SHAKESPEARE'S EUROPE REVISITED:

THE UNPUBLISHED *ITINERARY* OF

FYNES MORYSON (1566 - 1630)

by

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Booke IIII

Chapter.I. /40/

Of the Germans Nature, and [Manuall Arts] Manners, strength of body and witt, manuall Artes Sciences Vniversities language pompe of Ceremonyes, espetialy in maryages, Childbearings, Christenings, and Funeralls: as also of theire divers Customes, Sports Exercises, and perticulerly of Hunting Hawking Fouling birding and Fishing

{ m.n. 49, 50. Natu<re> and Manners. }

All writers commend the Germans or high Dutch, for Modesty, Integrity, Constancy, Placability, Equity, and /50/ //
Booke IIII. Of Germany touching nature &c Chapt.I. fol.46i
for grauity, but somewhat inclyning to the vice of Dullnes The Conversation of gentlemen is very Austere, full of scowling grauity rather then of disdaynfull pryde, Cittizens are more Courteous, both rude inough in lower Germany, and generally haters of French Complement. Generally they dispise humility in strangers, to whome a bigg looke and good suite of Apparrell add no small respect, For all men eating at one Common table, every Coachman will sett downe before him ⌈that⌉ putts not the best legg forward, and even when I was forced in my Iorney

from Stoade to Emden, to disguise my selfe in a poore /10/ habitt, I obserued that I spent not a penny lesse for my humility, the poorest paying for <h>is meate at the Common table as much as the best, only I saued the guift of drincking mony, which the seruants scorned to demaunde of me (as I haue shewed in the first booke of the third <P>arte, and the third Chapter, in the xxth Precept of humility[1]) All the Germans haue one Nationall vice of drunckennes in such excesse (espetially the Saxons), as it staynes all theire nationall vertues, and makes them often offensiue to frends and much more to strangers. But it is a great reproach for any woman to be druncken or to drincke in any the least excesse (as /20/ I haue shewed at large in the third Parte in the Chapter of the Germans dyett[2]). They are by nature placable, and farr from malice or treason to theire enemyes. When they dispute, they nether haue nor neede any moderator, but coldly vrge theire Arguments, and are soone satisfyed with the Answer. And when the fygh<t> they nether haue nor neede any to parte them, but themselues will gently take vp the quarrell. They Chyde rudely more then they fight, for generall all, but espetially the Saxons, and aboue all the Coachmen and Common people, are rude in behauior and wordes, they will not stay a minuite in /30/ the Inne nor by the way, vpon

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[1] See *Itinerary A*, III, 397 - 399.

[2] See *Itinerary A*, IV, 41 - 42.

any occasion for a Companion in the Coach, and when they are heated with drincke, they are apt to giue rude yea reprochfull wordes, espetially to strangers (whose best course is to passe them ouer, as not vnderstood) But euen among themselues this rude speech and drunckennes, and espetially the small daunger in fighting (where it is a villanny to thrust, and a small Cutt or slash is the worst can befall them) Cause many quarrells (as I haue shewed at large in the 23. Precept of Patience, the third Chapter of the third Parte.[3] The modesty of the wemen is singular, and the like rarely or /40/ no where founde, and the Modesty of men great. Honest wemen hold it obscenity once[4] to name theire Duggs, much lesse will they expose them to sight, and least of all permitt them to be touched. At Nurenburg in the Common Hostery a bell hanges vnder the table, which they vse in sport to ring, when any man comes late to dinner, and when any speake vnfitt speeches, espetially obs⌈c⌉<e>ne wordes, wherein theire eares are so nice, as when a French man setting in theire Company, did reade in a Duch booke the Answer of the Paynter, that his Pictures were fayre because he drewe them by day, and his Children foule /50/ because they were gotten in the darke, I obserued the wemen to blush, and the men also to looke one vpon another, as if these wordes were flatt Baudery, when

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[3] "The little danger in their manner of fighting, makes their quarrels very frequent." *Itinerary A*, III, 404.

[4] Hughes substitutes "onlie", p. 291.

the wemen goe out of //

fol.462. Booke IIII. of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.i.

dores, they lett theire Coates dagle in the durt, lest they may seeme vnmodest in shewing any parte of theire feete or leggs. And when they goe out of dores, they are reputed harlotts, if they couer not theire faces and theire heades with lynnen Cloth, and theire apparell with a Cloke, and if they carry not in theire handes a litle baskett, as if they went abroade to buy somethinge, tho perhapps they goe only to visite afrend. They kisse none but theire husbands, nor them openly, yea they take it for agreat wrong, if a stranger ignorant of their Customes, when he takes his leaue for a /10/ great Iorney, should offer to kisse or so much as to touch theire handes. Yet I will freely say, that in Oldenburg, Westphalia, and those partes, I obserued wemen of the better sorte more barbarous and prone to vse wanton and filthy speeches. Otherwise, the men (as the wemen) are modest in speeches, and hold it great immodesty to make water in the streetes, and in some places the magistrate will punish any vnshamefastnes in that kynde. The Parcimony of the Germans is singuler, spending sparingly if not basely, in theire apparrell, which is Commonly of Cloth, and playne stuffes, with litle or no lace, neuer imbrodered, /20/ and worne by them to the vttermost proofe, euen when it is greasy. So are they in theire feasts; which exceed not foure or fyue dishes, and in theire games or sportes, which they seldome vse and

neuer for great wagers. Oly[5] they spend prodigally in drincke, wherein sometymes I haue seene one gentleman at one nights lodging in his Inne spend tenn or twenty Dollors.[6] Yet howsoeuer poore men will drincke theire Appraell[7] from theire backes, I should thincke it alabour of Hercules, for men of better sorte to consume any reasonable patrimony therein. Procopius imputes Covetousnes to the Germans, be/30/cause for gold they expose theire liues to danger, but I thincke not Covetousnes but rather want of meanes to ryott in drincke, makes them Mercenary soldyers.[8] They are aboue all nations constant, in Apparrell, dyett, and all thinges. For howsoeuer they changed from[9] the Reformed Religion, when they sawe they had beene deceaved, and came to knowe the truth, yet that is to be attributed rather to theire goodnes, then to Inconstantcy. They are of great integrity, trusty and faythfull in worde and deede. For the demaund no more of

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[5] Hughes supplies the missing 'n', to make "Only", p. 292.

[6] This is extraordinarily extravagant. "The Reichs Doller of Germany is worth foure shillings foure pence..." *Itinerary A*, I, xxiii.

[7] Hughes transcribes "apparell", p. 292.

[8] Procopius "of Caesarea in Palestine, was secretary to Belisarius (the great military commander under the Emperor Justinian) from A. D. 526. He wrote in Greek a history of his own times, especially of the wars of Justinian..." Harvey.

[9] Hughes changes the word to "for", p. 292, to make sense.

the buyer then the iust price that he must pay. And if you leaue Mony or goods in /40/ theire Stoues[10] (or Common[ly] eating places of theire howses) they are as safe as if they were locked in your chest. Yea wheras the Common proverbe is, that the Masters eye makes the horse fatt, and in all Countryes men vse to see theire horses meated, there you may safely trust, and they continually doe trust, the seruants of the Inns to meate theire horses, who will neuer deceave a Dumb beast.[11] I never obserued any nation more prone to suspition, not for any guiltines of wickednes in themselues ([no] ⌈no nation more hating treason, fraude, and all⌉ dissimulation) but rather out of a Conscience of theire simplicity, whereby they thincke themselues /50/ fitt to betr⌈a⌉yed,[12] howsoeuer they drincke stoutly, and though they eate slowly yet by setting long at table Commonly eate to satiety, which two thinges vse to preuoke Venerye, yet no //

Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c. Chapt I fol 463

doubt theire Chastitye is admirable. Perhapps this fullnes chookes theire spirittes, and makes them dull, and so lesse inclyned to Venerye. But no doubt the men are very chast, and the wemen not only exceeding modest, as I formerly

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[10] *OED* quotes Moryson's definition, "...certain chambers or roomes hauing an earthen ouen cast into them." *Itinerary A*, IV, 15.

[11] For the proverb, see Tilley, M 733.

[12] Hughes amends by supplying the missing "be", p. 293.

sayd, but in my opinion most chast in the worlde, I knowe not whether out of naturall inclynation, or out of the seuerity of the lawe, restrayning nature. For Adultry is punished with death, and the offenders in that kynde be rare and seldome or never founde. Forication[13] is punished with Mu⌈c⌉lts of mony, and with exceeding shame, and howsoeuer some virgins among them /10/ of the baser sorte haue sometymes bastardes, and some of the better sort are content to vse theire seruice for dry norses, yet they are fewe and dispised. Tacitus writes that of all barbarous nations (as then the Romans reputed them) only the Germans had euery man one wife.[14] Towardes the German Sea, namely at *H*amburg, the Citty aboundes with harlotts, which vsed to allure strangers, and then giue notice to the sergants to apprehend them, and bring them to the magistrate, who imposed great mults of mony vpon them, with small Creditt to the Magistrate, because those Mults[15] were diuided, /20/ betweene the Magistrates imposing them, the harlotts accusing, and the sargants apprehending the betrayed malefactors. But if the man offending were marryed, he was punished with death, to which only the breakers of wedlocke were subiect, the party vnmaryed being through out Germany

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[13] Hughes supplies the missing 'n', "Fornication", p. 293.

[14] "Almost alone among the barbarians they are content with one wife..." Tacitus, Chapter XVIII, *Germany*, p. 100.

[15] Hughes provides the missing 'c' to make "Mulcts", p. 293.

only punished with mony. Also at Augsburg vpon the Confynes of Italy, infected with the Nationall vice of the Italyans being most vnchast, I obserued great impunity if not open liberty of fornication. Munster writes that of ⌈old⌉ the Germans were reputed vnfruitfull in generation.[16] Bodine on the Contrary /30/ writes all Northerne men to be most fruitefull, and calls Germany the shopp of nations from whence the Armyes of the Gothes, ⌈the *H*unns, the Cymbrians, the longebardes.⌉ and Normans, infinite in number, swarmed ouer all Europe. For howsoeuer they were not all Germans, yet those Armyes were much increased in theire passage through Germany. But since drunckennes is a great enemy to generation, and Tacitus writeth that the Germans had but one wife for one man, when other barbarous nations had euery man nany[17] wiues (which is the most powerfull meanes of fruitefull Procreation) I knowe no better reason why the Germans should /40/ be fruitfull in generation aboue the other North⌈e⌉rne people, then the singular Chastity of the men and espetially of the wemen. For naturall reason and experience teacheth, that wemen Prostituted to the lust of many, never haue Children, at least so long as they remayne Common. No doubt Germany is very populous, and the wemen

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[16] Sebastian Münster (1489 - 1552) was a geographer, mathematician and hebraist, who abandoned the Franciscans for Lutheranism about 1529. His *Cosmographia* was also published in 1550 as *Beschriebung aller Länder* complete with maps, costumes and city pictures. *EB*

[17] Hughes amends to "many", p. 294.

there be very fruitefull, as may appeare, noy only by the fore sayd invndation of Armyes, but by daly experience. Botero a Roman omitting Sweizerland, Netherland, Prussia, and Liuonia, all which speake the German language, writes that ⌈in⌉ the Empire tenne /50/ Millions of persons were Numbred in his tyme, and that among the very many Cittyes and fayre townes of Germany, in one Citty of Augsburg 1705 were Baptised and 1227 were Buryed, in a yeare free from the plague or any mortality //

fol 464. Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.I. by strange diseases.[18] while my selfe soiourned at Leipzige a woman had three Chilldren at a birth, and the hauing of more then one was not thought rare or strange, yea they haue a Common saying, which may seeme fabulous, but in likelyhood at first from some rare accident in that kynd, mamely[19] that a woman rep[.]⌈ro⌉ching another for hauing many Children at one birth, and being Cursed by her, had her selfe the next yeare so many Children, as for shame shee went to drowne some of them in [the]⌈a⌉ Ponde, but being apprehended & punished, the Children that were saued were commonly called *H*unds/10/kindren that is Dog whelps, because they so hardly scaped the fortune of whelpes to be drowned. Whatsoeuer hath beene sayd or may be sayd of the Germans nature and manners, it must be allwayes be

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[18] Parker gives the German population as fifteen million in 1600. I have not found Botero's source.

[19] Hughes amends to "namely", p. 295.

vnderstood, that vpon the Confynes on all sydes, theire old naturall goodnes is somewhat infected and altered by the vices of the bordering nations. For howsoeuer the inland Germans are at a worde for all thinges they [by] buy and sell, and no man will offer lesse then is asked, yet on the borders of Fraunce they apply themselues to vse some art to deceave. In like sorte within land they are most chast, /20/ but vpon the Confynes of Italy, it is no great Cryme to be acquainted with an harlott. And indeede generally the boderers of all nations are Commonly the worst people, and vse more then others to apply themselues to the manners of theire neighbours.

{ m.n. 26 - 27. Bodies and witts. }

Touching the bodies and witts of the Germans, old writers say they cannot beare thirst, nor heate, but are most patient to endure colde. And Tacitus writes that theire bodyes are great and strong to resist assaults, but not able to endure labour, thirst, nor heate:[20] and Pomponius Mela /30/ sayth, theire bodyes are most patient to endure Colde out of Custome to runne vp and downe naked in theire shirtes, from Childhood to ripenes of yeares.[21] For my part

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[20] "Heat and/ thirst they cannot in the least endure; to cold and hunger their climate and their soil inure them." Tacitus, Chapter IV, *Germany*, pp. 89 - 90.

[21] Pomponius Mela "of Tingentera in Spain, one of the few Roman geographers, wrote his 'Chorographica' or 'De Situ Orbis' in three books about A. D. 43....He enlivens his account by descriptions of national characteristics and

I thincke thire disability to beare thirst, is rather Contracted by custome then by nature, since theire bodyes are commonly moyst and Phlegmatick,[22] and only Custome hath taught them to drincke immoderately. Nether thincke I them able to endure extreame Colde. For howsoeuer I haue seene theire Children goe naked in the Stoues, and the seruants carry them into colde roomes and sett them downe naked vpon cold plastered floores, /40/ till they had made a bedd or done like buisinesse, and bigger Children often runne out naked to play in the snowe, yet these Children soone retyre into hott stoues, wherein the men also and espetially the wemen Continually sett, till they goe to bedd, or vpon necessity of buisinesse goe abroade. Also the heads and faces of the wemen are muffled with linnen Cloth, and they weare Peticoates and Clokes lyned with furr, and the men also weare Capps and Cassockes Commonly lyned with furr, yea most of them weare great stomachers[23] of wooll or furrs, as large as Artizans Aprons, /50/ either because

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customs, scenery and natural phenomena, and by references to birthplaces, battlefields, historical and legendary associations." Harvey. Under Precept Six for travellers, Moryson commends "Corography, and the knowledge of those Kingdomes which he is to passe, they being most necessary for his use." *Itinerary A*, III, 376.

[22] This is almost a tautology, since the humour, phlegm, is watery and insipid. The characteristics of the phlegmatic largely accord with what Moryson feels about the Germans, "2...not easily excited to feeling or action; lacking enthusiasm; cold, dull, sluggish, apathetic; cool, calm, self-possessed." *OED*

[23] "2. A kind of waistcoat worn by men. Obs." *OED* A previous use by Moryson is quoted, *Itinerary A*, IV, 208.

they cannot beare colde, or because they so weaken theire stomackes by drincking, as they are forced thus to cherish them. Bodin writes that Gallen was wont to wonder that some nations vsed to putt theire //

Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Capt.I. fol.465.

Children in colde water assoone as they were borne, and the Emperor Iulian writes in his Epistle to Antiochus, that the Germans vsed to putt theire newe borne Chilldren into the Riuer Rhene, beleeuing that the Bastards would sincke and perish, but those that were Legitimate would floate aboue the water.[24] I knowe not vpon what superstition they vsed thu[25] this barbarous and foolish Custome, but at this day I am sure the water is made luke warme in which they Baptise theire children, whose whole bodyes the sprinckle with the same. Munster writes that the old Germans brought vp /10/ theire Children in great liberty, without tying

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[24] Moryson probably got the reference from one of his favourite chapters of Bodin, rather than the original Latin. "The ground of which German custome *Iulianus* surnamed *Apostata* writeth to be, that this people held an opinion, That the true borne children would flote vpon the waters, but the base and bastards would sinke to the bottome." I. Bodin, *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale*, translated by Richard Knolles (London, 1606), p. 552. [*STC* 3193]. Book V. 1. deals with adapting institutions to the character of the people. Thomas Coryat repeats the story, quoting as sources "an Eloquent Epistle of Angelus Politianus sent to his friend Jacobus, Cardinal of Pavie. A thing that he hath borrowed (as I conjecture) out of the booke of Cornelius Tacitus de Germanorum moribus...", (On the customs of the Germans). See Coryat, II, 177. James Howell repeats it in *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), pp. 453 - 454 (17 October 1634).

[25] Hughes changes "thu" to "then", p. 296. It could be "thus".

them to labour, or learning of Artes, and that the Germans layd them downe to sleepe where night ouertooke them, and theire Children were left free to doe what they listed. And Cæsar in his Commentaryes, attribuites the Germans bigg stature and strength to this free education, which Bodin attributes to theire aboundance of moysture and heate. For my part, I I thncke[26] it rather proceedes from a third cause, namely that wemen are seldome marryed till they be twenty fyue yeares old, which maturity of age cannot but bring strong and large /20/ Children. If any marye younger, they repute them more fitt for bedd and bo⌈a⌉rde, then to gouerne the huswyfery of the Family,[27] and my selfe at leipzig obserued, the best sorte of the Cittizens to thincke it strange, when a Virgin of seuentene yeares was maryed. No doubt the bodies and all the parts of the Germans are larg and strong. Among other thinges, it woulde seeme wonderfull to any of our nation, if they should see what huge tubbes of water the wemen commonly carry vpon theire heades (in steede of which tubbs in some places they carry two pales hanging vpon /30/ a wodden yoke putt about theire neckes, which somwhat easeth the Carryage) They may guesse the ordinary bignes of the Germans [b] bodies to

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[26] Hughes supplies the missing 'i', "thincke", p. 296.

[27] Moryson plays with the meanings of bed and board, as lodging and food, or "full connubial relations, as wife and mistress of the household". *OED* Put in apposition to "huswyfery", domestic economy, the former signification is meant, whilst emphasising the lack of the latter in unexperienced girls.

exceede other nations, who haue seene the two Monsters of men brought from thence in our tyme to be shewed in forayne parts (as Monsters) for mony, wherof one had a Sister in Saxony credibly reported to be much higher, though otherwise not so great as himselfe. In England we had experience that these two foresayd Gyants (as I may call them) would not wrestle or doe like exercises with our men, /40/ for the Germans in generall eating and drincking most part of the day, and sitting continually, and that in hott stoues, besydes the naturall bignes of stature, become fatt and puffed vp, but seldome or neuer haue actiue bodyes.[28] yea theire witts, not wery[29] sharpe or quicke by nature, are by the same intemperance, and by the hott stoues admitting no ayre, and stuffing the brayne with grosse vapors, made very dull and heauy. The greatest wemen are Commonly in Saxonny. Oldenburg and West Phallia, but /50/ the fayrest, and indeede of excellent beauty, are those of Hamburg, Lubect, Dantzke, and Meluin[30] vpon the Sea syde, At Hamburg the haue all yellow heyre, by washing it weekly

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[28] The exhibition of those in some way abnormal has continued until our day. Lovewit, on his return at the beginning of the final act of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* wonders at first whether the comings and goings to and from his house might not be due to his butler exhibiting similar marvels and monsters.

[29] Hughes amends to "very", p. 297.

[30] Lübeck, Danzig, and Elbing.

with one kynde of lee and drying it in the sunne.[31] //

fol 466. Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.I

The fayrest within land are those of Sueuia[32] and espetially of Augsburg. Both men and wemen in Styria and Carinthia vpon the Alpps, haue many of them great wenns in theire throtes, bigger then theire cheekes, ether by drincking water running through Myneralls, or snowe falling into the waters, for snowe lyes most part of the yeare vpon those mountaynes.[33] In Feasts they haue no complement, intertaynement,[34] discourse, or mirth, but graue and long orations one after another, theire short speeches are only you are welcome, drincke out all, I drincke to yor

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[31] Is this washing their hair with the lees of the white German wines ? Lee may mean lees. *OED* A more probable explanation was suggested by my tutor Dr. T. P. Matheson that the word is "lye", cognate to the German *lauge*, meaning "Alkalized water made by the lixiviation of vegetable ashes; also applied to any strong alkaline solution, esp. one used for washing." *OED*

[32] Swabia.

[33] Compare the description of Robert Smith, gentleman and companion to Sir Edward Unton, of the people they met between Neumarkt and Trent in 1563, "...ther ar dyvers people that inhabyte thes mountaines that have gret lumpes of fleshe hanginge under their chynnes as it were uppon throtes which is supposed groweth by reson of the drynking of snow water". A. S. Yeames, 'The Grand Tour of an Elizabethan', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VII, (1914), 92 - 113, (p. 105). Shakespeare's Gonzalo has also heard of the wonderous tales of travellers,

> When we were boys,
> Who would believe that there were mountaineers
> Dewlapped like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
> Wallets of flesh ?
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> *The Tempest*, III. 3. 43 - 46.

[34] Hughes makes this plural for no good reason, p. 298.

mastership, /10/ and I pledge yor mastership, and the like: theire Actions of mirth are only daunsing after theire rude manner, or griping of handes. If they haue Fooles to make them merrye, they wring laughter from others by obsurdity of acction, as falling and breaking theire shinnes, and by telling written tales, not by sharpenes of any witty talke. Indeede they knowe not what apleasant Iest is, but will interprett literally after the playne wordes, such speeches, as by strangers are spoken with sauorye and witty conceyte, if they were taken in the sence they meane /20/ them.

{ m.n. 22 - 24. Artes and Sicences.[35] }

If any obiect that the Germans are exelent in manuall Artes, and the liberall Sciences, I thinck that to be attributed not to theire sharpnes of witt, but to theire industry, for they vse to plodd with great diligence vpon their professions, not careing to be ignorant in all other thinges, contrary to the manner of other nations, who besydes their profession, affect to haue some superficiall knowledg in all thinges, for discourse and ostentation of learning. Indeede the Germans are excelent in manuall Artes, by that plodding /30/ industrye, and famous for the same among all nations, by which also they bring from them much mony into Germany. In the tyme of Venceslaus the

[35] Hughes amends to "Sciences", p. 298.

Emperor Crowned in the yeare 1376, Bertholdus Niger a German Monke and a great Chymist, is sayd to haue invented Gunns & Gunpowder.[36] And in the tyme of the Emperor Fredericke the third, Crowned in the yeare 1440. Iohn Gutenberg a German, borne at Strasburg, did first invent Printing, which was after perfected at Mentz. At least these men first made these inventians knowne to the people of Europe. For the /40/ historyes of China are sayd to wittnes, that of old in the tyme of theire first king, he was taught the vse of Gunns by a Deuill, and that of old they had the vse of Printing. The Germans also make exquisite Clockes, such as that of Strasburg, that of Bazill, and that of Lubecke, described in the first part of this worke, excellent for knowledg of Astronomy, and for manuall Art, which are commonly whole Clockes, that is stricking foure and twenty howres, and begining at night, wherevpon they were called of old the Sonnes of Dis,[37] and were sayd of olde to /50/ reken tyme by nights not by dayes, as now to this day takeing theire leaue of frendes, they wish them a thousand good nights. likewise they haue artificiall mills, to be driuen with a small quantity of

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[36] "Berthold Schwartz, who translated his name into Latin as Niger, was the 14c inventor of gunpowder." PS. Wenceslas was Emperor on his father's death in 1378, and was deposed in 1400. Waley, p. 82. Carlo M. Cipolla records the use of guns at the siege of Calais in 1346, *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400 - 1700* (London, 1965), p. 23.

[37] Dis was the Roman god of the underworld. Harvey.

water, conveyed in //

{ c.w. troughes and }

Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.I. fol.467. troughes, and falling directly vpon the wheeles, which they vse in theire Mines, as also for other vses, namely for sawing of boardes, with litle helpe of one workeman to fasten the tree to the Mill, which done it draweth the tree to it being never so great, till it haue sawed out the same, so as for euery boarde they doe but once fasten the tree to the Mill, and neede no more attend it. And the[38] haue Mills vpon the Riuers, founded vpon a boate, in which they remoue the Mill at pleasure from one towne and village to another. By manuall art they make all labours easy, to be donne with litle /10/ helpe and attendance, sauing the charge of workmen and seruants. Wemen in Childebed and sicke persons ⌈not⌉ [all] able to move for weakenes, haue towells fastened vpon wheeles to the topps of theire bedds, by which without other helpe they can remoue and turne themselues with ease. They haue Cradles for Children, wherein they shutt them, & support them that they cannot fall, and these moue with wheeles which way soeuer the chyld moues them, so as he learnes to goe of himselfe, while the mother, nurse, and maydes, are free to attend to housholde buisinesse. For the Germans /20/ so abhorr Idlenesse, as I haue seene young men, rather then they

[38] Hughes amends to "they", p. 299.

would stand Idle, seriously fall to spining of flax. Theire very Plowghs are driuen vpon wheeles with great ease and small number of Plowmen. All seuerall trades of Artizans, haue theire solem feasts yearely, in publike howses for that purpose, whether they all goe together in the morning, marching through the streetes with affected grauity, and there hauing largly dyned, they spend most part of the after noone, sometymes in daunsing after musicke, sometymes at the table singing and drincking, and then retorne /30/ to theire owne houses, marching through the streetes in like manner as they came thether. The Artizans worke not, as our English, in open shopps, but in the close Parlers or chambers, hauing Stoues or Ovens, which are heated in the winter, so as they are troubled with no cold. They receave youthes bound prentises for six yeares, to be taught theire trades, during which tyme, they vse them with much lesse severity then our Artizans doe in England. For they worke with theire hatts on, and haue many hollidayes, wherein they challeng of Custome to be free from labour, insomuch as /40/ euery Monday (which they call Sondayes brother) they worke not at all, or very litle at their owne pleasure. If any man come to buy thinges in theire shops namely shooes and bootes, they neuer rise from theire worke, but the buyer chuseth his owne shooes and Bootes, and putts them on himselfe, and then payes the price they aske at a worde and (as of duty) giues some drincking mony to the worke men. The prentises hauing serued theire

yeares, and being Iornymen, that is working<e> for dayes wages, vse to trauell through the great Cittyes of Germany Fraunce and Italy, mantayning /50/ theire expences by theire owne labour, and when they haue gotten mony to beare theire charges by the way, they[39] to another //

fol. 468. Booke IIII of Garmany touching Nature &c Chapt. I.

Citty, and before they retorne home, with singular industry become expert in theire trades. This custome is more spetially vsed by Taylors, and Barbars (who withall professe surgery) and also by Shooemakers. And in tyme this custome hath gotten such power, as in great Cittyes of Garmany, these wanderers, with great Confidence enter the houses of the best workmen of theire trade, calling for worke, as if they were in theire masters houses, and liuing there vpon theire labour, till they haue gott[en] mony to trauell further, or as long as they list. /10/

For Sciences: There is not a man a mong the Common sorte, who cannot speake lattin, and hath not some skill in Arithmaticke, and musicke, The very wemen carry chalke in theire purses wherewith they will truely and speedily cast any ordinary reckning. If any aske Almes, they Commonly begg singing, and the poore schollers vpon hollydayes goe singing about the streetes, and receaue some Almes at euery

[39] Hughes adds "go", p. 300.

house of the better sorte, Each Citty and good towne hath Trumpeters, who commonly dwell in the steeples of the Churches, with theire whole Familyes, where they haue a convenient Stoue, and /20/ a lodging Chamber, with a voyd Rome or two, for Pullen[40] and like necessaryes, on the highest topps of the steeples, where daly at noone they sounde Trumpitts, and allwayes serue in steede of watch men, hanging out flaggs & diuerse signes, where by the Cittizens may knowe what horsemen Footemen, or Coaches approach to the towne, and more spetially thereby the Innkeeper hath warning to provide for them and expect theire comming, whether they also come at dinner tyme to receaue some guift of the Passengers. In like sorte many Cittyes mantayne at publike charge /30/ Musitians, vsing Sag[t]butts, *H*oboyes, and such lou<l>d Instruments, which wee call the waytes of Cyttyes, and these play at the publicke house of the Citty each day at noone, when the Senators goe to dinner, and at all publike Feasts.[41] And howsoeuer they [be] be of the Reformed Religion after the rule of Luther, yet in theire Churches, after the manner of the Roman Church, they vse to sing laten Hymmnes artificially, and haue not only Organs, but Cornetts and a Consort of like loude Instruments, sounding whyle the

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[40] Poultry. *OED*

[41] *OED* uses this passage to exemplify meaning 8 of waytes "A small body of wind instruments maintained by the city or town at the public charge." Sense 6, a watchman may also be implied.

Queristers sing, and while the whole Congregation singes Psalmes /40/ in the vulgar tounge, the most part (as I sayd) hauing skill in musicke. In all theire meetinges to drincke, they greately delight in daunsing, and musicke, as norishing the present humor of mirth, and cheering them to drincke more largely. But as they delight most in loude musicke, so in still musicke of Lutes and like Instruments, they like them better who strike hard vpon the strings, then those who with a gentile touch make sweeter Melody, which they thincke fitter for Chambers to invite sleepe, then for feasts to invite mirth and drincking. Also they are much delighted /50/ in singing birdes, so as not only those of the better sort, but the common Artizans haue them in their Stoues, ether flying loose, and resting vpon branches of Laurell, //

Booke IIII Of Germany touching Nature &c Capt I. fol 469.

greene in winter, and hung vp of purpose, or ells many berdes in a large windowe in closed with in the glasse and a windowe of wyer. And my selfe obserued at leipzig, that in the fayrest streetes, each house of the better sorte had nightingales, which ioyntly made sweete musicke to the passengers.

For the military Science, they willingly followe Captaynes of theire owne nation, and would not easily obey strangers. They haue that Vertue common with the Sweitzers, that when

the warr is donne, the[42] willingly and readily laye downe theire Armes, /10/ and fall to the workes of theire former vocations. The same selfe loue makes them preferr theire owne writers, in Philosophy diuinity, and all Sciences, before any forayne Authors, so I may say, that if ⌈in⌉ any nation, surely in Germany, a Prophett is most esteemed in his owne Country. The Phisitians in Germany (as my selfe found by experience being sicke at Leiptzig, and by discourse in other places) are very honest and learned, Contrary to the old rule to take when the disease payneth, because after ease Phisitians are litle regarded, they neuer take mony till they haue donne the Cure, and /20/ if the sicke man dye in theire handes, they expect no rewarde of theire vnsuccessfull labours. Yea when he is recovered, they expect no greater reward then after the rate of Eightene pence the day in English mony, and I haue seene them being offered more, to refuse it and turne it backe to the giuer. Yet doe they visitt the sicke twise each day, with much diligence and compassionate Curtesye, not scorning to handle any sore parte, or to looke vpon any Ordure, to discouer the disease. In like sorte the Apothecaryes, are fewe in number, and only such as are allowed by the Prince, and they in dorse /30/ the Phisicke they giue vpon the Phisitians bills, and sell theire druggs

[42] Hughes amends to "they", p. 302.

at a reasonable rates.[43] And howsoeuer the Germans are naturally more honest, then to sell rotten ware, espetially in this case, where it concerns life, yet to prevent any such fraude, the Phisitians, by an Imperiall lawe and by the decrees of the severall Princes, are required and vse yearely to visitt theire shops, where they fayle not to burne all druggs that are not fitt to be vsed. As in Italy, so in Garmany, they haue Emperickes, which professe to haue some spetiall receipts, salues, Oyles, and oyntments, /40/ approued for some cures, who beare with them testimonialls vnder the great Seales of Princes and free Cittyes, for the Cures they haue donne, and mounting vpon stalls, or litle skaffolds, in markett places, publish these testimonialls, and Preach theire owne skill, shewing pictures of Cures they haue donne, and stonnes they haue cutt out, and <T>eeth they haue drawne. In Italy I haue knowne some of theme to haue good secreetes in this kynde, but there they be many in number, here more ignorant, and much fewer, there they haue a Zani or foole, to drawe Company by mirth, that they may better /50/ vent theire wares, here they sell with playne bragging. //

fol. 470 Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt I

Generally they are no Schollers, but flatt Cheaters, yet will vndertake any Cure whatsoeuer. And as in Italy they are called *Monti=banchi*, that is mounters vpon Bankes, so

[43] Hughes amends to the singular, "rate", p. 302.

here they are called Tyriaks=kremer, that is marchants or Sellers of Treakle.[44] In Germany they haue Masters of Fence, more singular in formality of taking vp and laying downe weapons, then in skill of defence and offence, and these are made only at Frankford in the two yearely Marts or Fayres. The doctors of Ciuill lawe in Germany liue in great estimation, the Empire being for the most part /10/ gouernned by the Imperiall or Ciuill lawe, though in some partes Prouinciall lawes and Customes are mingled with it. They are Chaunccellors to the Emperor, and the Princes, which office is the cheefe in dignity and power vnder them, so as no profession is no[w]⌈r⌉e[45] studied and followed by young gentlemen and those of the better sort. For those who cannot attayne this highest dignity, yet become Governors in Cittyes and Prouinces, besydes that all the vniversityes labour & giue large stipends to drawe those of greatest fame to be Professors and Readers of the lawe in theire Schooles, so /20/ as Germany must needes abound with learned men of a profession so well rewarded. Yea the very wiues of these Docters, aswell as themselues, haue large Priuiledges for weareing of Apparrell and many ornaments, by the Imperiall lawes, first compiled and still expounded

[44] "Tyriak (or Tiriak) is treacle, a prized antidote against poisons and snakebites: the compound noun means 'treacle-mongers'." PS.

[45] Hughes amends to "more", p. 303.

by men of that profession.[46] Germany hath some fewe wandring Com[illegible]dians,[47] more deseruing pitty then prayse, for the serious parts are dully penned, and worse acted, and the mirth the[48] make is ridiculous, and nothing lesse then witty (as I haue formerly shewed) So as I remember, /30/ that when some of our cast dispised Stage players came out of England into Germany, and played at Franckford in the tyme of the Mart, hauing nether a Comple<a>te number of Actors, nor any good apparell, nor any ornament of the Stage, yet the Germans, not vnderstanding a worde they sayde, both men and wemen, flocked wonderfully to see theire gesture and Action, rather then heare them, speaking English which they vnderstoode not, and pronowncing peeces and Patches of English playes, which my selfe and some English men there /40/ present could not heare without great wearysomenes.[49] Yea my selfe Comming from Franckford

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[46] Sumptuary laws never apply to those who make them.

[47] Hughes spells the word "Comeydians", p. 304. What looks like the tail of a 'y' is a comma, denoting a ligature.

[48] Hughes amends to "they", p. 304.

[49] It is difficult to extrapolate from this relatively famous passage and to interpret what was going on in the English theatre. It appears that Moryson saw the players at Frankfurt in mid-September 1592. See *Itinerary A*, I, 69 - 70. They are "cast" players, in the sense that the "cast" or cashiered captains of fol. 271, have been cast forth from service. They are despised, but Moryson despised all players, almost as much as Catholic priests, as being types of insincerity and trickery. See fols. 414, and 428. Actors and troupes had followed the English armies commanded by their noble patron, the Earl of Leicester, into the Netherlands in the 1580s. From there they "...had begun

in the Company of some cheefe Marchants Duch and Flemish, heard them often bragg of the good markett they had made, only Condoling that they had not the leasure to heare the English players. Touching the Germans education in Schooles: vpon the day of St Gregorye[50] and no other day of the yeare, the Schoolemaster and Schoolers of the publike Schoole in some Cittyes, march about the streetes in theire

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their incursions into Germany. They were quickly followed by independent groups working on their own." Ernst Brennecke, in collaboration with Henry Brennecke, *Shakespeare in Germany 1590 - 1700* (Chicago, 1964), p. 2, and referred to as Brennecke hereafter. This was a useful form of income when plague threatened the livelihood of the English players. Brennecke names some of the players. The leader, Robert Brown had been one of the Earl of Worcester's men. For the 1592 season, he was "Accompanied by such experienced men of the theatre as John Bradstreet, Thomas Sackville, and the impoverished Richard Jones" (who had to ask Edward Alleyn to redeem his pawned clothes for the 1593 overseas season), Brennecke, p. 2. The company visited Zeeland and Holland and was at court of Herzog Heinrich Julius of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel, who was a playwright himself. Brennecke, p. 3. The principal clown, John Green eventually assumed direction with Brown, "The clown was without question the most popular and hence the most important of all English characters." Brennecke, p. 7. In August 1592 the company produced *Gammer Gurton's Needle* and perhaps Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. Certainly, a version of this was being played in 1607. Brennecke, p. 106. Without a knowledge of German, actors probably produced unsophisticated pieces of multi-authorship, what Moryson calls "peeces and Patches of English playes." In such a situation, the plot would have to be simple, as in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, or the characters recognizible stereotypes, such as the Jew, and the comedians would have to speak in a scatalogical linguafranca appreciated by all. Hence the emphasis that is put on the "gesture and Action" noted by Moryson here. By the time Moryson wrote this passage, actors had germanicized their names and their scripts, for there is no record of performances in English after 1606. Brennecke, p. 5.

[50] There are many sainted Gregories. If Pope Gregory the Great is meant, his feast day is March 12.

best apparrell and Festiuall Pope,[51] to receave /50/ newe Schoolers, whome the parents make ready against that day, to present them as they passe, and enter them into the Schoole. And most rich men keepe also a priuate Schoole master in theire howses, for theire Children, //
Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chapt I. fol. 471. only to leade them daly to the publike Schoole, and to bring them backe from thence, and to teach them at home suc<h> lessons as are giuen them in the publike Schoole, and to teach them good behauior at home. One thinge I cannot commend in the Germans, that for the desyre of vayne glory, being yet without Beardes and of smale knowledge, they make themselues knowne more then praysed, by vntimely Printing of bookes, and very toyes, published in theire names.[52] Young Students who haue scarce layd theire lipps to taste the sweete fountaynes of the Sciences, /10/ if they can wrest an Elegy out of theire empty brayne<s>, it must presently be Printed, yea if they can but make a wrangling disputation in the vniversity, the questions they dispute vpon, with the Disputers names, must also be Printed. yea very graue men and Docters of the liberall Professions, are so forward to rush into these Olimpick

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[51] Hughes amends to "Pompe", p. 304.

[52] A beard is an important physical adjunct to maturity and masculinity. Hence the outrage when Regan plucks Gloucester by the beard in *The Tragedy of King Lear*, III. 7. 32. Cleopatra goads Anthony, by wondering "If the scarce-bearded Caesar have not sent/ His powerful mandate to you...", *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. 1. 22 - 23.

games, for gayning the prise from others, as they seeme rather to affect the writing of many and great, then iudicious and succinct bookes, so as theire riper yeares and second Counsells (all wayes best) hardly to suffice to /20/ correct the errors therof, and change (as the Proverbe is) quadrangles to round formes,[53] wheras the French and other Authors, feareing the diuersity of diuers mens Iudgments, and the biting detractions of æmulous and envious readers, vse to polish, and often peruse theire owne writinges, before they dare committ them to the Presse. And herein the bookes of Caluin litle or nothing Corrected, haue had great advantage ouer the bookes of Luther often purged and much altered from theire first Copies. For it may well be sayd of bookes corrected after /30/ Printing, that was sayd of the Roman Sensures of manners: The note may be blotted out, but the spott cannot: since howsoeuer the Corrected bookes are good and profitable (as many of the Germans are, being purged of theire drosse), yet envious readers more obserue the spotts of errors blotted out, then Socraticall sentences newely added.[54] And no doubt, no bookes haue more felt the sting

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[53] I cannot find this proverb in Tilley, although we talk of its opposite, "squaring the circle".

[54] If the Roman censures of manners is a quotation rather than Moryson being original, nobody has been able to tell me from where it originates. *OED* quotes this passage for its use of "Socraticall". It fails to elucidate in which sense their sayings are like Socrates, the famous Greek philosopher.

of this envie, then those of most learned and holy luther. From hence it commeth, that the Printers of Germany, are so farr from giuing the Authors mony for theire Copies /40/ (which they doe in other Countryes) as feareing not to vent them with gayne, they dare not adventure to Print them at theire charge. So as the German Authors vse, ether to pay a great part of the charge leauing the bookes to the Printer, or to pay a Crowne for the Printing of each leafe, keeping the bookes to themselues, which they commonly giue freely to frendes and strangers, as it were hyring them to vouchsafe the reading thereof.

{ m.n. 49. Vniuersities. }

Germany hath very many vniversityes, for after the decay of the Imperiall and Papall power, besydes those of olde /50/ founded vpon priuiledges graunted by them, each absolute Prince, and some free Cittyes (which are very many in Germany) haue founded an vniversity in some cheefe Citty of theire Provinces. It were infinite to discribe them all, // fol. 472. Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c. Capt i therefore I will only discribe at large that of Witteberg, where by the quallity of the rest may be gathered. It was founded in the yeare 1502, some fifteene yeares before martin luther and Phillip Melancton began there to teach the Reformation of Religion, and in fewe yeares it became famous, by great Concurse of Students from all parts of Germany. If a Professors place be [y] voyde, the Professors

chuse another, who must be approued by the Elector of Saxony theire Prince, The <P>rofessors chuse the Deanes of the seuerall facultyes, who haue Authority, /10/ each in theire owne faculty, ouer promotions to degrees, allowing of bookes to be Printed, and like things. The Professors and Deanes chuse some twelue Assistants, who haue power to allowe priuate meetings, for lectures and Disputations. All these chosen for life, doe out of theire owne number yearely chuse the Rector of the vniversity, and commonly in order, one after the other. But if it happen that any Baron or Prince be Student in the Vniversity, they vse to chuse him Rector for the yeare, and he vseth to chuse for his Prorector or Substitute, him who by order and /20/ course should haue otherwise beene Rector that yeare, so as the Baron or Prince hath the honor, and his Substitute [the] the Profitt and administration of the office, to whome also at the yeares end, the Baron or Prince vseth to giue a Present (as a peece of plate) for his paynes in that Substitution. In the Rectors election, the publike Notary of the vniversity takes the voyces, and himselfe giues his voyce, and then pronounceth him to be chosen. This Rector takes place of the Princes Ambassadors if they passe through the towne,[55] and when he goes a broade he weares a redd veluit /30/ hoode vpon his Cloke (for the Doctors and

[55] The Rector takes precedence over the Prince's ambassadors, which is a physical manifestation of the privileges of the university.

Students in Germany weare not gownes, but Clokes, and hatts insteede of Co[.]rnard Capps vsed with vs) The foresayd Senate, of Rector, Professors, Deanes, Assistants and publike Notary, governe the vniversity, and punish the Students, in Common faults with pecuniary mulcts, and in greatest offences with Banishment, who by theire oath are bound to obedience vnder payne of periury. This oath my selfe tooke, contayning these heades: first that I should obey the Rector, secondly that I should reade and obserue /40/ the Statutes, thirdly that I should obey any lawfull Arest, fourthly that I should submitt my selfe to banishment if it were imposed vpon me, fiftly that I should not reveng any wrong by violence, For my admission I payd the third part of a doller.[56] Only the Students of Hungary, by the fauor of Phillip Melancton had a priuiledge not [not] to be called before the Rector, but to haue all theire causes iudged by an Elder chosen of theire owne nation, which priuiledge at the tyme of my being theire was suspended, for a tyme, because they did not duely pay theire Creditors and Hosts. /50/ They haue foure Professors of [Dig] diuinity, wherof some had foure hundreth, others three hundreth fyfty Guldens of siluer (each valued at three shillings foure pence English mony) for theire yearely Stipend. Three Docters and //

Booke.IIII. of Germany touching nature &c Chapt.i. fol.473.

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[56] This represents about 1s. 6d, as the dollar was worth 4s. 4d. See *Itinerary A*, I, xxiii.

Professors of Phisicke, had each three hundreth Guldens yearely. Fiue Doctors and Professors of the Ciuill lawe, had each 250. Guldens yearely, One Professor of Logicke, and one Professor of the Mathematicks, one of Historyes, one of Rhetorick, one of the Hebrewe toung, one of the Sphere,[57] one of Poetry, and one of naturall Philosophy,[58] had each of them. 250 Guldens yearely Stipend. And howsoeuer these Stipends are sometymes increased or deminished, according to the worthines of the Professor, yet the greatest is neuer aboue six hundreth, the least not vnder a hundreth /10/ Guldens yearely. These Professors reade continually through out the yeare, without any vacations, as wee haue in our vniversities, for they reade in the very Dogdayes.[59] In theire Lectures they doe not insist vpon a worde for ostentation of learning and eloquence, but in a Convenient tyme soundly and grauely

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[57] Moryson must mean the study of astronomy and astrology. Edward Wright, in *The Description and vse of the Sphære* (London, 1613), sig. B1r, [*STC* 26021] defines "This Sphære, is nothing else but a representation of the Coelestiall orbes and circles, that haue bene imagined for the easier vnderstanding, expressing, & counting of the motions and apparences, eyther common to the whole heauens, or proper to the Sunne and Moone."

[58] That is knowledge of natural things, the sciences. *OED*

[59] Moryson means teaching continues even in July and August. The expression comes from the *dies caniculares*, the time of the rising of the Sirius, the Dog-star. *OED*

absolue the booke they vndertake to expounde,[60] that the Students may daly goe forwarde to finish theire Studies. This worke they performe exactly and with great diligence, aswell because theire Stipends are sufficent to mantayne them, as because the Prince, /20/ hauing a small Teritory to distract him, vseth many tymes to take knowledge of theire diligence, and to punish the negligent, but espetially to satisfye theire Auditors. For the Students of Germany haue litle learning from priuate reading, but take the most part therof vpon trust (or hearesay) from the lecturs[61] of these graue Professors, who dictate theire Lectures with a slowe and tretable voyce,[62] which they write out word by word, their many penns sounding like agreat shower of rayne, and if the Professor vtter any thing so hastily that the Students /30/ cannot write it, they knocke vpon the Deskes till he repeate it agayne more tretabl[e]y. This vniversity had of old 4000. Guldens yearely Reuenue, which the Dukes Electors haue since increased to 20000 Guldens yearely rent, vpon the suppression of Bishoprickes and monasteryes, Out of this Reuenewe the Professors Stipends are payd, and Certayne

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[60] Moryson means that the professor frees, as in the Latin *absolvere,* the book from difficulty, by explaining it. *OED*

[61] Hughes transcribes "lectures", p. 308.

[62] Since a trait is a stroke made with a pen or pencil, *OED*, Sense 4. a, a traitable voice is one capable of being copied down easily.

poore Schoolers are norished, which sing in the Electors Chappell, though he be seldome resident there. It hath only [one] two Colleges, the Augustine, and the Bernardine, both formerly monasteryes, as apeares /40/ by the names. They are nether farely built, nor of large extent, [or][nor] endowed with any yearely Reuenewe, and such and so fewe are the Colleges of all the vniversities in Germany, where generally only poore Schollers liue in the Colleges, all the other Students lodging & boarding in Cittisens howses. Here in the Augustine College, the the foresayde Schollers singing in the Electors Chappell are lodged freely and haue a diett, at the rate of foure siluer Grosh and a halfe for each man by the weeke, and to that table all poore Schollers what soeuer may be amitted, /50/ if they will pay that rate weekly, and what sooner is spent aboue that rate is payde out of the publike Reuenew of the vniversity, For howsoeuer the Dyett be simple and sparing, yet that rate will not mantayne it.[63] But fewe and only those that are very poore take the benifitt of this table, //

because they can[..] not be lodged in the College. The duke Elector of Saxony giues in the same College Chambers

[63] Since Moryson informs us that "the Schollers using to pay each weeke a Dollor for their diet" *Itinerary A*, I, 16, which was over four English shillings, we can infer that these students must have been very poor indeed. They paid the equivalent of under a quarter of a Reichs doller, under an English shilling, (for "24 Misen Grosch" made a Reichs doller at this time, *Itinerary A*, II, 147.).

freely, and the same dyett at his owne charge, to .70. poore Schollers of his owne subiectes, not perpetually so long as they list to stay, but only for so many yeares as are sufficient to absolue theire Studies,[64] and make them fitt to be imployed in the Church and commonwealth which course makes them diligent, lest the tyme should prevent them before they had finished theire studyes, and the rather because theire mantenance for that tyme is poore and sparing, whereas /10/ no doubt the inioying the Fellowships (being a Competent manntenance, and a pleasant easye life) perpetually or during theire owne pleasures in our vniversities, causeth much losse of tyme idle and carelessly spent. Likewise in the foresayd Bernardine College only the Children of the poore Cittizens of Witteberg are mantayned, hauing chambers freely, and like dyett - allower[65] out of the old revennues of that monasterye, Converted to that and like vses of piety. wee reade not of any degrees in vniversities, before the decree of Gratian published in the yeare 1151 when the Bishops of /20/ of Rome, desyring to haue theire decretalls and scholasticall diuinity practised in Courts of Iustice and in the Church, first began, be the sayd tytles and degrees to allure young men to Study those Professions. After in

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[64] In Latin *absolvere* can mean to bring to completion, which is the sense here and on Fol. 605. *OED*

[65] Hughes amends to "allowed", p. 309.

the Councell of Vienna[66] in the yeare 1311. these degrees were approved, and a lawe made to limitt the Expence in takeing them. Bachilers of Arts, had the name giuen them of *Baculus*, or *Bacillus*, that is a staff, deliuered them as an ensigne of freedome.[67] Licentiates of the lawe were so called, of license giuen them to practise, and then to take the highest degree. Doters[.]s[68] /30/ were so called of teaching. At Paris in Fraunce, the diuines who did reade vpon the sentences of Lombard, were called Doctors,[69] and at Bologna in Italy likewise those who did reade the Ciuill lawe, and when the number of Docters increased, lawes were published for the number of yeares making capeable of that degree, with many like constitutions. A master of Art is so called of the Magi or wise men of Persia, and this title is proper to Philosophers,[70] but at Paris and at Louan[71] the Docters of diuinity who take vpon them the Censure of

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[66] Vienne, in southern France, was conveniently near Avignon where the Popes resided. *CE*

[67] *Baculus* was the name of the rod of the Roman lictors. L & S.

[68] Hughes amends to "Docters", p. 309.

[69] Moryson has already introduced Peter Lombard and his *sententiae* on Fol. 89.

[70] The sense could be in the wider context of someone of great knowledge, particularly of the physical sciences, or in the more limited sense of "A member of a class called 'Philosophers' in certain Jesuit schools and colleges." Yet *OED* only has quotations illustrating this latter meaning from 1711 onwards.

[71] Louvain.

Doctrynes, and would be /40/ preferred before all other Doctors, are styled Magistri Nostri, that is our masters. The gentlemen of Germany study the Ciuill lawe, richly rewarded among them, and some become docters thereof, but they dispise all other degrees, and esteme a master of Art no better than a Pedant. This my selfe founde in Austria, when speaking with agentleman, and vpon his wonder that I spake latten toung readily, telling him I was a master of Arts, I perceaved that after he esteemed me no better then a Scholemaster, or man of like quality, wherevpon I neuer after in Germany /50/ confessed my selfe to haue that degree. Att Witteberg the Bachilors and masters of Arts keepe no disputations //

Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.I. folo.475

for those degrees, being only examined by the Professors. But the Doctors, besydes examination, dispute once for⌈m⌉[72] seuen in the morning to foure in the after noone. The Phisitians and Ciuill lawyers should dispute once in the month, and the Diuines euery third month publikely, which cha[n]⌈r⌉ge fall[73] vpon the professors, and the Deuines orderly kepte this Course, but the other hardly disputed once in the yeare. In these disputations helde in the publike Schooles, only Docters and masters answer, but from the Docters to the youngest Students, all in Course vse to

[72] Hughes amends to "from", p. 310.

[73] Hughes amends to "falls", p. 310.

oppose,[74] /10/ and in the end of the disputation they vse a Ceremony to invite all those who are not satisfyed, to propound and vrge theire Arguments agayne. They vse to dispute hauing theire heades covered with theire hatts, and haue no Moderator, as wee haue in our vniversities, but vrging theire Arguments coldly, leaue them in the first ⌈or⌉ [and] second motion, as satisfyed with any slight answer.[75] And indeede the Number of the Oppone<n>ts is so great, as the tyme will not permitt any one man to propound many arguments, or to vrge one to the full. Students haue a Custome that some fewe of them, /20/ of theire owne free will, with the leaue of the deane of theire faculty, will agree to hold publike declamations and disputations for seuerall dayes, which they make knowne to the rest by Printing the Theses or Questions vpon which they dispute and declame.[76] Philip Melancton was author of making a Statute, that whosoeuer asked a degree should not be denyed it, which he did vpon a sadd event, of a Scholler in his tyme hanging himselfe for shame, that hauing asked his degree he was refused as vnworthy thereof, whose Sepulcher they shewed /30/ mee in the feildes without the Citty, for

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[74] Hughes has "appose", p. 310, which is a possible reading.

[75] The sense comes from moving an argument. In Moryson's opinion, the Germans are easily satisfied with the answers they receive. *OED*

[76] This gives further light to Luther's ninety - five theses. In 1517, these were arguments for discussion, rather than the dogma they later became.

that he kills himselfe, may not be buyried in any churchyard or place of Christian buyriall. Yet when they take degrees, all are examined for fashion sake, and those [those] that are found lesse worthy, are noted of impudent boldnes, and are only admonished, that howsoeuer theire degree in fauor is not denyed then, yet they must after [b]ply theire Studies with more diligence, to repayre theire present vnworthines. In giuing degrees, they nether respect the tyme how long, nor the place where the partie Studied, if he be founde worthey for learning. For the /40/ examination where of, two Professors and two Assistants are chosen, but any other that will allso examine them, and this examination[s] should last three dayes, but the Recor[77] vseth in fauor to craue remission of the third day, and for the other two dayes commonly some priuate frendes, making shewe to examine them, passe the tyme in familliar talke. And one Custome is strange, were it not in Germany, that the Examiner and the Examined, very often, if not at euery question and answer, drincke one to the other; hauing potts sett by them of purpose, which Custome the[78] say [one]⌈once⌉ produced /50/ a pleasant accident, the Professor and the Student //

fol 476. Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chap.I

after much drincking falling both asleepe, and the

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[77] Hughes amends to "Rector", p. 311.

[78] Hughes amends to "they", p. 311.

professor first awaked, asked the Student, what is sleepe, who answered with the old verse

Stulte, quid est Somnus, gelidæ nisi Mortis Imago.

Thou Foole, what may sleepe seeme to thee,

It cold - deaths Image seemes to mee.

Masters and Docters are promoted together, twise euery yeare, namely some fewe dayes before Easter, and alitle after the feast of St. Michael.[79] A Deane Gouerns (or his President) at the Premotion or com/10/mencement of Bachilors, but the Vice-Chanc<e>lor is President ouer that of masters and Docters. But this vice-Chanchelor is not (as with vs in England) cheefe Gouernor of the vniversity (who is here stylled Rector) but is a peculiar officer, for the tyme of Promotions, chosen and confirmed by the Bishop of Merzburg,[80] and hauing [ath] authority from him to Conferr those degrees. And since the suppression of Bish<o>prickes in those teritoryes of the Saxon Elector, and the Administration of them vsed to be giuen by the Elector to some cheefe gentlemen of the /20/ Country, this office of vicechanc⌈e⌉[h]<l>er is Chosen & confirmed by the gentleman[s] on whome the Elector hath bestowed the administration of the Bishoprick of Merzberg, and the office ceaseth when the tyme of each seuerall Promotion is expired. Before which Promotion this vice Chanc<e>lor takes

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[79] If St. Michael the Archangel is meant, his feast is September 29. *CE*

[80] Merseburg.

the names of all that desyre to take those degrees, who must bring to him a Testimoniall from the Professor whose lectures they haue heard for two yeares past, and he that cannot bring that testimoniall must pay [a] a boute seuen Dollors for Completion (as they call it) /30/ In like sort the Bachelors must bring this testimoniall to the Deane from a Professor whose Auditors they haue beene for one yeare or in default pay alike some of mony. And this mony for Completion is deuided betweene the vice-chanc<h>elor (for the masters and Doctors or the Deane (for the Bachilors), and betweene the Rector, the Examiners, and the Bedells. Also they must bring to the vice-chanc[h]elor or Deane, each one his priuate Schoolemaster, to testifye the Course of his life for his studie and manners, from his Childhoode to that day. For I haue former sayd, that /40/ in Germany the richer sort, sending theire Children to Schoole, keepe a priuate Schoolemaster, to attende them to Schoole, and to instruct them at home, which Schoolemaster they send also with them to the vniversities, Commonly giuing him his dyett and some fyfty French Crownes yearely Stipend.[81] If our rich men in England would take this care, and be at this Charge with ⌈a⌉ priuate Schoolemaster well chosen, theire Children would not leese so much tyme as they doe. espetially in the vniversities, where our English Parents seldome enquire after the diligence of Tutors, /50/

[81] A French Crown is worth "six shillings English." See *Itinerary A*, I, xxv.

to whome the committ theire Chilldren, //

Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chapt i fol 477. and much lesse giue them such Competent reward for theire paynes. The sayd vice-chanc[h]elor, before the Promotion, reades a publike lecture for six weekes to those wo[82] are to take degree, And at the begining of the Promotion or commencement, they giue [...] a publike supper, and call it the supper of the Calendes,[83] and at the end they giue a dinner, and call it the Aristotelian Dinner. The Ceremonyes of taking Degrees are donne with great pompe of grauity, the takers of them marching to the publike Schooles with torches lighted by day, and many Musitians playing /10/ before them, most Commonly with loude instruments. But when I was at witteburg, they had no musicke, because the Elector was newly dead.[84] When they come to the Schooles, they fall on theire knees, and a Chosen Professor makes an Oration, to the vicechanc<h>elor for masters and Docters, or to the Deane for Bachilors, Crauing his fauor to admitt them, and he graunting this request, they are brought vp to him, where a Bedell takes theire Oath,[85] first to be

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[82] Hughes amends to "who", p. 313.

[83] The *Calendae* were the first days of every month. FB.

[84] This was Christian I, the Elector of Saxony whose funeral Moryson attended in the autumn of 1591, as he describes on fol. 494.

[85] The name of this ceremonial university officer, or apparitor, is usually spelt in this way rather than "beadle". *OED*

obseruant to theire superiorrs, secondly to shewe fauor towards the vniversity, thirdly to promote pure profession of Religion, /20/ fourthly to be thanckfull towardes the College of their owne Faculty. The Phisi<t>ions giue a peculiar Oath to practise vpon knowledg, not with old wiues Receipts, not to destroy any Children in the mothers wombe, nether to giue any deadly poyson or hurtfull medicine to any sicke person. Then they reade the names of the Promoted, and of the Citty where each of them [were][was] borne, and they vse to giue Seniority according to theire learning. Yet (by the waye be it sayd) lest it should be disgracefull to be named in the last rancke, they vse in some forayne /30/ vniversities (namely at Louan) to reade many conterfeit names in the end, so as the latter true names cannot be [published] publikely knowne. Then the vicec[h]anchelor makes an Oration in Prose, or somtymes in Verse extolling the power giuen him from the foresayd Bishop of Merzburg which he assigneth to the Deane of Philosophye, who together with foure of the premoted, make seuerall Orations or discourses, in Prose, or sometymes in verse,[86] then they who are to commence, or to be promoted, masters and Docters, are willed to ascend into the vper seates, where /40/ for the first Ceremony, each of them is placed in a Chayre, as hauing power giuen them to teach out of a Pulpitt, or eleuated seate. Secondly, each one hath a

[86] Due to eyeslip, Hughes misses from "...extolling..." to here, p. 313.

purple capp giuen him as distinguishing him from the vulgar sort, and giuing him more viewe of the heauens. Thirdly each hath a ring putt on his finger, as marryed to Philosophy, Fourthly each hath an open booke giuen him, as inviting him to reade, and a closed bo[b]oke, as remembring him to ioyne Contemplation with reading. To the Docters the Vice Chancelor vseth a fifth Ceremony of /50/ imbracing them, as receaved into his order. And sixtly each of them, askes some Doctor aquestion, which he answers presently, which answer is vnderstood to be vnpremeditated, //
folo. 478 Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c. Chapt I
yet Commonly they reade it out of writen hand, by which it appeares that the questian was made knowne to them. For indeede the Germans seldome or neuer pronounce any thinge by heart, Iustly (as it seemes) distrusting theire memoryes, weakned with Continuall drincking Lastly the Doctors of the Ciuill lawe in some vniversities are girded with a Military Belt, as bound to defend the lawe. In Conclusion, one of the Promoted makes an Oration giuing thanckes for himselfe and all his Fellowes, and so the cheefe Professor of diuinity and /10/ the vice chancelor going before all the Promoted Graduates forlowe[87] in order, vp to the high Alter, where they pray vpon theire

[87] Hughes amends to "followe", p. 314.

kneeles.[88] For the place of these Cermonyes is the Church wherein for the tyme a place is compassed in with barrs of wood, into which they only are receaved, who are spetially invited by the promoted Graduates and each of them hath a payre of Gloues giuen him, besydes many gloues Cast out of the Circle into the presse of the Studentes, to be snatched by those can gett them. The licentiates of the Ciuill lawe, are only /20/ Pronounsed [..][in] bare wordes, without any Ceremonyes vsed, yet in Fraunce they are no lesse esteemed then Doctors. All Ceremonyes thus ended, the Promoted Graduates and the Professors, two in a rancke, and bare headed, retourne from the Church with the same Pompe as they came thether, to the publike house of the Citty, where this and all publike Feasts are kept. At Weitebirg[89] the charge of a Doctors Promotion was 37 golde Guldens [and of a master of Arts 8 silluer [g..] guldens,] and halfe of this mony was deuided, betweene the Rector, the Deane, the Notery, the Examinors, and the Beedells, /30/ the other halfe was putt into the Publike Treasure of the Promotions (distinguished from the publike Treasury of the Vniversity) and was Commonly imployed, for Almes, for publike guifts, and for repareing of publike buildings The Germans despise those who take degrees in Italy, and not without cause, the Italyans themselues proverbially saying: wee take mony, and

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[88] Hughes transcribes "knees", p. 314, but I suspect that "kneelers" is meant.

[89] Hughes transcribes "Wettebirg", p. 314.

send an asse in a Doctors habitt into Germany. For In Italy many cheefe Doctors, out of old Custome, and for preheminence aboue ordinary Doctors, <o>btayne of the Popes to be called and /40/ created Counts Palatines, who (a mong other priuiledges) haue power to create Doctors, giuing them theire *Bulla* (that is Sealed letters Pattents) to witnesse that they haue this degree, which often in base Couetousnes, they conferr for mony vpon most vnworthy men. And many strangers take this degree from them, not only for want of learning, but for other causes, as namely to escape the oath of Religion which they should take in theire vniversities at home, In like sort by the Imperiall old lawe the Notaryes of Germany haue the power (and at this /50/ time whereof I write, one Doctor Melissus a German, by the Emperors spetiall graunt had this power) //

Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c. Chapt I fol.479.

to create Doctors, vnder theire Seales, wherevpon these (as the former) are in reproch called Doctors of the *Bulla* or seale, and both are dispised in Germany, by the Graduates of the vniversityes.[90] The vniversityes of Germany, haue no Taxers (or Clarkes of the markett) for the price of vittles (as out vniversityes haue) because the Students liue in Cittizens houses, and so leaue the care of the markett to

[90] The Emperors did grant, or, more likely, sell, such powers. Dr Melissus may be Paul Schede Melissus (1539 - 1602) the poet laureate of Emperor Ferdinand I. Melissus spent much time at the courts of England, France and the Palatinate. In 1579 he was created *Hofpfalzgraf*, which may have conveyed the right to create doctors. HC

them. Nether haue they any Proctors, who with vs in England (besydes theire superintendancy ouer the Commencements or Promotions, /10/ and charg of other things) keepe the night watches, and punish all disorders donne in the night. So as nothinge was more frequent at witteberg, then for Students to goe by night to Harlotts, and being druncke, to walke in the streetes with naked swordes, slashing them against the stones, and making noyse with Clamors. And howsoeuer the Duke Elector, at my beeing the<r>e strictly forbadd these disorders (as the Princes of Germany haue leasure to obserue the government of their vniversityes) yet after asmall for bearance thereof they retourned to theire /20/ former liberty, Notwithstanding the students at Weiteberg weare no swordes by day, and though at leipzig, (an vniversitye not farr distant vnder the same Elector), the Doctors of lawe and Phisicke, and young gentlemen Students there, had the priuilege to weare swordes by day, yet the Cittizens and theire seruants in both those vniversytes were not permitted to weare them. When any Maryage is Celebrated at weiteberg, the Bridegrome, the bryde, and the invited guests, aswell men as wemen, Cittizens as strangers, hauing feasted at /30/ home, march in graue pompe to the publike Senate house, with their Musitians, to spend the after-noone there in drincking and daunsing, and all Students, though they be not invited and likewise Cittizens, vse to come thether, to beholde their dauncing, and the best sort are commonly invited ⌈to⌉ Daunce and

drincke with them. And the Students are by aspetiall lawe restrayned from any immodesty in those meetings, though generally by nature the Germans are not inclyned to vse any publike insolency towardes weomen. Most of the Students weare litle feathers in theire hatts, and commonly blacke, but the Doctors of the Ciuill lawe /40/ through all Germany weare white fethers, euen in the Chambers of Iudg<e>ment, The Students are gouerned by the Rector, the the Cittizens by theire Senate, and the villages or Country people by the Dukes officer residing there, and if any man be wronged, the accused drawes the Cause to his owne Court, where the accused being founde guilty is punished, but if he be not founde guilty, the Accuser renounceth his Action, and is sent backe to be punished by his owne Magistrate. Thus if a Student be wronged by any Cittizan, or any of the Country, the Rector sendes two or three Professors, to the Senate of the /50/ Citty, or to the Dukes officer, to demaund Iustice in his //

name, and the other wronged by any Student, their magistrate sendes to the Rector to demaunde Iustice in theire names. But all Cappitall offences are determyned by the Senate of the Citty. Yet of old the Vniversyties had such preuileges, as only the Rector iudged Capitall offences Committed by Students, and commonly theire greatest punishment for murther was banishment, or perpetuall imprisonment. And howsoeuer these preuileges

haue beene since lesse regarded, or taken away, yet of late in the vniversity of konigsberg, a Student hauing killed ⌈one⌉ of the /10/ watch, was only punished with perpetuall imprisonment But in the publike schoole of Strasburg (being no allowed Vniversity) only the Senate of the Citty iudgeth Students in all Causes. At Witteburg they still retayne the old custome of Salting fresh<m>en, or admitting young Students with ridiculous Ceremonyes, and as wee call them fresh men, so they call them Beiani,[91] and the Ceremony is by them called the deposition of hornes. And for this purpose, they haue a peculiar officer, called Depositor, and a Chamber ⌈peculiar⌉ for those Ceremonyes, where each student salted or admitted, /20/ payes six Siluer Guldens. And many in those parts, send theire Chilldren yery[92] young, from the Gramer Schooles, to the Vniversity, only to be thus salted or admitted, carrying them backe to the Gramer Schooles agayne, till they be made fitt to Studdy in the vniversity, or perhaps by priuate teaching inabled, to come thether only to take degrees. Some may perhapps be content to knowe the r<i>diculous Ceremonyes of this office, wherof I will relate a fewe for theire satisfaction. The depositor first comes with a payre of Pinse<r>s, making as if he would pull the /30/ horne from theire foreheades. Then he makes them all lye flatt vpon

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[91] "Bejans, i.e. freshmen (*becs jaunes* or yellow beaks) as in St Andrewes." PS.

[92] Hughes amends to "very", p. 317.

the grownd, with theire faces vpward, stretching those out that are shorter, and making as if he would cutt those that are longer then theire fellowes, hauing first compassed them with a rownde Magicall Circle, and so cast water vpon them till they rise vp, all which tyme alitle bell is rung, and agreat noyse made by the beholders. Then he Poseth them in all sciences, asking them many pleasant questions, As this for one: *Canis, ouis Capra, Millæ Boues.*[93] howe many feete. If they answer .4012, he sayth there be but /40/ thee feete and a halfe in a verse. Agayne, why is there no vacuity in the worlde, and whatsoeuer they answer, he replyes with his reason, because all things are full of fooles.[94] Then he giues them many precepts no lesse r<i>diculous, as this, when you sett downe to meate, be sure to haue your hand first in the dish. Then he makes a long Oration to commend this Custome, which he sayth Nazianzen and Bazill testifye to haue beene vsed of old in the Vniversity of Athens, where they vsed, before the Admission of young Students to aske them many Captious and sophisticall questions,[95] and to /50/ //

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[93] Dog, sheep, goat, a thousand oxen.

[94] The point of this question is that it was believed "There is no voidnesse or vacuity in nature." Philemon Holland, 1603, quoted in *OED.*

[95] Captious and sophistical questions are those designed to entrap, and confuse with specious reasoning. *OED* Nazianzus and Basil were two of the three Cappodacian fathers of the early third century, the third being Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa. All were educated at the University of Athens and became distinguished preachers and

Booke IIII of Germany touching nature Chapt.I fol.481.

leade them them to a Bath with tumultious Clamors and wylde gestures, and to try theire witt and Constancy of mynde with other like inventions, and so at last to receave them for members of the Vniversitye, And this Custome he proues to be very profitable, trying theire witts and manners, abating pryde in them, and shewing theire modesty or impudencye, and like vertues or vices. In Conclusion he bids them putt off theire filthy garments, which they had putt on of purpose, and putting a litle Salt in their mouthes, and powring a litle wyne on theire heades, he remembers /10/ them, that they are now Ciuill in Apparrell and manners, and haue theire witts sharpened, and theire loue of knowledge inflamed, and so admitts them Students of the Arts. At the tyme of my liuing at witteburg, 800. Students were numbred there, but many of them liued, who remem<b>red the number to haue exceeded. 4000. All other Vniversityes of Germany may be knowne in all points by this discription of witteberg, but I liued in some other vniversityes, where I obserued some small differences from it, which I will relate in a word. At leipzig, not farr distant, and vnder /20/ the same Elector of Saxony, one of the Professors of the lawe had 700, and another 500, syluer Guldens for yearely stipend, the Professor of Phisicke 300, the Professor of Diuinity, being also Superintendent in the

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teachers of theology, notably during the Arian controversy. I owe this information to Reverend J. Clifford Culshaw.

Church, had as Professor 300 Guldens from the Treasure of the Vniversity, and as Superintendent 700 Guldens from the Treasure of the Citty for yearely Stipend, besydes many Prouisions to helpe him. The Bedell had 300 Guldens yearely stipend. In the Dogdayes the Professors cease to reade, and those who stand to be masters of Artes reade for them, /30/ and therevpon are in way of Ieast vulgarly called the Canicular Professors, Agayne the masters of Arts and the Bachelors of the Promotion last past, dispute weekely halfe the yeare following in order as often as it falls to theire course, the Masters on Satterdayes the Bachelors on Sondayes in the after noone, Agayne those who desyre to take the degrees of Master and Bachelor of Artes, are strictly examined for tenne dayes space, by the Deane of theire [fact] faculty and six Professors chosen of purpose, and the masters are Promoted once yearely in the month of /40/ Ianuary, but the Bachelors thrise in the yeare. Also the charge of taking degrees at leipzig was farr greater then at witteberg. The Masters spending about 32 gold guldens, the licentiates 200. and the Doctors aboue three hundreth. For each master giues two gold Guldens to each Professor of Philosophy, and each licentiate and Doctor giues foure gold Guldens to each Professor of his faculty, and likewise a perticular present of some ells of Satten or Veluitt, with aquantity of Suger, and some payres of gloues, besydes the expences of the publike Feast. /50/

The publike Schoole at Strasburg was not reputed an //

{ c.w. vniversity, yet gaue }

fol 482. Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.I. an vniversity, yet gaue the degrees of Bachelors & masters of Artes, hauing a publike house for that purpose, and publike Schooles where learned Professors did reade, namely foure for diuinity, four for Phisicke, one for Rhetoricke, one for historyes, one for Astrology, one for Arthmeticke,[96] one for Politickes, and one for Ethickes, besydes many allowed by the Professors to reade priuate lectures. And at my being there, the Students were numbred 1000, wherof 30, were Barrons and Earles, Students flocking thether from all partes, aswell for the beauty /10/ and strength of the Citty, aswell for the purity of their language, The vniversity of Heydelberg was founded in the yeare 1346. by the Palatine Rupertus the second, At my being there the Students were about 500 in number, and the Earle of *Hanow* for honors sake was the Rector,[97] but [t]his Deputy Rector (after the Custome of Germany aboue mentioned) was doctor Pacius an Italian and famous Doctor of the Ciuill lawe, who had there a large Stipend to be

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[96] Hughes supplies the missing 'i', "Arithmeticke", p. 319.

[97] The Elector Palatine Rupert I founded the University of Heidelberg in 1386, not 1346 as Moryson states. Count Rupert of Hanau was Rector in Moryson's time. HC

Professor therof.[98] It had three Colleges which were ruinned monasteryes. In that Colledge called Sapientia, /20/ 70 poore Schollers were mantayned, each hauing some 80 Guldens yearely, and they might not goe out of the Collage without leaue, [I]⌈in⌉ that called Bursa, 12 poore Schollers were mantayned, each hauing 60 Guldens yearely,[99] and they being of riper yeares, had liberty to goe forth and retorne at pleasure, and many Students of the poorer sort had theire Chambers and dyett there, at theire owne charge. In that of Casimire (so called of the late Palatyne Casimire founder therof) 50. poore Schollers were mantayned, partly by ⌈the⌉ founders guift partly by the /30/ publike treasure of the vniversity. The Rest of the Students liued [as]⌈at⌉ theire owne charge in the houses of Professors and Cittisens, as they doe in other vniversityes of Germany.

{ m.n. 35. Language }

Touching the language, the latten Toung (liuing only in writing, not in practise) and the Sclavonian ⌈and⌉[of] the German tounges, are reputed the fountaynes of all the most part of the languages in Europe. The Germans (as I formerly

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[98] The commentaries of Pacius alias Joannes Calvinus on the ancient philosophers and jurists are well represented in the *BMGC*.

