke of Loraine whom the Duke had wooed with rich jewels and presents, and not long before at her entry into Florence entertained her with great pompe and magnificence. I did see her apparelled once in a Tuft-taffety gown and another time in a purple Taffety gown, then and always attired after the French fashion, her visage was long and pale with a short nose. The second time, when she came from her Palace to the Church, she had none in her train /10/

Dallington names him as Monsignor Puteo, sig. G3v, "a man who for his dexteritie of wit, and experience in matters of State, hath purchased himselfe great credit and reputation with his Prince". Tuscany, sig. I4v.
but a waiting mayde and two dwarffs, only the Princesse Maria, daughter to the late duke Francis by his wife of the howse of Austria, went before the Dutchess, being a lady of excellent beauty, and in all things of princely Port, tall in stature, her face gracefully mixed with white and redd, so as a straunger by her sanguine complexion might know her to be of the German bloud, the hayre of her head hung downe knotted in curious wreaths, Her gowne was of Cloth of siluer, loose yet not hanging only at the back, but like our Ladyes night gowns with larg hanging /20/ sleeues, and buttoned close vpp from the brest to the Chinn, and she wore a thick short Ruffe altogether of the Italian fashion, and she was ledd by a man on each hand.

This Dukedom contaynes three famous Common wealthes, that of Florence, that of Pisa (first bought by the Florentines, and after in tyme of their liberty vpon a long rebellion reduced againe to subiection), and that of Sienna, added by Duke Cosmo to this dominion, and these with their territories contayne the greatest part of old Hetruria, being compassed on three sydes with the mount Apennine, and open on /30/ the fourth syde in a playne towards the Sea, and to the Roman Confines, being said to haue in length some two hundreth and in breadth one Hundred Italian miles. The State of Florence hath one Archbishopp, and xvij bishopps vnder him. The State of Pisa hath one Archbishopp, and two Bishopps vnder him, and the State of Sienna hath
likewise one Archbishopp, and three bishopps vnder him.

The duke ha[th]d no Counsell of State, but gouerne[s]ed the Common wealth by publique magistrates, and his secrett affayres by [by] the advice of some fauourites, among which the Arch/Bishopp of Pisa was sayd to be in greatest grace with him whome commonly he carryed with him in his Coache, and in his Company wheresoeuer he went.\[21\] Formerly I haue shewed that this Dukedome was setled by Spanish forces vnder the Family of Medici, in fauour of some Popes of that Family, but at this tyme the Duke of Florence no lesse then all other Princes of Italy, suspected and maligned the greatnes of Spayne as ready to swallow vpp their Principalities, and oppress the liberty of all Italy, howsoever for the present they were not disturbed while the king of Spayne was busy about his ambitious dissignes of subduing Fraunce, Netherland and England, In which // { c.w. warrs he, }


warrs, he had great use of the Popes fauourable authority, which once ended Italy was so intangled on all sydes with

\[21\] "...it cannot be properly be said of his Court, that there is a Counsell of State, but every thing immediatly hath his motiue, processe, and ending of the Princes will amd pleasure." Dallington, Tiscan\[a\], sig. I4v. Dallington blackens the picture further, writing that Duke plays his courtiers off against each other, and nominates his creatures to public offices. Woryson is more circumspect.
his netts, as the Conquest thereof seemed not difficult.
The Dukes at the first settling of their Estate by Spanish forces, either to shew their Confidence in Spayne, or because they had neede of forrayne succors to keepe their new Subiects in obedience, did receiue and pay Spanish Garrisons in two Forts of Florence and in three Ports vppon the Sea, called Telamone, Penteuole, and Orbetello, but they soone groned vnder their suspected support, and ceased not till by petition, mony and all /10/ like meanes, they had freed themselues of that burthen, so as at this tyme Ferdinand the present Duke had only one Spanish Garrison in a Towne vppon the Seacoast called Porto d'[e] Ercole.

Francisco his brother and Predecessor, in the life of his father Cosmo, was brought vpp in the Court of Spaine, and being there when his Father dyed, did not without some difficulty gett the possession of his Dukedome; For while he liued in Spayne, he had by diuerse accidents, alienated the Spaniards myndes from his affayres. And after he did more prouoke them against him, by releuuing the Citty of /20/ Genoa with victualls, and their fauourers abroad by all other meanes, when Don Iean base brother to the king of Spaine sought to bring that Citty vnder his subjection, whome thereby he also made his open Enemy, yet in the midst of these Ielousyes, he was strengthned by his mothers being of the Family of Toledo most powerfull in Spaine. As he was likewise strengthned by his Consanguinity with Catherine Queene of Fraunce, and by the fauour of the Pope, and the
Colledge of the Cardinalls, by which means he kept his State in peace. No doubt while the kingdomes of Fraunce /30/ and Spaine were equally ballanced, the french were a strong support to preserve the Italian Princes from the yoke of Spaine, so as the Dukes of Florence had great strength by Catherine de Medici, then Queene of Fraunce. But this Queene had borrowed great sommes of mony of Duke Francisco her kinsman vpon her Jewells laid in pawne to him, and before a third part of the debt was paid, she desyred the use of her Jewells, which the Duke to witnes his loue and Confidence easily restored to her, yet he after finding that not only the mony was kept from him /40/ but that also the Queene pretended right to some of her Fathers goods that the Duke had in his possession, he did not only ever after forbeare the offices of loue, but diverse ielousyes therevppon grew betweene them.

Touching Ferdinand the present Duke at this tyme whereof I write, he had none of his brothers Jealousyes with the Court of Spaine, he had the same mother of the Spanish Family of Toledo, and the same or greater grace with the Pope Clement, the Eight, being a Florentine gentleman borne, and with the Colledge of Cardinalls, whereof /50/ himselfe had bene a member, but he could haue no Confidence in any support from the kings of Fraunce, that kingdome being then rent and wasted with strong factions of the league, the Royalists and the party of the good //
Patriotts, as also the party of the Protestants [betwene] whome three Ciuill warrs had long continued. Only in this Dukes latter tyme, these Ciuill warrs being composed, the Duke much strengthened himselfe and his Successors, by giuing the Lady Mary his deceased brothers daughter in mariage to the famous french king Henry the fourth. And no doubt he did nothing lesse then fauour the growing power of Spayne. For howsoever that kings warrs with England & Fraunce for his mayne project of obtayning the Westerne Empire, kept him for the present from attempting anything in /10/ Italy, yet the greatnes of his power, could not but be fearefull to all the Princes thereof. And that this Duke feared the king of Spaine appeared by many infallible arguments, and not to insist vppon all, in particular, namely by [his] deliuering the miserable Captiue bearing himselfe for the king of Portugall into the hands of the Viceroy of Naples, whome men feare, they also hate, and as all the people subject to him manifestly shewed at this tyme great hatred of the Spanish nation, so no doubt the duke howsoever he in policy obsereued the king of Spaine by /20/ outward offices, yet he was farr from wishing well to the successe of his ambitious affayrcs, and earnestly laboured by all meanes to haue the foresaid Spanishe Garison in Port Ercole drawne out of his Country. For his
marriage, he sought not a wife in Spain, though his mother were a Spaniard; but as I formerly sayd, he maryed a French Lady daughter to the Duke of Loraine, which Family then pretended to be of the Spanish faction, and the Civil wars being ended, (as I sayd) gaue his neece to the French king, vpon whomse himselfe and the other /30/ Princes of Italy then cast their eyes for protection against the power of Spain. The last Duke his brother had much depended on the Emperor of Germany, in regard his first wife was of the house of Austria, and with the expense of mony mantayned freindshipp with him, and the Princes of Germany, more specially the Duke of Bauaria aswell to gett a more full investiture of his Dukedom. from the Emperor, as in hope to haue aydes from them in any tyme of danger. But this Duke Ferdinand litle inclined to the declining Empire, but rather nourished /40/ amity with the Protestant Princes especially after the appeasing of the Civil wars in France. He had long tyme kept the picture of Elizabeth Queene of England and expressed asmuch reuerence and loue towards her as he might well doe towards the Popes professed Enemy, and not only he but the State of Venice had for many yeares admitted the said Queens private Agents, as they and the Duke of Sauoy haue since receiued the publike Ambassadors of our Soueraigne King James to be resident with them, and haue openly shewed much to depend vpon /50/ his Royall ayde and protection.
For the Citty of Genoa I formerly shewed that Duke Francisco ayded them against Spaine, but this could not take away the hereditary quarrells betwene that Citty, and the Dukes of Florence, in regard that Genoa still keepeth the Forte of Sorezana of old belonging to the Citty of Florence and // fol:1[3]42. Booke.i. The Common wealth of Florence and Lucca.. Chap:Vi.

the Iland Corsica of old subject to the Citty of Pisa.

It is manifest that the Princes of Italy depend uppon the fauour of the Popes, and Cardinalls aboue all others, And I haue shewed that this Duke and his deceased brother especially affected and euer had great power in the Court of Rome. For no State is more able to anoy them, then the Popes, Rome lying on the East syde, and the Popes State of Bologna on the west syde of them. From which parts their State can only be entred, being otherwise compassed with the Sea, and unpassable mountaynes. Besides that a great /10/ Army of Enemyes cannot finde victualls in the State of Florence, being all lavd vpp in Cittyes, which only the Pope can supply having aboundance thereof. And this they haue found by wofull experience in that two Popes had the power to oppresse the liberty of that State, and bring it in subjection to the Family of Medici. Thus say the Florentines, but for my part I thinck aboue all they feare the Thunderbolts of his Ecclesiasticall Censures, which no
mountaynes can resist, though our ages contemning them, and
the frequencye thereof, hath much blunted and abated their
force, and /20/ terror; Neither doe I reade that the Popes
temporall power hath euer done great hurt to any State, and
howsoever two Popes haue of late oppressed and subdued the
liberty of Toscanye; yet it was effected by the Army of the
Emperor Charles the Fifth for their sakes, not by their
owne forces. The Commodityes are [of] no lesse importance
which this Duke findes in the freindshipp of the Popes and
Cardinalls, as the reputation he thereby gayneth among all
Princes of the Roman Religion, together with his safety
from a<i>y</i> their purposes against his State, and the true
intelligence /30/ thereof from Rome, where by Confession
and all other meanes they best know all such Princes most
secrett Counsells, yea euon by their owne communicating of
them to the Pope for his approbation thereof: As also by
the benefitt the Duke reapes of Ecclesiasticall livings,
which by the Popes fauor, he hath liberty oftentymes to
bestow on his seruants and Followers. For howsoever the
Popes for some 400th yeares past, haue made a new heresy
and Simony for laymen to dispose of Ecclesiasticall
Benefices, tho neuer so freely bestowed without any the
least bribery /40/ yet they approue laymens disposing of
them with their Consent and indulgence first obtayned. Not
to speake of the supply of victuall from the States vnder

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There is a dropped minim here, thus it should read "any".

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the Pope, and many like Commodityes.

To conclude howsoever the Popes are not in these dayes as of old, the Arbiters of all Christian affayres; yet the union of the Pope, the State of Venice, and the great Duke of Florence, is the cheife foundation and strength of the peace of all the small Principalities of Italy. For the Venetians since their State was almost ruined by the frenche king Lewes the /50/ xijth seeme to haue cast of all ambition to invade their neighbors, and are not as before they were suspected in that kinde of the Italian Princes, but are honoured by them as defenders of the Common liberty.

{ m.n. 55, 56. The common wealth of Lucca. }
The Citizens of Lucca are afrayd of this great Duke as Partridges of an hawke, being compassed with his territories on all sydes, and furnished with Corne from the Maremme of Sienna,23 with flesh and oyle from the Territory of Florence, and with all kindes of victuall from other parts of his dominion, and if they haue any victuall from any /60/ //

23 The maremma toscana is defined as the "zona costiera un tempo paludosa compresa fra la Toscana meridionale e il Lazio settentrionale" by Zingarelli, the marshy coastal zone between southern Tuscany and northern Lazio. This is more helpful than John Florio's general definition as "the Sea-strond, or shore, or as we say in Norfolke, the washes." See Queen Anna's New World of Words (London, 1611), [STC 11098], referred to hereafter as Florio, Words.
other places; yet the same as all other goods of Marchants or Citizens whatsoever, can passe no other way to Lucca, then through some part of the Dukes dominion, and with his safe conduct, so as it is apparent the Duke might with ease subdue that Citty were it not that he forbeares to disturbe the peace of Italy, which warr would soone bring in confusion. Italy consisting of many petty principalityes gouerned by many heads. All [which] the beginner of any warr should make his enemies, and so the Duke in stead of gayning a Citty., might leese or disturbe his owne dominion. And besides /10/ that Lucca in this Case is like [f]to receive strong aydes from Genoa which of old in like sort so supported [Genoa]Pisa rebelling against the Florentines, as also from other Cittyes, and States of Italy, who making the Case their owne, would in all probability assist any member in Italy invaded by an other, no doubt Lucca relyeth vppon foraine succours, which the Emperor Charles the fifth and after his sonne Phillip in their tymes professed to haue in protection. Againe the Duke suffers Lucca to rest in peace, because the Citizens wealth consists /20/ litle of stable inheritance, and almost altogether of ready mony and moveable goods, who finding their liberty in danger, would no doubt remoue their estates and dwellings to some [other] free Citty, and
so the duke should have less profit in taking the city thus uninhabited, then now he hath by their respect and fear of him in regard whereof upon his occasions he may command the loan of any money he needeth, and all like offices from them, who seldom refuse him any less equal request, being in name free, and yet in some manner subject to him. Lucca is a small city less than two miles compass, and hath a small territory, as I have shewed in my journal of Italy, but is compassed on all sides by states of far greater power. It is governed in chief by the great council consisting of 150 citizens, and the city is divided into three parts, and of each part, three Senators are chosen, and in course of each part the chief magistrate called Gonfaloniere is chosen, which ten men enjoy this dignity for three years, and representing the dominion, are vulgarly called La Seignoria. This Senate hears Petitions, gives all grants, administers justice, and to these ends always remaineth in the public palace, whence none of them may go forth upon pain of death, but they are there maintained out of the public treasure. These ten men choose one among them who is called Commandator, and for three days commands all the rest, even the Gonfaloniere himself, and for these three days, he receives all Petitions, which he must notwithstanding have granted (however contrary to his liking)

24 "...less equal" omitted by Hughes, p. 106.
comunicate to all the rest, and can doe nothing without their Consent, and whatsoever is agreed among them with seauen voyces, the Gonfaloniere propounds it in the great Counsell //

to be approued or reieected. This Senate of Tenne men hath absolute authority ouer strangers, but not so ouer Citizens, whose causes, and all other matters they cannot fully determine, but must propound them in the great Counsell. Three Secretaries are absolute Iudges of Treasons, and therein are aboue the Gonfaloniere, yet he must necessarily be present, at those Iudgments, and howsoever they must comunicate such causes to the great Counsell, yet often it happens, that after the execution of the iudgment, they giue accompt thereof to the great /10/ Counsell, as in cases dangerous to be deferred, till the Counsell can be assembled. They haue a second Counsell of 18 Citizens chosen by the great Counsell to determine doubtfull Causes. And a third Councell of six men, that hath care of the receipt and expence of the publique Treasure, chosen likewise by the great Counsell, as all other magistrates are. They haue a body of Iudges called La Rota, namely three Doctors of the Ciulli lawe, whose place of birth must be fiftye myles distant from Lucca, and one of them hath the /20/ title of Podesta, the other Iudgeth Crymes, and the third Ciull Causes, and these places by
course[s] they change every half yeare. If any Citizen be accused before the Podesta, he only formes the processe, and subscribeth his opinion, but the Judgment is referred to the great Counsell to be approved, rejected or moderated, only in the Causes of strangers, this Podesta, hath absolute power. They have a Court of nine merchants assisted with one doctor of the Civil lawe, being a stranger borne, who judge the Causes /30/ concerning merchants, and in those Cases also may condemn to death. In like sort they have nine men set over the office called Abundanza, namely three of each third part of the City, and the office hath that name, because their duty is to furnish the City with victuals in aboundance, and to see that the City never want three years provision of Corn before hand. They have a like Counsell of men set over the Ordinance and munitions of warr. Many Citizens inroll themselves soldiers, and six Commissaries are set over them. Three Officers /40/ have the Care of health, whose duty is to looke that no musty or rotten thing be sold, that no filthines be suffered in the City, and that no goods or persons be admitted into the City coming from places suspected to be infected with the plague. Besides they have a Counsell called de Discoli, most worthy of observation and imitation and their duty is once in the yeare some fewe weeks before Easter to assemble together, at which meetings any one of them may putt into a Chest the names of such persons as with vs are called of the Damned
crue or /50/ roaring boyes, and these names being after read in the great Counsell, if two or more of these Counsellors haue concurred in [any] one mans name, he is called in question by voyces in the great Counsell (the voyces being dumbe, not by mouth, but by litle balls putt into diuerse vessells) and if he be judged such a person by the voyces of two third parts of that Councell, then he is banished for three //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Lucca. Chap:Vi. fol:[245]

yeares, so as he may not for [that] tyme dwell within 50 myles of the Citty, wherein if he fayleth, he is in absence condemned to death, and a reward of mony sett vpon his head, is proclaymed to be giuen to any man who shall kill him, which is the highest prosecution in Italy against banished men; and after sentence is pronounced against him, he must goe out of the Citty before night, and after three yeares he may retorne agayne to dwell in Lucca, but shall euery yeare be subiect to this tryall, if he mend not his manners. Thus the Athenians banished their /10/ Citizens by Ostracisme, but they bannished for tenne yeares, and not wicked persons as these of Lucca doe, but eminent persons in power or riches, being therby like to inuade their liberty. The Judges called vulgarly de la Loggia, inquire what buisinesse Strangers haue in the Citty, and finding suspicious persons, examine them by the Tortor of the Strappa di corda which wee call Strappado, and all that

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keepe Inns must giue to those Judges the names of all strangers they receaue, and must aduertise what buisines they haue in the towne, and that dayly, so as it /20/ may appeare to them how long they stay[,]. Thus doe they with great warines and feare watch to preserve theire liberty, but for trayned soldiers, they haue only some hundreth in the Pallace, whose places of birth must be fifty myles distant from Lucca, and out of these are chosen Captaines to leade theire soldiers in tyme of warr, but they are punished no lesse then with death, if in the night time any of them alone or accompanied goe to the walls of the Citty, for only the Artisans of the Citty (hauing goods25 wiuues and children there) watch /30/ vpon the walls in the night, and two Cittisens with a Commissary keepe each Gate therof in the day time. And the sayd hundreth soldiers haue each of them three gold Crownes stipend by the moneth.

{ m.n. 35 - 37. The Court of the great Duke of Florence. }

After this excursion, I retourne to speake of the great Duke of Florence. The Italians write and speake of the Dukes Court, as if it were magnificall, aboue the degree of a Duke yet somthing vnder that of a King, and that he hath a great number of Gentlemen attending him, wherof some only haue a stipend, others both dyett /40/ apparrell and stipend. But in my opinion strangers, be they English or

25 "good" Hughes, p. 106.
French, will hardly say that they have observed any such magnificence therein. For howsoever we may yield the Italians some preheminence of glory in Fountaynes, Aqueducts, Gardens, Jewells, and some such permanent goods, yea sometimes likewise in their Feasts, which being rare, and the people being as proud as rich, may often times exceed like Niggards Feasts. Yet no doubt they of all Nations can worst judge what it is to keep a plentifull house, or a Princes Court and /50/ trayne. The Duke was sayd to have sixty young gentlemen // fol:1546. Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence. Chap:Vi.

for his Pages, whom he trained vpp in exercises fitt for them He had 100 duthe for his guarde, 25 for the Italians trust not their owne Countrymen for the guarding of their bodies but commonly use duthe whom they esteeme most faithfull and each [of] them had fiue Guldens of Germany by the moneth finding themselves apparrell and dyett. Perhaps formerly they had some what more allowed for apparrell or dyett, for themselves told me, that this Duke had abated their intertainment. Thirty of them by course each day and night attend at Court, be it held in the Citty or in the /10/ Dukes Pallaces, not farr distant, and [at] [that] day they haue i4 loaues of bread and two Flagons of wyne allowed them by the Duke, but [not] otherwise I haie seene

25 The 'c' seems to be missing, which Hughes provides, p. 106. Morison means Germans, from deutsch.
them vpon high dayes haue homely fayre, as Cabages and Colewoorts, only they haue great releiſhe by wayting on their owne Countrynamen and other straungers that come to the Cittye. He had 30 Footmen which by course wayted and followed his Coaches; And they said that the Dutchess had not more then some 12. women in her seruice. For my part, I saw nothing in the trayne, or Tables of the Court, wherein /20/ many of our Earles and Barons doe not equall it, and I dare boldly say, that very few, and I thinck not aboue 30 persons haue their diett allowed. The Italians that magnify this Court, say that the Duke spends some fiue [hundreth] thousand ducates yearely in his Court, his priuate delights, his pleasures and the keeping of his houses, Gardens, Aquaducts, in repayre For his Stable they report, that he had 150 Courser of Naples and Gianetts of Spayne besides choyce horses of his owne Races. For my part, I could only see in Florence two Stables, each having some 3[2]3 horses, which seemed to me of his owne Races, and not of /30/ any extraordinary woorth, and twice or thrice I saw his Coaches drawne with very ordinary horses, and I conceiue that the Italians reckon the expence of his Stable in the estimate of all his like expences formerly made. Of the dukes forces, Tributes, lawes, and

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27 Any types of greens. *OED*

28 Hughes repeats these two phrases p. 107.

29 Jennets, small Spanish horses. *OED*
Justice, I shall speake in the following Eight Chapter of this Booke.

The Citty Pisa with the Territory is the second principall member of this Dukes State, first subdued by the Florentines, and after rebelling by the aydes of the french king Charles the Eight, when he entred Italy to conquer Naples /40/ againe subdued by the Florentines while they yet enjoyed their old liberty, and free Common wealth, which the Family of Medici shortly after invaded. And for the manner of the second subduing of Pisa, Guicciardine in his history hath fully described it.3

It is a pleasant Citty, and an university, and the Duke hath there an Arsenall, or Store house for his Gallyes, in which respect the knights of St Stephen imploied to goe to Sea with them, haue their residence in that Citty where also the great Duke was wont to hold his Court, Some three /50/ monetles in the yeare, aswell to shew his loue to the Citizens, as by his presents11 to incite them to more diligence in drying vpp the adioyning Fenns, not only for profitt, but also to make the ayre more pure and free from the wonted infection. //

1 In Book Eight, he describes the mild terms agreed by the Florentines after the siege of 1509, because of their fear of Emperor Maximilian I.

1 Hughes changes to "presence", p. 108.
Sienna is the third principal member of this Dukedom, having a shadow but not altogether so true fruition of the old liberty as Florence it selfe hath in the continuance of the wonted magistrates. For it was a free Common wealth; first subdued by Duke Cosmo, by whose institution they have still their wonted magistrates, and the wonted authority of the Pallace, where they live to judge causes; yet the Duke setts his Gouernor called Podesta to represent his person, without whose approbation the said Senate determines nothing of importance. The Senators office lasteth for two monethes, and they are /10/ said vpon paine of death to be tyed not to goe out of the Pallace by day during that tyme, but with their faces covered, perhaps lest the people should be incited by them to mutinyes for recovery of their old liberty, and myselfe haue seene diverse of them go abroad thus masked; yet I thinck they are allowed some pompe vpon some featiuall dayes, for myselfe haue seene these Senators vpon such occasion come in solemne pompe from the Church of St Katherine cloathed in gownes of redd silke, and square Capes of redd veluett with two banners, and two maces before them. But /20/ howsoever these

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32 Hughes has "Caps", p. 108. The 'e' is blotted or imperfectly crossed out. The stateliness of the procession described might favour my reading.
Senators live in the publique Pallace of the Citty and there assembl[y]e to iudge causes, no doubt the Dukes Gouernor hath absolute power in all affayres, and vseth their helpe rather to dispatch, then to determine them. Also the Duke hath a Fort in the Citty where he mantaynes Soldiers to keepe the Citizens in due obedience, and hath a Captayne ouer them chosen by himselfe as an officer of great trust.
Chap:Vii.

Of the free Citty Genoa and of the Dukes /30/ of Mantua, and of Vrbine touching some of the heads conteyneyd in the title of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 34. The citty of Genoa. }

Genoa is an an ancient Citty whereof the Romans make mention some 300 yeares before Christ's birth, and when the Empire of Rome declyned, it became a free State, and was of old powerfull at Sea, having vnder it all Liguria in Italy, and diverse Ilands adjoyning, besides sondry Dominions upp on the Sea Coasts of the Easterne Parts. And at this day it possesseth Liguria, a large, and /40/ though mountainous and rocky, yet [a] pleasant and fruitfull Province of Italy, and the Isle of Corsica not farr distant. But by the factions of the Citizens, betweene the Guelphs and Gibellines, one of the Popes, the other of the Emperors syde, and the Familyes Adorni and Fregosi, as also the noble and popular Familyes, the Common wealth hath bene subject to many hazards, and sometymes oppressed, and subject to the french, [sometymes to the Dukes of Milan. At last when it was subject to the french,] Andrea d'Auria a cheife Citizen of Genoa, being Admirall to the french king, and having by Sea //


gotten a victory against the Spaniards, refused to send his
Captiues taken into *Fraunce*, desyrous to keepe their Ransomes to himselfe, and so combined with the Marquis of Vasto alluring him to the *Spanish* party, and not only opened the first advantage to the *Spaniards* of casting the *french* out of the kingdome of *Naples*, but practised by all meanes to free *Genoa* from subiection to the *french*, from which party himselfe was fallen, and this he easily effected by the \textit{\textipa{\textlongsvin}} of the factions newly made, whereof the *frenche* Gouvernor had improuidently bene the cheife Author, \footnote{The defection of Andrea Doria (1466 - 1560) to the Spanish/Imperial cause in 1528 ensured French failure in Italy, and in the Mediterranean. See Koenigsberger, p. 236.} whereas wise men thought he should rather haue nourished some dissention among them. This Prince *d'Auria* (after the manner of the *Italian* Princes and States often to chaunge their protecting Patrons to better their estate vnder others) thus falling from the *french* to the *Spaniards*, animated the *Genoesi* to expell the *french*, and to institute that forme of gouernment, which they haue at this day. The said \textit{\textipa{\textlongsvin}} was made in the yeare 1527, and the yeare following the said Prince \textit{\textipa{\textlongsvin}} fell from the *french* to the *Spanish* party. And for the making \footnote{The defection of Andrea Doria (1466 - 1560) to the Spanish/Imperial cause in 1528 ensured French failure in Italy, and in the Mediterranean. See Koenigsberger, p. 236.} of the said \textit{\textipa{\textlongsvin}} twelue Reformers were chosen, who made a lawe to abolish all faction, and reduced all the nobles into 28 cheife Familyes, all other inferior being inserted into them, so as to auoyde factions, no Nobleman might signe any other
Sirname then one of them, and to the hands of these 28, Familyes, the [Citty] [Stern] of the Common wealth was committed, all Plebeans being excluded from the same, yet so as by a lawe then made tenn of the richest, or best deseruing Citizens might every yeare be receiued into the number of these noble Familyes. /30/ And thus all factions haue from that tyme ceased f[or]m any fact, but to this day they are ieiulous one of an other, and haue certaine fashions of attyre, of wearing Roses in their Capps, and sondry manners of drincking, and like signes, whereby they are easily distinguished and knowne among themselues. The said Andrea d'Auria is much praysed of the Italians, that he not only freed his Country from all subjection, but also having that power yet forbore to invade the liberty thereof himselfe. But no doubt, if he had not had the protection of Spaine /40/ in such measure as he could not probably haue had in any action of his private ambition, he could not haue expelled the french or resisted their powerfull forces, neither would the Citizens haue bene so constant to him, but for the loue of Common liberty. The Genoesi are generally reputed to be of a wauering disposition, affecting chaunge, wee reade that their estate hath bene much troubled with factions and innouations among themselves, and when for the miseries they haue bene forced to cast themselves into the subiection of forrayne Princes /50/ for present protection, wee finde that assoone as they could in any reasonable manner allay these troubles, their
first endeavours were to practise for recovery of liberty, yea //

Booke. i. The common wealth of Italy.. Chap:Vii. fol:i[3]49.

since their state settled by Andrea d'Auria in the forme of government it now hath, Conte Gio:Luigi Fiesco wanted little of oppressing their liberty, and making himselfe Lord of Genoa, by a tumult he raised in the night, if in his first attempt to surprise the Gallies, while he leaped from one Gally to another, he had not been drowned by a casual fall into the water. Touching the kings of Spaine by whose aydes the french were cast out of Genoa, they have searched all Counsells to finde the best course to subdue this City, and at first builded a Fort, kept it with a strong garison, /10/ and probably thought to keepe the Citizens in awe of them possessing great part of Italy, and adjoyning Lombardy, but in the end considering that they could not be subdued without disturbing the peace of Italy with Common prejudice of all; and as the affayres stood no lesse of Spayne in private, that the Citizens used to subjection of foraynes Princes were dead, all now living having [beenel] borne in the time of sweet liberty: That the cheife riches of the Citizens are in mouables and huge Treasures of ready mony: That they are like Froggs coming to /20/ land for pleasure, but vpon the least feare ready to leape back into the water, and having bene of old antiquity an nation powerfull at Sea, are not only like to flye with their wealth vpon danger to be subiectted, but also to

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surprise the Spanish Gallies harbouring in their Port, and use them for their defence, I say considering these and like reasons, they have not thought good to hazard the certaine power they presently have in the City for the uncertaine hope absolutely to subdue it. Spain presently hath full use /30/ of their Commodious Port for harbouring and building of Gallies, and of the Citizens bodyes and Treasures aswell in war as peace. The cheife Princes or Nobles of Genoa, haue Commandes in the Spanish Army and Navye (as the above named Andrea d'Auria was Admirall of the Spanish Gallyes [ ]) in Italy), and aswell the Noble as popular Familyes are great Marchants and sayd to be the richest in ready mony of any Citizens in the world, and this Treasure the kings of Spain may not only command /40/ at all occasions to their great advantage, but also they intahll the priuate men and publikk liberty by having it in their hands: For as we reade that the french king Charles the viijth after the example of his progenitors, had and held the Florentines in awe and dutifull respect to his Command by their covetousnes of gayne in the traffick of Lyons; so the kings of Spayne by the same art but a

^These details are from Guicciardini's History of Italy, Book One. Charles VIII attempted, successfully, to divide the Florentines from their ruler Piero de Medici, by appealing to their pockets. "The king...banished out of Lyons, not the generall marchants, but onely the factors and bankers of Piero de Medicis, to the end that they might judge at Florence, that he acknowledged this injurie particularly vpon Peter, and not vpon the bodie of the state." Fenton, p. 25.
stronger bayte haue the Genoesi at their Command. For they continually borrow great //

fol:i[4]50. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Vii. sommes of those marchants giuing them for assurance of repayment, the Tolls and Customs of Maritime Ports and Cittyes and diverse Monopolies of traffique yeilding great gayne for the use of those monyes, and the same being not halfe repayd still renewe the debt, and so having always in their hands the Citizens Treasure, and the hart being where the Treasure is, \(^3\) (as of all men, so more specially of the Genoesi noted aboue others with the vice of unsatiable Covetousnes \(^4\)) they haue the Citty more in their power, then if they had a Fort and strong /10/ Garison therein. Lett a Citty be never so strong, yet if the Enemy beseiging it, can cutt of the Conduits of water serving it, he shall soone be master thereof, and in like sort if the king of Spayne not paying his debt to the Genoesi, or stopping the payments Course for a tyme, can make all them and their bancks breake and faile in Credit, I may boldly say he hath them fast bound in Fetters of gold. And that

\(^3\) This is an echo of Christ's admonition from the Sermon on the Mount. "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also", Matthew 6. 21, and Luke 12. 34. The implication is clear. In selling out to Spain, they were selling themselves to the powers of darkness.

\(^4\) What is extraordinary is the persistence of public perception. When I lived in Milan from 1990 - 1991, the Genovesi were often characterized as being mean.
Genoa hangeth in this sort vpon Spaine as a dore [from] vpon the Hingens, experience sheweth plainly to the world at this tyme of my being in Italy, when /20/ the king of Spaine having besides his exhausted Cofers contracted great summes of debt, and so not being able for the present to giue his wonted Assignments of Customes, and the like for payment of his debt, the cheife Marchants and bancks of Genoa, were forced to breake with their Creditors, and the Contagion of this mischeife soone had spread itselxe to Venice and Florence, and other Cittyes after a straunge manner; yet howsoever this Comon wealth is thus at the beck of the kings of Spaine, it hath the name and reputation of a Free State gouerned by the Nobles, that is gentlemen of 28 Familyes. The magistrates are not chosen (as of old) so many of one faction, so many of an other, neither (as of old) are the Gentlemen excluded from being Dukes, but these and like nourishments of factions are abolished, and at this day out of the said 28 Familyes, 400 Senators are chosen, [w]Which Senate is called the great Counsell, and chuseth the Duke and 8 Gouernors, which nine persons represent the dominion, and are vulgarly called la Signoria. The Duke, the 8 Gouernors, and /40/ the great Counsell, gouerne the affayres of State but they chuse by dumbe voyces, that is with diuerse balls, out of the body of the great Counsell, one 100 gentlemen called the lesser Counsell, which dispatcheth other things of lesse importance. The Duke being head of the Common wealth is
chosen for two yeares, during which tyme he lives in the publike Palace, and hath 300th dutchmen for the guarde of his body; when he enters this dignyte, for the first two dayes he weares the Ducall habitt, but after [vseth] an other habitt, comonly a gowne of Veluett, /50/ or Satten of Crimson, or Peacocks blewe Coulor, and a Corner Capp of the same Coulor, as myselfe haue seene him attyred, and the 8 Gouernors weare black gownes //

{ c.w. and Caps, }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy.. Chap:Vii. fol:i[4]5i. and Capps. The Duke hath great authority, since no man besides himselfe can propound any thing in the great Counsell, so as nothing can be confirmed therein, which he doth not first allow. The two yeares ended, vppon the first day of January, he becomes a private person, and goes to dwell in his owne house, but euer he hath the dignyte of a Procurator during his life. Then (as he formerly was) a newe Duke is chosen after the manner following. The third day of January the lesser Counsell, and the Eight Gouernors chuse 28 gentlemen, namely one of euery Family, /10/ and these chuse the like number, who in like sort chuse 28, gentlemen, [and these last chosen, with the Senators who for age or other cause are not capable of the ducall dignity, choose 4 gentlemen] whose names are propounded in the great Counsell, and he that hath most voyces is chosen Duke for the next two yeares. The foresaid Eight Gouernors (who with the Duke represent the dominion, yet can
determine nothing without the Consent of the great Counsell) are chosen in like manner for two yeares, yet not all at one tyme, but two each third moneth in manner following. The Duke, the Gouernors and the lesser Counsell chuse 28 gentlemen, who chuse 12 gentlemen, and propound their /20/ names to the great Counsell, out of which number, the Duke, the Gouernors, and the great Counsell, chuse one day one, the next day another to succeede in the place of two Gouernors whose tyme is ended. And of these Gouernors being like Counselors, two dwell for three monethes by course, with the Duke in the Pallace, and the other six dwell in their owne howses. The Gouernors having ended that office, are chosen Procurators for two yeares. And these Procrators namely the old Dukes chosen for life, and the old Gouernors chosen for two yeares, have Care /30/ of the Treasure, and other publique affayres, and are of great reputation. The magistrates of St George are eminent in this City, instituted in the yeare 1407, who have long preserved this Common wealth. These officers first settled the means to raise mony sodeonly for publique vses, in any doubtfull occasion of the Common wealth, taking it up of priuate men, were they willing or unwilling, yet so as the State, according to the variety of tymes, allowed sometymes 10. 9. or 8, sometymes but seauen in the hundreth. for use of the mony, lest priuate men should suffer losse by /40/ promoting the publike good, besides that they gave them security for repayment by ingaging to them some publike
reuenewes, or by selling to them some Tolls or Customes of
the Citty for a certayne tyme. By this institution Eight
men were yearely chosen to be sett over this busines to
provide the satisfaction of publike Creditors. The charge
of this office daily increased, by many villages and
Communityes subiected to the gouernment thereof, and many
large Priuiledges were granted to this office in process of
tyme, aswell by the State of Genoa, as by /50/ diuerse
Popes and Emperors, and all men coming to any place of
gouernment in the State, must take an oath not /1
to infringe these Priuiledges of the office of St. George
which is not subiect to the power of any other magistrate.
[which is not subiect to the power of any other
magistrate.] At this day more exact courses are taken in
these affayres, and the Creditours haue not the same gayne
at all tymes for vse of theire mony, but more or lesse
according to the increasing or decreasing of the publike
Rents, Tolls, and customes. And this office in tyme hath
apropriated to it selfe diuers large revennuewes. So as
this one Citty may be sayd to contayne two Commonwelths,
the /10/ greater of the Pallace, administring Iustice to
tall the Citty, which hath often bene oppressed with
tyranny, and the lesser of St George sett over publike
Creditors, which hath allwayes beene free without suffering
any such oppression, so as the same Citty within the same
walls and at the same tyre might be sayde to haue lost
liberty and to inioye it. The foure sayd eight Magistrates of this office are called the protectors of St George, and are chosen for a yeare in this manner. All the Creditors in the Citty of what condition so euer, chuse by lott among themsells 80. persons /20/ out of which nomber agayne 24 are by lott selected, who being shutt vp in a chamber, may not depart till by dumb voyces, that is by diuers litle balls, they haue chosen eight Protectors, and each one that is chosen must have. 16. voyces of the. 24. Electors. This office increasing, so as the eight protectors in one yeare could not dispatch all the affayres thereof, the Creditors in the yeare 1444. Instituted the choyse of 24 men, who should dispose the remayning Reuenewes (which is the sinewe of the publike Treasure) for the Common good of the Citty, and that most secretly, lest /30/ any Tyrant might take occasion to lay violent hands on the Treasure. The Iland Corsica, and other places of no small importance, are vnder the gouernment of this office, which is bound to preserue them aswell in warr as peace. Touching the forces of Genoa, the munitions for warr, the difference of degrees in the State, the iustice and Iudgments, both Capitall and Ciuill, I shall speake in the following Eight Chapter of this Booke.