[99] "In Germany the name of Bursa was given to houses inhabited by students, under the superintendance of a Graduate in Arts." Sir William Hamilton 1852, quoted in *OED*.

sayd) spake the latten re[a]dily in discourse, hauing practised the same from their Childhood, but in the vniversityes of /40/ England wee write it much more eligantly, and howsoeuer for want of practise, wee never vsing it but in disputations, speake it not so readily, when wee [goe] first goe into forayne parts, yet after small practise, we speake it also more readily and eligantly. For I dare boldly say by experience, aswell for the latten as for other languages, that they who learne them, if in the begining the rashly speake them, without long vse of the Grammer and reading of Authors, they take by habitt ill Phrases of speaking, and howsoeuer for the tyme they may speake readily, yet /50/ nether knowing truely to write or to reade or to //

Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chapt I. fol.483.

pronounce them,[100] they soone forgett what they haue learned. On the Contrary, that they who first learne well to reade and write the tounge, and after beginn to practise it, doe retayne the same for euer, and in processe of tyme, speake and reade it exquisitely. Yet since travelors, who will not spend more tyme in fitting them sellues to serue in the Commonwealth, then in the seruice it selfe, cannot stay so many yeares in foraynne parts, as to learne perfectly many languages (which growing from one roote, are in my opinion imposible to be so learned, by any /10/ one

[100] Hughes omits "them", p. 320.

man, w̲ithout mingling and mistaking of wordes, as I haue shewed in the third part and in the Chapter of precepts[101]) I would aduise them, who to make themselues fitt to be imployed as Ambasadors, or in like seruices of the Commonwealth, desyre perfectly to learne one or two languages of most vse, growing from diueres rootes, that they followe the se[d]co<n>d course aboue named of learning them, being slowe but of more firme Retention. likewise I would adwise[102] them who in speedy and short trauell visite many nations, and desyre rather to haue a /20/ smak of many tounges, then perfection in any one, that they mingle both the former courses of learning them, namely to reade the grammer, that they may knowe to vse the right moodes, Tenses, numbers and persons, and to reade some of the purest A[.]⌈u⌉thors, that they may learne to write the toung w̲ith true Orthography, and [.] ⌈espetially bookes of Epistles, being of⌉ [e]spetiall[y] vse, and to learne the proper handwriting of the language (if they haue leasure) being no small ornament in the skill of languages, lest they be like marchants, who desyre no more skill in toungs, then /30/ to be vnderstood for traffique, and learning them by roate (I meane by practise w̲ithout reading) soone forgett them, when they cease to traffique in those parts

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[101] See *Itinerary A*, 376 - 382 for Moryson's precepts, and fols. 608 - 609 for an example of his confusion of Latin and Italian.

[102] Hughes amends to "aduise", p. 321.

or be like to wemen and Children, who learning only by roate soone forgett what they haue learned. And secondly I aduise them, when they first beginn to reade, to ioyne therwith the practise of speaking, lest in theire swift passage, by soden leauing of the County, they should be prevented of hauing tyme of learning to speake the toung, with naturall pronountiation, true /40/ accents, and proper Phrases therof, Particularly the language[s] of the Germans hath of old borrowed many wordes of the Greekes (from whome also they tooke the Custome of larg drincking and long feasts)[103] Also from the lattin toung of old and to this day they borowe many wordes, but ill dissemble the borowing of them, not otherwise disguising the worde then by adding some leter to the end, as for example, for the latin worde *Transferre*, they vse *Transferirn*, and these wordes and the like are only vsed by the learned. The Germans likewise at this /50/ day traueling into Fraunce and Italy, bring some wordes from thence, but the Common people very hardly admitt the vse of them. The German language is not fitt for Courtship, but in very loue more fitt rudely to commande //

{ c.w. then sweetely }

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[103] "To drink "in the Greek fashion" (*graeco more*) was interpreted as referring to the continuous drinking of healths." See Terence Spencer, *Fair Greece Sad Relic* (London, 1954), p. 33. He quotes from Cicero's *In Verrem*, II, i, 26, paragraph 66, where Verres gets his henchman, Rubrius, to liven up a party (Cicero uses the verb *pergraecari*) prior to the attempt to violate the host's daughter.

then sweetly to perswad, it being an Imperious short and rude kynde of speech, and such as would make our Children affrayd to heare it, the very familyer speeches and pronuntiations sounding better in the mouth of Tamberlin, then of a Ciuill man.[104] When the Children come into the house, they salute the mother, Grusse *dich Fraw*, woman health to thee, when they goe forth, Hettest[105] dich Mutter, Mother keepe thee well. They haue many abuses in pronuntiation, as F for .V. so the worde Venus (the Goddesse of /10/ loue), they pronunce *F*ænus (that is Vsirye) And thus a German in Italy, when he would haue sayd Io ho veduto sayd (Io *ho fututo*) il Papa *con* tutti i *Cardinali*, insteede of I haue seene, sayd I haue (with leaue be it spoken) buggered, the Pope, with all the Cardinalls. So the pronounce the letter R lightly, or not at all, which in Italy made a foule mistaking betweene [the] ⌈a⌉ Curtezan and a German, who saying to her Non impo⌈r⌉ta, was vnderstoode as if he had changed the R into T whervpon shee offered him an Italian Cortesy, abhorred by all /20/ the nations of this syde the Alpes, and more

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[104] Moryson means Tamburlaine. Referred to as "A Scythian shepherd" and "thievish villain" in Marlowe's plays, he is never lost for sweeping imagination and words to express it. See Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, edited by J.B.Steane (Harmondsworth, 1969), I *Tamburlaine*, I. 2. 155, and II. 2. 3. The fact that the playwright makes a hero of a figure many contemporaries, including Moryson, would have regarded as an uncivilized villain, is typically Marlovian.

[105] Hughes has "Hette", p. 322.

spetially by the modest Germans. likewise the Italians obserue them to pronounce B insteede of P, remembring a like mistaking of a German at Padoa who telling some Italians that he came from ⌈the⌉ Portello (that is the gatehouse) was vnderstood by them as if he had sayd he came from the Bordell<o> (that is the Stewes) The English worde mayde, comes from the Dutch worde Magde, but signifyes with vs an hired woman seruant, or a Virgin, and with them a [.] woman borne a slaue. /30/ For the Germans call not those seruants, who attend them for wages, as wee doe, but the man diener, the woman dienerin, of theire attendants. Among other wordes, the English borowe from the Saxon Germans, and vse ⌈in⌉ a differing sence, the German worde kranck, which with them signifyes sicke or ill disposed, but with vs signifyes healthfull or liuely.[106] In England the Barronns or lords are called Noblemen vulgarly, and in latin Nobiles, and those of the inferiour nobility are vulgarly called gentlemen, and in latten Generosi, but in Germany /40/ the Barrons haue in laten the title of Generosi, and the inferior sort are in laten called Nobiles, master is the title of English gentlemen, which the [gentlemen] Germans and Netherlanders only giue to Artizans. And the title master giuen to the second degree in the Vniversityes, is honorable in England, where many

[106] Although it was soon to be obsolete, *OED* records those meanings of this adjective, spelt "crank", that Moryson gives it here. *OED* is unsure of its etymology, but records James Howell noting the same difference in 1659.

gentlemen receave that degree, but the German gentlemen scorne the degree and title, and are called vulgarly *Die Herrn* (that is the lords and in latten Domini which wee translate masters and lordes, but they (as I sayd) take /50/ in the last sence. Agayne the Germans contrary to the English preferr the tytle of worshipfull (as belonging // Booke IIII of Germany touching nature ⌈&c⌉ Chapter.I. fol..485.

in the highest degree of Diuine worship only to God). before the title of honorable. The Germans [as]⌈in⌉ the lattene[s] tounge [toung] speake to men in the third person, as *Dominatio* vestra intelligat (or Intelligant,) that is lett your worshipp (or worships) vnderstand [)] and likewise the Germans speake to one man in the plurall number, [..] as your worships and you, Contrary to the latten tounge, which to God and to Cæaser sayth thy maiesty, and thou. To conclude the purest language in Germany is that of Leipzig, and all the Prouince of Misen vnder the Elector of Saxony, the next /10/ is that of the Palatinate, but espetially the cheefe Citty Heidellberg, and the language of Strasburg is reputed pure in this second degree. In some parts of Germany the old language of the Vandalls liueth in the mouthes of men at this day, howsoeuer that nation hath long beene scattered, and as it were extint.[107] For in the villages neere witteburg, and in

[107] Hughes supplies the missing 'c', p. 324.

the Dukedomes of Pome⌈r⌉arnia, and Meckelburg, and those parts vpon the Baltick Sea, [and] men so commonly speake that Language in the villages, as it is probable that nation of old inhabited those parts, but I /20/ haue allso heard the same vsed in villages neere [Aus] Augsburg, which Citty for distinition[108] from another of the same name, is to this day called Augsburg of the Vandalls.

{ m.n. 25 - 27. The Ceremonyes. }

Touching Ceremonyes, the Germans performe them with great ostentation of pompe. I meane not for any Magnificence or sumptuousnes, for the Germans haue no such thing, the very Princes wearing ordinary apparell, hauing no rich furniture in there houses, and requiring litle reverence in the seruice of theire /30/ persons. So as at Prage I sawe the Emperor apparreled all in cloth, if not without welts, surely without gardes, or imbrodering, his Rapier hauing ordinarye hilts and a sheath of lether,[109] and when himselfe was in the next Chamber with the dores open, his seruants without any reverence walked by the poore chayre

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[108] Hughes amends to "distinction", p. 324.

[109] "Welts and guards" were often linked together in common speech. They both mean an ornamental border, although the guard was so named because it helped to prevent the edges of the cloth from fraying. *OED* Moryson naturally expected the Emperor Rudolf II to have embroidered clothes, and an ornamental hilt and sheath to his rapier. Apart from Henry IV of France and James I, the appearance of rulers, including Sigismund of Sweden and Poland and the Italian princes, was generally a disappointment to him.

of estate with theire heades couered, yea sometymes leaning vpon it. And I saw the Archdukes his bretheren serued by a Caruer and Taster, but not vpon the knee, and they allso in the Princes presence layde theire hatts vpon the Chayre /40/ of Estate. But I meane for the very great grauity the Germans vse in very small matters, as by the following Ceremonyes shall appeare. First when they visitt one an other, they doe not exchang short speeches, but first the visited entertaynes his frend with a long Oration, and ends it with a harty draught of beare or wyne to his welcome, then the visiter answers him with a long Oration and a like Salutation of the Cupp, and so by Course declaming and drincking they passe the tyme till they take theire leaues. When they meete one another /50/ in the markett place or streetes, they doe not walke, but stand in a Circle without moving a foote, so [s] long as they talke together. They giue one another not only high //

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titles among meane persons, but many of them, as it were by dossens or wholesale, so as the preface of tytiles is longer then the name of the bragging Soldyer in Plautus which filled foure whole sheetes of paper.[110] In all

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[110] The *Miles Gloriosus* or *Braggart Soldier* of Plautus is called Pyrgopolynices or the great-tower-taker. However, this title hardly takes four pages. The lecherous and boastful military man is a favourite Plautine type, who reappears in at least four of his other plays. See Plautus, *Plays*, translated by Paul Nixon, 5 vols (London, 1916 - 1938).

invitations to Feasts, of maryage or the like, or to attend vpon a Funerall, and in Conference at these meetinges they vse long Orations which with much teadiousnes they adorne with many old Apothegmms of great and learned men. Allwayes they begin with these titles, as for example in the Vniversityes, /10/ I haue heard Doctors thus invited, most Courteous, most learned, most worthy, and also most regardable her[111] Doctor the magnificall Colledge of the Ciuill lawyers, in the name of the most adorned Graduates now premoted, invites your worthynes, to the most Ample auditory &c. A gentle man in Germany scornes the title of master, as he doth that degree of Arts, and mo⌈u⌉st be saluted vulgarly *Herr*, in latten Domine, and not without great Epithites ioyned to that title, and contrary to the Custome of England the title of gentlemen, in latten /20/ gen⌈e⌉rosus, is preferred before that of Noble, and likewise that of worshipfull before that of honorable. In the Feasts of maryage and the like, theire pompe is tedious and two serious, the men walking with a slowe Senators pace, like so many Images, moved rather by art then nature, and the wemen seeming rather to swimm or slyde away, then to goe a naturall pace. And in taking place at the Feasts, they are Curious not to yeald theire right to another. If two walke together; the best man, not regarding the wall, goes on the right hand of the other three walking together;

[111] Hughes amends to "Herr", p. 325.

/30/ the best man goes in the midest, the next on the right hand of both, foure walking together, the best man goes on the right hand the nex on the left in the midest, and the third vppermost on the right hand.[112]

{ m.n. 35, 36. Of Marryage. }

In many Cittyes and townes of Saxony, they appoint Tuesday or some other of the working dayes for the Celebration of maryages thincking Sonday most vnfitt, in regard of the nationall vice of drincking, never more vsed then at these Feasts. Before the feast a young man well apparrelled and sett forth with scarffes and Plumes, rides on /40/ horsebacke through the streetes, to invite the Guests, for which purpose he hath afoote boy Running by him, to lett him knowe that the partyes are at home, before he light from his horse, who vseth premeditated speeches, or one speech for all, in the foresayd forme, [h] when he invites them. And this young Youth with two Brideboyes or (as I may say brideyouths) attende the Bryde on the maryage day, Carrying torches before her whersoeuer shee goeth, as likewise two other Bryde youthes, each with a torch //

in his hand, solemly leade the Daunces. For assoone as dinner is ended, in most places they Daunnce [as] at the

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[112] Hughes amends to "next" and changes the defective punctuation of this sentence. He puts a comma after "other". p. 325.

house of the Feast, but in other places (as at witteburg and where the house hath no long Romes) after dinner is ended the Bridegroome, Bride, and all the guests march from the house of the Feast to the publike house of the Senate, with soleme Pompe, and there spende the after moone[113] in dauncing and drincking, marching from thence to supper with like pompe, but without Clockes, which they send home when they beginn to daunce. To this publike house any Cittizens /10/ men or wemen, or any Students being not invited, may come to daunce with them, where the man stand in order on one syde, and the wemen on the other syde of the roome, and the Brideyouths bring and present the wemen, to the men who are to daunce with them. But in these Daunces they vse no kynd of Art, for all that are present, or so many as the Circle of the Chamber will Contayne, and of all sortes, Doctors, Senators, young men, boyes, and old wemen, young wemen, virgins, and girles, Daunce all together in a large Circle rounde about the Chamber. And in the slowe Daunces, /20/ which wee call measures, they doe not followe the musicke with artificiall motion of the feete, sometymes forward, somtymes backward, somtymes sydewayes, as wee doe, but playnly walke about the roome with grauity inough and to spare, which kynde of dauncing they iustly call Gang, that is going, likewise in the daunces which wee call Gallyardes, of the lusty motion, and they call Lauff, that

[113] Hughes amends to "afternoone", p. 326.

is a leape, they doe not Daunce with measure of paces, and trickes lowe or lofty, as wee doe,[114] but pleaynly first lift vp on legg then the other, so leaping about the Roome, with such force as makes the strongest chambers /30/ shake and threaten falling. And for other kyndes of daunces they haue none. Once at a Maryage, where my selfe was invited, I remember the Bride in dauncing lost her maryage Ring, and a litle after stumbled and fell, which chances made her frendes very sadd, as p<or>tending some ominous euent, Sometymes when they daunce in theire priuate houses, some fewe men and wemen daunce by course, whyle the other drincke at the Tables, for all must drincke, or daunce, or leaue the Company. And for my selfe some tymes Invited to these Feasts, I confesse, to escape drincking, I was gladd to /40/ make one in theire Daunces, which any stranger might performe without any great teaching. When a man takes out a woman to daunce, he gently putts her Arme vnder one of his, and his other vnder her other Arme, and modestly imbraceth her, and sometymes in lesse solemene meetinges of more liberty the men in iolity with inarticluate voyces of Ioye will catch the wemen by the middles, and lift them vp sometymes so high as they shewe more then modesty allowes, when they daunce the foresayd lauff. If a woman refuse to daunce with any man, it beares an action of Iniury, in somuch as a young man giuing a box /50/ on the eare to a

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[114] *OED*'s meaning 3 of trick, a "dexterous artifice" seems to be the nearest to Moryson's intentions here.

virgin that refused to daunce with him, //
fol.488. Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chap. I. and being accused for the same before a Iudge in the vpper parts of Saxony, the young man was dismissed, as hauing donne her no wrong, because shee disgraced him, as a person infamous, and vnworthy to daunce with her. The virgins many times will intreate the men that daunce ⌈with⌉ them, that when they are weary of dauncing, they will giue them to the handes of some others whome they affect. For the men being often weary, and the wemen never satisfyed with motion, the men of Custome present theire wemen to some others, as a fauor and grace to /10/ them. It seemed to me very straung, that at the maryage of the richest Cittizens, aswell as of the poorer, they haue a gathering or presenting of mony by guift to the maryed Couple (which only is vsed by the pourer sorte with vs), and the richer they are the more they haue giuen them, for they invite theire equalls who are able to giue largly, whereas the poore inviting guests of like Condition, many tymes spend almost somuch in the Feast, as they receave by guifts. My selfe invited to a maryage feast of a Cittisens daughter in Leipzig, thought to be worth more /20/ then forty thousand gold guldens, did obserue that the men first in order, and after them the wemen, marched to the Church, whence after the maryage they retourned home in like order, where at the inner gate, the bridegrome stayed to welcome the men, and the bryde to intertayne the wemen. And after Supper all (not one

excepted) came to offer theire guifts in orderly course, to the Bridegrome sitting at the table, accompanyed with some cheefe guests and frendes, whyle the Bryde with the young men and wemen Daunced in another Roome, till it came /30/ to theire Course to offer, in which offering I obserued no man to giue lesse then a Doller, which came to a great summe of mony. Yet may not every one that will giue mony, come to these feasts, but only they who are invited. Nether doe these guifts much inrich them, for they invite not only kindren[115] and frends at home and of other Cittyes and townes, but most parte of the Cittizens of theire owne quallity, so as these marriages being frequent[ed], the Continuall charge of them in shorte tyme æqualls the guifts themselues. Receaved. In some places (as at /40/ *He*ydeberg) they keepe these Feasts not only in priuate houses but more Commonly in publike Inns, and the lawe restraynes aswell the Number of the guifts, as of the dishes in the Feast (which in other partes by custome is allwayes moderate), so as in publike Inns they invited not more then forty guests, where every man payd tenn Batzen for his dinner (vulgarly Malzeit) and for extraordinary drincking after the meale (vulgarly zeick) each man his part ratably, and besydes offered guifts to the Bridegrome and Bride Commonly in mony, /50/ //

Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt I. fol. 489.

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[115] Hughes transcribes this as "kindred", p. 328. Could it be a corruption of *Kindern*, children ?

for I neuer obserued any plate to be giuen. And they who keepe these feasts in theire owne houses, might not provide more then two tables (which are Commonly square, and not very large) where they payed nothing for meate or drincke, but only offered guifts of mony. And in most places they seldome haue a boue six or seuen dishes, with wyne in aboundance, the meates also being such for the most parte as invite drincking.[116] Also in many places I haue seene Cittizens of good quality gather mony of the g<u>ests to pay the Musitions. when the Bride is of /10/ another Citty, the Bridegrome vseth to meete her on the way, well accompanyed with horsemen, and the bridegrome riding betweene two cheefe men, whereof the cheefe intertaynes the bride and her company with a long oration, to which the cheefe of her Company makes answer. And being Cittizens, not gentlemen, yet both Companyes haue trompitts sounding before them. At leipzig I obserued a Cittizen Bridegrome, to haue 17. horsemen before him, followed by himselfe and cheefe frendes in theire Coaches, with 17 horsemen likewise behinde him. At witteberg vpon /20/ like occasion, the Dukes cheefe officer, with some horse men, all wearing skarffes did ryde before, then followed the bridegrome being a Doctor, riding betweene two young Barronns then Students of that vniversity, with .9. horsemen following, and after fewe myles ryding they mett the Bryde, attended

[116] Presumably the food had been salted or spiced for preservation.

with .9. Coaches and six horsemen whome the eldest Barron intertayned with a long Oration, answered by the cheefe man in her Company, Shee had Trumpitts before her, but the sounded not, because the Duke Elector of Saxony being then sicke (of which sicknes within fewe dayes /30/ after he dyed), the bridegrome forbore to bring any trumpitts with him. When the Parents haue agreed vpon the brides portion, and like transacctions, I haue seene them in some places goe to the Church, there to betroath them, and the bride there to receaue a Ring from the bridegrome, which shee kept till the maryage day, when shee gaue it back to him to be marryed therewith, when they goe to church to be marryed, in many places they vse torches lighted at noone day, among the Lutherans. The trompitters goe first, then the bridegrome, ledd betweene two frendes or cheefe /40/ men, then he that invited the guests followes alone, then the kinsmen, neighbours and invited strangers Followe in order, two in a rancke the meanest first, and the best last, then followe[s] the wemen, the litle girles and virgins, and of them the youngest and meanest first, then followes the Bride ledd betweene two young men, whome wee call Brideboyes, only touching her elbowe lightly. But at Witteberg the bride being of suspected Chastity, I haue seene her le<d> by a Doctor, that in reverence to him, the Students might forbeare /50/ hissing and laughing at her, and this Doctor did not lay //

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his hand vpon her elbowe, as the other, but lightly vpon her backe a boue the wast. Two young men bareheaded, each hauing a garter about his Arme tyed in true loue knotts, followed the Bride, whome the maryed wemen did followe in order, the meanest first, and the best last, but betweene each rancke of the maryed wemen, the maydes seruants followed, being like poore kochen mades,[117] and sometymes ill apparreled. Assoone as they entred the Church, the minister mett them neere the dore, and there ioyned the hands of the betroathed, /10/ and putting ⌈a⌉ ring on the brides finger, sayd these wordes, That which God hath ioyned lett no man seperate.[118] Then the Common sort going to theire seates, only some ⌈of⌉ the cheefe led the Bridegrome and Bride to the high Alter, where hauing sayd short prayers, they discended also to theire seates. And then at witteburg I haue seene the invited guests offer theire guifts in the Church to the bridegrome and bryde, not only of gold and siluer putt in ⌈to⌉ a Siluer Bason, but also Potts and kettles of Brasse, and dishes of Puter, which were carryed home by theire mayde seruants. /20/ Then the Bridegrome and the cheefe men ascended agayne to the Alter, and going about it, gaue an offering to the Priests

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[117] From *köchin*, female cook ? Hughes has "kichen mades", p. 330. His reading may be superior, although Hand Two is always leaving 'o' open at the top.

[118] "Wherefore they are no more twaine, but one flesh. Let not man therefore put asunder that, which God hath coupled together." Matthew 19. 6.

or ministers of the Church. After them the Bride and cheefe weemen and virgins in like sorte, the best going first, as strangers in the first place, then the wyues of Doctors, then of Senators, then of Cittisens, then the virgins, in like order ascend<ed> to the high alter, and made the like offering. In the meane tyme all the Common sort did sett on theire seates, and Musicke Continually sounded aswell of Organs and loude Instruments, /30/ as of lutes, and mens voyes.[119] They retourned from the Church with agreater trayne. For the bridegrome was ledd backe by two cheefe men, as a Doctor and a Senator, followed by the Professors, Senators, and Cittizens, and many young men who had expected theire Comming in the Church, nowe ioyned to the trayne attending them backe. In like sort the Bride was led by her Father, and besydes the foresayd trayne following, in like order, was attended by many virgins, who had attended her comming at Church. When they came home, /40/ and in the midest of dinner, and many tymes vpon occation of drincking healths, the bridegrome Bride and guests exchanged many long Orations of Congratulation. At the begining of the feast, the young men and virgins did sett apart at the table, but entrance being once made to Dancing and drincking, they satt mingled each man setting by the woman with whome he daunced. The young men on theire bare heades weare krantzes that is Garlands of Roses, both in

[119] Hughes amends to "voyces", p. 331.

winter and Sommer, presented them for a fauor by the bryde at the dore of her house, /50/ //

Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chapt I. fol 491. as wee present gloues, the wemen likewise weare garlandes of Roses, on theire heades, and Chayns about their neckes. And during the Feast, the young men and virgins for tokens of loue exchanged Garlandes, and the young men sometymes wore the Virgins Chaynes, as also the Bridegrome on the first day of the Feast did weare the Brides Coronet of gold and Pearle on his bare head. The men and wemen, in all meales, but the first, and at the drinckings betweene meales, sett mingled, a man and a woman, but the men only drincke healths, the wemen only /10/ in fauour sipping of the Cupp, as it were to helpe the men. Besydes they haue many loue tokes[120] betweene them, as a young man and a virgin take a Comfitt and together bite it in peeces, and the party biting the greater peece is merily punished, Agayne the virgins putt some morsells of bread in some dilicate sawce, which young men take out, as deliuering theire mistreses out of danger. [A..] Agayne sometymes they shewe theire Purses, hauing an [obs...e]⌈obscene⌉ meaning in the longest and largest Purse. In some places the tables are made so, as they may turne rounde about both the meate and the Guests, /20/ which they doe somtymes for a frolike. Whole barrells of beare and wyne are sett forth, and

[120] Hughes amends to "tokens", p. 331.

drawne, out in the very roome where they eate, as the Bridegroome intertaynes the men, so the Bride hath two wemen of her neerest kindred to cheere vp the wemen. And as wee giue Marchpanes, so these wemen present then with Rowles baked like dry Fritters, and sett forth with Penons of Cutt paper, in the forme of Apes, Birdes and like thinges. The Dishes are Commonly fewe and the meates not costly, but they haue allwayes fumed herrings, rawe Beanes, water nuttes (as they call them[121]) and breade /30/ slised salted and pepered, to prouoke drincking. The Bridegrome and the Bride supp not with the guests; but after supper the Bride youthes with torches lighted bring them into the dauncing Roome, where they daunce the first Daunce alone, which donne, the Bridegrome giues the Bride into the handes of some cheefe man to daunce with her, and so goes himselfe to sett with some cheefe men at the Brides table, where the guests in order present theire guifts to him. In the Prouince of Thuringia the bridegrome and Bryde vse to be maryed on Sondayes, but they goe allso to church agayne on mondayes, /40/ marching in the fore sayd pompe, but not with the same trayne, being on Monday accompanyed with those who were not invited or could not come the day before. And all the tyme betweene the publike betroathing and the day of the maryage, they liue together both at bed and boarde. In the Province of Marchia vnder the Elector of

[121] Water chestnuts ? *OED*

Brandeburg the maryed Cuple, as likewise Children to be Christened, and wemen to ⌈be⌉ Churched, must haue the blessing of the minister at the dore, before they may enter into the Church. And the maryed, the Christened, and the Churched, must enter at three seuerall /50/ dores, appointed for those purposes, And besydes the vse many // fol.492. Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chap..I. of the old and superstitious Ceremonyes to this day, though they be of the Reformed Religion according to the rule of Luther.

{ m.n. 5. Funeralls. }

Touching Funeralls. They invite Company to attend them, as to maryages, by a horse man with a laquay running by him, but the invited haue no f⌈e⌉ast, only strangers of other Cittyes invited are intertayned by them in theire howses, more spetially at the solemne Funeralls of Princes They nether toule bells for them when they are dying, nor ringe them when they are dead, so as the dead persons /10/ are only made knowne to be dead by the foresayd inviting of Company, and by the Beere vpon which they are to be caryed, being sett at theire dores in the streete the day before they are buryed, and by notice thereof giuen by the Preacher in the Pulpitt, for most dayes of the weeke they haue Sermons and prayers earely in the morning. They are Commonly buryed in Coffinnes, hauing windowes ouer the face of the dead body, to be drawne and shutt agayne, and at

leipzig I obserued the frendes to open this windowe, and cast earth vpon the face of the dead ⌈body⌉, and the Saxston after to cast in /20/ agreater quantity of earth (as they say) to make the body soonner rott, and then put the Couffinne in the ground. At leipzig, as in most places, they are not buryed in Churchyeardes, but they haue for that purpose without the Citty a peece of ground, compassed with a wall, and a litle chappell lying open on the sydes, and a Couered Cloyster round about the wall, which feilde is called vulgarly Gottsacker that is the Aker of God, where the richer sorte purchase a place of buryall for them and theire Family vnder the Couered Cloyster, and the Common sorte are buryed in the /30/ open parte of the feilde. They are lutherans, yet the crosse is carryed vpon the Coffinne, and all the monnuments haue paynted or grauen crosses. The body was committe<d> to the grounde with silence, but in many other places the singing boyes of the publike Schooles followe the dead body to the graue, where most Commonly the preacher makes a short Sermon, or rather Oration principally to Commende the life and ende of the dead person, and then the people sing a Psalme while the body is buryed. The men that are cheefe Mournors haue theire faces Co/40/vered with blacke Sipres[122] hanging downe behynde the neck, and so are ledd and supported by a

[122] "3. 1. c. esp (=cypress lawn) A light transparent material resembling cobweb lawn or crape; like the latter it was, when black, much used in habiliments of mourning." *OED*

seruant, as like wise the wemen that are cheefe Mournors haue theire faces muffled with white linnen Cloth, being narrowe and hanging downe all the right syde, vulgarly called Schleres.[123] The other men that followe the *Herse* haue no mourning Clokes nor gownes, vsed by vs in England, but only hattbandes of black Sipres hanging downe behynde, Called Trawerbandes that is mourning bandes, which they were long after the Funerall. In the Pompe the wemen /50/ goe first and of them the best and the neerest frendes nex[124] //

Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chap I. fol.493. to the herse then the cheefe mournors are ledd, then the herse followes, then goe the men, and of them the best and the neerest frendes next to the hearse. In some places I haue seene the husband followe next the *He⌈a⌉rse* of his wife, and so the wife to followe the husbands hearse, hauing a poore mayde seruant to carry the trayne of her gowne. When the body is burryed, the wemen stay at the graue, till the men goe in to the Church and Compassing the high Alter offer mony to the vse of the ministers, and when they come forth the wemen likewise enter to make the offering, /10/ for they hauing small brasse Monyes, no body is so poore that offer not somethinge, besydes that they

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[123] This is from *der Schleier*, a veil. PS

[124] Hughes amends to "next", p. 334.

pay aboue a dollor to the minister for his payes,[125] and these Ceremonyes being frequent, no doubt the ministers haue great profitt thereby. At the burying of a Student at Witteberg, the Cheefe men of the Vniversity were invited by his frendes with long and graue Orations, as they vse to invite at feasts. And when they carryed the body to the graue, only the singing boyes of the Schoole went singing before the Hearse, which was followed by the /20/ Rector, the Professors, and the Students, in order. For the wemen and virgins came not in Company with the men, but after them in seuerall Companyes, and stood in order a good distance from the graue. In tyme of the buryall the Scholers did sing, and in the end the Deacon did sing out of a booke about some six lynes written in Prose. The invited strangers of other Cittyes, were (as I sayd) intertayned in theire howses, but those of the Citty vse not to haue ether drinckings, or dinners. /30/

Old writers wittnes that the Germans of old vsed no ambition or pride in Funeralls. That they vsed not to cast Odors or garments, but only the Armes of the dead man, in to the Funerall fyer, the heathen then vse<i>ng to burne the dead bodyes. That for a monument they only raysed a turffe [of]⌈or⌉ greene Sodd of the earth. That the wemen only lamented, and the men only with saddnes remembred

[125] Hughes changes to "paynes", p. 334, although "payes" here would not be impossible.

theire dead frendes, so as they soone forgott to weepe, but long retayned sadnes. But at this day I am sure in the Funeralls of Princes, they /40/ burye precious Iewells with them, laying the dead body with the face vncovered some three dayes in the Chappell, to ⌈be⌉ seene by any who will come to see it, and then inclosing it in Copper to be so layd in the monnument. For Germany hat litle leade, and aboundes with Copper, where [by]⌈with⌉ many Citty⌈e⌉s[es] haue Terretts steeples and whole Churches Covered. Besydes at the Funeralls of Princes they cast among the Multitude great peeces of siluer, Coyned of purpose with inscriptions fitting the /50/ dead person and the tyme, My selfe at Fryburg //

fol.494 Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature Chapt.I

did see the Funerall of Christian Duke and Elector of Saxony, and like wise the Ceremonyes vsed at Dresden where he dyed. First at Dresden the dead body was layde in the Chappell of the Court, with the face oven, for two dayes, to be seene of all that would, the body had a velvitt Capp (vulgarly Mitz) on the head with a Costly Ieuell on it and was lapped in a quilted veluitt mantle, all things lying by, which should be buryed with him, or hung vp for ornament ouer his Monument, as first to be buryed with him, a golden Chayne a bout his necke, with /10/ a tablett the badge of die gulden Geselshaft, that is the golden fellowship, betweene the Protestant Princes of the vnion,

allso three Ringes on his fingers, a Dyamond, a Turky,[126] and a Ruby, giuen him by his Dutches, also two braceletts of gold a bout his Armes, a guilded hammer in his right handd, and at his left hand lay diuers things to be hung vp, as his Coate Armor, his Rapier, his Spurrs, and diuers banners. After two dayes the body was Closed in Copper, with his Armes graven vpon it. And a learned German perceaving me to thincke it /20/ strange, that these Iewells should be buryed with him, to satisfye me therein, alledged many Texts of scripture to proue that dead bodyes should be adorned, as Isaiah Chapter. 61. Zachary. 3. Ecclesiasticus. 18. Ephesians 6. saying that these ornaments of the dead did signify Spirituall garments, and the Armes hung vp did signify [h] knighthood in the spirituall war, adding that the Iewells were as safe from leesing or stealing in the vault of the Monument, as if they were layd vp in a strong Castle. After fewe dayes the Corpes was attended by the Courtyers, /30/ and carryed from Dresden to Fryburg, being a dayes Iorney, and by the way in all villages the Bells were rung, and the ministers with the people came forth to meete it, with Copes, lighted torches, Crosses of wood, and like superstitious Ceremonyes. and at the Castle of Fryburg, the gentlemen of the [Red]⌈Bed⌉ Chamber tooke the body out of the Coach, and carryed it into the Schlosskirke, that is the Church of the

[126] This is short for Turkey Stone, the turquoise. *OED*

Castle, and there it lay ⌈till⌉ the day of the Funerall, when it was Carryed thence, and putt into his monument in the cheefe Church of the Citty after /40/ this manner. First a graue,[127] that is Earle, carryed the Blutfahne that is bloody Banner, then followed fyfteene great horses, richly harnessed, and ledd by ordinarye Querryes, or groomes, and by each horse was carryed a banner with the Armes of a Family of which the Duke discended, the tenn first being carryed by gentle men, the fyue last by Earles. Then followed the sixteenth horse richly harnessed, mounted by a gentleman of the <B>edd Chamber, all Armed, and representing the Dukes person, and by him an Earle, one foote (as the former) /50/ carryed the Hauptfahne that is the head and cheefe Banner, of all the Dukes Armes Vnited and the sayd gentleman mounted had in his right hand a shorte //

{ c.w. Coudgel, which }

Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chap.I. fol 495. Cudgel, which the Churfirst (that is the Prince Elector) of Saxony vseth to carry at the Feast of an Emperors Coronation. After him was carryed first the sworde, and then the Seale of the Electorship. And then, came the Corpes drawne by six horses in an open Charyott all covered with blacks. And vpon the Charyott hung a table vpon which was written, in golden letters, and in the lattin toung, to

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[127] Hughes has "Grafe", p. 336. Moryson means *Graf*.

this effect. The

The Most &c Pr: Chr: D. G.
S. R. I. vij vir: (that is one /10/
of the seuen Electors)[128]

Hath he⌈re⌉ deposed what soeuer was mortall, his Soule immortall inioyes eternall happines with God. Thou passenger myndefull of humayne fraylty, prepare thy selfe to followe him (when thou art called) in the same stepps of true piety, and Fayth to God, in which he hath gone before thee.

This table was to be hung vpon his monument. After the Corpes followed on foote the [the] Princes [h] invited to the Funerall, and then the Courtyers, strangers, and /20/ Cittizens, in order. All the way as the Corpes passed, certayne officers scattered among the multitude, whole, halfe, and quarters of Dollers, Quoyned of purpose, with many wordes grauen in the midest, and rounde about this sentence in lattin Iacturam *Ostendet Dies* (that is Tyme will shewe the losse) Generally the Princes of Germany doe in like sorte vse to Coyne monyes expressly for Remembrance

[128] This title is difficult to interpret because the language switches from English to Latin, and the hand from secretary to italic. After some preliminaries, such as the most gracious, or most potent, it reads Christian, Prince, by the Grace of God one of the seven electors of the Holy Roman Empire, or in the Latin it would be something like this, *Clarissimus* or *Potentissimus Princeps, Christianus, Dei Gratia, Sancti et Romani Imperii, unus ex septemviris.*

of any great Act, done by them, or Concerning the Commonwealth. As when the Emperor had proscribed the Duke of Coburg, elldest sonne to Iohn /30/ Fredericke late Elector of Saxony, and had[th] giuen authority to Augustus, present Elector of Saxony by the guift of the Emperor and father to the Elector Christianus nowe buryed, that he as marshall of the Empire (indeede as his cheefe enemy for the emullation of the Electorship which he had gotten from his Father) should make warr vpon the sayd Duke of Coburg, and when he vpon the sayd authority, but with his owne forces, and at his owne charge, had taken and dismanteled Gotha the sayd Dukes strongest Forte, he at his retorne to Dresden /40/ in triumph, did cast like monyes amonge the people, Coyned of purpose for memory of that act, whereof my selfe did see many peeces kept by diuers Cittizens[129]

{ m.n. 44 - 46. Childebearinges and Christininges }

When a woman is brought to bedd, for the tyme shee lyes in, whosoeuer enters the house, vseth to giue the woman some small guift towardes her paying of the midwife, and the Nurse, and for like occasions. The wemen lye in or keepe

[129] These Dukes were emulating the Holy Roman Emperors, who since the time of Maximilian I (1493 - 1519) had issued prestige pieces, strikings of bullion that were both commemorative, but also freely negotiable at a fixed value as currency. The ready availability of silver from the mines of Saxony, Brunswick and Bohemia encouraged this practice throughout the German states. The former group described by Moryson were known as *Sterbemünzen*, death money, the latter as *Schaumünzen*, commemorative money. See B. J. Cook, 'Showpieces: Medallic Coins in Early Modern Europe', *The Medal 26* (1995), 3 - 25.

house some six weekes according to the distance from our lords birth day, to the purification of our lady vpon Candlemas day.[130] They keepe a Feast at the Christning, /50/ but none at the Churching, which is donne without Ceremony, //

fol.496 Booke IIII. of Germany touching Nature &c Chap.I.

only with [with] some wemen her frendes, whome she desyres to accompany her to the Church. When the Childe is to be Baptised, the pompe of going to Church and retorning, is no lesse then that of maryages, forferly discribed.[131] When they come to Church the Chylde with the Godfathers and Godmothers stand before the Deacon or minister attended by the Clarke, at the d<o>re of the Church where the Deacon reades an exorcisme, that is a kynd of Coniuration to driue a way the ill Spiritt, which by reason of originall sinne they Imagin to possesse the Chyld /10/ till it be baptised. Then they all together enter the inclosure made about the Funt, where the Clarke powres a Cann of hott water into the Funt: Then the midwife layes the Chylde starke naked, and the face downewarde, with navell of the belly vpon the Palme of the Deacons hand, (which by reason the legs and shoulders of the Chylde were of bloody Coller, seemed to me no comely thinge to beholde) Then the Godfathers and Godmothers hauing named the Chylde, and promised for it,

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[130] Moryson means from 25 December until 2 February.

[131] Hughes amends to "formerly", p. 338.

the De⌈a⌉con baptising it, powers with his other hand much hott water /20/ all ouer the backe of the Chylde presently restored, to the handes of the norse, or midwife, who lapped it warme, and so they depart. The Godfather is vulgarly called Geuater, and the Godmother Geuaterine, but they haue no certayne number of them, some hauing more some fewer, and the greatest men haue Commonly most in number so as the Elector Duke of Saxony lately invited a whole Citty to Christen one of his Children, and every Cittisen presented ⌈a⌉ guift to the Chylde. But commonly these guifts to the Chyld, the midwife or nurses are small, /30/ as about an halfe or a whole Doller to a nurse. [But] One thinge is remarkable, that as the Mothers if they be able, Commonly giue sucke to theire Children, so they euer take a Nurse into the house not only for a dry Nurse but euen to giue it sucke, and not one of them will send the Chylde a broade to be Nursed out of theire owne houses, yea these theire Nurses are not Maryed wemen, but commonly harlotts gotten with Childe before they marry, which wee would abhorr, fearing to take [in] an harlott or drunken woman to Nurse our Chilldren, who might perhaps thereby proue infected /40/ with the Nurses vces.[132]

{ m.n. 42. Customes. }

When the Germans take an Oath before a magistrate, they lay

[132] Hughes supplies the missing 'i', p. 339.

no hand on the booke, as wee doe, but lift two fore fingers vp to heauen (as the Sweitzers lift vp th⌈ree⌉[eire] fingers, and French men the whole hand)

In the Chapter of the Germans diett, I haue written of many Customes, in publike Inns, and Feastings, wherof I will now remember some feaw.[133] The [I] Innkeepers hange not out any signes or Iuye bushes, but the best Inns are knowne by the Multitude of the Armes, fastned vpon the gate /50/ and in the dyning Rome. For, the guests, ether at the hosts intreaty, or by theire owne free offer, for Curtescy or for glory, vse to pay for the tricking of theire Armes,[134] // Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chapt I fol 497 and to giue them to the hosts, to be hung vp, as our Anbassadors. doe in their Iornyes. So as I haue at on<e> Inn numbred 124. Armes, partly of Princes, Earles, Barrons, and gentle men, partly of Cittizens (for they also giue Armes after theire owne fancyes, but with a Close helmett[135]). The guests eate not in priuate Chambers, but

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[133] Hughes changes to "fewe", p. 339, but on close inspection it may be that "feare" is written.

[134] "III. 7. ...spec. in Her., to draw (a coat of arms) in outline, the tinctures being denoted by initial letters..." *OED*

[135] "In Germany heraldry has known but two classes of helmet, the open helmet guarded by bars (otherwise buckles or grilles), and the closed/ or "visored" helmet. The latter was the helmet used by the newly ennobled, the former of the older families of higher position...The closed helmet consequently sank...to the grade of a mere burgess's helmet, and as such became of little account,

all together in a publike Stoue, at Dinners[136] square tables, where they sett as they come, with smale or no respect of persons. In drincking, for token of loue, they often ioyne handes, with such force as if they would splitt one anothers thumbs from the fingers. And /10/ because they eate in Stoues heated in winter tyme, at eateing and spetially at drincking they sett bare headed, and sometymes open theire dubletts to the naked breast. In the Inns of witteberg, in Sommer tyme, I obserued the pages of some gentlemen to stand by them at table with a Fann of Peacokes feathers, to Coole them and to dryue flyes from them: and that the gentlemen often whispered together (which wee repute ill manners), and asked the other guests many strang questions, as me in perticular, whether I were a gentle man or no, and who was next heyre to the Crowne of England (where of the English were then by /20/ Statute forbidden to speake) And being men neuer before seene of me, it was strang with what confidence and (as it were) famillarity, they inquired after such secreets of State, and Actions of great persons, as a man would hardly impart, or speake freely of them, to any but inward frendes. If the sett[137]

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although in former times it had been borne by the proudest houses." Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, revised by Charles A. H. Franklyn (Edinburgh, 1949), pp. 317 - 318.

[136] Hughes has "Diuers", p. 339. It makes better sense, but the extra letter is not sufficiently well excised for me to adopt it.

[137] They sit.

at table farr from the bread, they thincke it ill manners to reach it vpon the poynt of a knife, and call to haue it reached by hand, nether doth any man dipp his meate but only his bread into any sawce, and that not with his fingers, but vpon the poynt of his knife. They Carue no /30/ meate to any man, but the very best men will lay or take vpon the⌈ir⌉ trenchers a whole shoulder of Mutton, or like Ioynt of meate, to Carue themselues, in the meane tyme leauing the dish empty. And they hold it a point of Ciuility and Curtescy to take away the foule treancher of theire guest or frend setting neere them, and to giue him a cleane one, or to lay it in the Charger when they take away. Indeede the haue reason to be Curyous of dipping into sawces, since gentlemen Plebeans and very Coachmen sett at the same table, and vse the same liberty in all thinges. When they are halfe druncke, they will /40/ kisse theire next neighbours, sometymes with foming mouthes, allwayes with small sweetnes, and in theire potts will promise any thinge, and make all bargaynes, but the consent of the sobber wife at home, must be had before any thing be performed. Theire heighest cheereings vp at table, are these, Seyt frolich, be mery: Drinckt Auss, drincke all out, with some like Courtships, and except a man whope or hallowe, vulgarly called Iouxsen, he is neuer thought to be merye.[138] Assoone as they haue drunck to any man, they

[138] *Juxen* is probably meant by Moryson. It means to joke or lark about.

importune to be pledged, which they require also of wemen for fashion sake to kisse the Cupp: /50/ But wemen never enter the publike houses where wyne and beare is soulde, and in Feasts at home men seldome or neuer drincke to wemen, only they are permitted to helpe theire //

{ c.w. husbandes and frends }

fol.498. Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.I. husbandes and frendes, in token of loue, by sipping of the Cupp they are to drincke, which also they doe very sparingly. In Saxony they commonly drincke rounde, that euery man may haue his share, and where they drincke to what frende they please, so many glasses are filled and placed about his trencher who is to pledge them, and if he be slowe in that duty, he shall not want calling vpon, neither is there any meanes to avoyde this taske, but by taking ⌈some⌉ occasion to goe out of the Stoue (as to make water, which the most mannerly often doe, (for many sticke[139] not to doe it vnder the table), and /10/ to [pay]⌈pray⌉ the seruant in your absence to take away some of the glasses, or your selfe dexterly to remoue some of them to your next neighbours trenchers. They doe not gulpe downe theire drincke hastely, nether drincke they healthes in great glasses, but only sipp to haue longer pleasure in drincking, and that in small glasses. So as a stranger hath no better defence, then when any man drinckes to him, to

[139] Hughes has "sicke", p. 341.

beginn another health to him, espetially if he haue a great glasse before him, which euery man feares to drawe vpon himselfe. Generally when they drincke to any man, /20/ they rayse theire bodyes from theire seates, in honor to him, Commonly gentlemen when they beginne to be merrye, for sporte make theire Pages swell theire Cheekes with winde, which they strike with the Palme of theire hands, to breake the wynde with a noyse, and if they present them [ag] a fayre blowe, [for so they] they giue them Drinckgelt, that is drincking mony, (for so they call all guifts, as if they had no other vse but for drincking) In like sorte they punish there Pages, if they seeme weary in holding the Candle vp aloft, whyle theire masters are on foote to goe /30/ to bedd, and are tedious with intermixed healths, to take there leaues of the Cupp and one of another. Young men, vpon the daye of the yeare bearing theire owne name, if any such be in the Calender are or ⌈on⌉ the day of theire birth pay some [banck..cke]⌈banckquet⌉ or at [the] least the wyne, to the young wemen in the house where they liue, or ells they vse to bynde them hand and foote till they preforme it. In Misen vpon the twelfth day after ⌈candle⌉ light,[140] men disguised in apparrell like the wise men of the East that came to Christ, whome they call three kinges, vse to goe about the towne to theire frendes /40/

[140] Twelfth night, 6 January ?

houses. Vpon the day of St Nicholas[141] the vse to hide mony Ringes, Garters Poynts,[142] or like things in places most frequented by theire kinsfolke, frendes, sonnes and daughters, that they might fynde them (as wee in England present neweyeares guifts) which they call gods guifts vsing also a proverb vpon the Popes extortions, what God giues that St Pether takes away.[143] Vpon Easter Monday, the young men vse to beat the virginnes with knotted wandes, till they gaue them egges, and the next day the virgings[144] vse //

Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature [C] &c Chapt.I. fol:499.

them in like sorte, till they giue them Oranges. In the publike drincking Stoues, of Inns and priuate houses, they commonly haue a narrowe bed, with a long Cushion, and a short pillowe, Covered with leather, in all things but the narrownes like to a standing bed of wood, only for one to lye vpon, which they call the faule bett, that is the Idle bed, wherevpon they lay any man that hath druncke so much

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[141] There are many Saints with the name of Nicholas, but probably Nicholas Bishop of Myra who died on 6 December (345 or 352) is meant here. *CE*

[142] Although there is no comma between "Garters" and "Poynts", I suspect there should be. *OED* defines the latter as "32. b. A Piece of lace used as kerchief or the like."

[143] Moryson gives the German on fol. 301. It is not recorded in Horst Beyer's *Sprichwörterlexikon,* but may be liturgical. It seems to be an ironic echo of Job 1. 21, "...the Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken it..."

[144] Hughes amends to "virgins", p. 342.

till he fall asleepe. For with them it is no shame espetially ⌈in⌉ to the lower partes of Germany from Nuremberg to the Northerne Sea, if the drincke till the vomitt, and make water vnder the table, and /10/ till they sleepe. But some who are more temporate, and [shape]⌈shame⌉ not to ⌈be⌉ ouercome in this mastery, vse to dissemble drunckennes by sleepe to avoyde drunckennes indeede, or ells to that purpose finde some occasion to withdrawe themselues out of the Stoue, or steale away, neuer taking leaue of theire Companyes For they who meane to sett out till the last, neuer suffer any to departe so sober, as to take his leaue, and espetially when they invite guests, they thincke they haue not performed theire duty towardes them, except they leaue them sleeping vpon the bedd, Benches, /20/ or vnder the Table, or ells leade them home reeling, stumbling, and scarce able to stand. Thus they drincke healths till they leese theire owne health. Yet in the midest of this [C] Common excesse of drincking, my selfe haue bene familiar with some gentle men (namely of the Palatinate) generally temperate, and whereof two were abstemious, never drincking wyne, but only water, whose Complexions notwithstanding were as pure sanguen, as can be imagined.[145] In the great free Cittyes of Germany, they haue a laudable Custome, when any famous learned /30/ men, gentlemen or lords (be they Germans or strangers) come to

[145] Moryson means that his friends were of a ruddy complexion. *OED*

towne, to present them with some flaggons of wyne from the Senate, if ether they be of that quallity as the Senators haue knowledge of theire arryuall, or be made knowne to any Cittizen that he may giue notice thereof to the officers of the Senate house, But the honor of this Custome is abated by the abuse. For as many Flaggons as are sent, so many officers beare them, who not ⌈only⌉ expect a rewarde, of a Dollor more or lesse, according to the quality of the person honored /40/ with the present, but allso to be invited to supper, which in a publike Inn costs much more then the value of the wyne. Besydes that they make the present with long tedious orations, and looke to be answered in the same forme, which is troubelsome espetially to strangers. In most Cittyes vsing beere for Common drincke, they haue no Taverns for wyne, but it is solde only at the Senate house, and the gayne imployed for publike vses. And the cheefe Senators and Cittisens only, brewe beere, and that by course, one after the other, selling it by /50/ re<.>tayle. At leipzig when this brewing came to //

{ c.w. the Course }

fol. 500. Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Cap.I.

the course of my host, with whome I boarded, being a man worth tenn thousand powndes at least, I obserued that, assoone as he had sett vp a wispe at the doore (according

to the Custome[146]) not only all Cittizens sent thether for beare, but also great multitudes continually flocked thether to drincke, at many tables sett vp of purpose, in the lower roomes, the yearde, and the very Cellers. And I obserued that they payed for theire drincke before they had it, that theire purses might teach them Moderation, who Otherwise knowe none, espetially the Common sorte. In so much as /10/ most of them being poore, I did see my hosts seruants take theire Cloathes for pawne, when theire mony was spent, and some of them to drincke till they had nothing but a shirte to cover [his] nakednes. In some Cittyes of lowe Germany, I haue seene Cittizens bidd frendes to dinner, and yet make them pay for it, as at lvneberg in perticular a Senator invited some of our Consorts in Coach to dynner, and when they came to goe on our Iorney after dinner, by there relation they had spent more (perhaps in large drincking of wyne) then wee had spent in the publike /20/ Inn. Of old the Cittyes lying neere the German Ocian and Balticke Sea, and hauing large preuiledges of traffique among themselues and in forayne Countryes, haue beene there vpon called Hans Stetin, that is free Cittyes.[147] And these haue an old Custome in euery Citty at the first comming thether of any marchchant

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[146] A wisp, a small bundle of hay or twigs, was hung up as an ale-house sign. *OED*

[147] They are known as the League of Stettin. *Hansa* is a fellowship or league. *OED*

stranger, to make him free of the place, which Ceremony they performe in the publike Inns after this manner. The eldest marchants take a trencher with salt vpon it, sending it rounde about the table, that they who are strangers may, by touching the Salt in manner of /30/ an Oath, professe whether they be hansed that is made free or no,[148] and when any one Confesseth that to be his first comming to the Citty, then the oldest marchant taking vpon him to be his Godfather (as they call it) askes him whether he will ⌈haue⌉ grace or Iustice, And if he desyre grace, (as most doe to avoyde the severity of Iustice), then he imposeth vpon him halfe or a whole Dollor or more (according to the quallity of the person) to bestowe on the Company in wyne, which donne he admitts him free, hauing first giuen him some Aduise or precepts, where/40/by he may in shorte tyme recouer more then he hath spent. As namely that hauing written a letter, he neuer send it away, till he reade it over agayne, or that when he goes from any Inn, the last thinge he doth be, to looke about the Chamber and the dyning Stoue, that he leaue nothinge behynd him, Or in Ieast that he preserue the sweate of the virgins with whome he shall daunce, for each ounce or pounde wherof he promiseth to pay him agreat price. And it seemes that of old Princes, ⌈gentlemen and other passengers⌉ to accomodate themselues to the Company, did volun/50/tarily submitt to

[148] i. e. whether they have paid the entrance fee to the fellowship, and therefore are exempt or not. *OED*

this Custome, for at this day they chalenge it of them aswell ⌈as⌉ of marchants, and at extraordinary rates, so as a gentleman passing through these Cittyes (which are many) fyndes it no small charge, //

Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c. Cap I. fol. 501. For besydes they haue diuers other Customes whereby to impose vpon strangers the paying of wyne to the Company. As namely if any man putt not off his hatt in reverence to the Salt as it passeth round about the table, or if any man keepe his Napkin till the Cloth be taken a way, with many other like obseruances. They haue another Common Custome, which being frequent, is no litle charge to the passengers, namely guifts which they call drinckgelt, that is drincking mony (as if mony were for no vse but for drincking) And these being at first free /10/ guifts are nowe challenged of right. The seruants in Inns, though they doe a passenger no seruice, but only at table, not so much as pulling off his bootes, and be so rude, as if he call to haue any thinge reached him, they will readily answer he hath as many handes and feete as they, and may reach it himselfe, and though the giue him foule sheetes to his bedd, yet they will challenge of him this drincking mony as theire due. Yea if he goe away and forgett to giue it, they will followe him to exact it, as if he had forgotten to pay for his dyett, /20/ like is the practise of Artizans in shopps. If a man come to buy shooes or bootes, himselfe must chuse those that fitt him, and pull them on himselfe, yet when he

hath payde the master for them (which must be asmuch as he demaundes, without abating one peny) the Prentises must haue this drincking mony, and will refuse it with Scorne and reproches, if it be not as much as they expect. My selfe hauing my horse shodd, and payd the Smith, his gesellen (that is Prentises) demaunded this drincking mony, and when I gaue them two Grosh (which is more then foure pence /30/ English mony) they refused it, and extorted more from mee. In the partes of high Germany, they haue likewise this Custome, but after a more Ciuill fashion. For in the Inns the men seruants when you take Coach or horse, will bring you a Cupp of beare or wyne with reverence, and the mayde seruants (theire partners of this [mayde] rewarde) will present you a Nosegay of flowers with bending of the body, thereby crauing not exacting this drincking mony. The very Coachmen, who carry themselues very rudely to all passengers, who in the Inns will not stay a /40/ minute for any man that is not ready to goe with th, and by the way if any man haue necessary cause to light, will driue on, leauing him behinde if he cannot ouertake the Coach, yet at the end of the Iorney, besydes payment, will extort large drincking mony, as due to them, not of Curtescy but of right. Trumpeters and Musitians, hauing publike stipends of Cittyes, yet because among other dutyes they giue warning to the host of passengers appreaching[149] the towne,

[149] Hughes amends to "approaching", p. 346.

they vse in those places to putt a trencher abut the table to receaue this drincking mony. /50/ But trauelers fynde no Custome of Germany so costly as the Schlaffdrinck, that is sleeping drincke. For after supper the Cloth being taken away, if any passenger doe //

fol.502. Booke IIII Of Germany touching Nature &c Chap.I.

not presently rise from the table, and by ignorance of the Custome chance but once to sipp of the Cupp, he must pay equall portion with them who drincke all night, though himselfe goe presently to bedd without taking any quantity of this drincke to invite sleepe, which his other Companions take so largly, as often drincking till it be day the haue no tyme left to sleepe. So as a stranger ignorant of this Custome shall in the morning haue to pay, not only for his supper, but perhaps halfe or a whole Dollor, yea some tymes six or seuen Dollors for his companions /10/ intemperance, paying equall portion with them. In Saxony the Inns haue a litle bell hanging ouer the table, by ringing wherof they call the seruants to attend, and at Nurenberg in the Inn they haue a bell hanging vnder the table, which the ring in mirth, when any comes late to dinner or supper, and likewise for a Remembrance to any that sweare or speake immodest or vnfitt speeches Of old the Germans were wonte to end more quarrells with bloodshed then with brawling, but nowe they are much changed in this point. For howsoeuer in Saxony man/20/slaughter is often committed betweene druncken men, yet in Saxony when they

are sober, and in all other parts generally, a man shall heare many scolde like oysterwyues, without drawing a sworde. And howsoeuer some gentlemen men may goe into the feilde to fight, yet they professe never to fight with any purpose to kill, and to that end holde it a villany to thurst,[150] or stabbe, only striking with the edge of the sworde to Cutt and slash, ayming at opinion of valor by taking or giuing a small scare rather then by victory. So as when the first drop of blood is drawne, they /30/ presently vse to shake handes, and he that is wounded payes the wyne to all the rest who are partnors of the quarrell, or beholders of the fight, which is commonly performed so Coldly, as a stranger would thincke them not in ernest but in Iest, he that kills any man is beheaded without fayle, if he be taken, but only sargants may apprehend malifactors, so as [the]⌈with⌉ fauor of slowe pursuite many escape by flying. As I formerly sayd in disputations they haue no Moderator, but themselues will take easey satisfaction, so in these frayes no man vseth to parte them that fight, and /40/ you see that themselues will [es] easily take vp the quarrell, being not very hott in either kynde. But of this point I haue spoken more at large in the first part, namely in the Chapter of Precepts, and perticularly in the precept [of] of Patience, the Custome or lawe of Coaches meeting is strang, giuing the way one to

[150] Hughes amends to "thurst", p. 347.

the [ot] other of Duty, as they come from the vpper or lower parts of Germany.

The Germans haue a peculiar Custome to that nation, that travelers and strangers liuing in vniversities, haue /50/ a writen booke called Stam-buck[151] (that is a booke of Armes) in which they intreate theire frendes to trick theire Armes, and write a motto signed with theire handes.[152] //

{ c. w. The vse }

Booke IIII of Germany touching natuer &c Chapt.i. fol.[.]503.

They[153] vse of Bathes is frequent in Germany. For most Cittizens of any account haue in theire owne howses a priuate Stoue for bathing, which they vse to heate on Satterday for theire owne family, which euening in most Cittyes the wemen sett at theire dores spreading theyre hayre vpon the brimms of strawe hatts, to [dye]⌈drye⌉ it in the Sunne, which also maketh the hayre of many very like in Color, inclyning to yeallowe. They haue also publike Stoues or hott houses in each Citty, which they who haue not priuate Stoues, commonly vse on Satterdayes And this /10/

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[151] Hughes changes to "Stam-buch", p. 347.

[152] "The *Stammbuch* was part of the personal equipment of students and of young men travelling - a sort of autograph album - and many survive." PS

[153] Hughes amends to "The", p. 347.

frequent Sweating is vsed by the men to repayre theire health Crased by immoderate drincking as the wemen vse it for Clenlynes. These publike hott howses a[.]⌈r⌉e in many Cittyes Common to men and wemen, only covering theire partes of shame, and they are attended by men and wemen seruants to wash and dry them, and sometymes to drawe blood from them by Cooping.[154] But in some Cittyes the men are parted from the wemen with blancketts, where at maryages they vse to invite all the cheefe guests to bath together the day before the Maryage, and in some places they vse such liberty /20/ that many [men]⌈men⌉ [being]⌈bringe⌉ harlotts as theire wiues to bathe with them in the same sto<au>e and tubb. They haue also publike bathes of Medecinall waters, to which they make great Concourse at the seasons of the yeare, and they vse such liberty as many come thether more for wantonnes and loue, then for Corporall diseaces.

They vse, espetially in the lower parts of Germany to giue one another po[c]tions to force loue, and the Apothecaryes haue some druggs, as Spanish flyes[155] and like thinges, which they hold to haue great vertue in like witch crafts, but I was in/30/formed they were vpon great pennalty

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[154] They draw blood by using the cupping-glass. *OED*

[155] Cantharides or Spanish flies were the names applied to the dried beetle *Cantharis Vesicatoria*. They were given as an aphrodisiac, and also to raise blisters or as a diuretic. *OED*

forbidden to sell them, to any, without knowing the vse they would make of them. And these accidents I thincke to be more frequent, because my selfe haue seene some, as at leipzig, where three virgins gaue three Aples to three young men, all infected by this art, wherof one vpon the eating of his Aple dyed the next day, and the second also eating his, fell the same day into a Phrensey, and was hardly recovered by the helpe of learned Phisitians, after long sicknes, and the third by good happ, forbearing that day to eate his Aple, was by his /40/ frendes mishapp warned to forbeare eating it, and to consume it with fyre that no other man might eate it.[156]

In the same parts of Germany I haue seene some men lay vp theire cleane linnen (as it were to be perfumed) among aples, the smell whereof wee hold vnpleasant, yea among Quinces, the smell wherof wee hold vnholsome, if not infectious.[157] The Germans doe many tymes change theire names, if they haue any base signification, as the Popes of Rome haue long done by Custome, arysing at first (as

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[156] This extraordinary tale seems to combine elements of Genesis, with sexual fear and myth. Is the burning of the final apple the consuming of desire ?

[157] This seems to have been a German custom. On 7 October 1827 Eckermann records Goethe's conversation about Schiller. Goethe, waiting for Schiller, and seated near his work-table, felt utterly nauseated by a dreadful odour. On investigation he found a drawer full of rotten apples. Schiller's wife confirmed that he could neither live nor work without the scent. See 'A Day Like This', *Independent*, 7 October 1992, p. 25.

Authors write) from the same cause. Thus one bawer which name /50/ signifyeth a Clowne or tiller of earth), called himselfe, [which] //

fol.504 ⌈Booke IIII⌉ of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt..I.

Agricola, which in lattin hath [litle]⌈like⌉ signification (whose booke wee haue printed vnder that name[158]) Thus a learned man, and a great helper of Luther in Reformation of Religion, being called Schwartz Eard, that is black earth tooke the mame of Melancton, hauing the same Notation in the Greeke toung. And thus in the Dukedome of Holst (a Prouince of Germany, but now incorporated to the kingdome of Denmarke) a learned gentleman well knowne by diuers bookes he hath Printed, being called Toppfer, which signifyes a Potter, chandeg[159] his name to Chitreus of the same signification in /10/ the greeke tounge.[160]

The Germans Cherish Storkes, which builde theire nests vpon

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[158] Agricola was a favourite German pseudonym. There was a Rodolphus, a humanist scholar whose tomb Moryson saw in Heidelberg, (See *Itinerary A*, I, 68.), a Franz who wrote religious works in the 1580s, and a Johannes, the erstwhile friend of Luther, collector of German proverbs, and reformer at Berlin. Moryson refers to Georg Bauer or Agricola (1490 - 1555) whose work on the classics, philology, as a physician, and in geology and mineralogy mark him out as a Renaissance man. If Moryson had purchased his most famous work *De re metallica, libri xii*, it points to the width of Moryson's own interests. *EB, BMGC.*

[159] Hughes amends to "changed", p. 349.

[160] David Chytræus of Rostock was a much published Lutheran theologian. *BMGC*

the tops of houses, yea themselues builde large nests of wood vpon the topes of theire Senate houses, and of ther publike and priuate houses, to invite them to breede there. These Birdes only abyde with them in Sommer (except some fewe which are tame, and haue theire winges Clipt) and when they goe away towardes winter, they say that the vse to leaue one of theire young ones, as for the Rent of theire nests, and kill another as for ⌈a⌉ sacrifice. The Stoarkes among /20/ the Egiptians in theire *H*ieroglyphicks, did signify Iustice, And the Germans for opinion of Iustice or like cause, thincke the place lucky, where they builde nests, and say that they neuer build in any kingdome, but only in Common wealths, which they repute the most Iust governments. And howsoeuer the Princes of Germany be absolute in theire owne Territoryes, they hold the whole Empire to be a Common wealth. Yet in Italy being no kingdome, and Consisting as well of Common wealths as Principalityes, I remember not to haue seene any Stoarkes, much lesse publikely cherished. But I obserued them to be /30/ no lesse cherished in Netherland. And likewise at Bazill among the Weitzers,[161] where a Stoarke changing her nest from the Senate house to the Gallows, it was taken for an ill presage.

At the tyme of publike fayres or Marts, after the ringing

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[161] Hughes amends to "Sweitzers", p. 350. The Swiss town referred to, is almost certainly Basle.

of a Bell, all Banckrouts and condemned fugitiues may freely abide there, so they be carefull to be gonne before the second ringing of the Bell at the ende of the [mar⌈t⌉kett] Martt, For at Leipzig my selfe did see an harlott beheaded because hauing formerly had a finger Cutt /40/ off, and beene banished for some Cryme, she was apprehended there after the ringing of the sayd Bell.

In many Cittyes (espetially of Misen and all Saxony) I obserued the lawe to forbid the shooting of Gunnes within the walls of the Citty. And in the same partes as at Dresden, the gates of the Citty [are]⌈were⌉ shutt, and the streetes chayned at Dinner tyme, as if it were in tyme of warr, and in most Cittyes they haue Trumpeters, dwelling in the Steeple of the cheefe Church, who daily sounde theire Trumpetts at sett howers, and by hanging out of Flaggs giue notice /50/ of Coaches, horsemen, and Footemen, appreaching[162] the Citty, and how many they are in Number, as is vsed in tyme of warr. In most Cittyes they haue watch men, //

Booke IIII Of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt I. fol.505.

which wee call Bellmen, going about to see that no mischance fall by Candle or fyer, and to Cry with a loude voyce the hower of the Night, which they doe at leipzig with wynding agreat horne and in these wordes.

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[162] Hughes amends to "approaching", p. 350.

Lieben herrn lasset euch sagen, die Zieger hat elfe

geschlagen

sehet zu das fewer vnd das light,

auff das kein schade geschight. That is

Louing Sirs (or Lords) lett me say to you,

The Clock eleun hath strucken now.

Looke to your fyer and your light, /10/

that no mischance [f] befall this night.

When a stranger will enter any Church, to see any monument therein, the Germans vse to take their reward before they open the dore to shewe it, and in many places they wilbe payd for any seruice, before they doe it. At dantzke I obserued that generally all the Cittisens and common people, vsed to putt off theire hatts (as it semed in revenerce[163] to Iustice) [...] when they passed by the dore of the Senate house, being [th] the publike Seate of Iustice. In the States where Religion is Reformed, /20/ they all kept the old style or kalender, but in Austria, Bauria[164] and the States of Popish Bishops they followe the newe Style of Pope Gregory. The Clockes strike Commonly as ours doe [that since]⌈but some⌉ few strike [commonly as ours doe] 24 howres, yet both beginn the day at six in the Euening (as I formerly shewed) and keepe the same course

[163] Hughes amends to "reverence", p. 351.

[164] Hughes amends to "Bauaria", p. 351.

all the yeare long, not following the Sunne, [those of Italy] and so changing the Noone and all howers of the day, as the sunne, changeth his rising and setting according to the manner of the Clocks /30/ In Italy.

{ m.n. 32, 33. Pastyes[165] and exercises. }

Touching Pasty<i>mes and exercises. [Tati] Tacitus writes that the old Germans when they were most sober, playd at Dice as seriously as they did workes of calling, with such rash adventure of gayning and loosing, as for the last hazard they would adventure theire liberty at a Cast,[166] And Munster himselfe a German, Confirmes that they vsed to play away theire liberty,, so as they were bound and sold for slaues. But for my part, so long as I liued with them, I neuer sawe /40/ any in priuate or publike houses play at dyce, nor yet did I see any tables, or vse ⌈of⌉ them, hauing passed through most parts of Germany, though some sayd that these games were in some places knowne, but litle vsed. In Misen and those parts, I haue seene some play at Cardes, but very seldome and only for wyne, neuer for mony or any great wager And theire Cardes differ much from ours, being all paynted on the insyde, with a Fagott of short

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[165] Hughes supplies the missing 'm', p. 351.

[166] "Strangely enough they make games of hazard a serious occupation even when sober, and so venturesome are they about gaining or losing, that, when every other resource has failed, on the last and final throw they stake the freedom of their own persons." Tacitus, *Germany*, Chapter XXIV, p. 105.

trunchons in the midest in [de] steede of our Clubbs,[167] and round Circles /50/ paynted in steede of our Dymons &c and the out syde drawne thicke with blacke lynes like our latices.[168] //

{ c.w. Nether did I }

fol.506. Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.I. nether did I euer see them vsed in the Inns or publike houses, but only in some priuate houses. Indeede all theire delight and pastyme, in my obseruation, seemed to consist in[d] daily drincking, aswell in priuate as in publike houses, and in long immoderate daunceings, at publike feasts and most commonly in publike houses. Att Shroftyde[169] I haue seene them runne on horsebacke through the streetes and markett places with Coulestaffes in theire handes, and vsing many trickes to giue one another falls. likewise /10/ in tyme of snowe and great Frosts, they haue sledges, made like a Chayre, on which the dryuer setts, and a lower seate vpon which betweene his legs he many tymes

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[167] Instead of the English club cards the Germans have something that looks like a bundle of sticks. This passage may indicate a card-playing pun in *All Is True; or Henry VIII*. The Man is attempting to hold back the excited crowd by force, and he says, "I missed the meteor once, and hit that woman, who cried out 'Clubs!', when I might see from far some forty truncheoners draw to her succour, which were the hope o'th'Strand, where she was quartered." V. 3. 48 - 52.

[168] The lines were interlaced like the lattices of windows. *OED*

[169] Hughes has "Shrostyde", p. 352. Presumably, Moryson means Shrove Tuesday which is normally in February. In early 1592, Moryson was at Leipzig.

placeth his mistres, and the sledge is drawne with one horse firnished with many litle bells. And vpon these sledges I haue seene many take short Iorneyes ouer the Snowe and yce, but most commonly they ride thus as it were in triumph through the streetes of the Cittyes and townes, and comming to the markett places they vse to wheele often about, with swift and /20/ shorte turnings, and great daunger of taking falls, wherein the driuer is ⌈much⌉[most] disgraced if his mistres ryding with him should chaunce to fall from the sledge, or not to be carryed gently and with ease. For whi<ch> sport (according to the vse of other Princes) I obserued the Elector of Saxony to haue a large rome ouer his famous stable hung with many furnitures for these horses, and allmost filled with many Sledges, some covered with veluitt, and like stuffes, layd with lace of gold and silver some with Cloth of gold, some with guilded /30/ leather, and some Sledges made of untryed siluer, as it was taken out of the Mynes of his owne Province.[170]

The Germans haue a Commendable exercise of shooting at a butt with Crosbowes and Harquebuzes. For with sport the better sorte and their very Princes with them, (if they liued not in free Cittyes) vsed to meete vpon sett dayes once or twise in the weeke, in a publike house for that

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[170] The meaning of "untried" is obscure. Could it be unassayed ? *OED* provides meanings of "purified" and "refined" for the word "tried". "Untried" would imply the opposite. Perhaps the Saxons were not great metalworkers.

purpose, where they haue penty[171] of wyne and beere to sell, for they cannot /40/ endure thirst either in worke or sporte. Besydes priuate men make matches of shooting at this publike house, for many,[172] or more commonly for suppers and drinckings in the same house. The place where they shoote is an open Taras[173] Covered ouer the head, the Butt lying open vncovered. Also the cheefe Cittizens make many priuate meetings to this purpose of Feasting vpon Sondayes, and holy dayes, And howsoeuer the Butt at which they shoote, be large, with much earth cast vp behynde it, /50/ yet my selfe at Heydelberg[174] diuers wounded with shaftes and Bulletts, sometymes missing the //

Butt, and then by Casualty hitting them, likewise there haue I seene the Prince Elector Pallatine, some tymes to vse this recreation with the Cittizens his Subiectes vpon [vpo] some sett matches made for wagers. And because drincking is euer intermixed by the Germans, aswell in theire sports as Serious actions, which hateth nothing more then sober beholders (as indeede generally it is not safe in Germany for sober men to stay in the Company of drinckers, theire Custome being ether to take as many Cupps

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[171] Hughes amends to "plenty", p. 352.

[172] Hughes amends to "mony", p. 352.

[173] Presumably "terrace" is meant. Hughes changes it to "Terras", p. 352.

[174] Hughes amends this by adding "saw", p. 353.

as the rest haue had before, and so /10/ to ioyne with the Company, or ells presently to withdrawe them selues from it), I say for this or some like [be]cause of desyring to be priuate, I obserued that if any man entred the place, besydes the Cittizens shooting and the Courtyers attending the Prince, and straungers of quality, then the Princes Foole did giue him tenn poundes and a purse with his bable, so as the place was soone cleared of Idle beholders.[175] likewise the Germans vse like exercise of shooting with Musketts and Crosbowes, out of the Cittyes, and in the open feildes at an Image of some /20/ birde sett on the topes of maypolles, where he that hitts the head hath the greatest prise, he that hitts the winge hath the next, and he that hitt<s> the Foote hath the third, these being the parts of most vse, and the hitting of any other part hath a seuerall but lesse reward. But this kynde of shooting the generally vse only once or twise in the yeare, yet vpon priuate Matches they vse it oftner in some places. And in some places the rewardes are the parts of an oxe diuided for that purpose, with different portions of mony which Custome

[175] Hughes omits the penultimate phrase with a series of dots, presumably because he could not make sense of it. p. 353. "Bable" is an obsolete form of "bauble", the fourth definition of which is "A baton or stick, surmounted by a fantastically carved head with asses' ears, carried by the Court Fool or jester of former days as a mock emblem of office." Meaning 4. b. to give the bauble is to make a fool of someone. *OED* Presumably, the fool would pretend to give ten pounds, an insultingly small annual salary, and his bauble to gentlemen who were merely "Idle beholders", thereby frightening them away. Then the serious business of gambling could proceed.

(they say) was of old taken /30/ from the Greekes. And in these places of shooting they hang vp Banners for memory of Victoryes. For the rewardes being deuided and the number of shotts allowed to each man, they haue the most stately banner, who winne the cheefe prises and the greatest number of them.

Touching Hunting and Hawking, Cesar in his Commentaryes writes of many beasts in Germany, to the killers wherof that nation attributed great honor, namely a wylde oxe, hauing the bodye of an hart, with one only horne, and the Alces, hauing a like body with two short hornes, and /40/ leges without any ioynt, so as they were taken by Cutting the trees against which they vsed to leane, for the tree falling with the waight of the beast, it lay without power to rise (as some write of the Elephants in like sort taken), and the vri [vir],[176] like to Bulls, and as big as Elephants, and the Bisontes in the wordes[177] of the high Alpes towardes Italy, so great in body as the skinne of one would couer thirteene men. These beasts, as he reports, were then in the Alpes, and in the great wood called *Hircinia Sylua* then compassing Bohemia rounde about, which wood in these dayes is in /50/ great part wasted, and these

[176] Hughes omits this phrase, presumably by mistake, p. 354.

[177] Hughes amends to "woodes", p. 354.

beasts so destroyed, as none of them are founde.[178] But in the Alpes, the same wood and other wo[r]des of Germany, they haue to this day. Beares, wylde oxen, Bubuli a deformed kynde of Oxen,[179] Wolues, and wyld Boares, in the killing whereof they glory much. Only the Alpes, yealde some fallowe Deare, which are //

fol.508. Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt.I. not founde in any other parte of Germany, but in all parts they haue great stoare of *H*ares. And through all Germany the Princes haue great heardes of *H*artes or redd Deare, not in Parkes, but freely lodging by *H*eardes in theire woodes. In most parts of the Empire, all *H*unting is forbidden, to any but absolute Princes in theire owne teritoryes (except the *H*unting of the foresayd hurtfull beasts) Only in some parts the *H*unting of *H*ares is permitted to gentlemen, as in

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[178] This is not entirely surprising as Caesar's descriptions are sometimes a little fanciful. This section on the Hyrcanian forest is found in Chapters XXV - XXVIII of Book VI of *de Bello Gallico*. See Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, translated by H. J. Edwards, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1917), pp. 350 - 355. The first animal described is Moryson's rendition of Caesar's *Est bos cervi figura*, p. 350. Moryson does not translate the name of the second and third animals. The *alces* is the elk, and *uri* are aurochs, the extinct *bos primigenius*. The bisontes are the European bison. Moryson follows Caesar in the description of trapping elks, which Shakespeare renders,

> for he loves to hear
> That unicorns may be betrayed by trees,
> And bears with glasses, elephants with holes,
> Lions with toils, and men with flatterers...

Julius Caesar, II. 1. 203 - 206.
Hughes makes nonsense out of this sentence through faulty proof-reading. He omits "...then compassing Bohemia round about, which wood in these...", p. 354.

[179] *Bubuli* is the Latin plural adjective, of cattle.

Saxony, where the Elector buying of the gentlemen the olde right they had in /10/ the hartes of the woodes, and the hunting of them, only left to them, and no other inferior sorte, the liberty of *H*unting hares. w[th]hich notwithstanding they vse only with gray howndes, for I neuer sawe them followe that sporte with the sent of slowe houndes. And it is agreat fauor for a gentleman to giue an hare to his host or any inferior frend. My selfe knewe and English marchant of good quality, who hauing a gray hound and by chance fynding & killing a hare, betweene Stoade and *H*amburg, was imprisoned by the gentleman lord of the Soyle, and was glad to pay /20/ him three hundreth Dollors to escape greater punishment. Christian the Elector of Saxony was without measure delighted in hunting, and was litle beloued of his subiectes, because with regall immunity he suffered his wylde beasts to spoyle ⌈theire⌉ groundes. For towards *H*arvest the Country ⌈people⌉ were forced to watch all night, that they might, with whistlings and Clamors, driue the Redd Deare out of theire Corne and viniyardes, for which notwithstanding they moued not one foote, as hauing founde by experience that they durst not hurte them, who might not to that /30/ purpose keepe a dogg, except one of his feete were lamed. And indeede through all Germany it seemes the beasts knowe this theire preuiledge. For my selfe haue in Coaches passed by heardes of Redd Deare, which lying by our wheeles, would not stirr, though wee made a noyse, and presented our peeces to them, as if they

had knowne we durst not shoote or hurte them. In the Electorship of Saxony, and some other partes, if any man hunte and kill a Redd Deare, a wylde Boore or a Goate, yea when they spoyle his corne, he dyes for /40/ it by the lawe. In other partes the putting out of his eyes is helde a myld punishment, as likewise that punishment which I obserued in the Palatynate, where to mitigate the rigor of the lawe, he is bounde to weare the *H*ornes about his necke, so long as he liueth, at least when he goeth out of his house, where of my selfe did see one example) Yea the subiects of Austria may not take very Sparrowes with out leaue [f..][fron][180] the lord of the Soyle. All men may hunt other hurtfull beasts take and kill them, yea they are invited by /50/ rewardes to doe it. The woodes on all sydes abounde with wolues, which about the Natiuity of Christ, when the males and females vse to Coople, and the grounde is commonly Covered with snowe, keepe together in great multitudes, and passengers see many trackes of theire footing, and at this tyme the Country people tye //

Booke IIII of Germany touching Nature &c Chapt I. fol.509.

theire Bitches to trees, that the wolues may ingender with them, which being a kynde of Dogg not great but most fearce, and excelent to hunt the wolues. And whyle the wolues thus flocke together a passenger going alone and without Armes, espetially wemen venturing to passe the

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[180] Hughes amends to "from", p. 355.

woodes, are some tymes deuowred by them, besydes theire frequent deuowring of Cattle, for which cause he that kills a wolfe hath in some places tenne Dollors, in others mor or lesse for his rewarde, as likewise they that kill a Puttock or kyte by shooting haue a Dollor /10/ for rewarde, but the wolues for the most part of the yeare lye hid in the thickest vnaccessable places of the woodes, and are seldome seene neere the high way, or in open feilde. In the woodes of Thuringia and the vper partes of Germany many of the inhabitants haue the heades of wolues, and the heades and skinnes of Beares which themselues haue killed, fastened at theire gates, as a memory of that braue act. Yea the Princes and theire Courtyers, mounted vpon good horses, and armed with ⌈a⌉ shorte sworde[s], and a sharpe forked speare, doe many tymes hunte Beares, /20/ wounding them often and lightly with theire speares, and then flying, while others persue till at last they fall downe wounded and vearyed,[181] and then the Courtyers keeping them downe with theire speares, the Prince hath the honor to pull out the Beares hart with his speare, forked for that purpose. But it seemes they number not wilde Boares among hurtfull beasts, for in many places, they are reserued for the Princes game. Of these they haue great stoare, lying in the thicest of the woodes, and seldome doeing hurt to passengers, if they meete them not when they haue /30/

[181] Hughes supplies the missing minim, amending to "wearyed", p. 356.

young Pigs. And they are hunted by horsemen with speares, and with doggs brough out of Ireland and Denmarke, and when the horse men strikes them with his speare, he flyes, and the followe him, till another strikes them, to whome they presently turne, leauing the persuite of the former, and so they are wearyed, till at last the doggs fasten vpon them, and so they are killed by the huntsmen. The Princes *H*unte Redd Deare and Harts seldome, and only at sett tymes of the yeare, and then they rather murther then hunte them. For the Clownes driue whole heardes of them into the Toyles, /40/ Compassing agreat Circuite of grounde, wherein they shoote at them with gonnes and Crosbowes, and when they are fallen, kill them with shorte swordes, by hundreths at a tyme, which donne the Prince sendes some fewe of them to be distributed among the gentlemen of the Country, and the Senators of the Cittyes, and the rest he sendes to his Castles, to be powdred with salte[182] (as they likewise vse the Boares they take) and here with he feedes his Family as wee doe with powdred Beefe, by which continuall feeding vpon read deare and wylde Boares, no meate growes /50/ so irkesome to them as this venison. In all Germany I neuer sawe any man Carry a hawke vpon his fist, much lesse any company *H*awking in the fielde, nor yet *H*unting after houndes. For Fishing they haue great stoare of fresh fish in Riuers and Pondes, and in the mouth of the //

[182] They are prepared with salt for preservation. *OED*

fol.510. Booke IIII of Germany touching nature &c Chapt.I. Riuer Elue[183] neere *H*amburg and Stoade, they catch so many Salmons and Sturgens, as they [transs] transporte great quantity therof to forrayne parts, and feede theire seruants so plentifully with them, as they abhorr that meate and condition with theire masters how many tymes in the weeke, they should feede therewith.[184]

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[183] Hughes changes to "Elbe", p. 357.

[184] They make it a condition of service to limit how many times they should be fed with these fish in one week. *OED* records an instance where this form of the word "condition" is used by Moryson in *Itinerary A*, I, 429.

Capter.II.

Of Sweitzland touching the heades of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 10, 11. Nature and Manners }

The Sweitzers are by nature, educat⌈ion⌉[ed], and much more /10/ by rewarde, giuen to the military life. For they are borne in the high mountaynes called the Alpes, and mountanous people are Commonly Robustius, apt to suffer labour, [de] Colde, hunger, and thirst, lovers of liberty, and naturally indued with rude boldnes, And for theire education, they are trayned vp from Childehoode in exercises of Armes, theire Festiuall<s> solemnityes, sportes, and exercises, tending therevnto.[1] But espetially, in the last ages, they haue beene allured to be mercenary, [they haue] Soldyers, by ample rewardes, and stipends both in peace and /20/ warr, from the kings of Fraunce and Spayne, and from the Bishop of Rome, and by the manner of theire warfare, wherein they neuer come to danger but in the day of a battayle, which Princes vse not to hazard

[1] Moryson seems to be adopting Jean Bodin's premise of "...the difference betwixt the mountainers & those that liue in vallies..." "...the fiue small cantons of the mountaines, and the Grisons, are held more fierce and more warlike, and do gouerne wholy popularly: the rest are more tractable, and are gouerded by an Aristocratie, being more enclined thereunto, than to a Popular estate." I. Bodin, *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale*, translated by Richard Knolles (London, 1606), pp. 547, 546, [*STC* 3193].

without great aduantage or necessity, so as they long inioye theire pay and the spoyle of Countryes, and seldome [to]⌈come⌉ to fight for it (as I haue shewed at larg in the former discourse of that Commonwelth) And they haue that property with the Germans, at the end of any warr to retorne to theire trades of peace, nothinge Corrupped with the license of theire former Military life. /30/ For Nature, education and poverty of theire private estates, make them hate Idlenes, so as the men will milke Cowes rather then be Idle, whervpon also the Germans in scorne call them Cowmilkers. Besydes that the Iustice of [of] the land is so severe, as they haue no theeues nor Robbers among them, so as these Mountaynes are more safe to Carry plenty of gold, then any other Country I knowe, and rich marchants come and goe safely to and from the Marts, with out any Convoye, which they ordinarilly haue in Germany. They are reputed to Hospitall by nature, and as the land lyes /40/ betweene Italy, Fraunce, and Germany, so all straunges passe and liue there ⌈with⌉ safety and good vsage. Likewise they are reputed charitable to the poore, not only releeuing them in hospitalls, buylt for them in all Cittyes, which officers Carefully to ouersee theire vseage, but also by mony and vittles distributed a mong the poore of the townes and Country, by officers chosen of purpose. They are Certaynely louers of Iustice, as appeares by theire lawes, and by theire leagues, aswell betweene themselues at home, as those they make with forrayne

Princes, for a tyme or perpetuall. And /50/ they are so famous for equity at home, as many strangers //

Booke IIII of Sweitzerland touching nature &c Chapt II. fol 511.

dwelling neere them haue often committed theire Controuersyes both publike and priuate to be determined by them. And nothing more then this Iustice and equity, and the Constancy thereof, among other good effects, worketh one strang thing, namely that they being military men, and (as I may say) rude inhabiters of mountaynes, and not free from continuall excesse in drincking, yet haue fewe priuate quarrells that come to any sheeding of blood. For in all parts they haue magistrates chosen of purpose, who with Constancy and severity, according to theire lawes (which are excelent in that kynde) repayre all men /10/ really and fully in the least Iniuryes donne to them by worde or deede. And if any come to blowes, all that stand by are bound to parte them, and to remember them of the sayd lawes, to which remembrance if they shewe the least contempt, by Contin<u>ing the quarrell in worde or deede, they are sure not to escape seuere punishment, according to the quality of theire offence. Theire publike Feasts, and priuate meetings of Cittizens with theire vyues[2] to make merrye, are commonly keept in publike houses, which haue

[2] Hughes amends to "wyues", p. 359. There is an outside chance that the word intended is "vynes", the fermented juice from which makes all merry.

yardes to walke in, and one great tree or more to shadowe them in sommer, in the /20/ branches whereof Commonly they haue a Roome built, contayning two or thee tables,[3] with fresh water brought vp with spouts to wash theire hands and drincking glasses. And by Custome the magistrates and cheefe men of each Citty, towne, and society, haue theire tables in these houses, which they allso frequent, where by all disorders and excesses are avoyded. In these meetings they seldome or [(] neuer haue any Musicke (nether haue they many or skillfull Musitians) for they delight more in discourse, and to haue the old men relate the braue Actions they haue seene, in the Commonwealth, and in the warr, at home and a /30/ broade, and such as theire forefathers tolde them. They haue plenty of milke, Butter, and hony, but flesh in lesse plenty, [no such] and want not daynties, as Venison, Birdes, and plenty of good fishes, in lakes and Rivers. But they vse no excesse of meate in these meetings, where the Feast is ended with two dishes of flesh at each table, and some other trifles. Of old they reputed him infamous that was drunken at these meetinges, and vsed great Modesty and temperance in them, and the modesty and temperance in meates and behauio[.]r are in good sorte retayned to this day, and drunckennes restrayned /40/ by the presence of magistrates and cheefe men, but as the inhabitants of vper Germany vse lesse excesse in drincke

[3] Hughes amends to "three", p. 359.

then those of the lower parts, yet often and foully offend theirein, so the Sweitzers being of the same language, Conmunicate with them the same vice.[4] And I thincke, Iosias Sembler, who hath written a Compleate discourse of that Commonwealth, as he wittneseth theire frugality & temperance of old, when they liued vpon the fruites of theire owne land, and kept them selues at home, so truely confesseth that the decrease of those vertues, and increase of the Contray vices /50/ first began when they gaue themselues to serue as mercinary Soldyers out of theire owne Country, and aswell the Corporations as the cheefe Cap[p]taynes and leaders [.] began to receave not only pay for the tyme of warr, but yearely //

fol.512. Booke IIII of Sweitzerland touching Nature &c Chapt.II.

and perpetuall stipends in tyme of peace, from forrayne kings and States. Himsellfe for drunckennes in perticular, accknowledgeth that they are not free from it, nether is it now reputed so disgracefull, as he would haue it seeme to haue beene of old, yet he alledgeth a Common Custome among them at this day, to punish drunckards with forbidding them wyne for a yeare, and then restoring them to the vse of it, vpon promise of future temperance, which seemes notwithstanding to be litle putt in execution, or only

[4] Hughes amends to "Communicate", p. 360, which Moryson puns in the original Latin sense of to share with, as well as its more modern meaning.

against those who are most noted for Continuall and enormmous excesses, and ill /10/ behauiourrs therein. For my experience thereof, I founde no such examples of dead drunckennes and shamefull effectes thereof, as I did many in Saxony, but I sawe great and frequent excesses therein. And indeede the inhabitants of those mountaynes, which for the greatest parte of the yeare are Covered ouer with deepe and harde Snowe, being much restrayned from exercis[.][ces] abroade, haue no smale invitation to spend the tyme in drincking, according to the delight they take therein.

{ m.n. 20, 21. Bodyes and witts. }

The Sweitzers (as commonly all Inhabitants of greate /20/ mountaynes) haue large bodyes by nature and free education, and strong and actiue by exercyses, which the Sweitzers vse both in military traynings and frequent *H*unting of wylde beasts. For which reasons theire bodies are more Actiue, and they haue more viuacity of spiritt and witt, then most parte of the German Nations In Sweitzerland as in the next partes of vper Germany (perhapps by drincking the waters of the Alpes running through minoralls) they haue many lepers which begg with Clappers of woode standing farr off by the high way and haue spittle houses built of purpose /30/ for them.

{ m.n. 32 - 35. Manuall Arts Sciences Vniversityes and Language. }

Yet are they not so excellent, as the Germans are by singular industry, in Manuall Arts. Yea the Germans in my opinion excell them in Sciences, by continuall plodding pon[5] one profession alone, at least by multitude of Vniversities and learned men, Scembler confesseth, that of old both before and after they were settled in the liberty they nowe haue, and so freed from all subiection to the Princes of Austria, they were not much giuen to the studdyes of Learning, only hauing some rude Poetts who writt theire /40/ warrs and victoryes in vnpolished rymes, yet had they of old two Schooles of learning in the monastery of St Gallus, and in the Colledge of Churr, which haue beene long since decayed. But Pope Pius the second formerly called Aeneas Syluius, did institute an vniversity at Bazell, which hath yealded many famous learned men, being founded by him with great preuiledges, in a fruitefull Country, and a very wholesome ayre, for which cause and more to honor that Citty, he also helde a generall Councell in the same. They haue also a famous Schoole at Zurech, /50/ which is no vniversity, yet hath yealded many learned men, espetially in the profession of diuinity, as likewise a Schoole at Berne, and another at Lausana, //

Booke IIII of Sweitzerland touching Nature &c Chapt II. fol 513.

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[5] Hughes amends to "vpon", p. 361.

And for bookes, the Stationers at Bazell, at Zurech, and at Geneua, haue shopps so well firnished with them, as they yealde not therein to any in Germany. To speake somthinge more largly of Bazell. It was founded by the sayd Pope in the yeare 1459. in nothing more famous then in the great Confluence of strangers, so as yearely some 50. Doctors haue taken degree therein. At my being there they had only two Colledges, In the vpper lived. 11. Students mantayned by the Citty, in the lower. 6. Students mantayned by perticular men, and each had a Steward or housekeeper, all the rest /10/ of the Students liuing in the Citty, I obserued that the Batchelors of Arts were promoted vpon the tenth of may, and was informed (which they call vidimus), hauing delivered the originall therof to the Senators of the Citty, for which cause all Controversyes of Students, espetially if they fall betweene them and Cittizens, are brought before the Senate. In a Controuersy betweene two Students at my being there, one of them was Committed by the Professors, and being [both]⌈within⌉ [in] fe<w>e dayes in larged, /20/ first tooke his Oath no way to revenge his Imprisonment. I found there two Professors of Diuinity, Iames Gryneus (who also did reade the lecture of historyes at tenn of the Clocke in the morning)[6] and Brundmuller,

[6] Joannes Grynæus (1540 - 1617) is recorded as "*Leich - Predigt*", preacher and the author of some Zwinglian and academic theological works in *BMGC*. His anti-Lutheran stand on the Lord's Supper, had driven him from Basel, but he returned in 1586 as Professor of the New Testament, and superintendant of the church. *EB*

which two did reade in the publike Schooles each second day by turnes, at thee of the clocke in the after noone,[7] and each had yearely for his stipend two hundreth Guldens, 24. sackes of Corne, and 12. Saumes or horselodes of wyne. The Professors of the Ciuill lawe were Samuell Gryneus, who did reade vpon the Digesta, and Guther, who did reade vpon the Codex, /30/ and Isellius, who did reade vpon the Institutions, and each had for yearely stipend. 100. French Crownes, and 40 sackes of Corne.[8] The Professors of Phisicke were, Platerus, who did reade vpon his owne practise,[9] and Stapanus, who did read Gallen De Diff: Sympt: and Bauchinus who did reade vpon the Anatomy, and they two first had each for yearely stipend. 150 Guldens.

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[7] Joannes Brandmyllerius is recorded as author of two works in *BMGC*, a religious dialogue of 1583, and an academic theological work of 1603.

[8] These three lectured on the complete body of the Civil Law, produced by the quaestor Tribonian at the behest of the Emperor Justinian. The Codex was a collection of imperial statute law, the Digest or Pandects a digest of the answers of learned lawyers comparable to case law, and the Institutions a handbook for students. Samuel Grynæus (1539 - 1599) Professor of Jurisprudence is not recorded in *BMGC*. He was son to Simon, (1493 - 1541) the Reformation theologian who edited many Classical works earlier in the sixteenth century. *EB* I have been unable to find more about the two other teachers.

[9] Felix Platter was elder half - brother by thirty - eight years to Thomas who wrote the famous travel journal, and son of the elder Thomas, printer and scholar and friend of Erasmus. Rector of the University of Basle before Thomas was born, Felix was an anatomist, and pathologist who, like the younger Thomas after him, had studied at Montpellier, but in difficult circumstances, and with more application. See the intoduction to Thomas Platter, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599*, translated by Clare Williams (London, 1937), pp. 111 - 128.

20. Sackes of Corne (I meane wheate, Commonly called bread Corne) and tenne Sackes of ⌈o⌉[G]ates, and the third had yearely 100. Dollors, and 24 Sackes of Corne.[10] The Professors of naturall Philosiphy, of Ethickes, /40/ two of Rhetorick, two of Logick, one of ⌈the⌉ Greeke, an other[s] of the *He*brewe toung, and one of Mathematcks, had each for yearely stipend. 100. Dollors, and 24 sackes of Corne. *He* that tooke the degree of Batchelor payde for his examination and to the publike treasure 48. Batzen, and for the Feast according to the number of the Graduates, as they being. 4. each one payde. 54. Batzen, to the Beadle each one payde. 4. Batzen, and to the Printer for Printing the questions of disputation, each one payde. 20. Batzen. They disputed weekely by turnes vpon /50/ Thursdayes. *He* that tooke the degree of Master of Arts, payde for his examining each one. 6. Guldens and 6. Batzen, //

{ c.w. and for his }

fol.514. Booke IIII of Sweitzerland touching nature &c Chapt.II.

And for his first dinner or feast called Bona Noua (good newes) made to the examiners, each one payde. 24. Batzen, and for his second dinner to the Professors he payde eight pownde and. 4. Batzen (that is 6 Guldens and tem Batzen)[11]

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[10] Galen's work that was being studied was *De Differentiis et Causis Morborum Symptomatumque*. I have been unable to find these professors in the *BMGC* or elsewhere.

[11] Hughes amends to "tenn", p. 363.

and to the Beadle halfe a Franck, and to the Printer. 20. Batzen, and besydes each one payde for his extraordinary guests for each of them. 6. Batzen. They disputed and declaymed weekely by turnes vpon Satterday, but if a stranger take that degree he answers in disputation once extraordinarily, all the Professors and Graduates /10/ apposing, as they generally vse in all disputations. They that tooke the degree of doctor in Diuinity or Ciuill lawe, payde for examining 21, Guldens, but the Phisitians payde only. 19. Guldens. Each payde for a dinner to the examiners at the graunting of the degree called Bona Noua, some 5. Guldens, to the Notarye one Gulden, and to the Beadle one Gulden, and for the Doctorall Feast 12. Guldens, be sydes paying for extraordinary guests, if one take the degree alone, but if they be many they spend lesse, according to the rate, For this degree they /20/ answered once in disputation, or did reade two lectures. But ordinarly the Professors of Diuinity did answer monthly in disputation some tymes the Professors of Phisicke did holde like disputations but of free will for exercyse of the Students. To conclude, all the Students liued in the howses of Professors and Cittizens, but if any woulde liue in the foresayd Colledges for poore Schollers, the Steward vsed to giue them Chambers, as many as he had voyde, and a Convenient Dyet at his owne table, for a reasonable rate. The language of the Sweitzers is the same with the German /30/ which also is more purely spoken vpon the Confynes of

Sweitzerland, namely in the Teritoryes of Strassburg and the Palatinate, then in any other part of Germany. Misen only excepted, of olde they thought the Studdy[.] of the latten Toung and of the liberall sciences, not vsefull to Military men, as they were, but only to appertayne to such as were Priests or had taken some orders in the Church. But since the founding of the vniversity at Bazill, and in our tyme, that nation had and hath many learned men, both Professors of sciences more spetially of Diuinity, as also /40/ Linguists. Yea men of all sortes, though vnlearned, and wanting the latten toung, yet by profession of Mercinary Armes haue skill in the French Italian, and Spanish languages, and are conversant in reading olde and modern *H*istoryes, which in our age are commonly translated into the French, and theire owne vulgar language, many of the States men and cheefe leaders in the warr, hauing well firnished libriaryes of these and other bookes written or translated in theire vulgar toung of late tyme. /50/

{ m.n. 51 - 53. Ceremonyes spettially mariages Children Christiniges and Funeralls. }

Most of theire Ceremonyes and feastiuall Pompes, haue some tast of theire military Profession. As for Marryages, the Brides ar brought home with Companyes of pikemen, //

Booke IIII of Sweitzerland touching nature &c Chap II. fol.515

and with shott, and with Drumms and Trumpitts, and the more

shott and Pikes shee hath to conduct and meete her, the more honor shee is thought to receave. And in these pompes and like Feasts, these Soldy[..]dyers march after the beating of the Drumme, and with all Military Ensignes. Yea the young men and boyes from eight yeares old, vpward, often Ioyne with them in these Military marches, and so without any trayning they vse themselues to the military marches and comely bearing of theire Armes. yet are the Soldyers also yearely mustered, euen [.] in /10/ tymes of greatest peace, Commonly at the dedications of Churches, or dayes of publike Marts, or yearely at the entring of newe magistrates. In all solemnityes, of marryages, and the like, they march in the Cittyes with asmuch order and gravity as the Germans, only as they all haue a mixed profession of marchants and Soldyers, so the men at these meetinges, and continually in the Cittyes, weare rownde blacke Capps of woll, with Clokes & Rapyers. And in all Feasts they are more temperate then the Germans, in meates, mirth, and espetiall drincking. /20/

For the Customes of Childebearing, Christninges and Funeralls, I must passe them ouer by reason I made short stay in that Dominion. Only I will say that as in language and manners they differ litle from ⌈the⌉ inhibitants of vpper Germany, so I thincke they are not vnlike to them in these particular Customes.

{ m.n. 27. Customes. }

Among theire Customes, they vse laudable order in quenching fyers, happning in theire townes and Cittyes. For howsoeuer all people flocke to resist this common mischeefe, yet nothing is there donne without order and overseeres. First aswell for /30/ the approaching of enemyes, as for preventing and quenching these fyers, they haue watchmen in the Steeples, and at the gates, and others that walke about the Citty proclayming the howers of the night, and looking that no hurte be donne by Candles and fyers, and also Armed Cittizens keepinge the watch in diuers streetes. Besydes that they haue spetiall officers to commaund and direct the people how to quench the fyers, and to appointe some to preserue the goods of them that are in danger. And to prevent tumults in the Citty, or assaultes of enemyes. When these fyers happen presently /40/ the whole Citty takes Armes, and some goe to the gates and walls, which haue that office by former order, and are chosen men out of all Tribes or Conpanyes, others keepe the Citty, being alwayes diuided in to parts, wherof each hath his owne Captayne and Banner to the which they repayre. And the Consulls and Senators also drawe [h] to the publike house of Counsell, to Consulte and provide for all accidents. At Zuricke, actiue young men are yearely chosen, with a Senator to leade them, that they may giue helpe to the Country, if any such fyers happen there, likewise in some places they haue /50/ //

officers chosen to ouersee the Ovens and Chimnyes that they be safe from Danger of fyer.

They may not sell or morgage any houses or landes to strangers, but only to them that dwell in the same teritory or Region.

Vpon the dayes when theire Auncesters gott any famous victoryes, they goe in solome processions to the place of the Battalye, the Prists or ministers singing hymmnes or [.] Plalmes before them, and the Senators with a multitude of men wemen and Chilldren following them, and in some /10/ Conveniant place neere that feilde, haue a publike feast before they retourne home.

Bastardes may not beare publike offices, not sett in Courts of Iudgment. For howsoeuer they are not authors of theire vnlawfull birth, and many of them haue proved exelent men, yet to preserue the dignity of marryage, they thincke fitt that acts of lust should be punished with some note of disgrace. And in some places Cittizens discended of strangers haue no parte in the publike Counsells, in other places they may be of the great Senate, but not of the /20/ lesser, after they haue liued twenty yeares with them, and so in tyme haue all priviledges of Cittizens.

In publike asscemblyes for chusing of magistrates, where the people giue voyces, they giue consent by lifting vp one hande, and the number of them is taken by officers of purpose. And when they take an Oath before Magistrates, they lift vp three fingers, as the Germans lift vp two, And the French men one whole hand.

They esteeme (with the Germans) the building of Storkes with them to be a luckey presage, and at Bazell ⌈they⌉ thought the /30/ accident ominious, when a Sorke remoued her nest from the Senate house to the gallous.

By my Iorney from Padoa to the Grizons being Protestants I founde that they vse to write after the old style, not after the newe of Pope Gregory, nether did I obserue any change of Style in my passage through the Catholike Cantons.

{ m.n. 37 - 39. Sports, exercises, *H*unting, *H*awking and Fishinge. }

Touching sportes, exercises. *H*unting, *H*awking and Fishing In my passage through Sweitzerland, I did neuer see any one to play at dyce, Cardes, or Tables. In generall the Sweitzers are military by nature, as bred among heigh /40/ mountaynes, and of old were forced by necessity to frequent vse of Armes, against tyrannous governors, & ambitious neighbours. And so all theire Ceremonyes Sportes and

exercises, haue some relation to the warr. To make them good and ready shott, they vse shooting with gunnes and Crossbowes at a marke, for a Continuall erercise and recreation, as the Germans doe, giuing rewardes to them that shoote best at publike meetinges, so as from vere childehoode they prictise the vse of gunnes, since the tyme that the vse thereof was brought into the warrs of Europe. Theire /50/ Ceremonyes tast of ⌈the⌉ warr. At maryages (as I formerly sayd) the Brides are brought home, by companyes of Pikes and shott, following theire Banners and Coulers, //

Booke IIII of Sweitzerland touching Nature &c Chapt.II. fol.517.

with a military march beaten by Drumms. For the serue not on horsebacke with trumpitts, that seruice, being of small or no vse, in that mountanous Country. And the very young men and Chilldren, at those and like Festiuall tymes, vse to carry harquebuze[r]s, Pikes, and *H*albardes, and so march after theire Drummes and Banners, though some of them seeme not of strength to beare those Armes. Besydes that they haue generall Musters yearely taken before the magistrates. Also theire exercises tende to make them actiue in the warrs, as running, leaping, Casting of stones, wrastling, and fensinge /10/ with all kyndes of weapons, most of these exercises hauing publike rewardes prepounded to the good performance of them. And as they haue great Lakes, and Riuers of [vil.] violent Course, so they ⌈vse⌉ very Fishing

to military endes, being generally more skilfull in the Art of swymming, then any other nation. To the same ende the very Country people, when they haue donne theire worke, or haue any tyme of recreation, exercise themsel[f]ues in *H*unting, wherein they Clime mountaynes and Craggy Rockes, to followe theire game, as wylde Goates, and Beares, and many tymes wolues and Beares, which /20/ they feare not to in Counter, because it is a great honor to kill them and fasten theire heades and skinnes vpon the Posts of theire dores, besydes a publike rewarde giuen them from the magistrates, for which reasons also the cheefe men among them, often adventure themselues, not only in *H*unting generally, but euen in the danger of assayling these fierce beasts. *H*unting among them is free for all men, they hauing fewe gentlemen, whome they almost rooted out, in the warr they made at first to gayne theire liberty. Nether haue they much game but only in the heigest mountaynes and Alpes /30/ for in other places they destroye all wylde beasts, lest they shoulde spoyle theire growndes, which commonly are narrowe feildes, or mountaneous pastures and in some places barren, but made fruitfull by industrye. In like manner all sortes of men haue freedome to fish, in all Riuers, Brookes and lakes, being in the Teritoryes of theire perticular Cantons or Comonwealths. And like freedome they haue to *H*awke, and take all kyndes of Birdes by netts and like arts, but I remember not to haue seene any *H*awkes among them, and the greatest part of the Country

is not /40/ [not] commodious for theire flying, being very full of great and thicke woodes.

Chapter. III.

Of the Vnited Provinces of Netherland touching all the subiectes of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 47, 48. Nature and manners. }

For the Vnited Prouinces of Netherland, touching theire Nature and Manners. They are a iust people, and will not Cozen a Chylde, or a stranger, in canging[1] a peece of gold, nor in the price or /50/ quality of thinges they buy. For equall courses //

among themselues. I will giue one instance, snall[2] for the subiect, but significant to proue theire generall Inclination. The very wagonners if they meete other wagonns in the morning whyle theire horses are fresh, [.....] vse to giue them the [y]way, but if they meete any in the afternoone comming from neerer bating places[3] when their horses beginne to be weary, they keepe they way,[4] by a generall Custome among them, that they who haue gonne more then hafe the way, shall keepe it against [th] all that

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[1] Hughes amends to "changing", p. 369. J. N. Jacobsen Jensen follows him in 'Moryson's Reis Door En Zijn Karakteristiek van de Nederlanden', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, XXXIX, (1918), 214 - 305, (p. 285), referred to hereafter as Jensen.

[2] Hughes and Jensen amend to "small", p. 369, p. 285.

[3] Baiting places are stopping places where provender for horses, and food for travellers may be obtained. *OED*

[4] Hughes and Jensen amend to "their", p. 369, p. 285.

haue gonne lesse /10/ parte of the Iorney. And as they loue equality in all things, so they naturally kick against any great eminency among them, as may be proved by many instances, and euen that before named. For as they haue fewe gentle men among them in *H*olland or Zeland, hauing of old rooted out the Nobility, so I obserued, that when our Wagonner hauing gone more the[5] halfe the way, yet gaue the way to agentlemans waggon, all the Passengers vere[6] very ang⌈r⌉[.]y with him, saying he had no right to take the way.[7] To which purpose they haue a Comon saying, if he be rich /20/ lett him dyne twise, and weare two gownes, for one serues mee,[8] in that kynde comming neere the Italians pride, to liue of them selues, and not to borrowe, or to eate at the table of others, to make them slauish to greatnes or riches, ⌈They are generally frugall, in dyett,⌉ Apparrell and all expences, as I haue formerly shewed in the Chapters treating thereof. In manners they were of old rude, and are so to this day in some measure, and the *H*ollanders haue of old beene vulgarly called plumpe, that

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[5] Hughes and Jensen amend to "then", p. 369, p. 285.

[6] Hughes and Jensen amend to "were", p. 369, p. 285.

[7] This tension that Moryson isolates was also played out in the constitutional history of the Dutch. The clash between locality and the centre, the doves and the hawks, Arminians and Calvinists, and the local oligarchies and the House of Orange-Nassau was to set the mould of seventeenth century Dutch politics. See Parker, pp. 140 - 145.

[8] "...nothing is so ephemeral as proverbs. It is not a proverb now..." Private communication from Dr C. D. van Strien, subsequently abbreviated to CDvS.

is blunt or rude.[9] Yet since their last long warr in which they haue intertayned English and French /30/ Soldyers and leaders, they are much refyned in manners by their conversation,[10] as also of poore Countryes they are become very rich, even by warr, and vnder great taxces to mantayne it, which commonly destroy all other nations at least for the tyme of warr, And this may seeme strange, if wee consider not withall, that they haue still kept the warr vpon the frontyers, by fortifyed places, so as the enemyes liued vpon theire owne Country, and haue by theire Navall power kept traffique by Sea free to themselues, and shutt vp to theire enemyes, by which meanes /40/ theire enemyes on the Contrary, of most florishing States haue growne poore.[11] So as the Vnited Provinces may say with the Athenian *Perijssem nisi Perijssem*, I had beene vndone If I had not beene vndone, since theire misery hath turned to theire good.[12] In this point of manners I sp⌈e⌉ake not of

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[9] *OED* uses this passage to define this word, which comes from the Dutch *plomp*.

[10] As with the Irish campaign, Moryson sees the rôle of the army and its commanders as a civilizing mission.

[11] Moryson is presumably thinking of the choking of Antwerp after the Dutch closed the Scheldt in 1585. See Koenigsberger, p. 58.

[12] Moryson takes the quotation from Plutarch's *Life* of Themistocles, "...seing him self one daye very honorably serued at his table, & with all sortes of daintie meates, he turned him to his children, & sayed vnto them. My sonnes, we should haue bene vndone, if we had not bene vndone." Plutarch, *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, translated by Thomas North, (London, 1579), sig. M4r, [*STC* 20065]. "The idea that the war has made the Dutch

Brabant and Flanders, which people therein are free from the French levity and from the German gravity or morosity, being of a [.....] midle and good temper betweene them. In Conversation the wemen may seeme vnchast, but are not so, as I will shewe by Instances in /50/ theire Customes and Pastymes. For Vallor they are bolde in drincking quarrells, which often arise among them, and then they drawe theire knives, and agree one with the other whether they will Stecken, or Schneiden, that is stabb or //

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Cutt, (a strang Conteriety[13] of agreement in discord) which done, the f<yg>ht accordingly. And howsoeuer these knives are long, small, and sharpe, pearcing in to the body more then any dager or Stiletto, yet they who fight with knives are lesse punished then if they should fyght with daggers and Swordes, as my selfe haue seene by experience. And to prouoke these quarrells, they vse base ignominious raylings, and horrible oathes. Most of them are borne at Sea,[14] and vpon waters, and so by nature are bold Seamen in

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prosperous is very common." Private communication from CDvS. James Howell quotes the tag,"*Marte triumphabis*, Batavia, Pace *peribis*." By Mars you will triumph, by peace you will perish, O Batavia. See his *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 513 (20 January 1646).

[13] Hughes and Jensen have "Contreriety", p. 370, p. 286. If they are correct, the first "r" is poorly formed.

[14] Hughes changes to "by the Sea", p. 370.

tempests, and as the Bataui or *H*ollanders were reputed braue Soldyers /10/ when they serued the Roman Emperors,[15] so nowe (espetially warmed with drincke) they fight bloodely at Sea, but theire warrs vpon land are made with expence of strangers blood, espetially of the English, the natiue[16] people hauing done litle therein, howsoeuer theire historyes take the honor to themselues, which the English and other strangers haue iustly deserved.[17]

{ m.n. 17, 18. Bodyes and Witts. }

Touching theire bodies, the men, by free edvcation, haue large and strong bodies, and much more actiue then the

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[15] "Foremost among all these nations in valour, the Batavi occupy an island within the Rhine and but a small portion of the bank. Formerly a tribe of the Chatti, they were forced by internal dissension to migrate to their present settlements and there become a part of the Roman Empire." See Tacitus, *Germany*, Chapter XXIX, in *Agricola and Germany*, translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb, revised edition (London, 1877), p. 108.

[16] Hughes has "nature", p. 371.

[17] The tension between the Dutch and English (which was to lead sometimes to trade wars, sometimes to alliance, and ultimately to sharing the same ruler,) a seventeenth century love/hate relationship, is here in microcosm. Admiration and disdainful exasperation combine throughout this chapter. Spenser in 'An Epitaph vpon the right Honourable sir Phillip Sidney knight: Lord gouernor of Flushing' comes nearest to divining English motives,

> Whence to sharpe wars sweet honor did thee call,
> Thy countries loue, religion, and thy friends:
> Of worthy men, the marks, the liues and ends,
> And her defence, for whom we labor all.

See Edmund Spenser, *Poetical Works* edited by J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912), p. 558. In confining war to the Continent, Queen Elizabeth's interests were being pursued as much as those of the Dutch.

Germans, by vsing more exercise, and by drincking lesse (For howsoeuer theire excesse in drincking be no lesse, yet it is not so /20/ frequent and continuall, as a mong the Saxons) and also they are more quick spirited, by vsing fyers in Chimnyes and not being dulled with hott Stoaues. They are very populous, so as *Botero*, the Roman re<a>ckons the people of Netherland in the 17 [th] Prouinces to be three millions of persons, and Guicciardine writes that they haue 208 walled townes, 150. priuiledged places, and 6300. villages with Church and steeple,[18] but as these vnited parts are seated in the midest of Seaes and waters, and vse excesse in drincking, [as]⌈so⌉ they are Comonly of flegmaticke complections, /30/ and begett more femalls then males, and for this reason, or because great part of the men is commonly abroade at Sea, I am sure in all meetings the number of wemen and girles doth farr overtop the number of men and boyes, at le⌈a⌉st fiue to one. The wemen of Flaunders and Brabant are very fayre, and theire discent attyre and white linnen setts forth their beauty, I cannot say that the *H*ollanders are generally beautifull, though they haue the ornament of white linnen, but either my eyes

[18] "It is diuided into 17. prouinces...all territories rich, plentifull and exceeding populous. In them are 208. walled townes, stately and magnificent, besides 3230 townes hauing priuilege of walled townes, and 6300. villages with parish churches." Botero, *Breviat*, p. 19. Lodovico Guicciardini (1521 - 1589), nephew to the great historian, Francesco, wrote a *Description of the Low Countries*, from which parts of the *Breviat* must have been compiled. CDvS

deceaved me, or the wemen of Dort[19] /40/ lying vpon the inland Sea that beates vpon Brabant, and the wemen of Zeland, are much fayrer then the rest.

For witt, they seeme avery simple people. When my selfe with some English gentlemen passed through North *H*olland and Freeseland, the people gazed vpon vs, and touched our apparrell, as if they had neuer seene a stranger, and when wee bought necessaryes at Amsterodam, the boyes followed vs, beholding and handling our apparell, and what soeuer wee bought, asking why /50/ and to what vse wee bought it. But howsoeuer they seeme no doubt the men are indeede most Crafty espetially in traffique, eating vp all nations therein, by frugallity, industry, and subtilety, as likewise in Coynes, hauing //

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no siluer, but drawing it from ⌈all⌉ nations in plenty, and making profitt of forrayne Coynes, by raysing and decrying ⌈them⌉ at pleasure, and indeede are most witty in all meanes to growe rich, as the experience of our age hath taught vs, wherein we haue also founde ⌈them⌉ expert men in State matters, to proue most wise and iuditiou<s>, though

[19] Dordrecht.

most of them are of Mechanicall education.[20]

{ m.n. 8 - 11. Manuall Artes Sciences Vniversityes and Language }

Touching Manuall Arts, they are a people more industrous then the Germans, and excell them in all Arts and trades. For howsoeuer, I must confesse that the Germans of /10/ Nurenberg in those parts are esteemed the best workmen for Clookes and some like thinges,[21] yet in generall they are not to be compared to the Netherlanders, who make infi[i]nte proportians of hangings for houses,[22] and like furniture for them, and the best and richest of them wrought with gold and silke, which are named Arras, of the towne where the best sorte are made, and are exported into many kingdomes of Europe, as also they make diuers stuffes for wearing, and Cloathes aswell wollen as espetially linnen whereof they exporte great quantity, and Fyner /20/

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[20] The Dutch are clever and industrious, but not quite gentlemen, like Fynes Moryson. Note the fear of export of specie, common in the mercantalist thought of this period. Compare James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), pp. 125, 126 (1 May 1622). He agrees with Moryson that Dutch manipulation of the exchange rates increases their prosperity, admiring "...the Art they use in their Bank by the rise and fall of Money". He continues that "universality of Trade...distributes the Wealth so equally, that few among them are exceeding rich or exceeding poor; Gentry among them is very thin, and as in all Democracies, little respected...".

[21] Clocks. This detail is from Lodovico Guicciardini. CDvS.

[22] Hughes amends to "infinite", p. 372, and Jensen to "infinite proportions", p. 288.

then any other parte of Europe yealdeth.[23] Yea for other Manuall trades they are most industrious and skilfull workemen. And it is worth the observation, that the richest amongst them cause theire Children to be taught some arte or trade, whereby they may gayne theire bread in the tymes of warr, of banishment,[24] or of like adversityes. The tradesmen take no Prentises bound for yeares, but they who will learne any trade, giue them mony to be taught it at their shops, taking their meate & lodging at theire owne home.[25] And those who meane to professe /30/ any trade, when they haue learned it at home, goe (according to the Custome of the Germans) to other Cittyes at home, and forrayne Countryes abroade, most famous for excelent workemen in those trades, that of them they may learne to excell in them. Only as English travelars fynde no such Barbars in any place, as they haue at home, so in these Vnited Provinces, they are not to be Commended, for skill

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[23] "...the Dutch cloth industry, centred on Leyden, began to compete successfully with London's basic export of heavy broadcloth." Moryson was at university in Leiden, and was obviously impressed with all the activity. From about 1575 - 1620 many immigrants established themselves in the industry. The English also imported more Dutch linen as its use spread down the social scale. See Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade 1500 - 1700* (London, 1973), pp. 24, 27, Arras tapestries were <u>not</u> made in the Northern Provinces. CDvS.

[24] Hughes and Jensen misread "or banishment", p. 372, p. 289.

[25] Dutch practice differs from English, where by the Statute of Artificers of 1563, the apprentice was bound for seven years, and often boarded with the Master.

or handsomnes in that trade, besydes that they wash mens beardes in dreggs of beare, before they shaue them with the Raysor, as ours doe /40/ with hott water and seete balls.[26]

For Sciences, they haue and of old had many learned men in all Professions wherof some are knowne by theire writings, as Ralphe Agricola of Freeseland, and Erasmus borne at Roterodame in *H*olland.[27] But for Commedians, they litle practise that Arte, and are the poorest Actors that can be imagined, as my selfe did see when the Citty of Getrudenberg[28] being taken by them from the Spanyards, they make boneffyers[29] and publikely at Leyden represented that action in a play, /50/ so rudely as the poore Artizans of England would haue both penned and acted it much better. So

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[26] "And when they come to washing - oh, how gingerly they behave themselves therein! For then shall your mouth be bossed with the lather or foam that riseth of the balls (for they have their sweet balls wherewith to wash), your eyes closed must be anointed therewith also." [Philip?] Stubbes quoted in William Andrews, *At the Sign of the Barber's Pole* (Cottingham, 1904), p. 12. The omission of the 'w' in "sweete" seems to be a verbal tic of Hand Two's. See the same error on Fol. 672 where he writes "seete liberty".

[27] Roelof Huysman (1443 - 1485), who adopted the name Rudolph Agricola, was Professor of Classical Literature at Heidelberg. He attacked the old scholastic philosophy. Desiderius Erasmus (1466 - 1536) held him in high esteem. Moryson saw the grave of the former in Heidelberg, and the house in "New-Kirk-street" Rotterdam where the latter was born. See *Itinerary A*, I, 68, and 101.

[28] Geertruidenberg.

[29] Hughes reads "bonsfyers", p. 373, and Jensen reads "bonefyers", p. 289.

as at the same tyme when some cast Players of England came into those partes, //

Booke IIII of Netherland touching nature &c Chapt III. fol.521.

the people not vnderstanding what they sayd, only for theire action followed them with wonderfull Concourse, yea many young virgines fell in loue with some of the players, and followed them from Citty to Citty, till the magistrates were forced to forbid them to play any more.[30]

For Vniversityes, I will not speake of the famous Vniversity Lovan in Flanders, which before the Ciuill warrs had sixtene thousand Students, and is nowe decayed,[31] nor yet of that at Doway[32] now florishing, only I will say that the glory of them was and is [to]⌈in⌉ the learned Pro/10/fessors, which of old were drawne thether from all parts, by large Stipends, but now are commonly Iesuites, (except the Professors of lawe and Phisicke), for they

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[30] This must be one of the first manifestations of the "groupie" phenomenon. The erotic pulling power of actors was apparent then as now. Once again, Moryson emphasises the formalized gestures of the English actors as he does on Fol. 470, when he saw them at Frankfurt. However, the usual cautions about extrapolating foreign evidence to determine the conditions in the English theatre apply. Gesture and formality must assume a larger importance where the language is not understood.

[31] Moryson refers to the University of Louvain or, in Dutch, Leuven. CDvS.

[32] Douai.

gladly ingrosse[33] Childrens and young mens education and instruction, as well in Diuinity as in the liberall Artes (the growndes of all learning) For these vniversityes haue not many Colleges fayrely built, and founded with large Rents, to mantayne Schollers, and large for all the Students to liue in them and not in the towne, as our vniversityes haue in England. But after the manner of Germany, haue publike schooles /20/ wherein the Professors reade, and one or two Colleges for poore schollers, most of the other Students liuing in the towne. The like may be sayd of the vniversityes in the vnited [Prince] Provinces, whereof that of Froniker in Frieseland, was founded of old, and being decayed was of late restored, yet florished not greatly ether in learne[ing]⌈d⌉ Professors or in the number of Students.[34] The Vniversity of Leyden in *H*olland was founded in the begining of the Ciuill warrs, to keepe Students from going to the Vniversityes of Flanders. At my being there it had many /30/ learned Professors.[35] Iohn *Heu*rinus Professor of Phisicke did reade *H*ypocrates at

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[33] See "engross" meaning 4. b. Monopolize. *OED*

[34] The University of Franeker was founded in 1585, and closed in 1811. CDvS.

[35] For the following two pages, Moryson appears to have copied the *Series Lectionum*, the printed timetable of the public lectures in the university which appeared in September and March. In this case it would be the timetable of March 1593, which does not survive at Leiden, and so is of particular interest to Dutch scholars of the university. CDvS. By the time of Moryson's enrolment, 7 January 1593, the university was well established with many long serving professors. *DNB*

eight of the Clocke in the morning, and had for stipend 800 Flemish Guldens yearely.[36] And as in Germany so here all Professors dictate theire Lectures, and the Students write them worde by worde.[37] At the same hower in other Schooles, Thomas Sosius did read a booke of the Ciuill lawe, with like stipend,[38] And lucas Trelcatius did reade the Common places of Diuinity with stipend of 600 Guldens yearely for his Lecture, and 300 Guldens for his preaching in the Church.[39] /40/ At nyne of the Clocke Gerard Tuning did reade [the] Institutions of the Ciuill lawe, with stipend

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[36] Johannes van Heurne (1543 - 1601) had been Professor of Medicine at Leiden since 1581. He was also steeped in classical literature. See *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV - MCMXL*, edited by C. A. Siegenbeek van Heukelom-Lamme and O. C. D. Idenburg-Siegenbeek van Heukelom (Leiden, 1941), from where I take all the descriptions of the academic staff. "...a gulden or three and four pence, being two shillings English," *Itinerary A*, I, xxiv, means that Heurnius earned £80 a year. In 1592 he has interpreted *De victus ratione in morbis acutis* of Hippocrates. See *Bronnen Tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, edited by P. C. Molhuysen (The Hague, 1913), p. 192, from where I will take all details of the 1592 courses. "The father of medicine", Hippocrates was a Greek of the fifth century BC, who replaced much of the magic surrounding healing by inductive method. *EB*

[37] This may reflect the shortage and expense of texts, and the authority and esteem in which the professors were held.

[38] Thomas Zoesius Professor of Jurisprudence from 1584 - 1593, left of his own accord for Germany in March 1593. He died at Würzburg in 1598. In 1592 he had taught Book Ten of the Digest of Justinian's Civil Laws.

[39] Lucas Trelcat the elder (1542 - 1602) was Professor of Theology from 1587 until his death. His lectures of 1593 had been put back an hour, for in 1592 he had expounded on Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians at nine.

of 300 Guldens yearely.[40] Peter Paw did reade the Anotamy, with stipend of 500 Guldens.[41] And *Henry* Bredius did reade Tullyes Orator, with stipend of 200 Guldens.[42] At tenne of the Clocke Fraunces Ivnivs a famous Diuine did expound the Prophett Isaiah, with stipend of 1200 Guldens yearely.[43] And Iulius Beyma did reade the Codex, and Anthony Trutius did reade Aristotiles Phisickes.[44] At eleuen of the Clocke

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[40] The *Institutions* was the student handbook or introduction to the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the body of the Roman civil law codified by Justinian. It is easy to forget that the ostensible purpose of Moryson's travels was to study Civil Law.
Gerijt van Tuininghen (1566 - 1610) was Professor of Jurisprudence from 1590 until his death. The content and time of his course was unchanged from 1592.

[41] Petrus Paeuw (1564 - 1617) was Professor of Medicine and Herbal Remedies from 1589 until his death.

[42] Cicero's *Orator* was a treatise describing the styles, from plain to grand, the qualifications, such as invention and elocution, the functions, as to teach, please and persuade, and the scope of knowledge to be mastered by the orator. Harvey.
Henricus Bredius (d. 1621) remained Professor of Rhetoric and Philosophy from 1588, despite accusations in 1594 of dissipation of the young with dansing and music. His course was unchanged from 1592.

[43] Francois du Jon (1545 - 1602) was Professor of Theology from 1592, and also gave lessons in Hebrew from 1597.

[44] The *Codex* was the collection of imperial statute law gathered by Justinian's lawyers. Harvey. Jucke Beyama (1539 - 1598) was Reader from 1581, and Professor of Jurisprudence from 1582 until 1596, when he left for Franeker. In 1592 he had read Part Three of the *Digest*.
Aristotle's *Physica* is "...an examination of the constituent elements of things that exist by 'nature' ('nature' being 'an innate impulse to movement'), and a discussion of such notions as matter and form, time, space and movement..." Harvey. Antonius Trutius Lyranus (of Lier), (d. 1603) was Professor of Physics from 1582. In 1592 he had taught Aristotle's *Posteriora Analytica* at one

Paulus Merula did reade, by /50/ turnes each second day, the historyes of Eutropius and Suetonius, with stipend of 400 Guldens yearely.[45] At one of the Clocke in the after noone, Iames Ramsey did reade the logicke lecture, with stipend of 400 Guldens yearely[46] //

{ c.w. At two Everad }

fol.522. Booke IIII of Netherland touching nature &c Chapt.III.

At Two Everad Bronchorst did reade the Pandects of the Ciuill lawe.[47] And Gerrard Bontius Professor of Phisicke

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o' clock.

[45] Suetonius (c.70 - c.160) is chiefly remembered for his *Lives* of the Caesars and Illustrious Men. He was an historical gossip. Eutropius lived in the time of Emperor Valens (364 - 378), who urged him to write a history of Rome from Romulus to Jovian. "The work is dry and concise, without literary merit or interest." Harvey. Paulus van Merle (1558 - 1607) was Professor of History from 1592, and Librarian from 1597. In 1592 he had covered the *Amphitruo* of Plautus, and Roman civilization on alternating days, which may well have been a comparison of the two historians mentioned by Moryson here.

[46] James Ramsay (d. 1593) who originated in Scotland, and was Professor of Philosophy from 1588 and "Regent" of the State College, had expounded on Aristotle's *Topica* in 1592.
Due to eyeslip, Hughes makes a mess of this section, which Jensen points out. He misses out Beyma altogether, and provides Anthony Trutius with James Ramsey's first name, and only gets back into his stride with Paulus Merula, p. 374.

[47] The *Pandects* were legal opinions, a body of case law, of the Roman imperial law gathered by Justinian's officers in their composition of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis.* Davis, p. 59. Everhard Bronchorst (1554 - 1627) was Professor of Jurisprudence from 1587 until he retired due to ill health in 1621. In 1592 he had expounded on Book IV of the *Codex.* Hughes and Jensen transcribe Everard Branchorst, p. 374, p. 291.

did reade Paulus Aegineta.[48] And Frances Rapheling the Professor of the *H*ebrewe toung did reade vpon the Sections out of the Prophetts, each hauing 400. Guldens yearely Stipend.[49] At three of the Clocke Two other Professors did reade, Cornelious Gratius the Ciuill lawe, and Bonaventura Vulcanvs the Greeke toung, each hauing 400. Guldens yearely.[50] At foure of the clocke Rodulphus Swellius did reade one /10/ day vpon the naturall historye of Plinny, and the next day the Mathematikes, hauing. 300. Guldens yearely stipend.[51] All these Professors had houses allowed

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[48] Jensen, on p. 291, corrects Hughes's "Aeginita", p. 374. Aegentina was a surgeon from the island of Aegina. His *Synopsis of Medicine in Seven Books* appeared in the Greek original in a copy from Venice in 1528, and Basle in 1538, and thereafter in Latin translations. *EB* Geraert Bondt (1536 - 1599) was the first Professor of Medicine from 1575 onwards, and also an anatomist and herbalist.

[49] Frances Rapheling (d. 1597) was Professor of Hebrew from 1586, and also Printer of the University. The Old Testament prophets were divided into three "sections". In 1592 he had taught "...*Sectiones e Prophetis, quas Haphtaroth vocant.*" Rev. J. Clifford Culshaw tells me that these were the middle section of the Hebrew scriptures, interpretations and executions of the Law or *Torah* (the first section) by the Prophets from Joshua to Ezekiel, whose lessons conclude the lectionary on the Sabbath in the synagogue. In 1592 the lecture was delivered at one.

[50] Cornelis de Groot (1544 - 1610), ("Grotius" rather than the "Gratius" here) was Leiden's first Professor of Philosophy from 1575 onwards. He also taught law. Bonaventura Vulcanius, originally Smit (1538 - 1614) was Professor of Classics from 1581. In 1592 he had lectured alternately on Pindar's Nemean Odes of victory, and Plutarch's *On the Control of Anger.*

[51] The *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder (24 - 79) exemplifies the wide interests of the man, encompassing physics, geography, physiology, zoology, medicine and metallurgy. Harvey. Rudolph Snellius, Snel van Royen (1546 - 1613) was Reader from 1579, and then from 1581 Professor

to each of them by the States, excepting two, who had the Rents of some [Schollers] land allowed to provide them houses Some poore Schollers were mantayned in a ruinous College (as they are no better ouer all Germany) each hauing 30. Flemish Poundes yearely stipend,[52] who had theire dyett yearely at the vper table for 150 at the lower table for 100 Flemish Guldens, and two of each /20/ Citty were admitted into this College, and they all studdyed Diuinity, but were mantayned in the College no longer then six yeares, in which tyme they must take the degree of theire Profession, and then beginn to practise it, if they be fitt for the same. In each Citty they haue an *H*ospitall to bring vp poore Orphants, whereof the best witts are sent vnto the vniversity, the other putt to trades. At leyden all the Students lived in the houses of the Cittizens. The Prince of Orange when he tooke vpon him the defence of these Provinces /30/ in the begining of the Ciuill warrs, did founde this Vniversity, and kept to himselfe and his heyres the power to name the Rector. At my being there, vpon the first of February, the Professors Chose three men

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in Mathematics, and until Rapheling's arrival had even taught Hebrew. In 1592 he had taught geometry, and Pomponius Mela's *De Situ Orbis*, or *Chorographia*, a work that influenced Moryson's ideas of what an *Itinerary* should contain. Since Moryson is copying the timetable for March 1593, and he was a student from 7 January onwards, he may have attended some of these lectures.

[52] This is equivalent to £18 sterling, as "...one hundred pound Flemish, makes sixty pound English." See *Itinerary A*, I, xxiv.

at Leyden, and sent them with theire letters to the *Hage*, where Count Mavritz the sayd Princes Sonne appointed one of them to be Rector, Who was settled in his office for the yeare following vpon the eight of February, when the Statutes and Customes were publikely read before the Students, who within three dayes entred theire /40/ names with the Rector, and otherwise were no more to be accounted in the nomber of Students.[53] But the States pay the Professors Stipends, out of [the] Rents allowed to that vse. Each Student hath yearely. 80. Stoupes of wyne allowed free from assise or tax, and six vessells of Beare at the ordinary price, of two shillings six pence starling the vessell, lesse then the Cittizens pay,[54] and they with whome they dyett, take this allowance in theire names and right, besydes that the Professors and Students are free from all other taxes and tributes. The Rector /50/ //

{ c.w. iudged the }

Booke IIII of Netherland touching nature &c Chapt III fol 523.

Iudged the Controversyes betweene Students and Cittizens. The vniversity had three chosen Protectors amonge the

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[53] "The university was inaugurated on 8 February 1575; in the weeks following this day (called *dies*) on which the new Rector took office, the yearly recension of students took place." CDvS.

[54] Hughes transposes "at the ordinary price" into the middle of this last phrase to read "lesse then/ the ordinary price the Cittizens pay..." pp. 375 - 376. Jensen follows suit, pp. 292 - 293.

States, whereof one at that tyme was Ianus Douza a learned man well knowne by his writinges.[55] And when a Professors place is voyde, the Professors hauing chosen a worthey man at home or a broade, these Protectors invite him to supply that place. But the States must approue him, who also allott and pay his Stipend. And howsoeuer at my being there this vniversity newly founded had not 400 Students, yet the States drawing thether /10/ most learned Professors, it was hoped that in shorte tyme it would greatly florish. The Professors doe not reade aboue 30 [.] weekes in the yeare, hauing long vacations, as vpon the 3. of Occtober the Cease to reade for 15. dayes, because that day Leyden was besegged by the Spaniardes, in memory whereof they haue publike playes poorely presenting[56] [respecting] Actions and Crueltyes of that seige.[57] The Diuines disput twise in the weeke, other Profess[ors][ions] haue no sett dayes, but dispute often vpon privite agreements, made knowne by Printing the questions and setting /20/ them vpon the gates of the Schooles, donne by them that answer to the end all Students who list, may provide to appose and reply against

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[55] Johan van der Does (1545 - 1604) was a neo-latin poet of renown, and the first "curator" of Leiden from 1575 until his death. CDvS.

[56] Hughes and Jensen both have "representing", p. 376, p. 293. I take the "p" of "presenting" to have a large initial flourish.

[57] Leiden was relieved on 3 October 1574, after a long siege by the Spaniards. "It is traditionally said that Leiden got the university as a reward for its endurance during the siege." Private communication from CDvS.

them. And this they doe for Commendable exercise, without any reproofe to make ostentation of theire learning.[58] In Promotions of degrees, each Graduate payes 30. Guldens to the Treasurer of the Vniversity.[59] At my being there afrende of myne commenced Doctor of the Ciuill lawe, who besydes his feast payde about eight pound starling to the Doctors of his Profession, and some fewe Gulldens to the Bedells /30/ and besydes payde for the publike testimoniall of his degree which he tooke alone for they vse no sett tymes for this Ceremony, but one or more are promoted when soeuer they craue that fauor. Nether vse they at these tymes the Germans Pompe and gravity in marching through the streetes, only the Bedell, without any Mace and with his head covered, went before the Rector, who with some Professors and Studients, partly in gownes partly in Cloakes, all weareing hatts (for I neuer sawe any cornerd Capps worne by Graduates in any vniversity beyonde /40/ the Seas) Conducted the young Doctor to the publike Schooles, where[.e] he hauing made his Oration, a Doctor of that faculty did reade the graunt of power to create Doctors. And then, first he called the party promoted to sett in his Chayre, as giuing him power to teach, secondly he made him sett downe by him, to shewe the necessity of Conference and

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[58] "...without incurring censure for showing off their learning." See *OED* "reproof" 1. 3.

[59] This is equivalent to three pounds sterling, a large expense for a poor scholar.

Counsell in doubtfull matters, thirdly he gaue him an open booke in his hand, to shewe that he must not Iudge after his owne opinions but after the written lawe, fourthly a booke Closed, to shewe that /50/ he must haue wisdome to Iudge of right and equity in cases not expressly defyned by the lawe, fyftly he put on his head a Cap of scarlett as the badge of his degree, //

{ c. w. sixtly a golde ring }

fol.524. Booke IIII of Netherland touching Nature &c Chapt III.

Sixtly a gold Ringe on his finger, the token of his dignity, and seuenthly the old Doctor shaked the young Doctor by the hand, as welcomming him to be of theire nomber, which in other places I haue seene figured by imbracing and kissing him vpon the Cheeke. This done, the young Doctor by a shorte Oration gaue thanckes, and so was ledd backe to the Recors[60] house, in the same order he was brought to the Schooles. *H*is dinner or Feast was kept in a publike Inne, to which he invited the Professors and such guests as himselfe pleased to haue, for I obserued /10/ some cheefe Burgers to be present at the Creation in the Schooles, who were not invited to dinner. The language of the Netherlanders is a Dialect of the German toung, but sweetned with the leuity of the French toung, which most of the inhabitants by education learne to speake as naturally

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[60] Hughes and Jensen amend to "Rectors", p. 377, p. 294.

as the vulgar, besydes that many of them speake the English, Italyan, and other languages of nations with whome they traffique, as there is almost no place in the worlde where they trade not. As the Saxons and lower partes of Germany ([ex] eccepting Misen[61]) speake /20/ more rudely then the vpper partes and the Sweitzers, so the Netherlanders so much affect[62] the sweetnes and alacrity of the French toung, as they preferr it before theire owne, and delight more to speake the French toung, then theire owne vulgar language, which they pronounce much more gently then the Germans, Omitting many of the Consonants and dipthonges with they vse.[63] As I haue formerly sayde that the Germans toung boorrowes many wordes of the Greeke[s], so I say also of the Flemish or Netherlanders language. And Marchantius in his history of Flanders /30/ the 25 page of the first bo⌈o⌉ke, setteth downe many perticular wordes apparently derived from the Greekes.[64] But howsoeuer he produceth Authors to proue that the Flemish toung was knowne and spoken in some partes of Turky and of the west

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[61] Hughes amends to "excepting Misen", p. 377. Misen is Meissen.

[62] Hughes misreads "assert", p. 377.

[63] Hughes and Jensen correct "with" by "which", p. 378, p. 295.

[64] The book and edition to which Moryson refers is by Jacobus Marchantius of Furnes, *Iac. Marchantii Flandria commentariorivm Lib. IIII. descripta.* (Antwerp, 1596). *BMGC* The original edition was published in 1567. His work is referred to as Marchantius hereafter.

Indyes, though it is not ⌈vn⌉probable that a banished man or marchant (espetially of the Flemings whereof some are founde in many and most remote partes of the worlde) may carry his language and perhapps spreade it in his owne family and discent among some nations farr distant, yet I never [sure] obserued the Flemish toung /40/ to be vsed in forayne partes, but only by those of theire owne nation, and I am sure that themselues at home spake the French toung as vulgarly and naturally as their owne. And it standes with reason, that they who are very industrous in traffique, and hauing litle of theire owne to export, (except lynnen) doe trade most with the Commodityes of other nations, should themselues learne many languages, whereas other nations haue not the same reason to learne the Flemish tounge<.> And by reason of the Flemings generall skill in strang languagees, strangers may passe and trade /50/ among them th[.]ough they cannot speake a worde of the vulgar toung. As wee giue the title of master only to gentlemen, and those of that degree in our Vniversityes, so I obserued //

{ c.w. in the vnited }

Booke IIII of Netherland touching nature &c. Capt III. fol.525.

In the vnited Provinces, that a tradsman and espetially a Barbar was vulgerly saluted Meister.[65] In so much as in the

[65] The Dutch was *meester*, at that time roughly equivalent to the modern French *monsieur*. CDvS.

begining of the Ciuill warr, when our English forces came into *H*olland, and the best sorte being richly apparrelled were saluted masters, the Common people at theire first enterance tooke them for tradsmen, and wondred they should be so brave in apparell. Though those of the vnited Provinces were then rude in manners, yet theire language then had, and still hath, a very amorous Phrase in vulgar speeches, Commonly answring one another, wat sag you Mein Shaff, or mein /10/ kinde, or Mein Vatter, or Mein Moure,[66] that is, what say you my lanb[67], or my Chylde, or my Father, or my Mother, Yea they salute old men, [with the title of Father or]⌈withe the title of⌉ brother and Childe, and salute young men and maydes with the title of Father and mother Freyen signifyes to wooe, and therevpon the call Bachelors Fryern, and young virgins F[e]⌈re⌉ysters.[68]

{ m.n. 17 - 22. Ceremonyes Pompes Marryage Funeralls Christnings Childebed. }

Touching Ceremonyes, Pompes, Maryages Funeralls, Christnings, and Childebedd. No people of Europe in my opinion vseth lesse Ceremonyes and Pompous shewes, or marchings, in Festiuall[s], solemnityes, then those of the

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[66] *Wat zeg je mijn schaap*, or *mein kind*, or *mijn vader*, or *mijn moeder (moer)*. CDvS.

[67] Hughes and Jensen amend to "lamb", p. 379, p. 296. The meaning is "sheep". CDvS.

[68] The modern Dutch is *vrijer*, *vrijster*.

Vnited Provinces, /20/ doing all such thinges without any ostentation, yea with great simplicity and nakednes.

For marryages, the wemen in Netherland, Contrary to the Custome of the Germans, vere[69] marryed very young, so as not long before my being in those partes, a girle of twelue yeares age, at *H*arlam, had a Chylde by her husband. They vse to wooe long, some yeare two or more before they marye, and in that tyme they haue strange liberty of Conversation together, yet with vncredible honesty for the most parte, conversing together by day and by night, and slyding on the yce to remote townes /30/ to feast and lodge there all night. Yea some that are betroathed make long voyages, as to the East Indies, before they be maryed, and in all voyages where the master of the Shipp is a wooer, they hang a garland of Roses on the topp of the mayne mast. The frendes of the marryed Couple,[70] vse to present them with meate for the feast, and the guests are invited a day before, and agayne invited some hower before they goe to church, or before the dinner. For they goe to Church more priuately then in Germany, without marching through the streetes in any Pompe, or with great Company, some-where /40/ only <go>ing to Church with nyne, other where with three of theire neer<es>t frendes and strangers of other

[69] Hughes and Jensen amend to "were", p. 379, p. 296.

[70] Hughes and Jensen make this "Coople", p. 379, p. 297, but the top of the second "o" is definitely open.

townes. I haue seene some maryed without a ringe, only Ioyning handes in steede therof.[11] Som maryed at tenne in the morning, and theire dinner begane at two, and ended at six of the Clocke in the after noone, hauing no supper, [as] ⌈or⌉ the tables taken away, but going to daunce in other Roomes, and retorning to the table to drincke, when they pleased. Others maryed at three in the after noone, and supped [at]⌈from⌉ six to twelue. And after the meales, strangers vsed to come in to the daunceing. The /50/ second day of the marryage the invited neere frendes of the //

towne, only to supper and dauncing, and the third day in like sorte the invited neighbours and ordinary frendes. Some day or two before the maryage, and agayne some day or two after the maryage, the young men and virgins were invited, to daunce after supper, when theire Fathers, mothers, and all other were gonne to bedd, where they daunced all night, and at the twilight in the morning, they daunced about some of the next streetes, and so taking theire leaues went home.

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[11] The question of whether to have a ring in marriage or not much exercised the minds of Moryson's contemporaries, which is why he notes it. Was marriage a contract or a sacrament ? Generally, those who dispensed with the ring were of a more extreme or Calvinist persuasion, and its abolition in marriage was a constant demand of those in England who wished to purify the Church of its "superstition".

For Funeralls, they vse small or no pompe in them nether /10/ remember I in those Prouinces to haue seene any monumentes, or so much as graue stones for the memory of the dead, except one Monnument at Delph, [.]erected to the memory of the Prince of Orange, which was the poorest that euer my eyes behealde, espetially for so famous a Prince, and one that merited so much of the vnited Provinces.[72] Some gentlemen and others of the best sorte dying, had theire Armes sett vpon theire doores for a yeare following,[73] and the widowe so long kept [the]⌈her⌉ house, No man for halfe a yeare, entring her Chamber, nor any speech being made to her till the yeare /20/ was ended for any second maryage.

The wemen are sayd to be delliuerd ordinaryly of theire Children with much more ease then those of other nations, (excepting onely the Irish) but ill Conceptions are frequent among them, and very paynefull in the deliuery, Of

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[72] Moryson is comparing this to the elaborate funerary monuments still to be found in large numbers in English churches. William of Orange was assassinated in 1584, by one of Philip II's agents. Somewhat belatedly, a monument in the New Church, Delft by Hendrik de Keyser was erected 1614 - 1622, and finished by his son Pieter. CDvS. It became a tourist site for Protestants. John Evelyn the diarist recorded it, as many other travellers described in C. D. van Strien's, *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period* (Leiden, 1993), p. 129.

[73] Later these were displayed in churches. Many travellers commented upon them. See C. D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period* (Leiden, 1993), p. 128.

these monsters I harde in credible reports, from very Credible persons, which modesty forbides mee to write, espetially since the Curious may easily be informed thereof by many English who haue liued long in that Country. Only I will say that some of them haue beene of such vivacity and nimblenes /30/ in leaping, as the wemen had much adowe to kill & destroy them, and that some attribute these frequent effects, to the peoples grosse feeding, and liuing much vpon waters.[74]

For Baptisme, the minister in the Pulpitt hauing read the vseuall wordes, the Deacon standing belowe, pronounced a blessing to the Chyld, and sprinckled it with water, The Boyes haue two Godfathers and two Godmorthers, and so haue the girles, whereas our boyes haue but one Godmother, ⌈and⌉ two godfathers and our girles but [one] one godfather and two godmothers. And howsoeuer ordinaryly /40/ they haue no

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[74] Was infanticide of the deformed permitted? The nimble leaping suggests that they were regarded as devilish. "In some states/ midwives had to report the birth of monsters, which were thought to be the devil's offspring, and if the mother had not led a manifestly blameless life, she herself stood in great risk of being accused as a witch." Jean Donnison, *Midwives and Medical Men* (London, 1977), pp. 4 - 5. Moryson suggests causes, the unhealthy place and overfeeding, a sin in itself. Perhaps a letter of James Howell to his father sheds some further light. "A Gentleman told me, that the Women of this Country, when they deliver'd, there comes out of the Womb a living Creature besides the Child, call'd *Zucchie*, likest a *Bat* of any other Creature, which the Midwives throw into the Fire, holding Sheets before the Chimney lest it should fly away." See James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 114 (10 April 1623).

more but two, yet some (as with vs) haue a greater number, being athinge at pleasure, most commonly the mothers nurse theire Children themselues, Guifts are giuen both to the Children[75] to the Norses according to theire qualityes, but neuer great ⌈in⌉ value so farr as I obserued.

For a womans lying in Childebed. If shee haue a boy, the ringe of [the]⌈her⌉ dore is all Covered with tape or linnen Cloth (and in some places vndersett with[76] a small sticke) and over the ringe aface cloath is fastned. If it be /50/ agirle, the ring is but halfe covered, and is not vndersett, but hath also a facecloth, and as many Children as shee //

Booke IIII of Netherland touching nature &c. Chapt III fol.527

hath, so many facecloathes they fasten aboue the ringe of the doore, which are richly wrought, or playne & Course, according to the quality of the Parents. They ⌈lye⌉ a month in Childbed, (as our wemen vse in England) and then are Churched, the minister p⌈r⌉ayinge with them, and when the dutyes are payde to him, they retourne ⌈home⌉ and Feast together.

{ m.n. 8 - 15. Customes Exercises Pastymes particularly of

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[75] Hughes and Jensen add "and" here, p. 381, p. 298.

[76] Jensen has "witt", p. 298.

*H*unting *H*awking Birding and Fishing. }

Among theire Customes, some seemed very strange to me, my selfe landing at Dockam in Friesland[77], after a great tempast at Sea, incountred this [C]recreation in the /10/ Inn. There were newly aryved young gentle [men]⌈wemen⌉, of spetiall woth[78] and beauty, who supped not priuately in theire Chambers, according to the Custome of England, but at the publike table for all passengers, and after supper wee retyred to the fyer, where formes were sett round a bout it, and Flagons of Beare sett to warme at the fyer, (as they Commonly drincke warme beare) and if a man dr[i]⌈u⌉ncke to a woman, he carryed her the Cupp, and kissed her, and a woman drincking to ⌈a⌉ man, c⌈a⌉ryed the Cupp to him, and kissed him not so much as bending /20/ his head to meete her, And so with fayre discourse wee passed two howers before wee retyred to our Chambers. This is the generall Custome in all Fresland, so as some husbandes haue quarrelled with men, for not kissing theire wyues and daughters at the deliuery of the Cupp to them, as if they thought them not worthy of that Curtesy, or dispised them, as poore, foule, or reputed infamous. But nothing is more strang, then that this Custome, though performed in much mirth and cheerefullnes, ⌈yet⌉ [is] is free from the least suspition of vnchastity. Agayne it is /30/ generally

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[77] Dokkum.