{ m.n. 40. The Duke of Mantua }

Vicenzo duke of Mantua, at this tyme whereof I /40/ write was a young man, having a redd bearde, a full visage, a
chearefull ruddy Complexion like the Germans of whome he discends, and of some what a low stature, and mourning then for his dead mother, he was apparrelled in black Freesado.\(^5\) His Court was after the Italian manner, faire for building but solitarye for trayne of Courtiers; yet he was sayd to giue pay to Gentlemen for 200th horses after six Crownes the moneth for each horse, and when these gentlemen vppon occasion iourney with him, they also haue diett in Court /50/ but not otherwise. In his Stable [neare his Pallace], neare his Pallace in the Citty, I numbred[ber] ii4 horses (whereof many were Coursers of Naples, the rest of Italian races, and most of his owne races, which are accounted mo[s]re generous then any other in Italy,\(^6\)), and two Camells, besides a like number of horses, which they said were kept in an other stable for Coaches and other services, and a stable without //

\{ c.w. the Cittie \}

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Vii. fol:1[4]53. the Citty, wherein were some sixty faire Colts all bredd of Neapolitan horses and Mares, within\(^7\) that dutchye. The Duke had 50 Germans for his guarde, hauing each man 4 Crownes stipend by the moneth, without any diett except each Eight

\(^5\) Frieze, a coarse woollen cloth with a nap. OED

\(^6\) Moryson means generous in the original Latin sense of generosus, noble, high born, a sense that OED notes as archaic.

\(^7\) Hughes has "with", p. 117.
day when it comes to every man's course to wait, upon which day they [also] have diet in Court. I was credibly informed that the Duke gave pay to 500th soldiers in time of peace, kept for defence of his dominion, and that his yearly revenue amounted to some 350 thousand Crownes by the year, yet /10/ that he was greatly in debt. Of tributes exacted by him is to be spoken in the following Eight Chapter of this Book. This Duke's honor was much scandalized among the Italians, because in his youth while his father lived, he had in following manner killed a Scottish gentleman reported to have been imbued with extraordinary virtues. This Prince one night walked the streets with his followers but unknown, and by ill adventure meeting the said Scottish gentleman, well reputed in his father's Court, took a fancy to /20/ try his valor, and to that end commanded one of his familiar friends to assault him with his drawn sword, whom he taking for [an] enemy, in good earnest resisted valiantly, and at the first encounter happened to give him a deadly wound, whereupon the Prince much lamented, and the Scottish gentleman knowing him by his voice, and so humbling himselfe at his feete, with tender of His Rapier the point towards himselfe, the Prince in rage killed him with his own Weapon.8

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8 Compare Lithgow's description of the admirable Crichton, "...Monsieur Creichton his worth, in learning and excellent memory, rests admired in Italy, but especially by the noble Gonzagaes, and dependant friends of the house of
For the Duke of Vrbine, I passed through some part of his Territory, but did not see his person, or Court, and of the tributes exacted by him, I shall speake something in the following Eight Chapter of this Booke.

Of the Neapolitan Princes subject to the king of Spaine and others not having absolute power, I haue no purpose to write. Passing from Pisa to Lirigi, by chaunce at Masso lying vppon the Confines of Toscany, I did see the Prince of that Towne and small Territory, wherein he hath absolute power, and is of the Family Malaspina being a goodly gentleman of a good stature, comely person, and manly Countenance, with a black pointed beard. Besides this small Territory, Whereof he was absolute Prince, they said he had a great Inheritance in the kingdome of Naples vnder the king of Spaine. Here I heard that the Count Stentafiori was absolute Prince of a Territory not farr distant, but I did neither see him nor his Court. These are petty Princes of small power to defend their States, only subsisting by the equall ballance of Italy, and protection from Spaine, or Fraunce, or other States of power, and more specially by the Common ayme of all States in Italy.

Mantua; for whose losse, and accidentall death, they still heavily bemone: acknowledging that the race of that Princely stock, by God's judgements was cut off, because of his untimely death." Lithgow, p. 291.

³ Lerici is in the Gulf of Spezia.
to preserve it in peace; For as a Crased shipp\textsuperscript{10} may be safe in a calme Sea, but lyes open to the waues vpon any storme; so the small States of Italy haue safety in peace, but fewe of them may iustly haue confidence to stand vnshaken vpon troubles of warr.

\textsuperscript{10} We still use crazy in \textit{OED}'s first sense of shattered in the phrase "crazy paving". Here it means a storm damaged or shattered ship.
Of the common wealth of Italy in generall and of some of the greater States thereof in particular touching the remayning Heades conteyned in the tytle of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 7 - 8. Tributes in generall. }
The Princes of Italy above all others in the world impose not only vpon their Subjects but vpon all strangers passing through their Territories great and many Tolls, Customes, and like exactions. All gates of Cittyes and Townes swarme with searchers, who if the passengers haue any thing that payes custome search narrowly\textsuperscript{1} to finde it, and if they haue nothing, yet will ransack the smallest things they haue, except they will giue them some reward. The Cittyes, and Townes and newe Territoryes of petty Princes, are very frequent, so as a Traueller passeth many\textsuperscript{2} of them in one dayes journey, and he cannot passe a Towne or a bridge, but he shall pay for his person, at euery bridge two or three Quatrines, at some Gates six at some Eight Solde of Venice, \textsuperscript{20} besides that he payes for his

\textsuperscript{1} "Carefully, closely, with close attention." \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{2} Hughes has "in any", p. 119.
He that carryes, Iewells or any thing of Gold or silver or pretious thing of small weight easy to be hidden, if he conceale it, and pay not Custome for it till he haue passed a certaine stone or marke, then the same found by the searchers is confiscat to the Prince, and if he shewe them to paye Custome, he runnes no lesse danger of his life by being knowne to haue such things about him. For anything almost that he carryes through Italy, he shall pay asmuch as the thing is worth. In some places it is vnlawfull to carry a sword, in some to carry a dagger, and at these <Gate>es men attend to offer their service, to carry the Passengers sword to the Inn, whome he must pay, and these places being frequent, he shall pay the worth of his sword before he haue passed through Italy, paying for carrying of it in each Cityt at the entring and going out of the Towne, and many tymes in one dayes journey. A poore woman that carryes twelue Eggs to the markett, must glue one at the Gate for Custome, and if she buy a payre of shooes in the Towne, or spice, or any like thing, tribute must be paid going out of the Gate. If a poore body gett his living by a wheele, to spinn, by Carding⁴ or by a Weauers Loome,

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³ From Moryson's definition, whereby three quatrines equal a soldo, and twenty soldi equal a lire, and seven Venetian lire equal a silver crown worth almost five shillings, to cross a bridge cost a halfpenny, and to enter towns tuppence halfpenny. This represents a considerable added extra cost. See Itinerary A, II, 154 - 155.

⁴ "To prepare wool...for spinning, by combing out impurities and parting and strengthening the fibres with a card." card. v. 1. 1. OED
he must pay yearely tribute to his Prince for licence to vse that trade. And all Inkeepers and those that sell any thing to eat <and> drinck, pay so great yearely Tributes to the Prince (as likewise the Poastmakers\(^5\) and those that haue horses to hyre) as they must [needs] vse great extortion, vppon all Passengers, and vppon subiects that haue occasion to vse them, for such licences are sold to them as it were at the outcrye, to him that will giue most for them.

\{ m.n. 4 - 6. The tributes in the Popes state. \}

The Pope is more mylde to his Subiects in this kinde then any other Prince in Italy,. And no doubt the fame of this gentlenes, auayle[d]th him more then his excomunications to gayne the Peoples harts, when he tooke into his possession the dukedome of Ferrara, the dukes whereof had formerly oppressed their Subiects with great exactions; so as all other Princes haue iust cause /10/ to feare this Foxes practises, lest he convert this fame of his gentlenes to their prejudice by like vsurpations. yet the Popes themselues lay vppon their Subiects many and heauy exactions, so farr as they make filthy yet great yearely gayne of the Harlotts in the Stewes, who Haue for theire

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\(^5\) Whilst this word is not cited in OED, post as an adverb is defined as "with speed or haste", so presumably Moryson means mounted messengers.
Judge the marshall of the Court Sanella, and he also for himself makes no small yearly\(^6\) rent of them. As also for gayne they allowe the Iewes a place in Rome for their habitation, wherein they haue their Synagogues, which priuileedge they would not permitt /20/ to any Christians differing from them in points of Religion, and (after the manner of the Italian Princes) suffer the Iewes to grynde the faces of their subjects, so they may extorte large tributes from them, and haue the commaund of their treasure to use vpon all occasions. Besydes the Popes governors and Magistrates sett ouer their Provinces and townes, are [most] [more] often changed then by any other Prince of Italy, and as hungry flyes sucke more greedily then those that are full, so these gouernors often changed must needes be a greater burthen to their subjects /30/ then if they continued long in office. Of the Papall exactions by spirituall Power, as Indulgences Pardons and the like, I haue formerly spoken in the [first] [fourth] chapter of this booke, I will only add in generall, that a learned historyographer of Germany, after their manner of Computation of Treasure, writes the yearely Reuenue of of them to haue exceeded one hundreth Tunns of Gould Guldens,\(^7\)

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\(^6\) Hughes corrects this to "yearely", p. 120.

\(^7\) "The Gold Rhenish Guldens of Germany, are almost of the same standard with the Crowne Gold of England..." Itinerary A, II, 143. Although gulden implies that the coin should be gold, there were silver guldens reichsguldiner circulating in southern Germany. Wood, p. 174. I cannot find the historiographer.
but in oure age to be much abated by the defection of many Dominions from the Popes obedience. In the same chapter I haue spoken of exactions by the Popes temporall power and State, and the yearely Reuenewe of all his tributes, I will only add that passengers going through the Papall State, in all his Portes, Frontyter twnes, the Citty of Rome, and all passages where tributes are frequenly imposed, not only pay Customs for all marchantdize, but for every little Portmanteau to carry daly necessaries pay one Julio, yet haue not the same ransacked as in other places.⁸

ₙₘₙₜ₉ ₄₈ - ₅₀. The tributes in the Dukedome of Florence

They who will [not] learne the Art to spend treasure sparingly and to exact it cruelly from their Subiectes, lett them Imitate the Italian Princes, among whome the Dukes of Florence excell in both kyndes, of whose frugality I haue formerly spoken, and now will particularly sett downe some exactions in that State. For each measure //

fol:iₜ₅₆. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.
of land vulgarly called Stoara contayning. 60. Perches every way, the owner payes yearely to the Duke (if the land

³ A julio is worth between sixpence and sevenpence; "fortie giulii make twentie shillings sterling English", Itinerary A, II, 157. "Compare with Gregory Martin, Roma Sancta (1581), ed. G. B. Parks (Rome, 1969), p. 189, where he relates how Pope Pius IV offered to provide for the beggars of Rome by a regular pension of 'a July a day, that is seven pence'." BP As its name implies, it was named after Pope Julius II (1503 - 1513). Wood, p. 89.
be most barren) ten Iulij, if it be firtle thirty Iulij, yea more, not only according to the firtelity of the land, but also vpon any extraordinary increase of the yeare.\textsuperscript{3} For an asses loade vulgarly called Soma of wyne they pay. 32. Quatrines,\textsuperscript{10} For a bottle of some three quartes of wyne two Quatrines. For the like measure of oyle three Quatrines, For an Asses loade of oyle 4 Iulij. For a Barrell of wyne one Iulyo For the grynding of a Sacke of Corne. 12. Quatrines, and for a note of license to grynde it. 6. /10/ Creizers\textsuperscript{11} (very monkes and Religious Fryers paying this trybuite for grynding of Corne) The Country people to the age of. 60. yeares pay each man for his head a Crowne yearely: For euery beast or any head of Cattle 20. Soldi, and as much for euery horse, Asse, or like Beast solde from man to man, how often so

\textsuperscript{3} Florio in his \textit{Words} defines \textit{Staia} the plural of \textit{Staio} as bushels, and \textit{Staiuola} as "a certain measure of land 160 foote of ours", but that is much smaller than sixty square perches which are about five and a half yards. \textit{OFD}. Dallington's explanation helps, "And as we measure our land by the Acre, so they theirs by the \textit{Staio}, which taketh his name of the \textit{Staio}: because one of these parcels of Land, if it be on the hills, will ask a \textit{Staio} of corne to seed it..." \textit{Tuscany}, sig. F2v. \textit{Stoara} is not recorded in Zingarelli.

\textsuperscript{10} Florio defines it as "any kind of load, burthen, fraught or charge that any beast doth beare." \textit{Words}. The fourth meaning of \textit{Soma} is defined by Zingarelli as a old unit of measurement, with values varying between 66 and 145 litres.

\textsuperscript{11} About threepence. "...five quatrines make a baello (or creitzer, which is a little coyne of silver)". \textit{Itinerary A}, II, 157. However, Dallington defines it as "Crazie, three half pence." \textit{Tuscany}, sig. H4v.
euer the property is altered, but the worth of the beast allters the payment after the rate of one Iulio in two Ducates. ¹² He that will keepe a shop to sell warres payes at the entrance. 50. lire, and yearely one Crowne. The Duke sells all Salt /20/ as his owne, and the Country people are bound to carrye it, hauing in that respect the priuilegede to buye a measure thereof for foure Quatrines, which is soulde to others for 12. but they must buye no more then serues theire private vse, for if it be knowne they sell any, they are condemned for a tyme to serue in the Gallyes, or in like sorte punished. The Duke Commandes the very Snowe to be gathered and layde vp in the winter, which he sells in the Sommer to be mingled with wyne, and for like vses. Whosoever brings the least thing into the Citty /30/ to be solde, or Carryes out the least thing bought, payes tribuite[s] at the gate. For Iewells or any thinge of gould or siluer according to the worth they pay a Gross for each Crowne: For a payre of newe shooes foure Quatrines. An old woman that hath a Cerchio of eggs that is 12. eggs to sell,¹³ payes two Quatrines, or givs one of the eggs to the officers at the gate. Flesh sold in the markett payes a quatrine the pound that is some iiid of our English mony in the stone, For a liuing hogg solde, thay pay to the Duke

¹² This represents a tax rate of about 8 - 10%. A ducat is worth about 3s 6d. OED

¹³ Cerchio suggests a circle or hoop. The word meaning a dozen is not in Zingarelli, so it may be obsolete dialect.
4. Iulij, one for each foote: 1/40/ and the like trybute the poore people pay for Cherryes, Rootes, and the least thinge they have to sell, yea a dead body carryed [carried] in or out of the Citty to be buryed, payes a Piastro\textsuperscript{14} or Crowne to the Duke. And least any fraude should be vsed by those that are poore or crafty, the officers search not only the Carryage but the very Apparrell of the people, and sometymes the secrett parts of the body, and there is a place at each gate with a marke which if any haue passed without paying of tribuite, those goods are forfeited to the Duke. Yet they report of /50/ many that haue plesantly and coningly deceaved the Crafty and Crewell searchers. As of an old woman, that tooke a gold Chayne her master had bought, and fouling it vnder the Flax of her Distaffe, passed the gate without paying tribuite. And of an other old woman, who carryed a Gammon of Bacon to sell, and being demaunded at the gate if shee had any thinge that payed tribuite, scoffengly yet truely answered that she had vna coscia secca a dry thigh, and they thincking her to speake of her owne body, with laughter dismissed her /60/ free of tribuite. And of a Country Clowne, who hauing //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i[4]5<i>\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} "And a silver crowne called Piastro...was given for ten guilii and a halfe." About 5s 2\textonehalf d. Itinerary A, II, 157.

\textsuperscript{15} This should be numbered 157.
bought Cherries for which they demaunded tribute, at the Gate, did rather eat them vpp in their presence, then he would pay ought for them. And of an other that having bought a Crucifixe of siluer, for which like things being newe, and vnvsed tribute is payd, hung it vpp at the gate, and falling vppon his knees, mumbled prayers to it, by that use to saue the tribute; And of a soldier who having bought a gold Chayne putt it into the hollow handle of his horsemans speare, so as the Searchers could not finde it, tho by spyes they knew he bought it,. And of a pleasant Monke, who /10/ having bought spice, and sewing it in the hinder part of the Cusheon, which the Italians vse ouer their sadles, and being demaunded what he had to pay tribute, answered scoffingly yet truely, ho del, specie al culo, I haue spice at my back syde, and so passed for a rude, or merry Felowe and paid no Tribute, without danger to forfeit the confessed spice, if they had after found it.\[16\] But to omitt Ieasts, I retorne to the serious purpose. In the dowryes of women to be marryed, and all bargaynes, the Duke hath seauen (others say eight) Crownes in euery hundreth Crownes. /20/ In hyring of houses he hath the tenth part of the yearely Rent and a like Tribute out of the last wills and Testaments of his subiects. And one tribute I wish all Princes would imitate and exact the

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15 The friar may be punning in many senses. Specie is a rare form of spezie, spices according to Zingarelli. Specie can also be money in the form of coin, and from the Latin ablative of species, it could mean money in kind.
like, that no man goes to lawe, but he payes tribute, according to his cause before he can enter his suite. When the Duke foresees a dearth of Corne, he makes search what Corne private men have, and leaving them as much as will serve their own Familyes, he buys the rest at a reasonable price, and lays it vp in the office of Aboundance, as they vulgarly call it, vsing equalitye /30/ towards all, in that he spares no man more then an other, but when Corne growes scant, it is sold to the people with great gayne. In like sort to prevent famine, the Duke buys sheepe, comonly each yeare three thousand, and more if need seeme to require, out of Lombardye the only Prouince of Italy, yeilding plenty of grasse to feede Catle, and these sheepe he distributes among the Butchers of his dominion at such rates, as howsoever he pretend the releife of the publique want, yet those Butchers thinck themselves most favoured who have fewest of his sheepe /40/ allotted to them. The State of Florence aboundeth with wyne oyle and flesh for foode, and the Fenns of Sienna called la maremme yeild such plenty of Corne as from thence great quantity vseth to be transported for the releife of neighbors as Lucca, and Genoa, yet often it happens that when corne beares a good price in Italy, shipps fraught therewith, arrive in the havens of this State, in which Cases private marchants buy not this Corne according to the Custome with

1" "Oyle" omitted by Hughes.
vs, but the Duke himselfe buyes it, and sells it by small measures in the markett with good gayne, and with such /50/ priuileged, as the Dukes corne must be sold before any private man may expose his on the markett. And if by any accident the fore said Office of Aboundance (as they call it) suffer losse in buying any provision, a taxe is allotted vpon euyery Family for repayre of that losse, yea euen vpon those that were no way releiued by that provision, In which case I haue seene my host a poore Inkeeper pay three lire at one taxe,¹⁸ and his brother a poore Artisan pay halfe asmuch, having had no whitt¹⁹ // fol:1[47]58. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

of the Corne for which it was imposed. If an extraordinary Death²⁰ happen the Duke hath vsed to make an Edict, that all men shall haue a quantity of brann mixed with their meale, and howsoever the very meanest Italians use to feede of pure wheaten bread, wherewith and a poore rootte, or apple, they will make a good meale, so their bread be pure, and so greatly abhorr this mixture, yet for feare of spyes (neuer wanting) the richest dare no more breake this Edict

¹⁸ This was at an inn in July 1594 at San Casciano, where he had "diet here at an easie rate, spending not above one Giulio each meale, and yet having such meat as I most desired, neatly dressed, and being diligently attended..." Itinerary A, I, 334.

¹⁹ "bit". OED

²⁰ Dearth.

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then the poorest. Besides ordinary Tributes, many extraordinary taxes, are imposed upon diverse accidents, as when the Duke is married, when his Children are baptised, when his daughters are married, when any bridges are broken by the overflowing of the River, Arno, or like accident, and upon many such casual events, Yea the Statua of Duke Cosmo, newly then set upright in the market place, was erected at the charge of the people, by a general taxation. And in general, since in all publice Collections more is gathered commonly then laid out, the Prince himselfe gaiynges by the very mischeifes, and burthens of the Common wealth. The ditches of Cittyes and Townes and wast places of high ways belong to the Duke, and in them he planted mulbery trees, whereof he sold the leaves for feeding of silke woormes with great profitt, no man daring to breake a leafe from them. My selfe in heat of Sommer breaking a small branche, to carry for shade, a gentleman [meeting me] [and] and observing me thereby to be a stranger, advised me nobly to cast the bough away before I passed by any house or village, for otherwise the breaking thereof, would cost me many Crownes, besides imprisonment. Above all other things the Duke makes excessive profitt by Innes and victualing houes, which sometymes he builds and letts the houses at high rates. Againe those that haue houses of their owne or hyred, that are fitt to be made Inns, yet pay excesiually yearely tribute for license to kepe them, so as it makes
little difference, whether the house be publike or private, and since he that buyes must needs sell, the Florentines otherwise courteous to strangers by their Princes auiarice, are forced to oppresse them. When any Inne (I meane not the house but the license to keepe an Inne) is to be lett (for the Custome is to lett them at first for one, then for sixe yeares, and those /40/ ended againe for one and then for sixe yeares, and so everlastingly in that order) I say when such Inns falling voyd are to be lett, it is done by the Out crye, a Candle being lighted, where the people are called together, and he that offers most before the Candle is burnt out, shall keepe that Inn during the foresayd tyme, and many tymes Citizens of noble Familyes harken, and beare out poore men in taking these high rented Farmes, to the end themselues may vtter in those Inns more easily at an high rate, the increase of their owne Wynes, oyle and fruiites which they /50/ haue to sell. Myselfe for learning the language did lodge for some moneths in two Inns, whereof the first was in the high way to Rome, yet in a village, about eight myle distant from Florence, and the Hostesse being an old widow, and paying 23 Crownes yearely to a gentleman for the //

{ c.w. rent of her }

Rent of her howse, did also pay to the Duke 56 Crownes yearely for license to keepe that Inn, wherein she sold no wyne but such as she fetched from an other man, that had
license to sell it. The other was kept by a shoemaker out of the high way to Rome, in a village, whose house was his owne Worth six Crownes by the yeare to be lett, and he paid to the Duke yearely 20 Crownes for license to keepe this Inn and sell wyne, and a Iulio and a halfe to exercise his poore trade,. For the poorest old woman may not keepe a wheele to spinn, without paying tribute and each /10/ weauer payes a Crowne or more yearely to the Duke for his loome. Most Inns pay the Duke yearely one hundreth or a hundreth Fifty, some few pay fiue hundreth or six hundreth Crownes yearely, as I remember the Inn vpon the Confines of Toscany in the way to the Sea syde of Liguria paid six hundreth Crownes yearely to the Duke,. Whensoeuer the Duke wants mony, he takes a list of his Subjects able to lend it, and diuides the same among them according to their ability giuing them assurance for repayment by assignments out of his Customes, which /20/ payments are alwayes duly made to them. The Siennis are rich in yearely Rents of Lands, but the Florentines having a more barren soyle are rich by arts & traffique. For Sattens they pay to the Duke 50. in the hundreth and the very traffique of Sattens in the Citty of Florence amounted in one extraordinary yeare to two millions of gold. The Revenues of the Duke were said ordinarily to exceede a million, and a hundreth thousand ducates, [others said one million and a halfe. The very Citty of Florence was said to yeild five hundred thousand
Ducates: The Port of Ligoron one hundred thousand yearly. The other Portes in generall one hundred fifty thousand. The Tribute of flesh one hundred forty thousand. The mynes of salt and of yron, and the Tribute for siluer a like somme. The Toll of milstones (besyde the State of Sienna) was said to yeild yearely one hundred sixty thousand Ducates, And the sole Tribute for Inns was said yearely to amount at least to two hundred thousand Crownes. Besides that the Duke makes great gayne by the bankes of Exchaunge wherein he hath much mony espesially in Banco de Rizzi whereof himselfe is the Cheife. If we consider the Continuall peace of Italy wherein the Duke was thought to lay vpp yearely at least halfe a milion of gold, no doubt he must be powerfull in Treasure. And as I dare boldly say that no Christian Prince euer did or can exact more of his Subiects, so I reade in a late writer that this Duke Ferdinand left to his sonne and successor ten millions of gold in ready mony, and two millions in Jewells.

No Prince of Italy exacts much lesse of his subiects, and for the Dukes of Ferrara of the Family of Este, before that Dukedome fell to the Pope, as lord of the Fee for want of heyres males. //

This is mid-metamorphosis between the Italian Livorno and the English Leghorn.
I did not observe more exactions in any place then in the City of Ferrara. Each stranger paid a Gagetta to the Duke at the Gate for his head where the searchers rifled all packs, Carriages and the least Portmanteau, to finde out things for which Tribute was to be paid, and if they fonde any such thing, as gold Chaynes spoones any thing of gold or siluer (which as I sayd in Italy can neither be hidd without danger, nor shewed without as great daunger of spoyling). nor any new apparrell, or any thing newe or not vsed, so as it may be fitt to be sold, all these things if they had not paid /10/ tribute for them, were confiscated to the Duke. The searcher followed vs to our Inn, there to search the small things, we carried with vs, and for this office of Respect that he did not stay vs and search vs at the gate, he extorted a reward from each one of vs, and those straungers who gaue them not rewards aswell as dutyes, were sure to be molested by them many wayes, as by keeping their mayles or other Cariage at the gate with them; [were sure to be molested by them many wayes] to be searched at their leysure, in which meane tyme they would not suffer him to take out a shirt to chaunge /20/ or any other necessarie for daily vse. The Dukes territory was small, yet this one Citty lying in the beaten way to Rome, by like exactions yeilded large yearely Reuenues. The very

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22 Hughes has "parts", p. 127.

23 Things which had been carried?
fishing of Eeles in the lake of Comaccio where the Riuer Po enters the Sea, or rather ends in standing waters, was said to yeilde to the Duke 150 thousand Crownes Yearely.

{ m.n. 28 - 29. The tributes in the state of Venice. }
The State of Venice in imitation of the Pope, calling his Rents the Patrimony of St. Peter, doe also call their tributes the Revenues of St Marke the protecting Saint of the /30/ Citty. Of Stable Rents, not such as are Casuall and gotten by industry, each man payes tenn Crownes to St Marke in the hundreth. Each measure of wyne called Botta vulgarly, payes fiue Ducates, and each Secchio of wyne payes tenn Soldi. Each measure of Corne called Staio vulgarly [called] payes 48 Soldi. But the shopkeepers pay no such Tributes as are exacted in Florence, exercising their trade freely. The Magazines of wyne only in the Citty of Venice, were said yearely to yeild three hundreth thousand Ducates, for those that sell wyne by small measures, paid each man some thousand /40/ Crownes for his license, after which rate the Inkeepers also paid for their

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24 Botte is the usual Italian form of wine butt. Zingarelli states that the size varied between regions. In Venice it paid duty of about eighteen shillings. Zingarelli's fourth definition of Secchia "Antica unità di misura per liquidi" does not advance our understanding to any appreciable extent. Twenty soldi made a lire, which is worth about eight pence halfpenny. Thus ten soldi, half a lire is about four pence farthing. See Itinerary A, II, 155.

25 From magazzino, warehouse.
licenses. Many houses kept Chambers to be lett, and suppose
the house be hyred for some hundreth Crownes the yeare, or
being their owne be valued, at so much, they pay halfe the
Rent, namely Fifty Crownes to St. Marke. The very boyes and
men wayting in the marketts, like our Porters with basketts
to carry home things bought, and vulgarly called
Cisterolli,\textsuperscript{26} doe pay each moneth Fiftye Soldi each one for
his license. In diverse written relations I finde the
generall Reuenue of this State valued at two /50/ millions
of gold yearely though Monsieur Villamont attributes so
much to the Citty of Venice alone.\textsuperscript{27} And for seuerall
tributes of the State, I finde them thus valued in
generall. The wyne //
yearely at one hundreth sixteene thousand Ducates; The oyle
at fower Thousand; Marchandize imported at Thirty thousand,
and exported asmuch. Corne at fowerteene: Flesh at
seaunteene thousand. The flatt\textsuperscript{28} vulgarly Il Grasso, as
butter, suett, and the like; Fourteene thousand [The Iron
seauen thousand.] The fruities foure thousand: The wood six
thousand. And for particular Cittyes, these relations
record, that Padoa brings yearely into the Treasure of
Venice thirteene thousand Ducates: Vicenza thirtye two

\textsuperscript{26} Probably related to cesto and cestino, a basket.
\textsuperscript{27} Villamont, sig. M6v, Book I, Chapter 37.
\textsuperscript{28} Hughes amends it to "fatt", p. 129.
thousand: Verona nynty thousand: Brescia (besides many extraordinary Subsidyes) /10/ one hundreth thousand foure hundreth and fyfty: Bergamo fyfty thousand: Vdane twenty fyue thousand: Treuigi²² foureskore thousand. Not to speake of the Ilandes of Istria, and Dalmatia Cityyes Cataro and Zara,³⁰ and other places of small importance, this sufficing for probable coniectiont of theire Reuenues, which may satisfactory a stranger, who can hardly and needeth not for his owne vse search the perfect knowledge thereof. My selfe returning from Padoa towardes England, and hauing the test[a]imon y of the vniuersity (vulgarly called Matricola) that I was Student thereof was thereby freed from many /20/ small payments in that State,³¹ as six Soldi demaunded at the Gate of Padoa, and eight Soldi at the gate of Verona, and some Quatrines for the passing of bridges and the like, which I mention to shewe that these payments were due to St. Marke only for my person, since I carryed nothing with me but some two or three shirts, and that the same payments being exacted of every Passenger for his head, in such a beaten way<e> from Fraunce, Germany and many kingdomes to Rome must needs amount to a great somrn yearely. I haue /30/ omitted to speake of the Tribute raysed by Harlotts, called

²² Treviso.

³⁰ Modern Kotor and Zadar in Croatia.

³¹ A sixteenth century student discount!
Cortisane,\footnote{Cortigiana: fig Prostitua. Zingarelli. The similarity to the word for courtier, cortigiano, enables Nashe in the persona of the banished earl to get a side swipe at Castiglione, when he apostrophises Italy, "...it maketh a man an excellent courtier, a curious carpet knight; which is, by interpretation, a fine close lecher, a glorious hypocrite." Thomas Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works, edited by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 345.} which must needs be great in that State, neither haue I spoken of extraordinary Tributes, as in the tyme of warr, wherein the Tenths for land, and in like sort the Customes are doubled or trebled, and priuate men not only with Chearefulnes lend, but also giue great sommes of mony and the women [are] haue not spared to giue their Jewells, so as it may be sayd that the publique treasure is neuer poore, so long as priuate men be rich.\footnote{In its greatest crisis in 1509 when Venice faced the League of Cambrai alone, Doge Leonardo Loredan "set an example by offering to the Treasury all his private plate and returning 5,000 ducats of his salary...he trusted that many others would follow his lead." John Julius Norwich, Venice Fall, p. 141.} Neither haue I spoken of the depost payd /40/ by gentlemen when they are admitted capable to beare office, nor of many like Revenues. Give me leave to add that a late writer hath published in print, that the generall Reuenue of Venice amounts yearely to two millions of gold Crownes. That the Townes yeild yearely eight hundreth thousand Crownes, of which summ Bergamo and Brescia yeild three hundreth thousand; That the Imposts of Venice amount to 700 thousand, wyne alone in the State to i30 thousand, and salt
alone to 500 thousand Crownes. The Duke of Mantua maketh no lesse exactions vppon his subjects and all straungers, then other Princes of Italy, but hath one thing singular, that to the prejudice of his subjects he intertaynes the Iewes with greater priuiledges than they have in other parts of Italy, so in Mantua they keppe the cheefe shops, and are not easily knowne from Cittizens, carying only a marke in obscure places, as vnder theire Clokes, whereas all Iewes in other parts of Italy ether weare yellow hatts, or haue other notorious markes by which they are very aparently knowne.

34 Moryson "is quite often near the mark" in his estimates. BP Usually the deviation from the official figures is no more than 10%. See Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), pp. 148 - 152.

35 Notorious in the sense of "generally, openly or publicly known." a. 1. 2. b. OED These would be obvious props for productions of The Merchant of Venice. My tutor, Dr. T. P. Matheson reminds me that the 1984 production by the RSC at Stratford - on - Avon, starring Ian McDermid complete with yellow conical hat caused considerable controversy. I have never seen a pre - Kean interpretation of this play, with Shylock as a humorous rather than a sympathetic character. It would be an interesting dramatic experiment, but can only happen when the world is much more at ease with itself. I suspect that will not be in my lifetime.
The Revenues of the Duke of Vrbin were said to amount yearly to one hundred thousand crowns, yet his territory was small, and he thought to be a gentle exactor in comparison of others, whereupon he was /10/ said to be much beloved of his subjects. notwithstanding passing by Senogallia (which town belongs to the Pope, but it seemed the Dukes territory came to the gate therof, for the Inn without the gate lodging all passengers belonged to the Duke) I say passing by Senogallia and lodging in the Inn without the gate, I understood that the Innkeeper paid yearly 500th Crowns to the Duke of Vrbin, for keeping that Inn, and his being Postmaster, so as I nothing marvelled to be abused in our supper and the hiring of horses, but rather wondered at the avarice of /20/ the Italian Princes, who by these immoderate exactions not only oppress their subjects, but force them to grinde the Faces of all strangers passing through their territories.

{ m.n. 25 - 27. Tributes in the kingdom of Naples. }

The tributes of the kingdom of Naples are no lesse rather more excessive, for not only merchants pay them, but gentlemen buying silke stockings and like small things, pay tribute, except they were them once, and so likewise for chaynes and Jewells of gold except they be openly worn about the neck or handwrests. And if any have passed /30/

"Hand-wrist. Obs. exc. dial." OED
Naples gate without paying tribute and taking a testimony therof, his goods shall be forfeited when the Searchers at Sportelle upon the Frontiers find them. Yet all these caterpillars will also extort something of gift. And great tributes are paid for horses which cannot go out of the kingdom without license from Naples, searchers attending at Fondi and other places otherwise to forbid their passage. Yea the Searchers will not only rifle a stranger's portmanteau, but will see what money he hath in his purse, and those who let horses & Mules, must have a passport for passing of their beasts. To conclude this point too particularly handled already. I will only add that the Catholike king of Spayne imitates his holy Father the Pope in the tribute exacted for harlots, whereof 60,000 were said to be in the City of Naples, and of them the poorest paid two Carlini the month, but the proudest and fairest not only paid much more to the king's treasure, but also were subject to many extortions of divers magistrates set over them. So as the Pope and these Papal Princes seem to have learned of the heathen Emperor

17 Sportello is a window at which money can be paid. Zingarelli. Possible emendations such as Spoleto and Spotorno were not on what was the Neapolitan frontier.

8 A little inland town near Gaeta.

39 Carlino is from Charles of Anjou who first had them coined in 1278, ancient silver and gold from the Kingdom of Naples. Zingarelli. Similar to the guilio, it was valued by Moryson as worth sixpence, since "a French crowne of just weight, was given for thirteene carlini" and a French crown was worth six shillings. Itinerary A, I, 157, 161.
of Rome, that the smell of gayne is sweete though it come of Dung, who exacting mony of Vrine sold, and taxed by his owne sonne for the basenes of the gayne, putt to his nose a peece of mony of that tribute, and another of a sweete Commodity (as spice or the like) and asked him what difference there was betweene the smell of them.40

{ m.n. 57 - 59. of the power of Italy in warr generally }
The Princes of Italy placing all the hope of preseruing theire States in the greatnes of theire treasure, not in the loue of theire subiectes, which they loose by the foresayd cruell /60/ //

Booke.1 [C]The Commonwealth of Italy Chap Viii fol.i[5]63. exactions (under which they [loose by the foresayd] grone as vnder the bondage of Egipt) and so hold theire faythfulness suspected, for that cause keepe them from any the least experience in military seruice, or so much [or so much] as the vse of the wearing of the sword desyring to haue them as base & fearefull as men may be. And for this Cause in their warrs, they vse auxiliary soldiers, and especially Generalls of other Nations. Yet I confesse that

4 The Emperor alluded to is Vespasian (70 - 79), and his son is the Titus who fulfilled Christ's prophecy of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. "When Titus found fault with him for contriving a tax upon public conveniences, he held a piece of money from the first payment to his son's nose, asking whether its odour was offensive to him. When Titus said, "No", he replied, "Yet it comes from urine." " Suentonius, Works translated by J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1914), II, 319
the State of *Venice* being a free State, under the which the people, are not so much oppressed as under other Princes of Italy, raise part of their /10/ foot of their own Peasants, but the strength thereof is in strangers, as likewise they employ some gentlemen of the Cities subject to the State to command some troops of men at arms or armed horses. But howsoever they make gentlemen of Venice Gouernors and Generalls of their Navye, yet they never employ them to command their land forces, having always a stranger to their Generall. But this they do, not that they suspect their faith, but lest any gentleman gaining great reputation in arms, and the loue of the soldiers, should have power at any time to usurpe /20/ upon the Freedome of their State. Againe I will boldly say that the Italians generally have so litle Confidence in the hopes of the life to come, and finde such sweetnes in the possession of their earthly Paradice, as they care not to hazard Certayne things, for those that hold uncertaine, and [so] howsoever they are more proude then valiant in revenging private wrongs with base advantages, which pride may [also] make them braue in war, when they are forced to that Course, yet I thinke they are not willingly bold
adventurers of their persons in any action that presents death to their eyes. And for this Cause for the great warrs of Europe, in forrayne parts, and particularly in the long warr of our tyme betweene England, Fraunce, Spayne and Netherland, wee neither reade, nor heare of any great voluntary troopes or bands of Italians carryed to that servuce with loue of that profession. For those few Italians which haue serued in Netherland, were for the most part Neapolitans, pressed by the king of Spayne, or banished men, or such whose fortunes permitted them not to luye in Italy. For the Force of Italy the Marchians subject to the Popes of Rome, are most commended and I know not how good soldiers they are abroad but surely straungers finde them at home rude, and feirce towards them. But the woorthy Historiographer Guiccardine, being himselfe an Italian confesseth in the warr of the French king Lewes the [...h]twelueth in Italy, that the Italian foote were base, and litle to be esteemed, and that the Italian horsemen could not sustayne or beare the strength and the force of the french horsemen charging them. And

This word is difficult to decipher. Hughes has "Foote", p. 133. His reading may well be superior to mine.

From Le Marche.

In Book Ten in the description of the Battle of Ravenna in 1512, Guicciardini writes via Fenton, "The Italian footemen gaue backe, being no more able to resist so great a multitude: but one part of the Spanish footemen running to their succours, sustained them for a time..." p. 449.
he that reades his Historye, shall finde in the warr at that tyme, aswell in the kingdome of Naples, as in the State of Pisa & Dukedome of Milan that /50/ // fol:1[5]64. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. the Italian Troopes and bands deserued small or no prayse, and sometyme much blame,. I will not dispute whether the old Romans conquered the world by their owne wisdome which they still retayne, and by the valour of forrayne Legions, made free of the Citty and so called Romans, or whether the old Romans were indeed braue soldiers while they beleueed that all men dying for their Country went directly to the Elisian Feildes, rather then now they haue woosre Maximes of Religion, but Historyes warrant me to say, that after the declining of the Roman Empire, the barbarous people never made invasion, /10/ nor the Emperors of Germany any expedition with Armyes into Italy, wherein the Italians did make any braue resistance for life liberty and goods, but rather did not basely yeilde themselves to the invading power. And that in the last age, when Fraunce and Spaine stroure for the dominion ouer Italy, the Italians euer subiected themselves to the invading Armye yea that all the forces of the States and Princes of Italye combyned and assisted by the power of Ferdinande king of Arragon were all straungly beaten by the French alone. And for the ill

46 Presumably Morison is still referring to the Battle of Ravenna fought on Easter Day 1512 when the French beat The Holy League, a coalition of Spanish, Venetian and Papal forces, plus mercenaries of various nationalities.
successe of the French in the kingdom of Naples, /20/
Guiccardine himselfe, attributes it in no part to the
Italians, but altogether to the valour of the Spaniards.
About the tymne when I was in Italy, one of the brothers of
the Duke of Florence ledd some Italian bands of Foote and
troopes of horse to assist the Emperor in Hungarie against
the Turkes, but after a yeare they retorned, having done no
memorable service. For the horse of Italy; the race of the
kingdome of Naples is much prised, being vulgarly called
Corsers of their swiftnes, wherein notwithstanding the
Giannetts of Spaine exceell them.47 And that kingdome also
yields /30/ strong and great mules. Otherwise in Lombardy
they use little naggs, and commonly Mares for carriage &
riding, and oxen to drawe euene in Coaches sometymes as in
Toscany and the mountanous upper parts of Italy, they use
Asses and little mules, and neither have any good races of
horses, saue that some few Princes [breede a small number
of the] [and especially the State of Venice] Race of
Naples. Yet some Princes [and] especially the State of
Venice in tymne of peace mantayne some troopes of Armed
horse, which I haue seene mustered in very braue equipage,
the horses being well armed and beautifull, and /40/ the
horsmen attyred in Coates of blewe veluett or like Coulor,
whereof I shall speake in the particular discourse

47 A jennet is a small Spanish horse. Such a beast, "A
breeding jennet, lusty, young and proud" tempts the courser
of Adonis in Venus and Adonis, 260, in an ironic
juxtaposition with Adonis's distinct lack of ardour.
following. The Foote Captaynes especially of the State of Venice, are to be commended that they liue not luxuriously and prodigally, but content with their pay of Twentye five Crownes the moneth, liue modestly both for diett and apparrell, as the Common Soldiers likewise liue of the pay of some three or fower Crownes the moneth, the Pioners having only [i]12 Soldi of Venice by the day. Nether doe the Captaynes make any extraordinary advan/tages by their Companyes, either in deficiency of numbers or victualls or Apparrell for them, only Guiccardine writes that the Popes vse to be much cosened in those kindes.⁴⁴/. 

{ c.w. For the nauall }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:1[.]65 { m.n. 1, 2. The nauall power in generall. }

For the Nauall power of Italy in Generall; The Italians the old Conquerors of the world, are at this day so effeminate and so inamored of their Paradice of Italy, as [nothinge] [none] but desperate fortune can make them undertake any voyages by Sea, or land (great part of them having neuer seene the villages and Townes within fiue or tenn myles of their natuie soyle,) or any warfare by Sea, or land, or any

⁴⁴ The Venetians were perhaps unusual in Italian experience for the orderliness of their forces. In Book One of his history, Guicciardini describes the technological and organizational superiority of the French. He compares this to the Italian armies, and their discontented captains. Fenton renders it thus, "And being bound to no tearme fixed for their payes, and absolute commaunders over their companies, they oftentimes beguile the service with lesse numbers then they are payed for..." p. 36.
hard Course of life. And as generally they are reputed not
very confident in Gods protection by land, so they lesse
trust him at Sea, thincking that man to haue had a /10/
hart of Oake and brasse who first dared to make furrowes
vppon the waues of the Sea, having nothing but a boarde
betweene him and ougly death. To which purpose they haue a
Proverbe, Loda il mar’, sta su la terra. That is, Praise
the sea tyde, on land abide.⁴³ So as they seldome proue
expert, neuer bold marriners. And howsoever some venture to
sayle along the Coast at home, fewe or none professesse to be
Marriners at Sea, having their shipps for the most part (or
altogether) furnished with Comaunders and Common Saylers of
the Greekees, and /20/ Ilanders about them. These Greeke
Marriners I haue found by experience to be very
superstitious for ominous tokens of Shipwrack, and they
sayling only in the narrow mediterranean sea, if once they
haue lost the sight of the loued shore by any mist vppon
the least ill weather, most of them soone leese the
knowledge where they are, and if any storme arise, they
make such a fearefull noyse, and by confusion shew such
ignorance, and want of Courage, as would make a man afraayd
where no feare is. In my Iournall of my retorne from

⁴³ Florio quotes the proverb as following:
Lauda il mare, e tienti alla terra
Lauda il monte, e tienti al piano.
Praise the sea, on shore remaine
Wonder at hills, keepe on the plaine.
106 - 107, [STC 11097].
Constantinople & landing /30/ at Zante, I haue shewed that with great wonder I nderstood a Lenetian Shipp of five hundreth Tonnes well armed, to be taken by a fewe small Frigatts of the Turkes, being themselues neither good Seamen, nor bold soldiers, but only Pyratts hartned to Rapine where they finde small resistance. Neither durst any Italian Shipps in that Port, for feare of these Pyrates goe forth to fetch Corne for the necessarie foode of the Iland, but were forced to compell an English Shipp waft their Corne from Morea into the [great] Port of Zante. Likewise I obserued English Shipps going forth /40/ from Venice with Italian Shipps to haue sayled into Syria and retorned to Venice twice, before the Italian Shipps made one retorne, whereof two reasons may be giuen, one that the Italians pay their marriners by the day, how long soeuer the voyage lasteth, which makes them vppon the least storme putt into harbors, whence only fewe wyndes can bring them out, whereas the English are payde by the voyage, and so beate out stormes at Sea, and are ready to take the first wynde any thing fauourable into them. The other that Italians Shipps are heauy in /50/ sayling, and great of burthen, and the Gouernors & Mariners not very expert, nor bold, and so are lesse fitt in that narrow Sea full of Ilands, to beate out stormes at Sea, whereas the English Shipps are swift in sayling, and light of burthen, and the marriners excellent

\* "Wast" in Hughes, p. 136.

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both in knowledge //

fol:ii[5]66. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. and Courage, and so more fitt to beate out all weathers at Sea. Insomuch as I haue observerd the Italians with astonishment and admiration stand vpon the shore beholding an English Shipp woorke[s] into the harbor with a very scant,\textsuperscript{5} and boysterous gayle of wynde while their Shipps lay abroade and neither durst nor could come in. In generall the shipps of Italy trading in forrayne parts, are of great burthen From five hundreth to twelue hundreth Tonne, and howsoever they are well furnished with great peeces of brasse ordinance; yet in regard of this greatnes, being /10/ slowe to vs their sailes, and being built large in the Wast and keele for Capacitie of Marchandize, they are vnfitt to fight at Sea, howsoever they may serue like Castles to defend a Port or the entrance of a Riuer lying at Anchor. The lesse Barques seruing to vnlade these shipps, and for passage vpon the Coasts, are altogether vnarmed. For in warr vpon that Calme Sea, they altogether vs Galleys, whereof the greatest are called Gallyons, the Midle Gallies and the least Galliasses and Frigotts. And only the king of Spaine, at Naples, and in the Hauens of that kingdome /20/ and in the Port of Genoa (as likewise that Citty in the same Port, and the Venetians in the Port

\textsuperscript{5} "Slant", Hughes, p. 136. Scant surely is the superior reading here. The English can take advantage of all winds.
of Venice) may be said able to arme a Navye of Gallyes: For otherwise the Ports of Italy are fewe, as Ligorno subject to the Duke of Florence and Ciuita Vecchia on the one syde, and Ancona on the other syde vppon the Sea subject to the Pope, which Ports also are not open and secure Rodes for great Shipps, but shutt and fortifyed for security of Gallyes, and that in no great number. And howsoever the Pope hath some fewe Gallyes, and the Duke of Florence, and the Knights /30/ of Malta, have likewise some fewe Gallyes, whereof they arme some part yearely to spoyle the Turkes vppon that Sea, yet the number of them is so small as they deserve not to be called an [Army][Auay].

More miserable men cannot be found then those who are condemned to Rowe chayned in the Gallyes. Some of these for Capitall Crimes are condemned to this slauerye for life, others guilty of lesse Crimes are condemned to this servise for certayne yeares, and some are so foolish as to sell their liberty for mony to undergoe this bondage, till the mony be repayd. As at Naples they /40/ haue a stone where vnthrits play at dice, and the Commanders of Gallies are alwayes ready there to lend them mony, who will take it vppon this slauish Condition, and if they haue ill luck to leese those fewe Crownes, they are presently carried into the Gallyes, and they are chayned, whence they are seldome or never redeerred. For their allowance of victualls being

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²² Hughes corrects it to "a Navy", p. 137.
scant, and the victualers in the Gally giving them Creditt, their debt monethly increaseth, till it be so great as fewe or none can [fynde] freinds to pay it. And this their misery proues more intollerable by the extreme Cruelty of the /50/ Commanders who beat them with Cudgells and whipps for slacknes in rowing, and when they fall downe for faintnes they lift them vpp with a Rope, and beat them still to their woorke, yea after the manner of Turkye when they committ //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i[5]67. any fault, they are terribly beaten with Cudgells vppon the back, the bellye, and the soles of the feete.

{ m.n. 4 - 6. The power of the State of Venice in warr. } The State of Venice is more powerfull in warr then any other State, or Prince of Italy. And this power made them suspected in the last age to affect the subduing of all Italy, where vppon the Pope of that tyme, the Emperor Maximilian, the french king Lewes the twelueth, and Ferdinand the king of Arragon made a league at Cameracum to ioyne all their forces for suppressing the power of this State, which with great Courage defended it selfe against these strong /10/ united forces, and being beaten by the french alone; yet the wise Senators thereof applied themselves first to appease the Pope by yeilding to his

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5 Cambrai, 1508.
demands, who combined the rest of the league in that great action almost to the fatall ruine of this state. And the Pope being once satisfyed, by his inconstant leaving of his Confederates, and their mutuall ielousyes among themselues, the Venetians having lost all their dominion on firme land soone recouered the same, excepting the Townes yeilded to the Pope (from whose possession as from Hell there is no redemption) and the Townes of the kingdome of Naples /20/ which the king of Arragon had ingaged for mony to the State of Venice, and now during this league had by Armes extorted out of that States possession. From which tyme the Venetians haue only laboured to preserue their owne, and seeme to haue cast of all projects of vsurping vppon their neighbors. The written relations of this State taxe the Nobles (so their gentlemen are called) with want of Courage, whereby they abhorr from any Warr, and more spetially against the Turkes daily prouoking them with many injuryes, to whose Sultans (or Emperors) they not /30/ only pay yearely tribute for the peaceable possession of some Ilands they hold in the Mediterranean Sea, but also vppon all occasions when the Sultanes are incensed against their State, spare not by large bribes, and like meanes to appease them. And indeed the Gentlemen of Venice are trayned vpp in pleasure and wantonnes, which must needes
abase and effeminate their myndes. Besides that this State is not sufficiently furnished with men and more specially with natuie Commaunders and Generalls, nor yet with victualls, to vndertake (of their owne power without assistance) a warr against the Sultane of Turk3. This want of Courage, & especially the feare lest any Citizen becoming a great and popular Commaunder in the warrs, might thereby haue meanes to vsurpe vpon the liberty of their State, seeme to be the Causes that for their Land forces they seldome haue any natuie Comaunders, and alwayes vse a forrayne Generall. Yet we reade that Gentlemen of Venice haue brauely commaunded their Navye euen in cheefe. In tyme of peace, they vse to giue a great yearely stipend to some Prince or great Commaunder to be generall of their land forces in tyme of warr. //

This State hath many and strong Forts well furnished with Artillery munition and victualls vpon all their Confines being many and dangerous as before I haue shewed.

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To Moryson, sex is a wealening, a spending of manliness, so that none is left for war. This is a representative view. Botero praises continence which ";...helps to preserve health and strength, for unbridled licence weakens men as well as beasts, hastens old age, enfeebles the will, wears out the nerves and opens the way to gout and death." "Of valour", State, p. 53.
The written Relations of this tyme testifye that in tyme of peace they mantayned in pay 600th. men at Armes, or Armed horse, of their owne Subjects being gentlemen of their Territoryes vppon firme land, each one of these 600.th mustering three horses with their Riders all armed, and each one having yearely i20 Ducates, And that they can rayse i000 or i500 vppon necessity. They were /10/ diuided into twelue Companyes or Troopes, and made a generall Muster euery Sommer. Two of these Troopes were of the Citty of Padua, which my selfe did see muster'd making a glorious shewe, the horse being beautifull and well armed, and the horsemen in like sort armed & wearing Coates of blewe veluett, with great plumes aswell for the men as horse. Of old they also mantayned one thousand light horse, but of late had none such in pay vsing for that purpose the Stradiotti of Dalmatia, whence they say 3000 may be drawne vppon occasion to vse them. /20/

{ m.n. 21. The foote. }

They doe not altogether distrust their owne subjects to whome they are (after the manner of Common wealthes) more

\footnote{The plumes would suggest more of a ceremonial use.}

\footnote{Zingarelli defines Stradiotto as a word of Venetian origin, denoting "Soldato a cavallo, armato alla leggera, assoldato dall'antica repubblica di Venezia tra albinesi, bulgari, greci e dalmati." a lightly armed cavalryman hired by the Venetian Republic from Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Dalmatians. Florio defines one as "Also a kind of souldier that the Venetians vse, like our Carbines, Freebooters or bootie-halers." Words.}
milde and gentle in exactions, then the Princes of Italy. So as according to the number of Fryers the Subjects are to mantayne soldiers aswell for land as Sea seruice, and the Captaynes haue the names of all Subjects written for the one, or the other servise.

They mustered 25 thousand Foote of their Peasants, seruing both in Gallyes and land Armyes, at least for baser vses, but for foote they generally vse and haue the strength /30/ thereof of Grisons and Sweitzers, and to this end some Commaunders among them haue stipends even in tyme of peace, but in warr each man had 3 Crowres for 45 dayes while they were imployed, and in cases of necessity they haue giuen each man 5. Crownes the moneth. The Gentlemen of Venice serue freely without pay.

{ m.n. 37. The Nauye. }

For their Navall power, in the last preceding generall discourse, I haue sayd that the Italians or rather Greekes vsed by them, are neither expert nor bold mariners, and that the great shipps are slowe in sayling, and vnfitt for /40/ fight at Sea, and that the lesser Barques are vnarmed, and that vppon the Calme mediterranean Sea, all nauall fights vse to be made with Gallyes whereof the greatest are

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57 A fire implies a common hearth which implies a household. Thus some sort of capitation was established on the number of households.
called *Galeoni*, the midle sort *Galee* and the lesser *Galeasses* and *Fregates*. And therein I spoke of the miserable Gallyslaues.\(^\text{58}\) All this spoken in generall belongs to *Venice* as a principall part of *Italy*. The *Venetians* haue a lawe that each marchants shipp of 500 Tonnes, must carry in the voyage it maketh, a young gentleman of *Venice*, giuing him sixe Crownes stipend by the moneth, and must bring vpp two /50/ //

*Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i[5]69.*

boyes of *Venice* to breede them Mariners. But this wisdome of their Progenitors hath bene made vayne by the sluggish disposition of their posterity, for neither haue the gentlemen any skill thereby in nauigation or commaunding at Sea, since the young gentlemen chuse rather to stay at home, so they may haue the stipend and value of their diett for the voyage, neither are the shipps thereby furnished with natuie mariners, since (as I formerly sayd) the *Italians* in their nature abhorr from that or any like hard Course of life, tho otherwise they are so proude, as they

\(^{58}\) Zingarelli distinguishes between *Galeoni*, galleons, three masted, square-rigged warships and transports with two or occasionally three decks, a castle and high quarterdeck, and armed with thirty to forty large cannon, and *Galea* a typically Mediterranean narrow, single-decked ship powered by 26 - 30 benches of four oarsmen each and also powered by wind, and *Galeazza*, a galleass or great galley, similar to the above, but broader and with higher sides, a three masted Venetian warship of the sixteenth century with thirty oars per side, 288 rowers and a full complement of 500. Additional information came from the glossary in Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and The Decline of Venice 1580 - 1615*, translated by Jane and Brian Pullan (London, 1967), pp. 152 - 156.
will doe any service at home rather then /10/ basely to begg. They who serve in the Gallies of Venice, are partly Freemen, as the Gondelieri, or watermen of Venice which for the Tragetto 53 or passage where they have priviledge to plye, or transport, are bound vpon extraordinary occasions to serve in the Gallyes to rowe, as likewise the Soldiers are free, aswell the native Peasants aboue mentioned as straungers, and of them that are free some have stipend and victualls from this or that Citty setting them forth others haue the same from the Treasure of St. Marke (so they call the Exchequer,) /20/ as the Pope calles all he hath St. Peters, and at Genoa the publique Treasure is called the treasure of St. George their protecting Saint). Others that serve in the Gallyes are slaues, vpon Crimes condemned to the Gallyes for life or certaine yeares, and St. Marke giues them raggs to couer their shame, and victualls in scant measure, but the victualer giues them Creditt that are condemned for yeares, by which growing debt they are made perpetuall slaues, and both sorts of Condemned slaues are chayned by the legg to the place where they rowe, which /30/ their Gouernor vnlocks at one end when he sends them forth for fresh water or wood bearing still their Chaynes on their legs. The Gallyes are commonly called after the

53 "Passagio da un luogo all'altro." Zingarelli. This is one of the authentic details that Shakespeare includes in The Merchant of Venice,

Bring them, I pray thee, with imagined speed
Unto the traject, to the common ferry
Which trades to Venice. III. 4. 52 - 54.
names of their Cheefe Gouernor. My selfe did enter one of
the Gallyes, and the Castle in the Prowe was some twelue
[of my] paces, and the bodye with the Poop[e] [some] fifty of
my paces long, and the master commaunded from the Castle to
the great mast, as the Comito (or mate) commaunds the
rest. 60 In the poop[e] satt the cheefe Gouernor, vnnder hoopes
couered with a fayre Cloath, and beyond the sterne /40/ was
a litle Gallery, and vnnder the deck his Cabbin, and aboue
the poop[e] hung the cheefe banner of St Marke, the Gally
being grauen on all sydes with white lyons for the image of
St Marke. The Gally bore fower great peices in the Castle
(where the Trompetters sounde) and Thirty more on the
sydes, and in the poop[e] twelue whereof two great lay aboue
directly layd out vppon the sterne, and two of like
greatnes vnnder them, and two of like greatnes some 22
spanns 61 long were turned towards the Gallye to shoote
sydewayes, the other were lesse, but all of brasse. /50/
The Gallye had 25 oares on each syde, and seauen men to
rowe each oare, and when they are in Port two sleepe vppon
the benche where they vse to sett, two [sleepe] in the
place //

60 "Comito: Nell'antica marina, soprintendente della
ciurma a delle vele e direttore di stiva." Zingarelli. The
person in charge of the galleyslaves, sails and what goes
on within the vessel. Stiva literally means hold. Florio's
definition is near Moryson's, "a Masters mate of a ship."
Words.

61 A measurement from the thumb to little finger, about
nine inches long. n. 1. 1. OED

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which is under their thighs, and two where they settle their feete, when they rowe, and the seauenth slept upon the Oare, and upon a little board betweene each Oare three soldiers used to sleepe. So as their being in the Gallye is nothing commodious, but straight, uneasy, and subject to contagion. The State or City of Venice continually used to arme Fifty Gallyes, whereof 25 were called of the Schooles or Companyes of Arts, arming and paying them, and 25 Palatines, Armed and payd by St Marke in which the foresaid watermen are bound to serve when they goe forth. In each Gallye the Cheefe Commander is a gentleman of Venice, and the next Command is likewise committed to two gentlemen, and they are called Sopracomiti as above the mate, and they which command in the Palatine Gallies are of greater estimation then the other, And I finde in written Relations, that these Commanders haue each of them 1600 Crownes yearely stipend, for which it is expected from them, they should give some releife to the Soldiers, and specially to the slaines, having a slender diet allowed, and so being forced to runn in the victualers debt. /20/ They write of twelve Gallies armed by subject Cities of the firme land towards the Sea Coast. This Navye they are forced to arme against the Turkish Pyrates vsing to spoyle their Shipps in the tyme of peace, and in winter tyme, it commonly lyes in the haven of Corfu having a
strong Fort, and sometymes in the havens of Candia. And hereof some five Gallyes, and some small Barques armed, lye vppon the Gulfe of Venice to purge the same of Pyrates, more specially the Vscocchi, who liuing on the Coast of Dalmatia in Signi vppon the Confines of the Empire, Turkey /30/ and the State of Venice, and being Christians, yet liue as outlawes, neither subject to the Turkes nor to any Christian Prince, and robb all men especially the Italian Shipps at Sea.\footnote{62}

In the City of Venice, they haue a fayre and large Arcenall compassed with walls, wherein they keepe all munitions for warr, and haue a secure Station for their Gallyes, where likewise they build their shipps and

\footnote{62} "The interest generated by the Senj Uskoks is strikingly disproportionate to their numbers" writes Philip Longworth, 'The Senj Uskoks Reconsidered', \textit{Slavonic and East European Review}, 57, no. 3 (July 1979), 348 - 368, (p. 348), for their total could not have exceeded 2,000 including women, and a raiding party probably consisted of only 400, 600 for an expedition. p. 362. Yet their fearsome reputation preceded them. They were accused of drinking their enemy's blood. They were a border people, acting out their lawless lives of cattle rustling, kidnapping, slave trading and, above all, piracy, in the power vacuum between Venice, Turkey and the Holy Roman Empire. They were a symptom of the overpopulation of the era mostly consisting of runaways, dispossessed peasants and escaped galleyslaves nominally under the control of the Emperor in Prague.

Since Barnadine refuses to die in \textit{Measure for Measure}, the Provost suggests a substitute head be sent to Angelo, There died this morning of a cruel fever

One Ragusine, a most notorious pirate... IV. 3. 67-68. The Uskoks "...were immigrants from Austrian (and Ragusan) territory." Longworth, p. 353. Ragusine would have come from Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik). His career as a notorious pirate confirms that Shakespeare envisaged him as an Uskok.

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Gallyes, to which purpose they have much timber on the Sea coast of their dominion. The walles are some three myles Compasse, and the officers shew /40/ the same Courteously to straungers. The Maestranza consists of some 2200 woorkemen, weekly paid by St Marke, whereof 300 are expert men in building Shipps and Gallyes. They shewed me fewer upper Chambers, wherein Sayles were made and layd upp, and therein some 20 or 30 woorke continually, and each of them hath a portion of wyne, Bisquitt, and Soldi by the day. In fewer low roomes are layd the Cordage, and Cables sufficient to furnish more then 300 Gallyes, beside an infinite number of Oares, each woorth fiue ducates, and Costing the State more then fewer ducates. They shewed /50/ mee five Magasines uppone one syde,. In the first were great peeces of Artillery, disposed in 24. Rowes. In the second were peeces for 50 Gallyes, besides 150 peeces, some greater, some lesser. In the third were great peeces for five great Gallyes, Forty for each one, besides 250. other ordinary peeces. In the fourth uppone the right hand were 72 small peeces for the Feilde, and uppone the left hand // { c.w. 356. peeces }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:[i6i.]

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63 Zingarelli's second meaning comes nearest to what appears to be intended here, a collection of workers, each master of his trade, called "maistrie" by Florio, Words.

64 "1. a. A place where goods are laid up; a storehouse or repository for goods or merchandise; a warehouse, depot. Now rare." OED
356 peeces of battery and some 100th Instruments called Trombi for the fyre woorkes. In the fifth were laid vpp such peeces, as at diuerse tymes were taken from the Turkes, whereof many had bene and were daily melted and newe cast. They told me they had in all some 2000 great peeces, the bulletts whereof were some 70, some 100, some 200, some 300 pounds weight, and myselfe did see one great peece [of] 12400 poundes, and the Bullet 120 pounds. In diuerse other rooms they layed musketts and all Armes for Soldiers at Sea. They shewed me many Gallyes newe /10/ built, and some 100th old, but strong lying at Anchor, and together with the Navye they haue alwayes abroad, this State can Arme /200th, other say /300th Gallies, and of late in tenn dayes they had armed 30.tye great Gallyes ready for a Sea fight; Besides that they haue many litle Barques and fregates. They shewed me a litle Gallye called Bucentoro because it beareth 200th men D by corruption of speach being changed into B. and therein I had seene the Duke with the Senators goe forth in pompe especially at Whitsontyde when the Duke vseth to marry /20/ the Sea by casting a Ring into it. Vppon this Gally is a Chamber some 38 of my paces long, which is all guilded and couered with a rich Cloath when the Duke and Senators goe forth in it, and vnder the Chamber sett i50.tye mariners to Rowe it, and

65 Trombi can mean rocket tubes.

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it is then hung with mary banners taken from the Turkes, and the image of Justice is grauen at the Prowe.

The Duke of Mantuoa hath the like, and so called to rowe for pleasure, and for iourneys vpon the Riuier Po. The keele thereof is flatt bottemed, and the Prowe and sterne are voyde for mariners to rowe, only the sterne is couered as in Gallyes, ouer the rest of the Gally is a little house contayning fower Chambers belowe, the one of 15. paces the second of 8, the other two each 5 paces, and aboue them a gallery some 40, paces long, having stayres at each end to ascend it, and all furnished round about with seates.

The Arcenall of Venice hath moreouer many roomes [to] furnished with all munitions, Armes and necessaryes for an Armye at land, sufficient for 70 thousand Foote, and 2000 horse. Besides many Armes now growne out of vse, and layd vpp apart from the rest at the gate of the Armorye. To conclude they haue aboundance of all necessaryes for warr by land and Sea, so that howsoever this State wants victualls for an Army, and numbers of men answerable to the furniture, and haue the defect to vse straungers for Soldiers, and even for their Generalls by land; yet since

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they want not Treasure the sinewe of warr, and the Sea is open to bring victualls which is commaunded by their Navye, and they haue orderly Officers appointed in peace and warr, and euer /50/ carefull to prouide victualls, and since the straungers are so duely paid by them, as they haue no cause to mutinye or be discontented, no doubt this State were able to vndertake and preuaile in any great attempt in Italy //

fol:[i62]i72 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

and vppon their neighbors at Sea, had they not the vast power of the Turkish Empire lying heavu on their shoulders.

{ m.n. 4 - 5. The power of the Duke of Florence in warr. } The Duke of Florence vsed to giue large yearely stipends euen in tyme of peace, to forraine Princes and noblemen, (I meane Italians, but not borne vnder his dominion) to some 1500 to some 2000 or 3000 Crownes according to their quality, that he might ingage them to his seruice in tyme of warr. They said the Duke had some 150 peeces of Artillery in the Castle of Florence with a due proportion of powder match and bulletts. And to the same Castle, as also into the strong Cittyes, they sayd the Duke vsed yearely to haue brought and layd vpp all the Corne and

66 "Money is called the sinews of war because it serves to co-ordinate the forces and dispose them where they are needed..." Botero, State, p. 141.
victualls of his Territoryes, aswell ordinarily thereby to releiuue and serue the necessityes of the Countrye[s] and villages as in tyme of warr to mantayne soldiers. So as for that reason, and because his Territory is all compassed with high mountaynes except the part that lyeth towards the Sea, and towards Rome, an Army of enemyes entring the same, /20/ can fynde no victualls in the open Country, if the number were great, and so would either be driuen out with ease, or doe litle harme, if the number were small. Only because the Popes Territories are plentifull in victualls whereby they are able, aswell to furnish the Dukes subjects therewith as to detayne it from them and releiuue their enemies, for this and many other reasons before alledged, the Dukes neuer faile by all meanes to keepe the Popes and Cardinalls fauour. Againe the Duke vsed to trayne his subjectes of diuerse Townes and /30/ Territories (but not the Florentines, for suspition of Revolt), and of these he was sayd to haue inrolled some 35 thousand Foote, some 100th men at Armes or horse armed (having seauen Crownes the moneth pay,) and some 400th light horse, having each man three Crownes the moneth, besides that in tyme of warr, the horsmen haue a proportion of victualls allowed them. All these haue many immunityes and priuiledges, as to weare swords, not only abroad, but euven in the Citty of Florence, and to be free from imprisonment for debt, (which doth /40/ not a litle increase the number of them), ard diuerse like. And all
these may be drawne [in]to Florence in eight dayes, as they say, but the Territory is of so small Circuite, as me thinkes[th] they might be drawne thether in much shorter tyme. In tyme of peace, the Duke sometymes vsed these men to keepe watche vppon the Sea Coast for feare of African Pyratts, whome the Duke yearely prouoked by the Gallyes he sett out to spoyle the Turkes. The Duke hath a Commodious hauen at Ligorno a Citty newly built and fortifyed, but the /50/ Florentines haue no Traffick at Sea, but haue their goods exported by forraine marchants, who likewise bring them victuallis, and other necessaries, and the Duke made much of the Captaynes and owners of these shipps - espetially bringing victuallis, Whereof he made no small // Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Vii. fol:[i63]i73 profitt. He had no league with the Turkes, but yearely sent out Gallies to spoyle them at Sea, and euen in their hauens, and by landing sometymes on their Coast. To which end there was an Arcenall in the Citty of Pisa for building and keeping of Gallyes, and munitions to furnish them, and tymber and hempe.

They said that Duke Francis mantayned i2 gallies, but this Duke Ferdinand at this tyme whereof I write, had only seuen, whereof he vsed to arme euery sommer three or fower to ioyne with the knights of Malta, in spoyling /10/ the Turkes. But some write that now the present Duke hath two
Gallions, twelue gallies, and five galliaces. And for the reputation of this Navall power, Duke Cosmo instituted an order of Knights of St Stephen, who haue their residence in the Citty of Pisa, where I said the Duke hath his Arcenall, and that Duke obteyned priuiledges for this Order of Pope Pius the Fifth, namely to have each man two hundreth Crowne yearely pention of ecclesiastical benefits, yet so as none of them can have a Commendam\(^\text{\textdagger}\) or beare any office in the Gallies, till he haue servued /20/ three yeares therein, and likewise priuiledge or freedome to have wiues (as Relations testifie, tho contrary to all other military orders that I remember). Of this Order Duke Cosmo was himselfe cheife master, in which title his sonne succeeded him, as other Dukes since that tyme. Lastly the Duke was servued for Marriners, by Greekes, Ilanders of Corsica, and french men.

\({\text{m.n. 28 - 29. Of Genoa for warr.}}\)

The State of Genoa is gouerned (as I sayd) by the gentlemen and of that body of the Nobility. (So they, the Germans and french call the Gentrye) forty Captaynes are yearely /30/ chosen and changed, who command each a Company of one hundreth Citizens, and these 4000 soldiers the Cittye vseth for defence in tymes of vprore, or other danger, to keepe,

\(^\text{\textdagger}\)"[Perh. originally meant as a rectification of the abnormal commendam.]" OED, which also gives Florio's definition of 1598 as an ecclesiastical living.
watch, and to guarde the State. And these 40, Captaynes, are attyred in veluett Coates, the honorable habitt of the Senators, and so attend the Duke, and the Gouernors, when they come out of the publike Pallace. Besides the rest of the Citizens, and the Inhabitants of the Territory, from 20 to 60 yeares age, are inrolled vnder other Captaynes to serue vpon occasion for defence of the Country. Also the State in tyme of peace giues an honorable pay to a Generall of their Army, which place is giuen by them to some Citizen most eminent in military experience, as to the D'Auriae, Spinolae or the like. The Port of Genoa is a secure Station for Gallyes, and Commodious to build them, being large, and Compassed with a wall, and having a Mola or banck for defence, reaching into the Sea, most fayre, and some 600th of my paces in length. And for this harbors sake the Dukes of Milan, and after them the kings of Fraunce & Spaine contending for that Dukedome, haue much laboured to haue that Citty in subiection, or in some sort at their Comaunde.

This Citty of old, and till after the fall of the Christian Empire in Constantinople, was famous in Nauall power. At this //

fol:[i64.]i74 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Vii.

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68 "2. A massive structure, esp. of stone, serving as a pier or breakwater..." OED The Italian word is moio.
day it hath good shipps for traffique and a number of armed Gallies sufficient to defend their liberty, at lest from any sodeine attempt. But the king of Spaine for the reasons aboue mentioned is much respected of the Senators, and hath free use of the Port for his Gallies [My self did enter one of the cheefe Gallies] of Genoa called la Reale, fayre, and strongly built, being some 75 of my paces in length, and having 400 Mariners to rowe it. Their shipps beare St George (the English Tutelar Saint) in their flaggs.

{ m.n. 10 - 11. Of inferior Princes for warr. }
For the Duke of Mantua I formerly sayd that he mantayned /10/ 500 soldiers to defend his State, and keepe his Forts, and as I passed by Senogallia, I heard that the Duke of Vrbin then trayned some 1200 Foote of his owne subjects. But it were superfluous to speake particularly of the inferior Princes, since all the power of Italy is in the States of the Pope, the king of Spaine, the Venetians, and the Dukes of Florence, since the Dukedom of Ferrara is fallen into the Popes hands.

{ m.n. 19 - 21. The difference of degrees in generall for the common wealth. }
In generall all Italians desire to liue of their owne and generously thinck nothing more abiect then to /20/ depend vppon others for meate or any maintenance. They which are not absolute lorde are litle esteemed among them. Yet the
Familyes of Colonna and Vrsini being Princes subject to the Pope were reputed then to have great Reuenues and power, and were much esteemed as braue Captaines, by the Princes and States of Italy. The Cardinall Colonna alone was said to have 300 Townes and villages in the Territory of Rome, besides great inheritance in the kingdome of Naples. And the Vrsini were sayd to have some 100 Townes and villages under the Pope, besides some inheritance under the king of Spaine in the kingdome of Naples. My selfe at Sienna did see a Countesse passe the streets attended with poore maydes not any one gentlewoman, litle or nothing respected by those that mett her, and as litle in the Church, where she could hardly gett a seate. I should first [haue] spoken of the Clergie, Cardinalls and Bishopps, whereof are no lesse proude in their degree then the Popes, and the Cardinalls haue great Reuenues, but the ordinary Bishopps, howsoever they be infinite number (the Popes for voyces in Councells having made many Italian Bishopps, so as euery small towne is a small Bishopprick) yet our Bishopps in England. haue much greater revenues yearely then most of them. In all Italy I neuer heard of any Barron, only in reproch they call Barrons such as begg and keepe dicing houses. They have no such degree of knights

63 The Orsini cousins were in charge of the Venetian forces at Agnadello. See John Julius Norwich, Venice The Fall, pp. 142, 143.