[78] Hughes and Jensen correct to "worth", p. 382, p. 299.

obserued that as the wemen of these Provinces overtopp the men in number (which I formerly shewed) so they commonly rule theire famylyes. In the morning they giue theire husbandes drincking mony in their pursses, who goe abroade to be merry [when][where] they list, leaving theire wyues to keepe the shop and sell all thinges. And nothing is more frequent, then to see the girles to insult and domineere (with reproofes and nicknames) ouer theire brothers, thoug ellder then they be, and this they doe from the first vse of speech, as if they were borne to /40/ rule ouer the malles. Yea many wemen goe by Sea to traffique at *H*amburg for marchantdize, whyle theire husbands stay at home. At Layden[79] young wenches of 12 or 13. yeares age, after 9. of the Clocke in the morning, shamed not ordinarily to doe those necessityes of nature in the open and fayre streetes, which our wemen will not be seene to doe in private houses. In the same Citty I haue seene men milke Cowes, and carry the milke in two payles fastned to a wooden yoke before them, which they wore a bout theire neckes. /50/ //

fol.528. Booke IIII of Netherland touching nature &c Chapt.III.

The wemen vpon their bedds head insteed of a pillowe haue a shorte hard Coushen, litle and vneasy to rest vpon, so as they say it is rather for a [Co] secret vse, then for rest

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[79] Leiden. Hughes and Jensen have "Leyden", p. 382, p. 300.

of their heades.[80]

The colde of winter is very sharpe in these Provinces, lying oven[81] to the Sea Northward, with out any shelter of hills or woodes, for which cause some wemen of the best sorte wore breeches, of lynnen or silke stuffes, to keepe them warme, but commonly the wemen sett with fyer vnder them, in passetts namely litle pans of Coales with/10/in a case of woode boar⌈e⌉d through with many hole on the topp, which remedy spotting the body is [is] lesse convenient then [the] wearing of breeches. And these Passets they not only vse at home, but in the Churches, and in theire Iorneyes by Shipp and by waggon. So as my selfe passing in a waggon stroaded thicke with strawe,[82] to keepe our feete warme, sawe a young woman in great distresse, who vsing this passett, and therewith setting the strawe on fyer vnder her, and that setting fyer on her Cloathes, was forced to vse the vndecent helpe of men, and yet hardly escaped the /20/ burning of her body.

They strawe the paued floures of theire howses with Sand, to keepe them Cleaner, but the durty shooes of them that

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[80] The pillow was a means of keeping items safe, rather than a means of comfort ?

[81] Hughes and Jensen amend to "open", p. 383, p.300.

[82] In the context, "stroaded" would seem to mean "strewn". It is possible that "swaded", a past participle of swathe might be meant.

enter, Clodding the Sand, they seeme to foule theire howses themselues, for feare other should foule them.

*H*olland and Zeland are devided from Brabant and Flanders, as likewise Zeland is devided into Ilandes and from *H*olland, by an Arme of the Sea with in land. In like sorte *H*olland on the other syde is diuided from Freesland, and that from the Epire,[83] by two other Armes /30/ of the Sea. And many Riuers falling into these Calme Seas, with a gentile Course, in Countryes lying lowe and playne, haue giuen[84] the inhabitants commodity to Cutt frequent ditches, not only to make passages by water from towne to towne, but also to compsse[85] their pastures and Meadowes with ditches full of water, either standing or very gently moving. And the colde is so extreme in these partes, as most parte of winter these ditches of water are Continually frozene. So as the Virgins in winter tyme are most braue /40/ in apparell, and haue most Iollity of meetinges with young men. For they both daly walke into the fieldes next the townes, and vpon the broadest waters slyde together vpon the yce. To which purpose they putt vpon theire shooes Pattens of wood, with a long sharpe Iron in the bottome to

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[83] Hughes and Jensen amend to "Empire", p. 383, p. 300.

[84] Jensen has "giving", p. 300.

[85] Hughes and Jensen amend to "compasse", p. 383, p. 301.

Cutt the yce, Continually Mooving and frigging[86] theire feete vp and downe, forwardes, or in Circle, which motion mee thought was not very modest for wemen, but if they stand still they are sure to fall, and those that are vnskillfull thereby take many and /50/ sometymes dangerous falls, Commonly some two or foure hundreth will slyde together vpon one[87] peece of yce, //

Booke IIII of Netherland touching nature &c Chapt III. fol 529.

seeming not able to beare them, yet vse makes them bolde to venture, though sometymes it giues dangerous Crackes. A man and a woman, holding a handcherker betweene them, slyde together, and some tymes many Couples in like sort holding hand[th]kerchees slyde together a breast as many as the breedth of the yce will beare. And in like sort many men laying theire handes on a Coulestaffe, slyde a breast together.[88] Also the frost for great part of winter is so great, as some tymes for a month or more, the foresayde Armes of the Sea wilbe so Frozen, as men passe ouer them, /10/ either slyding vpon the sayd Pattens, or vpon a sledge drawne with ⌈a⌉ horse, and in the midd wayes, vpon divers passages men keepe boothes wherein they haue a pann of

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[86] Moving restlessly. *OED*

[87] Hughes misprints "ane", p. 528.

[88] A cowl-staff is a pole with which to carry burdens over the shoulders, in this case it seems to be a generic term for a pole. *OED*

Coales to warme the passenges, with drincke and meate to refresh them. They vse to lay great wagers vpon each first breaking of the Ice, and at those tymes many rash venturers are cast away. At Delph a man had 300. Guldens for venturing to slyde ouer the towne ditch One Christmas day, when the Ice began to breake. At Amsterodam one had tenn pounde sterling to venture over the Teye,[89] and the first venturer /20/ ouer the Armes of Sea, After a frost beginns to breake, hath ordinaryly two Dollors rewarde, and a Gulden for drincking mony. The wemen of these parts giue great liberty to theire daughters. Sometymes by chance they slyde on the yce till the gates of the Citty be locked, and the young men feast them at the Inns in the Subbarbs, all the night, or till they please to take rest. Sometymes the young men and virgins agree to slyde on the yce, or to be drawne with horses vpon sledges to Cittyes 10. 20. or more myles distant, and there feast all /30/ night, and this they doe without all suspition of vnchastity, the hostesses being carefull to lodge and oversee the wemen. In like sorte the mothers of good fame permitt theire daughters at home, after themselues goe to bedd, to sett vp with young men all or most part of the night, banqueting and talking together, yea with leaue and without leaue to walke a broade with young men in the streetes by night. And this they doe out of a Customed liberty, without preiudice to

[89] This is Moryson's transcription of *'t Y*, the river Y.

theire fame, wheras the Italian wemen strictly /40/ kept, thincke it folly to omitt any opportunity they can gett to doe ill.

As the Germans, so this people, vse to builde nests for Storkes, and repute them lucky birdes hanting only free Commonwealths, as best obseruers of Iustice,[90] At Leyden (and so I thincke in other Cittyes) If the Cry for fyer be raysed, he that owes the house payes six Gulldens for penalty, and the night watch men of townes and Cittyes goe about the streetes making a noyse with wooden Clappers, as ours doe with litle bells, and /50/ at Leyden by night a Trompett in the steeple is sounded each hower, when the Clocke strikes.

The kennells[91] of the streete are not in the midest, as Commonly with vs, but are made on each syde of the streete one, neere the houses, the Pauement on each syde rising to the midest of the streete, which is highest, and the cheefe place of dignity for walking, the next being the right //

hand of the midest, and the third the left hand, and so in

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[90] Compare Thomas Coryat describing storks at Flushing, "Those men esteeming themselves happy in whose houses they harbour, and those most unhappy whom they forsake." Coryat, I, 189.

[91] "The surface drain", *OED*.

order, according to the number that walkes together.

The Bishopricke of Vtrecht, and the Province of Gellerland,[92] keepe the old Callender, but *H*oland obserues the newe of Pope Gregory, so as if aman goe from *H*olland to Vtrecht or Gellderland vpon the fourtenth of December, and retorne into *H*olland vpon the. 24. of December, he shall keepe no Christmas day that yeare, and if a man come from Vtrecht or Gellderland to /10/ Leyden, the fourthenth of December, and retorne backe to those parts the. 24. of December, he shall keepe two Christmas dayes in one yeare, Contrarye to our English proverb, inviting to mirth because Christmas comes but once ayeare.[93]

Since the tyme of the warr, all passengers entring into Cittyes and Forts, leaue theire swordes and weapons with the Soldyers at the place where they keepe guarde, and the next day when they goe forth there receave them agayne. /20/

I haue formerly sayd, that the wagonors, while their horses be fresh, namely before they haue gone halfe way to the next bayting place, giue the way to all waggons they meete, but after they haue gone more then halfe the way, in like

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[92] Gelderland.

[93] This is recorded by Tilley under C369.

sorte take the way of all they meete. At the dayes of old victoryes or [great] theire Progenitors great Actions, they keepe Feasts, and in triumph make bonfyers, and represent the Action in playes poorely acted by Artizans.

{ m.n. 30 - 35. Pastymes Exercises *H*untinge *H*awkinge Birding Fishing. }

For Pastymes and exercises. I haue formerly spoken of /30/ theire daly Pastime and exercises all the tyme of winter, in slyding vpon yce with Iron in theire wooden Pattens, and of theire making Iorneyes, for pleasure and necessety, vpon a sledge drawne over the Ice with one horse. Now I will only add that this motion of slyding vpon the Ice is very swift, some say after one 100th myles in the day, but I am sure it is vullgarly spoken, that when Leyden was besidged by the Spaniardes, who helde guardes of Soldyers on both sydes the narrowe waters leading to the towne, which at that tyme were /40/ frozen, messengers slyding on these Pattens daely[94] passed through the sayd guardes with letters to and from the towne, and so swiftly, as the Spaniardes sometymes seeing them, and making thicke shott against them on both sydes of the water, yet could not hinder theire Continuall passing. Likewise in Iorneyes by sledges, they often passe from Leyden to *H*arlam and backe agayne in one day, which is tenn Fleemish myles and

[94] This word could possibly be "duely". CDvS suggests "daily".

requireth tenn howers to be runne by waggon, laying another waggon and fresh horses in the midd way. They haue a Common /50/ Pastyme and exercise to dryue a litle ball through the feildes and vpon the Ice, with a sticke of wood turning in at the lowe end, like the basting ladells we vse in kichens, saue that they are not made hollowe but are rounde in the end, and this sporte I haue seene frequently vsed not only by boyes and and young men, but by men //

Booke IIII of Netherland touching nature &c Chapt III. fol.531

of 40. yeares and vpward.[95] They haue in all Cittyes publike houses, with a larg yeard and garden, vulgarly called Dooles, (whereof Amsterodam had three) in which houses the Cittizens meete both men and wemen to drincke and eate, and in the large yardes the men exercise shooting with the long bowe and Crosse bowe.[96] For these very sportes the Cittisens are devided into brotherhoods, and putt vnder ensignes, and many of the cheefe brothers haue their Pictures in these houses. They shoote at a Parratt of word, and he that wines the Prise, is called the king /10/

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[95] This was like a precursor of golf, and can be seen in contemporary painting of winter scenes. CDvS.

[96] The dool is so called because the aim or mark to be shot at is *doel* in Dutch. *OED* They became just inns and hostels later when the importance of target practise declined. CDvS.

of the Parratt.[97]

For hunting *H*awking and Birding, Marcantius writing of Flanders, which Province hath giuen the name of Flemings to all the Netherlanders of the seuenteen Provinces, setts downe lawes of *H*unting and *H*awking in the leafe. 107. and 108, and shewes that *H*unting of *H*ares, and takeing of many Foules, as Partriges, Phesants, and the like, are appropriated to gentlemen.[98] But I thincke he writes this of Flanders, Brabant, and the partes within land, for in the vnited Provinces, lying /20/ vpon the Sea, the gentlemen of *H*oland and Zealand are almost rooted out, though[t] in west Fressland and the other Provinces many gentlemen still remayne. And in *H*olland Zealand and Freesland, all the feildes are compassed with frequent ditches of water, and with Armes of the Sea, so as the are not fitt for *H*unting with dogs, [so as they are not fitt

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[97] Hughes and Jensen amend "word" to "wood", p. 387, p. 304. Shooting at the parrot, *papegaai schieten*, was a common expression for target practice in the shooting yards. CDvS.

[98] "*Prima per Balduinum Securiculam, vt nobilium de venandi iure, limitibusque altercationes præcideret, erecta, ceruos aprosque; quod ceteris seuerè prohibetur; lepores, cuniculosque, retibus, canibus, vi/uerrisque venatur et interfectatur: quod posterius, nobilibus venationi assuetis liberum est, aliisque præfecti assensione: qui iam est Baro Croisillæ magnus Brugæ, Terræque; Francæ Bailliuus, gentis Mommorencyæ.*" The passage continues that as time went on from Baldwin VII "Shortsword", a count of the early twelfth century, yet further restrictions were placed on the taking of pheasants, buzzards, herons and partridges. Marchantius, sigs. G6r - G6v, pp. 107-108.

for hunting], or flying of [*H*awkes] *H*awkes. *H*olland and Zealand haue some stoore of Partridges and like land Foule, which I haue seene ⌈sold⌉ to any that would <buy> them, by vulger men who tooke them /30/ by other ordi<n>ary meanes. And Freesland hath very great stoore <of> Sea foule, which (for ought I could heare) were taken by ordinary meanes, and solde by vulgar men without reserved priuiledges.[99] Nether did I euer see any vse of *H*unting dogs, or *H*awkes in these Provinces through most parte of ⌈the⌉ *H*awkes brought from Norway [in]⌈and⌉ those parts into England and Fraunce, commonly passe through Freesland *H*olland, and Zealand

For Fishing. They cannot but haue plenty of fish, lying vpon the ocion, and divers Armes of the Sea breaking /40/ into the land, and dwelling among frequent ditches of waters, and some great lakes, made by the Rivers, of Rheine in diuers branches, and of Mosa, and Mosella,[100] where they gently fall towardes the Sea, or rather ende in standing waters. So as they haue plenty of all Sea fish, and in the Arme of the Sea entring betweene Zealand and *H*oland vp to Brabant, and in the River of Mosa, they take great plenty of Salmons, one towne of Bredaw for fishing there, paying yearely 4000. poundes to Count Mauritz /50/ lord of the

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[99] I take this to mean that common men could catch enough fowl to sell, without gentlemen reserving the privilege of catching them to themselves.

[100] Rivers Maas and Moselle. *OL*

town.[101] [For] For fresh water fish, as the lakes and ditches, are frequent, so haue they plenty //

fol 532. ⌈Booke IIII⌉ Of Denmarke touch ing Nature Chapt. IIII.

of fish, and being industrious, they take more fish at Sea vpon the Coasts of England then wee doe, espetially the kyndes that are dryed and salted, as ling and herrings, both sortes fresh and salt they commonly dresse after one manner but more swimming in buter,[102] and (as the Germans) loue to see the Fre[nc]sh fish liuing, not prising that which is dead.

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[101] "I doubt not but you have heard of Grave *Maurice's* death, which happen'd when the Town was past cure, which was his more than the States; for he was Marquis of *Breda*, and had near upon 30,000 Dollars annual rent from her: There-/fore he seem'd in a kind of sympathy to sicken with this Town, and died before her." James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), pp. 228 - 229 (19 March 1626).

[102] Hughes and Jensen add "[the latter]" after "but", p. 388, p. 305. Jonson gets his character Mosca to say,

> You shall have some will swallow
> A melting heir as glibly as your Dutch
> Will pills of butter.

Ben Jonson, *Volpone; or, The Fox*, edited by David Cook (London, 1962), I. 1. 41 - 43. The large intake of fat would help to counteract the severe Dutch winter.

Chapter. IIII.

Of Denmarke touching all the heades of the fist Chapter. /10/

As I made very shorte abode at any place, in my passage through Denmarke, so for that kingdom, I must Curso<ri>ly runne over the heades of this Chapter.

{ m.n. 14 - 17. Nature Manners Bodies and witts. }
And first for theire nature manners, Bodyes, and witts, as great part of the kingdome consists of the Provinces *H*olsatia and Ditmartia of old and still in habited by the Saxons of Germany, so the people thereof in nature and manners (as in all other heades of this chapter) differ very litle from the Saxons, and the rest of the kingdome consisting of litle Ilands lying close vpon /20/ the Coast of the Saxons, cannot but haue much affinity with them in most of the thinges whereof I am to write, and in some great Measure partake theire vertues, vices, and Customes. Only as I obserued the Germans to be suspitious by nature, so I founde by experience the Danes to be much more suspitious, For the Germans permitt stranger to walke vpon the walls of theire Cittyes planted with Artillery and easily admitt them to see theire stoare-houses of all munitions for warr, But in Denmarke I obtayned with great difficulty, in /30/ the absence of the king, to see his

house or Castle in the Citty of Kopenhagen, hauing no sing<o>lar thing to be so strictly kept. And when I came to the village Elsinure, where the king hath a Castle strongly fortifyed vpon the Mouth of the Sounde, I founde it much more difficult to enter the same, not only paying a Rose Noble to haue that fauor, but also by the advise of my host an English man, being forced to disguise my selfe like a marchant, that accesse being most restrayned to such as haue the habitt of gentle men [of]⌈or⌉ Soldyers. /40/ Symonides Ceus sayde, that the Thessali[.]⌈ans⌉ were not moved with his verses being so stupid as they could not be deceaved.[1] No doubt the most simple men, as knowing theire owne defects, and thincking themselues fitt to be betrayed, are euer most suspitious, yet doe I not charge the Danes with the note of simplicity[ty] or ignorance, but I appeale to the gentlemen and the learned men of that nation, whether themselues in theire travells through Germany, Italy, and Fraunce, haue founde any such [super] suspition vsed to wardes them in this kynde, as they /50/ at home vse to all strangers, and I may be bold to say //

Booke IIII of Denmarke touching nature &c Chapt IIII. fol 533.

without envye, that as the danes are honest and industrous

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[1] "Sīmo'nidēs (*Simōnidēs*) of Ceōs (a small Ionian island off the coast of Attica) (c.556 - c.468 B.C.), a great Greek lyric poet. Part of his life was spent at the court of Hipparchus. He subsequently went to Thessaly..." Harvey.

with the Germans so they are nether so sharpe witted nor subtill in Iudgment as the Italyans, and many other nations, perhapps wanting theire owne vertues, yea th[e]is theire vsing of strangers, may not only be iustly imputed to simplisity or ignorance, but euen to inhospitality, they vsing small Curtes⌈c⌉y to strangers in matters[.] of lesse import, as my selfe at Fredriksburg could by no meanes obtayne to enter a small Parke of the kings, impaled[2] for the keeping of Fallow Deare and some fewe strange /10/ beasts. In generall, as the Danes partake with the Saxons of Germany, in many vertues aboue named, so doe they also in many vices, more spetially that of great excesse in drincking. In valor and fighting vpon private quarrells, the punishments of them, and of manslaughter, and in the apprending of malefactors, and like Customes, they differ litle from the Saxons of Germany, wherof I haue formerly writen at large, both in the first part, namely the Chapter of Precepts, and perticularly the precept of patience, and in this fourth Part namely in the Chapter of the Germans /20/ nature. The people of the Country are not only farre inferior to the rich husband men of England and those of Prussia in Germany, but euen to the poore husbandmen of vpper Germany, yea those of Fraunce and Italy though miserablely oppressed. For in Denmarke (as in Poland) they are meere slaues, and so cannot but haue slavish myndes,

[2] "Fenced in" *OED*.

and hauing their hayre of theire heades rounded with a dish, and theire poore apparell made close to theire bodyes, they looke more simply then simplicity it selfe. The inferior sort of the Danes are generally noted to /30/ be rude, and my selfe founde no lesse by experience. For when I entred the Citty of Kopenhagen, the guarde at the exami<ned ...> [mee as] If I had beene a Malefactor, and when I was dismissed by them, they cryed after mee with barbarous Clamours, as if they had never seene a stranger before. But the marryners arude generation in all parts, seemed here to me most barbarous of all others, barking at strangers wheresoeuer they passed by them.[3] Only in the gentlemen and the Students of the Vniversity I founde no want of Ciuill [manners] humanity. The sayd marryners /40/ generally feeding on salted and dryed fishes, and many of the inferior sorte vsing like dyett, (as all the Danes feede most on salt meates better agreeing with theire tasts then fresh) seemed to me of pale leane and drye Complections, somewhat inclinable to a degree of leprosy, whereas the old Saxons inhabiting the two foresayd Prouinces, and the gentlemen and the better sort of Cittisens vsing better dyett, were for the most part like the Germans of Cheerefull Countenances, and Sanguin or Phlegmatike Complexions, and if theire bodyes in generall /50/ differ any thinge from the Germans, they seemed to me

[3] "To speak or cry out angrily or aggressively." *OED*

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fol.534. Booke IIII of Denmarke touching nature &c Chapt IIII.

more slender and for the most part of higher stature, and many of the Danes haue yellowe hayre and inclinable to redd, both heades and beardes which the Germans seldome or never haue.

{ m.n. 5 - 8. Manuall Artes Sciences vniversities Language. }

For Manuall Artes, the Danes are industrous as the Germans, but not so skillfull in curious workes of Carving or graving as those of high Germany, and in theire Customes they much agree with the Artizans of Germany. For Scyences, at the tyme whereof I write, they had many learned men, whereof two were more /10/ famous by theire Printed Bookes, namely Chitreus a Saxon gentleman of *H*olsatia a Philosopher and historyographer,[1] and Tuge Brahe a Danish gentleman, very famous for his skill and writi<n>gs in Astronemy, and for the Choyse Instruments and hou<s>es or Roomes he had Curiously fitted for the speculation of that science, as I haue shewed at large in the [first] first part of this

[1] David Chytræus wrote many books in Latin encompassing theology, the classics, and histories of Saxony, Prussia, and Italy. *BMGC*

worke ⌈writing of my Iorney Iorney through Denmarke.⌉.[5] The Danes also haue an [Vn] Vniversity in the cheefe Citty Kopenhagen, founded ⌈by king Christiern the first and confirmid⌉ by the Pope Sixtus the fourth, with the privileges of Bononia /20/ in Italy.[6] The Rector and Professors haue a Consistorye wherein the Students are Iudged, but in case of difference betweene a Student and a Cittizen, the defendant drawes the cause to his owne Court, only they of the vniversity haue no power to iudge of manslaughter, murther or like Crymes, which are reserued to the kings Courts of Iustice. The Professors were learned, and the vniversity was founded by the foresayde king much like those of Germany, which [ca.....] Commonly haue but one or two Colleges of no stately building and /30/ only for poore schollers, the rest of ⌈the⌉ Students living in the Citty, and a like house for schooles, wherein the Professors reade. Only those of Germany haue Stipends in mony, this hath landes giuen by the founder. Yet howsoeuer this vniversity be not inferior to many of those in

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[5] Moryson saw the Tycho Brahe observatory in late August 1593. See *Itinerary A*, I, 125 - 127. The advances of Brahe (1546 - 1601) were as much in his methodology of sustained observation leading to conclusions in opposition to the ancients, as in his destruction of the idea of the immutable spheres. See Koenigsberger, pp. 423 - 424. "Tycho's interest in astronomy sprang from a consuming obsession with astrology..." Hugh Kearney, *Science and Change 1500 - 1700* (London, 1971), p. 130. In Moryson ancient and modern mix. He views Brahe's observatory, but explains Danish features on Fol. 533 in terms of lean and dry complexion, sanguin and phlegm.

[6] Bologna.

Germany, the Sonnes of the king, and of the gentlemen (for they haue no superior degrees of nobility) after small stay here, vse (for gayning of experience) to studdy in the Vniversyties of Garmany, espetially those vnder the Elecor of Saxony, and many /40/ of them passe into Fraunce and Italy. And fewe Doctors are Created here, which degree they Commonly take in forrayne Vniversityes. They giue all degrees at any tyme of the yeare, after one disputation and the examination of the Professors. And if perhaps a Doctor Commence here, his expence is thirty two Dollors. A Master of Art payes. 12. Dollors, and some 18 Dollers for his Feast, and a Bachelor of Arts payes. 6. Dollers, but makes no feast. Euery Sonday some two howers after dinner, a Student /50/ //

{ c.w. declaymes }

Booke IIII of Denmarke touching nature Chapt IIII fol.535. declames, and answers in disputation to six opponents. Each Professor is bound to dispute foure tymes in the yeare, and so they shoulde haue one disputation each weeke, but they seldome dispute more then once in the yeare, and the opponents are six Bachelors, six masters of Arts, and all the rest of the Professors if tyme permitt. A newe Professor is chosen by the Professors and allowed by the Chancelor, but they ought to be chosen out of the fyue Students to each of which the king Continually giues yearely a hundreth Dollors to mantayne them in forayne vnivrsityes. /10/ No Students, no not the Proffessors, are

free from the seruice in warr, no<r> yet the gentle men, otherwise free from all tributes. The Students then were some 300. in nomber. The Vniversity hauing lands, hath also slaues to till them, as the king and gentlemen haue, for such is the State of the Country people. This vniversity had three Professors of Diuinity, wherof each had 300 Dollors yearely Stipend, and one of them was Bishopp of Zeland, the cheefe Iland of Denmarke, ⌈in⌉ which respect he had more 400 Dollors yearely, for the Bishopps landes /20/ were confiscated to the king, who allowed them stipends, according to the burthens of theire charges. These had also theire owne slaues and so had the Channons of Cathedrall Churches (worth some 200 Dollers yearely, the Rent differing according to the price of Corne). Two Professors of Phisicke had 200, and the third. 150 Dollers yearely. The Professors of the Mathematicks had 150, One of the Ciuill lawe had 300, one of Logicke, one of the Greeke toung, and one of Rhetorick, had each 150, Dollers yearely. And two Schoolemasters to teach young /30/ Scholler had each 100. Dollers yearely stipend. In this vniversity I obserued the logicke of Ramus to be espetially taught, and esteemed in great Authority.[1]

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[1] Pierre de la Ramée (1515 - 1572) was a humanist and radical. He once maintained that more logic could be learned from the structure of Cicero's letters than Aristotle's *Organon*, an astonishing proposition considering the sway of Aristotle throughout European universities. The books the Danes would probably have studied were his *Institutiones Dialecticae* and *Scholae Dialecticae*. His influence spread to the German states, Holland and

For language, Most of the Danes spake latten in somuch as when my selfe and some strangers spoke in lattin of the Danes difficult admittance of strangers to see any thinge, a barefooted ragged boy standing by, vnderstoode and answered vs. But for the mother toung, the Saxon inhabitants of the two foresayd Provinces spake the Saxon toung, and the Danes haue theire peculiar language /40/ of the Iland Gotha, from whence the Gothes written to come, who of old invaded and Conquered Italy. The Danes of old invaded England, and for a shorte tyme ruled there as Kings, and left there many wordes of their language, as namely Mate with the Danes, signifyes Meate with the English, hatt, and Agayne, and Sparrow, and many other wordes are the same in Danish as in English.[8] The worde k<o>yne in danish, and the worde fraw in the German toung both signify a woman, and as the Germans call the wife of theire /50/ Duke or soverayne Prince, Die frow, that is the

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Scotland. His conversion to Protestantism in 1561 enabled his enemies to pay off old scores. He was a victim of the St. Bartholomew massacres. *EB* He appears in Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris,* justifying himself with,

I knew the *Organon* to be confus'd,
And I reduced it into better form... I. 7. 46 - 47.

See Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, edited by J. B. Steane (London, 1969).

[8] In modern Danish, meat, in the sense of food, is *mad*, hat is the same, again *igen*, and sparrow *spurv*. All are in descent from the Old Norse and Old English, *matr, maet*; *hattr, haet*; *í gegn,* Anglian *onġægn*; *spörr, spearwa*. See *The Standard Danish-English English-Danish Dictionary*, edited by Jan Axelsen (Eastbourne, 1986), Eric Partridge, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966), and *OED*.

woman, so the Danes stile the kings wife koyne, //
fol 536 Booke IIII of Denmarke touching nature &c Chap.IIII.
of which worde litle altered comes the English worde Queene, which is the title of wemen raigning absolutely or of the kings Crowned wife in England.[9]

{ m.n. 4 - 11. Ceremonyes perticular in Maryages Funeralls Childebearinge Christninges and other Customes. }
For Ceremonyes, particulary in marryages. Funeralls, Childe-beare<n>ges and Christnings, and for other Customes. In Denmarke the Ceremonyes in generall and for all the sayd particulars, and the Customes, are much agreeable to those of the Saxon Germans, formerly sett downe at large. At Kopenhagen in my shote abode there, I did see a maryage of arich Cittizen, where /10/ some fewe old men of the bridegromes and [bides] brides kindred, did invite the guests two or three dayes before, marching to the Church, the bridegrome went first, hauing his hatt on, not bareheded nor wearing garlands, as the Germans vse, and he had an old man on each syde, but not leading or touching him. Then followed the old then the [old] young men in theire degrees, the best going first, then followed the

[9] "1. *Queen*...comes from OE *cwēn*, a woman (esp a wife), hence '*the* woman' of a country, its queen: cf...ON [Old Norse] *Kvān*, wife, queen..." See entry in Eric Partridge, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966).

madens and virgins, wherof the better sorte had the hayre[s] of theire heades dressed with a Chayne of /20/ pearle, Compassing the forehead and head, and knitt vp in may li<t>ile Circles behynde, but they had no garlons of Roses, which the Germans vse. Then followed the musicke, a trumpitt, an *H*arpe, a Shagbut,[10] and two [v....] Violens (but many haue no musicke at all.) Then followed two men leading the bride [the] betweene them, who had the hayre of her head hanging downe, but ardorned with a Chay[y]ne of pearrle. And lastly followed the marryed wemen. In which order they also retorned from the Church. When /30/ they came to the Churchyard, the musicke there expected their retorne, but the rest in the same order entred the church, about eight of the Clocke in the morning betweene the reading of the Epistle and the Gosple, and the bridegrome and the bride being ledd vp ⌈to⌉ the high Alter, satt downe vpon agreene stoole hauing redd velvett Cushions layd before them, where they heard the Sermon, and after receaved the Communion with the rest of the Congregation, kneeling and praying before the Alter, and then /40/ were marryed, which done, the bridegrome, with his Company went out of the Church, and two men came vp to the Alter to leade backe the bride, followed by two wemen till they came out of the Church, and so they went to dyne at a publike

[10] This is recorded as a form of "Sackbut" by *OED*. It was a bass trumpet with slide for altering pitch, now obsolete.

Bridall house, whether also at supper the bride was agayne conducted by the Virgines and her frends, and the bridegrome by his frendes. But before they satt downe to eate, they all offered theire guifts, with exchange of many Orations (according to the /50/ Germans fashion) and some offered a Rose Noble, //

Booke IIII of Denmarke touching nature &c Chapt IIII fol.537.

some an english Angel of gold.[11] And these marryage sometymes last three, And sometymes seuuen dayes. They are betrothed (the Germans call it handfast⌈tung⌉ that is making fast by the hand) some weekes or monthes before the naryage,[12] At which tyme they are ioyned by the Ceremo<ny> of a Ring which the Bridegrome giues to the Bryde. The Ryott of all feasts is the excesse of drincking.

For Funeralls also they differ not much from the Germans, the dead body being followed to the gr<aue> /10/ with boyes singing, and with one company of men, another of wemen, marching with order and gravity, and when they haue putt the body into the graue, the men first, and after the

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[11] It was so called from the representation of Archangel Michael slaying a dragon. Minted from 1465 until 1634 it value varied from a third of a pound, or six shillings and eight pence, to half a pound, or ten shillings. Room, p. 23.

[12] "Maryage".

wemen, severally not promiscuously,[13] entring the Church, where an offering is made at the Alter for the vse of the ministes, and one of them makes an Oration to the people, which I cannot call a Sermon, being but some quarter of an hower longe, not vpon a text but vpon mortality in generall, and vpon the dead person in /20/ perticular, which donne they sing a shorte Psalme, and so goe backe from the Church with the same order and grauity. But they vse no publike Doles of mony to the poore, nor yet any Feast or banquitt or drincking for those of the Citty invited to the Funerall, but only intertayned in their howses frendes of other Cittyes comming to doe that last duty to theire frendes or theire kinsfolkes.

For Childebearings, the wemen Commonly lye in about six weekes (according to the distance betweene /30/ Christmas and Candlemas) Many mothers nurse theire Children, as in Germany, but others take a nurse into the house, not marryed wemen but (as in Germany) young *H*arlotts [but] and neuer any mother sends her chyld to be nursed [of] owt of her owne house. The Customes of Churching agree much with those of Saxony adioyning, whereof I haue spoken in Germany

For Baptisme. The Danes and theire kings (as many Germans espetially Princes and the Emperor him/40/selfe) haue two

[13] We would probably write "Together, but in some kind of order."

Christian names, as Iohn Fredericke and the like. Yea the Danes besyde theire Christian names beare one name of theire Father, and nother name of theire Family, as Andreas (by Baptisme) Benson (by his Father) Dalius of his Family. And in the two foresayd Provinces inhabited by Saxons (if not in all Denmarke) it seemes they haue the Custome of Germany to change theire names. For a gentleman of note called Topfer by his Syr name, which hath the notation from a maker of earthen Potts, changed his name to Chytreus /50/

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fol 538. Booke IIII of Denmarke touching nature &c Chapt IIII

hauing the same signification in the greeke toung. They haue ordinarily two Godfathers and two Godmothers for each Chylde be it male or female, but are not tyed to the number, some and espetially the greater [sorte] persons hauing more. They giue guifts to the Chyld and Nurse according to their quality, but seldome of any great value, which excesse and abuse is but lately crept into England and hath already made the wisest weary of it.

For Customes. In Denmarke I obserued one Custome /10/ which I never sawe in any other place, that the men in the Church putt off theire hatts when the Clocke strucke the quarters or the whole hower, which I conceaved to be done vpon a good meditation that our mortall life passeth with the hower. When gentlemen meete being frendes, at the first

discovery one of the other, though farr distant, they putt off their hatts, and lifting vp theire right handes voup that is make a Clamor of ioye,[14] then comming neerer they salute, each stricking the other vpon the shoulder (which they vse in all con/20/ferences, and the wemen also in theire daunnces, making the like cleare noyse of Ioye) then they strike handes shaking them hard and long, and insteede of making leggs, each bends both knees, like wemens Curtsyes, but with a very shorte and quicke dopp or bending.[15] The Danes strike handes in like manner after eating, and very beggers receaving Almes must shake the giuer by the hande, or ells his charity is spoyled. The shooting of gunnes is permitted within the Cittyes, contrary to the Custome of Germany. In like cheefe Citty Kopenhagen, they had /30/ no Inns to receave strangers, but they had dyett and lodging with the Cittizens of theire acquaintance, and they that had no[ne] acquaintance inquired houses fitt to lodge them, and might fynde easy and willing entertaynment

The Danes retayne writing after the old style not admitting the newe kalender of Pope Gregory. Theire Clockes strike

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[14] Whoop ? *OED* does not record this form. Dr. T. P. Matheson suggested that the "p" might be an "x", making "Voux", as in Fabian giving vox or expression to the voice, "An your ladyship will have it as it ought to be you must allow *vox*". See *Twelfth Night*, V. 1. 291 - 293.

[15] "A curtsy, a dip." *OED*

twelue howers, and beginn the day after midnight.

{ m.n. 40 - 46. Sportes Exercises particularly *H*untinge *H*awkinge Birdinge and Fishinge. }

For sportes or Pastymes and exercises drincking among /40/ the Danes, as in Germany, hath swallowed them vp, yet retayne they in some good ⌈measure⌉ the laudable Custome of the Germans in the exercise of shooting with harquebuse and Crossbow. For Riding as in Germany they haue skill of ordinary horsmanshipp, but I neuer saw among ether the ryding or managing of great horses. They haue dyce and Cardes, but very seldome play with them, so haue they tables ⌈with⌉ which they play at tick tack, or at lurch but haue no skill of Irish.[16] At all these both Danes and Germans play for small or no wagers, and had much /50/ rather drincke then play[17]

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[16] These are all varieties on the game of backgammon. *OED*

[17] Compare,

> This heavy-headed revel east and west
> Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations.
> They clepe us drunkards, and with that swinish phrase
> Soil our addition.

Hamlet, I. 4. additional passage 1 - 4. Christian IV (1588 - 1648) was a toper throughout his life. He had to be helped out of the entertainment, so memorably described by Sir John Harington, at Theobalds in 1606. At the banquet for the English legation mourning the death of the Queen dowager, Charles I's grandmother, Christian collapsed in his chair, and had to be taken away. At dawn the king was hunting, "...but going to some other of his Officers, their servants told me without any Appearance of Shame, that their Masters were drunk over night, and so it would be late before they would rise." See J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuarts* (London, 1958), pp. 42 - 43, and James Howell, *Familiar*

For *H*unting, it is generally free only to the king, for the gentle men only haue that liberty in theire owne growndes //

Booke IIII of Denmarke touching nature Chapt.IIII fol.539. of inheritance. Nether haue they any Barons or higher degrees of [military] Nobility. And for the Cittizens, they liue not vpon landes of theire owne, but vpon theire mony and traffique, to whome it is not lawfull to *H*unte or kill so much as an hare. And for the inferior sorte of the people, they are so farr from hauing any liberty in this kynde, as they are meere and borne slaues, to the king, or to the gentlemen whose landes they till. But any man may hunte and kill Foxes, and like hurtfull beasts and birdes. Denmarke consists of litle narrowe /10/ Ilandes, excepting the foresayd two Provinces incorporated to that kingdome, and inhabited by Saxons, who in this point, as in all other things, liue after the Saxon lawe. They haue only Redd deare, which at some sett tymes of the yeare they compasse in with Toyles, and kill some 40. or 50. at a tyme, with *H*arquebuzes and like peeces, and Pouder the flesh to keepe long, as wee salte beefe. They haue no wylde Boares (as I was informed) and only the king hath a litle compasse of grownde fenced with high Pales, neere [the]⌈his⌉ Castle at /20/ Frederiksburg, in Zeland the greatest Iland of Denmarke, not farr from his cheefe Citty Kopenhagen. And

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Letters, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), pp. 294 - 296 (9 October 1632).

within this Parke he kept some strang forayne beasts, and some Fallow Deare which the late Queene Elizabeth graunted to be transported thether out of England, about the. 24. yeare of her raigne, the nomber whereof is well increased since that tyme.

They haue excellent *H*awkes in Norway and so many as from those parts England and Fraunce are furnished but in those narrowe Ilands apt to leese *H*awkes, they little /30/ vse that sport.

The Danes (as the Germans) esteeme not any fresh fish which they see not aliue.

Chapter: V

Of Bohemia, touching all the heades of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 37 - 40. Nature and Manners Bodyes and Witts. }
The Bohemians, though invironed on all sydes by German nations, yet were of old meere strangers[1] to them, discending from a Colony ledd thether out of Dalmatia (as theire languag vsed at this day wittneseth) which Province /40/ with Illiris and many other bordering Countryes are by old writers Contayned vnder the generall name of Slavonia (at this day particularly attributed to a Province bordering vpon Dalmatia, and both on the North syde of the Gulfe of Venice, lying opisite to the length of Italy) but by long conversation, and by hauing the Court of the German Emperors for many ages resident among them in theire cheefe Citty Prage, they are now growne in nature and manners much like the Germans. [O.] Only the Germans being of a sterne and sullen behauior, /50/ the Bohemians in that point differ much from them, and come neere to the Pollonians (both of them being //

of old discended, if not of the same, yet of neere bordering nations). For I neuer founde greater humanity and

[1] "Complete strangers", from the Latin *merus* pure.

curtesye in any people, then in the Bohemians, both gentlemen and Plebeans, espetially in gentile wordes with frequent putting off theire *H*atts to honor [.....] those they did meete. And the Polonians also [.....]are of very Curteous behauior, yet herein I though[2] them to differ, that the Bohemians seemed Courteous of humble and ingenvous simplicity, the Polonians rather out of a pryde to be honored, seldome shewing Curtesy to /10/ any who doe not first giue [him] honor to them. Agayne the wemen of Bohemia, Contrary to the Custome of the wemen in Germany drincke with as large intemperance as the men, and goe alone by themselues without the company of men to Taverns and Shenckhausen (or houses where beare is solde)[3] And so come shorte of that Modesty and chastitie for which the wemen of Germany are [..] renowned. Nether are they indeede generally reputed so chast as the wemen of Germany. Besydes that according to the generall liberty giuen by the Roman Church (not only /20/ in Italy but also in Polonia), the Citty Prage hath a publike Stewes allowed by the Magistrate where the *H*arlotts dwell[ing] together in streetes appointed for their habitation. The men haue large bodyes and are of high stature yet are nothinge so actiue as the Polonians whome I haue shewed to discend of the same race. Yet were they of old reputed no lesse vallient and

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[2] "Thought" ?

[3] *Schanckhausen*, German for alehouses.

Couragious (as are the Sclavonians and the foresayd bordering nations generally) wherof they gaue good proofe in the *H*ussites warr after the Pope had burned Iohn *H*us at which /30/ tyme by theire owne Armes and forces without any forrayne ayde they extorted from the Pope and Emperor liberty of Conscience and the Communion of the Sacrament in both kyndes. Yea Zisca theire cheefe Captayne [h] by his braue exploytes in that warr wonn great fame so as when he dyed he advised his followers to make a Drumm of his skinne the sound whereof he supposed would put theire enemyes to flight.[1]

{ m.n. 39, 40. Sciences and Artes. }
They are praysed rather for ingenious simpli<sc>ity then sharpnes of witt. Nether knowe I of any men to ⌈the⌉ haue /40/ had famous in Sciences. And as they are a warlike people and liue in a rich soyle and plentifull Country, so ⌈are⌉[as] they lesse industrous and nothinge excellent in Manuall Artes.

{ m.n. 45. Vniversity. }
For Vniversityes, that of the Cheefe Citty Prage is of good antiquity, as the verses shewe sett vpon a wall of a College, by theire numerall letters (written great and with

[1] John Žižka (1376 - 1424) was the most brilliant general of his day, and the first to use artillery in the field, instead of just at sieges. He held Prague against the Germans. See Waley, pp. 132 - 133.

red Incke) which expresse the yeare when it was founded

Hæc sChoLa qVo fLVIDas anno est erectu sVb aVras,

OstenDIt rVbræ LItera pICta notæ. /50/

What tyme this Schoole was founded here

by the redd letters doth appeare.[5] //

Booke IIII of Bohemia touching nature Chapt V Fol.541

The Emperor Charles the fourth founded it in Imitation of the French vniversity in Paris, and for many ages it had great number of Students, till the tyme of the Emperor Charle the fifth, who tooke away the privileges, therof, because the Students stirred vp seditions when he made his warr agaynst the Protestant Princes of Germ..⌈an⌉y.[6] At which tyme the Students forsooke Prage and went to Leipzig vnder the Elector of Saxony, and to this day it lyes vnfrequented, like the shadowe and Ruines of a decayed vniversity. For the priuileges being taken away, /10/ and

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[5] DD = 1000; CC = 200; LLL = 150; VVVVV = 25; IIII = 4 which equals 1379. Unfortunately it is incorrect. Lewknor puts it at 1360 in Samvel Levvkenor, *A Discovrse of forraine Cities Containing Vniuersities* (London, 1600), p. 58, [*STC* 15566], but the real date was 1348. See L. J. Daly, *The Medieval University 1200 - 1400* (New York, 1961), p. 72.

[6] Emperor Charles IV (1334 - 1378) was a Bohemian who settled the Court in Prague, and established the university there. He encouraged Bohemian erudition, and the writing of Bohemian history, and, as a concomitant, national feeling. John Hus was Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and later Rector of the University of Prague, after the Germans had decamped to Leipzig, in protest against Bohemian influence. Ferdinand, brother to Emperor Charles V (1519 - 1556), and King of Bohemia, regarded the University as an ancient nursery of rebellion, heresy and separatism, which was crushed after the great Protestant defeat at Mühlberg, 1547. See Waley, pp. 132 - 135, *EB.*

many other vniversities being since that tyme founded by the Princes of Germany in theire seuerall Dominions, and the Professors of Prage being not famous for learning, the Concouse[1] of Students could neuer since be drawne thether. And from that tyme the gates of the vniversity were, by Command of the Emperor, left oppen by night as by day, yet when I passed that way, it had six ruined Colleges, as one called the kings, another the Queenes, the third the College of Nations, which three had but 24 Students in them. And howsoeuer the markett place, of old possessed by Students, /20/ was now inhabited by Cittisens, yet the Rector [of]⌈and⌉ Professors had still many villages, giuen them of old and still proper to them, vpon which they liued in the ruined Colleges, and whatsoeuer remayned of theire old rents, aboue the expence of theire Dyett and the dyett of some poore schollers, they deuided among themselues yearely, but this division seldome exceeded 40 Dollors to each of them. And if any of them maryed, they lost theire place, of Rector, Superiors, and Professors in the vniversity. But besydes theire Rents, they gayned much by private teaching. And to this day they gaue degrees /30/ to Students, [..]which notwithstanding were not allowed to them in other vniversityes, because all theire privileges being taken away, they had no right to graunt them.

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[1] Concourse ?

{ m.n. 34. Language }

The Bohemians haue a [perticular][peculiar] language, and the Province of Morauia, incorporated to that kingdome, hath the same language, and of late when the Emperor, at his admittance to be king of Bohemia, prommiced his Oath in the Garman toung, the Moravians refuse to take or giue Oath otherwise then in their owne toung, which the Emperor not vnderstanding, was notwithstanding forced /40/ to learne the wordes of the Oath in that tounge by harte, for theire satisfaction. Yet the Province Silesia, incorporated also to that kingdome vseth theire owne German language, and alsmost all the Bohemians inhabiting the old Citty of Prage, could speake the German tounge as naturally as theire owne. The Bohemians & Moravins (and also the Inhabitants of Polonia the lesse being all discended of bordering nations) speake the old Sclavonian tounge (vnder which name I sayd Dalmatia to be Contayned) but they vse diuers Dialects, lesse or more differing one from the other, /50/ And some say this to be the tounge of the old Vandalls, a nation if not extinct, yet dispearsed, whereof many are founde //

to this day in Germany, neere Augsburg named of the Vandalls, and in Saxony on the North syde of Bohemia.

{ m.n. 4 - 8. Ceremonyes spetially in Marryages Childbearinges. Christninges & Funeralls. }

Touch Ceremonyes,[8] as all nations of late ages haue suffered base flattery in titles and Salutations to growe greater among them, then the Austerity of former ages admitted, and ⌈as⌉ I haue sayd, that the Germans assume these titles in high measure, so the Bohemians exceede them herein, the title of Gestreng, that is mighty, being giuen to avery gentleman, (and all be gentle men, excepting Cittizens of /10/ great Cittyes, the Country people being all slaues) when the great ladyes and gentlewemen goe to church, or otherwise goe abroade, all theire men seruants goe before them. In generall, the Papists and *H*ussites litle differ in Ceremonyall Rites. For the *H*ussites reformation consists only in giuing the supper of the lord in both kindes, and de<yrd>ing Purgatory,[9] and the popes power, in forgiuing sinnes and other like thinges, Otherwise if the Papists be superstitious in Ceremonyes [if] the [Papists be ⌈are⌉] *H*ussites ⌈are⌉ ridiculous in them. /20/

{ m.n. 21, 22. Maryages and Chidbearinges. }
Particularly for Ceremonyes at Mariages, in my Cursory iorny through that kingdome I saw not any Nuptiall Feasts, but in probability they differ not much therin from the next people of Polonia the lesser (being both discended of

[8] "Touching Ceremonyes..." is almost certainly meant.

[9] Moryson may mean deriding, denying or decrying Purgatory.

the same nations liuing to this day in Slavonia and Dalmatia, and the bordering Countryes) saue that the Bohemians hauing long beene subiects to the Emperors of Germany, and incorporated to the Empire by hauing theire king one of the seuen Electors, it /30/ is more then probable that in manners Ceremonyes and Customes, they haue by degrees daily more and more ⌈inclined⌉ to those of Germany, And the same I must say for the Ceremonyes of Childbearinges.

{ m.n. 35. Baptisme }

For Ceremonyes of Baptisme, the Bohemians Children are not Baptised naked with the whole body washed in the water, according to the Custome of Germany, but are Cloathed, and haue only the face sprinckled with water, ⌈and the forehead and neck anoynted with oyle.⌉ But they, as the Germans, giue each Chylde two or more Christian names. And /40/ for other Ceremonyes, touching Godfathers nurses, Midwyes, and Feasts at Christnings, I can say no more then I formerly sayd in the particulars concerning maryages and Childebearings.

{ m.n. 45. Funeralls. }

Touching the Ceremonyes of Funeralls among the Bohemians, my selfe did see at Prage three persons of differing quality buyred, one ⌈a⌉ gentleman, who was thus Carryed to the Church. First at noone day threescore lighted torches

were carryed, then all the seuerall Coate-Armes of his Family, then came the /50/ singing boyes, and 14 Priests, hauing 4 great crosses Carryed among them, and all of them singing, then followed the gentelmans horse all covered with blake velvett, and ledd by two gentlemen in black mourning //

Booke IIII of Bohemia touching nature &c Chapt V fol.543.

habites, one holding the bridle on each syde, then followed 4 gentlemen mournors, one carrying Spurrs, the second his sworde, the third his *H*elmett and plumes, and the fourth his sheilde. Then foure men carryed the Beare[10] with the dead body, Closed in a Coffen of Copper (but all the Cittisens and inferiour persons are buyred with theire faces open) Twenty gentlemen mournors in blacke followed the *H*earse, and next them came the wemen mournors, Clothed with white vayles and ornaments, but but hauing theire faces vncovered, The body being sett /10/ downe in the midle of the Church, the Priests and boyes song at the high Alter, and after a shorte Sermon, or rather oration (vpon mortality, and of the dead person) the body was lifted vp to the foure Cornors of the Church, as giuing farewell to all the people, and then brought to the graue within the Church, where his neerest frendes attended to take theire leaues of him, which they did with many Childish lamentations, and Complaynts that he would thus forsake

[10] Bier.

them, which done, the body was putt into the graue, and many of the frendes did cast hand/20/fulls of earth after it.[11] The second Funerall was of a marryed Cittisen, wherein the Priests and boyes went singing before the body, which had the face open, apparreled in a poore blake gowne, with a Capp vpon the head, a Ruffe about the necke, black stockings and shooes vpon the Feete, and layde open a bedd with two fayre Pillowbeares[12] vnder the head. The body was sett downe in the midest of the Church, with twelue torches burning a bout it, and after the like singing and Sermon, it was in like sorte lifted vp to the foure cornors of the Church as to bidd the people /30/ farewell, and so with singing carryed into the Churchyarde, where the frendes attended at the graue, and first the youngest, then the eldest Children, then the wife, and other neere frendes, embraced and kissed the body, with foolish lamentation, that he wanting nothinge to a happy life, would thus forsake them, and the litle Chilldren could hardly be pulled from imbracing the dead father. Then the bedd and Pillowes were carryed backe by seruants, and the body so apparaled was putt into a Coffen of wood, and so into the graue, many men which shamed to lament like Children, /40/

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[11] Moryson has scant sympathy with lamentations for the dead, because if the person is saved there is no cause to lament. Equally, death-rates were so high, that he was probably inured to it.

[12] Pillow-case. *OED* records uses from Chaucer until Victorian times.

and wemen, casting handfulls of earth vpon the Coffen. The third Funerall was of a cheefe Cittisens eldest sonne, yet vnmaryed, whose dead body was layd vpon the Beare, Covered with a Fetherbead or boulsters, hauing the head raysed high with two fayre wrought Pillowbeares. The body was layd with the face vpward, the head being bare, saue that it was adorned with a krantz or Garland of Roses, the hayre of the head (for he had not his bearde growne) was curiously Comb[r]ed and Curled, about his necke was a fayre thicke Roffe, vpon his handes like Cuffes and perfumed /50/ gloues, with silke stockings of Carnation Coller, white Pumpes and black velvett Pantoffles on his feete,[13] and the whole body was covered with a thinne Robe of skye collered satten. Thus the body was sett downe in the midest of the Church, and after the like sermon or Oration, was lifted vp to the foure Cornerrs of the Church to take his last leaue

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fol.544. Booke IIII of Bohemia touching nature &c Chapt.V. of the people, and then was carryed to his graue within the Church, and being sett downe there, his frendes attending in the same place, tooke theire severall leaues of him, with many foolish lamentations, which ended, the bedd and Pillowes being only carryed backe, the body with all the former ornaments was inclosed within a Coffin of wood, and

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[13] *OED* has examples of pump and pantofle being cited together because of their alliteration. A pump is a light undershoe, and the pantofle an overshoe.

so being put in to the graue, many frendes Cast handfulls of earth after it. For other Ceremonyes of Funeralls, my shorte stay in that kingdome must pleade my excuse for omitting them as /10/ vnknowne.

{ m.n. 13. Customes. }

Touching the Customes of the Bohemians. They Contrary to the Germans, thincke it no immodisty for men to make water openly in the streetes. They followe the new style or kalender of Pope Gregory, imposed by the [Em] Emperor in all his Teretoryes, aswell Austria subiect to him, as Archduke thereof, as Bohemia subiect to him as theire king, and the Provinces incorporated to that kingdome, namely Morauia speaking the Bohemia toung, and Silesia of the Germans language and nation. The /20/ Clocks strike 24. howers, but followe not the Sunne, nor differ euery day and moneth in the none falling at diuers howers, as the Clockes doe in Italy, but [being to] begin to strike one after midnight, and so forward ste⌈a⌉dily all the yeare, as our Clockes doe, saue that ours strike only xij howers ⌈and⌉ then [⌈and⌉] beginn agay<ne>

{ m.n. 27 - 31. Pastimes Exercises perticularly *H*unting *H*awking Birding and Fishing. }

For Exercises, Pastymes, hunting, hawking, birding and Fishing, my cursory iorny yealded me small or no experience therein. Of all which I can say no more then I formerly

wrote in the Ceremonyes of marryages and /30/ Childbearings. Only for hunting, the Barrons and gentlemen of Bohemia, are absolute lordes with power of life and death in theire owne Teritoryes, no lesse then the Emperor is in the Dominions pertayning to him as king of Bohemia. So as all theire subiectes in the Country villages being slaues to them, they and they alone, must needes haue absolute power in their owne Teritoryes to hunte, *H*awke, and for like exercises. And for my experience in the shorte tyme of my stay in this kingdome, I did once meete here a gentleman /40/ with his followers *H*awking in the feildes, which never ells happened to me by the way as I traveled in any other dominion, but only once more in Poland. Italy is narrowe for those sportes,[14] and Fraunce was then troubled with Ciuill warres. So as not speaking of the murthering rather then hunting of Red Deare by the Princes of Germany, I thincke these exercises are much more vsed by the English and Scotts, then in any orther part or all other partes of the worlde. And for Partriges and Phesants, howsoeuer Fraunce and our Partes /50/ haue them in aboundance, and the fieldes of Bohemia and Poland are like to haue plenty of them, yet nether in Bohemia, Poland, nor yet in Italy

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[14] This is an unusual adjective to use, but *OED* 3. a. "Limited in range or scope; restricted", and 3. b. "Limited in amount; very small or poor" probably come nearest to Moryson's intentions. *OED* quotes Lithgow, the traveller, in 1632, describing the geography, "Italy growing narrower, and narrower, till it shut out it selfe in two hornes," but I do not think this is the sense here.

did I euer see them serued in the Innes, or at Feasts //

Booke IIII of [Bohemia]⌈Poland⌉ touching Nature &c Chapt.V fol.545.

where I haue beene invited. For Fish of the Freshwaters Bohemia (far distant from the Sea) hath great plenty of them, and prise them not if they be dead, but the gentlemen will haue them aliue, and so dresse them with costly brothes and sawces, hauing all skill to prepare them with theire owne handes.

Chapter VI

Of Poland touching all the heades of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 10, 11. Nature and Manners. }

The Polonians, espetially the cheefe part of them lying /10/ vpon the East syde of Germany, are discended if not of the same nations with the Bohemians, yet of neere bordering people (as I haue formerly shewed in the precedent Chapter and shall haue present occasion more largly to shewe, treating of the Polonian language) And though the Bohemians are as it were incorporated into the Empire of Germany, by hauing their king one of the Electors, and the Emperors for many ages hauing beene their kings, so as in nature and manners they are much conformed to the Germans yet to this day, they and the Polonians are /20/ in many thinges of like disposition. For the Polonians exceede the Bohemians in putting of hatts, with like salutations, and in all Curteous affability, saue that they seeme to doe it more out of pryde, seldome vseing Curtesy to any who doe not first honor them. In like sorte they exceede the Bohemians in giuing large titles of honor one to the other, as experience teacheth, and (if we may beleeue the Germans, who litle loue [.] that nation) the inferiour sorte giue the title of Genade (that is Grace) to very Coachmen. The Bohemians (as I haue shewed) are /30/ a valyant nation by

nature, but this valor is much tempered by the placability and moderation they haue Contracted from the Germans. But the Polonians besydes that they are naturally valyent, and more subiect to sudden passions, and out of pride apte to take small thinges in worde or deede for scornes and iniuryes, and so prone to quarrells, wherein they will assayle with any disparity or advantage of number. For younger brothers gentlemen, seruing or following the great lords and gentlemen of Countryes (who are absolute lords with power of life and death, /40/ all the people of the Country being their slaues) they cleaue together like burrs in all quarrells.[1] Yet can I not say this pro[s]ceedes from any base mynde, hauing seene them apt to quarrell who had great disaduentage, as in many other places, so at Dantzke, where the kings guard being fewe in number, and lodged in the Subarbes, not admitted into the Citty, yet a German Porter hapening to rush vpon one of them, and after the blowe bidding [th] him take heede, he had not the patience to forbeare the Porter, but with his shorte sworde almost cutt off his Arme, and thereby /50/ drewe the whole Citty into Armes, against him and his fellowes. But besyde the Polonians bolde Courag, other thinges make them very prone to quarrells and murthers, namely the excesse of drincking

[1] "A pattern of clientage evolved, and the courts of the magnates gradually took over the social functions of the royal court. Some of the magnates created what were in fact small states, with their own economic arrangements, their own administrations, their own armies, and, of course their own monarchs." Zamoyski, p. 137.

in all sortes high and lowe, //

fol.546. Booke IIII of Poland touching nature &c Chapt VI. and the priviledges which great men haue, perticularly that a gentleman cannot be Condemned but by a publike Parlament helde but once in [the]⌈three⌉ yeares, and by the voyces of gentlemen Commonly partiall one to the other,[2] as also the vse of gentlemen to beare out theire seruants and slaues in all disorders, to their vttermost power.[3] So as the Germans say, that in Poland they care no more to kill a man then a dogg. The Country people, when they fyght, hold it more valour to receaue a wounde without feare, then by skill to defende the body, and commonly he that strikes bids his advrsarye /10/ to take heede to his head, or any other parte he meanes to strike, who presently defendes that part and no other, for the vse not to falsifye theire wordes therein. The Germans write the Polonians to be inhospitall[4] (I thincke for the respect of quarrells) and flattering (I thincke in respect of the foresayd Curtescy), and great

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[2] "...and by the votes of gentlemen normally biased in each other's favour..." *OED*

[3] Moryson is normally contemptuous of lords and their large retinues, particularly in Ireland and the north of England. See Fols. 260 - 261. This is why on Fol. 545 he thinks that the followers would be base minded, but for their courage in fighting at unequal odds. Shakespeare takes a wry look at this situation, when Davy, Master Shallow's servant, reminds him of his eight years' service, and the rewards he expects, "An I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have little credit with your worship." *II Henry IV*, V. 1. 41 - 43.

[4] Hughes amends to "inhospitable", p. 390.

drinckers (as in deede generally they are) when I behelde the king to come by water, in a poore boate from Crakaw to Dantzke, and the small provisions for him, his Queene and Courtyers, of a fewe bottles of wyne, and a small quantity of vittles, I /20/ Iudged the Polonians to be very frugall, but after by experience founde them rather prodigall, aswell in Poland where they are generally bountifull as more spetially in Italy, where I obserued the sonnes of the Castellandes (that is keepers of Castles for life) to spend theire whole patrimony in liuing a boue theire degree.[5] For they are great Trauelors espetially into Italy and the vniversityes of Germany, and howsoeuer the foresayd defects in nature and manners may generally be imputed to them, Yet these trauelers are very Curteous espetially to strangers and complete /30/ gentlemen in behauior and many noble vertues, and perticularly free from that quarelsome disposition which is iustly imputed to the vulger sorte of gentlemen, and lesse take partes together in any brawles.[6]

{ m.n. 35, 36. Bodyes and Witts. }

The Polonians are Commonly tall of stature with bigg and strong limbes by reason of free education, and the loose

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[5] There seems to have been a code of conspicuous consumption. "The szlachta [noble class] did not like to put money away, and invested in things they could wear or use out in the open - clothes, jewels, arms, saddlery, horses, servants and almost anything else that could be paraded." Zamoyski, p. 107.

[6] Hughes omits the last phrase.

garments they generally weare, and haue actiue bodyes, quick witts and great viuacity of spiritt, but exercise both the Abilityes of bodyes and myndes most in horsemanship. /40/

{ m.n. 41 - 44. Manuall Artes Sciences Vniversityes Language. }

For Manuall Artes. They are not industrious in them, the Plebians being borne slaues, who cannot exercise Trades to theeire owne profitt but only for theire lordes vse, and the Cittisens liuing with traffick by whole sayle or retayling. So as they haue fewe of manuall Trades, and those only shooemakers and Taylors for dayly necessity. All are Cookes for dressing theire owne meate, very gentlemen hauing skill to dresse theire owne Fish, in preparing wherof they are curious, and most vulgar man make theire owne shooes and all the apparrell /50/ they weare.

For Sciences, there is not a ragged boy, nor a smith that shooes your horse, but he can speake latten readily the most corruptly of all I euer hard. Their lawyers are well studyed in the Ciuill lawes, but I coulde not heare of //

Booke IIII of Poland touching nature &c Chapt VI. fol.547

any famous for skill in Phisicke or any profession of the liberall Sciences, Nether haue we any or very fewe famous Authors or writers of that nation, so far as I suddenly remember theire gentlemen being for the most parte military

men.

{ m.n. 6. vniversityes. }

Touching Vniversityes, the Polonians haue one in the cheefe Citty Crakaw, but it hath only two Colleges nothinge lesse then fayrely built, called the great and the litle College, in which some fewe poore schollers were mantayned, and the Professors in them haue theire dyett /10/ and Schooles for reading of lectures they being all Pristes and so vnmaryed. The rest of the Students liue in Cittisens howses, but in deede there is small Concurse thether of Polonians them selues, much lesse of strangers. For the Polonian gentlemen commonly haue theire education in the great Cittyes and vniversityes of Germany. Sweitzerland, Italy and Fraunce. In that vast kingdome they haue other vniversities, which in my cursory iourney I did not see as Vilna in Lituania[7] [and] (as I heard) Guesna. /20/

{ m.n. 21. Language. }

Touching the Polonian language, I haue formerly sayd that the Bohemians descende from the Dalmations, and that they with the people of Illyris[8] and other bordering Provinces,

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[7] Vilnius in Lithuania.

[8] Illyricum was the Classical name for the province stretching from Istria down through Dalmatia to Macedonia. The spelling here, unlike that on Fol. 539 is reminiscent of Shakespeare's Illyria. Shakespeare deliberately changes the scene from Cyprus and Constantinople in his source of *Twelfth Night* 'The Story of Apolonius and Silla'. I assume

are by olde writers called Slavonians, which name is nowe proper to one Province lying with Dalmatia vpon the Gulfe of Venice,[9] likewise I haue sayd, that the Polonians are by olde writers called Sarmatians of which name some were in Asia called also Sythians, and other were of Europe, from whome the inhabitants of great Polonia seeme to me to haue theire originall, as the inhabitants of lesser Poland (in which lyes the /30/ Cheefe Citty and seate of the king) bordering vpon Bohemia and the Easterne partes of Germany, and likewise the, Bohemians are discended from the foresayd old Dalmations or bordering nations, which of old by a common name are called Sclavonians. For the historyes of Germany recorde, that about the yeare 550, two young Princes Lechus and his brother, to avoyde sedition at home, did leade out a great Colony of the sayd people, whereof parte with Lechus planted them selues in a Country of thick woodes after called Poland of the playne grownd, and the other /40/ brother with the rest seated themselues in Bohemia and Morrauia. In a worde, the Bohemians Morauians, Polonians, lituanes, Moscovites, and Russians (as Munster a German writeth) haue one language, which some call the Sclavonian others the old vandalls tounge, but differing

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that he does this because the knowledge of the tragic impact of the fall of both places to the Turks would be unsuitable for comedy. It was appropriate for his tragedy *Othello*. See *Elizabethan Love Stories*, edited by T. J. B. Spencer, Penguin Shakespeare Library (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 97 - 117, 197 - 209.

[9] Slavonia.

some more some lesse in theire seuerall Dialects and pronvntiations.[10] The Polonians write theire wordes allmost all with Consonants, but must needes pronovnce them with vowells, and howsoeuer so many Consonants cause asperity and distortion of the mouth in speaking; /50/ yet the gentlemen at this day pronovnce theire wordes //

fol.548. Booke IIII of Poland touching nature &c Chapt VI

gently vsing the consonants rather in theire penns then in theire speech. A learned stranger who had long liued in that kingdome, assured mee that the Polonians haue six letters more then wee, commonly vsed in theire speech, but I then forgatt to learne what these letters were. Diabolo (that is Devill) is as frequent in the mouthes of Polonian gentlemen, (who commonly living much in Italy haue from thence drawne this worde) as Catso[11] is with the Italians, [is] Futre[12] with the French, and Das Dich Gott to the Germans, vpon all disdaines /10/ or passions. All the Polonians. yea very smithes and like Artizans, can speake [fals] the lattin tounge, and that roundly, but most falsly, for quantity of sillables, and for all the rules of Gramer. To this kingdome of Poland partayned of old many Provinces of Germany, then and at this day vseing the

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[10] The Vandals were one of many Germanic tribes whom the Romans regarded as *barbari*, barbarians. They swept across Europe and invaded North Africa in the early fifth century.

[11] *Cazzo* meaning prick.

[12] *Foutre* means fuck.

german toung, which nowe of long tyme haue beene divided from that Crowne, by warr, and contracts of Maryages, namely the Provinces of Silesia, and lusatia (incorporated nowe [the] to the kingdome of Bohemia) and Pomerania and Meckelburg /20/ hauing theire owne Dukes to this day and incorporated to the Empire of Germany.

{ m.n. 23 - 28. Ceremonyes perticularly of maryages Funeralls Childe bearinges and Christeninges }

Touching Ceremonyes, the Polonians vse litle reverence to theire king, much lesse to the chayre and Cloth of estate and regall ensignes in the kinges absence, nether knowe they what it is to kneele on theire knees to the king. Only when he eates, all people and strangers haue free accesse to see him, and when he drinckes all men in the roome putt of theire hatts, and the very Queene and ladyes rise vp in reverence. Among the pompes and Ceri/30/monyes of the Crowne, the [gentle]generall meeting of all the Gentlemen vpon the kinges death to chuse a newe king, is performed with great magnificence. The meeting for this Election and Coronation is commonly neere Crakaw, and lasts some six weekes, all the Gentlemen lying in Tents like an Army taking vp some tenn myles compasse, and hauing agreat Tent for the generall meetinges, and all this tyme nether the king nor the kingdome are charged with the expences of this multitude, but the cheefe Gentlemen (vpon whome the rest depend) haue /40/ theire owne provisions for them and their

followers.

{ m.n. 42. Maryage. }

For maryages, I obserued at Crakaw, that the Bridegrome and Bride dined at the publike house of the Senate, and from thence after dinner marched orderly with theire frendes to theire dwelling house, with trumpitts sounding before them. In my short abode there I could not well knowe theire Ceremonyes and Customes, only I vnderstood by discourse. That the maryed partyes were betrothed before the tyme of maryage, and then were wedded with a Ring, and that they kept sumptuous Feasts, consisting /50/ most in plenty of Drinck, and therein more chargable because they haue Spanish wyne at a deare rate as farr //

{ c.w. fetched, }

Booke IIII of Poland touching nature &c Chapt.VI. fol.549. fetched (vsing no French wynes, nor hauing any wyne growing, but vpon the frontyers [.] in *H*ungary very good wyne but the Caryage by land making it deare, and in Austria, which is a sharpe and small wyne), besydes that the vse much spices, which are imported from remote places and so very deare. That they haue also sumptuous banquets of sweete preserues.

{ m.n. 8. Funeralls. }

That in theire Funeralls, the dead are caryed to Church with a great Company to attend them, but they haue no such

Doles to the poore, Drinckings, Dynners or banquets /10/ as wee vse. That they haue great Bells, but neuer towle them whyle the sick lye dying, who are only prayed for in the Church, only at the buiryall these Bells (hanging commonly in Churchyardes vncovered) are towled and iangled, neuer rung out or answering one to the the other in Musicall tunes, nether vse they any knells after the tyme that the body is buiryed.

{ m.n. 18, 19. Childbearinge and Christnings. }
That wemen lye in Childbed some six weekes after the distance betweene Christmas and the Feast of our ladyes Purification called Candlemas. And when they are Churched, /20/ they take some neighbours to accompany them, but the Priest vseth no Rite or Cerimony to the woman in the Church, nether keepe they any Feast at home. That the Common sort both male, and female haue two Godfathers and two Godmothers, but gentlemen often haue twenty more or lesse, taking it for an honor to haue many. That they giue some halfe Doler to the nurse, and some Ducat or a peece of Plate to the Childe, as they are able, but never in such excesse or frequency of that charge, as by abuse of late are practised in England.[13] That the mothers not being able

[13] The nurse gets something over two shillings if the "Reichs Doller" is being referred to, and the child about six shillings and sixpence if the gold Polish or Hungarian ducat is being referred to. See *Itinerary A*, I, xxiv; and II, 153 - 154.

to nurse their Children /30/ take Nurses into their houses, but neuer send them out of dores to be nursed. And that they keepe a great Feast at the Christning of their Chilldren.

{ m.n. 34. Customes. }

Touching Customes. The Polonians vpon the death of their king without issue male, were of old suitors to the Pope to giue them leaue to take the next heyre male for their king out of a Monastery, in which he had made himselfe a moncke, which they say the Pope granted vpon Condition imposed by him or voluntaryly receaved by the Polonians, that thence-forward all the lay men of Poland should keepe /40/ all the hayre of their head shaued, except one locke of hayre on the forehead norished at length, in memory of this fauor dunne them by the Pope, which Custome the lords and gentlemen of the kings Court, with their servants, and followers, vse to this day, but fewe or no other. Some thincke they tooke this Custome from the Turkes, vsing to shaue their heades, and to weare a Scarlett Capp next to the head vnder theire Tulbents. But the Turkes vse this Custome to avoyde the heate of the Clyme vnder which they liue, whereas Poland is a /50/ very coulde Country, besydes that the Polonians weare nothinge but a litle Capp vpon the Crowne of the head. //

fol.550. Booke IIII of Poland touching nature &c Chapt.VI.

They haue a strange Custome, seeming to me ridiculous, because it is Contrary to nature, whereas Art is not commended but in imitation of nature, namely that, as they take great pride in adorning the furniture of their horses, so they paynt theire Maynes, tayles, and the very bottomes of their bellyes most subiect to durt, with a Carnation Coulor, which nature neuer gaue to any horse.

Where as the Germans forbidd shooting of peeces within many of theire Cittyes, at Crakaw in the cheefe Citty of Poland, they /10/ not only discharge peeces within the walls, but ordinarily walke with Pistolls charged, which is a dangerous Custome for a nation so much giuen to quarrells, by nature, and for Com[o]mon excesse in drincking.

The Polonians write not after the old style of all nations, but after the newe stile or kalender of Pope Gregorye lately alltered.[14]

The vse whole Clocks, striking 24. howers which beginn to strike one, when the sunne ryseth, and so the noone alters each month as the sunne varyeth the rising, in which /20/ sort allso the Clockes of Italy followe the Sunne.

{ m.n. 22 - 26. Pastymes Exercises *H*unting *H*awkeing Birding

[14] This exemplifies the rising Catholic influence in Poland under Sigismund III (1587 - 1632).

and Fishinge }

For Pastymes and exercises. Though drincking swallowes vp most Pastymes and exercises, where it is a nationall vice, yet the Polonians being excessiue Drinckers, [and the gentlemen], doe also play very much at dyce and Cardes, and the gentlemen for deepe hazard of much mony, as two or three hundreth Guldens at a tyme, and they play much at Tables, Commonly Tick Tack and lurch, but never at Irish, whereof they haue no skill.[15] Horsmanship is theire cheefe exercise, wherein the excell, /30/ as allso they are practised in other military exercises.

{ m.n. 32, 33. *H*unting and *H*awking. }

For *H*unting, and *H*awking, they sometymes vse these exercises, but not ordinarily, and howsoeuer some vse them more some lesse, yet are they farr from making it a whole dayes worke, yea the Continuall[y] workes of dayes monthes and yeares, as very many great men in England doe.

As once in Bohemia so once in Poland, neere Crakaw, I did once meete a gentleman with his followers *H*awking in the feildes, and never ells, as I traueled, did in /40/ any place see any exercise ether of *H*unting or *H*awking, which so frequently offers it selfe to passengers neere the high wayes of England.

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[15] Tick-tack, lurch and irish are all old varieties of backgammon. *OED*

{ m.n. 44, 45. Birding and Fishing. }

For Birding (or fouling) and for fishing, my abode was so small in that kingdome, as I could make no observations fitt to be related. Only for Fishing, the situation within land barrs them from hauinge Sea fishes, but they haue greate plenty of Fishes in Riuers, Pondes, and lakes, and are generally noted by all strangers, to dresse them Curiously and with /50/ great Cost, the gentlemen not disdayning this //

Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chapt VII fol.551.

Cookery with theire owne handes, but in any case they will see the Fish aliue, and otherwise will not eate it, but leaue it for the poore.

Chapter. VII.