70 Barone means scoundrel.
as we haue, nor any military orders of knighthood in Italy except that of St. Stephen which I haue said to be instituted by Cosmo Duke of Florence to commaund his Gallyes armed to spoyle the Turkes. For /50/ the Nobility, whereas we call our lords Noblemen, and the inferior Nobility Generosi, that is Gentlemen, the Germans and many forraine nations giue the title of Generosi to Princes and lords, and call the gentlemen Nobles. In Italy the Gentlemen of Venice in singular pride wilbe called Nobles, whereas the rich ancient Familyes of Florence, and other Italians are called Gentilhuoami Gentlemen. In generall the Italian Gentry //
Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:[165.]i75
vseth litle, or no pride in diett, or apparrell and disdayne not to be marchants, yea in Florence and other Cittyes to be weauers of silke, and since the riches of Italy lye therein, by this gayne and generall frugality the gentlemen haue much Treasure in Jewells ready mony, and rich household stuffe, and haue all pleasant Gardens, with carued fountaynes of stone, and stately Pallaces, the Chymneis whereof are litle anoyed with smoke.12 The husbandmen and Country people liue poorely and basely, whome the Italians vse and hyre like oxen and Asses for

11 "Gentilhuomini", Hughes, p. 150.
12 The implication is that English houses were smoky.
their work, and at /10/ the year's end turne them out of
doors, not giving them leases or accounting them servants
belonging to the Family, as we use them.73

Thus oppressed and after harvest time commonly turned out
of service, they never grow rich, nor study to advance
their masters profit further than themselves provide for
it, and hate their masters for exactions, so as whiles I
was in the State of Florence, a gentlewoman being a widow
was found killed by one of her husbandmen. The landlords
take no rent of them, but a proportion of Corn and all
things they have, even of their very Chickens, /20/ and
Eggs, in such hard measure, as they have not to eat or
Cloth themselves in any convenient sort.

{ m.n. 23 - 25. Degrees of Familyes in generall. }
Husbands take strange liberty in the use of Courtesans (so
their Harlots are called) who live a merry life courted
and Feasted at <home> by their lovers, and honoured by all
men with respectful salutations when they passed74 the
streets so long as they are young, and sound.75 I say

73 It is a modern idea that to be a Family Servant must
be a demeaning occupation. OED cites examples only from the
nineteenth century where "patronage" implies patronizing.
Sense 3. d.

74 "pass" Hughes, p. 150.

75 Free of the mal francese as the Italians called it,
the scourge of syphilis.

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strange liberty to all foreigners but so generally used in Italy as no man doth otherwise; neither do the wives marry with any hope to enjoy their husbands alone, but are content if they may have the tythe of their love. They marry upon agreement of Parents without having seen one another, and the husband takes a noble wife only with purpose to have Children by her little caring that her person may content him; since he is free with strange women to satisfy his desires which are commonly in high degrees of wantonness; while the poor wife sits alone at home, locked and kept by old women, not having liberty to look out of the window, especially if it be towards the streete. And if they go to Church which liberty is rarely granted, their faces are covered with a veil and they are attended with the old women their keepers. Yea many are so cruel that they keep them in awe with beating, and if the husband bring home a Courtesan (which they do not generally having liberty enough abroad) the wife dares not in word or deed shew dislike. Yet by corruption of the old women, and by any occasion of having conversation though it be with mean men this strict keeping makes them

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76 Englishmen were well aware of the constraints suffered by Italian women. Corvino says to Celia,
Death of mine honour, with the city's fool,
A juggling, tooth-drawing, prating mountebank
And at a public window... II. 3. 1 - 3.
The window facing the interior courtyard was her normal vista. See Ben Jonson, *Volpone; or, The Fox*, edited by David Cook (London, 1962).

77 "he", Hughes, p. 151.
thinck it simplicitye not to take the reuenge their husbands most feare, euin with /50/ hazard of their honors and liues.\footnote{Having got her nurse to act as broker, Juliet is able to steal awa\ to marry Romeo under pretence of shrift. See \textit{Romeo and Juliet}, II. 4. 66, 67. The pathologically jealous Corvino's suspicions are raised when Celia remonstrates about her infrequent visits to church. Why, dear sir, when do I make these excuses, Or ever stir abroad, but to the church? And that so seldom - Corvino: Well, it shall be less. See Ben Jonson, \textit{Volpone}; or, \textit{The Fox}, edited by David Cook (London, 1962), II. 3. 45 - 47.} And mairiage is reputed such a yoke as brothers living with goods in Common (whereof I shall speake in the lawes of inheritance) thinck themselues much bound to that brother who will marry for procreation and leave them free, in which Case they will mantayne him //

\textit{fol:}\[i66.\]i76 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

and his wife with their goods in Common and much respect her and be as ielous of her honor as they would be of their owne wiues. In like sort they keepe the Chastity of their daughters and sisters at home, or for more safety putt them into Nunneries to be kept either till they may be perswaded to become Nunnes, or at ripe yeares may be taken out and maryed. To the sonnes and kinsmen vnder their charge they giue great liberty and good maintenance. And myselfe [had] [heard] two gentlemen, who asked why they were so indulgent, the one to his sonne, the other to his kinsman of ripe yeares, and chal/10/len\a ng right to the inheritance he enjoyed, did answer playnely for their
particular, 3 that if they should doe otherwise they feared practising of their deaths, as themselues should doe in like Case. I haue not obserued Italians to keepe men servants in their houses, but to be serued altogether by women except in Courts of Princes, where they dyett and liue apart from the women. For as they are viciously frugall in house keeping, so they dare not trust mens servants 6 with their wiues and daughters. Neither haue I obserued that the Italians make it an ordinary Course of life to serue in other mens /20/ Familyes.

{ m.n. 22 - 23. Of Venice in perticular }

In my Iournall describing Venice I haue sayd that they numbred 3000 Familyes of Gentlemen in that one Citty, and among the famous men of former ages, I haue named the Justiniani Contarini, Grimani, Morosyni, Dandoli, Barbarigi and others.8

The Gentlemen of Venice in singularity wilbe called Nobles and appropriate to themselues the title of Clarissimo, for which and their generall insolencye, they are reproued and condemned, not only by strangers (who may as safely stumble

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/30/ Upon a Bull as upon one of these gentlemen, so as when one of them passed by, I have heard men say Guarda il toro. Looke, or take heed to the Bull, as they crye when a Bull is bayted in the streets) but also by other Italian gentlemen who by writings in the vulgar tongue taxe them of unsupportable pride (insomuch as to use their owne words) they dream themselves to be Dukes and Marquises, while they are indeed covetous, miserable, breakers of faith & hatefull to all men for their pride, vayne glory and ambition, yea in the very City they have a Proverb D'vna pietra bianca /40/ d'un Nobile Venetiano, et d'vna Cortigiana, ch'abbia madre, Dio ci guarda, from a white stone (because it is slipperie) from a gentleman of Venice (for their pride) from a Cortisan that [hath] a mother (to teach her to spoile her louers), God deliver vs. No doubt the Senators are most grave iust reverent and comely persons, and generally they are [all] rich, and many abound in Treasure. In Poduoia, Il signor Pio obici, was sayd to haue i2000 Crownes yearely Rent82 and I was credibly

82 "A Pio degli Obici is mentioned in very favourable terms by the Podestà Giovanni Battista Contarini in his report on Padua of 1566 (he served there from 6 December 1564 to 6 April 1566). Contarini found the city's corn supplies sadly depleted, but managed to restore them by raising a loan from the local gentry. Pio degli Obici set the example by being the first to contribute to the loan. See Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terrafirma, vol. IV: Podestaria e Capitanato di Padova (Milan, 1975), ed. A Tagliaferri, p. 59." BP. Compare the report of the Spanish ambassador in 1618, "Indeed in Padua there are only four, or at most six, families with fortunes of 15,000 crowns or perhaps a little more." Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford,
informed that in Brescia diverse gentlemen had from ten to thirty thousand Crownes yearely Rent. And the estates /50/ of the Gentlemen of Venice must needs in all probability be much greater.

{ m.n. 53 - 55. of Florence in Particular. }
The Courtesye of the Florentine Gentlemen was by all men highly praysed at my being in Italy. Of old [in] tyme of their freedome they had powerfull Familyes, then diuided into factians [Fa.t.yes] we read of the Agli, Ariqui, Adimati Grandonici Ardinghelli, Bardi, Gualterosi, Importuni, Boun-del- / /
{ c.w. monti, Sucardetti, }
Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:[i67.]i77 monti sucardetti, Mozzi cerchi, Caualcanti, Merli, Pulci Donati Frescobaldi, Tebaldi, and other powerfull Familyes of the Guelphes faction, and the Ammidei Giuochi, Amirci Galli, Agolauri, Abbat, Tudi Vberti Bruneldeschi, Vbriacchi, Capiardi, Lamberti, Capriarni, Castigliani, Malespini, Capon sacchi, Falermini, Scolari, and others of the Gibelline faction. These daily hated each other yet at


last agreed with singular unity to defend the liberty of their free State against the house of Medici invading it, but Pope Clement the seauenth of the house of Medici preuailed against them not /10/ without the slaughter of many and totall ruine of diuerse familyes before he could make his kinsmen absolute Dukes. So as at this day the number and riches of the gentry are much decreased, [by] but they which now live being borne vnder absolute Dukes, with ease beare that yoke, hauing not their Progenitors loue of lost liberty, nor theire feruent desyre to recover it. And as all gentlemen of Italy so these of old and to this day exercyse Marchandice and the trade of weauing silkes, though not laboring with theire owne handes therein.

{ m.n. 20 - 21. Of the gentlemen of Genoa. } The Genoesi haue euer beene much deuided in factions but /20/ howsoever one faction had the name of Nobles the other of popullar, yet no doubt the latter was so called because the people tooke parte with them, being otherwise as noble as the other. For among them some are called Marquises some Earles some ViceRoyes, not that they are such indeede, but that vpon diuers occasions such names haue beene vulgarly giuen them. And in the most Factious Citty of Pistoia (now subject to the Dukes of Florence who lately forbad vpon Payne of death the wearing of Robes or like signes of
Faction) we read that the son of the Chancellor and the son of Signor Petruccio being both kinsmen of one family, when contending together the son of the Chancellor gave a blow on the ear to the other, the Chancellor sent his son to Petruccio to crave pardon on his knees, who cruelly cut his right hand, whereupon all the city was divided into a long-lasting faction, and because the Chancellor's wife was named Bianca that faction took the name of Bianchi that is white, and the other took the name of Neri that is the Black. In Genoa they are Gentlemen who have their names written in the book of Civilita (Civility) and some of them are saluted with the titles of Marquis and others above named and are stiled illustrious by the Genoesi howsoever they exercise merchandize and cannot challenge those titles abroad. No man of the highest degree in Genoa disdaineth to be a merchant, and to have mony at use upon the bankes of Exchange. And many of them were said to have at home and in Spain Fifty thousand Crownes. The Marquis of Spinola was said to have one hundred thirty six thousand crownes yearly revenue. Howsoever the Fuggari of Augsburg in Germany are famous for their great Treasure, no doubt Genoa hath a far greater masse of ready mony.

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84 Hughes corrects to "Chancellor", p. 154.

85 "5. To assert one's title to, lay claim to, demand as a right, claim for, arrogate (to obs.) oneself. arch. or Obs." OED
then any other City of the world wherein many Citizens were sayd by expert men to haue 500 thousand ducates, and some one or two to haue a Milion in ready mony, and that it was common among them for Marchants to haue Cabbines of 5 foote long, //

fol:{i68.}i78 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

parted into diuerse boxes, all filled and piled upp with diuerse Coynes of Gold.

{ m.n. 3 - 4. Of Italian lawes in generall }

Sigonioues shewes that when the westerne Empire was reuieued the Italians chose whether they would liue after the Roman or Salique lawe. Now Italy is gouerned generally by the Ciuill lawe of the old Emperors, and the Cannon lawes of the Pope, and diuerse municipall lawes of seuerall States and Cittyes. Before I speake of the iustice and judgments I will in a word sett downe some Common lawes of Inheritance. /10/

In the seuerall Common wealths of Italy the father dying intestate, the brothers diuide his mouable and nvmouable goods (yet in the kingdome of Naples and in the Fees of absolute Princes the eldest brother succeeds) and the Care to mantayne their sisters, and to dispose them in mariage lyes vpon the brothers Inheritance, the magistrate of Pupills interposing his authority, and forcing them to
equity if need be. And Comonly these young virgins are putt into Nunneries for education, where they are by all Cunning intisements allured to become Nunns by vowe, /20/ in which Case the brothers saue their dowrye, but if they will not take that profession vpon them, the brothers and the said Magistrates, may take them out of the Cloisters when they will, or when they are [to be] disposed in mariage. Sonnes may not be dishinherited but for iust and lawfull causes, as for striking their Parents, for not having releiued them in any distresse or like Crimes, I meane for lands discending from their Ancestors, yet even for those it is in the fathers power to charge them with legacyes, and the bestowing of such goods as the father hath gotten is altoge/30/ther in his power. A notary, and fower legall witnesses are required in a mans last will, or els they must be sealed in a monasterye, in which Case the Fryers vpon payne of Excommunication must keepe the same secrett. The Sonne who in tyme of his fathers life wilbe [reuenged] emancipated (that is made free from the Fathers Family to liue of himselfe) may challeng his portion of his Fathers goods, and after that tyme all that he getts by his owne industry is proper to himselfe, but while he remaynes in the Family vnder his Father all the Children and the Father /40/ haue equall share in all goods gotten by any of them, as all are lyable to the debts of any of them for theire goods. And for this cause many Fathers emancipate prodigall Children, that they may not be lyable to pay any
debts they may after contract. Never did I observe brothers
to live in such unity as in Italy, so as the Father being
dead, many of them ordinarily live in one house together,
not dividing their patrimony, but having all goods in
common or as they call it in brotherhood (vulgarily
fratellanza) and persuading one to marry for procreation,
the rest /50/ living unmarried, and much respecting their
brothers wife and [...h] her honor as their own. And while
they live in this sorte, if any one spend wastefully, or
give his daughters in marryage, all is supplied of the
common charge, and if at any time after by consent, or by
desire of any one to leave that course and live of his
owne, they will divide their patrimony, that brother shall
[not] have //
{ c.w. a penny }
Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.
fol:[i69.]i79
a penny lesse then any of the rest for having formerly spent
more. And it is strange but most true, that the Italians in
common practise make the inheritance of mony as firme and
stable to the heirs as of land. As the sayd brothers by
their Fathers will or owne consent living in fratellanza,
have only in their own private power to dispose of the
yearly increase of the mony (by what means soever), and
the Creditors of any of the brothers growing in debt, have
right to recover that his part of increase, but the
principal or stock is common to all, so as any one /10/ of
them cannot diminish it, neither can any private Creditors sease thereupon, for any one brothers debt or bargayne, but only for the Common debt or contract of all the brothers joyntly. If any mans wife dy without children, the husband keepes halfe her dowry, and restores the other halfe to her next kindred, but if shee haue children he retaynes all her portion for them. If a husband dye, his widowe leaues his Family, and taking her portion returnes to her owne kindred. Whether her portion were in land or mony and mouable goods, and if she marry agayne, the second husband hath /20/ that portion, saue that the Magistrate of the Pupills interposeth his authority for due respect to be had of her children by the first husband when shee marryeth agayne, as likewise when she dyes a widow in the house of her next kinsman.87

{ m.n. 25 - 27. Of Justice in generall. }
The Italyans in generall are most strict in the courses of Justice, without which care they could not possiblie keepe in due order and awe the exorbitant dispositions of that nation, and the discontented myndes of theire subjectes. Yet because only the Sergiants and such ministers of Justice

85 Hughes corrects to "Creditors", p. 156.

87 This whole subject is near Moryson's heart, as fidecommesso or family trust helped to solve the "problem of younger sons". Oliver Logan, Culture and Society in Venice 1470 - 1790 (London, 1972), p. 29. Needless to say, that human nature being what it is, fidecommesso was an ideal which did not always work.
are bound to apprehend /30/ malefactors, or at least will
doe that office (which they repute a shame and reproch),
and because the absolute Principalities are very many and
of little circuite, the malefactors may [not] easily flye
out of the confines, where in respect of mutuall ielosies
betweene the Princes, and of theirre booty in parte giuen to
those who should prosecute them, they finde safe retrayt.
In the meane tyme where the Fact was donne they are
proscribed and by publike Proclamations made knowne to be
banished men vulgarly called Banditi. And where the crime is
haynous besydes the bannishment /40/ rewardes are sett
upon thereire heades to him that shall kill them or bring
them in to the tryall of Iustice, yea to theirre fellow
banished men not only those rewardes but releases of theirre
owne banishments are promised by the word of the State vpon
that condition, which prolamatiom vpon the head is vulgarly
called Bando della Testa, These banished men are only found
vpon confines hauing mountaynes and espetiall woods / which
are very rare in Italy. But because the confines of Naples
kingdome vpon the State of Rome are both mountanous and
also woody, they /50/ abound more spetially there, and (as
in all places) committ robberies and murthers with strang
examples of cruelty. For which cause Pope Sixtus Quintus
first by the sayd Bando delle Teste: that is rewardes and
impunityes and releases to like malefactors, sett vpon the

88 Hughes changes to "ruine", p. 157.
heades of the most wicked outlawes, did free in great part those Confines and all passengers from those great dangers. Yet to this day the carriour of Rome or Naples called Il Procaccia, dares //

not passe weekly from either Cityt without a guarde of soldiers appointed for the guard of them, and all strangers and Passengers using to passe in their Company with their loaded mules. And the very weeke before I passed that way I remember a gentleman banished by the Pope Clement the eight (if I be not deceiued the nephewe of the Cardinall of Caieta) hearing that one of the Popes Minions passed that way, did assaulted the Carryer of Rome, his guarde and all the Company, with hope to take him prisoner, whereby he thought to make his owne peace vppon good /10/ Conditions, but understanding vppon the first assault that the said minion was escaped to the next towne, he presently did

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89 "From 1578 to 1595 the Papal States were submerged beneath the tidal wave of banditry which at times lapped against the walls of Rome itself, and cut the road to Naples. For a moment it seemed that Sixtus V had got the better of the bandits...But the dearth and starvation of his pontificate brought them out again..." Elliott, p. 372.

Shylock’s fears about "land rats and water rats, water thieves and land thieves" I. 3. 22, 23 were a real preoccupation to contemporary Italians.

90 "Chi s’incarica, dietro compenso, di fare commissioni o di trasportare merci, lettere, pacchi da un luogo all’altro." Zingarelli. Somebody who undertakes to convey goods, letters, and parcels from one place to another for remuneration. Florio defines Procaccio as "an ordinarie poste or carier, namely hee that goeth between Rome and Naples." Words.
withdrawe himselfe and his men, without offering any more violence to the Company. And perhapps these Outlawes fynde more safe being in those parts, by the wickednes of the people commonly incident to all borderers and more speti[.]ally proper to the Inhabitants thereof. But these rewards, and impunityes promised to outlawes for bringing in the heads or persons of other outlawes hath broken their fraternity. So as hauing found that their owne Consorts haue sometymes betrayed others to capitall Judgment or themselves killed them, they are so ielous one of an other, and so affrighted with the horror of their owne Consciences, as they both eat and sleepe armed, and vppon the least noyse or shaking of a leafe, haue their hands vppon their Armes, ready to defend themselues from assault. They haue many other meanes also to redeeme themselues from banishment, as for murthers by intercession of freinds at home, vppon agreement made with the next freinds of the party murthered. And myselfe at Loretto did see some [one] of these outlawes ready to passe the Sea towards Hungary, who looked like Cutthroats, and were armed (as the Italians prouerbially say) Dal capo fin'al buco del culo, from the head to the very backsyde, and these all had their pardons vppon Condition to serue the Emperor in

31 The fear of the borderers, men without the law, was widespread in this age. Morison has already talked about the Uskoks. In I Henry IV, Westmoreland reports how the Welsh Borderers overcame Mortimer, and were doing outrages on corpses of the slain. See I. 1. 34 - 46.
Hungarie two yeares against the Turkes. But in Crimes extraordinarily haynous, the Princes and States are so seuerere, as in their publique Edict of banishment, besides rewards /40/ sett vpon their heads, great punishments and Fynes according to the qualityes of offence and person are denounced against them, who at home shall make petition or use other meanes at any tyme to haue them restored to their Countryes lands and livings.

{ m.n. 46, 47. Of Iudgments in generall. }

No doubt all Italy is more free from Robberies and more happy [and] [in] trades and Arts by the nature of that nation, abhorrning from living vpon others, and from not having meanes to liue in some free sort, by their owne industry, as likewise by the Comendable Course to condemne vagrant /50/ idle, and wicked persons to rowe in their Gallies. They haue no single Combatts, which are forbidden by the Counsell of Trent, to which the Italians yeild obedience, because it is consonant to their disposition; For indeed you shall seldome or neuer heare of any mans slaughter vpon other heat of bloud, but if any man be killed, it is commonly premeditated murther, // Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i8i.

vpon all advantages of Armes and otherwise, as many armed

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52 Moryson like many of his age fears the "vagrant idle" and has little perception of the exterior causes of distress such as overpopulation and poor harvests.
sodenly assaying one unarmed, whether it be by theeues in woods or by murthereers in Cittyes. Of which bloudy act some are knowne to make profession to be hyred thereunto, and many are knowne to be likely men for that imployment, so that he [who] hath malice and mony, cannot want a man to doe the mischeife. So as I haue credibly heard, the partyes being named, that one of these murthereers coming vppon a marchant being alone in his Chamber, told him he must kill him, who demaunding the reason and having answer /10/ that he was hyred by such a man with two hundreth Crownes, replyed that he would giue him fower hundreth Crownes to kill that man, and he tooke his mony with promise to effect it, yet still persisted in his purpose to kill him, saying he should dye with the Comfort that his enemy should not [long] outlive him, and so killed them both one after the other, seeming to make conscience not to breake his word with either, and desyrous to preserve his reputation of a faithfull bloudhound.93 These murthers are most common in places lying most open for escape, where banishment is the highest punishment, /20/ And are most committed of the Bachinall Feasts of Shrouetyde, lasting with them from after Christmasse to lent, and vulgarly called Il Carnoual' that is the farewell to flesh.94 And they are most frequent

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93 Hughes omits this story, probably because it is repeated by Moryson.

94 Most of the catastrophes in the plays of the period occur at feasts and entertainments.
in the lower parts of Italy, more spetially in Lombardy, where many carry long peeces (the short gunns being forbidden for feare of sodeine treasons) and goe daily armed from the head to the foote, so as myselfe haue seene young Gentlemen, for feare of those with whome they had some quarrells, weare continually an yron Coate of male of 30 pounds weight, next aboue their /30/ shirts. The murtherers that cannot escape, but are taken by the officers, are putt to death by beheading.

Adulteries (as all furyes of Ielousy, or signes of making loue, to wiues, daughters, and sisters) are commonly prosecuted by priuate reuenge, and by murther, and the Princes and Iudges, measuring their iust reuenge by their owne passions proper to that nation, make no great inquiry after such murthers, besides that the reuenging party is wise inough to doe them secretly, or at lest in disguised habitts. The frequent punishment for breaches of the [Common] lawe, is the /40/ Corde called Strappado or strappa di corda, where the delinquent is cast downe with Cords fastned to his Armes running in a pully, so as at the fall the ioynts at the shoulder turne rounde about, except he haue agilitye to saue himselfe, which some practise, and haue, so as they dare take the Ierke of the Corde for a small reward. For sury five in the hundreth is allowed in the mounts of piety, which are bankes of mony to be lent to the poore, but in Common Contracts it is not limitted, so
as they may take as they can agree. The very name of the hangman, and of his servants and officers belonging to him in Criminal Justice are odious, as in Germany. About this time whereof I write, a Foraine gentleman lying in Rome, and being in some grace with one of the Cheefe Cardinalls had license from him to wear his sword, but it happened that //

fol:182. Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

he becoming Rival to the Cardinalls Nephew (so their bastards are called) and by free spending of his mony getting the Cortizans grace, so much as she excluded the other, he for revenge plotted with the Sarieants to take the gentleman going thether by night with his sword when he had not his license about him to shewe, and to give him a touche of the Strappado who did accordingly, and when they had apprehended him, and he avowed his license, and offered mony to send [to] the Cardinalls house, they suffered him to send a messenger, but in the mean time putt him to the Corde, and gae him a little Ierke, when presently the same Nephew of the Cardinall, and some of his other gentlemen came in, and freed him, after they had attayned their end, For in reguard the officer of Criminal Justice had but given the gentleman that little touche of their

—Compare Abhorson the hangman in Measure for Measure who does not want a bawd for his assistant. "Abhorson: A bawd, sir? Fie upon him, he will discredit our mystery. Provost: Go to, sir, you weigh equally; a feather will turn the scale." IV. 2. 26 - 29.
hands, the Cortisan would neuer after admitt his loue or Company, but gaue herselwely wholly to the [sayd] Cardinalls Nephewe. The like thing happened about that tyme in Vicenza a Citty vnder the Venetians, where a yong Cortisan arriving, and setting a very high price vpon a nights injoying her, such as the gentlemen of the Citty, howsoever desyrous of /20/ new game, would not giue, after they had in vayne tryed all meanes to make her fall in the price, they called the hangman, and one gaue him a dublett, an other, a hatt, and so for all gentleman like attyre, and all ioynently furnishing him with the mony she demaunded, they sent him to enioy her that night, and the next morning all coming to her Chamber, the one cast his dublett, the other his hatt, and so the rest of the attyre into the fyre, and then the hangmans man bringing him his apparrell, after their departure, the miserable Cortisan perceiuing how she was skorned, fledge /30/ secretly out of the Citty, and was neuer more seene there.

{ m.n. 32 - 35. The Iustice, lawes, and Iudgments in the Popes State. }

At Rome, the lawes are with much severitie putt in exequution, and namely the lawes of Pope Sixtus Quintus against outlawes Cortisans, quarrells, and the like. And it is peculiar (as I was informed) to the State of the Church,

 Hughes bowdlerizes, "and setting a very high price vpon herselwe", p. 161.
that a murderer escaped out of an other Princes Territory, where he committed the fact, shall be executed for the same in the Popes State, if he be there apprehended, and accused thereof. It is Capital to challenge, or answer a Challenge of Combatt, and in quarrels he that first draws his sword, shall dye or be /40/ condemned to the Gallies or in some such sort punished. And it is not only unlawful to wear swords in that State without license, but the wearing of daggers openly is forbid, and the Carrying a pistoll secretly or like pockett weapons for fear of sodeine murders, are capitally forbidden. And at Rome more then in any other Citty of Italy, the Strappado is given for every small offence. Monsieur Villamont writes of a principall gentleman of Bologna about this tyme executed by strangling in [a] [his] Chamber at Rome, only for having received an outlawe into his house: /50/ And of an other who was hanged on the bridge of St. Angelo for having giuen a blowe to a Sweitzer of the Popes guard. If a man be cast into prison for debt, the Judges after the manner visiting frequently those prisons, finding him to be poore, will impose vpon

97 "Pour le regard des ordonnances que le Pape Sixte quint a faites a Rome, elles sont inuioablement gardees, & aduenant que quelqu'vn les trangresse, sans remission il est faict mourir: comme il arriua au Comte Jean Pepoly de Boulongne, lequel encor qu'il fust grand Seigneur, & de marque, ce neantmoins fut estranglé en sa chambre, pour avoir seulement retiré vn bandy en sa maison: & le neveu de Dom Pierre de Nauarre qui a tant composé de doctes liures, fut condamné aestre pendu & estranglé sur le pont de saint Ange, deux heures apres avoir donné vn coup de houssine à vn Suisse de la garde...." Villamont, sig. E8r, Book I, Chapter 15.
the Creditor a mitigation of the debt, or tyme of forbearance, as they judge the equitye of the Case [to] require, or if by good witnesses they finde the party // Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i83. so poore as really he hath not wherewith to pay the debt, they will accept a release or assignement of his goods to the Creditor, and whether he consent or no, will free the debters body out of prison. At Rome the least idle word of the Pope, the Church, or Religion, will drawe a man into the Inquisition, where he may lye long tyme close prisoner (not so much as a keeper comming to him, but his meat being giuen out [at] an hole in the dore, and he making his owne bedd), before he shall know who hurt him, or why he is imprisoned, and if he be found of the reformed religion /10/ (whome they call heretiques), of old he was soone brought to the stake, but the constant death of some, having (as they found) dore hurt, since they are kept in perpetuall prison, and a credible Convert deceiues vs, if by the Iesuits they be n t many tymes strangely affrighted, and euen secretly putt to death in close prisons vnder the ground. Pope Sixtus Quintus made a lawe, that no Cortisan should ride in a Coache vnder paine to pay a 100 Crownes, and the Coachman to haue the Strappado for the first tyme, and death for the second tyme, but they weare Clothe /20/ of gold, and liue in all excesse for meate, and all things, and haue incredible respect shewed them in salutations, only they are knowne by going on foote so richly attyred.
Yet I am deceiued if krowne mistresses of great Clergy men, tho no professed Cortisans, passe not Rome in as great pompe and pride as any. Speaking of Iustice in generall, I haue shewed, the late Popes Iustice against Outlawes, whereby their strong partyes vppon the Confines of Naples haue bene in tyme broken, and are now weake, and almost destroyed. /30/

{ m.n. 31 - 35. The Iustice, lawes and Iudgments in the State of Venice. }

The Senate of Venice is most reuerent for the gray heads gravity and Comelynes of their persons, and their stately habitts but for nothing more then their strict obseruing of Iustice. They haue a lawe that in tyme of Carnauall or Shrouetyle, no man that is masked may weare a sword, because being vknowne, he might thereby have meanes to kill his enemy on the sodeine, and while I was in Italy a forayne gentleman vppon a fancy to mock the officers of Iustice, being masked wore a woodden lathe like a sword. The officers apprehended him, and finding /40/ it to be a lath, yet carryed him to the magistrate, who with a graue Countenance said to him, Non burlar’con la Giustitia, Veh : least not with the Iustice, marke me. And he found that he had mocked himselfe more then the officers, for he payd not a fewe Crownes before he could be freed by mediation of great freinds. But since the Citty of Venice lyes open without any walls, so as malefactors may easily escape, and
the Citty lyes vpon Lombardye where murthers are frequent, this Citty especially in the tyme of Carnouall is much subject to murthers, and like outrages. And so is the next Citty Padoa vpon priuiledges of the vniuersity, whereby murther in schollers is punished only by banishment. //

And that the rather, because in the State of Venice (for the great Confluence of strangers) it is free for all men to wear Armes by the day, excepting Pistolls, which no man may haue without the locks taken of, and also because they who haue ill purposes, will aduenture and vse to weare these Armes by night also, I say for these reasons, murthers (especially in the libertine tyme of Carnouall) are frequent in this Citty, from which also the lesser Cityyes of that State are not free. Murther was punished by hanging till death, till Duke Mich[a]ele Morosino created in the yeare 1381, made a law that murtherers should be beheaded. But most comonly they escape by flight, and so are banished till they can make peace with the freinds of the murthered, and so obtayne liberty to retorne into their Country. Adulterers are punished (as other like Crymes) according to the Ciuill and Cannon lawes, but the

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Michele Morosini was Doge in 1382, and died of the plague after four months in office. Morison probably follows Gasper Contareno, The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice, translated by Lewes Lewkenor (London, 1599), p. 222 in ascribing it to 1381.
Italians impatient to bring their honor under publick tryalls dispatch the punishment of all Ielousyes by private reuenge killing not only the men so provoking them, but their wives sisters or daughters dishonouring themselves in those kindes. /20/ Yea brothers knowing their sisters to be vnchast when they are maryed, and out of their owne house, yet will make this offence knowne to their husbands, that they may kill them. Whereof Examples are frequent, as namely of a Florentine gentleman, who understanding from his wives brother that she had dishonoured them by adultery, tooke her forth in a Coache having only a Preist with them, and when they came to a fitt place gaue her a short tyme to confesse her sinnes to the Preist, and then killed her with his owne hands. And howsoever in this /30/ Case, it is like she confessed the Cryme, yet in this and like Cases the Magistrate vseth not to inquire after these reuenges, which the Italians nature hath drawne into Custome, besides [that] many of them are done secretly without danger to be revealed.

Among other high Crymes it is not rare to [haue] [heare] blasphemous speeches in Italy, and the State of Venice is much to be praysed for the most seuerre Iustice they vse against such offenders, having a lawe to cutt out their tongues. Yea while I liued there, some roaring boyes one night /40/ went out vppon a wager who should doe the greatest villany and when they had done most wicked things,
at last they came all to the windowe of the Popes Nuntio, where they song terrible blasphemyes against our lord, his blessed mother, and the Apostle St Peter. The next morning these Rascalls (so I call them, whereof most notwithstanding were gentlemen) had escaped out of the Citty, only two were taken whome I did see executed in this manner, their hands were cutt of in fower places where they did the greatest villanyes, their tongues were cutt /50/ out vnder the windowe of the Popes Nuntio and so they were //

Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy.. Chap:Viii. fol:185.

brought out into the markett place of St Marke, where vpon a Scaffold they were beheaded with an axe falling by a Pully, which done the scaffold and their bodyes were burnt, and the Ashes throwne into the Sea.

{ m.n. 5 - 8. Ciuill Iudgments. in the State of Venice. }

For Ciuill Iudgments I remember a stone at Paduoa called lapis turpitudinis (that is the stone of filthines because vpon markett dayes such were sett vpon it with naked backsydes, as had runn into debt having no meanes to pay it. The lawes of Venice in generall were reputed so iust by the Senate of Nurenberg in Germany as in the /10/ yeare 1508, by Ambassadors sent to this State they obteyned a Copy of them. Among other Ciuill Iudgments they giue

33 For a more detailed discussion of this case by Moryson, see fol. 425, and the note.
singular Justice in the Cases of debt and have particular Judges ouer marchants banckrowting, who giue the Creditors security to keepe them from prison, and cite such banckrowtes as fly selling their goods and dividing them equally among the Creditors and preventing all fraudes may be vsed. So as if they finde other mens goods deposited in their hands they keepe them for the Owners. In which Case myselfe when I passed from thence into Turkye, and /20/ also my brother leauing our Chests with our apparrell & bookes in the hands of a marchant, who shortly after proued banckrowte, the magistrate kept our goods safe, and when I retorned, did restore to me without any Charge, not only my owne goods, but also my brothers who dyed in the Iourney.

I haue formerly sayd that all the Venetian lawes are made in the Counsell called Pregadi, 100 for when any Magistrate iudgeth it profitable for the Comon wealth to haue any new lawe made for any thing concerning his office and /30/ Charge, he propounds his reasons in the Colledge of the Sauij, and they being there approued, the lawe is propounded enacted, and published by the Councell di Pregadi. So the magistrate of the Pomps (or Ceremonies) caused certaine sumptuary lawes for diett and apparrell to be made in this Councell which are in force [to] this day. Yet sometymes the law is made in the Great Counsell, if the

1 See Moryson's extensive description on Fols. 125, 126.

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magistrate thinke that it will receive more life, and force
by being confirmed therein. So the Censors in the last age
past desyr<in>g a lawe should be made /40/ against making
any Congratulations with any man that had obteyned an
Office or magistracye, the same was first approued in the
Counsell of the Pregadi, and then with generall Consent
confirmed in the great Counsell.