Of Turkey touching all the heades of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 7 - 10. Nature and manners bodyes and wittes. }
The Turkes Empire is so vast, and consists of so many Provinces, and nations no lesse differing in nature and all conditions ⌈one⌉ from the other, then distant in remote Clymes, as whatsoeuer may be sayd of their /10/ nature, manners and the like, cannot possibly agree to all persons and seuerall partes of them. Therefore in this discourse where I speake generally naming no particular[ly] place, I desyre to be vnderstood of the Turkes vpon the Sea borders as men Sayle from Venice to Constantinople, and those liuing in the frequent Ilands of those [seates]⌈seas⌉, nore[1] spetially in and neere Constanttinople, as likewise those that liue vpon the Sea borders of Asia the lesse, and those aswell vpon the Sea as within land, from *H*aleppo through all /20/ Syria, and Palestine, to Ierusalem, being [all] the whole Compasse of my Iorney in those partes. And first for the Confynes of Ierusalem and the Citty it selfe, I will say generally in a word, that they are inhabited with Mores and Arabians, and the scumme of many nations, as barbarous, theevish, base, ignorant, Cruell, and wicked

[1] More ?

people, as can be imagined, likely to crucifye out lord agayne and agayne, and as often as he should come to them, as they cease not daily to persecute /30/ him in his members. Of whome Robert Duke of Normandy, being sicke, and carryed vpon their shoulders from the Christian Campe to Ierusalem, is written of old to haue sayd very truly, that he was caryed into heauen vpon the bakes of Devills. Generally the Turkes are a people most proude, disdaynefull, inhospitall, cruell, boasting & thincking no nation like them selues either for wisdome or Valor, though I shall shewe them to be nothinge lesse indeede. That they a.r of this beastly nature, espetially the Christians /40/ liuing vnder them and passing, through their Dominions haue daily and most bitter experience. The fairest wordes they speake to them, are, thou Infidell, thow hogg, thou [y]dogg, and indeede they vse them no better then dogs, being ready to strike them with Cudgells or hamers, or what comes next to hand, vpon any light or no occasion. If a Christian looke in the face of a Turke, he will not fayle to strike him for that high presumption, for which cause I there tooke the fashion of looking vpon the grownd in walking, which I /50/ /

fol.552. Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c. Chap.VII.

could never since leaue, Fewe Christians passe through Turky without grosse iniuryes, though my selfe had the happ never to receave any blowes from them, yet I suffered many scornes. Neere Ierusalem a Spachi or horseman of the

Turkish Army riding like Amadis of gaull, with his speare, shelde, Cimeter (or shorte worde) bowe and quiuor of Arrowes, when he passed by vs, Couched his speare,[2] and running at one of our Company, passed through the pannell of his asse, because wee did him no reverence, so as wee were forced to /10/ tumble from our Asses (hauing no stirropps but knotted Ropes) and bende our bodyes to him, which donne he rode awaye, as I haue formerly sayd in my Iornall. likewise in one of the Ilandes neere Constantinople, a Turke tooke my hatt from my heade, and desyring to borrowe it for a Close stoole, flung it into the durte, besydes other many scornes which my selfe and my Companions suffered from them, espetially at Ierusalem, where the boyes as wee passed, did from the higher sydes of the streetes leape vpon our shoulders, with like /20/ indignityes. And lett no man wonder at our patience, for as it is death for a Common Turke to strike a Ianizary or any soldyer, so if a Christian strike [and] any Turke, he must ether be Circumcised, or suffer some of theire shamefull tortur<i>ng deathes, whereof I haue formerly written in due place. And for this cause, as wee were advised, wee left our swordes in our Chests at Venice, going vnarmed, as all Christians doe, for howsoeuer they may vse weapons in the high way against theeues, yet the Caravans in which they

[2] "To lower (a spear, lance, etc.) to the position of attack, grasping it with the right hand with the point directed forwards," *OED*, couch, v. 1. 7.

/30/ passe being Armed for that defence, and their wearing of weapons among the Turkes being very dangerous, they vse to goe vnarmed. Nether doe the Turkes when they come from the warr, weare any weapons at home, the very Ianizaryes bearing only a Coudgell wherwith they will beate and driue thousands of Christians and Common Turkes, as so many sheepe, not dareing to resist them. The Common Turkes, and the very soldyers, will brawle and chyde like Oyster wyues, but never fight, the severity of Iustice being most strict & cruell, /40/ for drawing blood vpon quarrells, Compared with Christians, they are nothing lesse then valiant in the adventure of theire persons, yet in warr doe most dareing thinges, thincking the seruing of their Emperor, and destroying Christians, the most reay way to paradise, and perswaded by theire Religion that all thinges are ruled by destiny, so as aman cannot dye before his tyme, though he stand before the mouth of a Cannon, and at his tyme must dye, though he be in a fortifyed Castle, The horsemen, as I haue shewed, ride like /50/ knightes of Amiondis of Gaule, and they haue, neere Scanderona, the bridge of Rodomant,[3] and like [ornaments]⌈monuments⌉ in other partes of Asia, which make mee thincke those fictions first to haue proceeded from thence. For hospitality, they haue no Innes, nether are any //

Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c. Chapt VII. fol.553.

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[3] There are no rivers to ford in that area, unless perhaps it is a causeway over the mountains. RM

strangers lodged by Turkes, but only by poore Christians liuing miserably vnder them.

The desyre of Travelors to see newe Cittyes, people and manners of men, is so delghtfull, as Commonly it growes to adisease of endlesse perigrinnation, but I thincke nothinge so powerfull to cure the itch of this hunor,[4] and make them loue theire one[5] Country, as to liue sometyme among the miscreants, and suffer their scornes.

They affect singular gravity in behauior and dispise merye Iesting persons, and all french leuity, as proceeding /10/ from wylde heades, and idle braynes, and call such a man de[ily]⌈lely⌉ in reproche.

They are by nature most Covetous, so as their Ianizaryes will serue Christians for a small daily stipend. In which seruice they are very faithfull, partly out of morall honesty, party out of Religion, but more spetially because the Conduct of Christians is Commonly committed to them by Ambassadors, Consulls, or cheefe marchants of Christian nations, who will require at theire retourne accounnt of the Christians safety, whome they Conducted. /20/ For otherwise, my selfe haue knowne some Christian gentlemen in

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[4] Humour ?

[5] Own ?

danger to be solde for slaues, by Ianizaryes themselues trusted, to Turkes dwelling within land, whence they should haue had small hope to be Redeemed, they keeping theire slaues very strictly, and Christians only liuing and trading vpon the Sea Coasts. Yet theire Coveteousnes extends only to supply necessityes for life, not caring Commonly to gather any treasure, or to haue rich or good household stuffe, and those great officers who gett treasure, haue it in ready mony, and Iewells, /30/ and like thinges portable, and easy to be hidden, because Conspicuous riches are hard to be kept, where euery man spoyles them that are vnder him, and the wealth of the greatest is made a pray to the Emperor, who is also heyre to all his vassalls, and to strangers, so as they cannot leaue theire riches to theire Chilldren, as likewise, all the land belongs to the Emperor, who only giues Timars or Farmes thereof for terme of life, or rather during his pleasure. They are dull witted to gayne by fraude in bargaynes, yet the Christians generally repute them willing to deceave, /40/ so as they thincke no bargayne sure if they deale not for ready mony with them, (as the Turkes deale among themselues, which course makes litle worke for lawyers) But my selfe by experience of theire practise, wilbe bolde to deliver this for truth, that an English marchant at *H*aleppo, hauing made a bargayne with a Turke to the valewe of tenn thousand Sultanons (the only gold Coyne they haue of theire owne) and hauing payd him all the mony,

the Turkish marchant within fewe dayes came backe, and tolde him, that he must haue from him six /50/ hundreth Sultanons which he had miscast in the reconing, for howsoeuer the bargayne was finished, honesty required due payment, and so left him some dayes to consider of it, at the ende whereof he came agayne,

fol.554. Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chapt.VII.

and [fid] finding the English marchant not to haue cast over his booke, but to make excuses of buisines, and to alledge that the bargayne was made and ended, he finally [h]answered, that howsoeuer he would haue dealt with him, yet the truth was, that he had wronged himselfe so much mony by miscasting, which he presenty [p.] powred out of the skyrt of his garment, restoringe it to the English marchant, and saying he durst not wrongfully keepe it, lest it should consumed the rest of his substance honestly gotten. /10/

They are generally most ielious, keeping theire wemen most strictly from the sight of all men, but only their fathers and Eunuches, for that cause seldome bringing their best frendes to any private roomes of their houses, or feasting one another in theire owne howses. And as the great Emperors for ielosy of State, send their eldest sonne to govern a Province, assoone as he is circumcised, never more to turne to Court till the father be dead, so the Common Turkes, even for ielosy of theire wemen, send theire sonnes

abroade, or at lest seclude them from /20/ the Company of theire wiues and Concubines, when they growe to ripe yeares. As at home theire wemen never shewe themselues at the dores, or at the windowes, so being permitted to goe abroade, once or twise a weeke, to the publike Bathes, and vpon thursdayes (the Even of theire Sabboth) to visite the Sepulchers of their frendes, they ever goe many together, and keepe all partes of theire bodyes Closse from the viewe of any man, covering theire foreheades, Chinnes, and neckes, with whit linnen Cloth, their mouthes and eyes with black Cipres, and /30/ because they haue no vse of gloues, paynting their handes with redd powder. In a worde this ielosy hath caused them of old Custome to vse great tyranny to mankynde, in gealding theire slaues, to attend theire wemen, which they did long tyme only with Cutting of theire stones, but in our age hauing founde that gelded men (as also horses and beasts) though wanting all abillity of performance, yet haue lustfull desyres to wanton dallyance, they cutt off all the Preuities flatt to the belly, leauing them a litle hole to voyde vrine, for which purpose they /40/ vse a quill, which they Comonly weare vpon theire heades foulded in their Tulbents, for not only the gelded men but the other Turkes Cowre downe like wemen to the grounde, when they doe this necessity of nature.

The Turkes are generally more giuen to fleshly lust, towardes wemen and males, espetially faire boyes, then any

Italians, Greekes, or any other nation whatsoeuer, yea the very wemen vse no lesse vnnaturall lusts among themselues. Their great lord or Emperor hath commonly fyue or six hundreth Concubynes for his /50/ owne sadle, all kept together in the old Seraglio at Constantinople, attended by wemen and guarded by Eunnuches. They are all slaues so they call them that are brought with mony, or borne of slaues in theire howses, or taken prisoners in the warrs, but these are commonly presented to him by his great Vizeres, //
Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c. Chapt.VII. fol.555.
And of these, shee that beares him the first sonne is called Sultana, and of old was wonte to be made his wife by a Che bin brefe or dotall letter,[6] and thereby to haue preuilege to be buyred by his syde, but fynding many Emperors to dye presently after the giuing this letter of Dowry, they haue long forborne the giuing thereof, yet is shee esteemed as Empresse, and together with some fewe of his dearest Concubynes, is brought from the old Seraglio to liue in the newe with the Emperor. But when he is weary of these, and desyres a new fresh morcell /10/ (as they are commonly most insatiable therein) then he goes to his sayd stoarehouse, where the virgins being sett in order, he giueth his handkercher to her, whome he chuseth, and shee presently being bathed and perfumed, is brought to his bedd at night, and though shee never more lye with him, yet hath

[6] "Pertaining to a dower, dowry, or marriage portion of a woman." *OED*

shee apresent reward, and her Stipend ever after increased. And when these virgins growe stale (as frequent bathes make theire skinnes wrincke, so that wemen past twenty fyue yeares age, are no more counted mans meate) they are put out of the Seraglio, or sooner /20/ maryed to the great officers of the Army, and Court (as they are like wise bestowed after the Emperors death) The Common Turkes are allowed foure wyues, which are free wemen, and are borne Turkes, and as many Concubines as they haue will and meanes to buye for slaues, and to mantayne, but if they make any concubyne free, they may no more vse her for bedd, except they take her for wife, and both wiues and Concubynes must be Regestred with the Ca<d>y, hauing Episcopall Iurisdiction. No marvill then, if fornication and adultry be death among them, since they haue such large allowance of wemen, besydes /30/ the generall vse of young men and boyes for sodomy, over whome they are more ielious then ouer theire we<m>⌈m⌉en, never parting from them, but leading them in the very Armyes, where they haue ⌈no⌉ wemen allowed, and there vsing them insteede of wemen, so as the Emperor hath waggons full of Ingles or buggering boyes following his Tent, and fewe or no Turkes goe vnprovided in that kynde.[1] For they esteeme it no great sinne, but such as may be washed away with outward bathing. And if a

[1] "...amonge whom are the wagons or chariottes laden with loue boyes, seruyng for the Turkes vse and his peeres." Georgievits, sig. F2v.

Christian Ambassador haue a beautifull Page, they will tell him (as befell our Ambassador in my /40/ presence) that he hath a great Iewell, and will not beleeue, if he professe not to vse him as his bedfellowe like brutish lusts ar reported of theire wemen, with men, and among themselues in publike bathes wherewith I will not defyle my penne.

Among all the manners of the Turkes none is more commendable, then the Reverence they beare to theire Parents (as likewise theire due respect to superiors and to aged men) But espetially they place great Religion in keepeing their Parents last will, and such precepts as they giue /50/ them of Ciuill and Religious life. And this is the reason why the Emperor forbeares to giue his Sultana a letter of dowery (as I formerly sayd) lest hauing that priuilege, and knowing that shee shall beare great sway with her sonne //

fol.556. Booke IIII of Turkey touching nature &c Chapt.VII.

succeeding him, and in his tyme haue licentious liberty of life, shee should shorten her husbands dayes, as they haue obserued many Emperors not to liue long after they had graced theire elldest sonnes mother with the sayde letter of Dowry.

They place great Religion in the outward clenlynes of body, which makes them vse bathing so frequently, and the wemen not to lye with any man without bathing before and after,

and both sexes, after doing the necessities of nature, to wash theire priuie parts if water may be had, orther/10/wise to clense them, so as their linnen may not be stayned, esteemeing it the greatest wrong canbe donne them, if any man chance to spott or defyle in the least manner the white Tulbent they weare vpon theire heades, yet are they nothinge lesse then clendly in theire houses, litle curious in sweeping them, and hauing bare walls without any houshold stuffe, lest the opinion of riches should make them a praye to theire superiors, where euery man crushes those that are vnder him. And because they vse no bedds nor sheetes, but lye in their Clothes with wollen Capps and /20/ theire shauen heades, and one wollen Carpett vnder, another over them, by sweating they become lowsey, and are not ashamed to lowse themselues, when they chang shirtes, and openly at their doores.

They delight in rich Clothes, I meane rich stuffes of satten, Damaske, and golde, in theire outward garments, but [nether] never Imbrodered, laced, or Cutt, and espetially delight to haue the furniture of their horses, and the Pumells of their swordes, shyne with stones and Iewells as precious, thoug many tymes Counterfeitt. They are so giuen to /30/ gormandizeing as they will sitt eating two or three dayes, and all night in tyme of their F[e]asts, when they may not eate or drincke by day.

And they are generally the most Idle, slothfull, base people in the world. So as the Common sort must be driuen out with coudgles, when they are ledd to the warrs. They neuer walke but for buisines, and when they come home, putting off their shooes continually sett on the grownd, vpon a Carpett, with Crossed leggs like our Taylors. Yea when they shoote, they sett on the grownde hauing a /40/ slaue to bring backe their Arrowes. In somuch as when I walked at Constantinople in our Ambassadors gallery, a great man among them sayd to me Surra Infidell (their familiar speech to Christians), thow goest to this ende, and to that ende, And I see thow dost nothinge at either ende, why doest thow not sett downe as wee doe[8] In like sorte they are most slothfull in tilling their grownds, liuing most vpon poore Christians labours, and are generally thus slothfull, ether by nature, or because in that tyrranny no man can reape that he sowes, or /50/ enioye the fruites of his owne labour.

For these and like causes, they haue Commonly fatt heauy bodyes, like the Germans, all flesh litle or no Spiritt, and are likewise of a dull grosse witt, and haue fayre //

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[8] As Moryson relates it, he is addressed by the Turk in the second person, denoting his social inferiority in the Turk's eyes. Sir Toby Belch does much the same to Sir Andrew Aguecheek, when he incites him to challenge Viola,"If thou 'thou'st' him some thrice, it shall not be amiss..." *Twelfth Night,* III. 2. 42 - 43.
The constant pacing suggests that Moryson was ill at ease with himself, and still grieving after Henry's death.

Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chapt VII. fol.557. sanguin Complexcions generally,[9] walking with an erected proud Countenance, but a Christian may not looke them in the face without danger of blowes. Their heades are all shauen but a locke on the Crowne, they weare hayre on the eyebrowes, norishing their beardes at length and full breadth, the rest of the hayre on the body they alltogether take away when they bathe, with a Redd powder that makes it fall off by the rootes. In like sorte the wemen take off the hayre of their bodyes, but norish that on the head and eyebrowes. Both men and wemen of the best sort, haue /10/ precious balme brought to the bathes, to anoynt theire heades and cheefe partes and ioyntes therewith. The wemen are very fayre, their faces (as I haue sayd) never seeing Sunne, and their bodyes made smooth by Continuall bathing, Yet soone withered and made full of wrinckles for the same reason. The Turkes (as also the Grecians) esteeme great and black eyes a spetiall beauty in wemen, as the Turkish wemen vse art to make them more black, and in their Paradise Mahomett hath promised the Turkes to haue vi⌈r⌉ngins with black eyes and as bigg as /20/ litle sawcers.

The Turkes are Curious regarders of Phisiognomy, they loue

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[9] A sanguine complexion "...was supposed to be characterized by the predominance of the blood over the other three humours, and indicated by a ruddy countenance and a courageous, hopeful, and amorous disposition." *OED*, sanguine a. and n. 3. a. Moryson certainly thinks that the Turks are courageous and over-amorous.

a cheerefull and hate a sadd Countenance, they vallue men by strength and skill in some Arts, as Saylors, Smithes, and Sadlors, not regarding the learning or qualities of mynde, and vallue wemen only by beauty, as to be well governed by feare rather [th] then vertue or piety.

Finally though many wemen are allowed them, yet they are so spent[10] with all kynde of lechery, and so wasted with /30/ warrs, as the fieldes are Commonly desert, and the Cittyes nothinge lesse [the]⌈then⌉ populous and full of inhabitants.

{ m.n. 33 - 35. Artes Scynces Vniversities and language. } Touching Manuall Artes. It seemes that the ancient Turkes were industrious in Artes and trades and prudently provided by lawes and Customes, that theire posterity should so continue. For the Emperor himselfe must haue a trade or occupation, as at my being there the Emeror Mahomett the eghth was a fletcher,[11] and yearely ⌈at⌉ some great feast, gaue the bowes, and arowes which him selfe had made, to Princes, and to great slaues, for presents much vallewd /40/ by them, hauing a payre of Butts in a large Roome of his Court, where he tryed the bowes and Arrowes he made,

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[10] In the economic and sexual sense.

[11] In hurrying, the writer misses letters, and gets his numbers confused. Mohammed III (1595 - 1603) is undoubtedly being referred to here.

and often exercised shooting privately, amonge his servants and Concubynes. Likewise his desceased Father, was in his tyme a Iueller.[12] And Achmet succeeding him made Iuorye Ringes which the Turkes weare on their thombs for the vse of shooteing.[13] But at this day the Turkes (as I formerly sayd) are a most slothfull and Idle generation, partly by nature, partly for the tyrranny vnder which they liue and by much they cannot /50/ inioye the fruites of their labours, so as howsoeuer, acording to the lawe and Customes, they learne trades of Manuall Artes, yet they worke in them only for necessity of theire mantenance, not caring to worke while they haue any thinge to eate, and only supplying themselues and their neighbors at home with theire workes, not //

{ c.w. vsing to carry }

fol 558. Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chap.VII.

vsing not to carry them abroade to any fayres or markets, the manufacturs exported from thence being only some fewe Carpetts, and Grogerans.[14] For howsoeuer they seeme most

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[12] Murad III (1574 - 1595).

[13] Ahmed I (1603 - 1617). The famous Blue Mosque at Constantinople was built in his reign.

[14] An old form of the word grogram, defined as "A coarse fabric of silk, of mohair and wool, or of these mixed with silk; often stiffened with gum." *OED*. Moryson here is comparing the single type of material exported by the Turks, as opposed to the many types of cloth and material exported by the English, (known to Economic Historians as the "New Draperies") which found a ready market in the Turkish Empire of this period.

After Lepanto, Turkish shipping became much more subject

diligent in the trade of Marchantdiz, as a Course of litle labour passing in shipps from Porte to Porte, yet they vse this trade only a mong themselues, saue that some fewe trade to Venice, and they sell only the first fruites without any labour bestooed on them, as spices, Nuttmeges, Elephants teeth, and the like, and for silke wherof they haue plenty, they neuer make /10/ any stuffes of it but sell it to strangers, whereof the Venetians make Sattens, Damaskes, and other stuffes, which they carry backe into Turky, and the Turkes buy of them for their wearing, these stuffes made of their owne silke. They much esteeme Captyues that are Smythes, Sadlers, and Saylors, for the vse of warre by land and Sea, and also Iuellers, their great men affecting those portable riches, and they themselues learne these trades. A French travelor writes, that they are excelent Taylors, sewing so curiously as /20/ the seame cannot be seene, and that theire Smythes vse no Coales nor Forge, but without them, make horsshooes by beating alitle Iron on the Anvile, making the holes with a Pinseir or bodkin of the steele of Damasko, and making nayles with long great heades, also so strong as their horses continually ridden, yet neede no shooing in fyue monthes. At Ierusalem in the smithes shopps I sawe many

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to attack from Dutch and English pirates, Uskoks and Cossacks. In an effort to keep the routes to the Empire open, they let foreigners, particularly the English Levant Company, and the Dutch, freight their trade, whilst the Turks were forbidden to carry trade when the more important business of maintaining the Empire needed to be done.

keyes made of wood as the loockes were, and because they never weare any [gl.....s] gloves, they esteemed /30/ me and my brother to be great men for wearing them, which might haue turned to our danger, yet many gaping and wondering at them asked vs if wee our selues did or could make them. Some write that they be skillfull Paynters, wherof my selfe haue no experience, but I am sure that their lawe forbidds to paynt any Picture of man, beast, or other Creature, and my brother dying in the way to *H*aleppo, when after my retorne to England, I sent three of his Pictures to the three howses of our Marchants there residing,[15] /40/ I am sure the Marchants that carryed them, made great scruple to receave them, lest the Turkes should take offence, by thincking them vsed for Idolatry [in] in worshipping them.

Touching liberall Sciences and Vniversities. The Turkes say ingenerall that the learning of the Christians makes them factions, and so opens the way to their Conquests. They haue, as I haue formerly sayd, bodyes like the Germans, and are commonlly of Dull grosse witts, and farr inferior to the Germans /50/ in all Scyences, their cheefe learning being in the skill of Mahometts lawe, and their Priests being reputed great Clarkes who can reade it, being written in the Arabian toung, and can make, a dull and verball

[15] The three stations of the Levant Company were Smyrna, Aleppo, and Constantinople.

exposition of the Text. Yet Anthony Genfreeus //

Booke IIII of [German] Turky touching nature &c Chapt VII. fol 559.

writing in the French toung, reports that the Turkesh Emperors of his tyme, had some bookes of Aristotles Philosophy translated into the Arabian toung, which they and their predecessors did some tyme reade, and that the Turkes vsed in the warr to carry volumes of written paper with them, paynted with swordes, bowes and Arrowes, which they tooke for charmes to preserue them in the warr from woundes and death.[16] And Geergieuiz a Travelour a bout the yeare 1570 writes that they haue schooles and teachers called *Hog/10/sialars*, whereof the males instructed the males, and the wemen the females, and that therein the schollers learning, cryed with a loude voyce, bending their sydes as if their bodyes worked with their myndes, the men therein learning Philosophy, Astronomy, and Poetry (their verses being of eleuen sillables, wherof he relates some sonetts) but he affirmes them to haue no skill in musicke,[17] for which notwithstanding a late French travelor

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[16] "*Mais le grant Turc a quelques liures de la philosophie de Aristote traduictz en Arabic...*" Geuffroy, sig. F2r.

[17] Compare Georgievits, "They haue places apointed to trade on good letters their youthes of bothe kindes, called in their toung *Ochumachgirleri*, and teachers for the same whiche are named *Hogsialar*, howbeit separatly they are instructed, as the male children by men, and young girles by women, in Astronomye, Philosophye, and the arte of Poetrye. Durynge the time of their learnyng, speaking in a shril voyce, they moue their bodyes from one syde to the

magnifyes the Turkes as for playing on lutes, Gitterns[18] and *H*oboyes, but espetially for theire beating on litle Drumms, with /20/ a kynde of *H*oboye and mens voyces sweetely consorting with the sounde of the drummes. A late worthy English travelor writes Iuditially, that the Turkes haue some skill of Philosophy, and necessity hath taught them Phisicke by experience rather then art, and that they haue some skill in Astronomy (which thinges seeme to me probable, though I had no experience of them)[19] that they haue many tellers of fortunes who sitt in the streetes for that purpose (which I likewise beleeue, since the cheefe Mofty and monkes gayne reputation by opinion of that skill) that they haue /30/ agood guift in Poetry (as indeede they write sonetts, but I could never fynde in any of them deepe passions, or wise sentences) that they sing sonetts to vile musicke (which I easily beleeue, hauing never heard any of them play, but at Ierusalem vpon Cymballs, (some with bells

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other. They haue no skill in artifyciall Musicke, but saine certaine vearses by prescribed rules, whiche are in this maner. Euerye vearse ought too comprehende a leuen syllables." sig. D5r. Examples are then given.

[18] "An old instrument of the guitar kind strung with wire, a cithern." *OED*

[19] "To speak a word or two of their sciences and trades: some of them haue some little knowledge in Philosophie. Necessitie hath taught them Physicke; rather had from experience than the grounds of Art. In Astronomie they haue some insight: and many there are that undertake to tell fortunes..." The writer is George Sandys, brother of Sir Edwin, whose *Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* was first published in 1615, [*STC* 21726]. I shall refer to this work as Sandys, *1610*.

hanging at them, being like litle Drumms) and at Constantinople vpon Gitterns, and in many villages vpon *H*oboyes before governors passe[d]ing by on horse backe, all with nothinge lesse then sweete melody. So as in my tyme the Venetians sent musitions to the Turkish Emperor /40/ for ⌈a⌉ great present, but when he entred to heare them, they began to tune their Instrments, which he taking to be their best Musicke, left them in scorne):[20] For my parte I holde the Turkes to be generally a most Ignorant nation, blessing themselues in this ignorance, as giving them much ease, for howsoeuer the Priests haue skill to reade, and in akynde to expounde theire lawe in the Arabian tounge, yet they lay Turkes are so Ignorant, that if they see a paper lye on the grounde, they take it vp and with akisse lay it vp, saying that parhapps some wordes /50/ of the Ancoron are [written] in it. Nether did I euer fynde any of the foresayd publike schooles much lesse vniversityes among them, except those schooles which are to //

trayne vp young Ianizaryes in military exercises. The Art of Printing is alltogether vnknowne to them.[21] The Emperor

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[20] "On a time the *Grand Signior* was persuaded to heare some choise *Italian* musicke: but the foolish Musitians (whose wit lay onely in the ends of their fingers) spent so much time in vnseasonable tuning, that he commanded them to avoid; belike esteeming the rest to be answerable." Sandys, *1610*, p. 72.

[21] "In about 1590 a decree of Murad III permitted the sale of non religious books printed in Italy in the Arabic alphabet. The Ottomans recognized the advantages of

at my being there was sayd to haue some of our historyes translated in written hand, and often to reade them, which not withstanding the foresayde worthy auther well obserues to be despised by the Turkes, because men dare not write truely of tymes present, nor well knowe tymes past. To conclude, I repute the Turkes generally to be very Ignorant, and for those that write otherwise, since the Turkes are so proude as they will /10/ not suffer a Christian to looke them in the face, I doubt they never had the boldnes to dispute with any of them. But I had rather beleeue the Turkes to be as learned as euer the Chaldees were, then to goe agayne among those miscreants, to proue the truth of this point.[22] [..] Only I will add, that the Turkes haue no lawyers at all, or very fewe, litle or no pleading being vsed in their expedite course of Iustice.

Touching the Turkish language. A stranger shall haue litle vse in Turky of the laten toung, except it be amonge /20/ his fellowe strangers, or some fewe Greekes, for generally in the Port townes the Italian toung is vsed among

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printing, but as early as 1555 Busbeq reported that the Turks esteemed it a sin to print religious books." Inalcik, p.174.

[22] The Chaldees were a collection of belligerent tribes living near Babylon who make their presence felt in II Kings and Daniel. After their destruction by Cyrus the name "lost its national significance and was used as a generic name for the official astrologers of the court..." Sugden. *OED* explains Chaldean, B. n. as "...one skilled in occult learning, astrology, etc.".

strangers, or the French in some places. The subiects of this Empyre spake as many languages as be the nations of which it consists, being so many as I will not vndertake to knowe or nomber them. For the language of the Turkes, howsoeuer they had the power to Conquer all these nations, yet they haue not made theire language vniversall, being only vsed generally from Constanttinople through Asia the lesse, to Syria, and in other places /30/ learned by many, but not spoken by the most part of the people. It is originally brought by them out of a Prouince of the most Easterne Tartaryans, whence the Turkes first came into Asia, who after built this Empire. And as they were simple base heardsmen, so the language of it selfe is rude, and written (as the Polonian) with many Consonants, causing asperity of speech, and with fewe vowells, which notwithstanding necessity, forceth to be vsed in pronuntiation. But it hath beene refyned in tyme, for wordes [and] of State from the Persians, where they first raigned, for wordes /40/ of Religion and the Carracter wherein they [rite] write, from the Arabians, where the first became Mahometans, and [f..]⌈for⌉ words of navagation from the Greekes and Italians, of whome they learned that art. Giue me leaue to add some of theire wordes, which I obserued vulgarly vsed. Sellan Aliach, peace to thee.

Alechmi Sellam, peace also to thee,[23] Tsul⌈t⌉anum Prince, Pedichao king, and they style the great Turke pad Deshan. The call the Germans Nempsh, the Hungarian Mangaro, and the lutheran Elshy was the style of our English Ambassador. Baba Father Ana mother, /50/ Bre Giaur O Christian, *H*anda gidertsen, whether goest thow, Stambola giderum towards Stanbol, that is Constantinople. Affendi Sir or master, // Booke IIII of Turkey touching nature &c Chapt VII fol.561. Ederum bezergenlik I exercise marchandize. Ben I Allaha Tsmarludoch tsomi, to God I commend thee, Vergeth tsagloga goe with good speede, *H*air gugsen altson, good night be to thee. It is a great reproach to call a man Domutz that is hogg, because with the Iewes they abhorr swyne, or Campeck that is dogg, or Gedi that is Cuckhold,[24] or Dely that is wylde headed.[25] Meriebagh signifyes welcome, Marberiff I vnderstand not, Messi foote messengers, Vlacchi horsemen, Malem a guide for goodes, Mvccaro a guide for horses and /10/ Carryage, xanton a Common Priest in Asia, Chefout a Iewe, katringig a pretty wench. Adam a man. To be short, as wee say God saue the king, so they saluting theire Emperor, goe about him turning rounde, and Crying Alla houch, and

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[23] Moryson's Turkish is not very accurate. Here he confuses persons. He did not "observe" as he writes, but rather plagarizes Georgievits. See pp. G3r, G3v

[24] *Kedi* is cat, not cuckold. Moryson is showing off without doing it well.

[25] A good Moslem would have his head shaven and smooth as Moryson describes earlier in this chapter.

the worde Mansulld signifyes one that is Cassired or putt out of pay or office.

{ m.n. 17 - 22. Ceremonyes Maryage Funeralls Childbearing Circumcision and Customes }

Touching Ceremonyes in generall. As Turky is none of the three sortes of a good Commonwealth, but the worst of the three worst, an absolute taranny, yea worse then tyranny, being not over free borne subiectes, but ouer /20/ meere slaues, so pride following power, all the pompe of greatnes lyes in one Idolized Emperor, which indeede is so admirable, as the old Persian pride (except the adoration vpon the knee not knowne among the Turkes) neuer came neere it, much lesse doth any Christian Prince vse like pompe except the Pope, who in his publike processions comes neere the Turkish Emperors pompe, saue that the Popes consists most of spirituall men, the Emperors all together of millitary governnors, yea goes beyond it in his adoration, and the kissing of his foote. When the Emperor /30/ giues audience to any Ambasador, he setts vpon a lowe throne in a Roome richly adorned and open to all mens vewe on two sydes, hauing only a lowe wall raysed from the ground, and the Ambassador or any other man admitted to his presence, is ledd in betweene two, to prevent any practise of

treason.[26] The Emperor if he will honor him, bendes his body a litle forward to him, who stands with his left hand layd acrosse his breast, and with his body lowe bended, looking vpon the ground, without casting his eyes vpon the Emperors face, and after Audience, when he is dis/40/missed, he retornes with twining halfe turnes slyding backe, so as his face is still towardes the Emperor, till he be out of the roome. And the greatest honor he receaves from the Emperor is to kisse his vesture, and after [they]⌈his⌉ departure to receave a present (as commonly they bring presents) of gownes of gold cloth, for himselfe and every one that attendes him. And all this while the Vizeres and other great men attending the Emperor in that roome, stand by with incredible silence, and like Images that giue no motion. When the Emperor rides a broade, his pompe is greater, as when /50/ he comes to the cheefe Church of Constantinople it is scarcely a stons cast from the outermost gate of his Seraglio (compassed on the other sydes ⌈withe⌉ the Sea) yet in the Courtyardes within that gate, and the said litle roome without from the gate to the //

fol.562. Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chapt.VII.

Moschee, stand a thousand horsemen at least on both sydes, with rich furniture of horses, and themselues adorned in

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[26] Plate 12 between pp. 132 - 133 of Inalcik's book shows an ambassador of the Austrian Emperor making obeisance to the sultan whilst being held by the arms by the doorkeepers.

outward garments of rich stuffes, and with diuers heades and fethers shewing their dignityes, and with swordes hilts and scabbards sett with precious stones, through which ranckes the Emperor Rides to the Moschee, before whome first ride the Chauses (as our Pensioners) then the cheefe Captaynes, then the Vizers, then followe on foote the cheefe Ianizaryes of his guarde called Solacchi, and after some nyne ledd horses richly furnished, rode /10/ the Emperor brauely mounted, about whome many footemen called Peichs rann turning rounde, and saluting him with Cryes, and the reare was closed with Pages and ho[.]usholde officers. And when the Emperor came to the doore of the Moschee, he dismounted to enter the same, wherein the Popes pride also goes beyonde his, being carryed on mens shoulders in like pompes, so as his shooes touch no the grounde. At my being in Constantinople, when the Emperor retorned from the warr in *H*ungary, he pitched his Tents a mile without the Citty, ⌈and the next day entred the same,⌉ with incredible /20/ pompe, hauing astreete made from his Campe and through all the Citty to the gate of his Seraglio by the handes of men holding vp rich Clothes of Arras, gold, Satten, Damaske, and the like, all presented to him by the Cittisens, and taken by his officers for their avayles or fees, assoone as he was past by them. The Turkes haue no publike Feasts of State, ether Annuall, or casuall (as the Emperors Coronation, which is soone ended with a donatiue to the Ianizares. Nether haue they any publike

[professors]⌈processions⌉ of Religion. The greatest men [as]⌈are⌉ the Emperors slaues, and are /30/ only in pompe of pryde being in the head of the forces they leade. When great men goe to theire governments, they ride with hoboyes before them sounding at every village and towne, yet haue no pompe in their tr⌈a⌉yne. Only as all Turkes entring their Moschees putt off their shooes and leaue them off at the doores, so my selfe haue beene forced to doe when I was called to enter before some great gouenors. In dowing Reverence to superiors among themselues (for they vse none towardes Christians) they never putt off their Tulbents, as wee doe our hatts (the shewing /40/ of the bare head being with them a shame, as proper to base slaues) and vse for a great Cursse to wish a man no more rest ⌈then⌉ a Christian hatt, which is ever moving. But as the Italians in reverence, besydes putting off the hatt, lay the right hand on the hart, bending the head a litle, so the Turkes lay the left hand on the right brest, and bend the head lowe towardes the ground. In walking the streetes, the left hand is the cheefe place, where by a man hath power of his sworde that walkes on the right hand, and for the same reason the wall is the lowest /50/ place, as of most disaduantage in that kynde

Touching Ceremonyes of marryage. The Turkes are incoraged by their Alcoran to maryage, called ⌈in⌉ their language Eulemmech and it is ashame to abstayne from it after ripe

yeares, I thincke only for Procreation, //
Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Capt VII fol.563.
among a people not populous, and wasted with Continuall warrs, for it cannot be in regarde of purity and holines, since the Emperor[s] is not borne in maryage, his mother being first his Fathers Concubine, before shee be made his wife or Empresse for bearing that sonne, and euery Common Turke is allowed foure wyues, and for concubines the Emperor hath them by many hundreth, and others may haue as many as they can buye and mantayne. Except they place holynes in this that the Saboths benevolence is proper to the wiues, or that the wiues are commonly /10/ of the Turkish Religion, and free borne, whereas the Concubynes may be of any Religion, and are allwayes slaves. I haue formerly sayd that the Emperor giues his Fathers and his owne stale Concubynes (whereof many are virgins vntouched by them) to his great officers for wyues. But for his daughters sisters and Aunts, he giues the same great men to them for husbands, or rather slaues. For a late worthy English travelour writes that he giues each of them a dagger together with the man, that shee may kill him if he please her not, which is /20/ likely to be true, because it is credibly reported there by Christian[s] Ambasadors and Turkes themselues, that these husbands never come to them but when they are called, and then in reverence leaue their shooes at the doore, whence they are taken and layd vpon her bed if they be called for that purpose, yea they must

then creepe in at the bedds feete, which basenes me thinckes should make them Crest fallen, and voyde of all Courrage to please. The knot of maryage is a letter of Dowry called Chebin bref, deliuered to the husband by the Cadye (which /30/ officer hath Episcopall Iurisdiction) wittnessing that he hath payde his wyues dowry, for their parents sell theire daughters, so as the wife hath no ornament on her body which the husband redeemes not with mony. Yet many parents for their honor will contribute to the expences of the maryage, and giue her some presents, which the invited frendes on both sydes likewise send to them. The maryage is solemnized in this manner. The frendes on both sydes agree of the Dowry which the husband must pay for his wife, Common people paying some thirty Ducates, greater persons acording /40/ to theire quality, much more in mony, besydes many ornaments and wemen slaues and Eunnuches giuen to the Bride. The Dowry is presently payde to the brids frends, that they may make provision for the brides ornamentes, and for all her expences, the rest being kept by her parents, the bridegrome or bryde hauing no more right to dispose of it. The day of the maryage, a present is sent to the Cady, with testimony that the Dowry is payde. The night before, wemen are invited by the Brydes mother, who after supper and dauncing, leade her to the bath, and /50/ then goe to rest, and in like sorte the Bridegrome with his invited frendes spend that euening and night, and after a litle rest, the wemen retorne to the

brides house, and the men to the Bridegromes. Then in the morning the Sagdich (so they call the Bridegromes) cheefe frend or neerest //

fol.564. Booke IIII of Turkey touching nature &c Chapt.VII.

kinsman,[27] chosen by him to invite guests, and to make all prouisions, spetially musitions, together with all the invited frendes, all well mounted, and attended with Trumpitts, Drumms, fifes, hoboyes and like instruments sounding, cdye[28] to the doore of the Bryde, where they are intertayned with some Iunkets,[29] and soone after the Father lead<eth> his daughter, and eliuering her to the hands of the Sagdich, he setts her on horsebacke a stride (as they vse to ryde)[30] shee hauing her face covered with a vale, and not being seene many dayes before by any man, and sometymes a /10/ Canopy is caryed ouer her head. Also the Sagdich furnisheth horse or like meanes to carry her bagage, and so in like order as they came, with the sayd Instruments still sounding, they retourne to the Bridegromes house. who standes at his doare to welcome them. The Bride is deliuered to the Bridegromes Mother, and

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[27] The punctuation is confusing. The Sagdich or *sağdiç* in Turkish is the equivalent of the best man.

[28] Could it be "carryed" ?

[29] "Any dainty sweetmeat, cake, or confection; a sweet dish; a delicacy; a kickshaw. Obs." *OED* Junket, n. 3.

[30] As opposed to side saddle.

is feasted among the wemen, and after feasting they psend[31] the day in Dansing. Some haue not the patience to stay for the sleeping tyme at night, but at the first meeting retyre with the Bryde to priuacy, yet Commonly at tyme of rest, the Sagdich takes the /20/ Bryde by the hand, and leading her to the Bedchamber, deliuers her to the wemen seruants (or to an Eunuch, if they be persons of quality) then the Bridegrome first takes off her vale, not without some shewe of her resistance, which shee likewise makes in putting off her Apparrell, so as the husband is forced to helpe her, and of custome vntyes her linnen breches (which all wemen weare as men) and because they are often tyed with Gordian knotts, he often rends or Cutts them in peeces, and carryes her to bed in his armes.[32] The next morning the Sagdich comes to /30/ waken the Bridegrome, and leade him forth to exercises on horseback. But first he askes him some immodest questions, whereof one is generall in all places, about the signes of her virginity, for the Turkes (as also the Greekes) glory to make open shewe of her linnen stayned with them, which not founde, the Bryde with great reproch is sent home to her Parents. Yet I was credibly told, that the Greekes many tymes (which I never heard of the Turkes) are shamfully mistaken in these Dumb signes, by counterfeit

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[31] Spend ?

[32] According to legend, whosoever cut the Gordian knot should rule the world. Alexander the Great slashed it with his sword. So here, the husband is seen as conquering his wife.

tricks of theire nore[33] witty /40/ then honest brydes, which for modesty I forbeare more to explayne. These marryages commonly are continued for seuen dayes, with musicke and meetings to daunse, and perhapps some three invitings of frendes to feast with them. When the man hath ended his daunce, he takes apeece of mony out of his mouth (for so is the Custome) and cast it vpon the Carpett on which they daunse, in honor to the woman that daunsed with him, and the wemen wetting these peeces of mony plant them on theire foreheades, so as some haue theire faces all Covered with /50/ them, but in the ende they are all giuen to the musitians. And in Palestine I haue seene the wemen blackmores //

Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chapt.VII. fol 565

daunce with most lasciuious gestures, and motions of the body. But the widowes are maryed with litle or no solemnity. The Turkes putt away their wiues at pleasure, or at least for forward manners, and such dislikes, which notwithstanding are alledged before the Cady of the place, and entred into his booke, who is the Iudge of such matters. And if any man will ⌈tarke⌉ agayne his divorced wife, he must pay a newe Dowry for her, but to take her agayne often is ⌈a⌉ reproche to the man, and the diuorsed woman may marye to another within foure monthes /10/ [h] after her her diuorce, or after her deliuery, if shee be

[33] "More"; a minim is missing.

with Chylde. The Turkes haue no bastardes, making no differences betweene the Chilldren of Concubynes and those of wiues, for the Emperor himselfe is the sonne of a Concubyne, not made a wife till after his birth, or rather, if wee consider the plurality of the wiues, they haue no legitimate Children after the lawe of God. But it is most strang that these wiues liue in agreement without any ielosye, because they all esteeme the man as theire Master, and /20/ willingly reeceaue Chastisment from him, eating not together but a parte, and not intermedling with any government of the house, the affayeres wherof are ordered by the man, vsing therin the seruice of his wemen slaues, which he maketh not his Concubynes, and putting the most deformed to the greatest drudgery. To conclude the men and wemen slaues are permitted to marye together, but their chilldren are borne slaues to the master of the Parents.

Touching Ceremonyes of Funeralls, when any /30/ Turke draweth neere to death, the zainton or Talasimann, that is the Curett and Priest of the place, is called to Comfort the sicke person, who first perswades him to order his temporall affayres, and helpes to make the last will, which duty properly belongs to him. Then he perswades him to take care of his sowle, which care is litle spirituall, their Religion consisting in outward thinges, as washings, and cleanenes of the body & garments, praying fyue tymes a day, at sett howers, wheresoeuer they are, and keepeing their

lent or fastings after their /40/ manner, wherein they seldome or neuer fayle, and they hauing, allowed them large meanes to satisfye all fleshly lusts, towardes wemen, and esteeming Sodomye a small or no sinne. So as they care is most imployed, in personall wronges, wherein they thincke themselues not tyed to restitution, if the wronged party be not at hande, but in that case giue mony, to the supply of hospitalls, or to the building of them and Moschees, but the greater sorte vnable or not willing to make restitution, thincke it sofficient to procure written /50/ accquitances from the partyes they haue wronged, who neuer deny the same to any in that case, which accquitances are layd vnder the dying mans head, in his bed and after in his graue. For they thincke that after the dead man //

{ c.w. hath lyen some }

fol.566. Booke IIII of Turkey touching natue &c Chapt.VII.

hath layen some howers in his graue, his soule retornnes to his body, and two blacke Angells come to him, and if he can giue agood accounnte to them of the foresayde outward dutyes, and can shewe them the sayde acquintaces for parsonall wronges (to which purpose they raise him on his knees with his head vncovered, and to that end left vnbound) then the blacke Angells leaue him, but failing therein, they beate him with Clubbs, the one into the grounde, the other vp agayne, and so torment him to the day of Iudgment, which /10/ blacke Angells they so feare while they liue, as they daly pray for grace against these

tortures of the graue. And they thincke that these black Angells being satisfyed and vanishing away, two Angells as white as snowe come to the dead (or rather liuing) man in his graue, the one laying his Arme vnder his head, the other vnder his feete, and so keepe him comfortable company to the day of Iudgnent. When the sicke person is dead, the men prepare the men and wemen the wemen to be buyred. First they lay the dead body out, neere the place /20/ where it dyed (as I thincke till the body haue naturerally purged) then they lay it vpon a table, wash it with sope and water, making the hayre fall off with a powder, as I haue sayd the liuing doe in their bathes, then shroude it in lynnen, but loose both at head and feete, the Priests in the meane tyme crying often in theire toung, O mercifull God, O Father, ⌈God⌉ and laying vpon the body beades, wherewith they pray as Papists doe, and vsing like idle Ceremonyes. Then a Tulbent being layd at the head of the body adorned with /30/ diuers flowers, they lay it vpon boardes and carry it with the head forward, out of the Citty (for only the Emperors are buyried in the Cittyes, and they hold it wickednes to buyrye in Churches) where in the open feildes and neere the high wayes, they haue Common buyriall places. To that place the body is attended by some frendes, men by men, not somuch as theire wiues or daughters following them, and wemen by wemen, some Monkes carrying tapers before the body, and Prists singing after it, the graue is boarded on the insyde and left /40/ hallowe with boardes

covered so high as the dead man may kneele when the foresayd Angells come to examyne him. Then earth is cast vpon these boardes vntill the grave be levill with the grounde, yet so as it lyes lowest in the midst, and higher at the head, where it hath a stone foure foote high and a foote broade, of white marble, ingrauen with letters, and planted vpright, and likewise higher at the feete, where it hath a lesser stone in like sorte planted. They quickly dispatch the buyring of the body, without any wordes or prayers, and that donne the /50/ monkes and Prists retourne singing and howling to the howse of the deceased, where they haue good cheere provided, and each one receaveth some fyue Aspers, and if the deceased were poore, [...] mony is gathered //

Booke IIII of Turkey touching nature &c. Capt VII. fol.567.

of Passengers to defraye these charges, when a Vizere or like great man is buyried, his body is attended with a multitude of people, and by it his launce and Armes are carryed with Ensignes trayled, and his ledd horses firnished with rich caparisons, and hauing Certayne Druggs tyed to their noses, which make them sneese, and their eyes water, as if they indeede mourned for their dead master. And these great men are Commonly buyried in gardens, where they erect Sepulchers, and some buylde Moschees neere them, where passengers /10/ may pray for their sowles. The Emperors are buyried with great pompe attended by all the Commanders of the Army, and officers of the Court, and the

Ianizaryes and the pompe is the greater by the bloody practise to strangle all his yonger sonnes and buyrye[d ...] them [C.] with him. They may only be buyred within the Cittyes, where the commonly buylde their Sepulchers, neere the cheefe Moschee, which Sepulchers are rounde, and on the top covered with a fayre Globe of Brasse. In the midst therof within, the bodyes of the Emporor and his /20/ sonnes are layde somewhat erected from the ground, in Coffinnes of Cipres, with their Tulbents at their heads, and rich Iewells in them, and these bodyes are compassed with carved brasse, so as the Coffinnes may be easily seene, there being also a dore to enter the inclosure to them. And rounde about this brasen Circle is a litle gallerye, wherein the keepers of the Sepulcher continually sett by turnes, (for these proude Emperors by legacyes giuen to that purpose wilbe attended euen when they are dead) Each Thursday, being the even of the Turkes Sabboth, the wemen in flockes /30/ repayre to the graues of theire dead kindred and frendes, and there bestowe some howers in weeping and lamenting over their graves, and as the dryue Christians (by stones and other meanes of force) from approaching any of theire holy places, so more spetially these wemen dryve them with casting of stones from treading on these graves, reputing the Christians Prophane, for their Religion, and more spetially for not vsing of bathes as they doe. So as my selfe haue often beene in like sorte repelled from approaching these graves in the /40/ feilde.

And [th]at Ramma in Pallestine, wee being many Christians on horsebacke, were forced to dismount before they would suffer vs to passe through the feilde of graves, being Commonly neere the high wayes on each syde of them. Vpon these graves, and rounde about them, they plant the fayrest flowers, either to delight the buyred, with the white Angells theire keepers, or that passengers gathering them may be remembred to pray for theire soules. And as the heathen of old gaue a Novendiall supper to the Sepulchers of the dead,[34] so the Turkes for /50/ the soules of the dead, offer and leave vpon the graves, bread, flesh, Cheese, Eggs, milke, and all kyndes of meates, which many tymes the poore eate, but more Commonly the //

{ c.w. doggs, beasts }

fol.568. Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chapt VII.

doggs beasts, and Birdes, the feeding whereof they thincke a charitable deede acceptable to God.[35] So as many Turkes

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[34] From *nouem dies*, a novendial supper was a pagan Roman ceremony "held on the ninth day after the burial of the deceased person." *OED* B. n. b.

[35] Inalcik reproduces two plates of German origin, one showing dogs being fed, the other strangers being offered a drink, both as acts of charity for God's sake. Plates 45, 46, between pp. 132 - 133. Moryson follows Georgievits's description of funeral customs closely, "They often resort thither in wepinge and marnynge: and certaine infernall sacrifices layde on the monumente, as bread, fleshe, cheese, Egges, milke, and the banket continewinge by the space of nyne dayes, accordynge to the Ethnicke custome, it is al deuoured, for the disceased soules sake, eyther by Pismares and the birdes of heauen, or poore people." p. E3v. Somewhat disconcertingly, Moryson also claims like Georgievits in the following section, to have seen birds released, and fishes fed in rivers. Is this just plagarism,

cast bread into waters to feede the fish, and often buy birdes in chages, to lett them fly at liberty, which once my selfe sawe donne by a Turke at Venice. But the strangest Charity of the Turkes, is that some wemen, (Commonly most superstitious) at their death giue legacyes to Turkes who shall kill a certayne Number of Christians, as a meritorious deede. The Turkes mourne for the dead in white, and only for a shorte tyme (for blacke /10/ I haue hard some call it the Deuills Couller, nether did I euer see it worne by any Turke)[36] In Affrick, I haue heard that they mourne in sackcloth, disfiguring their faces by smearing them with filthy thinges, and beating theire faces till they bleede, and so sett mourning seuen dayes, with alitle Drumme beaten neere them, in which tyme the mourners dresse no meate in theire houses, hauing it sent to them by their neighbours and frendes, To Conclude as wemen divorced by liuing husbands, so widdowes left by dead husbands, may not marry /20/ agayne till after foure mounthes odd dayes, or [f] if the be left with Childe so long tyme after theire deliuery.

Touching Childbearing, and Circumcision vsed by them as wee vse baptisme. In Childebearing they haue the helpe of

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or did he really see it ? The detail "in Venice" suggests the latter.

[36] Presumably black could also be uncomfortably hot in the summer.

midwiues, yet I cannot[.] say the haue wemen of that profession, and am sure, wemen are forbidd and neuer vse to goe a broade by night. The wemen Iewes keepe their Chambers some tenn dayes after they are brought [to bed] in bed, and I thincke the Turkish wemen keepe within for /30/ some such tyme, but I haue heard of some indistresse and danger of the lawe, to be brought in bed without the helpe of any weman, and to goe abroade within fewe howres. They haue no such Ceremony as our Churching. Mothers allwayes nurse their owne Children, which they may well doe hauing many slaues to attend them, and the men may well permitt it, hauing in the meane tyme the vse of ⌈o⌉ther wyues and Concubynes. Wemen after they be with chylde may drinke no wyne.

They carry young Children not in their Armes, as ours doe, /40/ but astryde on one shoulder. As their Religion make them curyous in outward clenlynesse (which I haue formerly shewed) so the Nurses more spetially are carefull to avoyde all defyling from the young Children to which ende I obserued them (more spetially in Asia the great) to vse litle or no fouling of linnen about the Chilldrens necessities of nature, for howsoeuer they swaddle the vpper parts, and in a loose manner [the] the leggs also, yet the midle partes are altogether naked, and the Cradles being made with a rounde hole in the midest, they lay downe the /50/ Children so, as they defyle nothing but the ground,

and to avoyde the defiling or smelling of any clothes with vrinn, they also apply to those partes certayne Cannes of wood, //

Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c. Chapt VII. fol 569

made of purpose for both sexes, to conveye from them their vrine.[37] For the first yeare they giue them no other norishment but the Nurses milke, after they giue them bread and other meate, espetially nutts, mingled with bread and first well chewed in the Nursses mouthes, but when they begin to be able to goe, they feede them with Onyons, rootes, and other kyndes of meate grosse and heard of digestion.

For Circumcision called Tsumeth in their toung,[38] they vse it not in the Moschees, as the Iewes doe in their Synogogs, but at home in the Parents houses, nor yet on the eight /10/ day, but in the seuenth or eight yeare, when they are able to pronounce with a thombe lifted vp to heauen these wordes in their language, there is but one God, and Mahomett his messenger, the only and true Prophett, which wordes are also graven in all their moschees. And if any Christian should ignorantly pronounce these wordes ⌈before⌉ any Turkes, they take it for his consent to become a Mahumetan, so as he must presently be Circumcised or putt

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[37] Villamont makes similar observations in Book II, Chapter 30, sig. 2P2v - 2P3r.

[38] *Sünnet*.

to death. And I remember that the Turkes guyding and attending mee in Asia, often tempted me to pronounce those wordes with my thombe /20/ directed to heauen, but silence (allwayes safe more spetially to travellors) preserued me from that mischeefe. At the Circumcision, the Parents invite their frendes to a Feast, wherein the richer prepare all delicacyes, and all kyndes of flesh (excepting swynes flesh, and like meates prohibited by their lawe), and many tymes the richer sort kill and flea an oxe,[39] and putting a sheepe in the belly of the oxe, a henn in the belly of the sheepe, and an egg within the henn, Roste them all together.[40] In the midst of Supper the Chylde to be Circumcised is /30/ brought in, among the guests, where the Surgion, after the Chylde hath pronounced the foresayd wordes, vnbareth his fore partes, and opening the foreskinne, holdes it so delated betweene a payre of litle tonges, then to make the Chylde lesse affrayd, he tells him he shall not be Cutt till the next day, and takes his leaue of the Company for that tyme, but suddenly retorning, as if he had forgott somthinge, for the preparation, he cutts it

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[39] *OED* lists "flea" as a long lived variant spelling of flay. As flaying means skinning, this operation would have to have been carried out anyway. Perhaps Moryson means that the elderly beast was flayed in the sense of beaten, to tenderize it. However, from the context it could equally mean that the beast was killed and then skinned.

[40] "...(as among the richer sort) is slaine an Oxe, in the which (flean, & his boweles taken out), they encloase a // sheepe, in the shepe a henne, and in the henne an egge, all whiche holye together are rosted in honour of that daye." Georgievits, pp. C8v, D1r.

off, and washing the parte, layes a litle bumbase and salt vpon the wounde, and from that hower the Childe is reputed and /40/ called a Mussulman, that is one of the true Faith, a generall title wherof the Turkes are no lesse proude, then those of the Church of Rome glorye in the style of Catholike, which they appropriate to themselues. And for this Cause the Emperors eldest sonne is neuer circumcised till about sixtene yeares of age, that his parents may longer inioye his company. For after he is made a Mussulman, the Father in ielouscy that the Army & espetially the Ianizaryes should cast their eyes and hearts vpon him, sendes him presently to governe the litle Province of /50/ Bursia in Asia the lesse (being over a[n] narrowe Sea right against Constantinople) where he is watched, and all his actions obserued, nothing being more dangerous to him, then the least affecting of the Ianizaryes loue, //

and from whence he neuer retornes to see his Parents and bretheren, till his Father be dead, the fatall day of all his brothers strangling. As for names they are not giuen to any Turke at his Circumcision by any Priest, but at the hower of his [death] birth by his Parents, and such as are significant, namely to the Emperors sonnes, Sultan Scelim,

that is Prince of peace,[41] or Soleiman that is Soloman, or Murath begh, that is wished Ruler, Great men haue also names proper to them, as Spahalar, Behram, and the like.[42] The Common sort haue names proper /10/ to them, As Mutsa [Ionuz] or Scheadet, and the like, and those borne of Captiue slaues haue also names proper to them, as Seremith that is bolde or swift. The Feast of Circumcision being continued three dayes, the Circumcised Childe is with great pompe ledd by the guests to the bathe, where he is washed and hath his head shauen, which till then grewe at length, only leaving one locke on the topp of his Crowne, which he nourisheth shauing the rest till his death, for by that locke the Turkes thincke that Mahomett will take them vp into Paradise. Then a white Tulbent is /20/ putt vpon his head, which donne, with like pompe and musicke of loude Instruments (as Trumpitts, Drumms, and hoboyes) they leade him to the Moschee, and then to his Fathers house, where many guifts are presented to him, the men giuing garments of silke, or Cupps of Siluer, or mony, or horses, the wemen giuing shirtes, handcherchers, and like thinges. The Females of the Turkes are not Circumcised, (as nether a mong the Iewes, but only pronouncing the foresayd wordes, as the males doe, without any pompe or Ceremony haue euer

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[41] It is an irony of history that the pacific Emperor Bajezeth II (1481 - 1512) should have named the belligerent son who deposed him Selim.

[42] The latter name means "warlike", the first remains unidentified.

after the /30/ the foresayd title of the true fayth.

Christians willingly Circumcised, haue the Ceremony performed with great honor, and with much ioye of the people, are ledd through the streetes, and haue many guifts presented them, and are euer after free from the tribute called haraci, which is so grevous, as many turne Turkes to be free from it. Christians by force Circumcised (as for striking or reproching a Maussulman, or blaspheming Mahomett, and other like causes) haue nether the former honor, nor any guifts presented them, but are only free /40/ from that tribute, as all Turkes are.

Touching other Customes through out vast Turkey. They haue no bells at all, and at the tymes of the day when the people are called to pray, the Saintons or Priests asend the steeples of the moschees, whereof many are built with spyres, hauing a rounde gallary, towades the topp, where hallowing as loude as our falcornes,[43] they warne the people to praye wheresoeuer they are, nether haue they any clockes, but distingish the tyme and might by the Sunne, /50/ Moone, and starrs.

Nothinge can be donne among them without bribes, or rather presents, from the Turkes Court to the meanest gouenor in

[43] Falconers ?

a village, yea to the very Common people. If any Christian aske //

Booke IIII of [Ital] Turky touching Nature &c Capt VII fol.571.

a smale Curtesy of a great man, (as to goe safe in his trayne and vnder his protection in any Iorney) his present must goe before his request, to make it acceptable. In like sorte if a Christian aske any thinge of a Ianizarye, he must first present him with mony, or wyne, or both, without which he will doe nothinge, and with which he will doe him any right, yea wrong to another, as for a fewe Aspers or pennce beate a Common Turke for his sake, the Emperor himsell giues /10/ many rewardes for seruices donne to him, as [very] euery man that bringes him newes ⌈hath a reward⌉ if the newes be true, and punishment if it be false, for tryall whereof the messenger for atyme is committed to prison.

If any Ambassador haue Audience of the Emperor he and all that attend him are presented each with a vesture or gowne of Persian Cloth of gold, which vestures among them are of one fashion, and so will easily be made fitt for any man. [er th] And this fashion of /20/ giuing changes of rayment, is no lesse frequent among the great men of Turkey, then it was of old in all partes of the East, whereof in the old testament wee haue examples, of Sampsons wager with the young men about the expounding of his ridle, and of the

great Syrian lordes present to Elisha the Prophett.[44] The vpper garments of great Iudges, are of blewe or Azure Collor, of great men in the Army light Collered Damaskes, or [of] Sattens, but commonly all weare Carseyes[45] of violett or puke Coller.[46] For any thinge of black Coller, I /30/ neuer sawe it worne by any Turke, and I haue heard some call it the Deuills Coller. But the greene coller is of such dignity among them, as it is made proper to the hemirs or lords of Mahometts race and kindred, the very wemen of that race wearing something of greene a bout them, to be knowne from others. And if any Turke or Christian by ignorance weare but a shooestring of that Coller, the Ianizaryes will beate him cruelly for the first tyme, with their Cudgells, vpon the belly and soales of the feete, and if he weare it the second tyme, he is in /40/ danger to be

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[44] "Then Samson said vnto them, I will nowe put foorth a riddle vnto you: and if you can declare it mee within seuen dayes of the feast, and finde it out, I will giue you thirtie sheetes, and thirtie change of garments." Judges 14. 12. "And Naaman saide, Yea, take two talents: and he compelled him, and bound two talents of siluer in two bagges, with two change of garments, and gaue them vnto two of his seruants, that they might beare them before him." II Kings 5. 23.

[45] "A kind of course narrow cloth, woven from long wool and usually ribbed." *OED*, Kersey, 1. The English exported many of these types of cloths during the late sixteenth century, and they were part of the "New Draperies" already referred to.

[46] Moryson is probably being rude here. He probably means puce, a brownish purple, but its derivation which he would certainly know, comes from *pulex*, a flea, and so it means flea-coloured. He complains that the Turks are lousy in this chapter fol. 556. C. Willis and Phillis Cunnington describe the colour as "A dirty brown.", p. 193.

putt to death, as a dispiser of Mahomett. My selfe by ignorance hereof wore a doubled lyned with greene taffety, from Venice to Ierusalem, and from thence to Constantinople, and because I slept in my doublett, I had the happ neuer to haue it seene, And when my English frendes made this danger knowen to me I ceased not to weare it, till I came to Venice only being carefull the litle tyme I stayed at Constantinople, to keepe it from sight, for once entred into a Venecian shipp in which I retourned, I was safe from any /50/ violence of the Turkes, if any of them should see it in the shipp, which not withstanding I carefully avoyded, for feare of danger by contrary wyndes, forcing vs to land in any part of Turky. All degrees among the Turkes are distinguished by their heades, that is by their Tulbents worne on their heades, for as the sayd kinsemen of //

fol.572. Booke IIII of Turkey touching nature &c Chapt.VII. Mahomett weare huge Tulbents of greene Coller, so all other Turkes weare them of pure white linnen, which they are curious to preserue from any least spott, and the greatest men weare the greatest Tulbents, hauing of the topp a Crowne of Red velvett in which they plant Iewells and diuers kyndes of fethers, and weare the Tulbent with diuers fouldings, and like tokens of distinction, besydes that the Ianizaryes, and other orders, haue theire peculiar Capps, not wearing Tulbents in the Army or Iornyes, but only in the Cittyes, and not allwayes there, /10/ Agayne all Turkes

many tymes were another ornament on the head, called Shasses, being of white linnen lightly and lesse curiously foulded about the head. And the Greekes and other Christians weare these Shasses party Colered, like our Barbars Apronns. These ornaments of the head they neuer putt off, as wee doe our hatts, when they doe reverence to any man, but as the Italians doe it with bending of the body and crossing the ⌈right⌉ Arme to the left syde, laying the hand on the heart, so the Turkes bend the body lowe, according to the dignity of the person saluted, and /20/ [with]⌈crsse⌉ the left hand [crossed it] to the right syde, They laugh at Christians vsing to putt off their hatts, and vse it for a cursse, to wish theire enemyes as litle rest as the hatts of Christians haue. They weare no gloues on their handes, and wonder at them when they see them worne by some fewe Christians of Europe.

No nation vseth bathinge so frequently as the Turkes, without it never going to the Moschees to pray, nor wemen lying with theire husbands, the very *H*arlotts not giuing the second vse of their bodyes if they haue not bathed after /30/ the first. And in bathes the best sort anoynte the body with Balsome, and all take the hayre of their bodyes cleane off with a pouder called Rusma, which is a Minorall in Galatia, somuch vsed for this purpose, as the Emperor hath about eight thousand Ducates yearely tribute

for it.[47] The Pouder is blacke, and the oyntment made of it presently fetcheth off the hayre from the roote, being washed with whott water, yet so that it soone growes agayne. Yea the Turkes wash both priuie partes after all egestions of the body, to which purpose the wemen haue wemen slaues /40/ to bring water to them, and the men in making water Couer down to the grounde like wemen, to aduoyde the hands touching that part, and lest any dropp of water should fall on the body or their Cloathes, to defyle them, But espetially before prayer they exonerate[48] and wash the body with water, since bathing cannot so frequently be vsed. My selfe being on Shippboard in many ports, haue often seene the Turkes before their tymes of prayer come knee <d>eepe into the Sea, and after egestions of the body wash those partes, and with the same water /50/ going and comming to wash their mouthes, and thence retourne to say their prayers on land. This frequent bathing, so dryeth their bodyes, as they never vse to spitt, and it is dangerous to spitt before them, for they take it to be donne in scorne of them. Yet doe they commonly drincke water, and eate whole meales of fruites, and some of most cooling yuce, [but]⌈which⌉ cannot but ingender //

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[47] The name for taxes *rüsum* has become synonymous with the item taxed. RM.

[48] "To discharge the contents of (the body, an organ), esp. by evacuation. Obs. " *OED*, 2.

Booke IIII. Of Turky touching nature &c Chapt VII fol..573. Crudities in the stomacke,[49] were they not corrected by this frequent bathing, which fewe vse lesse then twise in the weeke, the bathes being Common to both sexes, to the men in the morning, to the wemen in the afternoone. And therein the wemen vse an oyntment which maketh theire skinne soft, white, free for⌈m⌉ wrincles, and shyning.

The men weare wepons ordinarily, and the very Soldyers vse them only in the Army, for at other tymes the Ianizaryes in some places carry long and broade kniues or dagers vnder the gerdle on the left syde, with sheathes of metall, /10/ but most Commonly weare cudgells in their hands, ⌈with⌉ wherewith one of them will beate Multitudes of Christians, or Common Turkes, not daring to lift vp their hands against them.

As in reverence they putt off their shooes at the dore when they enter into their moschees, and when they are called before magistrates, or great men, so in their priuate howses the vper end is raised somewhat higher then the rest of the roome, and spread with one or more Carpitts, where ⌈they⌉ first putting off their shooes, sett all the day with /20/ theire leggs crossed vnder them, like our Taylors, and doe eate and lodge vpon the same Carpetts. For

[49] "Pl. imperfectly concoted humours ? Obs." *OED*, Crudity, 2. Indigestion caused by this.

they eate not setting at a table, as wee doe, nor leaning on the elbowe, as many nations did of old, but haue their meate sett on the grownd, or vpon a redd skinne of lether, vnder sett with stickes, not much raised from the grounde, and to be opened or shutt like a purse, vsing nether tables, nor stooles, not tableclothes. Their dishes haue standing feete, and (as in Saxony) are placed one aboue the other, so as they may eate of what they will, without remouing /30/ the dish. When one hath eaten sufficiently, he riseth, giuing place to another, till all haue eaten, and they eate three tymes a day, but at Feasts they sitt continually, one two or three dayes, never rising but for necessities of nature, and then retorning to eate agayne. Vpon the same carpetes they sleepe, lying vpon a matteras with a quilt or Carpett to cover them, wearing linned breeches, but vsing no sheetes. Their lawe forbids them to drincke wyne, and to this day they plant no vines themselues, but when they come where Christians haue it, they take it /40/ in this age, freely giuen, or by force, and drincke it with great excesse. They haue no taverns, yet haue they houses that sell diuers made and compounded drinckes, commonly sweete, and taken rather for Phisicke then delight. But in the houses I haue seene some drincke Harac a kynde of Aquauity (allowed them by theire lawe) in such measure, as I thought would only take away theire sences but burne their entralls.

They take much of the herb Opium, which they call Amphion,[50] thincking that it adds courage to them, and quickens /50/ theire spirites. And indeede it workes heate in the stomacke, and reviues the spirits, but it somewhat trobles the brayne with giddines, so as themselues when they would impute drunckennes to a man, vse proverbially to say that he hath taken Opium, and the Phisians hold a great //

fol..574. Booke IIII of Turkey touching nature &c. Chapt.VII.

quantity of it to be mortall. In tast it is bitter, hott on the toung, yellow in collor, the granes growing round on the stalke like a bunch of grapes. It is plentifully sowed in Cilicia, Capadocia Pa<p>hlagonia, and other Prouinces of Asia the lesse, and thence exported into other parts of Turky, as Marchants report, to the quantity of foure or fiue thousand horselodes yearely. No marchandise more easily fyndeth a buyer, for he that is not worth two pence, wilbe stowe one in Opium, all Turkes Continually haue it about them, not only /10/ in warr to expell feare, but in peace also to make them cheerefull.

A worthy English traveler passing those parts more then twenty yeares after ⌈my⌉ being there, writes that for the same reason they take Opium, now also they take very much

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[50] The name of the town where the poppies still grow is Afyon. RM

Tobacco, at my being there altogether vnknowne to them, taking it in reedes with heades of wood, belike not hauing our pipes of earth, and that howsoeuer the cheefe Visere to represse the vse thereof, caused a Turke to be ledd through the Citty with a /20/ pipe thrust through his Nose, yet that still they delighted in it, and tooke it incornors, without any skill to knowe the good from the bad, and so esteeming and buying any refuse stuffe. This Custome if it passe among them, I hope they will giue a man leaue to spitt before them, without taking it inscorne, as they did at my being there, and of olde.

The old Empires of the worlde, and thereof the Roman last and greatest, and almost all seuerall kingdomes, in their first foundations, till the birth of our lord, /30/ admitted slaues, namely men and wemen bought or borne slaues, whose Masters had power ouer their goods, liues and deathes, and ouer theire bodyes, yea the fruites of theire bodyes, theire Children being borne slaues to their masters, which tyranny began in the [g] ages when might was right, and the weaker and poorer were made subiect to the stronger and richer, and after was more cruelly or more gently exercised, as the nations were or became more barbarous or Ciuill. And howsoeuer Christian Charity and humility hath in many kingdomes abolished /40/ this cruell Custome, and in all Christian kingdomes abated the taranny therof, yet to this day the husbandmen of the Country, in

Denmarke, in Poland, and many partes of Germany, are meere slaues in all these kindes [of Germany] the tyranny wherof being only out of vse for Religions sake. And to this day, the kingdome of Spayne, the State of Venice, and some fewe Cittyes and Provnces of Italy, vsing Gallyes at Sea, haue slaues bound in Iron Chaynes to rowe in them, which are only condemned malefactors, some for life, some for yeares, or Captiue Turkes, none of /50/ them being borne slaues. But Turky is the only Empire knowne to mee, where slaues governe the State. //

Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chapt VII. fol.575. For the Vizeres or bashawes, and all governors of the State, and all ⌈the⌉ commanders of the Army, and [also] almost all the Army, are ether the Chilldren of Christian subiectes taken by the Emperor for tribute, and brought vp in Mahometts Religion, or Christians voluntaryly or in Captiuity torning Turkes. Nether doe their Chilldren succeede them in the state or Army, but both are supplyed in all ages by the same meanes with new men, In like manner all their great slaues and all inferiour Turkes are serued only by slaues, so as the Empire for the most and cheefe part consisteth of slaues. And these slaues are partly /10/ giuen from one to the other, being reputed a great kinde of riches, and so giuen for dowry and like occasions, or they are taken in the warr; or more Commonly <bo>ught for mony. For they haue frequent marketts wherein slaues of both sexes are exposed to sayle, and the men are valued for

skill in some trades (as Smithes, Saddlors, Iewellers, Saylors, and like trades most vsefull to them) but most Commonly they are valued by strength of body, the facultyes of the mynde or skill in sciences being litle or nothinge respected by them. The wemen are valued by youth and beauty, to which purpose they are sett out to the best /20/ shewe, and if a Captiue Mestres and her made seruant, happen to be sould to one man, if the Mistres be older and lesse fayre then her mayde, shee shall be sure to serue her, yea perhapps, in the basest drudgeryes. The price of a woman being agreed vpon, shee is ledd in ⌈to⌉ a priuate roome, where the buyer may search, see, and handle each part, yea trye the signes of her virginity if shee be soulde for a virgin. The Captiue wemen are gladd when by lookes moving pitty, and by prayers, they can [.] intise a Christian to buye them, hoping for Religions sake to be better vsed, and to continue in their Religion, and because /30/ turning Turkes they are made by the lawe free from Christians, besydes that Christians hauing once layne with them, neuer sell them to another, but rather giue them liberty, whereas Turkes Commonly force them to become Mahometans, and in that case, yet are they not freed from a Turke, but only better vsed, besydes that Turkes hauing had the vse of their bodyes, yet sell them ordinarily one to the other. The men slaues haue some comfort, for they may call their masters before the Cady or Iudge, to limitt atyme or price, which ended or payd they may be free, and

they being sett downe, the choyse of the /40/ condition is referred to the slaue, who skillfull in a trade, or hauing frendes or meanes to procure mony will chuse the price, or otherwise serue out the tyme. But slaues of the foresayd Trades, espetially Saylors, if there skill therein beknowne to their masters, are commonly sett at such high price, or long tyme, as they seldome regayne their liberty. As likewise the slaues of great gouernors & officers of the State and Army, are seldome redeemed, and neuer without their masters consent, for the sayd Cady dare not exercise his Authority towardes them. /50/

They haue a most cruell Custome, to Castrate or gelde Many of these slaues, to make them chast keepers of their wyues and Concubynes. And the Nomber of these Evnnuches is very great, all great men and espetially the Emperor himselfe imploying many of them in places //
fol 576 Booke IIII of Turkey touching nature &c Chapt VII
of great trust, not only to keepe their wemen, but their Castles, howses, and treasure, and to governe their estates, so as many of them by theire fathfullnes and wisdome, attayne to great, and some fewe to the higest dignityes in the State. They are Commonly gelt when they are chilldren (for Children also are bought and solde like Catle in marketts), and they were wont to cutt them only as our Coults are Cutt to make gelldings, but of late fiding such to haue lust towardes wemen, they cutt all off, as

playne as the Palme of an hand, so as many dy of the /10/ Cutting. Yet many of them are also Cutt at ripe yeares, as about the tyme of my being there, the Bashawe of Damasco purposed to gelde a young man his slaue and to giue him to his daughter at her Maryage, but the man getting knowledge of his purpose, and not able to beare that indignity, killed the Bashawe while he tooke his rest in the after Noone, some fewe howers before he shoulde haue ssuffered that shame Chusing rather to dye.[51]

The great men, and espetially the proude Emporors /20/ (disdayning that men should speake to them) keepe many Mutes, borne deafe and dumbe, and also the greater part not being dumbe, but being made Mutes by cutting out their tounges while they were Children. And hereof the Emperor had some for his daily companions, the rest attending [a] among his Pages. At Constantinople I wondred to see these Mutes by dumbe signes conferr one with another, and with such men as vnderstood theire signes, as readily as any cand doe by speech.

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[51] "*Le Bacha auoit vn ieune homme esclaue Chrestien, qui estroit du Royaume de Russie, lequel il proposa faire chastrer, pour en faire vn present à sa fille: le pauure esclave ayant entendu ceste piteuse nouuelle, (car il aduient souuent que l'homme en meurt) se resolut plustost de mourir que de l'endurer, voire mesmes de tuer le Bacha, lequel estant lassé de l'exercise qu'il auoit faict le matin, & la pance pleine de son disner, se mist vn peu à dormir...*", at which disadvantage the Basha was stabbed in the throat to prevent him from crying out. Subsequently, the Slav was condemned to a terrible death. Villamont, sig. 2V1v.