{ m.n. 45 - 46. Of the justice in Genoa. }
I haue formerly spoken of the gouverment and magistrates in
the free Citty of Genoa; Now it remaynes in a word to speak
of their Iudges. A doctor of Ciuill law borne out of the
State, hath a great yearely stipend, and is vulgarly called
the Podesta, He dwells in a Pallace adjoyning to the Dukes,
and iudges all Criminall Causes, but no Capitall /50/
sentence is executed without the Consent of the Senate,
neither //

fol:186. Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.
can he otherwise commaund it. He hath two d<oc>ters to be
his Assistants, and one is his vicar, who also medles in
some Ciuill Causes. Five Doctors of the Ciuill lawe borne
out of the State, are likewise hyred for two yeares to
iudge Ciuill Causes, the body of which doctors or Iudges is
vulgarly called La Rota. Also of the Citizens the
magistrates called the seuen men e\traordinary, are chosen
for six monethes to represent the Dukes person as busied
with higher affavres, in hearing of differences betweene
men, and in appointing Tutors for Pupills. And because the lawe forbids a rich man to goe to lawe with a poore man, or one kinsman with an other (a lawe in my opinion most worthy to be imitated), these seven men in such cases appoint Judges, who as Arbiters end their differences. Five men called the supreme Sindici may and use to call in question the duke and the Gouernors after the tyme of their Magistracy ended, and upon just causes to punish them, liberty being giuen by publique proclamation for eight dayes to all men, that they may accuse them, or any of them, for any fault done in their magistracy, after which eight dayes, these five men give them letters Patents to testifie their innocencye, without which letters they cannot be admitted to the dignity of Procurators belonging to their places, as I haue formerly shewed. These five also heare many appeales being men of great estimation, and they are chosen by the lesser Counsell. All arts haue their Censors, who sett the price of things sold, and prouide no deceite be vsed in weights or measures. Besides all severall Arts haue their owne Magistrates chosen by the Artisans themselves, and called Consulls, all which have authority over those of their owne Art or trade. Among them the Consulls of the silke weavers have the greatest authority, for they may putt any of that art to the Strapado, yea condemne them to banishment, or to be slaves in the Gallies, and to like high punishments.
I have formerly shewed that the Duke of Florence is an absolute Prince, and hath no privy Counsell of State, but communicateth his most secret affayres to the advise of his Favorites, whereof the Archbishopp of Pisa was reputed cheefe, and governeth the Commonwealth by publique Magistrates. For the magistrates and Tribunalls of Iustice remayne still the same they were in the tyme of the free State. Ciuill Causes (as in other Cittyes of Italy,) are iudged by a certaine number of doctors in the Ciuill lawe, (whose body is called la Rota,) And criminall Causes are iudged by the magistrates of Florence, in nothing changed, but that the cheefe of old called Confaloniere\footnote{Hughes corrects it to "Gonfaloniere", originally meaning a standard bearer, and later head of a civic post or department.} is now called Leiuftenant. All other magistrates as the old Counsellors, eight men &c and the vicars and Gouernors of Townes and Jurisdictions (vulgarly called Podesta) are now chosen as in the tyme of the free State, saue that the Gouernors of the cheefe Cittyes, as Sienna and Pisa and the keepers of the Forts, are appointed sent and reuoked at the Dukes pleasure. The said Magistrates are in this sort // Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i87. chosen. The gentlemens names of the first Ranck, and so of the second and third are putt into three vessells and the
cheefe magistrates are chosen out of the first, the
inferior out of the second, and the lowest out of the
third, by drawing out for each Magistrates place five names
of whome he hath most voyces in the Counsell is chosen. And
the gentlemens names are yearely altered in the vessells,
& changed out of one into the other. These Elections are
confirmed by the Duke, but otherwise he medles not with
their choise or Iudgments, only he hath his Secretary
vulgarly called /10/ Del criminale who sees the Processes
of Criminall Iudgments, aswell in the Citty as in the
Territory, and acquaintes the Duke with those of greatest
moment, and no doubt from him directs the Iudges
proceedings, which makes them more vigilant in doing
Iustice. One thing I cannot omitt which I wondred to see in
the Citty of Florence, namely a Court of Iustice, whose
title is written vpon the gates la' corte de' l'honestà,
the court of honesty, and wherein Judges sett in Scarlett
Robes to [doe] right to Cortisans or Harlotts for the hyre
of their bodyes, if any wrong /20/ them therein. For
howsoever the Stewes be restrayned to certaine streets, no
Harlott being permitted to dwell among the houses of the
Matrons, if she [be] but seene at a windowe; yet it hath
such priuiledges, as if a mans wife flying from him can
come into the Stewes before he lay hold on her, he cannot
bring her back, nor haue her punished. The very Duke

12 Hughes omits "for the hyre of their bodyes".
passing the streete will in honor putt of his hatt to some
of them, and at publique Comedies Cortesans, and
Torchbearers enter freely, and pay nothing. The State of
the Duke of Florence is to be praysed above all /30/ other
parts of Italy for Iustice, where strangers liue more
safely then anywhere els, so they bring not themselues in
danger by foolish shewing of their mony, and may safely
passe in the Citties and high wayes by day or night with
their pocketts full of gold. Besides that Strangers haue
more priuiledge then Natiues in wearing their swords, which
is only granted to some gentlemen of Florence, but other
Natiues hardly obtayne license to weare them which is
easily graunted to all straungrers. Nether doe any in this
State (as in Lombardy) carry Gunns or goe armed from head
to foote, /40/ For no man in Citty or Country may weare or
haue in their howses other Armes then Rapiers and daggers
uppon great penalty. Yet cannot I commend the Citty Ligorno
for this Ciuality, nor the Inhabitants for honest men. And
no marvell for howsoever it hath of old bene a place of
dwelling; yet Duke Cosmo first compassed the place with
walls, Duke Francis caused many [walls] howses to be built
there, and Duke Ferdinand (living when I was in Italy)
first brought it into the forme of a Fayre, and well
fortifyed Citty. And these Dukes, with lesse charge to
furnish it with buildings & Inhabitants, /50/ as Rome at
the first was made a Sanctuary to malefactors, so they
imposed punishments on malefactors in lesser Crimes,
according to the quality of the offence, to build one or more

fol.188. Booke.ii. The commonwealth of Fraunce Chap.i.

howses in this Citty, and to dwell there for yeares, or for
life, so as the Inhabitants were not like to be of the most
peaceable and best sort of men.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11} Leghorn at this time had the feeling of a frontier
town, hence the unmannerliness of the "Citizens guilty of
crimes, and of no civill conversation" Itinerary A, I, 315,
of which Moryson complains. Welcomed by the Grand Duke to
his freeport, the English merchants had arrived in 1593,
and some of them either financed or became pirates,
particularly against the ill defended Venetians. Leghorn's
gain was Venice's loss, as is discussed in Alberto Tenenti,
Piracy and the Decline of Venice 1580 - 1615, translated by
Jane and Brian Pullan (London, 1967), and the changing
patterns of trade are discussed in Ralph Davis, English
Chap: I.

Of the commonwealth of Fraunce according to the severall heads conteynd in the title of the first Chapter of the former booke.

[ m.n. 9 - 12. The historicall Introduction with the Pedegree[s] of the kings. ]

First for the Historicall Introduction, and kings Pedegrees Pharamund Prince of the Francks inhabiting Franconia /10/ a Prouince of Germany lying vppon the Rheine, did in the yeare of our lord 420, lay the first foundation of the french kingdome among the Gaules, of old subdued by the Romans, and then subject to them,. For while barbarous people on all sydes, invaded the Roman Empire he sent out his Captaynes to subdue Gallia, and first brought thether

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1 These details of dynastic succession, have, at best, only a vague antiquarian interest for the modern reader. However, the considerable effort that Moryson expends on this section is indicative of the contemporary importance that was attached to pedegree, bloodline and dynasty. The extended wars between England and France 1337 - 1453, and the Italian Wars 1494 - 1559 had the competing claims of dynasties among their many causes. Raphael Holinshed in his Chronicles, and Moryson, obviously take dynasticism very seriously. The words of Holinshed describing the French succession are put almost verbatim into the mouth of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Henry V, I. 2. 33 - 114. He is rather a cynical cleric, and commentators have noted how he wishes to divert Parliament from despoiling the Church by dynastic excuses for a French war, I. 1. 1 - 99. However, if he is portrayed as just a cynical rogue, it unbalances the prayer scene where the king accepts that he must bear responsibility for the war and its consequences, IV. 1. 227 - 281. I would also suggest that in the Archbishop, Shakespeare shows us where belief and self-interest happily combine.
the Salick lawe, so called of a Riuere in Franconia, being a fundamentall lawe of the kings succession and other things concerning Regall Maiesty. At this tyme Italy invaded by barbarous people, fled to the succour of their Bishopps who having formerly liued subject to the Emperors now first began to growe great by protecting the laiety and to exercise power over them as their Clients. And now the Bishopp of Rome began to bring not only the laietye but also the inferior Bishopps by degrees under their power. Clodius Comatus king of the Francks passed the Rheine, and subdued Lorayne, and Burgundi and dyed in the yeare 451. Meroueus king of the Francks tooke Paris, and gave to all Gallia the name of Fraunce, and of him the Family of the succeeding kings was called the Merouingian Family, and he dyed Anno. 458. Childericus succeeding made the Franckes and Gaules one Nation, both called

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2 "The verie words of that supposed law are these, In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant, that is to saie, Into the Salike land let not women succeed. Which the French glossers expound to be the realme of France, and that this law was made by king Pharamond; whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betwene the rivers of Elbe and Sala...". Raphael Holinshed The Third Volume of Chronicles 1587 quoted in Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, edited by Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols (London, 1957 - 1975), IV (1966), 378. The French lilies were still on the royal coat of arms and English coinage, so Morison is presenting here an uncontroversial English viewpoint. The Salic law did not apply to France. Consequently, kings of England were by right of succession Kings of France.

3 Morison is using this word derived from cliens in its classical sense of the followers of a Latin patrician (which amply describes many Bishops of this era) to whom patronage and protection was extended. OED
frenchmen. The French king Clodoneus the first, was the first Christian king, baptised with all his soldiers by St. Rheemigius in the yeare 485. He left the old Armes of the Toads (others write three Crownes) and tooke the Lillyes which the French kings [bear] to this day, and he dyed Anno. 524. Clotarius the second succeeded king of Fraunce Anno. 588, being also king of Austrasia and of Burgondye by the death of his kinsmen. In his tyme Pipin being his Maior [Domus] [d......] or /40/ high Steward of his Pallace, vppon the kings seldom appearing abroad,

Pharamund is a mythical figure, although a Chlodio (son of Meroweche) was defeated by the Roman general Aetius in 451. EWH In the Palace of Justice in Paris, Moryson noted "There bee the painted Images of all the French Kings from Pharamund." Itinerary A, I, 415.

Davis suggests that Clovis was baptised at least ten years later, p. 109.

OED defines toad-back as "...having a section of three lobed shape held to resemble the back of a toad". Whatever devices Clovis chose for himself, may have resembled this. Clovis died in 511. EWH Thomas Platter noticed an arras in Henry VIII's bedchamber at Windsor in 1599 which depicted "...how the three lilies fell from heaven out of an angel's hand into the hut of the hermit of Remigi who was holding a chaplet, and he gave them to King Clovis' consort and instructed her in the Christian faith so that she might become a Christian, and he advised her to hand the three lilies to her lord the King and persuade him likewise to become a Christian, so that he should be the first Christian sovereign, and to bear these three lilies as arms, instead of the three toads he had previously borne, as it came to pass, and the French still bear the lilies for their emblem t day." See Thomas Platter, Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599, translated by Clare Williams (London, 1937), pp. 213 - 214.

Austrasia comprised of part what is now West Belgium and eastern Holland, and northern Germany with the capital at Metz. See Davis, p. 121. If Moryson means Lothair II, he was not King of all Franks until 613. EWH
first gott authority in gouerning the kingdome, and this
ing king dyed, Anno 632.\footnote{629. Pepin I was a major landowner and Mayor of Austrasia. EWH} The french king Clodoneus the second began to raigne Anno 645,\footnote{Clovis II (637 - 657). EWH} and was the first of the sloathfull kings, who [by] altogether withdrawing himselfe from publique affayres, gaue way to the maiors of the Pallace to grow great by managing them, for they now began to despise the kings their lords, and craftily to bring them in Contempt with the people for their sloath and to gayne opinion to themselues by vndertaking difficult warrs, and \footnote{507}

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:I. fol:i89. especially by shewing zeale to religion, and so to aspire vnto the kingdome.\footnote{For Moryson, zeal to the Catholic Church leads onto rebellion.} Clotarius the third succeeded him Anno 660, who gaue all power of gouernment to Ebroinus Maior of the Pallace, whom his brother Theodericus succeeding would hauue putt him from that dignity, but was taken Prisoner by him.\footnote{Lothair III was King of Neustria 657 - 673, and of all Franks 656 - 660. Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace in all provinces was murdered in 681 by Theodoric III King of Neustria 673 - 698, ard of all Franks 678 - 691. EWH} King Clodonieus the third succeeded his father Theodericus, and made Pipin (descending of the former Pipin), the Maior of the Pallace vnder him, and first he, then his brother Childebert the second raigned as shadowes
of kings, Dagob rt the second sonne to Childi/10/bert dyed Anno 720. whome his vnkle Clotarius the fourth and after him Chilpericus the third brother to Dagobert succeeded, and, [and] after him Theodoricus the second, being sonne to Dagobert, succeeded in the yeare 726, and dyed in the yeare 740, and these fower kings had Carolus Martellus base sonne to the last named Pipin for the Maior of the Pallace, whome they reigned, having only the name of kings, and scarcely that, for Carolus Martellus is reputed the first king of the Carolines, being the second race of kings raigning in Fraunce, though the Merouine /20/ race was not yet deposed nor extinct.¹² For Chilpericus or Childericus the fourth in the yeare 740, succeeded his brother Theodoricus the second, in the name of king, and had Pipin sonne to Carolus Martellus for Maior of the Pallace who thrust Chilpericus into a Monastery in the yeare 750, and made himselfe absolute king of Fraunce, being the second king of the Caroline race, who notwithstanding drew his Pedigree from Clodoueus the great of the Merouian race, lest he should seeme to violate the Salick lawe.¹³ Hetherto

¹² Clovis III, King of all Franks (691 - 695) and Chilebert III King of all Franks (695 - 711) and Dagobert III King of all Franks (711 - 716) had Pepin II as Mayor of the Palace. Chilperic II (719 - 720) and Theodoric I (721 - 737) had Charles Martel, Pepin II's illegitimate son, as Mayor. Martel e en kept the throne empty after 737 until his death in '41. EWH

¹³ Morison reverses the argument that Holinshed (and Shakespeare) put into the Archbishop's mouth, that Pepin III deposed Chilperic III in 752, claiming "...the crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he was descended of
the Bishopps of Rome were vknowne to the French, only
the had gotten great reputation of holines, and of loue to
cherrish Christian kings, and at this tyme Pope Zachary
came into France to craue Pipins ayde against the king of
the Lombards, and when Pipin had reconciled him to that
king, this Pope to merritt his favour, and to haue helpe
out of France against the kings of Lombardye, did first
without example free the French of their oath to
Chilpericus, and perswaded the States then gathered
together, to chuse Pipin king of France, who dyed in the
yeare 768.

For illustration I will first add the Pedegree of the
kings following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charles called the great sone to Pipin and of the second race called Caroline reputed the third king of France Anno 750, subdued the kingdom of Lombardye in Italy Anno 776, and was crowned Emperor of the west at Rome Anno 800, and dyed 814.</th>
<th>Carolomannus at first divided the kingdome with his brother, and after fled to the Lombards, but came into his brothers power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lodowicus the first succeeded king of France &amp; Emperor, and tooke the kingdome of Italy from his Nephew Bernard, and dyed Anno 840.</td>
<td>Pipin king of Italye. Bernardus deposed by the Emperor his uncle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotharius Emperor</td>
<td>Pipin king of Aquitania.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lodowicus king of Bavaria left only one daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles surnamed Calus king of France, borne of a second marriage dyed Anno 879.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lodovicus called Balbus crowned emperor and king of France Anno. 879, left his queen great with Child, and died 881.

Charles called simple being Posthumous borne after his fathers death Anno. 881, was crowned king of France Anno. 902, but his nonage being full of troubles, the princes of Germany chose Arsalphus Emperor, and drew the Empire from the French to themselves. In his nonage, for 22 years Lodovicus and Carolus his bastard brothers ruled as Regents, and Carolus surnamed Crassus and Eudo Earle of Anjou ruled as Tutors appointed by his father, and some of them were crowned. After he was king, he killed Robert brother to Earle Eudo, in battle, but Arsalphus king of Burgundy deposed him Anno 922, and usurped the kingdom of France.

Lodovicus the fourth surnamed, Transmarinus fled into England with his mother an English lady, but the usurper Rodolphus dying in the year 935, he was recalled and crowned king of France.

Lodovicus the fourth the fifth despised his brother Charles being left to his disposal & hated of all men, dyed king of France. Anno 964.

Lodovicus the fifth of France dyed Anno 965., leaving only his uncle Charles of the Caroline race.

Charles despised by his brother fled to Otho Emperor of Germany who gave him the dukedom of Loraine; and he carried himself so unwisely in the wars between Germany and France, that the French hated him as Client of the Empire, who chose Hugo Capete king of France having taken Charles prisoner in battle, yet his children succeeded in Loraine, from whose the present Dukes thereof derive their Pedegree.

The Caroline race of kings ended.

The Pedegree of a third race of the French kings succeeding the Carolines.

Whitikind Prince of Saxony had the favour of Charles the great, and served Charles surnamed Calnus in his wars, who made him governor of a Province. Of him are the Electors of Saxony, and a second house in France.

Otho others write Eudo, and Eudo Duke of Orleans and Earle of Anjou and Paris, soone or Nephew to Whitikind, did reign as Tutor to Charles the simple, and dyed Anno 896.

Robert affecting the Crowne from Charles the simple, was killed in a battle in the year 922.

Hugo Earle of Anjou and of Paris stirred up the Norrians against Lodovicus the fourth, but for feare of Otho the Emperor, he made peace with the king. He married the daughter of the Emperor of Germany, Henry the first and dyed. Anno 945.

Hugo Capete Earle of Paris having taken Charles duke of Lorayne and the last of the Caroline race prisoner in battle was chosen King of France in the assembly of the States Anno 987. Charles being judged a stranger and Enemy to France, and he dyed Anno 998.

Capeti: the third race of French kings.

510
Robert, sirnamed Pius king of France and the Dukedome of Burgundy fell (to) back to him which Hugh Capete gave to his yonder brother, he dyed Anno 1039.

Lambert Earle of Aniou served the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in his wars of Italy, and there the Families of Spina, and Nocenigo descendent of him.


Lodovicus the sixth sirnamed Crassus king of France had war for Normandy with Henry the first (king) of England.

Philipp the first king of France to whom [to whose] Baldwine Earle of Flandres was Tutor dyed Anno 1109.

Of his descendent many Dukes of Burgundy, till it fell to the Crown vnder king John de Valois.

Henry the first, king of France dyed. Anno 1066.

Robert Duke of Burgandy

Phillip the first king of France to whom [to whose] Baldwine Earle of Flandres was Tutor dyed Anno 1109.

Hugh ward the heyre of the Earle Verwandierus of his descendent many Dukes of Burgundy, till it fell to the Crown vnder king John de Valois.

Lodovicus the seventh king of France, be died Anno 1180.

Lodovicus the Seavesth kinge of France led an Army to the Holy Land with Conrad the second Emperor of Germany, and dyed Anno 1180.

Phillip died his father yet livinge

Robert, [Brother] of whom descend the dukes of Britaigne in France beinge absente Princes

Peter of whom descend the the Emperors of Constanti-

[Next Page]

[Note] Lodovicus the 8th kinge of France, called to be kinge of England against kinge John by the Barroes but sent home by them reconcyled to Henry the 3 the kinges sonne; he dyed Anno 1226.

Lodovicus the 9th called Sanctus kinge of France, hee dyed Anno 1270 in the second Expedition of the Christians against the Saracenes in the holy Land:

Charles of Aniou kinge of Sicilye & Naples was cast out of Sicilye by the kinge of Arragon but died kinge of Naples Anno 1284, of whom descend diverse kings of Naples of the house of Aniou, vide [next Pag]: infra

Robert of whom descend many Earles of Artois

Phillip the third called Audax king of France dyed in the yeares of our lord 1265

Robert Earle of Cleremount

Peter Earle of Alduson.

The Greek contraction for Christ is used.
The house of Valois second branche of the Capeti kings
Charles the Fifth of that name and third of the house of Valois king of France. Lodovicus Duke of Aixoa by adoption king of Naples adopted by the heir of Charles, (look above last page). He died Anno 1404.

Charles the Sixth King of France died Anno 1422. Lodovicus Duke of Orleans married the Duke of Milan his daughter & was killed by John Duke of Burgundy Anno 1407.

Charles the Seventh King of France, his wife, and later his daughter, died Anno 1460. John Duke of Orleans prisoner in English lands and after to Owen Fenner an English gentleman.

Lodovicus Duke of Aixoa the second in Aixoa attempted to be king of Naples was killed by John Duke of Burgundy Anno 1417.

John Duke of Burgundy killed the Duke of Brabant, slayne at Aisencourt by his own men. Lodovicus Duke of Burgundy made war against Charles the Seventh King of France, by his marriage he wined, Holland, Zealand &c. to his dukedom, and died Anno 1467.

The manuscript is cut off, but the missing word is probably "Fraunce".

15 Either this is "wived", Moryson was thinking of Philip's marriage, or "wined" a variant past participle?
Charles the 8th king of France made war in Italy: married the heir of Brittany, but his children dyed young; he dyed in 1497.  

Lewes or Lodovicus 12 succeeded Charles 8 king of France, and married his widow heir of Brittany. (looke this page (?), he dyed Anno 1515.  

Mary heyre to Burgundy and the love Countryes married to the Emperor Maximilian the first. She dyed Anno 1492.

The present kings of Spain are heires to the.

Susanna married to her Cousen Charles Earle of
Susann, duche of Borbon: led ye Emperors Armye in
[Kingdom of] Italye against Francis the
First, K. of France saked
Rome & dyed there Anno 1577

The House of Bourbon, the 3 branch of ye kings of the Capeti bein ye third race of the kings

Henry the 4th kinge of France also K. of Navarre divorced from Margaret: his wife Catherine married to the duke of
[daughter to E H] [... ...] [heavy second k of France, after] married Mary Barr. sonne and heir to the
daughter to Francis of Medicis duke of Florence & by hir had yssue male & female: duke of Lorrainage

The kinges of France raigingshe at my being there

Francis sonne to John Earle of Vendome servd in ye wars of Italye under Charles the 8 kinge of France and dyed there.
Lodovico Prince of Yona & Earle of

Charles created duke of Vendome by ye French K: Francis the first
Antoinia married to Claudin duke of Guise

Lodovico created Duke of

Charles Prince of Yona.

Francis dyed Casually Anno 1549
Charles of Bourbon Cardinal died Anno 1590: Lodovico Prince of

Cardinall died in the Battaile of Saint Quixus:

The Prince of

Cosyde Prince of the blood

Francis d: of Anna married to ye d: of

Wopesnier Neuers Francisca to the d:

Dullosne Carolia a Neury of Bullosne a Carola a Neury after married to the Prince

of Orange and 2 Sisters

Abesse. The Dukes of

Wopesnier & Averteres Pr: of the blood.

Because the dukes of Guise had great Power in the last Civill Warres of France and because in that tyme of
Faction, as they bore themselfes for Princes of France, and
descended of great Kings, soe their opposites vilefied
them as Strangers: I thought good to add their Pedigree.

The Pedigree of the Dukes of Lorrainage and the dukes of Guise:

Some derive them from Charles duke of Lorrainage putt from
the kingdome of France by Hugo Capetus, (as aboue appeares, but I haue not seene that Pedigree

515
Isabella descending of his the heir to the dukedom of Loraine married to Benatus duke of Anjou, who died Anno 1400: vide supra:

Isola heir to the dukedom married to Frederick Earle of Vadamont and Aumale, died before his Father in law Anno 1472, as Isola also dyed shortly after his Father Anno 1483.

Booke ii The Comon wealth of France Chap:i fol 193

Francis duke of Loraine and Earle of Vadamont Cast out of his dukedom by Charles duke of Burgoyne: but he beinge killed did recover the same and died Anno 1508.

Isabella descending of the ancient hinges of France married the heire of the dukedom of Loraine.


Isola descending of his the heir to the dukedom of Loraine married to Benatus duke of Anjou, who died Anno 1400: vide supra:

Jola heir to the dukedom married to Frederick Earle of Vadamont and Aumale, died before his Father in law Anno 1472, as Jola also dyed shortly after his Father Anno 1483.

Benatus duke of Loraine and Earle of Vadamont Cast out of his dukedom by Charles duke of Burgoyne: but he beinge killed did recover the same and died Anno 1508.

Anthony duke of Calabria, duke of Loraine served the French K. faithfully against the Venetians & Spaniards, built the walls of Nancye and died Anno 1544.

Francis duke of Guise & Aumale married Antonia daughter to Francis Earl of Vadamone, vide supra: and Anno 1518 served in the wars of Italy:

John Cardinal of Sain Campbrio, Borne Anno 1498.

Francis Earl of Lamb and Orge taken prisoner with Francis kinge of France in the battle of Pasia and died in Anno 1524.

Francis duke of Loraine married the daughter of Christiers kinge of Denmark and dyed Anno 1546.

Francis Duke of Guise led the Army of Engt. 2 K: of Scotland, took Callis from the English and was slain by Poltrott Anno 1553.

Francis duke of Guise married James 5 kinge of Scotland, and dyed Anno 1552, continued the Civill warre after the death of Queen of Scotts, married ... Francis Henry Duke of Guise 2 kinge of France.

Francis duke of Guise married James 5 widow to the Duke of Longnalle married James 5.

Francis duke of Guise married James 5.

Francis Duke of Guise marriyde the daughter of Prince Bishoppriec, became [..] Duke of Orange, Prince of the house of Mercuri, and died Anno 1543.


Aloisia married to Henry 3 kine of France.

Henry Earl of Vadamone Duke of E: married to Anna 3 kine of France.


Margaret married to Cardinal Phillip E; married to Anna 3 kine of France.

Charles a Cardinal married to Henry 3 kine of France.

Charles a Cardinal married to Henry 3 kine of France.


Catharina married to Henry 3 kine of France.

Benatus married to William Duke of Panarea.

Charles Duke of Loraine being 15 years old married Claudia daughter to Hen.: K: of France Anno 1559.

Dorothea married to Ericlus Duke of Brunswick.

Henry Earl of Vadamone Duke of E: married to Anna 3 kine of France.


Margaret married to Cardinal Phillip E; married to Anna 3 kine of France.

Charles a Cardinal married to Henry 3 kine of France.


Catharina married to Henry 3 kine of France.

Benatus married to William Duke of Panarea.
Charles called the Great reputed the 3 kinge of the Carolines beinge the second race of the French kinges was the greatest of any French kinge before or after him, to whome all France, great perte of Germany and of Spaine weare Subject: And till the tyme of his father Pipin the Popes weare vknowne in France saue only by some Fame they had gotten to be holy men & great Cherishers of kinges, in which respect Pipin helped Pope Zacharye //

fol:194 Booke ii. The Comon wealth of France' Chapter 1
to make his peace with the Lumbards, and was content (with a most pernicious example) to make vse of this opinion of his Holines, to depose Chilperick and to absolue the french from their oath of allegiance to him. Now againe the Pope calling Charles the great into Italy, he subdued the Lumbards, and added that kingdome to his in the yeare 776. And shortly after the Romans expelling Pope Leo, and Charles the great coming with his Army to establish him Bishopp of Rome in the yeare 800, he was there crowned Emperor, and so the /10/ Empire of the West long extinct

18 774. EWH

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was renewed in him, and the Bishopps of Rome did obey and reverence him and his Successors; yet so as in many dissentions about the Empire, these Bishopps daily increased their owne power and authority. The Emperor Charles called Caluus dying in the yeare 879, Lodouicus Balbus gott the Empire with great difficulty, which some Princes of Italy laboured to usurpe, And first at this tyme the States of the West, began to take the Popes daily to draw to themselues Imperiall rights. Lodouicus Balbus dyed leaving his wife with Childe, of whom Charles the Simple was borne, Anno 881, in whose Nonage while Carolus Crassus was his Tutor, the Germans chose an Emperor, which Empire to this day they hold, leaving only Fraunce to Charles the Simple, for Italy followed the Empire, yet often rebelling. And from this tyme the Popes daily increased their spirituall and temporall power ouer the Emperors, rasing warrs against them and presuming to depose, and excommunicate them, in the mean tyme leaving Fraunce and the other States of the West, in peace for many yeares, without exercising any such power ouer them, The french king Lodouicus the 5th dying Anno 964, the french hating Charles his brother as a vassall of the

19 Dissensions.

20 Charles the Bald (843 - 877) was succeeded by Louis II (877 - 879), the stammerer. EWH

21 Moryson seems to have confused grandfather Louis IV (936 - 954) and grandson Louis V (986 - 987). EWH
Empire, chose Hugh Capett for their king in the assembly of the States Anno 987 never using any art of Preachers, or of the Popes authority to approve the act, but themselves judging Charles to be a stranger, an enemy to Fraunce, and making free election. Thus the Carolines the second race of kings being extinct, the third race of Capeti began to raigne in /40/ three branches, whereof the Capeti, and the house of Valois being in tyme extinct the house of Bourbon at this day possesseth the Crowne. Till the Raigne[s] of Hugh Capett Earldomes and dukedomes in Fraunce were only gouernments for life, but he wonn the loue of the french, by making them hereditary, reserving only homage to the kings and by giuing great authority to the assembly of the States, by instituting 12 Peares of the kingdome, and by decreeing (which the french derive from the law Salike, tearning it a fundamentall lawe of the Francks, being the first /50/ race of their kings) I say by decreeing that yonger brothers to the king, who formerly had part of the kingdome with title, and power of kings, should forbeare the title of king and should doe homage to the Elder brother for the lands allotted to them, and that Kings Bastards who formerly had equall portions with the

22 Lothair (954 - 986) rather than Charles seems to have been meant here. "The emergence of the new house of Capet was not the victory of a race, a nationality, or a principle, but the triumph of a family, already distinguished, over a decadent rival." EWH

23 Peers.
legitimate, should not succeed in the kingdom, nor take the Sirname of the king their father. The Pope contending, with Hugh Capett to restore a Bishop he had deposed, he yielded to him, lest he should trouble his new

Booke ii. The commonwealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:i[8]95. founded kingdom. In this age the Roman Church was often troubled with great schisms, diverse Popes being chosen at one tyme each one thundring Censures of excomunications against each other, only agreeing all in one thing, namely to beat downe the Imperiall majesty, and draw that power to the Papacy as very Platina (the Popes devoted Client) recordes, and of these Popes some were expelled out of Rome, others imprisoned and some strangled. King Lewes the seauenth dying Anno 1180, and Phillipp the second succeeding, the Popes in their tyme having broken the power of the Empire, began first to usurpe power ouer the westerne kings and States; For Pope Innocent the fourth

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24 Hugh Capet was attempting to weaken the elective principle of kingship in favour of the hereditary one.

25 Moryson is referring to Bartholomeus Sacchi de Platina, B Platinae Historia De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum. The edition that I consulted in the British Library was printed in Venice in 1562, but it was constantly being reprinted well into the eighteenth century. As Moryson points out, there is no doubting where his sympathies lie. Thus the controversial Hildebrand, Gregory VII, is referred to as "urum multe doctrine, magne pietatis, prudentie, iustitias", a man of much learning, dutifulsness, prudence and justice, whilst the Emperor Henry is driven by greed.
excomunicated John king of England, and threatened the same Censure against the French king Phillipp the second for Impositions laid on the French Clergie. And in this age many new orders of Monkes were invented, and the Albigois in Fraunce required Reformation of Religion whom the Popes persecuted with Censures, fire and sword. Phillipp the fourth in the year 1293 first began the fatal warr with England, which long wasted and almost had destroyed Fraunce, and Phillipp the sixt (the first king of the second braunch of the house of Valoys) renewed this warr, which for a time had been appeased, and thereby brought great Calamities upon his Successors. And this Phillipp was the first French king that felt, and despised the Popes power; For when Pope Boniface the Eight had excomunicated and deposed him from his kingdom for Impositions laid on the French Clergie, and for giving Ecclesiasticall benefices, as former kings had done, which right the Popes had extorted from the Emperors, and now first challenged in Fraunce, this king took revenge in the right kind, by the surprise and destruction of that Pope. From this time forward the French kings to defend themselves from the tyranny of Popes, practised to have a strong

26 Innocent III (1198 - 1216).
27 The Albigensian Crusade 1208 - 1213, organized by Innocent III, is for Moryson, an early example of religious reformers persecuted by the Papacy.
28 Moryson is now referring to Philip IV again.
faction in the Colledge of Cardinalls, whereby they had power sometyme to sett vpp a Pope in Fraunce against the Roman Pope, and Comonly to haue their freinda Chosen Popes, which Course likewise the kings [of England] held, labouring to haue the fauour of the Cardinalls, And because the Emperors /40/ of Germany depressed [by] the Popes, forbore any more to medle with the affayres of Italy, the Papall Court of Rome was for many yeares swayed by these two English and french factions among the Cardinalls, with diuerse events as the factions were tempered or [<prouoked>] one against the other, till Ferdinand king of Aragon vniting the kingdomes of Spaine, did about the yeare 1479, first beginn to beare sway among the Christian kings with title of king of Spaine, From which tyme and in the Raigne of his Grandchilde the Emperor Charles the fifth, Crowned Emperor /50/ about the yeare 1519, a third Spanish faction began to haue greater power in the Colledge of the Cardinalls //

fol:i(8)96. Booke.ii. The commonwealth of Fraunce. Chap.i. within fewe [a] yeares [after] Henry the Eight king of England fell from the obedience of the Pope and in the tyme of the three last [french] kings of the house of Valoys from Anno 1560, to Anno 1589, Fraunce was distracted with Ciuill warres about the reformation of Religion, so as the Court of Rome was altogether swayed by the Clyents of the kings of Spaine till the french king Henry the fourth (being the first of the third branche, of the house of
Bourbon) did settle his kingdom, and turning to the Popes Religion, renewed the power which the French kings were wont to have in the College /10/ of the Cardinalls. In the mean time for the temporal affairs of France, the English having for many ages possessed large provinces in France by right of Inheritance, and after the said fatal war begun Anno 1293, having increased their dominions in France, and Henry the fifth king of England being Crowned king of France in Paris, and dying while his son was a Child, the French in the nonage of his son Henry the sixth king of England and of France, not only recovered the kingdom of France from the English, but took from all their possessions /20/ in France about the year 1454 (excepting Callis which after they took in the year 1557,29 neither could the English recover their right to the crown of France and other their inheritances, being long distracted by civil wars at home. After the death of Charles Duke of Burgundy Anno 1477 the French king Lewes the 11th took the Dukedom of Burgundy by force from Mary his daughter and heir, married in the house of Austria. Likewise the French king Charles the Eighth who died the year 1497,30 and his successor Lewes the twelfth, married /30/ the daughter and heir of the Duke of Brittany, and united that Dukedom to the crown. And this was the

29 1558.
30 1498.
kingdome of F<ra>urence established as it now stands, not to speake of the kingdome of Naples and the Duchy of Milan in Italy, which the French kings gott and lost agayne.

To shewe how the kingdome of Fraunce was established vnder Henry the fourth, I will sett downe in fewe words how it was first rent in peeces by the forerunning Ciuill warrs. King Henry the second of the house of /40/ Valois, beganne to persecute thos of the reformed Religion, (whome the French call Hughonots, as the Germans call them Protestants) but he was taken away by an exempliary death in the yeare 1559.31 In the Raignes of his thee sonnes, France was continually troubled by Ciuill warrs, nurished by foure Factions, and by the fifth fyerbrand setting them all on worke.32 The Popes Iudging the kings of Fraunce slowe in persecuting the Protestants, did at Perona Combyne in league to roote them out,33 not only the Princes of Fraunce, but strangers, which faction was /50/ called the league, deuided in it selfe, for besydes the house of Guise

31 "Exempliary" because Henry II was persecuting Protestants, and his death, after wounds received at a tournament, a dire warning of God's Providence.

32 Henry II's three sons who reigned were Francis II (1559 - 1560), Charles IX (1560 - 1574) and Henry III (1574 - 1589). The Pope is the fifth firebrand.

33 "In March [1585] the League issued, in the name of the cardinal of Bourbon, the declaration of Péronne, which protested against maladministration and the Protestant tendencies of the crown, and called all true Catholics to arms." J. H. Elliott, *Europe Divided 1559 - 1598* (London, 1968), p. 309, referred to hereafter as Elliott.
and other Princes of Fraunce professing to prosecute the Protestants, a second Spanish Faction arose, the king of Spayne being called in by the cheefe Cittyes to sucker\(^3\) the afflicted State of Fraunce, who knowing the nature of Ciuill discorde not appeased in the begining, to consume the strength of all partyes, first norished the warr with his mony, then sent his Forces called in by the weaker // Booke.ii. The common wealth of. Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:i97. part, and at last aspired to the Crowne. The third Faction was of the Royallists, who vndertooke the defence of the Regall magesty agaynst both Invaders and Rebells, and at the first were no lesse agaynst the Protestants then the former, till in the ende they were gladd of theire helpe against the former preuayling Factions, The Fourth Faction was of the Protestants, led by Princes of the blood, who at first only defended theire liberty of Conscience, but in the ende were the happy instruments to assciest\(^5\) Henry the third with his Faction of Royallists, and after to settle theire owne Captayne Henry /10/ the fourth in the kingdome. The Queene mother Catharine of Medici a Florintyne was by the Printed legends of that tyme accused to norish all these Factions, and thereby to drawe vnto her selfe great power in the managining of publike affayres, for howsoever

\(^3\) Succour.

\(^5\) Assist.
the French abhorre the government of weomen, and being at
unity have often sent the kings mothers and female hayres
to the spindle, yet her intercession to the kings her
sonnes was so necessary to the other factions, and the
power she had with them so vsefull to the kings, as her
authority was great in the kingdome, which rather then shee
would lose, they taxed her not only not to haue giuen
good Counsell, but to haue much corrupted the young kings
her sonnes, and by her ministers to haue nusled them in
sloath and luxury. Yea such was the mallice of the tyme,
as they not only taxed her with the worst Counsells of
ambition, but also with disordinate affections to some of
the league, which made her more inclyne to that party. In
this Ciuiill warr the Protestants behaued themselues so
valiently, as they often forced their malicious enemyes to
giue them peace, which they allwayes founde vnfaythfull,
witnes that horrible Massacre of Parice Ano. 1572. so
called through the effusion of Protestants blood [were]
generally through all Fraunce, so as howsoever my selfe
haue seene in Sala Regia (the hail of the Popes Pallace)
the same paynted with the Popes strange approbation of the

36 Moryson may be thinking of the banishment of Marie
de Medici, the mother of Louis XIII in 1617.

37 The word intended may be "misled", and the ink from
the quill failed to flow, and the 'i' was left undotted.
Equally, it may be a corruption of "nursed", or even
"nuzzled" 1. 4. To nestle, to lie snug in bed, etc... 2.
2. To train, educate, nurture (a person) in some opinion,
habit, etc." OED
fact, Yet God to whome vengance belongeth, gaue exemplary punishment to all that had any hand therein. 38 For not only the seduced king Charles the nynth, but his succeeding brother Henry the third, and his brother Frances that neuer came to the Crowne, and Henry the Duke of Guise, with the Cardinall his brother, and the Quene /40/ mother, dyed soone after, and all but two by a miserable death, as shall appeare. But first giue me leaue to obserue, that many Prophecyes of the yeare 1588 foretolde the fatall events thereof, which could not be (as the Papists supposed) wonderfull by the destruction of a fewe Protestants with theire huge forces, or the subduing of litle England by the invincible Spanish Nauie, prouided in many yeares with huge expence of Indian treasure, but it prowed indeede wonderfull by the victory of the English against that Nauie, and by the death of Henry /50/ the third king of Fraunce, the Queene mother, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall his brother, whereby the voge of all Christendome was turned, so as the party of Protestants formerly prosecuted, then first began to be feared and respected of theire greatest enemyes. 39 For not to speake of the distruction of that nauie in the sommer tyme, I will only

38 "Dearely beloued, auenge not your selues, but giue place vnto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine: I wil repay, saith the Lord." Romans 12. 19.

39 "I. 1. the vogue, the principle or foremost place in popular repute or estimation; the most pronounced success or general acceptance...Obs." OED. The final clauses of this sentence amplify this sense.
add, and in a worde, that in the winter following, the States of Fraunce assembled at Blois, where king Henry the third, founde Henry Duke of Guise so powerfull in the assembleny, and his owne dang[ht]er of being deposed /60/ so great and iminent; as he had no remedy but suddenly // fol:198 Booke:ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. to kill Henry Duke of Guise by his guard, and to strangle the the Cardinall his brother, and to imprison the duke of Guise his sonne, who shortly after escaped, and together with the duke of Mene\(^{40}\) his vnclle, and the rest of the league, made warr against the king, and droue him into a Corner of Fraunce till Henry king of Nauarr with the Protestant forces came to assist him, yet could not his Army free him from the knife of a monck, who killed him in priuate Conference in the yeare 1589, which fact not only the Iesuites and more seuere Papists held meritorious, but even the Pope Sixtus the fifth /10/ comended in a Panagericall oration.\(^{41}\) Thus the king of Nauarra was in the Army proclaymed Henry the fourth king of Fraunce being the first king of the house of Bourbon the third branch of the Capeti. But the Duke of Meine and the rest of the league surviving, still made warr against him, and many of his

\(^{40}\) Mayenne.

\(^{41}\) Sixtus delivered his opinion on 2 September 1589. Moryson may have seen John Wolfe's quarto translation Antisixtus. An oration of Pope Sixtus the fift, vppon the death of the late French King, Henrie the third. With a confutation. (London, 1590) [STC 14002] or the original in French or Latin by M. Hurault Sieur de Fay. BMGC, STC

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Army being Royalists and Papists were ready to forsake him, because he was of the Protestants religion, and the Pope Gregory the fourteenth not only fauoured the factions of Spaine and the league against him, but sent forces into Fraunce to ayd them. /20/ On the other syde the french Protestants stuck faithfully to him, and some great men though Papists referring the difference of religion to a generall Counsell, followed him as the vndoubted heyre of the Crowne. Likewise Elizabeth Queene of England with mony and forces and the States of the vnited Netherlanders with mony supported him, aswell for the Common cause of religion, as to expell the Spaniard the Common Enemy out of France. In this last Ciui\[l warr King Henry the fourth with great valour and many good successes defended his right against /30/ the power of Spaine and his Enemyes of the league in Fraunce, till at last they were disvnited by contrary ends of ambition, some desyring the king of Spaine, or his sonne, or Ernestus of Austria the Emperors brother to be chosen king of Fraunce, others rather desyring the duke of Meyne, others the young duke of Guise (as the french legends report) others desyring some Prince of Fraunce to be named by the king of Spayne, and to be ioyned in affinity with him and some were not wanting who desyred the kingdome should be rent in peeces, hoping to make themselues absolute Princes /40/ ouer some cheife Cittyes and Proinnces. Where vpon king Henry the fourth terrifyed by the Bull of Pope Clement the Eight which
should give the french authority to chuse a new king, and
overcome by the intreaty of his freinds to diuert this
election of a king, [and overcome by the intreaty of his
freinds to diuert this election of a king] did in the yeare
1593 leave the Protestants religion, and professing
himselfe a Papist, and going to the Masse celebrated, with
great solemnity, obtayned the Popes absolution. Yet at
the same tyme the Capucine Fryers /50/ and Iesuites belike
doubting the kings true Conversion, animated a Traytor to
crime him. In the beginning of the yeare 1594, the king was
Crowned at Chartres in the month of February, after which
tyme the leaguers daily submitted to him. In the month of
March the City of Paris yeilded to him, then Monsieur
Villiers Gouernor of Normandy, [came] in to the king and
was made Admirall of //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:199.

Fraunce. Shortly after the duke of Guise submitted
himselfe. In the meane tyme a Noulce of the Iesuites
wounded the king in the mouth with a knife at Paris, where
his fathers house was demolished never to be built again,
and the order of the Iesuits was also banished out of

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42 Jean de Serres records how members of the Catholic
League grew so weary of continual war, that "The zeale of
the new Pope, Clement the eight, moued them very little."
A General Inventorie of The History of France, translated
by Edward Grimeston (London, 1607), p. 765, [STC 22244],
referred to hereafter as Serres. Clement's bull certainly
moved Henry IV, who caused it to be treason to even keep
it, Serres, p. 766.
In the beginning of the yeare 1595, the king first proclaymed open warr against the king of Spayne. And in this yeare Bourgondy returned to the kings obedience. Pope Clement the Eight gaue his solemne benediction to the king, the Duke of Meine submitting to the king, reduced many Cittyes to his /10/ obedience, and the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Ioyeuse likewise submitted themselues. In the yeare 1596. Henry the 4th, king of Fraunce made a league offensive and defensie with Elizabeth [king] [Queene] of England and the States of the unted Netherlanders. In the yeare 1597, the Duke of Mercur[y]e yeilded the Dukedome of Britany to the king, and in the same yeare at Verinus the king made peace with the king of Spayne, who surrendered vnto him all the Cittyes and Forts he had taken in Fraunce, but the Queene of England and the unted Netherlanders /20/ were left by the french king still ingaged in warr against the king of Spaine.

Phillip the second king of Spaine having marryed his daughter to Albert Archduke of Austria gaue her the Provinces of Netherland for dowry, and dyed in the following yeare 1598; And giue me leaue to digresse so much as in a word to sett downe out of the french History some

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43 Moryson noted the gap on his visit to Paris in 1595, "Right against the Gate of the Pallace [of Justice, where] stood the house of John Chastell..." Itinerary A, I, 416.

44 The Treaty of Vervins, 2 May 1598.
heads of the advice which he left to his sonne Phillipp the third. My sonne be watchfull vpon all changes of common wealths, and vse them to your owne aduantage. For the gouvernement of /30/ Spaine, if you stick fast to the Clergie as I haue done, then looke you restrayne the nobles, for you cannot equally haue the loue of both orders without a ciuill warr and wasting of treasure, but if you will rather cleaue to the nobility, then vse you the Netherlands gently. The King of Fraunce is distracted with his affayres, Denmarke extorteth the revenues of the Exchequer from Netherlands and other strangers. Suetia is troubled with factions, the kings of Poland are ruled by their owne Subject, Italy though it be rich, yet is farr distant from /40/ Netherland. The loue of the Netherlands is of all other most necessary for your affayres. And howsoever I haue giuen those Provinces to your sister, yet you haue a thousand euasions, whereof tyme will giue you knowledge to make vse, as to be Tutor to the heyres and the like. Take heede you suffer nothing concerning religion to be changed in Netherland which once chaunged you haue with all lost that possession. Cherrish freindshipp with [with] the Bishopps of Rome, be gentle and bountifull to them, and to the Cardinalls, especially those that are /50/ familiar with the Bishopps, and mantayne your authority in that Conclaue. lett The Pensions to the Bishopps of Germany be no more distributed by the Emperor. Take no Plebean to be your fauourite. Ridd your hands of all pensions, to the
French and the English Spies. The //
{ c.w. nauigatiorz }
fol.[190]200 Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce.
Chap:i.

Nauigation of the Indies is of greatest moment to you, with
whome I haue forbidden the Netherlanders to haue any trade.
Change often your officers in the Indies, and calling them
home make them of your counsell, for they aspiring to
honor, will increase your Indian revenue. The Nauall Power
of the English is to me suspected, but I feare not the
nauye of the French; therefore against the English, vse the
nauall power of the Netherlanders, and to that end graunt
them trade in the Indies, yet vnder great penalty if at
their retorne., they shall not /10/ vnlade im Spaine, and
thus contenting the Netherlanders you may easily exclude
the English from all traffique in the Indies. The rest for
breuity I omitt, and retorne to the affayres of the French
king.45

It hath bene shewed with what fortitude and wisdome, and
with what eternall glory to himselfe (if any excuse may be
made for his changing of [his] religion) Henry the fourth

45 Even Jean de Serres, from whom this is taken, pp.
824 - 825, is suspicous of its authenticitie, "We haue said
that hee [Philip II] drew a writing out of a little
Cabinet, and deliuered it vnto his sonne. Some writers say,
that it was a translation into Spanish, of the Instruction
which the King S. Lewis gaue vnto his Sonne Philip the
hardie. Others say it was the Instruction which followes."
p. 824.
established peace in Fraunce, whose valour in warr, and wisdome in peace to temper the factions of his great subiects and to suppress the pride of his Clergie, cannot be suffi/20/ciently commended. After the peace published in Fraunce [h.....th himselfe] wholly to gathering treasure, yet labouring to ease his subiects from greiuances, and to the pleasure of hunting, and in the yeare 1598 maryed his sister Katherine to the eldest sonne of the Duke of Loraine. In the same yeare the Pope created sixteene Cardinalls whereof three were french, one a Spaniard, and most of the rest Italians. The king made the Marquis of Rosnye his Cheife Threasorer who became a most strict Keeper thereof not caring (that I may vse the very words of the french /30/ History) to offend the inferior Gods, so he might please Iupiter. The Protestants had now long complayned that they could not enjoy their Consciences in peace, nor liues in safety, and [that] being excluded from bearing publique offices they were in a sort as Iewes, exposed to contempt Therefore the king, whose fauour they

46 Maximilien de Béthune, was created baron de Rosny, his birthplace, in 1583, and duc de Sully in 1606. His relations with Henry IV varied. See David Buisseret, Sully and the Growth of Centralized Government in France 1598 - 1610 (London, 1968), p. 47. "Then was there seene a new order in the disposition of the Kings treasure, by the care and industrie of the Marquis Rhosny, vnto whom his Maiesty gaue the charge of Superintendent. From the first day he let them know how hard it was to draw monie out off the Kings Cofers...His humour seemed strange: hee cared not for all the petty Gods, so as he pleased Iupiter, as Apuleius saith." Serres, p. 836.
might wootely hope, did in the beginning of the yeare 1599 cause the Edict of pacification, formerly graunted, and giuing open and large security to the Protestants, to be allowed in the Parliament Court of Paris. By this Edict the Protestants, howsoever /40/ forbidden to reade divinity lectures in the vniuersity of Paris yet for the profession of all other faculties, had equall priuiledges with all other frenchmen. The Judges of that Court thought it equall and iust, that they should be excluded from all publique offices, but the king moued therewith and mentioning former seditions of that Parliament, replyed that he was king, spake as king, and required their obedience, and commanded the approbation of the Edict, by which the Protestants were restrayned from going to forrayne Synodes, and the Papists obteyned two /50/ poynts, that the Roman Religion should be reestablished in the Cittyes of the Protestants, and that all ancient Reuenues should therein be restored to the Roman Clergie. The king now bent himselfe to a masse Treasure, and called in all alienations and ingagements of old dutyes, made in the late Ciuill warrs and strictly appointed Commissioners to bring in all exactions, not without great murmuring //

Booke ii. The common wealth of [Italye] France. Chap:i. fol:[i9i] 201

of the people. This yeare also at the instance of the king of Spaine he recalled all his Subiects on payne of death 535
from seruing the united States in their warrs. Vpon the death of the kings Concubine the Judges of the Parliament perswaded him to marry, wherevnto he gaue consent. And first so handled the matter as Queene Margaret sister to the three last kings of the house of Valois, whome her brother Charles the ninth made a stale for the massacre of the Protestants, by giuing her in mariage to this king Henry the fourth, then king of Navarra and of young yeares, I say he so handled the matter as this Queene being yet living, and almost from the day of mariage seperated from him, made humble petition to Pope Clement the Eight acknowledging that extremely against her will and forced by her brother and mother she was at first marryed to Henry the fourth and that their short Cohabitation after the mariage was in like sort forced and that she was of kinne to him in the third degree of bloud, therefore humbly praying his Holines to dissolue this mariage. The greatest impediment was that Pope Gregory the xiiieth had dispensed at the tyme of their mariage with this Consanguinitye, and all Impediments whatsoeuer. Yet in breife the french kings Ambassadors were so instant with the Pope, as he committed the examination of the Causes to certaine Commissioners who pronounced a Nullity in that mariage

47 Of the Netherlands.

48 "n 3. 2. "...a person...held out as a lure or bait to entrap..." OED

49 "I. 1. ...importunate." OED

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gliuing both partyes liberty to marry with an other. This
done the king sent Ambassadors to thanke the Pope,
augmented [augmented] the pensions formerly assigned to
Queene Margaret thus divorced, And by Ambassadors to the
Duke of Florence desyred /30/ the lady Mary his Neece to
Wife, which the Duke graunted, gliuing her 600th thousand
Crownes dowrye besides Iewells and precious moueables, and
the king was betrothed to her the xxvth of Aprill in the
beginning of the yeare 1600, maryed to her by his deputy in
the moneth of October, and she landed at Marsilles in
Fraunce in the moneth of Nouember. The xxvijth of September
in the yeare 1601, she bore the king a sonne and heyre
named Lewes and stiled Dolphing of Fraunce.\textsuperscript{50} At this tyme
the king gathered some /40/ choyse divines of the Roman
Church, to instruct his only sister maryed to the Duke of
Loraynes sonne, and to dispute before her with the
Protestant ministers at Paris, where she then was, but in
the end she constantly professing that she would dye of the
Protestants religion. The king no further pursued her
Conversion to the Roman religion, to which himselfe had
fallen. And here I end the Historicall Introduction,
because some things already mentioned, as also the
following restitution of the banished Jesuites in the yeare
1604 /50/ prouing fatall to the king, his magnificall humor
of building, his last proiects suspected and feared by the

\textsuperscript{50} Dauphin is the more usual spelling.
Papists, and his insuing murther, haue fallen out since the tyme whereof I write. //

Touching the gouernment of Fraunce, It is a Monarchy discending by Inheritance only to the heyres Males yet not of old so absolute, but that it seemed to haue some thing of a mixed State; For the Citie[s] are gouerned as in a popular State, and the authority of the Parliament (or Assembly of the three States) is Aristocraticall, and howsoeuer Regall rights (as to coyne mony, to make peace and warr, to call the Assembly of the States, and the like) are monarchicall, yet of old this power was restrayned by the Assembly of the three States, as also by /10/ the Court of Parliament at Paris, without the approbation whereof the kings Edicts had no force, and to this day many inferior Princes haue Regall rights vnder the king, as Coyning of mony, and power of life & death in their owne Territories.

The Assembly of the three States in former ages was of high

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51 Moryson, as he promised on Fol. 1, is trying to contain the narrative. He does this by restricting the narrative to the time of his travels. Henry IV did embark on a building programme in Paris, and was preparing to march against the Empire over Cleves-Jülich at the time of his assassination. The "fact" that the Jesuits were behind his murder was a common belief, see Martin Wiggins, Journeymen in Murder: The Assassin in English Renaissance Drama (Oxford, 1991), p. 63.
authority, till the kings finding this high Counsell to be a bridle to their absolute power, (as the Ephori were to the Lacedemonian kings) First Lewes the Eleuenth, saying that he was out of Nonage, made the mention of /20/ calling this Assembly to be Capitall, from which tymes the kings very rarely (and neuer without being forced therevnto) did permitt this Assembly to be called, till of late those of the league pretending reformation of religion and policy, and the Princes of th[is]e bloud standing for their right, Ciuill warrs were raysed and for appeasing thereof, the kings were forced to flye for remedy to this Assembly, the authority whereof themselves had so broken, as it could not now giue due remidyes. For the kings affecting absolute power, had in tyme /30/ made the same so hatefull to their Subiects, as they had giuen themselves to dependency vppon factious Princes, who swayed this Assembly to their ambitious ends, and taught the kings how much better it is to haue a iust, then an absolute power. The old causes of

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52 "Ephors, at Sparta [were] a body of five magistrates exercising control over the kings." Harvey. Moryson may also be recalling a passage from Comynnes, "Some persons of low estate and small repute said then [1484], and have said the same several times since, that it was high treason to speak about calling the Estates as it diminished the King's authority. But these are the men who commit a crime against God, the King and the people." See Philippe de Comynnes, Memoirs: The Reign of Louis XI 1461 - 83, translated by Michael Jones (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 346.

53 Moryson takes on Comynnes's constitutionalism. However, he goes on to disapprove of the ambition that perverted the purposes of the Estates in the recent Civil Wars.
calling this Assembly were to determine Controversies of
the kings succession, to appoint a Regent when the king was
vnder age, or a Captiue, or employed in forrayne warrs or
distracted in his witts, to punish great men that basely
used high Commaunds and offices, to represse seditions to
reforme /40/ enormous defects, and to supplye the kings
necessityes, aswell by taking away superfluous expences, as
by granting Subsidyes for publike vses. But the late
Assemblyes vnder the league had cleane Contrary ends, and
events, as to determine the succession of the king when he
yet liued, to appoint a Regent ouer the king being of age
free from Captiuity, and in his right witts, saue when
their Counsell might leade him to folly, and so free from
any thing that might cause the choyce of a Regent, and to
confirme the ambitious Princes in their commaunde[d]s, /50/
offices, and exorbitant powers, and to proclayme the
Subiects league with the king, and without ioyning the king
for persecuting the Protestants, and so to confirme their
Conspiracie by the authority of the king and of //
{ c. w. that Assembly }
Booke ii. the common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol
[i9]203.
of that assembly and to giue full power to the said Princes
of the league, in disposing the publike Treasure as
committing the lambe to the keeping of the woolfe, and
lastly aswell the Clergye to refuse all Contributions
without the Consent of the said Princes, as also the laiety
to deny the king Subsidyes, who daily ingaged his owne
revenues for the publique affayres.

{ m.n. 8 - 11. The court of Parliament at Paris. }
Touching the Court of Parliament at Paris, I referr the
iustice thereof to the following discourse of Iustice, and
here will only speake of the Authority thereof, /10/ to
curbe the kings power. The old good kings gladly vsed the
Counsell of these graue Iudges, and because they knewe
[that] that some vnfitt decrees might passe the kings hand
by corruption of private officers, they were content to
giue these Iudges power to take any exceptions against
theire edictes, and to perswade the Confirmation or
abrogating thereof, so as they should not be of force till
they were approued in the Court. Thus in tyme and by
degrees, th[r]ough the naturall insolency of the French to
bridle the kings power, and more spetially through the
ambitious endes of /20/ seditious Princes, this Court to
haue such transcendent Authority, as in the last Ciuill
warrs it not only clamed as it were from prescribed Custome
the power to allowe or dissalowe the kings edictes, but
also published edictes against the king, and conspiring
with the Princes rebelling, did appoint an assembly where
a newe king should be chosen. But king Henry the Fourth
being settled in that kingdome, hath not only brought the
most sedicious Iudges to wonted modesty, but also the Court
to exercise due authority, so as they dare not somuch

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dissalowe his edictes, saue /30/ only vpon causes allowed by himselfe, and so hath taught the french, that howsoever Courtes of Iustice and subiect Princes may vseurpe vnfit power under negligent and faynt harted kings, yet a wise and valiant king can reduce them both within due limites.

{ m.n. 35 - 36. The power of the Princes in Fraunce. }

Yet one knott of Corruption remaynes, 54 which he may and doth wisely loosen, but no king can vnty, without great and dangerous Changes of that government, namely the exorbitant power of the subiect Princes. Howsoever many affirme that the French are most dutifull Subiectes to /40/ their kings, and I will not dispute the Contrary against them, yet I may boldly say that the French in generall, out of a naturall leuity, take great liberty to censure their kings, and giue no great outwarde reverence to his person, and more particularly that the subiect Princes are more apt to take Armes against their kings, then those of any other nation knowne to me. 55 Many of them to this day haue

54 "Knot n 1 II. 10. fig. b. ...the main point in a problem..." OED One central problem, that of corruption remains...

55 Moryson attributes levity to the French in general. As a moral and mental quality, OED defines it in three ways, all of which have some bearing on Moryson's views. The first two "Want of serious thought or reflexion; frivolity.", and "Incapacity for lasting affection, resolution, or conviction; heedlessness in making and breaking promises; instability, fickleness, inconstancy." apply here. The final sense, "'Light' or undignified behaviour;" also applies in the extended discussion on French levity on fol. 636.
greater power then may easily submitt it selfe to absolute subjection. For they not only haue in generall great priviledges, but many of /50/ them regall rightes, as power of life and death in theire teritoryes, and to Coyne monyves, and to haue subjectes in such kynde as they may committ treason against them, namely by seruing a contrary party in the warrs, and they not only haue theire Provinces by right of inheritance, but of Custome the Command of the kings Forces, and of his Cityyes and Forts, which they often vse against the kings (as historyes witnes) and vpon the least discontent, either conspire with //

fol.2[9]04. Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. forayne Princes, or of themselues take armes against their kings, and so haue for the most part bene the Authors of all the Calamityes that Fraunce hath euer suffered.55

{ m.n. 4. Of the Peeres. }
Among these Princes the most eminent are the Peeres so called of equality, and first instituted by Charles the great. Of them six are Ecclesiasticall, namely six Bishopps whereof three had also the style and right of Dukes as the Archbishopp of Rheymes, the Bishopps of Laon, and of Langres, and three had also the style and right of Earles Palatines as the Bishopp of Beauvais of Noyen and /10/ of

55 Moryson is looking back at the cadets, those younger brothers and cousins of the kings who ruled virtually independent fiefdoms, and who allied with the English with disastrous effect during much of the Hundred Years War.
Chalons, And in like sort six are laymen namely of old three Dukes of Burgundy, of Normandy and of Aquitane, and three Counts of Flaunders of Champaigne and of Tholouse. These Pillers of that kingdom as of old they did many great and worthy Acts in defence thereof against Straungers, so upon discontents they spared not often to teare the very bowells of their Common <mother> aswell by raising Ciuill broyles, as by assisting straungers against the french kings, whereof one example may suffice, namely of the /20/ Dukes of Burgondy assisting the English, who though most valiant and powerfull then in all meanes to anoy Fraunce; yet no doubt by that Dukes assistance had great furtherance in the Conquest of that kingdom. These old Peeres of the laietye, are now and haue [long] bene extinguished, For Lewes the xjth tooke Burgundye by force from Mary the heyre thereof, (of [them] [whome] the kings of Spaine descend), and united it to the Crowne, [ab..t] The Emperor Charles the fifth, heyre to the County of Flaanders as to all the Inheritance of the Dukes of Burgondye, /30/ having taken the french king Francis the first prisoner at Pauia, by transaction freed Flaunders from the subiection of the french, from which tyme the Appeales of the Flemings to the Parliament of Paris formerly in use have ceased, and Flaunders hath not bene

The bowels were considered "n 1 3. ...the seat of the tender and sympathetic emotions". OED To Moryson rebellion is a matricide, a crime of neronian proportions.

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taken for a member of Fraunce. And in like sort the rest of these dominions either for want of heyres males haue fallen, or by mariages haue bene vnited to the Crowne of Fraunce, or haue bene wonn from the English possessing them. And of late ages for solenne Ceremonies /40/ of the kingdome, so many great lords haue vsually bene appointed to supply their places only for the tyme of solempnity; But the foresaid Peeres of the Church, haue euer kept, and at this day keepe and enjoy the dignitye of Peeres; yet some lay Princes to this day are newly created Peeres, but haue not the old power of [or] them, as of late king Henry the fourth, erected the Baronny of Biron to a Dutchye and a Peere. A Peere cannot be judged but by the king and his Peeres, but the king is neuer present when he is a party. Five of the old Peeres /50/ of the laietye are (as I sayd) vnited to the Crowne, and the sixth of Flaunders is now no member of Fraunce. Yet the newe created enjoy the same pruiledges & Prerogatiues that the ancient did,58 and cannot be judged but by his Peeres, and the women whose lands are [d][e]irected into Payries59 or that // Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:[i9]205.

58 Moryson is perhaps contrasting this with English form where age implied precedence.

59 A pairie was a peer's title that was transmissible to a woman. I owe this information to Dr Nicholas Hammond of the Department of French at the University of Birmingham, referred to hereafter as NH.
hold them by succession may assist in these Judgments, [as] (and) did of old Mathilda Countesse of Arthois Peere of Fraunce. But if the Peeres being called doe not appeare the Judges by the kings Commission may proceede. And if any man thinck that a Peere of Fraunce hath no power at this day to trouble the kingdome, lett him consider how the yongest and least of the Peeres of late disturbed the quietnes and rest of Henry the 4th, wanting no Heroicall vertues to preserve peace to his mynde and kingdome, whereof giue me leave to make a breife relation out of the french History. Henry the fourth had exalted /10/ the Baron of Biron for his and his fathers faithfull seruice to him in the Ciuill warrs, to be Duke of Biron knight of both Orders, Marshall of Fraunce, Gouernor of Burgundy and Peere of Fraunce. All this the king had created him having little of himselfe, but a turbulent daring spiritt, yet the hearing of his Conspiracye with Spaine did much trouble the mynde of this wise, valiant and powerfull king. In the moneth of Iune in the yeare i602, vppon the kings Commaund he came to Court, contrary to all mens expectation with a straunge Confidence, and all men thincking he should /20/ be putt sodenly to death, the king would haue it appeare that he had power to bring him to his triall, and so caused him to be apprehended, and sent Prisoner to the Bastile. The rumor in Italy (said he) was in disgrace with the king, because he would be called the scourge of the Protestants, but it vanished away when he was soone after condemned & executed
for Treason. He was a Duke and a Peere of Fraunce, and so could not be tryed but by the Peeres of that kingdome, yet they being called and not appearing, Justice had his Course; For he was arraigned in the Parliament of Paris, where he had no Aduocate, but setting upon a stoole answered for himselfe, and was condemned. The Chancelor of Fraunce, on the last day of July went to the Bastle where the Prisoner refusing himselfe to read the sentence of death (as the vse is) an other was appointed to read it, being to this effect. That Charles Gonhaught of Biron, Knight of both orders, Duke of Biron, Peere and Marshall of Fraunce, & Gouernor of Burgondy, was judged guilty of Treason, to loose his digniplies and possessions, and to be beheaded in the Greene. This publike place of execution much displeased him, and yet the kings grace to be beheaded privately in the prison, he tooke for a small fauour. And it much greiued him that his possessions, the title of duke, and dignity of a Peere, should not fall to his brothers, nor any of his posterity. But when the diuines had somewhat appeased his turbulent mynde, the trembling hangman with much feare cutt of his head.

60 It seems possible that in 1608, Moryson might have seen the plays by George Chapman, The Conspiracy and The Tragedy of Byron. In the latter play, Byron defiantly refuses to read the form of his condemnation and the confiscation of his goods. He is furious that he is "...to lose his head upon a scaffold at the Greave-" [La Place de la Grève, the common place of execution] shouting defiantly, "The Greave? Had that place stood for my dispatch, I had not yielded..." V. 3. 112 - 115. See George Chapman, The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron, edited

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{ m.n. 47. Of other Princes. }

Besides these Peeres, there neuer wanted other Princes of Fraunce, whose greatnes in all ages past hath had power to trouble the kings thereof. Among the rest the Dukes of Britany for many ages were as Thornes in the feete of the /50/ french kings; For they haue not only bene able with their owne forces for a tyme to withstand all the power of the french kings, but often ioyned in league with the kings of England with the Dukes of Burgundy and other discontented Princes //

fol:206. Booke:ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. of Fraunce haue broken [the] sleepe of the french kings, till Charles the Eight, and after him Lewes the twelueth marryng the heyre of that Dukedome, and Francis the first marryng the daughter of Lewes the twelueth heyre to [.] Britanye, at last that Dukedome by consent of the States was united and incorporated for euer to the Crowne of Fraunce. Charles the second by right of his wife duke of Bourbon, shewed aboundantly what a discontented Prince of Fraunce can doe against his king in the wars of Italy, wherein the french king Francis the first was taken Prisoner.41 /10/ Loraine was not exempt from the subiection

by John Margeson (Manchester, 1988).

41 Moryson refers to the Bourbon Treason. Charles de Bourbon (1490 - 1527), Connétable Constable or Marshal of France had personal grudges against Francis I. His rebellion in 1521 was to coincide with an invasion to the north by the English, and from the east by the Imperialists. Koenigsberger, p. 234.
of the Germane Emperors till about the yeare 1000, from which tyme the Dukes and Princes thereof haue bene reputed Princes of Fraunce yet retayning absolute power, and all Regall rights in that Dukedom. The Dukes of Guise are but a yonger house of that Family rasesed about the tyme of Francis the first, yet by their greatnes in Court, by the pronenes of the french to factions by the kings luxurious sloth, and especially by their pretended zeale to mantayne the Roman and roote out the reformed religion, they so vilifyed the /20/ kings, and so magnifyed themselues, as had not weake harted Henry the third either at the instance of his freinds, or out of the despaire of his owne safety, caused Henry duke of Guise to be sodenly killed by his guarde, and had not that Duke in Confidence of his owne strength betrayed himselfe to that violence, the poore king was thought to be very neare running the fortune of his Predecessor Chilpericus who was deposed, shaued and thrust into a monastery, yea after the death of that Duke and the Cardinall his brother, the Princes of their bloud and faction being as it were their Ashes /30/ and shadowes, had the power to drive that king into a Corner of his kingdome where howsoever Henry king of Navarra succeeding him in the kingdome of Fraunce the fourth king of that name came to his assistance with all the forces of the Protestants, yet he could not escape the murdering knife of a monck, that killed him, (such wicked zeale haue the Roman locusts in
mantayning their superstition). To conclude most of the Princes in Fraunce to this day retayne this exorbitant power not fitting Subiects, having in their owne territories halfe Iustice (that is high Iustice, namely Regall Rights, as power of life and death, coyning and the like,) yea through Custome, as it were by a kinde of right, they haue from the kings, such Commandes of his forces, and the guarding of his Cittyes and Fortes, as their fathers had before them.

{ m.n. 45. The Kings counsells. }
The french king hath three Counsells one called the great Counsell [and of old the principall and privye Counsell] Wherein the Cheife Peeres and Princes were wont to sett, and the king himselfe vsed to be present at their deliberations. Charles the Eight leaving to this Counsell the causes of Iustice, the Causes referred to them by his new Counsell, the kings breifes and appeales from the Court, Iudge called Prouost de l'hostel', did institute a new Counsell which he preferred to the former, calling it his priuy Counsell wherein were handled Causes ruled after the Custome of the kingdome, the deliberations

62 Locusts imply a plague, an emotive word in this era, as that visited on Egypt when Pharaoh refused to let the Children of Israel go, Exodus 10. 1 - 20. The image of Catholics as innumerable swarming insects of devouring power betrays Protestant fear. The locust image is employed by the Black Knight in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, edited by J. W. Harper, The New Mermaids (London, 1966), III. 1. 90.
of Peace and warr, and of the Treasure, besides private Causes and Complaynts of Subjects the defining whereof was referred to this Counsell by the kings Comission. The Chauncelor of Fraunce was appointed head of this Counsell, and it had fower Secretaries who divided the Prouinces betweene them, and each one advertised of all affayres, belonging to his assignment did relate them to the Counsell, and each one for /60/ a moneth in his Course kept the kings Signett. Each Counsellor //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i fol:[i9]207. had a thousand Crownes, (Sansouine saith betweene six and eight thousand Francks) for yearely stipend. But the authority of this Counsell also though not altogether vanished, yet is much diminished, by reason that Francis the first, thincking the secretts of State not to be comunicated to many, did institute a newe Counsell called des affaires, [This Counsell hath drawne much] wherein the king while he riseth and attyreth himselfe consults with his cheife fauourites of the highest affayres. This Counsell hath drawne much authority from the former, wherein the king dispatcheth all things which he will doe by absolute, and /10/ meere power. And the deliberations of the former Counsell, in causes of gouernment of the Treasure, and the priuate causes of Subiects, haue no force

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61 "...twenty Soulz [make] a Franke: sixtie Soulz a French Crowne, or six shillings English." Itinerary A, I, xxv. Thus each Councillor received £300 p.a.
till by the advice of this last Counsell they are confirmed with the kings subscription called Resultat. This Counsell hath no rule but the kings pleasure who bestowes this high dignity on those he best liketh whereof notwithstanding many haue the name and title who are not admitted to the Consultations. For some desyre the title for glory and reputation, some others haue it giuen them for singular merritt, yet neither are admitted to the /20/ Counsell, taking the title only for a great honor whereby they are presumed to be familiar with the king, which very opinion adds much reputation to them. The Cardinall of Este being an Italian with great difficulty obteyned the bare title to be one of this Counsell, For no Straungers except he be made a free Denizen is capable of this dignity, or at least only he did euer attaine it.

{ m.n. 29 - 30. The Tributes and Revenues. }Hughes omits everything in the Chapter apart from this section.

The Tribute and Revenues of this large kingdome are manifold and great, and howsoever it be charged in high measure with a multitude of great Stipends, since the very Counsellors /30/ attend not the publike affayres without reward of large pensions, and the officers of the Exchequer so exceede in number as they must needs wast the same

64 The king has confirmed them. This is the final outcome, or resultat.

65 Hughes omits everything in the Chapter apart from this section.
Treasure they gather, (of whose multitude, reformation hath bene [often] intended and attempted, but by their art was euer frustrated) And howsoever it be charged with the maintenance of many Troopes of horse and bands of Foote continually in the kings pay, and of diuerse Fortes and Garrisons vpon the Confines for defence of the kingdome; yet would it abundantly suffice the private and publike vses, were it not that in /40/ the last Ciuill warres, not only many Customes, & Tributes were ingaged, but euen great part of the kings domaine or land of Inheritance (which should not be ingaged vpon any other Cause then for necessity of warr and of Apennages of kings yonger sonnes).  

But the king then raigning, Henry the fourth, no lesse famous for policye in peace, then for the military Art, began to drawe all expences to the wonted limitts, and not only something too much (as the french confesse) restrayning his bounty in guifts, but also gouerning all things with more then kingly frugality, gaue the french Hope to restore /50/ the wonted plenty of publike Treasure.  

Of the Impositions in Fraunce, some were of old graunted, others haue bene lately extorted by the necessity of the kingdome, and long Ciuill warrs //

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66 An apanage was, as Moryson explains, territory given out of the royal lands or domain to the cadets, or younger brothers of the king.

67 Moryson does not consider it regal to be miserly. See his caustic comments on the threadbare uncle of Henry IV's Queen, Ferdinand Duke of Florence on Fol. 138.
to which the French have in the last age been easily drawne), and for other causes partly true, partly pretended. In which exactions not only the French, but most kings of the world make vayne the Maxime of logick, that the Causes being taken away the effects cease, easily learning to raise Tributes but not knowing how to abate them. For in France the exactions raised in the fury of warr, continued in the fayrest tyme of peace, Tributes willingly offered to avoyde the spoyle of Soldiers, still remaynne, and that without restraint of their insolencyes, and tributes allowed in tymes of publike danger by consent of the three Estates, were in peace as it were by prescribed Custome made the kings annuall Rents. Yea exactions made by the Princes of the league taking Armes against the king, in just punishment of those who supported Rebells by them. Popular seditions for like exactions haue no where been more frequent then in France (tho Italy be farr more oppressed therewith) and that not only of old, but even of late since the Civil wars appeased, and in all these tumults, as dogs bite the stone in steed of the Caster, so the fury of the people fell not vpon the Imposers, but vpon the Exactors. The Nobility high and

68 "1. a. One who casts..." OED

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lowe, I meane lorde and gentlemen, are altogether free from Impositions or Tributes because they serue the king [in] his warrs (aswell in person as with a certaine number of horsemen according to their quality) without taking any pay. And this Immunity litle diminisheth the kings profitt, because the Nobility scornes to be Marchants, thincking such traffique ignoble, according to the Heraults rules, howsoever the Italians even the very Princes disdayne not traffique by the great, leaving only the /30/ gayne of Retayling to the people, and wisely thinck it madnes to inrich the people with the cheife Commoditye of the land and to inable them to buy their lands, which idlenes must needs force them to wast and sell. As the Nobles are free from all exactions, so some fall only on the Common people, from which the Citties, and all the kings officers and ministers are exempted, but they are likewise charged with some, as with mantayning the ordinary troopes and bands of horse and foote, and for the Tenthes the very Clergie is not spared. It is a great /40/ mischeife in Fraunce that all offices vppon the necessity of the State, euen the judiciall offices, haue of old beene vsed to be sold by the king, which out of ill Custome continewes till this day, all offices being sold at high rates, and (which is more straunge) the sales thereof among private men being of force, as if they were graunted vnder the [kings] [great]

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69 This is from the French héraut, meaning herald.

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Seale, so the seller thereof liue a moneth or two after the sealing to take away all suspition of open fraude,. For howsoeuer this Custome may be profitable to the king, it makes vnwoorthy men come to high offices, /50/ and since he that buyes must needs sell, it makes the king for his iudiciaull places author of selling Iustice. ¹⁰ All writers obserue that Fraunce hath fowre loadstones to drawe Treasure ¹¹ namely Corne wyne, Salt, and linnen Cloth, and no doubt the Tribute or Impost of wyne is great, and that of Salt //


greater, which in many places is proper to the king, and generally payes him Tribute especially bay salt whereof plenty is made in Fraunce especially in some Ilands, and in many places the selling of white salt is forbidden, that the bay Salt may be sold for the kings better profitt, ¹² but this Reuenue of Salt was said to be then ingaged to priuate men. And since I heare from french men that the king vseth commonly to Farme [out] this and other Gabels (or Impositions), and that Salt alone at this tyme is

¹⁰ Moryson refers to the paulette, a voluntary annual tax fixed in 1604 at one sixtieth of the value of the office, which enabled the holder of that office to sell it to any person chosen by him. It yielded 10% of total revenue. See Parker, p. 121.