Among infinite strange Customes of the Turkes, I /30/ obserued. That it is dangerous for any man, to vse foule paper to such base vses as Christians Commonly doe. For the Turkes are so ignorant, and superstitious, as seeing any [paper] peece of written paper lye on the grounde, they take it and lay it vp with reverence, suppising some wordes of the Alcoron may be written therein.

That in the partes neere Ierusalem many young men haue their Armes naked wounded with great Cutts and filthy scabbs, which themselues gashed to shewe what they durst doe for their loue or mistres, shewing the gashes as /40/ tokens of theire valor.

That the wemen of those partes carryed their litle Children not in their Armes, but astryde vpon their shoulders.

That generally their horses feede, not on [.] Oates but on barly, and haue no other litter but only theire owne dunnge which allso makes their skinnes to be smothe and shyning.

{ m.n. 46 - 52. Pastymes Exercises *H*untinge *H*awkinge Fowlinge Birdinge and Fishinge. }
Touching Pastymes and exercises. As the mourne in publike places, namely of buryall (where the wemen weepe and beate their breasts and faces in strang manner) so vse they pastymes and exercises in publike places. In Palestine /50/

I haue seene the mores (which are tawney not blacke,[52] and together with the Arabians inhabite those Countryes) I say I haue seene them in the feildes represent playes or Commedies, but barbarously in respect of ours, and I //

Booke IIII of Turkey touching nature &c Chapt VII fol.577.

haue seene the wemen mores vse publike dauncing in the feildes, as allso the Turkish wemen daunce alone, and with other wemen after the Moresco and very wanton fashion,[53] but I did neuer see nor heare that any men daunced with with wemen ordinarily except perhapts at publike mariage Feasts. Their daunces are immodest for many most laciuious gestures and motions of the body, and for their wanton intising contenances, and are [di.] ridiculous, in some skippings and leapes they make, but are delightfull for many comely motions of the body, and the philiping of litle stones or shells /10/ betweene their fingers, which they make pleasantly to accord with the musicke, being Commonly of litle tabretts[54] and fifes, and litle hoboyes. In these daunces they bege Mony of the beholders, which they cast

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[52] Does this have any relevance as to how *Othello* should be represented ? However, Othello says of himself, "I am black" and he describes his own name as "begrimed and black/ As mine own face." See III. 3. 267, 392 - 393.

[53] It is interesting that Moryson yokes Moorish with wanton behaviour. Iago, who deals in stereotypes, says that he hates the Moor because, "...it is thought abroad that 'twixt my sheets // He has done my office." I. 3. 379 - 380. The disappointed Roderigo tells Brabantio that his daughter is in "...the gross clasps of a lascivious Moor" I. 1. 128.

[54] "A small tabor; a timbrel. Hist. or arch." *OED.*

vpon a carpett to gratify the dauncers, and the wemen plant the monyes on their foreheades for the tyme, by wetting the peeces, but after giue them to the musitions.

They vse nether dice nor Cardes, but they delight much to play at chesse, in which game they excell, and commonly carry about them tables of paper for that purpose, but they /20/ account it shamefull to play for any mony.

They are excelent for Iudgling faitts of legierdumaine,[55] wherein the will doe incredible thinges, no doubt by some deceitfull slights, as making the beholders verily thincke that they breake a barr of Iron with a blowe of their fist, and that they breake the bone of an Oxe by striking it vpon their owne shinne bone, and that they walke bare footed vpon the edges of sharpe swordes, with many other like thinges. They de<li>ght much in Instruments of musicke, as the lute (hauing not so many stringes as ours) and the Gitterne, /30/ the Fife, the Flute, the *H*oboyes and a kynde of Bagpipe, which Instruments all of them will haue, and iangle vpon them, though fewe haue any great skill to vse them, and for my parte I neuer heard nor sawe any of them excelent in the Art of Musicke.

For Exercises, howsoeuer they delight much in their horses

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[55] Juggling feats of legerdemain ?

keeping them beautifull, and well ridden for seruice vsed only to gallopp and goe a foote pace, [nether]⌈never⌉ taught to amble, yet as the horses naturally trott, and are soone laded <b>eing putt to that pace, for a small Iorney, so the /40/ Turkes seldome putt their horses to the trott for any longer way, and as seldome vse riding for exercise. Only at some Feasts, as the maryage of great mens sonnes and daughters, many slaues mounted on Cowes, Asses, and like beasts, without sadles or bridles, runne for Wagers (as handcherchers and Cloth hung [about]⌈vpon⌉ Po[.]les) and in striuing to gett them, by dangerous falls make the beholders sporte, as likewise the horsemen diuided into two Troopes, putt their horses to the gallop, assayling one an other with dartes made of Canes, /50/ so as they neuer cast the dartes before any man (not to hurt them in the face) but assoone as one hath cast his darte, another followes him and casts his darte to hitt him on the backe, or the hinder parte of the head, in which courses, lasting some two or three howers, many of them are also cast to the grounde. //

fol 578. Booke IIII of Turkey touching Nature &c Chapt.VII

Many Turkes in Syria, and the partes towards Egipt, (as I thincke espetially in Affricke) are most Cunning in wrastling, which they performe naked, hauing their bodies oyled, and weareing only a payre of breeches of thinne lether, likewise oyled and close to the thighes, so as they cannot possibly lay hold one vpon another, and except he

that falls be cast vpon his backe, he is not reputed to be ouercome, so as they vse much slight and actiuity before they giue such a fall, with much delight to the beholders, the rather because they performe this with great earnestnes, /10/ as if honor and life lay vpon the victory. And the beholders never giue any mony for this or any like delight, till they haue seene and liked the sporte. In like sorte with much actiuity they leape one ouer another, so as one man somtymes will leape ouer foure persons. This actiuity is much helped because no Turkes wilbe in the Taylors prison, as we are, but haue their Apparrell easey, and weare no pointes,[56] as wee doe, but only haue their hose made fast before. Also some of them are excelent in walking or dansing and doing strang actiuities vpon Roapes, planting two high, and three /20/ lowe posts, all great, vpon which they fasten the Roapes, some lowe some high, and vpon the lower nyne or tenn of them at once doe trickes, and single men vpon the highest, and such trickes as we would wonder at, and thinck impossible, wherof in our tyme wee haue seene one example in England by a Turke who shewed strange Actiuity vpon Roapes, as many yet liuing may remember. And all these are performed with Musicke, such as I haue formerly discribed. But you must vnderstand these

[56] *OED* suggests that *punto* and *point* in the sense of stitching, "the prick of the needle in sewing" remained entirely Italian and French. *OED* gives the definition of 32.a. as "Thread lace made wholly with the needle", and Moryson may be referring to this in particular rather than to stitching in general.

wrastlings, Leapings and Actiuities vpon Roapes, not to be donne ordinarily by them for /30/ exercise of the body, but only by some fewe professing these skills, to delight the people and to gayne their liuing. For generally the Turkes (as I formerly shewed) neuer somuch as walke for exercise, but only for buysines, and commonly sett still vpon the ground with crossed leggs. Insomuch as those fewe who exercise shooting in the Crosbowe, sett still vpon the ground, and haue a slaue to bring backe their Arrowes, all being generally a most slothfull generation.

For *H*unting and *H*awking. Some write that no nation is somuch delighted with hunting as the Turkes, their /40/ horsemen following wilde beasts into thicke woods and craggy mountaynes, and if the beast chance to be strangled in taking, they nether eate it nor suffer it to be eaten, and if they kill awylde boare, which they likewise may not eate, they giue it to Christians, but commonly they chase the hart, the hare, (whereof they haue fewe) and other wilde beasts, with grayhounds like the Irish but lesse, with hard and brisseled hayre. They haue also spaniells for *H*awking in the feilde, but nether good nor beautifull as ours, nether is that sport vsed by them, somuch as hunting. They loue /50/ their dogs exceedingly, rubbing them daily, and often washing them with water and sope, and giuing them things to purge, yea covering theire backes with rich Coates, //

{ c.w. insomuch }

Booke IIII of Turky touching nature &c Chapt.VII. fol.579. Insomuch as when the Emperor retorned from *H*ungary, I sawe many hundreth of his grayhounds covered with Cloth of gold (which taken off when they are slipped, I thinckes makes them runne more swiftly). *H*e hath his dogs ledd and *H*awkes carryed to the warr, in very great nombers.

It is incredible to relate how many, thousand falconers the Emperor hath, dispersed in his dominions, and how many attending him. But they haue smale skill either in hu⌈n⌉tting or *H*awking. For they carry their hawkes on their /10/ right hand, they neither whistle nor cast them off,[57] ⌈but as w[58] putt Cockes of the game together,⌉ so they putt a hawke on the ground sometymes at a crowe, for with the French they fly at all games,[59] and cast the lure at the first proffer,[60] and presently feede the hawke with flesh, or hard eggs for want of it. They highly value an hardy hawke that will binde with any birde flying. They abounde with Ayries of all kyndes of *H*awkes, and from them the

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[57] To let them fly. See *OED*, cast off, e.

[58] We ?

[59] "We'll e'en to't like French falc'ners, fly at anything we see." *Hamlet*, II. 2. 432 - 433.

[60] After the bird's first attempt, it is recalled by the lure, "An apparatus used by falconers, to recall their hawks, constructed of a bunch of feathers, to which is attached a long cord or thong, and from the interstices of which, during its training, the hawk is fed." *OED*, n. 2. 1.

Emperor hath many for tribute. Yet some not[ably] able to buy *Hawkes* reclayme gray and blacke Crowes to that vse, paynting them with diuers Coulers. In calling their /20/ *Hawkes*, they Cry Boub, Boub, till they come to the fist. When they *Hawke* at the Riuer, they haue a kynde of braue about the bill of the *Hawke*, and make it couch on the fist, and so galoping to the brooke, cast it of, and th⌈e⌉n beate with Drummes to raise the foule.[61]

The Turkes seldome eate birdes, or fish, and howsoeuer great shoales of fish passing vp and downe the narrowe seaes by Constantinople, at the seasons of the yeare, are taken plentifully, yet for the most parte Christians both take and eate them. But I neuer harde or sawe that the /30/ Turkes vsed netts, or any snares, or Angling, or like meanes, to take fishes in the Riuers, or birdes in the feilde. So as the fieldes, in many places voyde of inhabitants, yet are in all places full of birdes. Parhapps out of the Turkes superstitious Charity, [Therof]⌈whereby⌉ I haue seene them buye birdes out of Cages, to lett them fly at liberty, or rather out of their sluggish Idlenes, or because they are content with simple foode, Commonly Mutton or henns, boyled with rise in pipkinges; and with out

[61] I am not entirely sure of the sense of this. The "brave", an ornamental restraint on the bird's beak ? does not seem to be taken off before the hawk is cast off to take the waterfowl, yet it is "couching" or getting ready for flight as it is galloped towards the water.

water, only by the Moysture of the meate, which makes the ryce /40/ thicke and dry.[62]

[62] Moryson must have eaten well at Barton's table. Only the best fed Turks and honoured ambassadors lived on mutton or chicken pilaff, prepared in pipkins or pots. RM Yoghourt and bread, or as Georgievits disparagingly calls it, "...congealed milke tempered with water, and bread put therin, eyther newe, or twise baken" sig. F3r would be more usual fare.

Booke V

Chapter.I.

Of the Italyans nature, and manners Bodyes and witts, Manuall Artes, sciences, Vniuersities, language, Cerimonyes, particularly in Mariages, Childbearings, Christnings, and Funeralls as also of their diuers Customes, Pastimes, Exercises, particularly of theire hunting, hawking, /50/ Foulding, hawking, Fouling, Birding, and Fishing.

{ m.n. 53, 54. Nature and Manners }

In the first booke and the second Chapter of the thired Part of this worke, among the proverbyall speeches of the Cittyes and Provinces of Italy, many thinges are formerly written, which may giue light to this discourse, //

fol.580. Booke V of Italy touching natuer &c Chapt.i.

but I omitt them here, to avoyde tediousnes, referring the reader to that place, who desyres to pervse them. Now being to write of the Italyans, the Conquerers of the world, I will beginne with valor. And therein I will lay the maxime for my grounde, that pryde and vayne glory may produce Actions of bestiall[1] boldnes, but no man can haue true fortitude in ventering his life, who is not well resolued

[1] Hughes misreads "bestially", p. 398.

of the happy being of his soule after death.[2] Therefore as the old Romans Religion taught morall vertues vertues and espetially fortitude in /10/ ventering life for theire Country to be the ready way to their Elizan feildes, so no men trode more warely and Constantly in those stepps, being in generall exemplary for posterity to imitate them therein. Yet I confesse that I doe not fully beleeue all the relations their historyes haue made of the old Roman fortitude, which were they never so false, yet nether the [Conquest]⌈Conqured⌉ durst obiect the falshood against the Conquerers, nor coulde the contrary historyes of barbarous enemyes haue gotten Creditt against the Romans most eloquent and learned in those /20/ tymes, and I rather suspect the same, because all travellers into Italy fynd at this day how they did rayse hills to mountaynes, brookes to Riuers, and small things to be reputed famous Monumments, and why may we not thincke they magnifyed in like sorte the Roman Actions aboue the due proportion.[3] Why should wee beleeue Liuy, more in the Actions of Curtius, of Manlius, of the Fabij, and like worthy men, then in the sweating of stones, Nodding of Images, and like supperstitious

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[2] "A ruler or commander should always ensure that his men believe that the war they are prosecuting is a just one." Botero, *State*, p. 180, in a Chapter entitled "The Justness of the Cause".

[3] Dallington says how Italians "euer speake *alla larga*." *Tuscany*, sig. G4v.

Miracles.[4] And since he putt Orations into the Mouthes of dead men who /30/ neuer spake them liuing, why might he not impute braue actions to dead men who neuer did them liuinge, or at least did them not in such high measure, And if I graunt all his relations to be true, yet remember that braue Actions may be imputed to true fortitude which proceede from pride and vayne glory, more proper to the nature of the old Romans, and of all Italians to this day, then any other nation. Further I will boldly say that the Romans Conquered the worlde not so much by fortitude, as other meanes. For when learning in all sciences and /40/ espetially eloquence were founde in Asia, the Empires of the worlde followed them. When the Grecians had learning and eloquence, they allso had the Empire of the world, and when they became barbarous, then the Romans hauing learned from them all sciences and powerfull eloquence, they drewe therewith the Empire to themselues, and no doubt they gott

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[4] Livy or Titus Livius (59 BC - AD 17) was a historian whose 142 books do not all survive. "His general purpose is...an ethical one. His attitude to the early legends which he relates is that he neither affirms nor denies their truth, but regards it of no great importance; if some of them are not true, yet they resemble the truth." In his Book VII a "soldier, Marcus Curtius, leaped, armed and on his horse, into a chasm which had opened in the Forum (the soothsayers had declared that the chief strength of Rome must be sacrificed before the chasm would close, meaning, in the opinion of Curtius, arms and valour)." Manlius could be either Marcus Manlius Capitolinus of Book VI, who, awakened by the cackling of geese, repulsed an attack by the Gauls on the Capitol in 390 BC, or Manlius Torquatus of Book VIII, who slew a huge Gaul in single combat, and took his *torquis* or ornamental necklace from him. The 306 Fabii of Book II marched out in brave order in 477 BC, for them all to die at the ambush of the Veientes. Harvey.

this Empire espetially by witty Art and pollicy, and by their true vertues, of Iustice, Temperance, and the like, subduing all mens hearts to them, or at least by ostentation of these vertues. So they subdued the Grecians /50/ by pretence to defende theire libertyes. So they subdued the Galles by norishing and assisting the factions of the Sequani and *H*edui.[5] So they subdued barbarous nations by feeding their factions and helping the weaker. In like sorte they long mantayned this Empire by Constancy in theire Actions, and provident wisdome to keepe what //

Booke V of Italy touching nature &c. Chapt.I. fol 581

they had gott, which vertues [h] are helde proper to men borne in that Clyme. They gott and strengthned this Empire by making the Roman tounge Common to all nations conquered by them, and by the fame of their Iustice, but espetially by making the most noble of the Conquered free of their Citty, and very Senators of Rome, wherby they were made partners of farr greater power and honor at Rome, then they had lost at home. As also by planting and transporting of

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[5] The Sequani a tribe living between the Saône and Vosges, and the Aedui a large tribe living between the Loire and Saône helped Julius Caesar to capture all of Gaul. Caesar employed the usual tactics of divide and rule amongst the various tribes, and with factions within the tribes. Moryson realises that Caesar makes his own story good. Thus, in the midst of an unproductive raid, Caesar inserts in Book VI. 11 - 28, a fascinating account of the customs of the Gauls and Germans, thereby diverting the reader's attention. See Julius Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul* translated by S. A. Handford, revised edition by Jane F. Gardener (Harmondsworth, 1982), pp. 138 - 146. Referred to as Caesar hereafter.

Colonyes. But touching fortitude, I graunt that the old Romans were more valient then the other Italians whome /10/ the Conquered by their owne power, as to this day the Souldyers of Romagna and Marchia are the best in Italy, yet I will boldly say that much fame was attributed to the Romans which duely belonged to the famous legions of the Brittans and the Bataui,[6] and to other barbarous legions who were all made free of the Citty of Rome, and gladly tooke to themselues the name of Romans, and whome the Romans vsed in their greatest Actions, and the subdueing of other nations to them. The Barbarous Invndations of the normans, Goathes, Vandalles,[7] /20/ *H*unnes, and lombardes, had the name of the nation first mouuing them, and the same had ⌈[had] also⌉ n[ame of the] reputation of all victoryes, yet no doubt their Armyes in great parte consisted of great Multitudes and the most resolute men of other nations, ioyning with them as they passed through their Countryes. So the Romans were the leaders and cheefe men in their Armyes, and had the honor of all victoryes in which notwithstanding they were assisted with forayne legions who being reputed Romans and vsing the Romayne disciplyne, were the cheefe causes of their good successes. To conclude /30/ this point it will appeare that to conquer the world, the

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[6] The Dutch claimed descent from the Batavi. They were originally a tribe living on an island between the Meuse and Waal. Caesar, p. 248.

[7] Hughes mistakes the comma for an ampersand, p. 400.

Romans in their wisdome and policy made more vse of forrayne fortitude then their owne, if wee consider[ed] how in the declining of that Empire, they hauing the same vertues, and being only forsaken of their forayne assistants, and so standing vpon their owne valour and strength, haue bene euer since troden vnder the feete by forayne nations. Did not the foresayd Invndations of barbarous people overflowe and conquer all Italy without any memorable resistance, or one braue battle fought by /40/ them in defence of their Country, which they somuch loue and esteeme, did not the French and after the German Emperors for many ages keepe them vnder, and giue them lawes without any memorable resistance made by them with the sworde, tho by other practises they often auoyd those Emperors, haue not the Italians [had small or no part in] [not] the warrs of Europe from that tyme to this day, and that litle which they haue done in that kynde, haue they not done it more by forayne forces hyred for their mony, then by their owne. And why should wee not beleeue that the old Romans conquered the world more by strength of /50/ their witt art and policy, then by the force of Armyes, since wee see the Roman Bishopes, without force of their owne Armes, but only by forayne Armes vsed to their assistance, and by trickes of witt and spirituall bugbeares, //

fol.582. Booke V. of Italy touching nature Chapt. .i.

haue more subiected the world to them, then euer the old

Romans coulde doe [..]⌈by⌉ theire owne, [force] or by forayne swordes assisting them.

Now I will speake of the Italians in our tyme, wherein I pray you remember my former maxime, that braue actions of boldnes may proceede from pride and vayne glory, but no man can with true corrage putt his life in hazarde, who is not perswaded of the goodnes of his cause, and of his sowles well being after death.[8] When the Popes of old raysed Armyes by the preaching of /10/ the Crosse, that is. by his full pardon of sinnes & freedome from Purgatory graunted to all Soldyers dying in that quarrell, no doubt they fought with more corage, because they thought the cause good, and their sowles assured of eternall happines. But the truth is that ⌈as⌉ of old when the Popes were apposed by forayne kings, the Italyans haue then beene obserued most to vphold them, for the dignity and wealth of Italy, and when they were most honored abroade, the most to dispise them, as litle fearing their spirituall thuntherbolts, so in these dayes, the Italyans /20/ haue small confidence in these papall pardons & spirituall promises, and somuch loue their owne earth, as they will not giue the seene and felt pleasures it yealdes them, for the vnseene and vnfelt ioyes of heaven, *[Qui c'ha]* hauing a Common Prouerb, *Qui c'ha*

[8] It is just this responsibilty that the common soldiers heap upon the king which Shakespeare makes Henry V find so hard to bear upon the eve of battle. See *Henry V* IV. 1. 227 - 281.

buon' pan' et boun' vino, chi sa se ci n'ha in Paradiso, I Frati ne ciarlano, ma sanno nulla that is, here is good bread and good wyne, who knowes if any such be in Paradise, the Fryers prate therof but knowe nothing And indeede they are so diffident in all their spirituall /30/ hopes, as they feare nothing so much as death, according to their proverb, *Ogni Tormento piu presto che la Morte*, that is all torment rather then death. Then how can these men haue true valor. In their nature they are most impatient of any the least reproch or iniury, but the common sort reveng them by fighting at Cuffes (being allowed no vse of weapons) And the greater men by treason able murthers. The Popes howsoeuer they vse to kindle fyer[s] in forayne kingdomes, yet haue allwayes beene carefull to keepe it from Italy, lest it might happen to scorch /40/ the foder of their triple Crownes,[9] and the Italyans seldome serue in forayne warrs, yet if I graunt that some fewe Italyans of late tymes haue proued famous in Naples and Netherland, and done great Actions in those seruices, not[h]withstanding fewe particulars cannot proue a generall assertion, and why may not these braue actions proceede from pryde and vayne glory, to which the Italyans a boue all nations are subiect), rather then from the vertue of true fortitude. For in like sorte and for the same cause, the Italyans

[9] Dr. T. P. Matheson suggests that this may be lining of the Papal tiara, from *foderato*, lined with cloth. Hughes's "solder", p. 402, is an invention of letters not there.

sometymes make /50/ most sumptious feasts (which wee call nigardes feastes)[10] yet ⌈are⌉ not thereby reputed liberall or bountifull, being generally in their nature frugall, and in this particular expence sordidly base. Nothinge is more proper to pride then to circomvent enemyes for revenge of //

Booke V of Italy touching nature &c Chapt. .I. fol..583.

wronges by treason and vpon all disadvantages, yet this is so bredd in the bone of the Italyans, as it will neuer out of their nature. Also it is a manifest token of cowardise to vse no measure in reveng, as fynding no safety but in the death of him who hath in any small measure wronged them, wherevpon it is proverbyally sayd, that it is better to fall into the handes of a valiant then of a proude enemy, yet this kynde of Reueng is generally most proper to the Italyans nature. For Combatts or single fighting, being equall tryalls of honor by the sworde, the Councell of /10/ Trent hath severely forbidden them, and not only the fighters but the very beholders are punished with the most seuere C⌈e⌉nsures of the Church, instituted at first to represse most haynous sinnes. And this priuate revenge was most iustly forbidden, if the same Act had prouided to repayre temporall honor, withouth[11] which our corrupt nature cannot be subdued to Christian patience in bearing

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[10] Hughes omits the brackets and the words therein, p. 402.

[11] Hughes amends to "without", p. 403.

wrongs. But the Italyans being still as impatient as euer to beare the least Iniurye, and hauing gotten this fayre pretence to avoyde equall Combatts (which in their nature they litle loued and /20/ seldome practised before) from that tyme haue exercised all revenges vpon all advantages, of nombers, of weapons, and of places, with many followers and most deadly weapons assalying[12] their enemyes, though vnarmed and a lone, yea naked in bed and perhapps sleeping. Nether is any reuenge lesse then death (except towardes *H*arlotts whome they are content to mangle and marke in the face) for the dead bite not, but the liuing may agayne revenge the wronge offered them. Or if sometymes one man perhapps challing another to single fight,[13] they doe it after a childish & ridiculous /30/ manner. My selfe at Syenna sawe two gentlemen fall at defiance in the streete, who hauing each his sworde and Gauntlett, yet agreed to goe home and take more Compleate Armes, and then to retourne to fyght, not in the fielde, but (forsooth) in the markett place, whether after an howers space these Champions retorned, Armed as the Proverbe is, *Fin' alle stinche et al'buco del culo:* that is to the very shinne bones,[14] and for the shamefull part behinde, and there they slashed a blowe or two, [with][w] the peoples great applause of their

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[12] Hughes amends to "assayling", p. 403.

[13] Hughes amends to "challenging", p. 403.

[14] Hughes has "skinne bones", which makes scant sense, p. 403.

Corrage, because their faces were not Armed, but /40/ presently the sargants (whome they could not but expect) came to parte the fray, and Carry them to the governor. Then for many dayes, till the governnor could take vp the quarrell, these gentlemen with some hundreths of Armed followers, after a Thrasonicall manner walked the streetes,[15] one of the Companyes walking neere to the Easterne, the other at the westerne gate of the Citty, to avoyde meeting, at last the Governor hauing called certayne Bravoes from Milan for that purpose, discussing all points of honor, made peace betweene them. These Bravoes are ageneration of swaggerors, /50/ abounding in lombardy, who daily weare some thirty poundes weight of Iron to Arme their bodyes for defence, and are to be hyred for mony to fyght with any man, and to doe any //

fol.584. Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt. I.

Murther, yea stand vpon their Creditts and honestyes (forsooth) in performing these wicked actions. My selfe and some worthy gentlemen in England knowe it to be true, that one of them hyred to kill a gentleman in Gen⌈o⌉a, tooke him alone in his Closett, where bidding him prepare to dye, and the gentleman vnderstanding by whome he was hyred to kill him, and for what mony, gaue him a farr greater price to kill him that hyred him, which he also tooke with promise

[15] Thrasonical is an appropriate adjective to use, since Thraso the braggart in Terence's *Eunuchus*, was a fighting man, a soldier. Harvey.

to effect it, but the gentleman thincking thus to escape, he Answered that it lay vpon his creditt to kill him, hauing /10/ receaved monye and promised to doe it, but he might dye Comforted, that his enemy should not long outliue him. So he killed him, and with in fewe dayes his aduersary also. Are not these murther[ers] honest men of their worde. These Bravoes are most subtille disputers in pointes of honor, and will cutt an hayre in giuing euery man his due.[16] As indeede the Italyans generally can excellently dispute of honour and like vertues. But as it was sayde that the Athenians knewe good, but the laced<e>monians did it,[17] so I may say that the Italyans knowe but the Transalpines doe actions of honor. /20/ Behold what the Fathers of Trent haue donne be forbidding Combatts, which hath produced willfull Murthers. Beholde howe the Italyans effect these murthers, not by their owne but by their followers swordes. For as each *H*arlott among them hath a Bravo to defend her from wrong, so almost each gentleman hath at least one Bravo to depend vpon him and execute his revenges. To conclude if an Italyan be wronged, he is very likely to take revenge, and that very deepe beyond the quallity of the offence, but he will neuer fight vpon

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[16] This section expands what Martin Wiggins has to say about *bravi* and the honourable assassin, in his book *Journeymen in Murder: The Assassin in English Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 1991), passim.

[17] Perhaps it is a Classical saying. It is not in Tilley.

equall tearmes with his Adversarye, and whether /30/ this basenes be naturall (as to men abounding & transported with worldly pleasures), or by custome and practise be growen into a second nature, surely it is much increased not only by the decree of the Councell of Trent, but also by the government of all Princes, seuerely punishing all quarrells, and (in imitation of Numa Pompilius) by superstition somuch allaying military courage in the people, as they haue altogether extinguished it.[18] And because they oppresse their subiectes so as they dare not trust them, and therefore in all their warrs are only confident in their treasure, by /40/ which they hyre forayne soldyers, they make their subiectes yet more dasterdly by forbidding them the ordinarye vse of any weapons, but only in Iorneyes by the high way, wherein also they must depose them into the hands of the Guarde at the gate of every Citty, which prouing troublesome, and costly in the paying those who carry them to the Inne (and deliuer them to the host to be keept till they take horse) they seldome weare any weapons in Iorneyes. This vse of Armes is forbidden in all partes vnder the payne of fyfty Crownes or some like penalty. /50/ In the Popes state they who weare a sworde by the high //

Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt.i. fol.585.

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[18] Superstition denies men the sense that they, rather than outside forces, can achieve their ends. Numa was the legendary second King of Rome, responsible for creating many religious observances. Harvey.

waye, yet may not in any [case] place weare a dagger, as fitt to doe suddayne muscheefe, for which cause at lucca a man may not carry aknife except it be blunted at the point. And in all places for the same cause, Pistolls and all shorte weapons easye to be hidd are strictly forbidden. In the State of Florence, most safe from theeues & murtherers, some are permitted in the Citty by espetiall leaue to weare swordes, but no man may carry other defensiue Armes, as Coates of male, litle head peeces and Gauntles,[19] which all may weare in lumbardy, where murthers also abound. And /10/ generally a long peece or Muskett may not be carryed except the locke be taken from the stocke. So as a commnon sorte not vsed to carry weapons are afrayd of a swordes pointe as of Ioues thunderbolte. They ⌈who⌉ haue license to Cary swordes in the Cittyes, yet must not weare them when the euening beginns to be darke, or at any tyme going abroade in the night. At Padoa a stranger ignorantly discharging a Pistoll at his windowe by night, was carryed to the Podesta, and deepely fynned. At Rome a [Polian]⌈Polonian⌉ gentleman, making loue to a Cardinalls Nephewes Concubyne, was /20/ scorned by his licence to weare a sworde.[20] For the hangman or one of his sergants was sett to lay wayte for him in the euening, and fynding him weare a sworde at

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[19] Hughes amends to "Gauntlets", p. 405.

[20] The "scorned" makes no sense. Perhaps Hand Two had looked at the resolution of this story, and it was in his mind as he made the mistake.

that vnlawfull hower, gaue him the strapado before his frends coulde come to deliuer him, which donne, if the Concubyne had entertayned him after he had beene in the hangmans haind, shee had lost all her other Customers, as disgraced by that Act.[21]

By this nature, or practise growing to a second nature, the Italyans aboue all other nations, most practise /30/ revenge by treasons, and espetially are skillfull in making and giuing poysons. For which treasons the Italians are so warye, espetially hauing a quarrell, as they will not goe a broade nor yet open their doores to any knocking by night, or so much as putt their head out of a windowe to speake with him that knockes. For poysons the Italians skill in making and putting them to vse hath beene long since tryed, to the perishing of kings and Emperors by those deadly [poysons] potions giuen to them in the very Chalice migled with the very precious /40/ blood of our Redeemer. Insomuch as Rodulphus of Habspurg the first Emperor of the house of Austria among the Germans, first refused to enter Italy with an Army, for the Receaving of the Imperiall Crowne at Rome, as other Emperors had formerly donne, hauing obserued many of them to haue

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[21] The untouchability of the hangman was catching. Compare the elaborate German precautions taken on fol. 309, to minimize any contact with him. Hughes omits this story, starting from "At Rome..." without any indication of having done so, p. 405.

perished by poyson, and other treasons closely carryed, with the breaking of their whole Armyes, and for his so doing borowed the Foxes reason, being affrayde to visitt the lyon in his Denn as other beasts did.[22] /50/

Because their stepps forwarne my deadly wrack
all tending towards thee, none turned back.

In our tyme, it seemes the Art of Poysing[23] is reputed in Italy worthy of Princes practise. For I could name // fol.586. Booke V of Italy touching nature &c Chapt .I. a Prince among them, who hauing composed an exquisite poyson and counterpoyson, made proofe of them both vpon condemned men giuing the poyson to all, and the Counterpoyson only to some condemned for lesse Crymes, till he had found out the working of both to a minute of tyme, vpon diuers complections and ages of men. The history of Pope Alexander the sixth, and the Duke his sonne (for that Pope first avowed and publikely accknowledged his Chilldren, which other Popes vse to call their Nephewes and Neeces) hauing prepared poyson for two Cardinalls /10/ they

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[22] Rudolf I (1273 - 1291) was only ever King of the Romans because he had no imperial coronation. The story of the sick lion who as King of the Beasts insisted on a visit in his den from the animals, is from Æsop. The wily foxes noticing that no animal came out, refused to go in. Urged to enter by the lion, they refused saying "we knowe well thy traces, that al the bestes which haue entred into thy house came not out agayne." Æsop, *The fables of Esope in Englysshe with all his lyfe* (London, 1551), sig. N7v. [*STC* 179]

[23] Hughes amends to "Poysoning", p. 406.

had invited to dyne with them in agarden, and themselues by the providence of God being poysoned with the same poyson they had prepared for the Cardinalls: And the history of a late Dutches of Italy, hauing prepared poyson for a Cardinall her husbands brother, and therwith by the same providence of God destroying her husband, and vpon dispayre of the Accident herselfe voluntarily taking the same, are historyes pleasant to reade, and of good vse to obserue, but I will not inlarge them here, because in this worke I haue formerly related the last /20/ of them falling in our age, and both are otherwise famously knowne in historyes and the mouthes of liuing men.[24]

The Italians haue beene of old, and still are, very factious, and apt to take partes in priuate murthers and publike seditions. Of old when the Popes began to pull downe the Emperors who had exalted them, all Italy was deuided and rent in peeces by the faction of the Guelphs and Gibellines one holding with the Emperor the other with the Pope. And in late tymes it hath also beene generally /30/ devided into the faction of Spayne and Fraunce. Also some particuler Cittyes haue beene noted to be more spetially adicted to these generall factions, and continually to domesticall factions among themselues. Genoa

[24] Moryson seems to have forgotten that he also repeated Guicciardini's version about the death of Alexander VI on fol. 70.

is a great free Citty and hath great<e> Familyes, and hath euer beene subiect to be rent in peeces with domesticall seditions, more spetially by the faction of the Adorni and the Fregosi. The Citty Pistoia is nowe subiect to the Duke of Florence, but hath the name of the plague from the seditious soldyers and /40/ followers of the Roman Catiline who infected with the Plague, first inhabited it.[25] And they left a posterity adicted aboue all others to seditious Factions, by which the Citty hath suffered many calamityes, more spetially by two Factions, first of *Neri* and the Bianchi, and after of the Cancellieri and the Panzedici. In generall these names of factions haue beene extinguished in processe of tyme, but to this day the Familyes vnder other names retayne the old hatred, and are very suspitious one of the other, and ready to offer mutuall /50/ iniuryes. Also generally these factions were of old distinguished by diuers fa<sh>ions, of wearing the hatt, //

Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt I. fol.587.

of drincking on diuers sydes of the Cupp, and the like, and by diuers signes worne, vpon the most visible partes of the

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[25] The Latin for plague is *pestis*. The plague is as much the spirit of sedition, as the bubonic illness. Lucius Sergius Catilina was a populist patrician whose name has been forever darkened by his great enemy, Cicero, and to a lesser extent by the historian Sallust, two important sources for Jonson's *Catiline His Conspiracy*. Harvey. Moryson may have got this information from Dallington, "*Pistoria quasi Pestoria* (saith one) of the pestilence that there raigned among the souldiers, which remained of *Catilins* Campe after he was ouerthrowne, who (say they) was the first builder thereof." *Tuscany*, sig. Dr.

body, and in diuers fashions, and vpon contrary sides of the body. Nether are these distinctions a<ll>together left to this day, so as the Duke of Florence a litle before my being there, did by a seuere Edict forbidd the Pistoians vpon no lesse then payne of death, to weare Roses or any of the vsed signes, as provoking and stirring vp myndes of seditious men to the old factions.

The Italyans in all their Councells are close, secrett, crafty, /10/ and the greatest dissemblers in the world, wherof I could giue nomberlesse instances, but take one for a taste, of Fraunces Duke of Milan, who by his Ambassadors aduised the French king levis the eleuenth,[26] that being ouer layde with many enemyes at once, he should vpon any Conditions make peace with all but the greatest, and turne all his forces vpon him who being overcome, he might easily fynde occasions to single out the rest and subdue them one after another. Thus the Italians being by nature false dissemblers in their owne actions, are also most distrustfull of [the] others ⌈with⌉ whome /20/ the deale or converse, thincking that no man is ⌈so⌉ foolish to deale playnly, and to meane as he speakes. For which cause the Pope and the Princes of Italy neuer take Italyans for the guarde of their bodyes, but onely Sweitzers or Germans,

[26] The Duke Frances is probably the *condottiere* Francesco Sforza who suppressed the Milanese Republic in 1450, and levis is Louis XI of France (1461 - 1483). Waley.

which nations they repute faithfully minded, free from treasons, and strong of body to oppose Treason attempted by others, and to execute for them any buisnes requiring trust, and a dull brayne not searching into the Iustnes of proceeding, but doeing what they are commanded. For which cause also the Bakers of bread in most partes of Lombardy, as hauing /30/ meanes to betray men by poyson, are not Italyans, but Commonly Germans.

For fleshly lusts, the very Turkes (whose carnall Religion alloweth them) are not somuch transported therewith, as the Italyans are (in their restraynt of Ciuill lawes and the dreadfull lawe of God) A man of these Northerly partes can hardly beleeue without the testimony of his owne eyes and eares, how chastity is laughed at among them, and hissed out of all good company, or howe desperate adventurers they will make to atchiue disordinate desyre in these kyndes. As the Germans louing /40/ drinck themselues, are so tender hearted to their horses that they hinder them not from drincking whensoouer they putt downe their heades for that purpose, though the waters scarcely couer their sh<ew>es, so the Italyans are so farr from keeping their horses from mares, as in lombardy where both commonly stand in one stable, the Ostlers (as my selfe founde by experience) will by night vntye gentlemens horses to make themselues sporte with their Covering of Mares. Yea my selfe at Naples sawe many wemen so impudent as to beholde with laughter and

pleasure the /50/ vice Royes horses, when they were putt to Mares.[27] In Italy marryage is indeede a yoke, and that not easy, but so grevious, as bretheren no where better agreeing, //

fol.588. Booke V of Italy Touching Nature &c Chapt.I.

yet contend among themselues to be free from marryage, and he that of free will or by perswasion will take a wife to continue their posterity, shalbe sure to haue his wife and her honor as much respected by the rest, as if shee were their owne wife ⌈or⌉ sister, besyde their liberall contribution to mantayne her, so as themselues may be free to take the pleasure of wemen at large. By which liberty (if men only respect this world) they liue more happily then other nations. For in those frugall Commonwealths the vnmaryed liue at a small rate of expences, and they /10/ make small conscience of fornication, esteemed asmall sinne and easily remitted by Confessors. Where as other nations will liue at any charge to be maryed, and will labour and suffer wants yea begg with a wife, rather then haue the stinge of Conscience and infamy by horing. The wemen of honor in Italy, I meane wiues and virgins, are much sooner inflamed ⌈with loue; be it lawfull or vnlawfull, then the wemen⌉ of other nations.[28] For being locked vp at home, and

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[27] Hughes omits this sentence without indicating that he has done so, p. 409.

[28] There are many easily inflamed women in Jacobean plays set in Italy, such as Livia and Bianca in Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women*, and the Duchess in Cyril

covered with vayles when they goe a broade, and kept from any conversation with men, and being wooed by dumb signes, as walking twise aday /20/ by their howses kissing of the Posts therof, and like fopperies, they are more stirred vp with the sight and much more with the flattering and dissembling speeches of men, and more credulous in flattering their owne desyres, by thincking the sayd poore actions of woeing to be signes of true loue, then [the]⌈the⌉ wemen of other nations hauing free conversation with men. In generall the men of all sortes are Caryed with fierce affections to forbidden lusts, and to those most which are most forbidden, most kept from them, and with greatest cost and danger to be obtayned. /30/ And because they are barred not only the speech and conversation but the least sight of their loue (all which are allowed men of other nations) they are carryed rather with ablynde rage of passion and a strong[29] Imagination of their owne brayne, then with true contemplation of vertues, or the power of beauty, to adore them as Images, rather then loue them as wemen.[30] And as now they spare no cost, and will runne great dangers to obtayne their lustfull desyres, so would they persue them [th] to very madnes, had they not the most

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Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy*.

[29] I have followed Hughes, p. 410, but the letters are so badly formed that it could be "strang".

[30] Moryson seems to believe that perverted image worship in religion spills over to image worship in love.

naturall remedy of this /40/ passion ready at hand to allay their desyres, namely *H*arlotts, whome they call Curtizans, hauing beauty and youth and whatsoeuer they can imagine in their ⌈mistres⌉ [mischeefes] besydes the pleasure of change more to delight them, so driuing out loue with loue, as one nayle with another.[31] This makes them litle reguard their wiues beauty, or manners, and to marry for Dowry, Parrentage, and procreation wemen vnknowne and allmost vnseene, resoluing *Cauar' i capriccij d'Amore,* that is to satisfye the humors of loue (be they of conversation, of beauty,, /50/ or of disordinate lusts in the diuers and some bestiall kyndes of inioying that pleasure) by the freedome of the Stewes. While Curtizans walke and ride in Coaches at liberty, and freely saluted and honored by all men //

Booke V. of Italy Touching nature &c Chapt.I. fol.589.

passing by them, theire wiues and virgins are locked vp at home, watched by their wemen attending them abroade, haue their faces covered with a vaile not to be seene, and it is death by priuate reveng for any man to salute them or make the least shewe of loue to them; if it be perceaved by any of the kindred, who will not fayle to kill him (for their

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[31] This is proverbial, and listed by Tilley under N17. Shakespeare makes the changeable Proteus use this very image,

> ...as one nail by strength drives out another,
> So the remembrance of my former love
> Is by a newer object quite forgotten.
> *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. 4. 191 - 193.

revenge is neuer lesse then death). In regarde of this ieloscye, that the young wemen may not be defyled, nor the olde wemen their keepers hyred to be bawdes to them, no wemen goe to markett, but only men, and the most rich disdayne not /10/ to buye all necessaryes for their owne Familyes, in which fewe haue any men or at least they come not neere the wemen. Yet for all this care, the Italyans many tymes weare the fatall hornes they somuch detest, because wemen thus kept from men, thincke it simpliscity to loose anye oportunity offered, though it be with the meanest seruant, and because there want not men as watchfull to betray their Chastity, as their husbandes are to keepe it, but espetially because snares are layde for them in the very Churches, and more spetially in the Nonneryes, whether the cannot deny /20/ their wiues and daughtes to [p]repare vpon festiuall dayes of Devotion. The wiues are ingenerall hardly vsed, yea some will bring hoares to their bedds, and if they repyne at this or like vsage, they will beate them, and yet they must allso of force aske them mercy.[32] The cheefe cause of most desprate quarrells is for wemen, wherevpon, and because suites at lawe are of great charge & trouble, they haue a proverb: *l'Amor', Vna Quistion', et Vn' Piatto, fanno un sauio:* that is being in loue, hauing a quarrell, and following a suite at lawe, make awise /30/ man. To which purpose they haue

[32] Hughes omits this sentence, without noting that he has done so.

also another proverb: *Chi l'Asini caccia, chi Donne mena: Non è mai*[33] *senza [[...guai] la pena] guai et pena.*

Whoso driues asses, or leades in his trayne
Wemen, shall never want great woe and payne

For [.s] asses must be continually pricked with goades by the driuer, and wemen cause many quarrells to the leader of them.

In Italy as Adultry seldome or never falls within the punishment of the lawe, because the Italyans nature /40/ carryes them to such an high degree of priuate revenge as the lawe cannot inflict greater (which private revenge by murther vpon iust groundes of ielosye is Commonly taken secretely, and if knowne, yet wincked at and favored by the magistrate, in his owne nature approuing aswell the revenge as the secrecy therof, for avoyding shame) so fornication in Italy is not a sinne wincked at, but rather may be called an allowed trade. For Princes & States raise great tributes from it. At Naples each poore Curtizan payes to the Prince two Carlines the /50/ mounth,[34] besydes greater extortians vpon those that are fayre, and hauing great and many louers growe proude in apparrell, and rich in purse, and the nomber of harlotts was thought to exceed sixty

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[33] Hughes has "l'mai", which does not make sense, p. 411.

[34] "...nine carlini make eight reali, giuli, or poali", *Itinerary A*, II, 157. As a giulio was worth about sixpence, two carlini would be slightly under a shilling.

thousand. //

fol 590. Booke V of Italy Touching nature &c Chapt.I.

At Venice the tribute to the State from Cortizans was thought to exceede three hundreth thousand Crownes yearely. And the Popes holines made no lesse gayne from this fayre trade at Rome. In some Cittyes Cortizans are distinguished from other wemen by habites, as at Sienna they weare yellowe vailes, others wearing white or black,. In some Cityes their lodging is restrayned to one or more streetes, called Il Chiasso that is the Stewes, as at Florence, where they may not dwell among honest wemen, but may be driven away by the neighbours. In /10/ some Cittyes they are forbidden to weare rich apparrell, and diuers ornaments, but in these cases it is inough to corrupt the sargants by brybes, that they be not accused. In Venice they are free to dwell in any house they can hyre, and in any streete whatsoeuer, and to weare what they list. In generall they are courted and honered of all men, so as Princes in their owne Cittyes disdayne not to visite them priuately, to salute them passing in the streetes. and in the tyme of Carnovall publikely to grace them by flinging egs filled with rosewater at their windowes, /20/ where they stand to be seene. Yea they haue at Florence a peculiar Court of iustice, called the Court of honesty, where Iudges clad in purple giue them right against those who pay them not for the vse of their bodyes, or any way defraude them. Each Cortizan hath Commonly her lover whome shee mantaynes, her

Balordo[35] or Gull who principally mantaynes her, besydes her Customers at large, and her Bravo to fight her quarrells. If any Cortizan haue a Chylde, the father takes the Males, but shee keepes the females to mantayne her when shee is olde, /30/ for such dwell with and vnder their mothers. The richer sorte dwell in fayre hired howses, and haue their owne servants, but the Common sorte lodge with Baudes called Ruffians, to whome in Venice they pay of their gayne the fifth parte, as foure Solz in twenty, paying besydes for their beds, linnen, and feasting, and when they are past gayning much, they are turned out to begg or turne bauds or seruants. And for reliefe of this misery, they haue Nonneryes, where many of them are admitted, and called the converted sisters. Both honest and dishonest wemen are *Lisciate fin'/40/alla fossa*, that is paynted to the very graue. The Italyans loue fatt and tall wemen and for those causes the Venetian[s] wemen are sayd to be *Belle di bellito, bianche di calcina, grasse di straccie,*[36] *alte di legni o zoccole*, that is fayre with paynting, white with chalke, fatt with raggs (or stuffed linnen) and high with wood or Pantofles (which many weare afoote or more deepe) To Conclude, the Italyans (perhapps

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[35] Simpleton, fool. Zingarelli.

[36] Compare "There is example for't: the Lady of Strachey married the yeoman of the wardrobe." *Twelfth Night*, II. 5. 37 - 38. The irony may be at Malvolio's expense. Could such a "Lady" be a prostitute, a lady of rags who married the tiringman ? See Ernesto Grillo, *Shakespeare and Italy* (Glasgow, 1949), p. 32.

excepting the Turkes) are defamed with bestiall Sodomy, aboue any nation knowne to me, so as the cheefe hospitalls of Cittyes were almost wholy filled with boyes mise/50/rably rotting vnder that polution, as was more spetially to be seene in the richest hospitall[s] at Rome, and the cheefe hospitall at Florence. And indeede the Florintynes, //

Booke V. Of Italy Touching nature &c Chapt.I. fol 591.

in many vertues excelling other Cittyes of Italy, and the whole world, yet are by the Italyans noted with this Cryme aboue any other part of Italy. In somuch as when of late tymes a Florintyne was chosen Pope, the Statua of Pasquill[37] (erected in a lane neere Piazza Nauona on the wall of an howse) had a headpeece[38] fastened to his breech, and the Statua of Marforio, (lying on a Toome neere the Cappitall (vpon which Images all lybells are fixed), had a sheete of paper fastened on his breast, wherein the question was asked why Pasquill was so Armed, and the answer giuen /10/ that the hinder parts were most in danger when so many Floryntines were in the Citty. At my being in Padoa, a great Professor, in his oration the first day of his reading, boasted that he had never touched woman, and was interrupted by his Auditors with a generall cry, that

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[37] Pasquin is the more usual form which Moryson uses on fol. 115. We get the word pasquinade, a satiric libel, from it as Moryson himself notes on fol. 626. *OED* Zingarelli gives two forms, *pasquillo* and *pasquinata*.

[38] "1. A piece of armour for the head..." *OED*

he had touched many boyes, to the quicke.[39] The Italians howsoeuer by nature they are revengfull for open and knowne wronges, yet by naturall disposition to wisdome and grauity, they are not inclyned to contentions[40] and verball brawlings or falling out with their accquaintance, vpon slight occa[t]sions, /20/ except perhaps some ielosye about wemen fall betweene them. And particularly for brothers, as many of them liue in *fratellanza*, that is in brotherhood, without deviding their Patrymony but imploying it in Common, so many brothers liue in one family or house through out all Italy, without any household Iarres, frequent among all other nations espetially among bretheren. Indeede Commonly one of them only is marryed, so as they are free from the cause of contention otherwhere frequently arysing f[.]rom diuerse wemen of equall degree liuing in one house. But this con/30/corde of bretheren in Italy, hauing all goodes, all ioyes and sorrowes, all Curtesyes and wrongs common to them all, is a rare example and worthy of Imitation.

The Italians by nature loue to liue of their owne, and scorne to liue vpon other mens trenchers and bounty, most

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[39] Quick in the senses of the comment cut him to the very life, and because it was acute and smart. See *OED*, Sense 12. Hughes omits this whole section on Italian homosexuality, from "To Conclude..." of the previous fol. to here, without indicating that he has done so.

[40] "Contentious" could have been intended.

disdayning *Vn'scroccator d'i Pasti*, that is a shifter for meales.[41] In somuch as the Country being very populous (Contayning in that narrowe land about nyne millions of people as *Botero* writes[42]), and this pride being naturall to the meanest as to the greatest, and the small disorders being bunished[43] with slauish /40/ service in Gallyes, or with shame which their nature nolesse abhorrs, the meaner sorte, to gayne their bread, will doe much seruice for a tle peece of monye, and the Common people by nature exorbitant in all thinges, are restrayned and kept in good order, and beggers are very rare among them, those that are in extreame miserye being relieued in hospitalls. Yea their pryde somuch abhorrs begging, as the poorest will not take Almes except it be putt into their windowes, in which case the accknowledg it only from God, howsoeuer they knowe it mediately[44] to come from the charity of the Parish /50/ or of good neighbours. Only the Inkeepers are permitted by all

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[41] A *scroccatore* is a scrounger. John Florio in *Qveen Anna's New World of Words* (London, 1611), [*STC* 11098], directs his enquirers to *scroccante*, which he defines as "*a tall trencher-man, a good feeder, but properly a smell-feast or saucy shamelesse shifter for his victuals at other mens tables.*" Referred to hereafter as *Words*.

[42] I have been unable to find exactly where. Botero does recognize the necessity for a large industrious population in a strong and rich state, and thinks Italy to be blessed in this. See *State*, pp. 144 - 153.

[43] Is this an amalgam of "banished" and Hughes's "punished", p. 413 ?

[44] "1. By the intervention of an intermediary...indirectly" *OED*

Princes (some more some lesse) to extorte without measure vpon all passengers, because they pay vnsupportable rents to them. //

fol 592. Booke ⌈V⌉ of Italy Touching Nature &c Chapt.I

Touching particular Cittyes. The Bresscians are helde the posterity of French men, and together with the next Citty Bergamo haue, [haue] beene sometymes vnder the power of the french, and are the [N]nea⌈r⌉[.]est Cittyes of Italy to the borders of Fraunce, where the wemen insteede of Vayles weare scarffes neere the French fashion, and haue somewhat of the french liberty, in Conversation, at the table and in daunsing, and in salutations as they passe the streetes, which other Italyans ingenerall would not permitt. Yet in the very heart of Italy at Masso, they haue somwhat of the /10/ French liberty, and more spetially at Sienna, (in the last Age commaunded for a tyme by a French garryson) where also men vnmasked and the wemen haue publike meeteings for daunsing, with some freedome of Conversation, whereas in other partes these daunses are only vsed in the Carnouall, where the men are masked and haue no liberty of discourse with wemen. Likewise at Genoa bordering vpon Fraunce, and for a short tyme governed by a French garryson, the wemen haue almost asmuch liberty as the foresayd wemen of Bresscia, for conversation at the table and in discourse, /20/ and for salutations in the streetes, and of that Citty it is proverbyally sayde *[Montg] Montagni senza legni, Mar' senza Pesci, huomini senza fede, Donne senza vergogna,*

Genoa superba that is mountaynes without woodes (as [wee] are ⌈all⌉ in Liguria), Sea without Fish, (that Coast hauing none), men without Faith (not regarding their worde where they are not bounde by writting), wemen without shame (for the foresade French liberty), Genoa the proude (their cheefe Marchants being Princes and their houses stately built).[45] The Citty of Florence hath the name of Florishing like aflower,[46] being most swetely seated, /30/ and indeede the Dukedome of Tuscanye, and the State of Sienna vnder the same Duke, are more commodious for dwelling, espetially for strangers aboade,[47] for the pleasure of the Country, and ayre, the puriety, of language, the good governnment making it free from murthers, and the high wayes most safe from theeues, though men travile by night, and espetially for the disposition of the inhabitants. For the Florentines are reputed Courteous, modest, graue, wise, and excelent in many vertues. Likewise the Cittizens of the free Citty Lucca are reputed Courteous, verye /40/ modest, good, and

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[45] Compare John Florio on Genoa, "*Doue havete, aria senza vccelli, marina senza pesce, montagne senza legna, huomini senza rispetto, & donne senza vergogna*...Where you shall haue, the aire birdles, the sea fishles, the mountaines woodles, men respectles, and women gracelesse." John Florio, *Florios second frutes* (London, 1591), pp. 108 - 109, [*STC* 11097], and "Among other Cities which I desir'd to see in *Italy*, *Genoa* was one, where I lately was, and found her to be the proudest for Buildings of any I met withal..." James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 91 (1 November 1621).

[46] *Florens*, the Latin for flourishing, in bloom.

[47] Hughes changes to "abroade", p. 414.

reall in all affayres. The Cittizens and inhabitants of Marchia ⌈and⌉ of Romagna, as they are the best Soldyers, so are they the worst disposed people of all Italy, so as the proverb sayth, that Marchia can furnish all Italy with swaggerers and murtherers.[48]

Touching the manners of the Italians, They are for the out syde by natures guift excellently composed. [by]⌈By⌉ sweetnes of language, and singular Art in seasoning their talke and behauiour with great ostentation of Courtesy, they make their Conuersation sweete and pleasing to all men, /50/ easily gayning the good will of those with whome they liue. But no trust is to be reposed in their wordes, the flattering tounge hauing small accquaintance with a sincere heart, espetially among the Italyans, who will

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[48] "I do not recognize the proverb about the men of the Marches that Moryson quotes. But there was a great deal of local stereotyping in early modern Italy - the Genoese are mean, the Bergamese are uncouth of speech [see fol. 609] but very good at making money, etc., etc. - and this is often found in the Italian short stories of the sixteenth century. Moryson has also spoken, on fol. 583, of the Bravoes as 'a generation of swaggerers' abounding in Lombardy. But, to go back to the Marchigiani, in the 1630s the men of the Marches living in Rome formed a confraternity devoted to the Madonna of Loreto, and in 1637 Tarquinio Pinario, secretary to the first board of officials appointed by the confraternity, spoke of the internecine warfare which raged among those people in the Marches, and how the establishment of the confraternity had calmed down all these enmities among the Marchigiani living in Rome. So the Marches may have been a particularly turbulent region. See V. Paglia, 'Sociabilità religiosa e confraternite nazionali: l'esempio dei Piceni a Roma nei secoli XVII - XVIII', in *Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa*, anno XIX, nos. 37 - 38, 1990, p. 390." BP

offer Curtesyes freely, and presse the acceptance vehemently, only to squeese out Complement on both sydes, they nether meaning to performe them, //

{ c.w. nor yet }

Booke V. Of Italy Touching Nature &c Chapt I. fol.593.

no[t]r yet dareing to accept them, because in that case they would repute the accepter ignorant and vnciuill, for euer after avoiding his Conversation as burthensome to them. And indeede in these fayre speeches which wee call courting, they so transcend all golden mediocrity, as they are reputed the Authors of all flattery spread through all our transalpine nations, espetially in salutations by worde of mouth, and Epistles, farced with *Hi*perbolicall protestations and more then due titles to all degrees.[49] For in Italy vostra Signoria /10/ that is your mastershipp or worship is giuen to Plebeans, molto magnifico that is very magnificall is giuen to Cittizens, Illust[e]r⌈e⌉ Signor that is Illustr⌈o⌉us Sir is giuen to ordinary gentlemen, and the title of Altezzan that is highnes is giuen to lordes of a Citty ⌈or smale territoryes (as many are in Italy⌉ hauing absolute power of life and death) yea the gentlemen of Venice proude aboue all others, wilbe called in ordinary salutations Clarissimi that is most bright or famous, and challenge this title peculiar to

[49] Hughes changes to "forced", p. 415, but "farced" from *farcito* in the sense that Italian is stuffed with hyperbole would be typical of Moryson wearing his learning lightly.

themselues, /20/ com[p]mnicable to any other gentleman whatsoeuer, so as if a man [say] that a Clarissimo without name did or sade this or that, he is vnderstood to say that a agentle man of Venice did or sayd it. The Neapolitans as they are reputed most Curteous [as] in wordes, so are they in worde and deede as proude as the Venetians who vse small or no curtesy in wordes, where vpon Annibal' Caro a very eloquent Secretary writes to a frende at Naples. *Anchora che s.tiate a Napoli, non vi do delle signorie* that /30/ is. Tho you liue at Naples I giue you no titles of worship.[50] when a gentleman of Venice passeth by, many will say take heede of the bull, because the chafed bull (which sporte they often vse in their narrow streetes) will goare any that meete him. And they haue a Common proverb, God deliuer me from a Cortizan that hath a mother (because shee teacheth her to be craving), from a white stone (because it is slippery after rayne) and from a Clarissimo of Venice (because he is proude and disdaynefull)[51] As the Italians in /40/ generall are of sweete Conversation, so they haue a Common saying, *son' anico a la larga di tutti, ma co'*

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[50] Moryson was probably recommended to use Annibal Caro (1507 - 1566), as a stylist for his studies in Italian. Caro a letter writer, poet, and associate of the Farnese insisted that he was free to use modern words rather than always deferring to Petrarch and Boccaccio. See *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960 -), XX (1977), and Cochrane, pp. 83, 84.

[51] Hughes omits from "When a gentleman of Venice...", p. 416, without any indication of his having done so.

Pochi ini [.][r]estringo[52] that is I am a frende at large to all men, but I restrayne my selfe with fewe, they might say with none, for as they are respectfull to all men of all degrees (the meanest hauing pryde to revenge), so they are[53] familiar to fewe or none. They are affable at first sight, but no long acq[i]uantance can make them famillier, much lesse rude in behauoir, as some other nations are, who being familiar yea /50/ perhaps litle or not at all acquainted, will presently call men by nicknames, yea being their superiours, as Tom, Iack, Will, Dic, and the like, yea will leape vpon their frendes shoulders, as if they wilbe merye, presently fling Coushions, stooles, yea Custardes //

or whatsoeuer is next hand, one at anothers head, and thereby many tymes fall from sport to earnest quarralls. This kinde of familiarity Italians hate abue[54] all others, and thincke it a manifest signe of a barren witt, falling to such sporte for want of ability to discourse, wherof they Commonly say, touch me with your toung not with your hand. And haue a Proverbe, *Giogo di mani, giogo di Villani*, that is, the sport of handes is the sport of Clownes. And

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[52] The amenuensis does not understand Italian. It should be *amico* and *pochini*. Hughes omits the saying and translation, p. 416.

[53] Hughes changes to "but", p. 416.

[54] Hughes amends to "above", p. 416.

another, *Giogo di mani dispiace fin'a gli podocchi,* /10/ that is, the sport of handes displeaseth to the very Lyse.[55] If an Italyan be in conference with you in a Cha⌈m⌉ber or in the streete and an other man go⌈e⌉the or passeth by, who is of greater quallity then your selfe, and with whone[56] he hath greater buisinesse then with you, yet will he not leaue sodenly to goe to him, till first he haue excused himselfe and desyred your leaue, lest he should seeme in any sorte to vnder value your Company. Most of their howses are built with a gallerye in the middest, and Chambers one each syde, /20/ and such are the Chambers hyred by men of diuers sortes and nations, where an Italian hauing his Chamber doore open, and one of another Chamber walking in the gallerye, will not shutt his doore as it were in his teeth to exclude him, but rather salute him and stay [s]till he be gone, much lesse will he shutt his dore at the heeles of any man going out, as if he were gladd to be ridd of him. And indeede in those publike houses they seldome shutt their dores by day lest they should seeme to doe or /30/ haue any thinge they would be loath should be seene. So as my selfe walking with an Italian in a gallerye where two English gentlemen entring their chamber shutt the

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[55] John Florio spells, and Hughes transcribes *pedocchi*, p. 416 as "lice". Modern Italian for lice is *pidocchi*. *Giogo* is probably dialectal for *giuoco*. However, there may be a pun, about joining hands by clapping. *Giogo,* as Florio explains, is a yoke for oxen, and, by extension, a metaphor of unhappy conjunction. *Words*.

[56] Hughes amends to "whome", p. 416.

dore close after them, he asked me if the younger were not a woman in mans apparrell, and gaue the shutting of their dore for a reason of his suspition. So nise are they euen in the smalest points of behauiour, wherof I will add only one Instance more. That the Italians saluting in the streetes putt off their hatts a good distance before they meete, but /40/ much longer after they are past one another, lest ether party looking backe and seeing the other covered, should thincke he obserued his eye more this his person. Thus Tacitus sayth truely. The more things are fayned which men doe, the more they do them.[57] To conclude, as the Italians ingenerall are of exquisite behauior, so I haue seene many of them in some perticular things very vnmanerly, as in frequent vseing beastly wordes as Interiections of Exclamation or Admiration, namely Coglioni, Catzo, Potta, signifying the priuy parts of /50/ men and wemen, and the like.[58] But I lesse wonder at this

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[57] "Tacitus, *Histories*, I, 45, 4: *quanto magis falsa erant quae fiebant, tanto plura facere.* ("The more the things were false that were being done, the more they went on doing them.") This refers to the year of the four emperors, AD 69, and to Otho's reception by the citizens of Rome when he entered as emperor after his predecessor, Galba, had been hacked to pieces by his own troops." FB

[58] Testicles, penis, and vulva. Zingarelli. *Cazzo* is still a favourite Italian expletive. The playwright John Marston, (born to an Italian mother) has his Malevole, Duke Altofront of Genoa use it to break the incremental rhythm of imprecation,

Pietro: Death and damnation!
Malevole: Lightening and thunder!
Pietro: Vengeance and torture!
Malevole: Catzo!
Pietro: O revenge!

because blasphemous oathes and rotten talke are among their nationall vices, and they can hardly seeke to please men in those thinges wherein they feare not to offende God. Agayne it is not rare, espetially at //

Booke V. of Italy Touching nature &c. Chapt I. fol.595.

Venice and Padoa, to see an Italyan setting on the Closestoole and talking with his Chamber fellowes, while they are eating. Agayne the Italians by venery and the heate of the Clyme haue not only faynt bodyes and weake ioyntes, so as in Iorneyes they will not walke downe a hill, but also for the same causes are much trobled with the Itch at least, and they wearing Commonly breches loose at the knees, I haue seene many of good sorte scratch their thights when they were ready to sett downe to meate, not somuch as washing their handes after it. Agayne at /10/ Naples, not only the Prisoners (as I formerly sayd) but men of good sorte, taking me and my companions for french men, rudely mocked vs as wee passed the streetes. For they hate the french their ⌈old⌉ lordes, and no lesse the Spinardes who presently governe them, being apeople neither knowing howe to obey, nor able to mantayne their freedome.

{ m.n. 18, 19. Bodies and witts. }

Touching the Italians bodyes, they are generally of person tall, and leane, and of a browne and pale complection. Only

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See John Marston, *The Malcontent* I. 3. 86 - 91, in *Jacobean Tragedies*, edited by A. H. Gomme (Oxford, 1969), p. 16.

many of the Venetians bordering vpon the Germans /20/ (the marchants and gentlemen wherof haue frequent and great concurse and abode in that Citty), and being borne at the foote of the Alpes, and in the midest of litle lakes made by the Sea (the inhabitants of which mountaynes and borders of the Sea are commonly noted to be more fayre then others) are not so pale as other Italyans, but for great parte of a more sanguine complexion. Whatsoeuer they weare a boute their body, they desyre to haue it rather commodious and easy then fyne and rich, as falling bands rather /30/ then Rooffes,[59] Caps of taffety rather then hatts, and all garments light and easy to be changed. But espetially in Iorneys, wherein they will not disease[60] themselues by lighting to ease their horses, so much as goeing downe a hill, their bootes are of thicke leather, and so large as vntying the stringes they fling them off without helpe of handes, their hatts, Clokes, and bases[61] are Commonly of Spanish Felt thicke as a boarde, and not to be pearced with rayne. And vpon their saddles they fasten soft cushions of leather, laughing at the English men who vse Cushions /40/

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[59] "Throughout this period, [1540 - 1670] there was a choice between the plain turned-down collar or *falling band* (band being a general term for collar) and the goffered collar or *ruff*." Cunnington, p. 110.

[60] "1. trans. To deprive of ease...to put to discomfort or inconvenience...Obs." *OED*

[61] "n 3. II. 2. A plaited skirt, of cloth, velvet, or rich brocade, appended to the doublet, and reaching from the waist to the knee..." *OED*

in the howse but ride vpon Northern saddles as hard as boardes. To conclude, their bodies are faynt by the Clyme, and many of them much more faynt and diseased by intemperance of lusts, but they are neate & clendly about their bodyes, not enduring a sweaty shirte without present changing, and their wemen say they are not only more clendly but of sweeter complexion and more free from Goatish Sauor,[62] then the nations beyond the Alpes.

They haue by nature and vertue of the Clyme vnder which /50/ they are borne, sharpe and deepe reaching or searching witts, but lesse refyned by Art then those of some other Countryes. For they thincke themselues to haue somuch vnderstanding, and their Country to yealde somuch sweetenes, fruitfullnes, and such Monuments of Arts and fabricks, as they seldome or never travaile into //
fol.596 Booke.V. Of Italy Touching nature &c Chapt.I.
forayne kingdomes, but driuen by some necessity, ether to Followe the warrs, or to traffique abroade: This opinion that Italy doth afforde what can be seene or knowne in the world, makes them only haue homebred wisdome,[63] and the prowde conceete of their owne witts, and their addiction to

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[62] Hughes has "Goutish Savour", p. 419, but Hand Two's 'a's are often open.

[63] This almost sounds proverbial. Shakespeare makes Valentine who has decided to travel, (but within Italy), say "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits." *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. 1. 2.

pleasure, make them at home and in their owne vniversities lesse laborious and studious to gayne knowledge, which point I shall more explayne in the following discourse of Sciences. For these reasons, strangers comming into Italy, fynde /10/ ordinarily litle singularity in the gentelmen, but rather wonder at the naturall witt of the Country people and vulgar Artisans, in discourseing strangely of naturall thinges and the very historyes and matters of State falling out in their owne tyme. Whereas gentlemen of other nations, brought vp in schooles and vniversityes, & hauing seene forrayne kingdomes and Courtes, not only excell other gentlemen of their owne nation wanting that breeding, but are much respected abroade, and by the very Italians, for their knowledge, experience, and /20/ behauior. yet I confesse the Italians taxe these strangers for Curyosity, and some in scorne will shewe toyes for antiquityes, as heades lately carved in stone or brasse for the heades of old Emperors, and the like, wherein they mistake the endes of travailers, being to see many Cittyes, diuers manners of men, and to obserue good things for imitation, ill thinges to avoyde them, and beholding these Antiquities onely by the waye and as it were for recreation. And if any deserue the blame of Curiousty by inquiring after these monewments, it should rather be imputed to /30/ the fa<u>lt of lying historyes extolling them too much, then to any error in them. The Italyans witt ingenerall tendes to extremes, and it may welbe sayd of

them as of Brutos, Quod vult nimis vult, what he willes he willes too much.[64] For a woman kept and lockte vp from them, what will they not adventure, but the ende is ill. In a Feast, what will they not spende, not of bounty, which generally they haue not, but of vayne glory and pride which are naturall to them. And as it was sayde of the Athenians for their witt, *Si boni optimi, si mali /40/ pessimi,* If they be good they are best, if they be ill they are worst, so it may be sayd of the Italians searching witts, they are not extended somuch to the suparlatiue degree of goodnes, as to the extremes on both sydes, namely in Religion to superstition, or to Atheisme.[65] Among all the Cittyes and [and] Provinces of Italy, Toscany, and more spetially the Citty and State of Florence therein contayned, is noted to yealde men of stronge memorye, and excelent witt to fynde out and to improve sciences and artes, men most ingenious and fitt for /50/ affayres, and skillfull in sciences Arts and traffique. The Citty and state of Florence hath yealded most famous men, as *Dante, Petrarcha, Boccacio,* for Poets:

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[64] After Pompey's defeat at Pharsalia by Julius Caesar, Marcus Brutus was pardoned. He then interceded with Caesar on behalf of the King of Lybia and of Cassius with success. "They say also that *Cæsar* sayd, when he heard *Brutus* pleade: I knowe not, sayd he, what this young man woulde, but what he woulde, he willeth it vehementlie." Plutarch, *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, translated by Thomas North, (London, 1579), p. 1057, [*STC* 20065]. Moryson has put a very different spin on this quotation, particularly as North records Brutus as "...moued with reason and discretion...", p. 1057. Moryson was a monarchist.

[65] I have been unable to find the original quotation.

Nicolo Machiauelli the polititon, *Vespuccio* sent by the king of Portugall to discouer the west //

Booke V of Italy Touching nature &c. Chapt I. fol.597.

Indyes, *Accursio* the Iurist, *Andrea sansouino* of great learning and experience. *Franccso Guicciardini* the worthy *H*istoryographer, *Pietro Aretino* of excellent witt if he had well imployed it, and *Michael'Angelo Bonaritio*, most famous for the Arts of Paynting, Sculpture, and Architecture, with many other for breuity omitted.[66]

{ m.n. 7 - 9. Artes sciences Vniversityes Language. }

Touching manuall Artes, those that are most vulgar trades, as Taylores and the like vsed about the body, I cannot [conde] commend for any singularity, because indeede /10/ the Italyans affect no Curyous workes of these kyndes, only respecting ease and commodity therein. But for paynting, sculpture or Carving in brasse and stone, and for Architecture, they haue beene of olde and still are most

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[66] Amerigo Vespucci (1451 - 1512) came of an illustrious Florentine family. He worked for the Medici in Spain, and it was a letter to Piero in 1503 which was subsequently printed which suggested that he was first to reach a new land in 1497. In 1507 Hylacomylius suggested that it should be called "America, because Americus found it". The Florentine Francesco Accorso (1182 - 1260) was Professor of Law at Bologna. He compiled into one body the comments and glosses on the *Codex, Institutes* and *Digests*. Moryson may well have used the six volume edition of his *Glossa Ordinaria* or *Magistralis* which was published at Lyons in 1589 in his legal studies on the continent. Pietro Aretino (1492 - 1556) was infamous for his erotic sonnets, and libellous work. *EB*. The others are too well known to need further comment.

skillfull masters, and whatsoeuer the Flemings or any nations on this syde the Alpes can doe in these Artes, they haue learnt it from them.[67] In all three the Florintyne Michael Angillo of the last age was most famous, and much respected by all the Princes and States of Italy desyring to haue /20/ Masterpeeces of his worke, which made him also vse great presumption and boldnes to wardes them. Being to paynt the Popes private Chappell in his Pallace, he would not vndertake it till the Pope by oath promised him, that nether he nor any of the Cardinalls shoulde come in to see his worke, till it was finished, and after fynding by the Popes discourse with him, that he by the perswasion of some Cardinalls had come in by a backe doore of the Vestery, and had seene his worke, he being then in hand to paynt *H*ell, did f<o>r this breach of Faith make the pictures of the /30/ Pope and those Cardinalls so liuely among the Deuills, as they were easily knowne, till by perswasion and intreaty he defaced them. Agayne being to make a Crucifix for the Pope he hyred a Fachino[68] that is a Porter to be fastned to a crosse, and when he came to giue life to the passion, he gaue the porter a deadly stroake with a pen knife and during the Agonies of his death, made a rare Crucifix, and

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[67] Lodovoco Guicciardini's *Description of the Low Countries* of 1561 "...boasts of Italy's pedagogic role within northern art." See John Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (London, 1993), p. 305. Moryson is familiar with this work, as his description of the Netherlands makes use of it. See fol. 519.

[68] *Facchino.*

no lesse rare Monument of his wickednes. For which the Pope could not ⌈but⌉ for atyme banish him from Rome, in which tyme he was intertayned by the Duke of Vrbin. And /40/ when the Pope called him backe to Rome, the Dutchesse of Vrbin sending to him for the Pictures of many Saynts, he in scorne of her indiscretion to intreate so great a worke of so rare a workeman, was sayd to haue written vnto her, that the taske her highnes had imposed vpon him could not soddenly be donne, but in the meane tyme he had sent her the Father of all the Saynts, which oppened was the preuy parte of a man liuely paynted. The Italians, and espetially the Venetians, excell in the Art of setting Iewells, and making Cabinetts, tables and /50/ mountaynes,[69] of Christall, corall, Iasper, and other precious stones, and curious worke of Caruing. The Italians, and espetially the Venetians excell in making lutes, Organs, and orther Instruments of musicke. //

fol.598. Booke V. Of Italy touching Nature &c. Chapt I.

And as Italy hath yealded many rare worke men in these Artes of paynting, Caruing in stone and brasse, Architecture, setting of Iewells composing these Cabinetts tables and Mountaynes and makeing of Instruments so the Princes [of]⌈and⌉ States of Italy are Curious in gathering and preseruing the rare peeces of these workemen, but espetially the Venetians, which Citty aboundes with

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[69] Hughes amends to "mountings", here and below, p. 422.

infinite rare Monuments of these kyndes, aswell in publike Pallaces and Churches, as in the priuate houses of gentlemen, who for Curtesy, or their owne glory, are /10/ as willing to shewe them to strangers, as they can be to see them. The free Citty of lucca being of old subiuded[70] by tyrants, the best and richest Cittizens left [in] the Citty, till the liberty therof was regayned, which they hold to this day. And they liuing then in other Cittyes of Italy, taught them the Art of weauing silke, wherein the Italyans excell, but espetially the Venetians and the Florintines, with whome most of the exiled men liued, and the Florintines also learned of them the Art of making flowers & curious workes like Imbroderies vpon silke stuffes, wherein to /20/ this day they are most skillfull,. The Venetians make the best Treakell, which is transported throughout all Europe, and about the first of November, at which tyme they make it, those Artizans haue a Feast, wherein they weare feathers, and haue Trumpitts continually sounding, and during the tyme of this worke all the shops about Rialto resounde with the beating therof. The wemen in Italy are Curious workers with the needle, of whome other nations haue learned to make the laces commonly called Cuttworkes. And the Nunnes, more spetially at Sienna, /30/ Rauena, and Mantua, vsed to worke Curious flowers in silke, which our wemen of late haue worne on their heades, and at

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[70] This seems to be a mixture of subjugated, and Hughes's amendment, "subdued", p. 422.

my being there made most of the sweetemeates which the Apothecaryes soulde.