¹¹ "There are in France (as a man may terme them) fower loadstones to draw riches from forreine nations..." Botero, Breviat, p. 9.

¹² Bay may refer to the place where it was extracted, or to its unappealing colour. OED
farmed out to Marchants at some six hundred thousand pounds /10/ sterling yearly, and that the king particularly for each mued of Salt receiueth forer pounds tenn shillings sterling to make vpp the foresaid Rent, " and that twelve lettiers make a Mued, and each lettier is about a quarter of our measure, And the french Marchants say that each Mued of wheate yeildeth the king three pounds sterling for Gabell or Impost. And that each Mued of wyne commonly yeildes the king Eightenee shillings of our mony, three Mueds being about a Tonn. Considering the multitude of all exactions and the power the king assumeth to impose them at pleasure, /20/ that which Lewes the Eleuenth said merily wilbe found true, that Fraunce is a pleasant Meadowe of a rich soile which the king moweth as often as it pleaseth him." But he that clenseth the bodye too much shall at last fetche bloud. For the last kings of the house of Valois drew drye the brookes, and Channells of this pleasant Meadowe, and that when the Sunne in the lyon (I meane the Ciuill warres) most parched the same, and so dissipated the Mowen grasse thereof, as they left all in ruine to the succeeding house of Bourbon, . /30/

\[13\] A muid is an obsolete French measure of about four bushels. OED

\[14\] "By reason of these neuer - dying riches, Lewes the eleuenth was woonet to say, that France was a continuall flourishing meadow, which he did mowe as often as he did list..." Botero, Breviat, p. 9. It would not have been out of character for Louis XI to have actually said something as arrogant as this.
Caesar in his Commentaries saith thus of the old Gaules, they have two kinds of men, the Druides (their Priests) and the horsemen used for warr, who the richer they are, the more Clients they have, which is their greatness. Old writers affirm that the Gaules used to fasten about the necks of their horses the heads of their dead enemies, to be redeemed by their freinds, and often kept the heads of their greatest enemies embalmed, and perfumed for triumph of victory. Polibius writeth, that the Gaules were easily broken if their first assault were repelled, which in the warrs with the Romans, Marius and Caesar likewise approved. And all consent that they were in the entrance of the battell more than men, in the end fainter than women, which Bodin a French man attributes to the Clyme, because the bodies of men dwelling towards the South, easily faint and languish with sweating and heat.

Of the knights, Caesar writes, "The possession of such a following is the only criterion of position and power that they recognize." p. 141. Book VI. 15.

Polybius "(c. 202 - 120 B. C.), a great Greek historian" records the rise of Rome. Only five of his forty books survive in their entirety. Marius Gaius ",(157 - 86 B. C.)...his greatest achievement was the overthrow in 102 and 101, at Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae, of the Teutones and Cimbri, Germanic tribes who were invading Gaul and Italy..." Harvey. Caesar writes of the Gaules that whilst they "...are quick and impetuous in taking up arms, they have not the strength of character to stand up against reverses." p. 83. Book III. 21.

"Caesar holds the same opinion of the Gaules, That in the beginning of a battell they were more than men, but in the end lesse than women." Bodin, The Six Bookes of a
Whatsoever the cause be, we finde the same fury in assault, and remisnes in the progresse attributed to the French even to this our age by Guicciardine, and other late writers.

{ m.n. 49. The footemen. }

Touching the French foote; They are litle esteemed. Francis the first did institute eight legions or Regiments of Footemen, /50/ paid by the king in peace, as in warr, Each Regiment containing six thousand Foote, raiyed promiscuously of forrayne nations. This institution was dissolved, and againe renewed, and at last reduced to the three Regiments, one for the kings guarde, and two distributed among the Forts of the Confines in Garrisons each containing 1200 men. All these Foote consisted at first //


of Scotts till the Conspiracy of Ambois made by the Princes of France.

Commonweale, translated by Richard Knolles (London, 1606), p. 552. Jean Bodin (1529 - 1596) was a lawyer who studied history to ascertain universal law. His work was deeply affected by the French Wars of Religion. He felt that sovereignty should be undivided and vested in a strong monarchy. His views on the effects of climate on character and, therefore, on politics, which are questioned by Moryson on Fol. 636, are in Book Five Chapter One (as is the quotation above). The French defeat of 1528 is explained in terms of history and character stereotype, "...the Cimbrians, of whom Plutarch witnesseth, That they were all molten with sweat, and languished with heat which they felt in Provence, the which would soone haue consumed them all, although they had not bene vanquished by the Romans: as it happened to the French before Naples..." p. 549.

"...containing many nationalities."
of the bloud against the Guisian faction, but wrested as
made against the king himselfe, from which tyme only one
hundred Scotts were retayned in pay for the kings guarde,
having a french lord for their Captaine, whose Materasses
were at this tyme whereof I write by speciall priuilege
laid next the dore of the kings Chamber, as likewise they
only receiued the keyes and deliuered them back, and kept
the Gates at solemne Feasts and Ceremonies and always some
of them were to be neare the kings person when he went /10/
abroad to heare masse, or for any other cause.¹⁹ And after
that Conspiracye the other Companyes were supplyed by
french men and other forraine nations. The Regiment
appointed for the guard of the kings person was esteemed
cheife aboue the other, Consisting (as the other) of tenn
Companyes whereof some by Course watched at the gate of the
kings Pallace, and the Sweitzers by Course within the
Pallace being fower Companyes of Archers, each Company
having a hundreth men, and three Companyes of Halbertderes,
and one [of] Harquebuseres, all which had a french

¹⁹ The Scots may have been dismissed in 1560 because of
Guisean influence. In Scotland the Protestant "Lords of the
Congregation" were in revolt against the Guisean regent
Marie of Lorraine. In France, the failure of the Huguenot
nobles to break the power of the Catholic Guises over
Francis II at Amboise, meant that the Guises were
suspicious of all, equating the Scots with rebellion and
heresy. Naturally, they would not want many Scots near
their king. Elliott, pp. 19, 100, 111.

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Captaine, some lord whom the king specially trusted.

In generall the Foote, are not pressed to serve, but voluntarily give their names at the beating of a drum when any bands are to be raised in time of war. And because the French have from all antiquity abased their husbandmen, (whom the English on the contrary ever cherished and made the strength of their Armies) depressing, and keeping them poor, either for fear of popular Communions, or to make them more attend manual Arts, and Husbandry, while they were not trained to be soldiers, they became so base and abject, as they were always reputed sluggish, fearful and altogether unprofitable for the war; yet the Gascons either coming of the English, who for many ages possessed those parts of France, or [reputation] trained upp to their military discipline, retain good

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80 The Swiss were famous mercenaries at this time. At the moment of Laertes' rebellion, Shakespeare gets Claudius to shout "Where is my Switzers? Let them guard the door." Hamlet, IV. 5. 95.

81 The image of the hearty English yeomen and bowmen as against the depressed French peasantry has a long history. This image was adopted in Henry V. Apart from the French soldier who is a foil for Pistol, we only see boastful French aristocrats who divide the victory before the battle is won. Selected quotations from Henry V also played no small part in patriotic war fever in 1914. After the British retreat from Mons in August, morale at home was stiffened by reports of angel-bowmen inflicting invisible wounds. See Paul Fussell, The Great War and Modern Memory, (Oxford, 1975), pp. 115 - 116.
reputation, and are the best Foote in Fraunce.\textsuperscript{82}

Notwithstanding we finde not in Histories that the french
haue [not] had any Confidence in their Foote of their owne
nation, whome they haue vsed only for light skirmishes, and
to keepe Forts, rather /40/ then to make any body to fight
battells, for which purpose they vsue to make levyes of
German lansknechts and of Sweitzers vppon all occasions of
leading forth Armyes into the feild.\textsuperscript{83}

{ m.n. 44, 45. Horsemen in generall. }

The strength of the french Armyes is in their Horsemen, who
are all lordees, and gentlemen, and of a generous spiritt,
seeming as it were borne for warr. For the yonger brothers
having small patrimonyes, and disdayning to be marchants,
or of any base profession, willingly imbrace the bearing of
Armes,. And the elder brothers hold their lands in Fee /50/
from the old kings, bound to their Tenure to serue them in
warr. They possess these Fees either in high Iustice (as
they terme it) as bound to serue the kings in warr, or in

\textsuperscript{82} Given a more dramatic twist by Shakespeare, a
similar idea is voiced by the Dauphin,

\begin{quote}
Our madams mock at us and plainly say
Our mettle is bred out, and they will give
Their bodies to the lust of English youth,
To new-store France with bastard warriors.
\end{quote}

\textit{Henry V, III. 5. 28 - 31.}

Gascony, part of south-western France, was under English
control for almost three centuries, from Henry II to Henry
VI.

\textsuperscript{83} \textit{OED} also makes the distinction between the
lansquenets, German mercenaries originally with lances, and
the Swiss, as Moryson does here.
base [and or] [or] low Justice bound in like sort to follow private lords in warr. Of these consist the horse Troopes in Fraunce, of great strength and reputation, whereof as of the Foote the old kings instituted // Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:2ii.
certaine Troopes paid aswell in peace, as warr, which they vulgarly call, Ban d'A[r]i[e]re Ban." But when the old Fees of noble Familyes were ether in tyme of superstition giuen to the Clergy, which in those dayes Claymed Immunity from seruing in the warre, and from any Impositions whatsoeuer, or ells by prodigall gentlemen, were sould to marchants, whose offspringe wanted theire old valor, as Doues neuer begett Egles, or ells were alienated from the old Roote to ingraft in branches, whereby these troopes began to degenerate /10/ and prove lesse vsefull in the warrs, king Charles the seauenth made a newe Institution of horse troopes, continued in pay as well in peace as in warr, which of certayne ordinances or lawes prescribed them, vulgarly called Gens d'Armes d'ordinaunces. And to mantayne these troopes being about six thousand, a new kynde of tribute called Taille was Imposed ouer all Fraunce, But according to the Custome of other nations, and more spetially of the English comming neerest to the French Custome, it is not probable that this nomber is

com/20/pleate at any tyme, but rather that in tyme of peace a third parte thereof is deficient. These horsemen are deuided into one hundreth troopes, some of a hundreth some of fyfty horse, which the kings distribute vnder the Command of the Princes of the blood, and of other great lords gouerning Cityyes and Provinces. These horsemen were of old wont to serue with lances but in theire late warrs they haue quitted them to serue with Carbines & Pistolls vsed by the German Reyters. 85

{ m.n. 29 - 32. The mixed Forces of natiues and strangers.} The Forces of Fraunce are mixed, consisting partly of natiues, /30/ and partly of strangers. The horse are in great parte natiues, and those all gentlemen and of a generous Corage, and these are the strength of the kingdome, to which the kings haue allwayes trusted the safty of their owne persons. Yet all experience consentes that they are most to be feared in the first assault, which being well borne, or the conflict deferred by wary delay, they soone languish and faynt. This the Spaniard obseruing, who yeulde not to the Roman Fabius himselfe in the art of protracting all affayres, haue often made good use thereof, clearely proued by many /40/ notable euents of their owne late

85 This is from reiter, German for rider, and by extension cavalry. OED quotes from Moryson "...Reyters, that is Horsemen...". See Itinerary A, I, 66.
warr in Naples.\textsuperscript{86} This fiercenes of the French soone languishing, makes them fitt to assault or surprise, but unfitt to beare with constant cheerefullnes any tedious protractions of sieges or battayles, wherein the[y] victory is commonly attayned. Besydes in the late Ciuill warrs the French haue vsed to make great leuyes of German horsemen, called Schwartz Reytern that is blacke horsemen. And for theire Foote howsoever they haue some Guascons well reputed, yet the body consists of strangers, for the most parte Germans and Sweitzers. And the troopes and bands. of /50/ Germans are cumbred with infinite baggage, & multitudes of women and base ministers,\textsuperscript{87} and being in the Country\textsuperscript{88} of Frendes deuoure all they lay hands on, and aproching the enemyes are hardly drawne to fight, so as they may rather seeme hyred to consume Frends vittles, then to doe any braue exployte against theire enemyes. For to omit mischiefes in generall befalling all those who are

\textsuperscript{86} Fabius Maximus "Cunctator" the delayer, "was appointed dictator after the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene (217 BC), and by his policy of following and harassing Hannibal's force while refusing an engagement earned the surname of 'Cunctator'." Harvey, p. 173. The Italian Wars of 1494 - 1559 to which Moryson also refers, constantly saw initial French successes turn to ultimate defeat. Sitting behind the walls of Naples in 1528, the besieged Spanish were able to watch the French army disintegrate due to disease and desertion. Elton, p. 83.

\textsuperscript{87} Since to minister meant to serve food and drink, these "base ministers" are presumably those in what we would call in the commissariat and catering corps. OED

\textsuperscript{88} Dr. T. P. Matheson pointed out this word could be "Comity" from the Latin \textit{comis} courteous and friendly, and by extension meaning within friendly territory. OED
forced to use forayne aydes, no doubt the Germans and Sweitzers in the late Ciuill warrs of Fraunce, were leuyed with //


vnmeasurable charge, with many difficultyes brought to fight, often in the point of tyme when the Armyes were ready to ioyne battayle, mutinously demaunded pay, without which they ether refused to fight or threatned to take the enemies part, frequently exclaming Es Gelt Gleich einem Teifel wil den andern dienen, that is, It is all one to serue one Diuell as an other, as if they had sayd, since one party is of Papists the other [of] Caluinist, it is all one what syde wee lutherans serue, as wee can be best payde. With what difficulty they were kept in discipline, /10/ with what art and how many circumstances they were drawne to fight, and espetiall to glie a second charge if the first prevayled not, how [.vnduly the demaunded more then due pay, and how imperiously they vsed those that hyred them, lett the French kings and Princes themselues witnesse, who in some mutinies hardly escaped their handes, into which if they had fallen, the Ransome of their persons had cost then dearer then if they had beene taken prisoners by their enemies, and who have beene forced in these occasions beyond the Dignity of their blood, humbly to intreate /20/ their plebean Captaines. These things have hapned in Fraunce espetially by the German Reyters, but Guiccardine in the warrs of the French in Italy, doth

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largely expresse these and like in commodities of hyring Sweitzers also, wherof I haue in part spoken treating of the Sweitzers Commonwealth. Nether indeede can any better seruice be iustly expected from any mercenary soldiers of what nation soeuer, hauing no interest in the iustnes of the cause further then theire pay drawes them. Yea besydes theire doubtfull Fayth, these mischiefes allso followe /30/ mercenary soldiers, that Princes can haue no confidence to communicate theire secrett Counsells to theire cheefe leaders, and that they knowe not the sitution & oportunity of places to giue aduantage for all disseignes, so as for ignorance they cannot advance the Princes cause, if they wanted not will and forwardnes to doe it. Therefore those Princes most excede others in strength, whose Forces most consist of theyre owne louing subiectes. Of old the English fighting with the French had two mayne advantages, wherby they gott renowned victoryes ouer them. First that the /40/ French troopes of horse in some part, and almost all theire Foote, were straungers, whereas the English kings ledd none but English horsemen and Footemen into Fraunce. Secondly that the French kings alwayes fought in theire horse troopes trusting theire persons to them, reputeing it base and ignominious to descend among theire

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The use of the word "prince" here suggests that Morison may have been adopting Machiavelli's doubts about the utility of mercenaries in Chapter Twelve of his infamous work. See Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, selections from *The Discourses* and other writings, edited by John Flamenatz (London, 1972), pp. 90 - 94.
Foote, wheras the English kings and all the great lords, when the French Army aproched, left theire horses, committing their persons to the guard of theire Footemen, and as it were commuicating fortunes with them consisting partly of gentlemen but for the /50/ most part of yemen and so incouraging these Footemen to fight manfully, who no doubt are the strength of all armyes For [howsoever] horsemen haue hope easily to escape by flight, whereas running away is manifest death to the Footemen, and in our [g] age we haue had many notable examples, of smale bands of Footemen by some disaster forsaken or left ingaged, who haue marched or couertly passed through the midst of the enemyes Countryes and retired to places of safety through persued by horsemen, as also like examples of horse troopes who falling into /60/ the Ambushes of Foote men haue beene a rich pray vnto //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:2i3. them. In the last age, and this, the French haue had their greatest warrs with the Spaniards, who in some part are annoyed with the same mischeife of [the] mercenarye soldiers, as the french are, by reason the gentlemen cannot be compelled to serue in any forraine warr out of their owne Country, and Spaine is nothing lesse then populous or

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90 Here again, Moryson notes and contrasts the broad appeal to Englishmen by her kings, as against the aloofness of French monarchs. By the early 1620s, Henry V had appeared four times, three in quarto and one in folio. Shakespeare's work may have augmented this tradition. STC
full of men, especially to supply the great warrs their late kings haue vndertaken in Christendome. So as they are not only forced to hyre Italians and Dalmatians, and other strangers to supply their [foote bands] /10/ horse troopes, but also to make great levyes of Sweitzers and especially walloons to supply their foote bands. But as they haue many braue Troopes of natie horsemen, so the strength of their Armyes, hath euer bene in their natie footemen, consisting much of Gentlemen and noted to be of great valor, and greater pride. For the Sweitzers, were comonly leuyed for sommer service to oppose against their owne nation hyred by the french, and the wallons were only vsed for light skirmishes, till of late in the warrs of Netherland, /20/ after milions of men consumed therein, necessity forced the Spaniards to committ euen Forts, and Cittyes to the keeping of the wallons (the daunger and Cost of which course notwithstanding they haue found by their frequent mutinyes). So as they haue euer had two mayne advantages of the french: one that their Footmen are for the most part natuues: the other that the strength of their Armyes consists much more in their foote then in their horse; whereas the french haue fewe natie Footemen, and the strength of their Armyes consists /30/ espetially in their horsemen. The advantage to haue natie soldiers cannot be denied, and I haue heard Captaynes of great experience no lesse confirme the advantage of an Army having the greatest strength in Footemen. But besides that I haue sayd of the
advantage the English had over the French in this kind, I will shew manifestly by one example among many, like of late tymes, not only that it [is] good to make a golden bridge for a flying enemy, but especially to my purpose that a multitude of horse cannot hinder the safe[tye] /40/ retrayte of a fewe well ordered and resolued Footemen. When the woorthy Captaine Gaston de Foixe generall of the French Army in Italy, in the tyme of the French king Lew[e]is the twelueth, having obtayned a great victory at Rauenna, and seeing the Spanish Foote retyre orderly, could not endure they should escape from his victorious Army, he charged them with all his horse, but in that charge susteyned great losse, the greatest of his owne life, by losse whereof he made that great victory fruitles to the French, who were soone after cast out of Italy. /50/ Yet did he small or no harme to the Spanish Footemen, who retyred orderly to a place of safety. To conclude, the late Ciuill warres much

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91 This phrase is proverbial, meaning to encourage the enemy to flee. See Tilley, B665, who records it in Fenton's translation of Guicciardini, which is, presumably, where Moryson also saw it.

92 "For Monsieur de Foix could not brooke that the Spanish footemen should go their wayes as it were victorious and in so good order, neither could he thinke his victory was perfect, if they were not overthrowne aswell as the residue: therefore respecting more the glory he should get, then the perils that commonly lye lurking vnder vndiscrete adventures, he went furiously to the charge with a squadron of horsemen, and executed vpon those that were last, by whom being enuironed and cast from his horse, or as some suppose, his horse falling vpon him whiles he fought, he was slalne with a thrust of a pike giuen him in the flanke." Book Ten of Guicciardini's History of Italy. Fenton's translation, p. 449.
corrupted the *french* discipline of *Warr*, which euill is
vnavoydable in like warrs, where on all sydes soldiers are
rather wooed, attracted and bought, then levyed, inrolled
and Comanded.

{ m.n. 57. *nauall power* }
The *french* kings haue themselues no shipps of warr or
*nauall* //


power, neither haue at any time had in former ages, neither
is their marchants Fleete of any great strength, nor the
people much addicted to nauigation, as I haue shewed in the
Chapter of Traffique. And howsoeuer they haue some good
havens, and plenty of wood to builde Shipps, yet in peace
their Commodityes are for the most part exported by
strangers. And in warr they haue neuer armed any Navye
against the English, but by the helpe of the *Flemings* both
for shipps and marriners, nor in the warrs of *Naples* but by
the assistance of *Genoa*. /10/

{ m.n. 11 - 14. *The degrees in common wealth, and Familyes,
and lawes of Dowry and Inheritance. *}

*Caesar* in his Commentaries relates that among the old *Gaules*
all the power was in the *Druides* their Preists and the
Gentlemen their horsemen: that they had power of life and
death ouer their wiues and Children (which of old was
Common to all nations by the lawe of nature, till great

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Familyes grew into kingdomes, and so the Parents power was translated to the kings, as Comon Fathers of all Familyes) that in their Funeralls, their most pretious goods, their dearest wiues, and seruants, were burned with their dead bodyes, and that their Common people were slaues to their lords.\textsuperscript{93} /20/ Old writers witnes, that they neuer sawe their children, till they were of age and fitt to serue in the warr; that the dowry of the wife, and the increase thereof was restored to her being a widowe, and that in generall (contrary to the Syrians, who willingly serued other Nations) the Celtes and Gaules were great louers of their freedome.\textsuperscript{94}

By the former Relation it appeares that since the settling of the Francks or french kingdome, the Peeres, noblemen and gentlemen though subjectes, yet had great priuileges and

\textsuperscript{93} "Husbands have power of life and death over their wives as well as their children/...not long ago there were people still alive who could remember the time when slaves and retainers known to have been beloved by their masters were burnt with them..." Book VI. 19. "The common people are treated almost as slaves..." Book VI. 13. Caesar, pp. 142, 143; 140.

\textsuperscript{94} Moryson may be quoting this from memory, since much still comes from Caesar's descriptions, but slightly changed. "...children are not allowed to go up to their fathers in public until they are old enough for military service..." Book VI. 18. "When a Gaul marries he adds to the dowry that his wife brings with her a portion of his own property estimated to be of equal value. A joint account is kept of the whole amount, and the profits which it earns are put aside; and when either dies, the survivor receives both shares together with the accumulated profits." Book VI. 19. Caesar, p. 142.
some of them many Regall rights in their owne territories, as Coyning of mony, and power of life and death, besides authority giuen by the kings in gouernment of Prouinces and Citties, and the Command of their forces, making many of them so great, as nothing hath more troubled the peace of Fraunce. Among the cheife officers of the Crowne, only the Constable, being the cheife Officer, and the Chauncelor take oath in the kings hands. The marshalls haue great power especially in warr, and they hold their offices for life.

The next degree vnder Dukes, Earles and Barons, is that of knight Bannerett. Of old the cheife order of knights, was that of St. Michaell, but the Queene mother after the death of her husband, king Henry the second having disgraced this order by making many knights at one tyme, and those of meane quality, did in place thereof institute a new order of the holy Ghost. Also Fraunce hath a foraine order of knights namely those of Malta, which haue great Inheritances giuen by their Progenitors, and tyed to their posterity, so as they may seeme borne knights of this Order, aswell noblemen as many gentlemen, but they are not knights, till they be of ripe age, and then [are] installed with great solemnity at Paris, where they haue a Pallace belonging to them as the french History records. Of this sort, I take to be the yonger brothers of great Familyes called Knights, as le cheualier, de Vандosme, de
Guise, de Chastillon, and the like whom our time hath so stiled. Also Fraunce hath knights called Cheualier de l'accolada, that is knights of [embracing, because in the warr upon special service, the king by] embracing or hugging in his Armes, doth make them knights. Also of late king Henry the fourth made an order of purpose for two men who did him special service, calling them knights of honor, which wordes were written about the Iewell he gaue them to weare, having the stampe of /60/ an horseman, [For knights our kings dubb with the sword, I fynde] no such in Fraunce. Only Henry the fourth //

in his late warris to apply himselfe to the English Captaines and gentlemen made some knights in that manner, and once upon a great victory, made all his Army knights (in Ceremony not really) by waving his sword from an hill. These have the quality of knights and in their titles are so styled, but only the knights of Malta are vulgarly so called., The french kings sell Gentry, and grant it by letters Pattents, as doe likewise some absolute Princes vnder him, all gentlemen are free from tributes and taxes. In generall the french vse great liberty of Conuersation and small reverence to superiors. And howsoever /10/ some of them, for poverty serve others, yet they will not be counted as servants, but rather (as I may terme them) humble Companions, And they despise the English gentlemen that weare (though but for a Festiual day) any great

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lordes liuerye or badge, calling them honourable slaues. As likewise they laugh at our lords for taking greatnes vppon them, and at our inferior degrees for giviing them such respect as of old was vsed (for now that Case is altered) saying in a scoffe Voila ce mastin’ il tient sa gravité come vn’milort d’Angleterre. That is see there this masty, he holds his grauity like a lord /20/ of England. For Gentlemen that marry Plebeans obserue the Custome of Sedan vnderwritten out of a Booke printed by the Prince of that Territory. For howsoeuer Fraunce is gouerned by the Ciuill lawe, yet many Prouinces haue diuerse Customes. The husbandmen or Country people vulgarly Paisans (whome we corruptly call Peasant(es)) are oppressed now as of old, and liue basely, and in great pouerty, yet somewhat better then the husbandmen or Inhabiters of villages or Country houses (vulgarly called Villani) in Italy. For which cause they are not vsed to beare Armes, lest they should torne them /30/ against their lordes. Maryed women retaine their owne names not their husbands names, as in England. And he that selles a Castle selles the name by which he is knowne, for the onyer is not commonly called by his owne Sirname, but by the Castle where he dwelles, as Monsieur of such a place. For Inheritance of Children, it passeth generally by the Ciuill lawe, but every Prouince and Citty hath seuerall

95 "obs. and dial. form of mastiff." OED

96 It is not in OED. Is this a mistake for owner?
Customes. Guascony, Normandy, and other Provinces, giue little or nothing to yonder brothers (called Cadetts) but all to the Eldest, I meane all descending Inheritance from Ancestors, and though /40/ purchased lands may be disposed at the Testators will, yet commonly they are also giuen to the eldest sonne, only tyed by nature to support and bestow his yonger brothers and sisters. In Picardy the yonger sonnes and daughters among them, haue only sixst and fifth of fist part, and that only for life, the rest going all to the eldest sonne, And for these Customes I desyre the Reader to obserue the following Customes of Sedan, taken out of a Booke printed by a Prince of that territory. For widowes estates, they are also generally carryd by the Ciuill lawe, But the Customes of Provinces & Citties /50/ are in like sort very diuerse. The wiues comonly haue a Joynuture made before marriage, otherwise being widowes they haue the thirds of all lands (the husband alwayes having the power to dispose of purchased lands by his last will, and respect being had of his debts according to Ciuill lawe). The wiues dowrye is carryd by the Ciuill lawe, so as the husband //

dying without Children, it reuerts to her and to her kindred, were it land or ready mony, For diuerse Customes in Cases of Inheritance dowry and Joynuture, I wish the Reader to obserue the said Customes of Sedan, to which other places of Fraunce are in some sort consonant.
To conclude the education of their Children is with great liberty not with the English awfulnes, insomuch as I remember a freind of myne sending his sonne at eleuen yeares of age into Fraunce when he retorned at the yeares end, he saluted his father with the kisse of his hand, and bending of his body, and being reproued, that he did not aske blessing on his knees answered, *Ce n’est pas la mode de Fraunce.* It is not the fashion of Fraunce.

{ m.n. 14, 15. *The justice and Courts of Justice.* }

Touching the Justice and Courts of Justice, *Fraunce* is generally gouerned by the Ciuill lawe, by the Edicts of the king throughout the kingdome, and particular lords Edicts, in their owne Territoryes, and by the seuerall Customes of seuerall places, with arbitrary [power in the Judges to increase or mitigate all] punishments according to the Circumstances of the fact. The Papists Consistoryes [Judge] after the Common lawe, but the reformed churches after reformed Constitutions, and generally in the reformed churches great Iustice is done for breaches of Gods lawe, by drunkennes, swearing, dauncing, Feasting, and the

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§1 Moryson follows Roger Ascham about English "awfulness", the instilling of awe by chastisement, in education. Ascham tries to reverse the trend as the following shows. Mr. Haddon ( Walter Haddon?) said "...that the best Scholemaster of our time, was the greatest beater,...I said somewhat farder/ in the matter, how, and whie, yong children, were soner allure by loue, than druuen by beating, to atteyne good learning..." Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), [STC 832], sigs. B1v/B2.
like.

For the Courtes of Iustice, eight supreme Courts of Iustice vulgarly Parlaments, are Instituted in Fraunce, namely that of Paris, that of Granoble, that of Tholouse, that Bourdeax, that of Dyon for Burdondy, that of Ruoan, that of Aix, that of Bretanye. I call them supreme, because for any act done in any one of the Iurisdictions, there is no appeale fro[m] any of them, all Iudging without appeale, vulgarly called Dernier resort, Only the Iurisdiction of the 30/ Parament at Paris extendeth ouer all Fraunce, as it was in the possession of the [. ] olde kings, excepting Flaunders to which Frances the first (taken prisoner in the warre of Italy) is sayd to haue renounced all his Progenitors right, to the Emperor Charles the fyfth, so as howsoever the act of a Captiue king may well be questioned, yet from that day to this Flaunders ceased to be reputed a member of Fraunce, and the same Emperor by a newe lawe tooke from the Flemings all appeales they were wont to make to the Court of Parlament at Paris, and so they remayne subiect 40/ to his successors the kings of Spayne without any relation to the French king as supreme lord of the Fee. The other Parlaments belong to Certayne Provinces, of olde subiect to absolute lords, and since at diuers tymes and by diuers meanes united to the kingdome of Fraunce, still

98 Parlement.
retaining their old jurisdictions and privileges granted of old by their Princes, and increased to some of them by the French kings. Thus Dauphéné was united to France by Humbertus Prince thereof, who upon his sonnes death, being pressed with a war against the Duke of Savoy, and therein supported by the French king Phillip of Valois, united the succession of that Principality to the kingdom of France, upon condition that the kings eldest son should bear the title of Dauphin as of old the Roman Emperors chosen to succeede Augusti were called Cæsares, and as at this day they whom chosen to succeede the living Emperor, are called kings of the Romans. And this Province still hath his supreme Parliament at Grenoble. In like sorte Normandy gotten by war hath a supreme Parliament at Roan, likewise Brittany united by marriage in the times of Charles /60/ //

Booke ii The Commonwealth of France Chap.i. fol.217.

the eight and lewis the twelfth, and in like manner the other Provinces, retain their supreme Parliaments. The Parliament at Paris is reputed cheefe, as having the largest Jurisdiction over all France, and being the kings Court of Justice, and so having the greatest privileges. Therefore I will speake only of this Parliament, by which conjecture may be made of the rest. Of old the first kings of France, Iudged the peoples causes in their own persons, or by

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Dauphiné.
their Prefect of the Pallace, and other Princes of the Court, and all suites and differences between subiectes followed the court wheresoeuer it removed, till the multitude of causes made the kinges weary of Iudging, and the people of following the Court. Wherevpon this Court or Parlament was established in the kings Pallace at Paris, where to this day it is helde, in the tyme of king Phillip the fayre. It is tyed to no lawes, but Iudgeth after right and equity, and the Judges Consciences, yet directed by the Ciuill lawe and the Kings edictes for the most part. The Peeres of the kingdome, the Princes of the Royall blood, the Bishop of Paris, and the Abott of St Denis, have voyces in Iudgment, and of old all the Archbishopps and Bishops had likewise voyces, till all the rest were depruied of this priuiledge to the ende they might every one depart to gouerne his owne diocest. Yea not only the sayd Peeres and Princes, but the king himselfe, are Assessors with the Judges in the golden Chamber, being the cheefe trybunall of this Court. For it hath divers tribunalls or chambers, wherein divers Judges Iudge divers sortes of Causes. King Charles the seuenth did institute some Presidents of this Parlament, who pronouncing their sentences, the other Counselors or assistant Judges (by him likewise instituted, fyftyne of the layety and fiftine of the Clargy) doe in honor to them rise vp and stand vpoun their feete. Likewise in the second chamber or tribunall, two Presidents were Instituted, and 24 Assessors
of the Clergy, and sixtene of the laiety. Likewise in the
third chamber two Presidents with their Assessors. These
Judges may not depart the Citty without leaue, to the ende
that the decrees made in a more frequent assembly
might be of greater Authority, but a vacation is yearely
proclaimed from the 14 of August to the 12th of November.
And when any assessor dyeth, a newe is chosen in his place
by the voyces of the other Judges. King Henry the second
limited the number of Counselors, and made a lawe to
prevent that vnworthy men should not by bribes obtayne
those places of Judgment, but that the most worthy, of 30.
yeares age, should be admitted therevnto. From the tyme of
King Fraunces the first, his Parlament had foure other
tribunalls or chambers, and of these seauen chambers
six Judge Ciuill causes and the seauenth Criminall, which
seauenth is vulgaly called Tournelles, because newe Judges
are by tornes appointed, lest the same Judges continually
employed in Capitall Judgments, should perhaps proue lesse
tender and mylde towards them that are to be
judged. Sansouine an Italian writeth that at first one
tribunall was instituted to which appeale is graunted from
the inferior trybunalls Instituted after the same. //
The number of Aduocates to pleade causes is infinite, as
the french are in nature prone to haue differences one with
the other,. The decree of the Iudges is vulgarly called

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 Arrest made by the greater part of the Judges voyces, from which there is no appeale graunted, no not to the king, yet sometymes vppon speciall occasion the king by his Edict commaunds a cause to be Iudged againe, if perhapps any error may be found in the former decree. This Court or Parliament being at first admitted by the kings to approue their Edicts lest by ill Counsell any vnfitt thing should passe their hands, hath by that Custome challenged authority to censurse and abrogate the kings Edicts, to determine of peace and warr, and to limitt or make voyd the kings guifts. And this authority it hath most exercised vnder weake kings and in Ciuill broyles, Otherwise it hath only for forme medled with these high affayres, as with liberty to giue free advise to the kings. For many tymes after long debating the kings haue made them approue their wills once peremptorily signifyed. In this sort the french History records that king Henry the fourth established in the kingdome after the Ciuill warrs, by a wise oration perswaded, and by his peremptory will ouerruled this Court, forcing it to confirme his fauourable Edict of peace to the Protestants. So as no doubt the king hath power ouer it, but according to his greater or lesse wisdome and might, and according the to the State of tymes, it more readily or hardly yeildes to his power; yet so great is the power of this Parliament reputed, as when the Emperor Charles the

\footnote{100 An arrêt is a decree. NH

582}
fifth released the Captive king *Frauncis* the first, he
required the Conditions of his enlargement to be
confirmed by this Court.

Among the Advocates some laudable Customs are observed,
namely That in pleading, without any excursions from the
matter, or reproches against the adverse party, they shall
summarily\(^{101}\) and modestly open the Causes. That they be not
admitted to plead who have not degree in some university.
And that they shall be compelled to plead the causes of the
poor without any Fee, if it be known to the Judges that
they are truly poor. But the *french* Historiographer *Ian
de Serres* relates Edicts made by the king *Henry* the fourth
against those Advocates for their extortions, whereof
the last was so strict as they gave up their hoods, and
pleaded no more till the king recalled that Edict. The
*french* generally complain’d [ing] of *Petyfogerye*\(^{102}\) and
bribing among the lawyers both Advocates and Judges, in
taking excessive Fees, and in drawing each process to a
tedious length, and in that no cause could be ended, till
the Judges were solicited (that is in plain English
bribed). But the truth is that the kings selling of
Offices, is the cause of all bribery, and Corruption, since

\(^{101}\) Summary a "2. Law...by the omission of certain
formalities..." *OED*

\(^{102}\) This is an earlier instance of Pettifoggery meaning
"legal chicanery" than any quoted in *OED.*
he that buyes must sell or miraculously liue by /50/ losse[s].

Besydes this high Court or Parliament of Paris, there be in that Citty other inferior Tribunalls of Justice as that called Chat<e>let[t], having two vicars or leiufetenants, the one for Ciuiill the other for Criminall Causes, who (as the Judges //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:2i9. in England goe halfe yearely Circuite) two twice each yeare doe Justice in the Castles belonging to the foresaid Jurisdiction. Likewise the Court Judge called Prouost de Hostell, setts at the Marble table of the foresaid Pallace, and iudgeth causes belonging to the Justice of the Citty. And to the same Marble table belongs the Court d[e]’Eaux et <F>orrests, that is of waters and Forrests. To conclude as vnder the Court or Parliament of Paris, so vnder the other forenamed seuen supreme Courts, are diuerse inferior Courts or Tribunalls, from all which appeale is graunted to the supreme Court of each Jurisdiction /10/ and to no other.