Touching Sciences and Vniversityes. howsoeuer learning ingenerall came first from Asia to Greece, from thence to Rome, and so to the nations vnder that Empire, and that Rome long kept this glory, in the freedome of that State, and then most when in the tyme of Augustus, about the birth of our lord that Empire most florished, And howsoeuer /40/ (no doubt) the Italyans naturally haue strong witts to search into the depth of all sciences, yet within fewe hundreths of yeares, by the invndations and invasions of barbarous nations, that Westerne Empire in Italy being destroyed, learning also was withall much defaced in Italy, and in the ages following, by the Popes norishing of Ignorance as fitt to advance his vsurped power, Italy lost the glory of learning, wherein other Northerly and westerne nations ge<n>rally overtopd them to this day.[11] In the tyme of this ignorance, most of the bookes printed /50/ by Italians, haue beene of historyes, of Poetry, with like Studies of humanity, of pleasant discourses, and straynes of witt, as commending ignorance aboue knowledge, the asse aboue all beasts, the nettle aboue all hearbs, //
Booke V. of Italy Touching Nature &c. Chapt I. Fol..599.
and like subiectes, in which kyndes of Studyes most of the

[11] Hughes has "generally overtope them to this day." p. 423.

gentlemen who affect any learning (which are no great nomber) doe for the most parte exercise themselues to [to] this day. To which Studyes I will add the Art of musick, wherein the Italians, and espetially the Venetians, haue in all tymes excelled, and most excell at this day, not in light tunnes and hard striking of the stringes, (which they dislike), nor in the companyes of wandering fidlers, (wherof they haue none or very fewe single men of small skill,) but in Consortes of graue solemne Musicke, sometymes /10/ running so sweetely with softe touching of the stringes, as may seeme to rauish the hearers spiritt from his body, which musike they vse ⌈at⌉ many priuate and publike meetings, but espetially in their churches, where they ioyne with it winde Instruments, and most pleasant voyces of boyes and men, being indeede such excellent Musicke as cannot but stirr vp devotian in the hearers. For the nature of musick being not to provoke newe but to eleuate present affections, and the greatest or best sorte Comming to Church for deuotion, such Musick /20/ cannot but increase the same. Oonly the Popes Chappell hath no instruments of musicke, but only most excelent voyces of men and boyes. Also in the sayd tyme of ignorance, and to this day, Italy being most governed by the Imperiall and Papall lawes, and both much swaying in all Christian kingdomes, the Italyans for a great rewarde thereof much following those Studyes, their Vniversities haue yealded and still yealde many famous men for the knowledge of these

lawes. But the studye of Diuinity hath long tyme throughout all Italy beene altogether exiled /30/ from the vniversities into Monnasteryes, where by the sloath and ignorance of Fryers it long tyme rusted, till the Reformation of Religion awaked them, since which tyme they and spetially the Dominican and Franciscan Fryers, and more espetially the newe order of the Iesuites, haue Preached diligently, saying and writting as much, as strong witts can say or write, to mantayne a bad cause. The vniversities of Sienna and Salernam[72] of old, and espetially of Padoa aswell of old as to this day, haue yealded famous Phisitians, who in Italy are also /40/ Shirgians, and many of them growe rich, for all that haue any small meanes, will in sicknes haue their helpe, because they are not prowde but will looke vpon any ordure and handle any sore, but espetially because they are carefull for their Parents,[73] visite them diligently, and take lite fees which make heauy purses.[74] They visite twise each day the poorest Patient, and not only in Italy but also in Germany and Fraunce, they expect no greater fee then the value of eightyne pence English for a visite. Only the Italyans and

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[72] Salerno ? Not in *OL*.

[73] Hughes amends to "Patients", p. 424.

[74] Hughes changes this to "litle fees", p. 424, although the sense is still the same. The advantage of my reading is the opposition of "light" and "heavy". The meaning is clear. By not overcharging, doctors are kept busy and prosperous.

French take ready /50/ Monye, whereas the Germans are not payde vntill the ende of the sicknes, when if the party be dead they haue nothinge, if he recover they are payde after that rate, and will refuse more if it be offered them. The Italyans as well as the Germans carefully visite the // fol.600. Booke V. Of Italy touching Nature &c Capt.I. Apothecaryes shops, and burne all druggs that are not sounde. But Italy hath ageneration of Emperiks,[75] who frequently and by swarmes goe from Citty to Citty, and haut their Markett places. They are called Montibanchi of mounting banckes or litle scaffolds and also Ciarletani of prating. They proclame their wares vpon these scaffolds, and to drawe concourse of people, they haue a Zani or Foole with a visard on his face, and sometymes a woman, to make Comicall sporte. The people cast their handkerchers with mony to them, and they /10/ cast them back with wares tyed in them, which some buy for vse, others only to haue more sporte from the foole, for one man proclaymes his wares and sells them, the other makes sporte to the beholders, by turnes one after the other, The wares they sell are commonly distilled waters, and diuers oyntments for burning aches and sticthes,[76] and the like, but espetially for the Itch and scabbs, more vendible then the rest. Some carry Serpents about them, and sell remedyes for their stinging,

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[75] Empiric, "2. An untrained practitioner in physic or surgery; a quack." *OED*

[76] Hughes amends to "stitches", p. 425.

which they call the grace of St Paule, because /20/ the viper could not hurt him,[77] Other sell Angelica of Misnia[78] at twelue pence English the ounce, naming (as I thincke) a remote Country to make the price greater, for otherwise that colde Country shoulde not yealde excelent herbes. Many of them haue some very goods secretts, but generally they are all cheaters. The like Emprikes vulgarly called Tir⌈s⌉aksekremer, that is Marchants of Trekle, goe about Germany, but nothinge so frequently, and neuer with any foole to make sporte, rather carrying the grauity of great /30/ Doctors.[79] For they ride in Coaches, and cary about them Testimonialls vnder great Seales, and pictures of strange Cures they haue donne, and great stones they haue Cutt from men. Some of them are good to Cure some one infirmity, but they professe to Cure all, and and are Commonly dull Cheaters. Italy hath many vniversities, whereof two are most famous, that of Padoa the cheefe, and that of Bologna the next. The vniversity of Bologna is the most auntient, first built (as their recorde sayth) by the

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[77] On Paul's final journey to Rome, after an enforced stop at *Melita*, Malta, because of storms, Paul was stung to no ill effect. Acts 28. 3 - 6.

[78] The old county of Meissen ? *OL* Modern angelica often comes from France.

[79] Treacle was prized as an antidote to poison and snakebite. *Tirsackskremer* is best translated as treaclemongers. PS

Emperor Theodosious the younger,[80] /40/ and long florished vnder that State (some tymes free, sometymes vnder priuate Princes) and hath many previleges from the Popes to who[m] at last in the tyme of Pope Alexander the sixth it became subiect. By many Inscriptions in the Princes Pallace and the publike Schooles, it accknowledgeth Pope Pius the fourth for a spetiall Benefactor, where also many thinges are written in memorye and honor of the great Ivrest Baldus.[81] The Popes long tyme [had] haue indowed the same with great stipends for Professors, but espetially /50/ for those of the Imperiall and Papall lawes, and for acheefe Professor of *H*istoryes, of whome many learned men haue beene vpholders of the Papall power and lawe, against the Emperors. Yet I would desyre no better //

Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt I. fol.601.

wittnes against the Papall vsurpation, then Sigonius the Popes stipendiary Professor of historyes in this vniversity. Now because many other vniversities in Italy and those partes, haue beene instituted after the forme of this in Bologna, I will write something thereof, as breefely as I can possibly contract it.

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[80] "The famous university of Bologna was founded in the 11th century (its foundation by Theodosius the Great in 425 is legendary)..." *EB*

[81] Petrus Baldus de Ubaldis (1327 - 1406) and his two brothers were all famous jurists. It is surprising that he should be so honoured at Bologna for he only taught there for three years after receiving his Doctorate. *EB*

As I haue formerly sayd of the vniversities in Germany, so I must say of Bologna, and generally of the vniversityes of Italy, that they are generally well founded for stipendes of professors, some large and very rich, all /10/ competent to mantayne them, so as they may giue themselues wholy to the studyes of their professions and reade deligently orderly and breefely, for the best profitt of their hearers, and quicke dispatch in the Course of their studyes, but each vniversity hath commonly but one or two Coleges, both for schooles of the Professors, and for Chambers to lodge poore schollers, who are fewe, poorely mantayned, and for no longer tyme then sufficeth to finish their studyes, all the rest of their [schollers] schollars (Consisting most of forayne nations, and the /20/ lesse nomber of their owne natiu[e.][es]) liuing at their owne Charge in Cittizens houses, whereas in our famous Vniversityes of England, the Cheefe professors haue small stipends, so as they cannot attend that worke for seeking other meanes to mantayne them. And the inferior publike readers are chosen yearely among young men, who hauing trifling stipends for that one yeare, reade more for ostentation of their owne learning then for the profitt of the hearers. So as our schollers gett theire learning, not by hearesay from the Professors as in forayne /30/ Vniversityes, but by priuate studye in their Colleges: But each of our vniversities hath more then twenty Colleges, Stately built, and richely endowed with Rents to mantayne

many Schollers and Fellowes, yet this aboundance ⌈hath⌉ [h..] his mischeefe, in that the Fellowes hauing liberty to keepe theire Fellowships till death, and they being asufficient mantenance, which some cannot easely gett abroade, wee may complayne with St Barnnard, that wee haue old men in the schooles and young men in the Pulpitts.[82] For the Fellowes often keeping their places long, young men /40/ who cannot be preferred to them, are forced to practise abroade before they be well founded in their professions. Also our [sh] schollers, being all natiues and fewe or no forayners, liue in the Colleges not in the townes, and so are more orderly governed and instructed by their priuate Tutors or Teachers.

Bologna hath afayre College whe<r>ein the professors reade, hauing 17. Superior and tenne inferior Schooles. And it hath chosen men, who haue power to make newe Statute[s] or alter the old. /50/

This one Vniversity indeede hath two Academies, one of the nations beyonde the mountaynes, the other of those //
fol.602. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c. Chapt.I.
on that syde the Alpes, and each hath a Rector yearely

[82] This may be St Bernard of Clairvaux, but I have not found the quotation.

chosen, who by Statute must be a Clarke or Clery man,[83] and vnmaryed, and one that hath liued there fyue yeares, and who is 25. yeares old, and able to beare the expences of an honorable office. If it can be proued by fyue wittnesses that any man by himselfe or by any frend makes meanes to bechosen Rector, he must paye 50. Lyers and his procuring frend 30.[84] No scholler may without leaue goe from the vniversity within two monthes of this election. The Rector Vltra-Montane (that is of the nations beyond the Alpes) must be /10/ chosen by the former yeares Rector, and by the newe Counselors, with as many assistants, vpon the first of may. And the Citra-montane (that is of the nations on that syde the mountaynes) vpon the feast of the holy Crosse in the same monthe.[85] No man may be Rector twise without agenerall consent of all. The Vltramontane must be chosen the first yeare out of the french, the Burgundians and the Savoyans &c the second yeare out of the Castellans,[86] the Portugalls the Navarreans, the Aragonians &c the third yeare among the Germans, the *H*ungaryans, the Polonians, the

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[83] Hughes notes that the 'g' is missing, and provides it within brackets. p. 427.

[84] What makes values difficult to interpret, are the different coins in different Italian cities. Moryson mentions the *bolignei* of Bologna without mentioning *lire* as he does here. See *Itinerary A*, II, 156.

[85] 3 May. See John J. Bond, *Handy-Book of Rules and Tables for Verifying Dates with the Christian Era*, fourth edition (London, 1889).

[86] Those from Castile, the largest Spanish province.

/20/ Bohemians or the English, or the Fleminges, and each three yeares other Nations partners of that election followe in order. The Citramontane must bechosen, the first yeare of the Romans. The second of the Tuscans, the third of the lombardes. Both are chosen of sworne men by schedules cast into a box, and if the voyces be equall, the Doctors sway the Election, and if they also be equall, then they are chosen by the voyces of all the Students.

4. In the Rectors Courtes, Causes of fyue powndes[87] must be iudged /30/ within fyftene dayes, of tenne powndes within twenty dayes, and all Causes aboue that some within two monthes.

5. Students must be iudged by their Rector, and if one be thought partiall, the cause may be referred to the other.

6. If any strife be betweene one beyounde the Mountaynes, and an other on that syde, it must be iudged by the Rectors, And if they differ, then foure chosen men on each part determyne it.

7. *H*alfe the penaltyes or Fynes goe to the Rector, and halfe to the vniversity, and if a Rector forbeare to impose

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[87] Has Moryson translated the Italian *lire* into the English pounds ? The confusion entailed in currency exchange must have been enormous.

/40/ any Fynes, he is punished at the ende of the yeare by the Syndici (or Iudges).

8. These Iudges are two of each Rectorsship, and they must Condemne or absolue each Rector within one month after his yeare is ended.

9. The Stationers are Chosen by three Citramontans, and three Vltramontans.

10. The Vltramontans chuse. 19. Counselers, and the Citramontans chuse also 19 (wherof. 8. must be Romans six Tuscans, and fyue lombards. /50/

11. Officers may ⌈not⌉ be absent aboue a mounth.

12. Newe Students must giue their names with in tenne dayes.

13. Eeach one must haue agowne long to the foote.
Booke V of Italy touching nature &c. Chapt i fol 603.

Each payes 12. lires for Matriculation.

The Statutes may not be changed but from. 20. to 20. yeares.

The Citramontans chuse. 19. and the Vltramontans 19 Counsellors who appoint the readers of the lawe among the Competitors for lectures, namely one yeare 4 Vltramontane Iurists and two Citramontane, the other yeare 2. Vltramontane and 4 Citramountane. And when they demaunde their Stipends, they take oath that they did reade diligently. And no extraordinary /10/ lecture is permitted without leaue of the Rector.

The Ciuill laweyers must tuddy[88] 8. yeares, and the Cannonists 5. yeares, before they be made Doctors, and they must be examined priuately and publikely.

Two Taxers are chosen to taxe the Students lodgings, and see that they pay not more then in former yeares, and not to suffer the richer sort by paying more, to putt the poorer from their lodgings. And these taxes[89] are to be fyned if they take any bribe.

If any [any] Student be killed or wounded in his [C.] /20/ lodging, that house and tenn nex adioyning loose the previlege [of lodging] of lodging Students for tenn yeares following.

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[88] Hughes amends it to "must study", p. 429.

[89] "Taxers", Hughes, p. 429.

He is guilty of Periury, who comes not to the Funerall of any deceased Student.

The Vltramontans and Citramontans are each governed by their one[90] Statutes.

Each weeke a Doctor disputes in order, or should so doe by Statute, but they only dispute on Sundayes, not to hinder the lectures (a godly Consideration forsoth) /30/ but if any Doctor hath beene a Reader of a lecture 24 yeares, he is not tyed to dispute.

The foresayde vi Professors or lecturers of the lawe, Mentioned in the Statute, 16. to avoyde discord among the Counsellors who chuse them, are to be chosen, not by voyce[.]s but by lott.

Whosoeuer suies for a Lecture, must haue beene Matriculated three monthes before at least, for otherwise he is not Capable of it.

Poore Schollers haue their degrees free without any /40/ payment, at the intercession of their Rector.

The second vniversity of Italy for antiquity [is] is that

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[90] Hughes amends to "Owne", p. 429.

of Pauia in lombardy, instituted by the French Emperor, when the westerne Empire was renewed, namely [G] Charles the great, after he had subdued the kingdome and the last king of the lombards, which vniversity is now much decayed.

The third for antiquity, but cheefe for dignity, is the famous vniversity of Padoa. The German Emperor Frederick the second, iustly offended with the Cittizens /50/ of Bologna[n], transferred the priuileges of that //
fol.604. Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt.I.
vniversity to Padoa about the yeare 1222. It began to florish when it was confirmed and indowed with priuileges by Pope Vrban the sixth, about the yeare 1260.[91] governed[92] (as that of Bologna) by two Rectors, and after some yeares hauing the Statutes corrected by the Statutes of Bologna, and after hauing the names of the Rectors changed from Vltra montane and Citramontane, to be called one of the Iurists the other of the Artes, yet so that they were chosen equally each second yeare of the sayd nations beyonde /10/ or on that syde the Mountaynes. But the State of Venice about the yeare 1405. subduing Padoa, and holding it subiect to this day, did amplify the vniversity with priuileges amd many ornaments, continually giuing charge to their governor, to mantanye these priuileges and dignityes

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[91] Urban IV (1261 - 1264) is probably meant here. *EWH*

[92] Hughes makes a new sentence, starting, "It was governed..." p. 430.

of the vniversity, and to keepe the Schoollers from tumults among themselues.

1. The members of the vniversity are these. The two Rectors, one ouer the Iurists, the other over the Artists, one yeare of the Vltramontans, the other of the Citramontans, /20/ chosen the one the tenth the other the xvth of August, by all the Students deuided into their Nations, and in the presence of the governor (to avoyde all tumults) and in solemnity presented to the Governor within three dayes. 2. The Vicar is Counseller and assistant to the Rector, who nameth and chuseth him. 3. The Substitute is one whome the Rector may appoint in his absence for eight Dayes. 4. The viceRector is chosen by the vniversity. When the Rector is forced to be absent aboue a moneth. 5. The Sapiens or wise men [each] /30/ yearely chosen foure dayes after the Rectors, for each one, to be his Legate for the yeare, are chosen by the Rector and Counsellers in the presence of the Gouernor. 6. The Counsellers 22 for the Iurists and 12. for the Artists, each nation chusing their Counseller. 7. The foure *syndici* or Iudges are yearely chosen to censure the Actes of the Rector and his ministers after his yeare is ended, whose offices expires after xxij dayes. 8. The gongregator[93] is one of the Counsellers who supplyes the Bedells place to call them to /40/ metings, where the Rector is a party, in which case the Bedel is

[93] "Congregation", Hughes, p. 431.

suspected as sworne to him. 9. The Messarius or Steward keepes the publike accounts. 10. The notary keepes the Statutes, the priuileges and publike Instruments. 11. They haue a library keeper. 12. The Professors ⌈or⌉[are] Doctors are also members of the vniversity. whereof some [some] reade publikely (as the professors) others practise their art but reade not. In the Ca<nn>on lawe the ordinary readers are two in the morning, which /50/ reade the first and second booke of decretalls, and towe in the after noone, who reade the other bookes //

Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapter.I. fol.605.

of the same. And in the Ciuill lawe the ordinary Readers are two in the morning, wherof the first reades the Codex, the second the olde digests, and two in the afternone, who reade the newe digests and the Institutions. Besydes Doctors, who are extraordinary Readers in both the lawes. And these, as the following Readers, Dictate, so as euery worde they speake may be writen by the Students, and they absolue[94] and end this Reading, in due tyme for the profitt of the hearers. Agayne in Phisick, the ordinary Professors are two for Theory, /10/ who reade the first yeare Auicenna, the second *H*ippocrates, the third Galen,[95] and

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[94] Hughes substitutes "resolue", p. 431, but absolve in the sense of the Latin *absolvere*, to complete, is a perfectly good reading.

[95] "The rise of the school of medicine at Padua to European eminence was bound up with the revival of Galen in the fifteenth century. Jacopo da Forli, professor first of medicine, then of natural philosophy, founded a Galenist

two for practise, who reade the first yeare Auicenna of Agues, and the other two yeares Rasis ad Almansorem,[96] besydes a Professor of Chirurgey, and foure extraordinary Readers, two for Theory, and two for pracise.[97] In naturall Philosophy, two ordinary Professors in three yeares reade diuers bookes of Aristotle, and as many extraordinary reade the same bookes, at diuers tymes, Diuinity hath two Professors, the one a Scotist, the /20/ other a Thomist. Two Professors reade the Metaphysicks the one ⌈a⌉[of] Scotist, the other a Thomist, one Professor reades the Ethicks, and another the mathematikes. lastly the Professors of logicke in the morning reade Priora Analytica, and Posteriora, in the afternoone the Topicks and Elenches.[98] The Iurists and the Artists being the two

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school which continued to flourish in // the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, thanks to the discovery of new treatises of Galen." Hugh Kearney, *Science and Change 1500 - 1700* (London, 1971), pp. 78 - 79, referred to as Kearney hereafter. Avicenna (980 - 1037) the Arab polymath and philosopher wrote many treatises including a *Canon of Medicine*. He was of follower of Hippocrates (c460 BC - c370BC) the first "to base the practice of medicine on the principles of inductive philosophy" and Galen (c130 - c200) who was a successful physician-philosopher. *EB*

[96] ar - Rasi Avenzoar was a twelfth century physician born in Seville. *The Method of Preparing Medicines and Diet* made him famous throughout Europe. *EB*

[97] Hughes replaces the missing 't', as in "practise", p. 432.

[98] These are four of the six works on Logic, known collectively as the *Organon*, written by Aristotle (384BC - 322BC). The full titles of the last two are the *Topica*, and *De sophisticis elenchis*. "In these Aristotle was the first to explore the science of reasoning, both formal (in the Prior Analytics) and scientific (in the Posterior

bodyes making one vniversity, haue each their owne Treasurey, each in their house giuen them of old, and the Treasure consists of the rents of lands giuen them by diuers Bene/30/factors from tyme to tyme, and of the yearely Matriculations of newe Students, and of mony payde by those who take any degree, and of Fynes imposed on Students for disorders, and of like casualtyes,[99] out of which treasure each pay the Stipends of their Professors and like thinges. But the poore Students in their Coleges are mantayned by priuate liberallity. The gongregations[100] of all the Students (in the publike Pallace of the governor for Elections, and of the cheefe members of each Rector/40/ship in the schooles) or in the Rectors house (for their affayres) are called together by the Bedells Voyce, or most commonly by papers sett vpon posts, The Vniversity hath great priuileges as in ⌈perticular⌉[peculiar], all Students haue Immunity from tributes during life through the State of Venice. In all meetings the Rector of Iurists haue the third place, and the Rector of the Artists the fourth, only the gouernor and the Bishop hauing place before them. The Rector of the Artists in his owne meetinges hath place /50/ aboue the

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Analytics), basing himself on the syllogism, which he discovered." Harvey.

[99] "1. Chance...esp. an unfortunate occurance, accident, casualty." *OED*

[100] Hughes amends to "Congregations", p. 432.

Rector of the Iurists, who generally takes place of him. Each Rector in pomps hath a mace of siluer caryed before him by his Bedle, and after his yeare ended hath two voyces in all //

fol 606. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Capt.I.

elections, and if he liue tenn yeares after his Recorshipp[101] in Padoa, he is a Senator of the Citty, and by the Duckes[102] grau<n>t hath knightly dignity in the Citty of Venice. For breuity I will omitt the Imnaty[103] of Students from the publike Magistrates Iustice, and many other priuileges. They who suie for degrees, may obtayne them at any tyme of the yeare, but first they lay downe the mony they haue to pay, into the hands of the Bedle, then they are examined [.e] publikely by the Doctors and the /10/ Bishop[s], so as the lectures be not hindred thereby, and they who[me] are reiected leese the mony they layd downe, and the approued are led with pompe to their houses, and for the degree they haue ⌈the⌉ publike seale. Indeede fewe or none are reiected, many vnworthy men obtayning degres for mony, so as themselues haue a vulgar speech, wee take mony and send the Asse into Germany. The Students who are subiectes to the State of Venice, may not take degree any where but at Padoa. Eeach yeare /20/ two of the poore

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[101] Hughes amends to "Rectorshipp", p. 432.

[102] Hughes amends to "Dukes", p. 433.

[103] Hughes changes to "Indemnaty", p. 433.

Schollers haue the degree of Doctor freely giuen them without paying any mony vnder the Iurests (one of the Cannon, the other of the Ciuill lawe) and likewise two vnder the Athists[104] (the one in Philosophy master of Artes, the other in Phisick Docter, or both in ether) *He* that takes degree in Philosophy, must haue studyed fyue yeares, and in Phisicke first he must study three yeares, and then before he practiseth himsellfe, he must for one yeare follow the old Dotors, only /30/ to see and obserue their practise, who comming to a Patient, first aske the opinion of these young Doctors, before they deliuer their owne, wherby the young men cannot but profitt very much. As also that from Aprell to September, in a Curious garden of Simples they follow the Professors discoursing to them the natures thereof. These Professors of Phisick ⌈reade⌉ from Occtober to Aprill yearely vpon diuers Anotomyes of all kyndes of bodyes men, Children, and very Embrioes.[105] /40/

And this vniversity hath beene and still is no lesse famous for learned and experienced Physitians, then Bologna hath beene for great Professors in the Cannon and Ciuill lawes.

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[104] Harvey amends to "Artists", p. 433. One is almost driven to the opinion that Hand Two is attempting to sabotage Moryson's work. This page is proof-read particularly poorly.

[105] Moryson wintered at Padua in 1593/4, and 1594/5. He may have seen the new anatomy theatre being built in 1595. Padua's most famous English alumnus was William Harvey (1578 - 1657) who learnt from Fabricius of Acquapendente, the professor for fifty years. See Kearney, p. 79.

And for the foresayd causes many English gentlemen prise the Phisitians of Padoa, hauing such meanes to excell others, but that hinders not Ignorant men corruptly to procure the Doctors degree, which in that sorte may easily be obtayned. Therefore I would rather prise him, who hauing studyed some /50/ yeares in Padoa, should then retorne to take his degree in our vniversityes at home, where it cannot be stolen or bought by an[y] vnworth man.[106] Besydes no place is better then Padoa for the Studye of the Mathematicks, wherof, besydes the publike, many priuate teachers may here be //

Booke V. of Italy touch ing nature &c Chapt I. fol 607.

founde, and ther want not Students to Consorte and ioyne together, if neede be, to hyre these priuate teachers. Also it is an [ex] excelent place to learne and practise the Art of Musicke and playing vpon any Instrument.[107] And thereby excelent teachers to manage great horses, which they kepe also of their owne in stables and yeardes fitted to that purpose. And Padoa affordeth also most skillfull masters and teachers to Fence. So as the desyre to learne these vertues and qualityes, drawes many natiue and forrayne /10/ gentle men to spend some tyme in this vniversity. Only the Privilege freeing Students from the publike Iustice (to

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[106] Hughes amends to "vnworthy man." p. 434.

[107] Much learning and tutoring in *The Taming of the Shrew* is set in Padua. Hortensio disguised as Licio is "Cunning in music and the mathematics". II. 1. 56.

betryed and punished only by the Rectors Courtes of Iustice, the extreame punishment wherof is expulsion and banishment) or at least the feare of the schollers raysing in Armes if a Student shouldbe apprehended by the officers of Iustice, (giuing the greatest malefactors opportunity to eskape by flyght) causeth more harme then good to this vniversity. By reason whereof vnlawfull assemblyes of Schollers /20/ by night and their being Armed also with weapons forbidden both by day and night, are very frequent, and many murthers are committed, not only of enemyes but sometymes of strangers mistaken for enemyes, and of others falling into suddayne quarrells (commonly about wemen)

Italy hath diuers other vniversities, as in Ferrara one, instituted by the Dukes therof, who built a fayre Colege or schooles wherein the Professors reade (which Citty with the whole Dukedome, for want of heyres males, /30/ is now subiect to the Popes of Rome) Pisa of old a free Citty and State of Tuscany hath long beene and now is subiect to the Dukes of Florence, and it hath an vniversity, wherein the Duke mantaynes 48. Professors with Stipends according to their worthines, from. 50 Crownes yearely vpwarde. At my being their, Do<c>tor Poppone the cheefe Professor for the Cannon and Ciuill lawes, had a 1000. Crownes yearely,[108] and Mercurialis the cheefe Professor of Phisicke had 1700.

[108] None of his works seem to have found their way into the *BMGC*, or he may have worked under a pseudonym.

Crownes,[109] and Iacobo Mazone reader of Phylosophy had 700. /40/ Crownes yearely,[110] and a Fryer of St Anthonyes order Reader of Deuinity had 200 Crownes yearely. Besydes the Duke in the one only Colledge of Sapience, man tayned 44. poore Schollers, to whome for a lymited tyme to finish their Studyes, he allowed Chambers in the Colege, with a small portion of bread and wyne and ounces of flesh by the day, the rest of the Students liuing in Cittizens houses at their one charge.[111] Also Sienna of old a free State of Tuscany, now subiect to the Dukes of Florence, hath an vniversity not much /50/ frequented. For at my being there, it had not a boue 200. Students, and one only Collage, wherein the Professors did reade, and 24. poore schoolers had chambers freely, whereof. 4. were Germans, and these poore schollers paying each. 60. Crownes, had for certayne yeares to finish their Stude<nt>s,[112] a portion of bread and wyne and eight ounces of flesh each meale, //

fol.608. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt i

and if any offended against the Statutes, they were

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[109] This may be the Hieronymus Mercurialis whose medical treatises were printed in Venice in the 1580s, or the *filosofo medico e cittadin Romano* Scipione Mercurio, as one of his book-titles describes him. His work included publications on Hippocrates, paediatrics and the pox also in the 1580s. *BMGC*

[110] Jacopo Mazzoni was a classicist and rhetorician who engaged in controversies about the Italian language and Dante's place within it. He was active in the 1580s. *BMGC*

[111] Hughes amends to "owne charge", p. 435.

[112] Hughes amends to "Studye", p. 435.

punished with losse of dinners and suppers, which was no small affliction in theire poore allowance, and when their tyme came to be Doctors, they were to leaue the Colledge for others to succede. The Professors had some 30. some. 50. some a. 100. Crownes yearely Stipend. The Rector had power to promote three Doctors yearely without paying any mony. They giue degrees at any tyme of the yeare when Schollers suie for them. A Garman at my being there Promoted Doctor, was led from the College /10/ with foure trumpitts sounding before him to the Bishops house, who gaue him a writing for this degree; and the next day being exammyned priuately by fyue Doctors, he was made Doctor with the ordinary Ceremonyes, and with the sound of trumpitts, and after a Doctors Oration to him, and his retorne of thanckes, all was concluded with a Dinner he gaue to the Professors. For breuity I will omitt the Vniversityes in the kingdome of Naples. And lastly I will remember one laudable Custome of all these vniversityes, for Students [to] to make priuate /20/ Academies of a Certayne number of them agreeing to meete twise or thrise in the weeke for priuate disputations and exercises of theire perticular Studdyes and Professions.

Touching the Italyan language, the roote of it is the lattin tounge, to which espetially the Roman language at this day hath neerer affinity [with]⌈then⌉ the speech of any other Province in Italy, all which haue beene more

corrupted by the barbarous people invading the Roman Empire, and subduing Italy. Besydes that the Italyans haue most /30/ Authors translated into vulgar tounge, and most of their owne write in the same, for which cause and for the long tyme required to learne the lattin toung, fewe endevour to attayne it. The neerenes of the Italyan to the latten makes fewe of them write the latten and much lesse speake it purely, and without corruption of many words. For I haue formerly shewed in the third Part of this worke, and the Chapter of precepts, howsoeuer many will vawnt to speake many languages perfectly, and they who haue lesse skill in them most easily beleeue it, /40/ yet for my part I thincke it is very difficult, if not impossible, to speake two or more languages derived from one roote with purity and [f] perfection and without many corrupt mixtures. As for this example the French Spanish and Italyan tounges being derived from the lattin, who hath not hard many French men in speaking lattin mingle wordes of their owne toung, and for spanish, the Oration of the Duke of Alua to the Schollers of lovan[113] hath priuilegios and many other Spanish wordes vsed for lattin, and for Italian my selfe hauing beene /50/ scarce two Monthes in Italy, in writing two lattin verses mistooke for lattin two Italyan wordes of the same signification; namely mando and remando //

[113] Louvain ?

Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt I. fol 609. insteede of mitto and Remitto.[114] Thus the Neapolitan language is most corrupted with the Spanish, by soldyers of that nation governing them. Thus the Province of Calabria in that kingdome, hauing beene of old much inhabited by the Greekes bordering vpon them, by mixture of their wordes, haue the most corrupt language of all Italy. And thus the Citty and territory of Bergamo bordering vpon France and diuers nations of the Alpes, haue the most corrupt tounge of all lombardy. Among diuers propertyes giuen to seuerall /10/ languages by a Prouerbiall speech attributed to the Emperor Charles the fyfth, the Italian[s] is sayd to be most proper for making of loue. And indeede no language in the world hath a more sweete pronuntiation, or more insinuating and pearcing accents, wordes, and Phrases, espetially in the passages of loue, to which the Italians can best giue life by gestures and actions, where that expression is allowed them, Generally the Tuscans are reputed to speake the best Italian, and of them, some holde the inhabitants of lucca /20/ to haue the purest language, being free from many offensiue accents vsed by the other Toscanes. The most vulgar opinion is, that the Citty and teritory of Sienna speakes the purest language of Toscany, and of all Italy, whether many strangers resorte espetially

[114] The most usual meaning of the words is "I send", "I send back". In modern Italian it is usually spelt *rimando*, and Florio directs his enquirers to that spelling in his *Words*.

for that cause. But as Florence is the cheefe Citty of Tuscany, and yealdes most excelent witts, so they drawe this reputation to that Citty, where learned gentlemen haue instituted a priuate Academy among themselues, of chosen men called the Protectors of the Tuscan language, /30/ and the Academye of the Crusca, so called Metaphorically of [sh]sifting of bad wordes from the good, as branne is sifted from meale by the boulting Cloath and siue,[115] and this Academye hath lately published a Dictionary vulgarly called Diceria, Contayning the purest words of the language, collected out of approued Authors,[116] lastly many learned and great men defend[ed] the Court language of Rome to be the best of all Italy, as more mixt, and seruing it selfe of all wordes and Phrases in other languages, which most significantly and most /40/ breefely expresse the speakers meaning, wherein giue me leaue to say, that they are confuted, who traduce the English tounge to be like a begges patched Cloke,[117] which they should rather compayre to a Posey of sweetest flowers, because by the sayd meanes, [and] it hath beene in late ages excellently refyned, and made perfitt for ready and breefe deliuery both in prose

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[115] The image of winnowing, or separating out the bran was applied to the title of Academy at Florence which sifted the language of impurities. See Zingarelli, *Crusca*, 2.

[116] It was called *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, and was first published in Venice in 1612. BP

[117] Hughes amends to "beggers", p. 437.

and verse.

{ m.n. 49 - 54. Ceremonyes Maryages Childbearinges Christninges Funeralls and diuers Customes. }

Touching Ceremonyes, the Italians are full of them in their priuate actions, but farr exceede ⌈in⌉[the] publike /50/ pompes of State, and pro⌈c⌉[f]essions of Religion. For the Pope, the humble seruant of seruants, I will giue you a tast with [out] what pompe he passeth the streetes of Rome, by one example which my selfe sawe, and haue formerly related, yet must agayne mention //

here, because it fitts the purpose. First many of the Popes footemen marched, attending an empty litter, lyned with Crisome velvett,[118] and caryed by two white mules, Then followed on foote the Sweitzers of the Popes guarde. next rode [the] some 400. gentle men of Rome brauely mounted. Next rode some. 20, of the Popes Chamberlayns and cheefe officers, cloathed in gownes of violett Cloth, and carying white staues long and thicke in their hands, Foullowed by the Cardinalls cheefe seruants on horsebacke, carrying /10/ their lords hatts of Red velvett. Next rode the Cardinalls (as many as were then in Rome) vpon mules, with rich foote Cloathes. Then came white mules and hacknyes with rich

[118] Hughes amends to "Crimson velvett", p. 438. It reappears in line 19.

footeclothes, as many as the Pope ⌈h had⌉ sett yeares,[119] they being of the yearely tribuite for [of] Naples. Next came the Pope with his triple Crowne, riding in a litter open like a Chayre, and drawne by white hackneyes, hauing a rich Canopy over his head, carryed by six men in Crimson veluitt gownes, and on each syde of him rode an /20/ officer in like habitt, hauing a Fann of theee Peacokes tayles[120] or like Fethers, wherewith the one kept the sunne from the Popes face, the other making wynde to Coole his holynes. Before the pope rode the master of the Ceremonyes, Crying downe, downe, that the people might [kee] kneele to receave the Popes bededition,[121] made with the signe of the Crosse. After the pope, Rode the ArchBishops, the Bishops, Abbotts, and cheefe officers, followed by their sar[g]fants, and sometyme the reere of the trayne is closed vp with the Popes /30/ troope of light hosrmen well mounted and Armed, Thus the Pope rode from his Pallice to St Maryes Church, where arived, he was taken from his litter, and seated in a Redd vellvett Chayre, without touching the grounde with his feete, and so carryed on the shoulders of those who bare the Canopy, not only into the Church, but into [t]the vestry, and there placed some stepps from the

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[119] There may be something missing here, but the meaning is clear. There were as many beasts as the Pope had sat years on his throne.

[120] Three peacocks' tails? Hughes omits the word.

[121] Hughes amends to "benediction", p. 438.

grownde, where a rope and certayne [Co] Robes were putt vpon him, which done he was in like sorte carryed on mens /40/ shoulders to his throne on the other syde of the Church, neere to the Alter vpon which masse was to be song in his presence, at which tymes he that singes the the masse brings the hostia to the Pope, by his hndes[122] to be elevated that the people may addore it. And because they holde it to be the very body and bleed[123] of Christ after the Consecration. I expected the Pope would haue decended some stepes of his throne at least, and haue bended his knee at least when he receaved it, but he did nether, only rising /50/ from his seate to lift it vp to the people. After the Masse the people camein a thronge to kisse the Popes Pantofle. And thus his pryde exceedes that of the Turkish Emperor, in his Canopy, his fanns, his carrying on shoulders without touching //

Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt I. fol.611.

the grounde, and the kissing of his Pantofle, and his making the people ⌈kneele⌉ to receaue his blessing. For the great Turke lightes from his horse at the dore of the Moschee or Church, and goes on foote to his seate, nether permitts he any to kneele before him, but only to bende the body and to goe forth from his presence with their faces still towardes him. It were tedious to relate the

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[122] Hughes amends to "hands", p. 439.

[123] Hughes amends to "blood", p. 439.

Ceremonyes of State, when the Pope setts in his Conclaue, when he Creates Cardinalls, and when he sings Masse himselfe, with one /10/ Cardinall seruing him as Deacon, and another as subdeacon. In all which the greatest part of adoration is to the Popes person, the Cardinalls kissing his vesture, the Bishops his knee, and all others his Pantofell, and many lowe Reverences being made to him. But I could never see heare nor reade, that the Pope himselfe falles vpon his knees, or so much as bendes them in any diuine worship. The Roman Catholikes will say that the Pope prayed at the tyme of the Sea fight against the Turkes at /20/ Lepanto many howers by the Clocke with his widowe open[124] (where ⌈of⌉[vpon] I beleeue that if he prayed the window was open) and that he prayes and [klee] kneeles when he is a priuate [and] auditor and when himselfe sayth not masse. But now another sung the Masse, and he only eleuated the *H*ostia (as they say he doth allwayes when he is present) and methinckes he should most kneele when he sayth masse himselfe, but I am sure I neuer sawe him kneele or shewe like reverence to God, but often /30/ sawe him receaue from all sortes of men both kneeling and the kissing of his pantofle. Innumerable are the Ceremonyes of Religion through all Italy, in sprincklings of holy water, hallowing of Churches, Chappells, Alters, and Bells, in Baptising of Bells, in Processions vpon the Saynts

[124] Hughes amends to "windowe", p. 440. Lepanto was fought on 7 October 1571. Elliott, p. 193.

festifall dayes, at the Churches dedicated to them, wherein the Prists with lighted tapers, with banners, and singing, and Trumpitts, carye the Saynts Images about the Church and parish to be Adored by the people. And in all Churches vpon all /40/ Sondayes and festifall dayes ⌈[seuerall] they haue⌉ consortes of excelent musicke, both lowde and still Instruments, and voyces, and they clothe the Images with fresh Robes, and sett forth Images, called the lay mens bookes, to expresse the history of the Gospell for that day, as vpon the day of Palmes the Image of Christ riding vpon an asse with a branch of Palmes in his hand, and vpon Easter day the Image of Christ sett vpon the Alter attyred in carnation satten like a younge Cupid, with like expressions of his death vpon good /50/ fryday, and his buyriall with funerall processions. In all Churches, besydes the solemne masse song alowde, they haue many masses <m>umbled in the same Church, and often at the same tyme; vpon many other Alters, //

fol.612. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt.I.

wherein the Priests vse only dumb signes and movings of their lipps, without speaking a worde, in both which, and in all which, the Crossings bowings, turnings of the body to the Alter, and from it to the people, the liftings vp of the handes, head, and eyes, and all gestures for euery worde of the masse, are prescribed to the Priests by written rules, made familiar to all of them by continuall Custome. The Ceremonyes of State and Processions of

Religion in the Citty of Venice, are frequent and are performed with great pompe, /10/ in both which they passe all States not only of Italy but of the whole worlde (if you except the Popes carying on mens shoulders and his like Adorations, which neuer any other Potentate by Ciuill or spirituall power assumed to himselfe, no not the Persion Emperors, more famous for pryde then all other vices and vertues).[125] First for pompes of State, the Duke and the Signory haue of old by diuers lawes and at diuers tymes Instituted puplike[126] Andate in Trionfo, that is walkes in triumph, some in memory /20/ of victoryes obtayned, or publike dangers escaped, or of publike benefactors, some for rites of the Church, and diuers devotians, and some by vowes.[127] They are called walkes, because they are performed on foote by land, and in the triumpfall Barke (called Bucentoro as Capable of 200. men) when they must passe by water, never riding on horse backe, since the Citty being buylt within lakes vpon litle Ilands, distant on all sydes some foure or fiue myles from firme land, the Importing of horses is /30/ troublesome, besydes that the

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[125] Moryson knows something about the Shirleys who travelled to Persia, and who published their experiences.

[126] Amended to "publike" by Hughes, p. 441.

[127] This section is based upon Book XII of Sansovino. Where correspondences are very close as here, I will note the Italian without translating it. "*Il Principe...fa ogni anno diuerse andate in diuersi luoghi della Città per diuersi giorni festiui, solennizati, ò per rito di Santa Chiesa, ò per decreto publico, ò per pericoli fuggiti, ò per voto.*" p. 492.

streetes are very narrow, so as since the Citty grewe populous and fully built, it is a rare thinge to see a horse brought thether. In these walke<s> first 8. standers[128] are carryed, then followes six siluer Trvmpitts, then march two by two the Dukes officers, whome the Romans called Cryers, being all. 50. in Nomber, attyred in Turchine[129] gownes with the Cognizance of St Marke in mettall vpon one sleeue, and Red Caps vpon their heades.[130] Then follow the waytes of the Citty,[131] and the Drumms, /40/ attyred in Red, sounding and beating all the way, Then followe the Dukes sheilde bearers two by two, attyred in gownes of black vellvett,[132] then another officer of the Duke bearing in his hand a taper of white wax in a Siluer

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[128] A sixteenth century form of "standard". Hughes amends it to the modern spelling, p. 441.

[129] "var. *turkin* Obs., blue cloth" *OED* It is a particularly deep blue, "*Di colore azzurro cupo*" Zingarelli.

[130] "*Et allora vanno per ordine, & nel prin/cipio, gli otto Stendardi che si hebbero dal Pontefice. Seguitano poi le trombe d'argento, sostenute dinanzi dalle spalle di alcuni fanciulli. Et à due à due i Comandatori, chiamati da Latini Præcones. Et questi vestiti sempre di Turchino, da quelli del Proprio in fuori, con habito lungo, portano in capo la berretta rossa, con vna picciola medaglia d'oro dall'vno de lati con l'impronta di San Marco.*" Sansovino, pp. 492 -493.

[131] "Wait, II. 2. pl. a. A small body of wind instrumentalists maintained by a city or town at public charge". *OED*

[132] "*Dietro a costoro vengono i pifferi co'tromboni, vestiti di rosso, sonando tuttauia harmonicamente. A questi seguono gli Scudieri del Doge a due a due, vestiti di velluto nero.*" Sansovino, p. 493.

Candlesticke, with six Chanons following and three parish Priests. Then follow the Dukes [of] Castaldi,[133] then the Secretaryes (and the Dukes Chaplayne) attyred in Robes of Crimson Velluitt, then the Dukes two Chancelors, then the great Chanelor of the State, attyred in Crimson with larg ducall sleeues,[134] /50/ Then follow two sheilde bearers, the one ⌈on⌉ the right hand carrying the Dukes seate, the other on the left hand //

Booke. V. of Italy touching nature &c Capt I. fol 613.

Carying the Dukes Cushion of Cloth of gold.[135] Then followes the Duke in his Robes, with an hoode of powdred Ermines[136] vpon his shoulders, a Scudiero[137] carying his ombrella betweene him and the sunne,[138] and two men

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[133] Zingarelli defines it as a word of Lombardic origin, originally a steward with financial duties, which seems to be close to the definition Moryson provides on fol. 125.

[134] Moryson seems to alter Sansovino's order. In Sansovino the chaplain with the holy candle comes after the Grand Chancellor, p. 493.

[135] "*Poi vengeno la Sedia, & il Guanciale, l'vno della destra & l'altro dalla sinistra, con l'Ombrella.*" p. 493. Note how Moryson adds that the cushion is of cloth of gold. He now continues with his own observations until he gets to the Procurators of St Mark going two by two, and thereafter he abbreviates.

[136] "The white fur of the ermine 'powdered' with black spots." *OED*

[137] Florio in his *Words* spells the word, *scudiere* meaning a squire.

[138] The umbrella has a symbolic as well as a utilitarian function. There is a twelfth century fresco of the Donation of Constantine in Santi Quatto Coronati in Rome, with Constantine giving Sylvester I an umbrella, symbol of sovereignty. It was even adopted as an heraldic device of

beareing vp the trayne of his Robe, and vpon each syde of the Duke march the legate and Ambassadors, of the Pope, kings, and Princes.[139] Next after the Duke Followes a gentle man carying the Dukes Ensigne of State, then the Dukes six Counselors, then the Procurators of St Marke two by two, then the three heades of the /10/ Counsell of forty, then the three heades of the Counsell of tenne, then the Cusors.[140] And after these Magistrates, followe. 60. of the cheefe Senators, and ⌈60⌉ inferiour (whose turne it is from six to six moneth to attend the Prince in these publike walkes of triumph) These walkes in triumph are yeare⌈ly⌉ tenn in nunmber. The first is to the Church of our lady Maria Formosa, vpon the evening of the Purification of our lady, which feast falls yearely one the second of Frebruary. And it was instituted vpon this

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the Papal States in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. See T. S. Crawford, *A History of the Umbrella* (Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 88, and picture facing p. 91. For Venetians the umbrella was a symbol of independence from the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope. In Venetian historical myth, a grateful Alexander III was so pleased at Doge Ziani's mediation with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1177, that he would not accept his umbrella from the citizens of Ancona unless one was brought for the Doge as well. See Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 105 - 106, referred to as Muir hereafter.

[139] Moryson has missed the point that it is invariably the ambassadors of the Pope and Holy Roman Emperor on each side of the Doge, thereby signifying Venice's sovereignty and equal status with them. See Muir, p. 203.

[140] Florio in his *Words* defines *Cursore*, as "...*a Sumner, an Apparitor. Also a runner, a courser.*", and Zingarelli as a messenger, runner for the State. Hughes has "Censors", p. 442.

occasion. The Cittizens /20/ of old were wont to [exp....]⌈espouse⌉ their virgines, and to pay their dowryes before the Bishop in the Church of St Peter, vpon the 31th of Ianuary yearely, which Pyratts knowing and hiding themselues in that Iland in the yeare 943. came Armed vpon them, and killed many, tooke a way the spouses and the dowryes, but the Artizans espetially of this St Maryes Parish, vpon the outcrye taking Armes, and following them in Barques, overtooke them the same day while they weare deuiding the spoyle, and defeating them, recovered the Virgins /30/ and the dowryes, for which seruice being required to demaund what recompence they would haue, they required nothing but the establishing by a lawe of this walke in the foresayd triunph, to their said parish Church, at the sayd Feast of our lady yearely, bynding themselues to send the Duke two hatts for feare it should rayne that day, and to giue him and his Company two Flagons of Malmsye to drincke.[141] The second walke is to the Church of St Zachary vpon Easter day, instituted vpon holy reliques and great Pardens of sinne sent and graunted /40/ by Pope Benidicke the third, to all that should visite the sayd reliques deposed in that Church vpon the sayd day. The third walke is vpon the 8.th day after Easter, to the Church of St Geminiano[142] Instituted in memory of a Duke

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[141] This is a precis of Sansovino, pp. 493 - 495.

[142] "*La terza, si fa à San Geminiano per l'ottaua di Pasqua.*" Sansovino, p. 496.

inlarging that part of the markett place of St Marke or vpon pennance imposed by a Pope. The Fourth walke is to the Church of St Marke vpon the 25th of Aprill, the Feast day of that Saynt.[143] whose body being brought to Venice in the Moneth of Ianuary the yeare 828, this Church was built where /50/ the Church of Saynt Theodor stoode, who till that tyme was the Tutelar Saynt of the State, but nowe the Senate ordayned St Marke to be the Protector //
folo 614. Booke V of Italy touching nature &c Chapt.I.
thereof, and his new built Church to be the Dukes golden Chappell, where the sayde Feast is yearely solemnized, as the greatest of all the rest, and in greatest triumph, the Duke that day Feasting the Senate with great magnificence. The fifth walke is to the two Castles, instituted vpon this occasion. Pope Alexander the third chased from Rome by the German Emperor Frederick (nicknamed Barbarossa) after he had liued vnregarded in France, came to Venice about the yeare 1176, and there liued disguised in the habitt of a poore Priest, /10/ till he was knowne by a French man, who had seene him in Fraunce, and made him knowne to the Duke and State of Venice, wherevpon they came to adore the Pope, and attyre him in Pontificall Robes, and mantayned and supported him for Pope, which caused the Emperor to send his sonne Otho to make warr vpon the Venetians by Sea, whome they overcame in a navall fight, and tooke Otho

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[143] Sansovino calls this the eighth walk. Hereafter Moryson's numbering is out of synchronization.

himselfe prisoner, by which accident the Emperor was induced to make peace with Alexander the third, and come to Venice there to Acknowlege /20/ and adore him for Pope. Nowe this Pope in thanckfullnes, gaue to the Duke and State an hallowed taper of white wax (which vseth to be lighted when the Pope himselfe sings Masse) and also a sworde hallowed, and eight Banners of diuers Collers, and six siluer Trumpitts all to be caryed before the Duke (as I haue formerly shewed) in all his pompes of triumph. And because the Venetians obtayned the sayd victory against Otho vpon the Ascention daye, the Pope confirmed to that State as wone by sword, /30/ the absolute Commande of that Sea, nowe called the Gulfe of Venice, giuing the Duke a gold ringe, with which he should espowse the Sea to that State yearely vpon the Ascention day, the Senate then by lawe establishing this yearely walke, which is the greatest solemnity of the yeare, concurring with a great fayer yearely, lasting 15. dayes, and with a perpetuall Indulgence or Pardon from the Pope, begining in the Church of St marke vpon Ascention even. Thus the Duke yearely vpon the Ascention day marcheth /40/ in the foresayd Pompe from his publike Pallace to the great Channell, and at a bridge neere the Arsenall, he with his trayne enters the Ducall Barque called Bucentoro (as Conteyning two hundreth persons, which is a litle Gally rowed with oares, hauing a large Chamber built ouer it of [th] wood, with seates rounde about it, all guilded, and for the tyme adorned with

rich hangings within, and rich Carpetts within and without, besyde the sayd Banners, Siluer trompitts, and other ensignes of State) hauing ⌈two⌉ smale /50/ Gallyes going before to towo[144] it on if perhaps the Sea or wynde be contrary, and being attended //

Booke V of Italy touch ing nature &c Chapt I. fol 61[4]5.

by the exquisite musicke of St Marke, and with a strange nomber[145] Gondole wherein the Cittizens and strangers passe to see the pompe, which being thus sett forwarde, the Patriarke meetes the Duke in the midd way, and fastening his Barque to the Bucentoro, they passe to the two Castles, the Patriarke presenting to the Duke and Senators three siluer Basons full of most sweete and rare flowers, and when they come a litle beyonde the Castles, the Duke casts agolde ringe into the Sea, saying wee espowse thee as a /10/ signe of our [Sea..s] perpetuall dominion ouer thee, as the husband hath ouer the wife, or in like [wife] wordes to that purpose, according to the ⌈sayd⌉ Popes institution.[146] Then the Patriarke blesseth the Sea against Shipwrackes, and to be as a Churchyearde hallowed to the bodyes dying therein. And so the Duke retornes to the two Castles, and dismounting heares masse at the church of St

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[144] Hughes amends to "tow", p. 444.

[145] Hughes supplies the missing "of", p. 444.

[146] "*...il Principe getta nell'acqua vno anello in segno di sponsalitio, & in gettando dice queste parole. Desponsamus te Mare, in signum veri perpetuique dominij.*" Sansovino, p. 501.

Nicolas, which done he retornes in like manner to his Pallace, where the Senators of that trayne dyne with him. The sixth /20/ walke is to the Church of St Vito, vpon the. 15.th of Iune, in memory of the States liberty preserued in the yeare 1310. vpon that 15th day of Iune, from ⌈the⌉ vsurping tyranny of Baiamonto Tiepoli, arich ambitious Cittyzen, the pompe whereof is the greater because it is accompanyed with a solemne [P....] Procesession of Religion. And in generall the pompe of these Processions consists in Companyes of Prists and Fryers of Religious orders, carrying with them the Crosse and banners of /30/ the Images of Saynts, and singing all the way they march, as likewise in the Attendance of the bretheren of the Schooles, espetially of the six great Schooles, marching in like sorte with their banners and Images. And these Schooles are Fraternityes of gentlemen and cheefe Cittizens, vnited in one body, and each hauing their schoole or hall or Pallace proper to them, and not only inriched with lybraryes and precious antiquities, but of old endowed with lands of great yearely Reuennues, besyde[s] their treasure, daly /40/ increasing by legacyes, which the dying bretheren giue in their last wills and testaments, all which they imploy in workes of piety and pittye, as in the adorning of Alters, and in freely giuing dowryes to poore Virgins (with great magnificence) and in like [manner] workes.

The seuenth walke is to the Church of St Mari<n>a vpon the 17 th of Iuly, the feast of that Saynt, instituted to heare masse and giue thanckes because on that day and by medeation of that Saynt, they /50/ //

fol.61[5]6. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt.I.

recovered Padoa and all their State of firme land, which they had vtterly lost by the league of Cambray, (which Pope Iulio the second made with the Emperor Maximilian and the king of Fraunce, all Combyned against the State of Venice).[147]

The eigth walke in triumph, is to the Church of our Redeemer, vpon the third Sonday in Iuly, instituted in the yeare 1576, when the Citty, being wasted by a fearce pestilence, vpon a wowe[148] made by the whole Senate to our Redeemer, was by his goodnes /10/ in shorte tyme cleared from this mortall infection, and so this yearely walke was established by lawe ⌈for⌉[of] devotion of theire thanckfullnes.[149]

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[147] "*Nel qual giorno, hauendo la Republ. quasi perduto affatto lo Stato di terra ferma già 70. anni sono per la congiura di Cambrai promossa da Papa Giulio II. & essendosi da nemici occupata Padoua ch'era la chiaue di tutta l'impresa, Andrea Gritti, che fu poi Principe, la ricupero' felicemente nel detto giorno...*" Sansovino, p. 503.

[148] Hughes amends to "vowe", p. 445.

[149] "*Percioche hauendo la peste l'anno 1576. assalita la Città con grandissimo danno dell'vniuersale, il Publico fece voto à Dio per la liberatione. La quale hauutasi miracolosamente secondo la petitione, il Principe con la Signoria, in rimembranzà di tanto beneficio, visita sua*

The nynth walke in Triumph, is to the Church of St[a] Giustina vpon the vijth of [G] October the Feast day of that Saynt, and this walke was Instituted by a lawe in the yeare 1571, for memory of the famous nauall victory obtayned at that tyme by the Combyned nauall forces of the Venetians the Pope and the king of Spayne against the great Turkes powerfull Nauye, and to /20/ giue yearely thanckes to God for the same victory, giuen them at the intercession of Sta Giustina.[150]

The tenth and last walke in Triumph, is to the Church of St George the greater, on Christmas day after dinner to heare vesper, and the next morning being the day of St Stephen to [haue][heare] masse, instituted some say in the yeare 1109, others say. 1179, some say in memory of St Stephens body then brought vpon that day to the Citty, others say in memory of a Duke who then left the State by <.> his last will and testament the inheritance /30/ of Certayne landes lying in the same Iland of St George.

The Duke hath also two walkes in Triumph, but only on the

Chiesa." Sansovino, p. 513.
It did not save Titian who perished on 27 August 1576. His son and assistants died a few days later. *EB* The mortality rate was about 30% of the complete population. See Brian Pullan, 'Wage Earners and the Venetian Economy 1550 - 1630', in *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Brian Pullan (London, 1968), p. 148.

[150] Sansovino records this on pp. 514 - 515.

euenings of feasts not on feasts dayes, both to St Markes Church, one vpon the euening of his feast, the other on the euening of the ascention day.

Also the Duke hath many other walkes but not in Triumph, (that is without the foresayde Pompe and trayne) because most of them are to the Church of St marke ioyning close to the publike Pallice in which the Duke resydes. And /40/ hereof foure are principall, as instituted by the Senate.

The first is to our ladyes Church vpon our [..dy] ladyes feast day in march,[151] instituted because the first foundation of the Citty was layde as vpon that day of the yeare, when the Goathes came first into Italy.

The second is vpon the feast day of St Isidor being the 16th of Aprill, in the Chappell of that St within the Church of St Marke, instituted by the Senate in memory of [the]⌈a⌉ Duke executed for conspiring against /50/ the liberty of the State in the yeare 1348.[152] //
Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt.I. fol.61[6]7 wherein the Duke is accompanyed with a Religious Procession, of the Clergy, the orders of Fryers, and the foresayd Schooles, and. 12. lighted tapers are caryed in

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[151] 25 March is also known as Ladyday.

[152] 1355. Sansovino gives the date as 1354, p. 510.

memory of that Dukes Funerall. And because the Duke and the Procession passe betweene two marble pillers wanting only timber layd acrosse to make a payre of Gallowes, it is also thought a remembrance to the present Duke, to ⌈Contayne⌉[.....yne] himselfe within the boundes of his limited dignity.

The third is to the Church of St Marke vpon the feast /10/ of Corpus Domini on the 20th of Iune. This feast was instituted first by Pope Vrban the 4th, in the yeare 1264 vpon a Miracle at Bolsena, where a Priest hauing Consecrated the hostia, and doubting still that it was not the body of Christ, the same shedd forth much blood (if you will beleeue a lye, or at least a lying miracle) and this walke was instituted at Vence in the yeare 1407. with a Procession as aforesayde, but with greater po<m>pe, the Patriark singing Masse and after carying in Procession the hostia within a Tabernacle, and the /20/ Priests weareing their richest vestments, and all men their best attyre, besydes that much plate and many Reliques are caryed about in that Procession, performed as they say with much humility, but it may better be sayd with grosse Idolatry. And of old on this day a Gally was appointed for transporting Pilgrims to Ierusalem, and each Senator tooke a Pilgrim to walke with him in the sayd Procession, but at this day fewe Pilgrims passing, the sayd Gally is no more provided for them.

The fourth walke without Triumph, is to the Church of /30/ St Marke the 25 of Iune, Instituted by the Senate in the yeare 1094. vpon this occasion. The body of St marke being of old deposed in this Church, and all memory being lost of the place where it was layd, the Duke and the Senate in the sayde yeare moved by deuotion and greefe, required the Patriark that vpon the sayde day he would publish a solemne Fast and devote Procession, to pray vnto God that he would reveale the place where the blessed Euangelists body was layd, which donne, after the singing of the /40/ Masse and publike prayers, the Marbles of a Pillar, in the sight of the Duke and Senators, Claue asunder,[153] and St Markes Coffin by litle and litle thrusting out it selfe, at last appeared playnely to the vewe of all the people. It is worth the marking, that in the former ages when the Reliques of dead Saynts were not worshipped, all memory was lost where the bodye of St marke was layde, and that this Miracle is written to fall at the tyme when the blynd Ignorance and superstitious devotion of the Roman Religion was highly /50/ increased in the Westerne Church.

More over the Duke with the Senate makes some. 22. publike walkes without Triumph to the Church of St //
fol.61[7]8. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapter.I. Marke, whereof that vpon Christmas Even is the most

[153] This is a past tense of cleave.

solemne, when the Vesper is song with most exquisite musicke both of Instruments and voyses, and also a Masse is song before midnight by old priuilege from the Bishops of Rome, for otherwise Masses are not sayd but in the morning and by Priests who are fasting and haue not yett either eaten or druncke And it is most strange to see the Church so full of lights both within and without, from the topp to the botome, as a man would thincke it all on fyer. For they haue /10/ 1500. small lights, each of a pounde weight, and, 60. great lights each of 12. pounds weight, and all these are of wax as white as snowe, the yellowe being not esteemed by them, besydes all the ordinary lampes burning, and the waxlights and torches vpon the high Alter, and the great nomber of torches caryed before the Duke and Senators when they goe from the Church. Nether is it lesse strange to see all these Candles and torches lighted in a moment by foure men at the foure corners of a Crosse, giuing light to /20/ flax, which conveyeth light by lynes to all the said candles and torches. At which tyme also they haue a most solemne Procession with the assistance of the foresayd schooles, Fryers of Religious orders, and parish Priests. And by the way note, that these Priests are to this day chosen by the lay Parishioners, hauing howses and landes in the Parish, and are only confirmed by the Patriarke of Venice.[154]

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[154] Moryson is fascinated by a seemingly Protestant practice in a Catholic land.

The State of Venice vseth also great pompe in publike Feasts, some common to the whole Citty, some peculiar /30/ to Familyes and Parishes, Some are yearely. As when of olde they defeated and tooke prisonor the Patriarke of Aq<u>alegia, the Senate Instituted by lawe and vpon great penalty the yearely feast of Fatt Thursday ⌈(being called - *Giouedi grasso* vulgarly, and falling on the thursday before lent)⌉. And vpon that day the Duke and the Senators sitt in a gallery of the publike Pallice lying vppon vpon the markett place of St Marke, in which a Bull is killed before them, by cutting off his head at one blowe, with a two handed sworde made very sharpe and heauy for that purpose.[155] This /40/ done of old they had a Castle of wood built in a large Chamber of the Pallace, which the Senators Armed with tronchions, did assault and take, but this Ceremony in after [g]ages seeming ridiculous boyes play, hath long beene out of vse. Also they vsed of olde to kill 12. Porkes, and send peeces therof to the Senators; but this Ceremony also hath long tyme beene out of vse.[156] But

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[155] Crete was a Venetian province at this time. There seem to be echoes of Minoan rites with the slaying of a bull with one blow from a double edged sword, a reminder of the labrys, the double headed axe. Life in death is also Christian and carnivalesque. "Every blow dealt to the old helps the new to be born." Muir quoting Mikhail Bakhtin, p. 178.

[156] These festivities commemorated the defeat of Patriarch Ulrich of Aquileia in 1162. The pigs were a reminder of the annual tribute, and the smashing of the model Friulian castles a ritual re-enactment. "With each swing of the executioner's sword and senators' clubs, Venice destroyed its historical parent-city of Aquileia, killing the mother

to this day they tye Bulls in Ropes helde by men, chasing them through the streetes, which being very narrowe they Cry Guarda il toro, that is /50/ //

Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt I. fol.61[8]9. take heede of the Bull, lest any passenger should be gored by them., Allways [as] vnderstande that the feastes are Celebrated more with outwarde pompe and Ceremony, then with larg provisions and proportions of wyne and meate. Some Feasts are Casuall. And thus the State hath many tymes stately intertayned Popes, kinges, and Princes. Of which kynde the intertaynmment of the French king *H*enry the thirde in the yeare 1574, is most fresh in memorye and was performed with great pompe and publike expence, when this king /10/ retorned that way from Poland into Fraunce,[157] assoone as he came to the Confynes of this State, he was daly mett and attended by the gouernors of the places wher he passed, and by the troopes of horse and foote Companyes on the firme land, and [..] daly saluted for his welcome by vollyes of small shott, and from all Forts and Castles by

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so the child could live, crushing the old so the new could prosper." Muir, p. 179. As Moryson says, reforms to stop mass slaughter in the piazza were instituted in 1525, but a blind eye was often turned to exuberance, mirroring the repulsion and attraction of carnival. See Muir, pp. 161, 178 - 179.

[157] Jonson makes Volpone remember the entertainments for "the great Valois" when he is wooing Celia. Volpone played Antinous, a handsome youth and favourite of Emperor Hadrian. Henry III liked handsome youths too. In Jonson's creation of Volpone's world nothing is quite as it seems at first sight. See *Volpone*, III. 2. 353 - 363.

peales of great Ordinnance, When he came to the water syde, he was mett by many Senators comming with great Nomber [of] of Gondole or small boates, /20/ which vse to be covered with blacke Cloth, but were then richly covered with Cloath of golde and Imbrotheryes, espetially those brought for the king and his trayne. Thus passing, before [t]he came to the Citty, he was Mett with a guarde of Soldyers in boates, and many young gentlemen of the greatest familyes sent to attend his person, and was saluted with peales of great Ordinance from diuers Castles and from many Gallyes and Shipps lying in the Porte. And so he passed with /30/ loude soundes of Drumms and trumpitts, to the Pallace of Foscarini where he was ledged, [b...s...]⌈bcause⌉[158] it had a fayre prospect both wayes vpon the great Channell. Dally he was attended by Senators and the Duke with the Bucintoro, to invite & conduct him to Banquitts, Wherein he was intertayned with some French liberty. For one day at a banquitt in the great Chamber, where the generall Counsell of the Duke[s] Senators and gentlemen vse[d]th to assemble, tw[159] hundreth forty virgins were invited /40/ to attend the king, who satt [all on one syde], all on one syde, all attyred in white with rich Iewells. The king entring and drawing neere to them bareheaded, they all rose, and as he passed and saluted them, they made lowe Reuerence to him,

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[158] Hughes amends to "...lodged, because...", p. 450.

[159] Hughes corrects to "two" here, and on the next fol. p. 450.

and after the banquitt and tables remoued, the Frenchmen and other gentlemen tooke them all to daunse the measures, and after dauncing of some Gallyardes, all departed, the Duke and Senators in the Bucintoro conducting and /50/ //

{ c.w. attending the }

fol [619]⌈620.⌉ Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Capt. I.

and attending the king to the Pallace where he lodged. Also the king was conducted to see all the rare things in the Citty., and intertayned with diuers other pastymes, as tw partyes one keeping the other assayling bridges, built within sight of his lodging, which sporte they often vse at other tymes, [who] with no other weapons then Armes and fists, and sometymes fall from Ieast to earnest, at dry blowes,[160] and flinging one another into the water. In like sorte the king was attended and feasted at his departure till he came to the /10/ Confynes of that State lying towardes Franch, with great magnificence and expence of that State, in testimony of loue to Fraunce.

{ m.n. 14. Maryages. }

They keepe ⌈also a⌉[all] soleme Feasts at the maryage of the Duke, which seldome happens, by reason they are olde before they are chosen, but the Duchesse is allwayes Crowned with great solemnity and feasting, At which tyme

[160] No blood was spilt.

(as also at the Maryages betweene persons of great familyes) Tylting and like military exercises are proclamed for many dayes, and to them whome /20/ the Iudges thincke to haue best deserued therin, the cheefe prise Commonly is some rich peece of Cloath or stuffe, with like honorable guifts allotted by the Senate or by the Patrions of the feast.

{ m.n. 25, 26. Ceremonyes in generall. }

For Ceremonyes in generall (besydes that I haue formerly [d]sayd) the Italyans giue high and exessiue tytles one to another, in their salutations by worde & writing, and haue beene the Authors to spreade this flattery through all these parts of the worlde.[161] The title of Count seemes not much respected by them, for they are not /30/ obsolute Princes.[162] I haue seene at Sienna a Countesse walke in the Streete ledd by aman seruant, her young daughter going before her, and two men seruants ⌈going before her, hauing only one mayde seruant⌉ following all, not attyred like a gentlewoman, but like apoore Chamber mayde, and this Countesse to take an ordinary place in the body of the Church. Gentlewemen and others most commonly goe leaning with one hande vpon [other]⌈olde⌉ wemens shoulders, and the

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[161] Formal modern Italian letter - writing style is still full of such compliment, *Egregio Signore, Gentilissima Signora.*

[162] Hughes amends to "absolute Princes", p. 451.

reason why they goe thus Ledd or leaning, is because they weare high Startops or Pantofills of wood, so as they /40/ cannot goe without helpe.[163]

{ m.n. 43. Maryages. }

Touching Ceremonyes of maryages. [.]howsoeuer I haue sayd that in Venice persons of great Familyes are marryed with Feasts and tiltings, yet generally the Italians are Ielious, and delight not to shewe the bauty[164] of their brydes. Of olde ⌈in⌉ the [Princes] Provinces of the State of Venice, historyes write that they were wont to mary their virgins at the outcrye, namely to him that would giue most for them, [by.] and by the mony giuen for the fayrest, raysed dowryes /50/ for them that were ill fauored, and so deformed as they founde none would giue mony for them. After the Citty of Venice was built, and the Cittizens // Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt I. fol 62[0]1. became Christians. I haue formerly shewed) vpon the first walke of the Duke and the Senate in triumph to the Church of St mary the faire, instituted in the yeare. 943.) that the virgins vpon the 3i of Ianuary came all to the Church of St Peter, each bringing her dowry in a portable box (for in those ages the dowryes were small) where the Patriarke

[163] Startups were "loose leather shoes worn by country people that reached above the ankle." Ashelford, p. 153, whilst pantofles meant any "out door overshoe", rather than just slippers. *OED*

[164] Hughes corrects to "beauty", p. 451.

after the masse made a Sermon of maryage, which donne and the Patriarkes blessing giuen to the maryed, the young men there attending with their Parents and neerest kinsmen, tooke /10/ the virgins they liked with their dowryes, and caryed them to their houses. In latter ages the maryages of the gentry are [concld] concluded [were] betweene the parents before the Virgin is [one] once seene by her husband, then they are brought into the Court of the publike Pallace, wherein the presence of many Senators and gentlemen, the Parents publish the affinity, and the young Cuple hauing touched handes together, the Parents invite the guests against a day appointed, at which day the guests comming to the house of the virgins Parents, /20/ and being sett downe, the virgin is brought to them, with her hayre wauing loose, but tyed in the Crowne with threds of golde, and being all attired in white, of old custome. There the wordes and Ceremonyes of the espowsall being performed, shee is led about the roome with the sounde of Drumms, Trumpitts, and other musicall Instriments, going in a Comely measure of daunsing, and often bending the body to the guests as shee passeth, and so being seene of them all, retyres into her Chamber. Then shee discendes [agayne] accompanied with many gentle[wemen][men], and enters /30/ a Gondala, where shee setting in a litle throne adorned, and the rest following her in other Gondale or boates, shee passeth by water to visite the Nunneryes where shee hath any kinswemen. Then the feast is Celebrated with great

ioye, and plentifull prouisions, but limited by the lawes according to the nomber of the guists,[165] which many tymes and Commonly are some 100th persons. After fewe dayes the young maryed wemen visite the Bride. The Bridesgrome and bride were wont to visitt the Duke, to make him wittnes of the maryage; /40/ but of late tymes that Custome is left, and the maryage with the Indentures of Contract is regestred in a publike office. Through all Italy in generall, the espowsall or betrothinge with the Ring, is made priuately, the bride being never seene by the Bridsgrome before that day, and that performed, they lye together in bedd,[166] and some dayes or monthes after at best leasure, the Parents and neerest kindred on both sydes meete together, and going to a masse in pompe, keepe that day among themselues the maryage feast /50/ in apriuate manner and with no great expence.

{ m.n. 52. Childbearing. }

Touching Childebearing. In Venice, the Children of gentlemen, and the tymes of their birth, are registred //

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[165] Hughes amends to "guests", p. 453. Probably Hand Two was thinking of "guifts", and conflated the two.

[166] There was even a contemporary noun for this, "bundling". In a lecture on November 19 1992 at the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford - upon - Avon, Ann Barton suggested in her lecture upon *Cymbeline* that Posthumus and Innogen might not have consummated their marriage but only indulged in bundling, hence his great bitterness when Iachimo appears to succeed. What is written here (and in the play) would suggest that this is not the case. See II. 5. 1 - 35.

fol.622. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt.i.
in the foresayd publike office, in which maryages are regestred, and the howses of gentlewemen brought to bed, and espetially the Chambers wherein they lye, are richly sett forth with costly hangings, with Tables and Cabinetts, of mother of pearle, and pearles [of]⌈and⌉ Iasper, and other precious stones, and with curious workes of Paynters, and Carving, in brasse, gold, and siluer, and like Iewells, in which permanent riches the Italyans and espetially the Venetians greatly delight and abounde. And they were wont to make such large expence in con/10/fections to entertayne visitors, as the Senate hath beene forced by lawes to lymitt that excesse. Generally in Italy, and more spetially in the State of the Duke of Toscany, the mothers Nurse not their owe Children,[167] but send them forth (as in England) to be Nursed in the Country, thincking the open ayre of the Country more healthfull for them (which I spake of the gentle⌈wemen⌉[men] and the best sorte of Cittizens)[168] and they lye in a Moneth (as our wemen doe) when a woman is Churched the Priest meetes her at the Church dore, where he sayth some exorcismes /20/ or prayers, and then he takes her by the vper garment (shee laying holde on his stoale) and leading her to the body of the Church, there sayth some latin prayers (as their prayers are all in latin) whence

[167] Hughes amends to "owne Children", p. 453.

[168] Hughes omits the phrase in brackets for no clear reason, unless it is a simple mistake, p. 453.

shee departs, but vseth to make no feast to her frends & neighbours.

{ m.n. 26. Christninges. }

Touching Christinings: The Citty of Venice differs from all other in Italy vpon firme land, in some thinges. They were wont to spend excessiuely in confections, till that expence was restrayned by lawes. The gentlemen haue not two godfathers as other where, but sometymes /30/ 150. And because that spirituall kindred (as they call it) hinders maryage in the Roman Church, the lawe forbids them to be gentlemen of venice, and the Priest when he powers water on the Childes head, is bounde to aske and looke that none of them be gentlemen of Venice. And these godfathers are at no charge of guifts, except some at pleasure will cast mony on the Alter for the Priest, but the Chyldes father presents each of them with a marchpane. And this Ceremony is done for boyes, no woman being present, but one that caryes /40/ the Chylde. *H*ere and in all Italy, and generally through out the Roman Church, the Prist meetes the Chylde at the Church dore, and exorciseth it with holy water and Crossings (a kynde of Coniuration they vse to expell the Deuill, or originall sinne, or I knowe not what) and tha<t> donne, the Chylde is permitted to enter the Church, and at the Funt is baptised in the name of the Father, sonne, and holy ghost, in the lattin tounge (as all diuine seruice is sayd) hauing water powred on the head with many Crossinges.