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103 Cotgrave spells the word "Chastelet:m. A little Castle, Fort or Hould; also a Court, or Auditorie of Justice; a Guild-hall, or (ordinarie) Sessions house, within a citie, wherein both ciuile, and criminall causes are heard, and determined by a Lieutenant, or Prouost (royall) and certaine assistant Counseillers..." See Randle Cotgrave, A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongves (London, 1611), [STC 5830], and referred as Cotgrave hereafter. Châtelet or little castle is a part of Paris on the Seine, presumably where this court once sat. NH
{ m.n. 12, 13. Particular Princes of Fraunce. }

Thus much breifely for the generall gouernment and Ciuill Iustice of Fraunce. Now because I haue said that some of the Princes of Fraunce though subject to the king, yet haue ample priuiledges, yea Regall rights, as power of life and death, and of Coyning monyes, and a kinde of absolute power ouer the Inhabitants of their owne territories, giue me leaue for illustration thereof to make some observaions out of the lawes [enacted], and ordinances enacted by Henrye Robert de la Marke Duke of Buillon and Soueraigne lord /20/ of Sedan, Iamects\textsuperscript{104} &c for the ordering of Iustice in his Soueraigne Lordshipps aforesaid, with the generall Customes of the same, signed by the Duke and 14 of his Counsell, and published in print in the yeare i568.\textsuperscript{105}

The Prince suppresseth the Jurisdiction of the Prouost & Sheriffs of Sedan establishing only the Jurisdiction of his Bailey or his lieutenant,\textsuperscript{106} yet permitting the Citizens still to chuse Sheriffes and them to sett ioynently with his Bailye and Assistants, and take knowledge of the gouernment

\textsuperscript{104} Jametz is on the north-west border of France.

\textsuperscript{105} BMCG does not list this particular edition, but it does have other collections of law published under the aegis of the de la Marck family. The Ducs de Bouillon were princes étrangers, independent princes, "...near the summit of the heirarchy" of the noblesse d' épée, the nobility of the sword and blood. John Lough An Introduction to Seventeenth Century France (London, 1954), p. 62.

\textsuperscript{106} The bailli was a bailiff or chief administrative officer of his Prince. NH
of that City. The said Bailye or his lieutenant to judge
all Causes Civil and Criminal of any his subjects
whatsoever. To judge all personal Causes to the sum of
Fifty pounds Turnois without appeal (12 deniers or pence
make a Sols, and 20 Sols a liure or pound, that is ij
shillings English. He must have at least 4. Assistants or
Counsellors, Graduates, and practised men, himselfe to be
the fifth, and the Judgments to be decreed by most voyces.
To judge Criminal Causes against theues, Spies vagrant
persons, and having no dwelling, Coyners &c to the sentence
of death without appeal, but the Inhabitants and those that have dwellings, for Corporall punishments or
Fynes above 25 pounds Turnois may appeal to the Prince,
and these appeals shalbe judged by his Counsell, or such
Judges as he appoints of purpose twice in the yeare, at
October and Aprill, by Soueraigne Judgment. But for
appeals from inferior Magistrates of villages, and from
chosen Arbitrators, the said Bailye with such assistants as
he will take, shall Judge them without appeal. The said
bailye to keepe the Princes seale, and his Fees for the
seale, and all kindes of process are limited particularly,
as also for his journeys out of the City for exercise of
JUstice with Command to defray his owne Charges and ne^107
directly nor indirectly to have them borne by the parties whome the Cause Concernes. To take no Fee for Iudicatory acts. To sett every Wednesday and Saturday, and to expedite Causes. To keep three Assizes yearly, the first pleading day of January, of May, and of September, and the Prince yearly to keep one high day of Justice in person, to take knowledge of his Subjects grievances, which shall be proclaimed 15 dayes before, that all officers may appeare /10/ to answer Complaints against them.

That Maiors Sheriffes, and inferior officers of villages because chosen by ignorant Common people, shall judge only petty Causes under sixty shillings Turnois, not at all medle with Criminall Causes, but only to examine and apprehend presently informing the said Bailye thereof. They may take Inventories of Pupills goods, and a Fee (i2 deniers Turnois of each liure or pound) if the goods exceede 20 liures Turnois, under it nothing. To have no share (as formerly) in Fynes of delinquents, lest they should impose them for private /20/ gayne. The Princes Attorney commaunded to punish Advocates pleading without modesty, and with reproches. To be a Father to Pupils and widower, and all his Fees are particularly sett downe. If upon Information he accuse any man that is after absolved, he is tyed to make knowne the Informer, that the accused may have right against him in lawe.

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For ending Causes by Arbitriment, that they be not drawne in length to impoverish the Subjects, and especially that kinsmen, and Allyes may not come before ordinary Judges to break or weaken the bond of their love, ordained for the said Allyes, that for all differences, Arbitrators shall be chosen by consent; and either part refusing or delaying, time shall be prefixed, in which Judges by them shall be named, and for fault of naming them within the time, they shall be appointed by the Bailey of Sedan, of the best and nearest kindred, and in default of them, of the best reputed Burgesses. To which Arbitrement the parties shall be tied upon pain prescribed in their Articles of that agreement, which forfeitures the partie[s] grieved shall pay without hope of recovery, before he shall appeale to the Prince for redresse, and in the mean time also the sentence of the Arbitrators shall be executed with Caution of restitution if upon appeal any thing be altered. And the sentence of Arbitrators once entered with consent, shall stand firme as a Judgment, without liberty after to make any appeale. But during the time of difference, none of the Arbitrators eat or drink with either of the parties, nor they with them. For Registers prescribed them to write 25 lines in each side of a sheet of paper, and fifteen syllables in each line, and all their Fees are set down, the receipt whereof, they must testify under their hands. And they must take nothing for Interrogatories of witnesses examined, but only for the
Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce Chap:i. fol:221.
All Aduocates shall sweare to pleade no ill cause, but to dehort\textsuperscript{109} the parties from pursuing it, vppon penalty arbitrary they shall pleade breifely without impertinent words, and modestly without all reproche to any partye, and with due reuerence to Iustice, and without seeking any exactions or delayes, and their Fees are particularly prescribed for each pleading five Sols Turnois, or tenn if the cause be great, and require the veiwe of diuere Acts &c.

Two Notaries appointed to receiue Contracts & obligations, and seuerally punished if founde to vse fraude in any act. /10/ For proofe of mens ages and mariages, ordayned that all ministers and Curates shall write the dayes of births and mariages, with the names and Sirnames of them and their Parents, and signing this writing vnder the hand of a Notary and sufficient witnesses, shall yearely present it to the Iudge to be registred, that full Creditt may be giuen therevnto. The ministers or Curates to answer the partyes for all damages vppon fayling therein, and to be

\textsuperscript{108} "They must take no fees for recording the examination of witnesses, but only for the official legal record." \textit{OED}

\textsuperscript{109} An antonym of exhort, to dissuade. \textit{OED}
punished arbitrarily.

All Contracts held void that are made in Tauernes, and /20/ all gifts in life or by Testament to Concubynes, whereby vice receives reward, which shall not return to the Giver, but go to deeds of Alms.

In all suits of law, strangers having no houses shall give Caution to the Judge, and Subjects dwelling in other Townes shall choose a house in Sedan to be reputed theirs for delivering all Processes, and failing to choose a house their Attorneys house shall be reputed theirs. In no case more than <.> witnesses to be examined, all above to be void.

Touching gentlemen living as gentlemen, and horse of men of /30/ the ordinances in regard they defend the State by their Arms, they have certain privileges, whereof I will name some. Whereas all other Subjects are tied to answer suits in law at a peremptory day assigned, they have eight days allowed to consult of their Cause, and there shall be no proceeding against them while they are absent in service, and eight days after their return. And they are made free of all Tributes and Tolls, so they trade not as merchants directly or indirectly, and they are free from
watchings, and like duties in time of peace, even those that are free from service, for age, sickness or any infirmity.

In Criminal Causes, Forraynors may be arrested before the Information be proved, but no Citizens that have dwelling houses, and he that accuseth unjustly, shall be imprisoned till he have paid all Charges, and damages to the accused. If the accused appear not, a day of appearance shall be assigned him upon pain of banishment, and Confiscation of his goods. The goods of the condemned to death shall be confiscated, whether the party be prisoner or fled. The condemned to death for treason or majesty violated (either humane as attempts against the Prince's person, houses, and goods, or divine as Atheists, libertines, Anabaptists and other condemned sects, shall have their goods movable and unmovable confiscated. And the condemned to death for other Crimes shall have //

their goods [movable and unmovable goods] confiscated. [And the condemned to death, for the C......sh ...h...e their goods confiscated] in like sort if they have no Children, otherwise all expenses of Justice, Fines and Civil damages shall be deducted, and the rest go to the Children, and the widow to have their Dowrye, and her part of the goods

110 We would say "keeping watch" or "guarding".
gayned in mariage, as likewise the husband whose wife is condemned to death.

A debtor to a marchant shall besides the debt pay him interest after the xijth penny, but to a labourer or hyred person his detayned [double] wages shalbe paid double, for Iudgments giuen by the Baily or his Leiuftenant in Soueraignty without appeale (vulgarly In dernier resort) yet by way of supplication the partieges greiued may shew error in the fact, and deceite and fraude in his aduerse party, paying first in Caution the Fyne imposed where the cause shalbe iudged against them.

If any by Information obtayne the Princes letters to drawe their cause out of the Common forme of Iustice, notwithstanding these letters, the Iudge shall duely proceede, and also Fyne arbitrarily the procurer of these letters.

Letters of dispensation of making gentlemen, of legitimation, and pardons for killing in defence of themselues, shall only be giuen by the Prince, not by any his Captaine or officers.

And all letters against forme of Iustice, and other pardons, as of Homicide, obtayned by misinformation shalbe voyde, and the Iudges shall duely proceede; Neither shall
any haue benefitt of like letters, if within three monethes he present /30/ them not in the Court of Justice to be read, himselfe kneeling, and bare headed the while. To preuent mariages without consent of Parents and Tutors through carnall lust, or seduction of others ordayned. That father and mother may disinheritt them for so doing, and may revoke all former donations they haue made to them. That such children shalbe uncapable to haue benefitt by any such matrimoniall Convention, or by any lawe or Customes concerning the rights of mariage. That such Children and Pupills, and the Contriuers of such mariages shalbe arbitrarily punished /40/ by the Judges, as the Case shall require. Provided the sonne so marrying be not full 25, and the daughter 22 yeares old, in which case yet they shalbe tyed to ask their Parents advise and Counsell. And provided their mother be not remarried, in which case they shall aske her advise and Counsell, and shall not be tyed to stay till they [haue] her consent. That no Children whose Parents are dead, [mayy] may without advise and Consent of their Tutors, and next of kinne by father and mother, vppon payne of exemplary punishment of themselues, their seducers, and ayders. /50/

Touching Crimes, it is inacted that all murtherers, Robbers, Spyes, and lyers in waite vppon the high way, setters of houses, and such like things on fyer, Poysoners Forgers, of false mony, their fauourers and adherents, and

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they which by agreement with them utter those monyes, all Rauishers of women and virgins, all guilty of treason to the Prince or to God (as hath bene expressed before) all these shalbe putt to death, the manner of it left to the discretion of the Judge. Harlotts destroying their children any [way] so depreviing them of Baptisme, and Christian buriall, /60/ shalbe putt to death with such rigor as the Case requireth, to make them examples to others, and they which shall conceale their being with Childe, and shall not haue sufficient wit=//


nesses at that tyme of their deliuery, that the Children dyed naturally, shalbe reputed guilty of this Crime. A maryed woman committing adultery, shalbe putt to death. Maryed men committing adultery with maryed women, shall likewise be putt to death. And other kindes of Adultery by the maryed with the vnmarryed shalbe rigorously, and exemplarily punished, according to the Case and persons at the discretion of the Judge, but not putt to death for the first [tyme] And simple fornication shalbe punished in like sort, so as Conniuencye and favor may not increase the sinne. All weomen and /10/ virgins noted by common bruite for vnchastitye, shalbe banished out of the

111 "2. a. ...to pass or circulate (base coin...) as legal tender." OED  
112 An obselete form of "connivence." OED  
113 "2. Report noised abroad, rumour...arch." OED
Territories as Contagious members, and if they returne
shalbe whipped, and they who receive them into any house or
dwelling shalbe fyned in mony as much as the yeares rent of
the house. All false witnesses in Ciuill or Criminall
Causes shalbe putt to death, or corporally punished, as the
Cause requireth at the discretion of the Iudge. And they
who use false witnesses or forge false writings shalbe
punished corporally at the discretion of the Iudge. Those
that sell false wares or by false measures, /20/ shall for
the first tyme be fined in mony, and at other tymes
corporally punished at the discretion of the Iudge, besides
satisfaction to the party wronged by them. Robbers by day
or night with breaking into houses shalbe putt to death.
House robbers otherwise, and purse Cutters, shall for the
first tyme be whipped, or otherwise corporally punished as
the Case requireth, and banished for euer, and if they
returne, and offend the second tyme, shalbe putt to death.
He that buyes Corne on the ground before it putt forth, or
be ripe, and before the moneth of July, shalbe fined, and
/30/ corporally punished at the discretion of the
Iudge.,114

All vسورers shalbe sett at great Fynes, and Corporally
punished if the Case require, the third part of the Fynes
to goe to the Informer,. They that mingle wynes, or fill

114 Is this because in so doing, the purchaser is
presuming God's favour of an ample harvest?
them vpp with water, shalbe whipped, and make satisfaction to the party wronged for the first tyme, and falling againe into that fault, shalbe more rigorously punished at the discretion of the Iudge. All they of what condition soeuer, that shall sweare, and blaspheme the holy name of God, shall pay for the first tyme 60 Sols Tournois, the second tyme doble, /40/ and after be corporally punished at the discretion of the Iudge. If any renounce or cause the holy name of God, and committ like execrable blasphemyes, they shall for the first tyme pay a good Fine to God, to the Prince, and to Iustice, and falling againe into the same fault, and in the case of enormous blasphemyes shalbe more rigorously punished, euen corporally according to the quality of the fault, and the persons. which Iustice shalbe exercised strictly not only towards the Citizens, and inferior subjectts, but euen towards the Princes servantts, and aswell his, as the kings soldiers vnder his Commaund. /50/ All that heare any sweare or blaspheme, shalbe reveale it to the Court of Iustice vppon paine of 20 Sols Tournois, and for the Fynes of offenders, one third part shall goe to the Informer, an other third to the poore mans boxe, and the last third to the Prince. To auoyde all temptations to vice, forbidding all publike danses, filthy songs, dising, Carding, Maskes, Mummeries, Feasts of villages druncken meetings, and like dissolute Courses vppon paysne of 20 Sols, tournois //

for each offence, and greater punishment at the Judges discretion. If any young people under age, and under the power of others, shall banquett in any Inn or Tauerne, the master of the house shalbe fyned 60 Sols, and shall leese their expence, which shall not be recoverable by action at lawe. That no Judges or Officers or Aduocates shalbe assistant to Contracts made in Tauernes, or [frequent] be themselves feasted by others in Tauernes or frequent such houses to eate, and drink vpon payne of the Nullity of any Contract, or act of Justice so done, /10/ [the suspension] the suspension of their offices for a yeare and arbitrary Fine. In like sort they shall not be feasted or take the wynne of any parties in lawe, either at the Tauerne, the parties or their owne houses, to auoyde all suspition of Corruption. Any man founde drunck in the Citty, shalbe putt in prison, and there fast wth bread and water 24 howers, and shall pay a Fyne 20 Sols tournois the first tyme, and vpon relaps a greater Fyne, both Fynes to the poore, and if the Iaylor suffer them to haue any thing but bread and water, he /20/ shalbe fined 60 Sols tournois. If any man draw Pupills or any young people under age to play at dice or Cards he shalbe fyned arbitrarily, and restore what they haue lost. For many abuses the fraternityes of Artizans, their meetings and Feasts, and gathering of mony for such purposes, are forbidden vpon
paine of a great Fine, or Corporall punishment at the discretion of the Judge. The Citizens and people are forbidden to fight or give ill words upon paine to pay 60 Sols, or a greater Fyne at the Judges discretion. And if they or any of the Prin/30/ces Court shall drawe either sworde, or dagger or like weapon, he shall pay 100 Sols though no body be hurt or maymed, and 200 if it be done at a Fayre or publike Assembly, or any man be hurt, and if the party hurt dyeth, the other shalbe putt to death. And whosoever shutes a Pistoll at any man shalbe punished Corporally at the discretion of the Judge. He that wrongs any man in his house by deede or worde, shall pay a 100 Sols if he doe it by day, and 200 if he doe it by night, and if these wrongs be done with intent to robb or steale, shalbe putt to death. /40/ And he that offers force to any keeping Catle in the feild, he shalbe punished as if the force had bene done in his house. Whosoever rayseth a Crye of murther or the like, to stirr vpp the people, shalbe fined at the discretion of the Judge. They that fight single Combatts shall haue their goods confiscated, but the greiued shall Complayne to the Iudge for reparation. They that are not able to pay the Fynes imposed, shalbe punished Corporally, or condemned to serve for a tyme in the Princes Fortifications and woorkes. The Prince giuing them bread and water, and /50/ shalbe beaten with Cudgells if they leaue the woorke. They that are banished for euer, if they returne, shalbe whipped for the first tyme, and putt to
death the second tyme, and they that lodge them shalbe fyned.

Any man of what quality soeuer, that shall hunt in the Princes Forrests, or lay netts or snares to cath Partridges Connyes, hares &c. shalbe fined 100 Sols, first tyme, double //


the second tyme, and punished corporally the third tyme. That no man may comitt roberyes, steale wood, or committ like abuses in the Forrests, all Fathers and masters shall answer the faults of their Children and servants. The Princes officers may not vppon payne of death deliuer vppon sales of wood, any great[er] quantity to any man, then he hath bought.

The Citizens may fish with an Angle, but all fishing other wise or making fish druncken fyned Sixty Sols.116

All offices are in the Princes guift. All vacant goods /10/ belong to the Prince, except some man proue heyre apparent to the deceased within five yeares after due proclamation

116 It would seem impossible to make fish drunk. Perhaps drunken is meant in OED's sense 5 of uneven, unsteady. Salmon-poachers stun their prey by the shockwaves caused by hitting the rocks under which they bask with a sledgehammer. Tilley records two proverbs, "F299 As drunk as a Fish", and "F325 To drink like a Fish", although the passages from which he quotes are a little later than this.
made, or in the case of Minority within tenn yeares. If any in the Princes Territory dye in tyme of warr seruing a Contrary part to the Prince and so bearing Armes against him, his heyre shall not inherritt his goods moueable, or vnmoueable, but they shalbe confiscated to the Prince. Every Citizen payes the Prince yearely for his person twenty pence Turnois, and a straunger made Citizen payes him five Sols, and a Citizens sonne succeeding /20/ his father payes two Sols, and six pence tournois. The subjects are bound vpon a penalty to bake and grynde their bread and Corne at the Princes Bakehowses and mills, so they stay not aboue six howres. A portion of all graine sold in the markett is due to the Prince, and a portion of mony for the salt, as likewise for all wyne sold. Every little beast sold, as sheepe, hoggs, &c payes the Prince fower pence tournois, and the greater as Cowes, pay double, and the like payment for all beasts exported. He that buyes any inheritance, payes the Prince six pence in each /30/ pound Turnois, according to the price. All marchants pay tax for theire goods passing to and fro by water or land, and all subiectes for houshold stoffe in like sorte remoued, and for Corne and hay.

Touching the priuileges of the Cittizens of Sedan, they chuse [for two] for two yeares two Sheriffes who are assistants to the Princes Baly in governing the Citty, and likewise chuse a Recorder or procter to solicithe their
causes: the Citty hath three fayres yearely, but they are
putt off to the next day if they fall vpon Sunday, in /40/
which fayres and marketts they pay no tribute for things
sold in theire priuate houses.

The Cittizens pay no tribute for provisions bught for their
owe houses. But no man may be made Cittizen without the
Princes graunt, nor otherwise may leave the Citty to liue
otherwhere. The Princes Baly,¹¹⁷ his leiftannt, and the
Princes Proctor or Attorney and the Citizens two Shreifes
and Proctor chosen for two yeares, and six of the cheefe
Cittizens governe the affayres of the Citty, [of the] whose
decree b[1]yndes all the Cittizens as /50/ present and
consenting all wayes reseruing theire appeale to the
Prince. And more spetially this Counsell makes degrees for
matte[r]s of vittles, and the price of the same in Inns,
changing each two months according to the cheepenes or
death of the tyme,¹¹⁸ and also for abuses of marchants and
there wares, allos for Clensing the Citty, also for noting
strangers Comming to the Citty, and whether they tend, and
how Armed, also to appoint visiters to make all Cloth,
Lether, and like wares, allowed to be //
{ c.w. solde: Also to make }


¹¹⁷ This is probably Moryson's transcription of bailli, which can mean a magistrate, judge or bailiff.

¹¹⁸ Dearth meant death among the hard pressed peasantry.
Also to marke all measures, and weights, and burne all those that are false, punishing all that sell by false measures and weights. Also that due price may be sett vpon wyne and like things, the buyer vpon oathe shall declare, what they cost him withall charges; Also that two cheife horse corsers ouersee the selling of horses, declaring the faults of the horses to the buyers vpon payne to beare the losses of the buyers, and to leese their offices, and warranting them sounde, so as within Eight dayes found not to be sounde they may be brought back, and the mony /10/ restored to the buyer. Also to punish Butchers that sell ill flesh, blowe it vpp, or vse any fraude in selling; Also that bread be alwayes of one weight, and sold according to the price sett by the visiters, alterable each 15 dayes: each baker marking his bread that it may be knowne, and bakers offending to be fyned, the second tyme double, and the third tyme corporally punished; Also that nothing brought to the Markett, be sold before it come into the markett. Also that no man walke in the streetes after seuen of the Clock in the /20/ winter, and nyne in somnier, with any weapon, except he haue a Torche or light; Also that Collection be made for the poore, and if any doe after begg in the Cittye, to be punished, and these that are able, to woorke in the Princes Fortifications for bread, and water. The Cittye gate to haue three keyes, one kept by the Princes Captaine, the second by the Sheriffe of the Citty, the third by a cheefe Citizen chosen by the Counsell.

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Touching the Customs of the said Princes forenamed, territories. They are reputed noble [whose Fathers [...] are noble,] though the mother be /30/ a Plebeian, but the noble mother makes not the sonne noble, if the father be a Plebeian, vulgarly called Roturier. 119 A woman a Plebeian having a noble husband is reputed noble during his life, and while she is widowe, except she after marry[es] a Plebeian; But a gentlewoman married to a Plebeian leeseth her Nobility during the marrige and no longer, Children are in the power of their Parents till they be twenty yeares old, or be maryed, or be mancipated, that is with the knowledge of their Parents doe exercise Traffique, or other estate, or publique Charge. /40/ Fruites having rootes, are counted vn moueable goods, yet Corne sowne by the Parents and the fruites of the yeare after May, and Fish in Ponds after three yeares and wood that is sold, though it be not yet cutt downe, are reputed moueable goods, and parted among the Children. All household stuffe that may be removed without spoyling, and without damage to the house, are reputed moueable goods, but Portalls, glasse of the windowes, and such things intended to remayne for euer to the house, are reputed, vn moueable, and all munitions, and Armes in /50/ in Forts and Castles are reputed vn moueable, As likewise Provisions for victualls for the Soldiers, but

119 Cotgrave defines this word as "A Yeoman, or Plebeyan; a Ploughman, a Husbandman; any lay man that is no Gentleman."
not for the household For lands holden in Fee, If the vassall sell his Fee the lord shall haue the fifth penny of the price. The vassall succeeding shall only doe his homage, and pay a Crowne to the lord, The vassall giving his Fee to a straunger, the lord shall haue a yeares profit, as likewise if the Fee fall to collateral succession,. If a Fee be sold to a straunger //


the lorde may take it to himselfe at the price within forty dayes after the sale is made knowne to him, yet any of the sellers linage shalbe preferred before the lord, if he will giue the price. A Fee may be alienated for three yeares without paying anything to the lord. He that succeeds in a Fee, shall doe homage, and sweare fidelitye within forty dayes, otherwise the Fee retornes to the lord. If any deny his land to hold of the Lord, the Fee shall fall to the lord vppon his proofe [t]of the tenure. Assoone as the husband and wife are maryed, their goods moueable /10/ and the vnmoueable after purchased while they shall live in mariage, are Common to both, as also debts and obligations aswell before as after mariage. A widow noble or Plebean may within eight dayes of her husbands death renounce his moueable goods, and so be freed from his debts, and the Common debts of mariage to be payd by the hyre,120 but shall pay her owne debts before mariage; and

120 Has the "e" been dropped ? Should it read "Heyre"?
she shall enjoy her dowrye and her part of vnmoveable goods
[purchased] in mariage, alwayes paying her part that may be
owing for the purchase of these vnmoveables. The surviving
husband or wife, shall besides /20/ their part haue their
apparrell they use to weare on sondayes. A woman maryed
cannot giue or sell her Inheritance without consent of her
husband by any act, but her last will or Conveyance to that
purpose. If a husband liberally make guift to his wife of
his goods, when she being widowe marries againe, she shall
not dispose those goods to her second husband, his or their
Children, but at her death shall giue them among [the]
Children of the first husband, of whose liberalitie she had
them, and the same law tyes the husband receiuing guifts of
his wife, but noe guift shalbe of force /30/ giuen in
sicknes. All persons fully 25 yeares old, may in life giue
to whome they will their moueable goods, and the vnmoveable
purchased by them, but the proper by succession shall fall
to their lawfull heires. A Father may giue his bastard the
sixth part of his mouables, and of the vnmoveables
purchased, but the vnmoveable shall turne to the heyre, if
the bastard dye without lawfull Children, and may not be
alienated by him, And if the father hath not sufficient
moueables and purchased vnmoveables, he may giue his base
sonne to the sixth part of his proper Inheritance by
succession /40/ to mantayne him for the vse. The male at
Twenty, the female at Eighteene yeares age, may make a last
will and Testament, and therein dispose of their moueables,
and such vnmoueables as they have purchased or gotten, but for the disposall of vnmoueables coming by descent, the Female also must be of Twenty yeares age, and so they may dispose a fourth part thereof, always understand to fitt & Capable persons, and the other three parts of vnmoueables coming by descent, fall to the right heyre, free from debts or any other Charge. No legacye may be giuen to a Tutor or Gouvernor, /50/ and they who have legacyes are not admitted for witnesses to the will. The Executors may keepe in their hands all moueable goods for a yeare except the heyre will furnish readye mony to performe the will. The goods of the deceased shalbe sealed //

fol:228. Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. vpp till a legall Inventory be made of them, and the Tutors (andi and Gardians shall not be admitted, who cannot giue Caution to make a just account, and the mother shall be no longer Tutor or gardion to her children if shee marye agayne. The sonnes and daughters of Plebeans succeede equally in mouables & vnmouables without any advantage to the first borne. But for gentlemen's lordships and Fees, of inheritance, the eldest sonne shall have the cheefe Castle Fort or house besydes his part, for his right of birth, and in the division shall /10/ have halfe the lands and Fees of inheritance. The other sonnes in course shall have the next Castle or Fort or house, and the other halfe of the land and Fees shalbe equally deuided among them, and if there be any daughters, a sonne shall have as [well] much as two
daughters, and females shall not succeede with the males in Castles and Forts or fortifyed houses, and where [there] be no males, the daughter aswell noble as Plebean shall haue no right of first borne but shall deuide equally mouables and vnouables, only /20/ noble daughters shall haue birthright in order and at their coyce to succeede in Castles and fortifyed houses for so many daughters as there be such castles and fortifyed houses and no further. Fathers and mothers grandfathers and grandmothers succeede their Children & grandchildren in mouables and vnouables purchased or giuen by them in maryage, but the other vnouables proper and by discent fallen to them, goe to the next Collaterall kinsmen and doe not ascend. In Collaterall succession, there is no right of first borne. The descendants in right /30/ line first succeed, and then the ascendants in right lyne, and for fault of both, then the Collateralls in the foresayd forme. The Parents and kinsmen of Bishops Abbotts and Churchmen, succeede them in their goods, not the church or monasterye. Bastards succeede not their Parents, but Bastards Children lawfully begotten succeed Parents and grandfathers and grandmothers. A widowe noble or Plebean assoone as the husband is dead, is seased of her customary dowrey, namely halfe the vnouables falne to him by discent in right lyne possessed by him at maryage /40/ and gotten by both in maryage, only for her life. And
if shee had a loynter made at maryage, except there in she expressly renounced her customarye dowrey, she may chuse which she will haue, but shee shall keepe them in reparation and the same state she receaveth them, and this loynter or dowrye her next husband may not sell or alienate without [the] [her] consent, nor with her consent except he recompence her in other lands, and shee shall enter vpon her Ioynter in the case shee fyndes it, as if it be sowed with Corne or the meadowes be growne and vnmowed. She shall haue the /50/ choyce of her husbands houses, and if he had but one and it be sufficient for her and the heyres, she shall [half] haue halfe of it, and if it be not sufficient for both she shalbe preferred before them. If shee sell her dowrye or Ioynter the heyre may haue it at the same price within a yeare[s], and a day after he knowes of the Sale. He that hath possessed any inheritance tenn yeares may hold it by prescription against all present men, and after twenty yeares against all absent men, excepting those that are vnder age, if he haue //


Iust title to it, and if he haue possessed it, without iust title, yet after thirty yeares he may hold it by prescription against all of full age, but against the right of the cheefe lord forty yeares at least are required to

\[^{121}\] Jointure, "4. b. A sole estate limited to the wife, being a 'competent livelihood...to take effect on the death of the husband for the life of the wife at least'." OED
plead prescription. All personal actions are extinguished by prescription after thirty years, and mortgages after forty years. All actions for wares sold and delivered, and wages or hire do cease after six months, except they be due by bill or obligation. All actions for verbal injuries cease by prescription after three months that the party injured hath knowledge thereof. All suits in law discontinued three years shall cease and not be renewed, except the plaintiff were under age, or in prison, or had like impediment.

After this digression to write of a Prince subject to the king, I will return again to treat generally of { m.n. 16, 17. Capital Judgments. }

France, and as I have showed the general government and civil justice, so I will briefly add something of the criminal and capital judgments thereof. Observe that among the Protestants the justice for breach of God's laws is most severe, and rigorously executed, as I have showed in the former statutes enacted by the Prince of Sedan and published in print, being very severe against drunks, all unchastity, and like crimes. Among them adultery committed by man or woman is death, but in other places under the Roman Church they inquire little after this crime or like of unchastity, only if the husband complain or the wife, or by any other accident such offenders be brought before the magistrate, they are punished by
whipping or other Corporall punishment, /30/ or by banishment, according to the greater or lesser atrocity of the Cryme. For I haue sayd that the Courts of Parlament inflict arbitrary punishments with respect to the Ciuill lawes. Only rauishing is death in all places, namely hanging to the Plebeans and beheading to gentle men. At Roan an Italyan accused about this tyme for keeping an other mans wife escaped by flight and the wife being a gentlewoman was whipt about the Citty. Murtherers by the high way haue their bones broken vpon the wheele, otherwise, Plebeans /40/ are hanged amd gentlemen beheaded.

In like sort by the Kings Edicts, all Combatts are punished with hanging or beheading, in which Case the Edicts of King Henry the fourth were in our tyme rigorously executed making all Combatts Treason, but (as among the Sweitzers) Judges were appointed to giue satisfaction for all wrongs, without which it is impossible to take away Combatts. Robbers by the high way were hanged, for gentlemen robbing or stealing or doing any base or ignoble act, are degraded and hanged, not having the /50/ priuiledge of being beheaded in those Cases. Incest was punished with hanging in Plebeans, and beheading in gentle men. Coyners are to be boyled in oyle; Cutters and Pickers of Purses were for the first tyme whipped, the second tyme burnt with yron markes on the shoulder, and the third //

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122 Moryson visited Rouen for one night in May 1595.
tyme hanged. Murtherers and Robbers with breaking into howses, and all high Crymes according to the greater or lesser atrocitye, had arbitrary punishments in the Courts of Parliament, as the Murtherer of the duke of Guise, was rent in peeces with wilde horses, and Traytors murthering kings haue in like sort bene putt to death, besides many exquisite tormentes, as pinching with hott yrons, and the like. 

Fraunce hath a peculiare lawe for persons condemned to dye and escaping by flight, to hang them by their pictures, better to make them knowne, and them selues /10/ vppon apprehention at any tyme after to be so hanged in person.\footnote{Thomas Coryat notes this custom. ÒThis also I observed in Clermont, in the middest of a streete there was erected a gibbet with the picture of a certaine fellow called Antony Peel, who was painted hanging on a gallowes in the same picture. Under the which his offence was mentioned by way of proclamation for apprehending of him...That as his picture was there hanged, so should he also if he might be apprehended.Ó Coryat, I, 168.\footnote{The interest rate was reduced from 8\% to 6\%\%.}}

For Cluill Iustice, I will only add to that I haue formerly written thereof, the lawes recorded in Historyes forbidding all transporting of gold or siluer out of the kingdome, and the use of all forraine gold as spoyling Traffique. And the lawe of vsury allowing of old eight, but at this present only six pounds and some five shillings in the hundreth.\footnote{Thomas Coryat notes this custom. ÒThis also I observed in Clermont, in the middest of a streete there was erected a gibbet with the picture of a certaine fellow called Antony Peel, who was painted hanging on a gallowes in the same picture. Under the which his offence was mentioned by way of proclamation for apprehending of him...That as his picture was there hanged, so should he also if he might be apprehended.Ó Coryat, I, 168.\footnote{The interest rate was reduced from 8\% to 6\%\%.}}
For the government of the kings Cheefe Cittyes, I will add something of Paris briefly, by which the government of the rest may be gathered. The Bishopp is supreme in spirituall things. Under the king the universitye is governed by a Rector for each three moneths. Also under the king the Citty hath a proper Iurisdiction, vnder which all the Subvrbs are included. King Charles the fifth in the yeare 1371 gaue the Citizens all rights of nobilitye. The old kings graunted the Citty to haue Sherifffes with consular authority. Paris is governed by a Prouost called le Prouost de Paris for matters of Iustice, and he is commonly some Nobleman, And by an other Prouost of the Marchants (so styled) for Ciuill matters in the Citties government. The Prouost of Paris hath two leiuftenants, the one for Ciuill the other for Criminall Causes (so styled) for the Prouost himselfe doth seldom sett in the Court of Iustice keeping only the honor of the name. But his leiuftenants give Iustice not only for the Towne, but for the whole vicountye of Paris being a large Circuite, and these Officers are for life,. Each Leiuftenant hath his Court assisted by an Attorney for the King and xii Counsellors besides Advocates, Procurators and Serieants, the Court being kept in the Grand Chastellet. In Ciuill matters vnder the value of xx libri sterling these

125 Morison presumably means like the old consules under Imperial Rome, positions more honourary than powerful. Harvey.
Courts Judge without appeale and Causes may be remoued to the Parliament of Paris by euocation before Processe, and by appeale after the sentence. The Prouost of the Marchants is Chosen for two yeares and is assisted by fower Escheuines (Or Serins and Aldermen). and 26 Counsellors, all Chosen by the Burgeois but confirmed by the King.\textsuperscript{126} Their Court is kept in the Towne house. The Citty is diuided into 24 Wards or Trades, and the Captaine /50/ of each Quarter hath inferior men vnder him, to whome he giues the Orders of the Court. to be distributed through the whole Citty. I will conclude with the famous Salicke lawe whereof the french so much boast. as having made it good by great Constancye, and much effusion of their bloud. It hath the name of a River in Franconia a Prouince of Germanye // Booke.ii. The comon wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii. fol:231. they call it a fundamentall lawe because the Franckes (coming out of that Prouince and subduing the Gauls in Gallia, from the north and west sydes of the mountaynies called the Alps and the Pyrenees, and giuing the name of

\textsuperscript{126} Cotgraven defines eschevin as "The Sherife of a Towne; or, an Officer who (representing the Roman Edilis) lookes that the Market be duly furnisht, and well servd; the houses fittly ranked, and well build; the streets euens paued, or cleane kept: And where a Towne hath, by any Priuiledge, the disposall of it own Police, the Eschevins (for there be euer more then one) dispose of it; and (howsoever) they be in authoritie next vnto the Mayor, (or, as in Paris, to the Provost des Marchands) and, in the Townes that haue no Mayors, the principall Magistrates." In present day French serin is a canary-colour (perhaps because of the robes that these officials wore?) The bourgeois are the merchants referred to here.
Frankes or french to these Gaules, and the name of Fraunce to this part of old Gallia) did settle this lawe together with the kingdome. Many deny that there is any such written lawe, but be it Custome or tradition, I will call it a lawe because the french haue alwayes observerd it. The cheife braunch thereof is the excluding the Females of the bloud Royall /10/ from succeeding in the kingdome. But howsoever they boast of the antiquity of this lawe, we reade that King Phillipp called the longe, was the first that bound his Princes by oath to observer this lawe, then seeming strange and new to the french. And this lawe was the cause of the long and fatall warr betweene the french and the English from the tyme of Edward the third, king of England challenging the kingdome of Fraunce by right of his wife.127 to the death of Henry the sixth king of England. The establishing of Inheritance to kings yonger brothers and /20/ Princes of the bloud is by the french made a second braunch of their fundamentall lawe. But no doubt the yonger brothers to the kings of the race of Hughe Capett, diuided the kingdome and titles thereof with their elder brother, and so likewise for diverse [ages] after Charles the great, who notwithstanding is held first to haue made this lawe commonly called the lawe of Apennages by which [it] is decreed that the kings Domaine may not be

127 Edward III challenged this right by his mother, Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, and not by his wife Philippa of Hainault. See the beginning of this chapter.
alienated, but that his younger brothers should have
Inheritance assigned them, which they should enjoy with all
Privileges and immunities excepting Regall /30/ rights, as
Coyning of mony, imposing of Tributes, and the like, but as
I may say without property, so as they having no heir
male, the Inheritance should return to the Crowne. And
this lawe hath caused many Civil warrs in Fraunce, raised
by the king's younger brothers, not content with the
Inheritance assigned them. To these if you add the late
dissentions, about the Reformation of Religion, you have
the Cheefe Firebrands of all former Civil warrs in
Fraunce.