In other partes of Italy, more spetially /50/ in the State of the great Duke of Toscany, the godfathers and godmothers present guifts ⌈both⌉ to the //

Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt I. fol.623.

Childe and Nurse (as wee doe, but not in that excesse which of late crept in among vs in England) according to the quality of the person. And they vse likewise both to make Festiuall Dynners and banquets. Only the Childe, be it male or female, hath but one Godfather and one Godmother, besydes the Father who vseth also to promise for his Chylde.

{ m.n. 8. Funeralls. }

Touching Funeralls. When the Duke of Venice is dead, his body attyred in Ducall habitt is layd forth in a large publike roome of the publike Pallice, and 20. Senators /10/ are chosen to attend and sett about the body in Scarlett Robes, for three dayes; after which he is buyred with solemnity. Assoone as he is dead, the vj Counselors (wherof the eldest is vice duke till an other be chosen) and three heades of the Counsell of [.] 40, enter the publike Pallace, and come no more forth till a newe Duke be chosen.[169] At the Dukes death there is no more change in

[169] As Moryson recognizes, the Signoria continues to operate for the old Doge's authority lives in that body. Muir describes the elaborate ritual which emphasised the republican nature of the constitution. Even the Doge's ring, symbol of his authority, is smashed, and the pieces given to the family to warn it against any dynastic

the State then if a priuate gentleman were dead, only in the Citty all lawe causes cease till a newe Duke be chosen, because the Iudges are imployed /20/ in that buisnes. After the Duke is buiryed, the great generall Counsell the first day chuseth fyue Counselors, and three Inquisitors to examyne the life of the late Duke, and they are bounde to present all the errors wherof[170] to the great Counsell, which for great errors sometymes imposeth Fynes vpon the hayres. Thus of late Duke loredan, other wise of singualar goodnes and wisdome, being founde to haue liued more sparingly then that his dignity required, was by the great Counsell Fyned. 1500. Ducates, which his hayres payd.[171] The great Counsell vpon the second day, after an /30/ Oration in [purpose]⌈prayse⌉ [and]⌈or⌉ disprayse of the late Duke, [begins] begins the Election of a new. In the Church of St Marke none are buryed, but Cardinalls, the Popes legattes, Forayne Princes, and the Generalls of the State for horse and foote, whose Funeralls are attended by the Duke and Senators, and performed at the publike charge of the State. The euening before the buyriall, the body is brought into the Church, and layd vnder a Canopy, with many wax lightes burning about it, and so it lyes to be seene of

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ambitions, p. 271.

[170] Hughes substitutes "therof", p. 455.

[171] Although Moryson says "of late" this is almost certainly a reference to Doge Leonardo Loredano (1501 - 1521), the subject of the famous Bellini portrait. BP

all men till the next day at Vesper, when the seruice for the dead is songe, and /40/ then the body is carryed with a solemne procession, and after buryed. The Dukes are buryed in what churches themselues appoint, and the bodyes are caryed thether by night. In Vence ordinary Funeralls are performed with more Ceremony then vpon firme land. The first day the body is layd foorth in the house till two howers within night, when the Priests and frendes of the dead attend the body to the Church, where it is sett downe with two lighted torches at the head, and two at the feete, and the next day the seruice for the dead is song; and the body carryed in procession, /50/ //

fol.624. Booke V of Italy touching nature &c Chapt.I.

and then layd in the graue. The Funerall is not counted honorable in Venice that costs not some 400. Ducates, and the pompe of the foresayd Procession takes vp long way in the streetes, and is very great, tho the Duke and Senators be not allwayes present, in regard of the rich vestures, Crosses, and Banners of Images, which are Patron Saynts, to the Clergy, the Fryers, and the fraternities of Schooles. In the midst of this Funerall pompe, the dead body is carryed by eight men, and the body is richly apparreled and covered with a Cloth of golde, and followed by /10/ the Children and kinsmen and seruants of the dead person, all Mourning in black gownes with their heades covered For the rest of the followers only those of the fraternity to which the dead person belongs, haue their heads covered. The

wemen mournors, as at venice so through all Italy, weare over their forehead a French bongrace[172] Couered with blacke Cipres, which also covers the head and h⌈a⌉ngs[..s]ouer the shoulders, and vpon a blacke gowne they weare a peece of white Cloath, one or two handfulls broade, [hauing] hauing about their neckes and so downe the fore/20/partes to their feete. As in Venice so through all Italy, they are not buryed in seuerall graues digged of purpose, as commonly with vs, but in Caues or va⌈u⌉lts, either private to their Familyes, or common to the people. And they are buryed in their Apparrell, and haue their faces open till the Cave be opened, at which tyme theire faces are covered with linnen, and the bodyes are cast into the Cave, which is presently made vp very close, because as some of the dead bodyes are consumed, so others are more or lesse rotten, as they haue beene /30/ longer or latter buryed, from the stincke whereof they feare infection. In the Citty of Pisa they haue a large and very fayre Churchyarde, with many fayre marble Pillers, for a Common buryall place, called Campo Santo that is the holy fielde, because the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa returning from Ierusalem with his Ships ballasted with earth of the holy land, layd the same there, and they say that the bodyes buyried vnder that earth are consumed within two or

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[172] "1. A shade or curtain formerly worn on the front of women's bonnets or caps to protect the complexion from the sun." *OED* quotes from *Itinerary A*, IV, 215. Here it is more of a mourning veil than a protection from the sun.

very fewe dayes.[173] Generally /40/ In Italy (more spetially in Tuscany) they giue Doles of bread wyne and mony to the poore, but they make nether Dynners nor Banquets to those wo[174] are invited to attend the body. They neuer toll any Bell for any liuing at the point of death,[175] but after the buiryall (when they thincke prayers auayle the dead no lesse then while they liued) they ring a knell with one great Bell (for the Churches seldome haue more) or with the Sants bell where they haue none greater.

{ m.n. 50. Customes. }

Touching diuers Customes, I haue formerly sayde /50/ that the Italians are proverbyally taxed with madnes //

Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt I fol.625.

twise in the yeare, namely of deuotion in the tyme of lent (whereof I haue allready spoken in the discourse of Religion) and of the licentious life in the tyme of Carnuall from Christmas feast to Ashwensday, so called of biding farewell to flesh) aswell for eating flesh as for

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[173] "On the North of this Church is the *Campo Santo*, as they call it, their *Golgotha* or place of buriall, the earth whereof was brought in ships from the *Terra Santa*, as their Histories record: & as they affirme, the dead consume there in foure and twentie houres." Dallington, *Tuscany*, sig. D4.

[174] Hughes amends to "who", p. 457.

[175] Hughes changes to "lying at the point of death", p. 457, but the Anglican custom of tolling the bell for the living who are sick would make my reading possible.

cannall[176] lusts with wemen (since then the old and most deuoute leaue or at least frequent not much the Company of Curtizans) This Carnauall ⌈is⌉ a most licentious tyme, wherein men and wemen walke the streetes in Companyes all the afternoones, and sometymes (espetially towardes the end of /10/ that tyme) also in the mornings, excepting only fryday in the after noone, hauing their faces <m>asked, and the men in wemens, wemen in mens apparrell at theire preasure.[177] And very matrons ⌈towardes⌉ the end of the tyme walke the streetes thus masked, but allwayes in wemens apparrell and in the Compay[178] of their husbands. They thus walke vp and downe the markett places, and some companyes leade musicke with them and tables to [playe] place some Instruments in the markett places, where they play excelent musicke. All this tyme, the Curtizans /20/ are so taken vp as they must hyre them before hande who will haue their Company to walke and feast with them. By [b] day they that are masked may weare no weapon, espetially, no pockett weapons, which are forbidden at all tymes, and I remember at Venice a masked gentleman (for sporte as he thought) wearing a wooden sworde, was imprisoned and fyned for mocking the publike Iustice.[179] But in the nights of this

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[176] Hughes amends to "carnall", p. 457.

[177] Hughes amends to "pleasure", p. 457.

[178] Hughes corrects to "Company", p. 457.

[179] Hughes omits from "...and I remember...", p. 458.

tyme it is dangrous to walke the streetes, wherein Companyes of swaggerors walke armed, often committing murthers and horrible outrages. All this /30/ tyme many houses keepe publike meetinges for dansing, where all that are masked may freely enter, and danse with wemen there assembled, and he that danseth at the ende of his danse payes the musitians in[180] ordinary rate of small mony. Yea the yery[181] houses of noblemen and gentlemen, vpon occasions of meetings to danse with wemen and virgins of honor, are open for any masked persons to enter and beholde them.[182] At Genoa all the yeare long they haue weekely a publike meeting for dansinge, and in other Cittyes (as Sienna) many like meetings, not /40/ only for the vulgar, but also for the Nobility and Gntry,[183] At Rome and Naples in the tyme of Carnauall they haue many races of horses runne for prises, and likewise of Buffoli (which are beasts like oxen, but bigger and deformed with galled backes,[184] and wanting hayre in many partes of their body, whose flesh

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[180] Hughes changes to "an", p. 458. The word is unclear.

[181] Hughes amends to "very", p. 458.

[182] As Capulet forcibly reminds Tybalt when both recognize Romeo behind the mask. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 5. 53 - 91. In Shakespeare's play, the action takes place in July rather than at *Carnevale* in February.

[183] Hughes corrects to "Gentry", p. 458.

[184] *OED* notes the first use of "galled-back" as 1612. The first meanings of gall as a swelling and a sore from chafing (hence the lack of hair on parts of the beast) are most relevant here.

is not eaten, but their skinnes are good to make lether, and the best vse of them is for drawing) Also at Rome the Iewes runne naked a miles race with in the walls for prises, with many like sportes. /50/

As the Italians liue licentiously, so they giue, or at least cannot forbid the people to vse, like liberty in taxing their faultes by libells, espetially diuulged in the //

fol.626. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c. Chapt.I.

foresayd tyme of Carnouall, and more espetially at Rome, where vpon two Images, the one called Pasquin, (being of stone, yet hauing the Armes and leggs Cutt off, as in revenge for libeling, and beinge sett vpright against the wall of a Pallice in the Cornor of astreete nere the [.] markett place Navona) the other called Marforio, (b<e>ing of great stature, and of marble, layde downe in length with a lowe toomb vnder it, vpon parte of the mount Capitoline:) I say vnpon these two Images, (famously knowne not only in /10/ Italy but to all strangers affecting knoledge of forayne matters) all the sayd lybells at Rome are fastened, commonly in forme of a dylogue, marforius asking the question, and Passqin answring from which Custome the worde Passqin is vulgarly taken for a libell.[185]

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[185] Hughes transcribes "Passqui" twice, p. 459.

The gentlemen seldome feasting one another, except it be vpon rare occasions, and those rather particular[lar] to some fewe Familyes, then generall to all, as vpon affinity contracted by maryage, yet to /20/ preserue loue and acquaintance among them, daily haue generall meetinges in the markett places, and priuate in gardens, and to the same ende, as also because in many Cittyes they are the cheefe marchants, they kepe the generall meetinges no lesse ⌈strictly⌉, then the marchants of our partes keepe their daily meeteinges at the exchange. espetially at Venice, where the gentlemen daly meete, with the marchants, before noone at Rialto, where they stand by themselues, and towardes euening in the markett place of St marke, /30/ where they walke together. As the Italyans loue ease in all thinges, and commodity rather then pride, wearing their apparrell large,,[186] and in Iourneyes hauing their bootes wyde, their hatts and Clokes of thicke felte, and softe Cushions vpon their hard Sadles, and never lighting from their horses (by reason of the hott Clyme and the fayntnes of their bodyes Commonly in some measure diseased through naturall incontinency) So vpon the foresayd reasons, they haue commodityes for easey passages in the streetes [of] of their Cittyes. In Venice they may passe to all partes /40/ of the Citty by water in commodious boates, aswell as by

[186] Dallington contradicts this, at least in regard to the Tuscans, their "apparell" being "Ciuill, because blacke, and comely because fitted to the body". *Tuscany*, Sig. K4.

land. In Genoa they haue in diuers places attending Porters, with Chayres to carry passengers whether they will, which Chayres are called Seggioli, and haue Curtaynes to drawe before and on each syde, so as the passenger may see all going by him, but is seene of none, and they are caryed by two Porters one behind, the other before, by two round and thick Coulestaues,[187] and the gentlemen haue also litters, both vsefull in that Citty seated on //

Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt I. fol.627.

sydes of mountaynes, but they vse no Coaches because the streetes are narrowe and for the most part steepe. In Naples also in great part seated vpon ⌈a⌉ mountaynes syde and top, they haue like Seggioli for passengers.[188] In Rome they haue Coaches and horses with Footeclothes standing in certayne places ready vpon ⌈all⌉ occasions to by hyred,[189] and commonly they [..] ryde one in the saddle and another behinde vpon the Footecloth. In the playne C⌈o⌉untry, as lombardy, for Iornyes they vse Coaches, commonly drawne with litle horses, but I haue seene a lady in depth of winter and durty wayes to /10/ haue her Coach drawne by Oxen, and in hilly and mountanous Countryes they ryde vpon Mules, Asses, and horse Commonly of litle stature..

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[187] Coul-staff or cowl-staff is a "Stout pole or staff used to carry burdens". *OED*

[188] *Seggiola* is the more usual Tuscan form of the word for chair. Zingarelli.

[189] Hughes corrects to "be hyred", p. 460.

As through all Italy priuate men plowe and plant their grownds to the very doores of theire houses, (which haue no such wast yardes about them as euery Farmers house hath with vs) and also plant with trees and vines the very forrowes of theire land in the open fieldes. So particularly in the States of the Duke of Florence, the very ditches of the high wayes and also of walled townes and Castles, as belonging /20/ to the Duke, are to his vse planted with Mulbery trees, for feeding of silke wormes (wherof they keepe infinite Nombers) with the leaues therof, which the Duke sells to his people, and if any one be founde to pull the leaues or breake the branches, he shalbe deepely Fynned. My selfe in the heate of Sommer breaking a braunch to shaddowe my face from the Sunne, was warned by agentle man to cast it away, and so scaped that danger.[190]

The subiectes at home in their dwellings Cittyes and townes, are generally forbidden to weare any weapons, /30/ espetially those that are shorte and may be worne vnseene, excepting the gentlemen of some Cittyes priuileged to weare swordes, as in Florence, but in Venice the gentlemen weare gownes and may carye no weapons. In like sorte strangers may weare no weapons, except they haue licence from the magistrate to weare swordes, and that only by day not by

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[190] Hughes omits this sentence, p. 460.

night. In lucca subiects or strangers may not weare so much as a knife, except the pointe be made blunt. In Iornyes by the high waye generally Italians and strangers may weare swordes and daggers, but in the /40/ state of Rome they may [not]⌈only⌉ weare swordes and not daggers. yet when they come to the gate of any Citty, they must deliuer their swordes to the guarde, who will send a boy with them (who is payd for his paynes, which is a frequent expence) and he deliuers them to the host of the Inne, of whome they receaue them agayne when they take horse. And at euery gate the guarde hath power to search the least bagg or Portmanteau, for goods forbidden or paying tribute, in which search they will trouble the passengers with disordering that they carry, /50/ if to avoyde it they giue them not mony to drincke, which is also a frequent expence. And for weapons, in some //

fol.628. Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt.I.

places no Gunns may be carryed espetially shorte, but in other places they may be caryed so as the lockes be taken off, and be loose from the stockes.

They are carefull to avoyde infection of the plague, and to that purpose in euery Citty haue magistrates for health. So as in tymes of danger when any Citty in or neere Italy is infected, travelers camot <p>asse by land, except they [liue]⌈bring⌉ a bolletino or certificate of their health

from the place whe[re]⌈nce⌉ they came,[191] and otherwise must make la quarantana or tryall of forty dayes /10/ for their health, in a lazaretto or hospitall for that purpose. But by Sea generally both the men and all the goods of the shipp, except they can make cleare proofe of health in the partes whence they came, must make the sayd tryall of forty dayes, espetially Shipps comming from Constantinople which is seldome free from infection. And this they vse not only for health, but as a mistery of traffique, by which they knowe the quality of all marchants, and of all goodes, before they be admitted to Free traffique in the Cittyes. /20/

The richest and noblest, gentlemen scorne not to buy their owne meate in the marketts, whose prouision is so small, as commonly they carry it themselues in hand kerchers, hauing allwayes prouision at home of wyne, oyle, and bread, but if they neede a Porter, there stand boyes ready with basketts by whome they send their provisions to their howses, going themselues a bout their buisines, for these boyes being well knowne, they neuer fayle to deliuer them safely.

Sicke persons vse much to drincke the milke of Goates, /30/ and in diuers Cittyes Droues of Goates are driuen through the streetes, to be milked at theire doores, that they may

[191] Hughes has "come", p. 460.

drincke the milke when it is warme.

The Italians beginne the day after the Sunne is sett as wee doe at midnight, hauing whole Clockes stricking twenty foure howers, as our halfe clockes only strike twelue, so as, not to be weary with telling the clocke, a man had neede of a stoole and a Cushion to sett at ease. The first hower after the Sunne is sett, strikes one, the Noone or midday varyeth daily as the Sunne doth his setting, for /40/ when the Sunne setteth at eight in the euening, the next Noone is when the Clocke strikes sixteene, and when the Sunne setts at seuen, the next noone is when the Clockes strikes seuente<en>e, and so it differs for the rest of the howers and minutes. They followe the newe style of Pope Gregory, going tenne dayes before the old style vsed with vs, so as when they write the first of Ianuary, wee write the 23th of the formor month December. Our Almanakes write that Florence, Sienna, and Pisa, begin the yeare as wee doe vpon the 25th of march, but all other Italians begine /50/ the yeare at the feast of our lords Circumcision, being the first of Ianuary after their style, which is with vs the 23th of the former month December. //

Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt.I. fol.629.

And they call their first ⌈of⌉ Ianuary newyeares day, as wee also call our first of Ianuary,[192] but they are farr

[192] Hughes omits this phrase, p. 461.

from our Custome of newyeares guifts vpon that day, holding to the Contrary, that it is vnlucky to pay or send any thing out of doores that day, and that it is a good hansell of the newe yeare to receave mony, or any goods in to the house vpon that day.[193]

The Italians saluting, one another, crose the right hand ouer the breast laying it vpon the heart, as the Turkes to the Contrary crosse the left hand. Both Italians and Turkes /10/ in saluting bend the head and the body very lowe, onely the Turkes neuer vncouer theire heades, wheras the Italyans lowely putt of their hatts, and stand still bareheaded a good space to the greater person saluted, that if he chance to looke backe he may see their respect to him, or of they be equalls, both goe forward but vncovered for a litle tyme after they parte. The Italians if they salute neerer, giue a light touch in manner of imbracing, but the gentlemen of Venice salute one another with a kisse vpon the cheeke. At Venice I obserued that young virgins of the /20/ Nobility passing the streetes, and hauing their Faces couered with a vayle like a Nett, so as they might see and be seene tho not fully, gentlemen for a Curtesy would stop their way, standing still before them as amazed at their beauty, and they tooke pryde to declyne asyde with a smyle and light blushing. In the Cittyes vpon land the

[193] Also spelt "handsel", the meanings combine both auspicious omens and new year's gifts. *OED*

highest place is to goe next the wall, but in Venice most of the streetes are narrow for two to walke, and the kennells are on each syde next the houses, and there the right hand is the highest place, as in larger streetes and Marketplaces raysed in the /30/ midst and declining to the kennels on each syde, the greatest man goes in the midst, and the next on the right hand the third on the left hand of him who goes in the midst, and so for the rest, the right hand being still preferred to the left.

At Table it were discurtesy to carue Salt,,[194] (which the Goate loues, by which name they note Lust and call Cuckolds) as also to carue Braynes (as imputing folly or want of brayne to him to whome they carue

In the hott Clyme of Italy, wemen in cold wether putt pans with fyer vnder them, as they vse in the most frosen Countryes of /40/ Netherland. And I wondered to see Husbandmen in that warme Country to house their Ewes in Stables at Lambing tyme, since ours are left in the open field, which I thinck they doe out of too much indulgency to them as hauing fewe [.attle] Cattle in those partes.[195]

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[194] "III. 8. a. intr. to carve to: to serve, 'help' (anyone at a meal)." *OED*. Tilley has the proverb "M626 It is not good Manners to offer salt or brains."

[195] The more heat, the greater the chance there is of the lambs surviving.

In Italy I haue seene Companyes of wandring Tawny people like to our Gypsyes, whome they vulgarly call *Singari*, and they also tell Fortunes.[196]

The Harlotts called *Cortisane* commonly weare dobletts and Breches vnder their wemens gownes, yea I haue seene some /50/ of them (as at *Paduoa*) goe in the Company of young men to the Tennis-Court in mens Apparrell and Racketts in their handes, most Commonly wearing doblets and Hose of Carnatian Satten, with gold buttons from the Chinne round to the wast behinde, and silke stockings and great Garters with gold lace both //

of the [same] collor. And I mett a Dutches carryed in a horse litter to Rome, whose gentlewemen and ladyes of honor rode astryde vpon ordinary hackney horses, in dobletts and breeches of the sayd stuff fashion and color. But all these had their heades attyred like wemen. And I obserued them to be thus apparrelled at ordinary tymes of the yeare, besydes the foresayde liberty of Carnauall, when men and wemen masked walke the streetes at pleasure in mens or wemens apparrell.

As in tyme of Carnau[a]ll [walking the streetes by night is most dangerous, espetially] in lombardy, so at all tymes of

[196] The word is *Zingari* in modern Italian.

/10/ the yeare and in all partes of Italy it is vnsafe to walke the streetes by night.[197] In Florence I obserued, that the gentlemen in Companies ⌈walked⌉ by nights in the streetes, with Rapyers, and close lanthornes, I meane halfe light, halfe darke, carrying the light syde towardes them, to see the way, and the darke syde for⌈m⌉ them,[198] to be vnseene of others, and if one company happened to meete with another, they turned their [faces] light syde of theire lanthorns towardes the faces of those they mett, to knowe them, and to keepe themselues vnseene behynde the darke sydes, and except /20/ they were accquainted frendes they seldome mett without some braule, or tumult at the least. In an other great Citty, not long before my comming into Italy, the young Prince eldest sonne to the olde Duke, walking the streetes in this manner by night, chanced to meete a worthy gentleman of Scotland, going alone to his lodging, whome he knewe and much respected, but desyring to trye his valour, commaunded some of his followers to assayle him with their Rapyers, who coragiously defending himself, it happined at the first incounter that he killed /30/ one of them, which done, by some speeches of the rest he perceaved that the Prince was in Company, where vpon with bended knee he craued pardon of him, [hut] humbly presenting [protesting] the Pommell of his Rapyer to the

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[197] Dallington concurs. Killings at *Carnevale* are common. Seventeen were killed in Venice. *Tuscany*, sig. Lr.

[198] Hughes amends to "from them", p. 463.

Princes handes, who in rage killed him with his owne handes and with the same sworde he presented to him. For which act, all the gentlemen of Italy shamefully blamed the Prince, in all the Circumstances thereof, namely in that he was a stranger, in that he was assayled going alone to his lodging, in that his killing the Princes Follower /40/ was a naturall and iust act in defence of himselfe, and espetially in that he killed him prostrated for pardon, and with his owne handes, yea with that weapon which himself had humbly presented to his handes.

{ m.n. 45 - 50. Pastymes Exercises *H*awkeing *H*unting Fowling Birding and fishinge. }

Touching Pastymes and exercises. In gentlemens or Cittizens howses I neuer sawe any playing at dice, Cardes or Tables, nether doe I remember to haue seene any Tables in Italy, but at Cardes and dyce I haue seene many play, not in priuate houses, but vpon the stalls of shopps, and broade stones in publike places, and they /50/ who played were sometymes shopkeepers and men of //

Booke V of Italy touching Nature &c. Chapt I. fol.631

Reasonable quality, but Commonly of the baser sorte, At Naples they haue a flatt stone in the markett place vpon the harbour, where such men play at dyce, and will venture to loose theire very liberty. For governors of Galleyes standing by, vse to lend them mony, which they repay if they winne, otherwise loosing are carryed away to rowe as

slaues in the Galleyes, till they be redeened,[199] which seldome happens, because hauing scant dyet, and being trusted for foode in the Gallyes, their debt daly groweth vpon them. In Venice and 25. Myles from the /10/ Citty, the lawe forbids dycing, and like games, vpon great penaltyes, except it be in publike Innes or at Feasts of great maryages, or vnder the two great Pillers in the markett place of St Marke, which pillers being erected by a lombard, the Senate, besydes his rewarde in monye, graunted him this priuilege for gamsters, to play freely and without penalty vnder the sayd Pillers. In the publike Inne kept by a German in Venice, whether most strangers of the best quality resorte. I haue seene young gentlemen of Italy play franckly with strangers at dyce, but /20/ generally in Italy this gamning is forbidden, in some places more strictly then others, and to be a Common gamnster is disgracefull, nether are these games vsed in priuate houses to wast whole dayes and nights for pastyme, as in our partes.[200] They haue a game commonly vsed by the Fachini

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[199] Hughes supplies the missing minim, "redeemed", p. 464.

[200] "There were actually two German inns in Venice in the 1580s, and probably in the 1590s too - the Black Eagle and the White Lion." BP Alberto Bolognetti, papal nuncio in Venice from 1578 until 1581, was appalled that heretical German domestics, craftsmen and traders lived in Venice at all, and that the latter lived unmolested at the two inns. What appalled Bolognetti, appealed to Moryson. "Wee staied three dayes at Venice to refresh our selves, and paied each man three lyres for each meale in a Dutch Inne." *Itinerary A*, II, 113, and *Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992),

that is Porters, and sometymes by horsemen as they ryde in the high waye, wherein they mame[201] a number vnder tenne, and sodenly as they name it cast out some of their fingers, or all fyue, and he winnes, whose nomber hitts the nomber of the fingers cast out by both /30/ at one instant. In the tyme of Carnuall all Cittyes vse to haue publike Commodyes acted by Cittizens, and in Florence they had a house where all the yeare long a Commody was played by professed players once in the weeke and no more, and the partes of wemen were played by wemen, and the cheefe Actors had not their parts fully penned, but spake much extempory or vpon agreement betweene themselues, espetially the wemen, whose speeches were full of wantonnes, though not grosse baudry (which the Italians like, but neede no such provocation) and their playes were of Amorus matters, /40/ neuer of historyes, much lesse of tragedies, which the Italyans nature too much affects to imitate and surpasse. And one Lucinia a woman player, [who] was so liked of the Florintines, as when shee dyed they made her a monument with an Epitaphe.[202] Also not only in Carnauall but all the yeare long, all the markett places of great Cittyes are full of Montebankes, or Ciarlatanes, who stand vpon tables

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pp. 330 - 331.

[201] Hughes amends to "name", p. 464.

[202] I have been unable to discover the named actress, but she might also have been more locally famous for recitative in the triumphs and masques of Medicean Florence.

like stages, and to sell their oyles, waters, and salues, drawe the people about them by musicke and pleasant discourse like Comedi<an>[s].[203] hauing a woman and a masked /50/ foole to acte these partes with them.[204] In tyme of Carnauall espetially, and also at other tymes, they haue publike dances of gayne, in howses standing open and free to enter, where for each danse the man payes two pence to the musicke //

fol.632. Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapter.I

and to the house: and at Geno[205] the best sorte haue a publike meeteing for dansing once each weeke, as likewise at Syenna where strangers may freely enter and are intertayned with much curtescy, by the gentlemen and gentlewemen, after the French liberty in both Cittyes. Ingenerall the Italians loue not to be excluded from musicke or Comedyes (excepting the playhouse at Florence where men payde for entrance) and therefore at these

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[203] Hughes changes to "Comedies", p. 465.

[204] Coryat notes their acting abilities, "These Mountebanks at one end of their stage place their trunke, which is replenished with a world of new-fangled trumperies. After the whole rabble of them is gotten up to the stage, whereof some weare visards being disguised like fooles in a play, some that are women (for there are divers women also amongst them) are attyred with habits according to that person they sustaine; after (I say) they are all upon the stage, the musicke begins." See Coryat, I, 410. Jonson was to use this Italian phenomenon as one of Volpone's histrionic exploits. See Ben Jonson, *Volpone; or, The Fox*, edited by David Cook (London, 1962), II. 1. 149 - 375.

[205] Hughes gives the missing 'a' in brackets, p. 465.

meetinges the doores are commonly left open. In the tyme of Carnauall and at publike Feasts of great mary/10/ages (besydes the liberty of men and wemen in the Carnauall to walke the streetes disguised and masked), they haue Tiltings, Runnings with lances against a Post Armed like a man at all peeces, Diuers races, of men, horses, and other beasts, with diuers like sportes. For Festiuall dayes the Celebration of them consists, in the kitchen for fasting and feasting, and in the Church for visiting the shrynes of Saynts and making offerings, and in the peoples Processions ouer the precincts of each Saynts parish, with Images caryed and Priests singing before them, but many of them besydes /20/ haue temporall Iollytyes, as at the feast of St Martin,[206] to haue a stuble Goose rosted, and the boyes singing in the streetes in Italian, long liue St Martin with his cupp of wyne and his goose rost, giue me a bitt my host, and the cause of this Ceremony is, that St Martin is writen to haue hidden himselfe among a floocke of Geese, from the people that would make him Bishop. Also at the feast of St luke,[207] because he is sett fourth by the picture of an Oxe with hornes (as St Mathew by an Angel, St Marke by a lyon, and St Iohn by an Eagle) therefore the

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[206] November 11. John J. Bond, *Handy-Book of Rules and Tables for Verifying Dates with the Christian Era*, fourth edition (London, 1889), p. 159. *CE* puts his feast as November 12.

[207] October 18. John J. Bond, *Handy-Book of Rules and Tables for Verifying Dates with the Christian Era*, fourth edition (London, 1889), p. 158.

people /30/ esteeme him the Patron of Cuckolds, and because they holde he was a Paynter and paynted most of our ladyes Pictures, the paynters also take him for their Patron, and make Feasts vpon his day. Such vses they make of the Saynts Pictures which they call lay mens bookes. But the worst vse they make of feasts, is that the Chastity of wemen is not more corrupted by any meanes, then at these meetings of feasts, vpon pretence of holynes; which vayle is so safe, as the Iilious Italians can hardly preuent this mischeefe. Vpon diuerse other dayes of the yeare they vse like Iolyties, as vpon the /40/ first of may being at Sienna I obserued them to erect maypooles, according to our vse, and the boyes and girles dauncing about it at the sounde of a Bagpipe, layde holde on passengers to begg mony of them, as wee vse vpon the Monday after Easter. Many goe about with basketts selling wiggs[208] and diuerse kyndes of delicate sweete and pleasant bread in small proportians, and they commonly stand at the Cellers where Muskadyne and sweet wynes are solde, and as our Costermongers sometyme sell Apples at best betrust, so they sell this bread alla tenuta, that is /50/ [that] he paying on whome they lay holde, but they allwayes lay holde on him who is most stranger, neuer on him who bringes the Company to them //

Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c Chapt.I. fol.633.

Touching exercises. At Padoa the Schollers haue Tennice

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[208] A wedge shaped small cake or bun. *OED*

Courtes, but the Italyans faynt bodyes, espetially in the heate of that Clyme, loue not such styrring exercises, which are vsed most by strangers resorting thether. And it was vulgarly sayde, that when they purposed to builde Tennice Courtes at Venice, the Curtizans paying much tribute made suite to the Contrary, lest it shoulde hinder their trading, which at Venice is insteede of all exercises. For if you call for a boate, and say you will goe a spasso that is for recreation, howsoeuer you meane to take the ayre vpon the water, he /10/ will presently carry you to some Curtezans house, who will best pay him for bringing her Customers, as if there were no other recreation but only with wemen.[209] The Venetians seldome or neuer come on horsbacke, and vulgar Ieasts are raysed on them for ignorance of ryding, as of one who [wold] would hyre one horse to carye as many as came with him in his boate, and of an other who ready to take horse, asked how the wynde stoode, as thicking he could no more ride then sayle against the wynde, with many like Ieasts. But the Neapolitans are excellent horsemen, and much vse that /20/ exercise. And at Naples I haue seene gentlemen play in the playne with a litle ball and a sticke like a basting ladle,

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[209] Compare Thomas Coryat on the gondoliers under the Rialto, "But the boatmen that attend at this ferry are the most vicious and licentious varlets about all the City. For if a stranger entereth into one of their Gondolas, and doth not presently tell them where he will goe, they will incontinently carry him of their owne accord to a religious house forsooth, where his plumes shall be well pulled before he commeth forth againe." Coryat, I, 311.

to driue it before them, which sporte the *H*ollanders much vse vpon the yce in winter. Generally all Italyans much vse the exercyse of Ballon,[210] which is somewhat violent, they play in their shirtes, hauing bra[g]⌈c⌉es on the right Arme with knobbs of wood, by which they tosse a ball one to the other, as great as our foote ball[s], but somwhat lighter. At Venice for exercise and sporte the young men assaule[211] and defende bridges, and goe to Cuffes at first in Ie⌈a⌉st, but often prouing /30/ earnest, yet no further then hand blowes.

Touching *H*unting ⌈*H*awking⌉ fowling, birding, and Fishing. The fieldes of Italy are in great parte like gardens or Orchardes, wherein all wylde beasts are destroyed, nether can men persuie their game without great domage to other men, and for the same reason they are vnfitt for the flying of *H*awkes. For my part, in my passage through Italy I sawe not one *H*awke carryed on the fist or setting on the pearch, nor any *H*owndes or Spaniells, neither are these sportes vsed in most parts of Italy, only in the teritory /40/ of Rome where the fieldes are more wylde, and in some part of the State of Sienna, they say that *H*unting is free for all men, euen in other mens growndes, and when two Companyes

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[210] Moryson probably means *Ballone*, which John Florio defines as "any ballone or great ball.", hence ball-game. See *Words*.

[211] Hughes corrects to "assaulte", p. 467.

followe one wylde beast, it belongs to them that first followed or hurte it, though an other take it, so they desist not to persuie it. And the Duke of Florence hath a wood in adesert parte of that State, where he keepes wylde Boares for his owne *H*unting, but I neuer heard of any fallowe or read Deare, much lesse Beares or like wylde beasts to be in any part of /50/ Italy. The Venetians say, that in *H*istria parte of that State lying on the north syde of the Gulfe, //

fol.634. Booke V. of Italy touching nature &c. Chapt.I.

The people are much delighted with *H*awking *H*unting and Fishing, and that in lakes neere the Citty, many delight to persue in small boates a kynde of litle fish but delicate to eate, taken by hitting it with a litle forked Instrument. They haue litle or no Sea fowle, but only at Venice, and their in no great plenty. But as the Italyans spetially delight in gardens, Conduites of fresh water, fountaynes, and building of fayre Pallaces with many Chimnies seldome smoking, and adorning richly the Chappells which belong to their particular Famillyes. /10/ So the exceedingly delight in Birding, to which purpose many gentlemen haue Vccellami Boschetti and Ragnaij, that is plottes of grownde and thicke rowes [of trees] fitted and planted for Birding.[212] Among many Vccellami which I haue

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[212] The sense of *vccellami* is of birding grounds, although Zingarelli defines it as the quantity of birds caught, the "bag". Florio in his *Words* directs his enquirers to *Vccellagione* which he defines as "all manner

seene, I will discribe one, belonging to a Florintyne gentleman named Boundelmonte, lying neere St Casciano.[213] Vpon a hill somwhat at large but not very high, and of easy asscent, this place of delight was planted, where first vpon the rising of the hill vpon one syde was a litle howse built, hauing apleasant prospect, on the one syde towardes /20/ the lower groundes ⌈fitt⌉ for the sporte of Birding, on the other syde towardes the hill. At the one end this howse had a Beddstead fitted with Cushions of lether, and being narrowe it had a Cubbard which drawne out inlarged it for a bedfellowe if neede were. The rest of the house coulde not well receaue aboue six persons. The insyde was curiou<s>ly paynted, but with Lasciuious pictures of naked wemen with diuers postures to wanton daliance. It had alitle table hunge vp against the wall, vnder which was a most obscene picture of a Satyre and a naked woman. /30/

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of fowl, or fowling, birding or hawking." Florio defines *boschetto* as a copse and "Also a rispe, a lush or lime bush to catch birdes with" and a *ragna* as "a fouling net".

[213] Moryson was shown this by his friend Nicolao della Rocca probably in late July 1594. The Buondelmonti were an illustrious Florentine family meriting many entries in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960 -) XV (1972). Giovanni (1540 - 1597) a merchant trading to Seville, also travelled to Cochin in India. The journey lasted from 1583 to 1585. The sexual mores of the Indians disquieted him, which is strange considering the lascivious pictures that Moryson describes later. On his return, he gave unusual objects and seeds to Duke Francesco. Declining prosperity made his later years difficult. Moryson was able to see his property because it was up for sale. Moryson does not say anything more about him other than the family name, so he might or might not have met him. See *Itinerary A*, I, 334.

And neere it was a Cubbard, wherein the gentleman had Pasta Reale, Ciambelini,[214] and like delicate kindes of bread, with other Iunketts, and a bottle of white Muskadyne, to intertayne his Mistres or other frendes. From this house on both sydes and rounde a bout the hill., were planted hedges and Arbours in forme of a fortresse, the lowe hedges being like Battlments, and the Arbours like towers and Bullwarkes, all which were hunge with lymed twiggs, and in the Arb[b]ours were Cages of diuers birdes, with Sparowe *H*awkes and Owles tyed neere them, /40/ whose least stirring made the birdes Cry, which made flying birdes come and fall vpon the lymed twiggs. Vpon the greene plott before the house, and within the hedges, diuers netts were spread, and liuing birdes tyed to stickes, and within the house satt the gentleman governing all this sporte, by diurse ropes lifting vp the stickes and birdes, which fluttering and Chirpping made flying birdes fall [away] among them, and with other ropes drawing the netts when any birdes fell within their Compasse. The same gentleman not farr of had a thickett of lawrell and other trees, very /50/ high and thicke on both sydes, and in the midst open like a glade, where hauing agreat nett at the one ende, //

Booke V. of Italy touching Nature &c Chapt.I. fol.635.

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[214] John Florio lists *pasta regia*, defined as "A confection or paste that Phisitions giue to comfort the heart." He directs enquirers to *Ciambellette* for *Ciambellini*, which he defines as "wafers or thin cakes." Florio, *Words*.

they came from the other end, with talking and light striking of the trees, driuing the birdes before them into the nett, which others presently lett fall. These thicketts are Common in the States of the Duke of Florence, and these and like Arts of birding are much vsed through out Italy. And in some places I haue seene them catch birdes in the ayre, as fishes are caught in the waters, by baytes and hookes, fastned to a peece of Corcke, which by long thredes they lett hang from high walls and high windowes and terretts, and therewith, moued to and /10/ fro by the wynde, they catch birdes swallowing the bates and hookes.

The ligustick Sea[215] yealdes no fish at all, as I haue formerly related the proverb attrubiting to Genoa a Sea Voyde of fish, Mountaynes wanting woodes, with like strang propertyes. But the gulfe of Venice yealdes Sea fish, wherewith the Citty of Venice hath the marketts furnished in good plenty, as I haue formerly shewed in the third part of this worke and the Chapter of Italyan dyett, wherein I haue also shewed that Italy hath some great /20/ lakes and Riuers yealding some quantity of freshwater fish, and very many litle brookes yealding some small fishes and no great quantity of them, whereof the cheefe lakes and places of fishing are appropriated to Princes and States in whose

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[215] Ligurian Sea ? *Apis ligustrica* is the Ligurian bee. *OED*

dominions they are. But generally I I[216] obserued no Citty but only Venice to be all the yeare well serued with fish, and that other Cittyes within land in the very tyme of lent, haue small quantity of fish or none at all, and those marketts which are furnished with some quantity, (as in Bologna) yet haue them dead before they can be /30/ brought to them. And howsoeuer the dull sporte of fishing may seeme agreeable to the Italyans nature, inclyned to sad meditations, yet I never founde any gentlemen or Cittisens delighting in that recreation.

[216] Hughes amends by omitting the second 'I', p. 470.

Chapter. II.

Of the French mens Nature, and manners, Bodyes and witts, Manuall Artes, Sciences, Vniversities, languages, Ceremonyes, particularly in maryages, Childbearings, Christnings and Funeralls, as also of theire diuers /40/ Customes, Pastimes. Exercises, particularly of their *H*unting, *H*awking, Birding, and Fishinge.

{ m.n. 44 - 47. Nature and Manners Bodyes and witts. }
Bodin a French man writing of the Nature of diuers nations, graunts that by consent of all writers, leuity is [re]⌈im⌉puted to the French, which he will haue vnderstood, not for vnconstancy of worde and deede, which is rather to //

be called temerity or rashnes, but for quicke nimblenes in motions and actions.[1] In deede they are all wayes laughing and skipping, and are so nimble in gestures, as they seeme to talke with head and hand aswell as with the toung; and when they goe the Spaniards say they runne, and in all

[1] "But it is needful to purge an errour into the which many haue fallen, hauing taxed the French of lightnesse, imitating therein *Cæsar, Tacitus, Trebellius*, and *Pollio*. If they tearme a certaine alacritie and promptnesse in all their actions, Lightnesse; the inurie pleaseth me..." Bodin, *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale*, translated by Richard Knolles (London, 1606), p. 566. [*STC* 3193]. I shall only quote from this text in this chapter, as the modern edition excludes what Moryson includes.

Counsells they haue dispatched the buisines before the Spaniards can enter into consultation of it.[2] This leuity of quicknes himselfe graunts Iustly attributed to the French, and that the Spaniardes on the contrary, are slowe in speech, in going, in Counsells, and all /10/ actions, yealding this reason thereof, that the Northern people are made dull and slowe by the grosse humors of their bodyes and the Southerne people are made dull and slowe in the Motions of the mynde and body by the hunor of Melancoly abounding in them, where as the French liuing in a midle Clyme betweene them, and free from both those humors, are quicke and nimble in all Actions. But with modesty it may boldly be sayde, that the French leuity is also inconstan<c>y in often Changing Counsells, as many passages of their historyes doe wittnes, and more spetially their /20/ many Ciuill warrs in the last age, wherein necessity of the publike affayres no sooner forced them to make peace, but leuity of priuate humors brake the Conditions, and stirred vp [reveng] newe Commotions. And wheras he will haue this leuity rather called rashnes, the Imputation will remayne though the word be changed. For rashnes also may

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[2] Moryson refers to Bodin's description of the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 in which the Spaniards, calculating on the impatience of the French to reach a settlement, "...got more by this treatie, without striking stroke, than they had before in fortie yeares, neuer hoping (as they confessed afterwards) to draw Sauoy nor Piedmont out of the hands of the French...This fault is not to bee imputed to them that had the charge to treat a peace, but vnto nature, which is hardly vanquished." p. 553.

Iustly be attributed to the Counsells and actions of the French, as may be proued by infinite examples of their historyes, but I will content my selfe with the Iudgment of Cæsar, who writes of the olde Galles in these wordes: /30/ Often they ridiculously determyne of greatest affayres only vpon idle rumores of marchants.[3] Agayne Cunctation[4] or maturity of Counsell, which Bodin attributes to the Spaniardes and Southern men, and calls it dull slownes, was vsed by the wise Romans, and is most proper to all wise Counsells, since truth is the daughter of tyme, and his denying the same to be vsed by the French, Imputes Contrary rashnes to them. *He* Concludes vpon the foresayd reasons, that Northern men are by nature light that is inconstant, and Southern men obstinate, but the French /40/ inhabiting a midle Clyme are most constant, if wee beleeue him in his owne Countryes Cause.[5] But reason confirmed by experience shewes these thinges are rather to be attributed to the quality⌈es⌉ of men, diuers in diuers tymes then to the Clyme they inhabitt allwayes remayning the same. For the

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[3] Moryson is being unfair here. Traders were often the only people who had any knowledge of foreign parts whatsoever. With scant information at his disposal, Caesar himself had to contact merchants to find out what he could about Britain before his invasion. See Book IV. 20.

[4] "...delay, tardy action." *OED*

[5] "The constancie of the French appeares plainely by the religion which hath bene receiued and allowed by our predecessors, for the which we haue contended these three-score yeres with such obstinacie, as no nation in the world hath endured such burnings, spoylings, tortures, and ciuill wars, as we haue caused vnto our selues." Bodin, p. 566.

same nation being barbarous hath done beastly Actions, which after being Ciuill, hath left rare examples of all vertues. Barbarous people as beasts are easily provoked, and by art soone appeased, and hauing not the sterne of reason to governe them, are caryed to and fro /50/ //
Booke V. of Fraunce touching nature &c Chapt.II. fol.637.
in a moment by blynde force of nature, as also ignorant Chilldren and wemen easily change all affections.[6] So as if Northern men be in constant, it is not the falt of the Clyme but of theire barbarousnes and ignorance. For the most Ciuill amd most wise men of what Clyme soeuer, most maturaly determyne Counsells, and are most hardly drawne to change them. To conclude, if in all other things the French should be graunted to ⌈be constant⌉[consent], yet cannot it be denyed that in apparell they are most inconstant, changing with most incredible ficklenes both stuffes & espetialy /10/ Fashions. For howsoeuer the Courtyers, when they weare rich Apparrell, doe also exceede therin (for they wilbe very rich or very playne) yet generally the variety, Changing, and quaintnes of fashion and ornaments, cost more then the stuffe. Nether doth any nation come neere them therein, except perhaps the English, who most followe the French fashions, and in most imitations

[6] Constancy, according to Moryson, is an attribute of men.

commonly goe beyond their teachers.[7]

The name of French comes from the inhabitants of Franconia in Germany, who of old invaded the Galles, /20/ and planted themselues in that Country by the sworde. Of which nation Procopius sayth that of old it was most apt to breake Faith,[8] and Popiscus sayth they were wont in laughter familiarly to [satisfy] falsifye their faith,[9] The Burgundians in particular, discend of the olde Goathes, are noted by old writers with the same vice of breaking faith giuen in leagues and treaties, of whome it was then sayde what Gods shall they sweare by, who haue broken fayth and

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[7] It would appear that Moryson is thinking about the present time of his writing rather than the time of his travels. George B. Parks, in his 'The Decline and Fall of the English Renaissance Admiration of Italy', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 31, no. 4 (August 1968), 341 - 357, notes how sentiment changed in this period against Italy. France was the beneficiary of this change in enthusiasm, although as John Stoye points out in his *English Travellers Abroad 1604 - 1667* revised edition (London, 1989), both countries were essential in a proper itinerary.

[8] Moryson may be alluding to the interview of Leontius, emissary of Emperor Justinian with Theudibald, King of the Franks. Leontius reminds him that "...the Franks, in the name of alliance and friendship, had received great sums of money and agreed to assist him [Justinian] in the struggle. [against Tortilas the Goth]" The Franks pocketed the money and allied themselves with Tortilas. See Procopius, *History of the Wars*, translated by H. B. Dewing, 7 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1914 - 1940) V (1928), 307.

[9] I do not know of Popiscus. Bodin admits "And *Tacitus* speaking of the Germans, saith, It is a nation neither subtill nor craftie, discouering their secrets as it were in jest, and then they goe easily from their promises." p. 554. (The Franks were a Germanic tribe.)

Oathes giuen in the mame[10] of all the Gods. The French to this day are reputed /30/ great dissemblers, of whome it is proverbially sayd, that they nether speake as they write, (because they pronounce not many letters they write) nor yet thincke as they speake. But howsoeuer it cannot be said truely with Bodin, that they naturally haue any strong vertue of Constancy in keeping fayth and promises, nor in any measure ar so reall in worde and deede as the Garmans, yet Compared with the Italians and other Southerne Nations, they haue beene and hetherto are generous in worde and Action. Only in the last age necessity of /40/ the State taught king Fraunces the first to breake all his Conditions of peace with the Emperor Charle the fifth, vpon the Popes dispensation with his oath,[11] And in this age the Iesuites bearing great sway in that kingdome, it is feared they will teach them their newe rules of State, more spetially the damnable Maxime of Rome not to keepe fayth with heritikes, and to brand all such with [.]that name as be theire enemyes or only defende themselues from the Roman tyrranny and persecution, and to excuse hostile Actes /50/ donne against publike Fayth, by the power of the Church, which Rome hath diuided from the power of temporall Princes, by

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[10] "Name".

[11] Moryson is probably alluding to the Treaty of Madrid, of January 1526, when Francis I agreed to terms as Charles V's prisoner. Once he had his freedom, Francis renounced the treaty, and joined with the Pope against Charles in the League of Cognac. Elton, p. 81.

their rules made inferior to it.[12] The olde Frankes are noted with Covetousnes, so great as by //

mercenary warr they sould their liues for mony. But the French discending from them, seme cleane contrary in both, being most wastfull in all ⌈expences⌉[expenses],, and seldome seruing forrayne States for pay, rather themselues vsing mercinary strangers for footemen in all their warrs at home and abroade. The French are reputed Faithfull to their kings, yet the Princes of Fraunce hauing greater power then a Monarchy may well beare, haue often made warr against their kings, and in generall the French giue their kinges small reuerence, putting off /10/ their hatts to him once in the morning for all day, and they are most bold speakers and Censorers of their kings actions. Cæsar writes that the olde Galles had factions, in all Cittyes [the]⌈and⌉ priuate houses, and by the faction of the *H*edui and Sequani himselfe ⌈prevaled⌉ to conquer them.[13] As likewise after in the faction of <C>orleans and Burgandy,

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[12] This passage is a little obscure. Moryson seems to be worried that the Jesuits, whose increasing power he fears, and who put the Church above the State, may excuse all who are prepared to attack the public profession of the Protestant faith. This fear was fully realised in 1685 when the Edict of Nantes was revoked.

[13] "In Gaul, not only every tribe, canton, and subdivision of a canton, but almost every family, is divided into rival factions." Caesar, Book VI, Chapter 11. p. 138.

the English[. ass....led] astisttyed[14] by that of Burgondy, [the English astiuing by that of] conquered all France, and no doubt to theis day they are [...y] naturaly prone to factions[15] /20/ For valor, the gentlemen and higher nobility, being the strength of the kingdome, and in warrs vsing to fyght on horsbacke, haue euer beene Iudged Couragious and bolde, and venterous of their liues, not only in warrs, but in priuate quarrells (to which they are naturally inclyned) and therein are not content to giue their enemy a broken head or light wounde, but Commonly pursue these diffrences to the death of one if not both. The reason wherof may be, that howsoeuer (Eutropius writes them to haue fierce /30/ myndes and more then mandly bodyes, yet expperience teacheth, that their myndes indeede are fierce, but their bodyes not stronge, yea rather weake and subiect to fayntnes,[16] and since nothinge is more vniust then the weaker should be infamous, if [the] he answer not the Challenge of the stronger to single Combat, [he] by which reason men should be infamous for avoyding the entounters of lyons and like sauage beasts, as man hath

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[14] Assisted ?

[15] Moryson probably has in mind the fissuring of loyalties in the Wars of Religion, although he could be thinking of the factions around the young Louis XIII.

[16] Moryson is comparing the late classical historian Eutropius (already mentioned by him on fol. 521) with Francesco Guicciardini. Moryson is probably alluding to how the investing French army disintegrated outside the walls of Naples in 1528.

by reason founde meanes to make Catiue to him to subdue and tame the most /40/ stronge and cruell beasts, and preserue his hordship[17] giuen from God ouer them, without adventuring his life in equall incounters with them, so weake men, and particularly the French, haue by wisdome found equall meanes to answer the Challenges of the stronger, and for the defence of fewe against many, by giuing the Chalenged coyse of his weopens, and by [venting] inventing such offenciue weapons and defensiue as the weaker and fewe may manage as easily as the stronger and many, namely Rapyers, Pistolls, and /50/ greater Instruments charged with gunpowder, which weapons being more deadly then the halbart,[18] swordes, //

Booke V. of Fraunce touching nature &c Chapt II fol.639.

ant twohanded swordes, vsed by stronger men, [if] the issue of tryalls in warr or priuate quarrells must be more dangerous if not deadly. And here by the way giue me leaue to mention the paradox which I hold tobe most true, that these inventions are vniustly by the Vulgar called bloody and diuilish. For here you see, that necessity of defending the weaker and fewe in nomber from the opression of the stronger and many, hath forced men to fynde them out. And agayne experience teacheth that lesse blood is shedd since the vse of them then formerly. /10/ ⌈For⌉ First in warrs

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[17] Lordship?

[18] *OED* does not record this spelling of halbert, an unwieldy combination of spear and battleaxe.

wherin they are vsed, it is a strange battell wherein tenne thousand perish, the greatest part Commonly retyring to places of safety by helpe of these weapons, whereas before the vse of them infinite multitudes Comming to hand blowes, many battells haue beene fought wherein neere or aboue one hundreth thousand men haue perished in one dayes fyght.[19] Secondly for priuate quarrells, the dangerous weapons haue made men more warye to enter them, and Princes more carefull by lawes to restrayne /20/ them, and to repayre the honor of the weakest against the wronges of the strongest, so as they now are much nore rare then formerly. And this more particularly may appeare in fraunce, where notwithstanding the naturall inclination of the French to quarells and Combatts, they haue beene of late by the sayd meanes much restrayned. Thus the French more weake in body then the Germans, yet are more couragious and more to be feared in warr. But the greatest danger is in their first assualt, of whome it is commonly /30/ written and sayd that in the first assault the are more then men,[by]⌈but⌉ by delay and protraction leese patience, and become more faynt then wemen. Cæsar in his Commentaryes writes [that] that the old Galles first tooke Ciuill [names] manners from the Romans, and no doubt from their first liuing vnder their kinges, they haue so exercised all Ciuility, as therein

[19] Moryson is taking the exaggerations of the medieval chroniclers a little too literally. Carnage on this scale happened only in the era of large conscripted citizen armies.

they yealde not to any nation, were it not somthinge stayned with light apish gestures, together with hyperbolicall Complements, and a leuity of witt to /40/ scorne strangers. Among other Ciuill behauiours (which were infinite to name in particular) if the be of contray opinion to any thinge another sayth, they seldome appose it without adding sauing your good fauor, and if they giue the lye to any man, they first aske leaue that it may be without offence to the Company (vulgarly sauf le respect de la Companie) which otherwise all of them would take as a lye giuen to them. And as they in this sort interpret Iniuryes, so if one man meete many in a Company and saluteth any one of them, they /50/ all retorne the salutation as an honor done to them all, A man in his owne howse will not take the vpper place of a stranger, except he be of a much higher degree and quallity. In Feasts at table commonly they sett a man and a woman, not of right but in mirth //

and iollity, for otherwise all men sett [sett] aboue the wemen, and the wemen first serues her husband and after setts downe her selfe at the Table. If a Frenchman sendes you a present, he will take it in ill part if you giue the bearer any rewarde. And in like sort if you lye at a frendes house, he wilbe offended with you if you giue his seruants mony, and with them for taking it. The French⌈wemen⌉[men] are written to be most fruitfull of

Children, and indeede Fraunce is very populous ⌈so⌉ as Botero writes it to contayne as /10/ many persons as Germany Sweitzerland & Netherland, namely fyfteene milions and further adds, that besydes Burgundy, Fraunce alone contaynes twenty seuen thousand Cittyes and villages hauing steeples.[20] The French men generally haue the spirite of Clarett wyne in their agilitie of their bodyes and quicknesse of their witts, and are most venerious, to which vice commonly the most actiue and most witty men are most subiecte.[21] Old writers say that the French haue bodies tall and white, but as they are commonly of lowe stature, so /20/ theire whitenes is not generall, but most commonly their skinnes and complections inclyne to blacknes. In like sort they write that the old inhabitants of Fraunce in youth kept their bodyes leane by labour and exercises, and generally so hated fattnes, as they punished them with death whose girdles exceeded a certayne measure. The French generally are now not much subiect to fattnes, for

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[20] "*Iohn Bodin* writing a description thereof in the time of *Henrie* the second saith, that there were seuen and twentie thousand villages hauing parish Churches, not comprehending Burgundie among them, In another description written in the raigne of *Charles* the ninth, it is saide, that the number of the inhabitants exceeded fifteene millions." Botero, *Breviat*, p. 3. Modern historians put it at at sixteen million in 1575. Parker, p. 23.

[21] Moryson's ideas of the effects of alcohol are present in Falstaff's praise of sherry-sack. "It ascends me into the brain...makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery and delectable shapes...The second property of your excellent sherry is the warming of the blood..." *II Henry IV*, 93 - 100. In Falstaff's case too, the warming includes venery.

howsoeuer they eate more often in the day and as largly if not more then any nation I haue seene, yet I thincke /30/ they are much preserued from fattnes by the sayd quicknes of body and spiritt, keeping them continualy in mirth and motion, being euer leaping and singing

{ m.n. 35 - 38. Manuall Arts Scyences Vniversities Language. }

Touching manuall Arts and Scyences both Scaliger and Bodin agree, and experience teacheth, that the French are very apt and ready and subtill to apprehend any disciplyne or learning, be it manuall or liberall, by that fiery vigour of mynde and celerity of dispatching all actions they take in hand, which are more naturall to /40/ them then to any other nation.[22] More spetially vse they diligen[ce][tly] in the liberall Sciences, and in traffique of marchants, as also the gentlemen in exercise of Armes, and what they doe in any thinge, they doe it quickly. For manuall Arts, the noblemen and gentlemen of England who delight to vse the French dyett, and to followe their fashions in apparrell, doe intertayne their Cookes and Taylors with extraordinary wages, besydes that they are all other wayes in their

[22] "And *Scaliger* borne at Verona, writes, That there is not any nation of a quicker & more liuely spirit than the French." Bodin, p. 566. Scaliger, the Latinized name of the Della Scala family of Verona, produced two eminent scholars, Julius Caesar (1484 - 1558) and his son Joseph Justus (1540 - 1609). Neither were born at Verona. *EB*

trades very expencefull.[23] For Scyences no Authors write with /50/ more sharpenes of witt then the French, nor yet with more maturity (I meane without superfluous dreges to be after purged, as the Germans vse) by second //

Booke V. of Fraunce touch ing nature &c Chapt II. fol.641. Impressions and Corrections [)] Theire Doctors in the Ciuill and Cannon lawes are very learned, those Professors hauing great rewardes because the kingdome for the most part is gouerned by those lawes, and the Iudges of the Arbitrary Courtes of Parlament are all well studiyed therein. In diuinity, the Sorbonnists of Paris are famous for the subtile doctrynes aswell of the Thomists as the Scotists, but generally the diuinity of the Roman Church doth in Fraunce (as in Italy) most florish in the monasteryes. Also the Diuines of the /10/ reformed Church are famous for their sound doctrynes in the Pulpitt, and in their printed bookes. Also the French Phisitians are very learned, and the more in request for the small fees they take, being but the rate of eighteene pence English for a visite, which makes all, even very poore men vse their helpe. Fraunce hath many vniversityes, some more spetially ⌈famous⌉ for each of the sayd professions. But the vniversity of Paris is cheefe and most famous for all the professions. The two famous vniversityes of England (I may /20/ boldly say) excell all other in the worlde by many

[23] French domination of English tastes and fashions was to continue throughout the seventeenth century.

degrees, I meane not in the learning of Professors and Students, wherein some nations and many particular men may perhaps challeng preheminence, nor meane I in the florishing of all professions, whereof some, as namely the studdy of Ciuill and Cannon lawes, may seeme more to florish in other partes where the professors of them are better rewarded, but I meane in the magnificall foundation of them. For whereas generally the vniversityes beyonde the Seas haue /30/ only one or two Coleges, wherein the Professors reade and some fewe poore Students are mantayned for a short tyme the rest of the Students liuing in the towne. The famous vniversities of England haue each of them (besydes the publike schooles & libraryes) many Coleges, towardes or about the nomber of twenty, and those stately built of free stone, with very convenient Chambers to lodge not only the Students mantayned by the founders, but all other Students whatsoeuer comming thether to liue at their owne charge, who haue both lodging /40/ and dyet at a reasonable rate with in the Colleges, mantayning officers for that purpose, As also they haue publike lectures, and disputations, and exercises for all Students from the lowest to the highest. And these Colleges are richly endowed by the founders with lands, the yearely Rents whereof mantayne in the greatest one hundreth or more schollers till they take degree of master of Arts, and some 50. or 60. Fellowes of diuerse Professions during life, or till they can gett preferment in the Commonwealth, and /50/

the least of them in like sorte mantaynes some 30. or forty poore schollers and some dosen or sixteene Felowes, some professing the Ciuill lawe, some Phisicke, and the greatest part diuinity. The Vniversity at Paris in Fraunce of all other in the world commeth neerest to the sayd famous vniversities of England, //

fol.642. Booke V. of Fraunce touching nature &c Cap..II.

as indeede it was first founded in imitation of them, by foure Monkes, who hauing beene in Oxford the Schollers of Beda an English man (so famous for learning as antiquity hath giuen him the style of Reuerent) did in the tyme of the French Emperor Charles the great, beginne to teach at Paris, and moved the French to founde that vniversity.[24] It may seeme ill planted in the Cheefe Citty of the kingdome and so neere the kings Court, both apt to with drawe schollers from their Studyes to other Courses of life, or to /10/ dissolute manners, but the vniversity is a seuerall Part of the Citty closed with gates, in which compasse all the Students reside, who liue not in the Colleges, And these Colleges were of old foureteene in nomber, and I nether heare nor reade that the nomber hath beene increased in late ages. Among them the College of Navarra is the

[24] Moryson confuses the Venerable Bede (571 - 630) who hardly left Jarrow, with the Yorkshireman Alcuin (735 - 804), one of the great luminaries of Charlemagne's court. Neither had anything to do with the founding of the Sorbonne. *DNB* Moryson repeats the errors he found in Samvel Levvkenor, *A Discovrse of forraine Cities Containing Vniuersities* (London, 1600), sig. M4v, [*STC* 15566].

fayrest, and was built by the Queene and wife of king Phillip the fayre, in the yeare 1304 The most ancient of them is the College of the Picards, built in the yeare 1283. The most famous of them /20/ for the Study of Diuinity is the College of Sorbona, Instituted by a diuine of that name, in the tyme of St lewis the French king. And in all of them some poore schollers are mantayned, to study the professions, but to no great Nomber, nor with any large allowance. The vniversity consists of foure faculties, the Diuines, the Iurists, the Phisitians (each hauing a Deane ouer them) and the Artists or Philosophers. One Rector is ouer them all, chosen each third yeare, and allwayes one of the order of the Philosophers. It hath foure /30/ Proctors of seuerall nations, and each faculty and nation haue their <B>edels. The vniversity hath foure Chanclors for graduates, with Aduocates & Proctors in the Courts of Iustice and in the Castle. Pope Benedick the ninth in the tyme of king Phillip the fayre, gaue the Chancelor of Paris power to create Doctors of Diuinity and of the Cannon lawes. The Students provoked by the iniuryes of the Cittizens, about the yeare 1232. purposed to remoue from thence, had not St Lewis the French king pacifyed them, likewise in /40/ the yeare 1303. the gouernor of Paris hauing caused a [sh] scholler to be hanged, the vniversity was in like commotion. When king lewis the eleuenth ouer borne by his enemyes would haue leauied soldyers in the Vniversity, the Rector would not consent therevnto. The

Meadowe of the Clarkes being almost all taken vp with howses, built by the monkes of St Germain and by [the] Cittizens, the Students in the yeare 1548 pulled all the howses downe to the grownd, whervpon the Parliament of Paris determined the limitts of /50/ the sayd meadowe, within which no howses should be built. The French king levis the twelfth[25] breaking the priuileges of the vniversity, the schollers opposed his decrees, till he entred the Citty with armed men and established them. But the French king Frances //

Booke V of Fraunce touching nature &c Chapt II fol 643

the first, bred in that vniversity, restored all libertyes to it, increased the privileges, and endowed it with new stipends for Professors of the Tounges and the Mathemattikes.

The French language is radically deriued from the latin, as ar the Spanish and the Italian, and is pronounced by them with such quicknes and motion of the head and hands together with the tounge, as it is proverbially called the language for traffique of marchants, but is made much more difficult to be learned by strangers, /10/ because they write many letters which they pronounce not in speech, and the vulgar writing thereof being neerer to the prononciation differs much from the writing of gentlemen

[25] Lewis or Louis XII (1498 - 1515).

and Schollers.

{ m.n. 15 - 22. Ceremonyes and perticularly maryages Childbearings Christinings Funeralls and diuers Customes } Touching Pompe of Ceremonyes ingenerall. The Coronation of the king is by lawe established at Rhemes but vpon necessary occasions hath beene solemnized in other Cittyes, and is euer performed with Royall pompe. Generally the French vse no such magnificall Feasts in larg prouisions of meate, as wee vse at our /20/ Feasts of the kings Coronation, the installing of the knight[s]⌈s⌉ of the Garter ⌈&,⌉, the calling of Seriants at lawe, and the yearely Feasts of the lord Maior and the Sheriffs of the Citty of london. But they vse most sumptuous banquets of Confections and preserues, one banquet costing one thousand pounds or more, some tymes amounting to 2000 libri.

For maryages The vse to be betroathed some three weekes before they are to be maryed, and the banes vse to be asked thrise publikely in the Church. And among the /30/ Papists they are maryed with the ring but among the Protestants the Preacher standes aboue in the pulpitt and the parties maryed belowe, and when they haue ioyned handes with mutuall promises of Fayth and loue one to the other, he giueth them his blessing and so all the Congregation ioynes in prayer with them for Gods blessing vpon them. Of old these maryage Feast were great, espetially among the

gentry, but of late dayes they are commonly Maryed priuately, and not in the Church where they dwell. /40/

For Childbearinges Christinings, and Churchings, commonly mothers if they haue strength nurse theire owne Children, but great persons haue them nursed at home by other wemen. At Christnings they haue no Feasts but banquetes of preserues, each Childe male or female hath one Godfather and one Godmother, who present no guifts to the Chylde, nor giue any mony to the nurse, only when the Childe is growne to some greatnes they send it bonnetts; or sleeues, or some //

fol.644. Booke V of Fraunce touching nature &c Chap.II.

or some like toyes. Commonly they lye in Childebed some three weekes and haue no feast at the Churching, nether doe the Protestants vse any such Rite [of] in their Churches[ing]. The French history written by Iean de Seres the kings *H*istoriographer, recordeth a strange Custome, that the Princes of the blood to prevent the intrusion of suborned heyres to the succession of the Crowne, are admitted in to the Queens Bedchamber, and permitted to be present while shee travayleth in Childebe[d]irth.[26] /10/

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[26] "The Queene fell in labour on Thursday at night, the 27. of September.[1601] The King and the Princes of his bloud, were in the Chamber, according to the ancient lawe of the Ceremonyes of the Crowne, to the end, that the interessed in the succession, may not pretend there was any supposition." Serres, p. 964.

Touching Funeralls: Cæsar in his Comentaryes writes that the old Galls, together with the dead bodyes were wont to burne all most precious things belonging to them, and such persons ⌈as⌉ while they liued were most deare to them, as namely their best beloued wiues and seruants.[27] At this day sicke persons are prayd for in the Church, but haue no bell towled when they lye at the poynt of death, nor any knells after, espetially among the Protestants. And when any person is dead, notice thereof is giuen to the people by the preacher /20/ at the ende of his Sermon, and the Company is invited by billetts to attende the dead body when it is caryed to buryall, where they haue nether banquites nor drinckings, nor yet any Doales to the poore. Only those of neere kindred vse to be Mournors, the men in blacke Clokes, and the wemen in blacke gownes and Peticoates, and those bought at their owne charge not at the charge of the dead person.

Touching diuers Customes. Cæsar in his commentaryes writes, that the old Galles thincking themselues dis/30/cended from Dis, began the day at night, and helde the night sacred, reconing the yeare by the nomber of nightes and dayes, so as the day followed the night.[28] And in like sorte I haue written that the Garmans at this day taking their leaues of

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[27] Caesar, Book VI, Chapter 19, pp. 142 - 143.

[28] Caesar, Book VI, Chapter 18, p. 142.

frendes, wish them many thousand good nights (as comprehending the dayes) As the English so the French Clockes strike 12. and begin the day after midnight. Both Papists and Protestants write after the newe style of Pope Gregory, only Geneua (which lyeth on the borders and altogether speakes /40/ French) doth write after the old style.[29]

When the French take oathes before Magistrates, as wee lay our hand vpon the Bible, so they lift vp the right hand to heauen. As the French men & espetially wemen are most inconstant in apparrell and changing of Fashions, so the wemen commonly wore the badge of pryde at their girdles, namely litle looking glasses, therein to beholde their faces and attyre. The French wemen first vsed Maskes to couer their faces, //

Booke V. of Fraunce touching Nature &c Chapt.II. fol.645.

and with great liberty they walke euen alone without any man to attend them in the streetes of Paris, with their faces masked, so as Commonly wearing black stuffes and litle differing in fashion one from another, the husband meeting his wife in the streete can hardly know her, except he salute her, in which case they vse to open their maskes. It seemes that in many Cittyes they haue not publike

[29] The stern Calvinist fathers of the City would presumably have no truck with a more accurate but Papist system of calculation.

valltes[30] and ditches to carry a way the ordure, for both men and wemen goe into the fieldes for egestians of the body.[31] At deepe[32] the wemen goe by /10/ flockes to the Sea syde, where for that purpose they sett downe vpon the sandes holding hand in hand, which necessitie makes good to them, but seemes a strange and immodest act to strangers. And in other Cittyes, where the haue groues or pleasant walkes without the walls, there the wemen meete daly, and more mannerly bidding the base one to another, runne into corners and shads to dispatch these secret affayres.[33] At Paris the haue Coaches and horses with foote clothes standing ready at diuers places to be hyred, for visitings, and for dispatch of busines, /20/ and the horses are commonly hyred by notaries and Sollicitars, often ryding two vpon one horse. In Fraunce they sell no Spanish wyne in Tauerns, but only (as hott waters) in the shopps of apothecaryes for Phisicke. They much esteeme the Ambling naggs and Geldings of England, hauing fewe or none such of

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[30] Vault, "4. a. A covered conduit for carrying away water or filth; a drain, or sewer. Obs."

[31] "...for discharging their excreta". Egestion, 1. *OED*

[32] Dieppe? Moryson embarked from this port in May 1595.

[33] "Bidding the base" was a game played by boys, and a variation on tag, in which there are two teams and anyone leaving the base could be imprisoned by a member of the opposite side. It acquired the sense of to challenge. *OED* I wonder whether two sentences are conflated here. Could the corners and "shads" (shadows?), into which people run to dispatch their secret affairs, be part of another (lost) sentence about duellers, who having challenged each other, fight in secrecy?

theire owne, and the hired horses by the high way being all trotters, and most commonly putt to the gallop, besydes which [..] vneasines the passengers are sure to haue most hard sadles, and broken bridles, or halters in/30/steede of brydles. Nether doe they affect much ease at home in their houses, where I did neuer see them vse Cushions or bombasted[34] stooles Chayres or formes to sitt vpon, which are commonly vsed in England

{ m.n. 35 - 41. Pastymes Exercises *H*unting *H*awking Foulling and Birding and Fishing. }

Touching Pastimes. The French play very much at dyce and Cardes, and with hazard of much mony, which pastyme they turne to a vice, as wee doe, They haue also tables where with sometymes they play at tick tacke, but for the other Dull games of lurch and Irish ether they knowe them not, or delight not to vse them:[35] The gentlemen exercise Ridyng & managing /40/ of great horses, and frequently vse Running at the Ring, Fencing, Daunsing, Schooles, and espetially tossing balls with Racketts, for which last sporte I thincke Paris alone hath More Tennis courtes then all the world besyde.[36] All sortes of men and wemen delight more in

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[34] Padded. *OED*

[35] All three are variations on and types of backgammon. *OED*

[36] It is appropriate that Shakespeare gets the Dauphin to send Henry V a tun of tennis-balls. See *Henry V*, I. 2. 258.

singing and haue more skill in that Art, then any nation I knowe. The wemens Common recreations are Cardes & visiting one another, but they haue other games, as driuing balls into holes vpon a bable, which they call *Trou Madame*,[37] or more modestly Boulettes, and also Billiardes, /50/
fol 646. Booke V. of Fraunce touching nature &c Cha II
and also Paillemail, driuing a ball of box as big as a mans fist.[38] And I haue seene girles & wemen at home and as they <pa>ssed the streetes, tosse and catch many litle stones with dexter nimblenes.[39]

Touching *H*unting: they haue heardes of Redd Deare in woodes, and many wylde Boares, which they *H*unt with howndes and speares, and haue some Rookuckes, a kynde of wyld Goate being very swift, which they *H*unt with houndes.[40] They *H*unt Otters and *H*ares, but haue fewe or no fallowe deare,, and they followe all these wylde /10/ games which are founde commonly in open fields, for they haue fewe Parkes, and

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[37] "A game played by ladies, resembling bagatelle" with eleven holes in a table (rather than "bable") or bench in which to throw the balls. *OED*

[38] "Pall-mall. 2. A game practised in Italy, France and Scotland, from the 16th c., and in England in the 17th c., in which a boxwood ball was driven through an iron ring suspended at some height above the ground in a long alley..." *OED*

[39] The modern form is "dextrous". *OED*

[40] If Moryson had not described this as a goat-like creature, I would have thought roebuck, the male roe deer had been intended.

those they haue are compassed with stone walls, not Pales of wood. For all these sportes they haue excelent dogges, as *Chien marchant* which wee calling the setting dogg, whereof they haue many and very good, but not allowed because they destroy the game.[41] Also Griffons, which are litle doggs with two Noses, and are excelent for hunting, and for keeping Chambers, for which cause Secretaryes gladly gett them to keepe theire papers from any mans touching or reading.[42] /20/

For *H*awking that sport is rare, and only vsed by great men, wherof a French gentleman of good quality gaue me this reason, that ordinary gentlemen killed not much flesh in their howses, and the feeding of *H*awkes was two costly for any but great men. They fly at all birdes and fowles, whereof wee haue a proverb to fly at all game with the French Falconor.[43]

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[41] Hence why these dogs are called *marchant*, or naughty. They not only set or indicate and flush out game, but destroy it in retrieving it.

[42] Also known as the *chien anglais*, the griffon is a coarse-haired dog resembling a terrier. *OED* quotes no instance of this word before 1882. The two noses I take to be a metaphor for its excellent sense of smell. There could be a more prosaic explanation. The "N" could be superfluous, and the "o" which is open at the top could be a "u", thus making "two uses", which Moryson then goes on to explain.

[43] "We'll e'en to it like French falc'ners, fly at anything we see." *Hamlet*, II. 2. 432 - 433.

The French haue liberty (as of hunting) so of Fowling and birding in their owne and their frendes grownes, but Fowling with the peece and with netts are forbid by the lawe, as /30/ destroying the game.

For Fishing, Paris is plentifully serued with all Sea fish, and also Carpes and Pikes, and the Riuer loyre abounded with excelent lamprayes and [mags]⌈may⌉ fish. The Co⌈a⌉st of Brittany yealded good Oysters, And the Sea vpon Deipe yealded plenty of Mulletts, Turbotts, Soles, and plenty of shell fishes.

For *H*unting Fouling and fishing; Reade the perticular lawes and Customes of Sedan, formerly abstracted in the first Chapter of the second booke of this /40/ fourth Part.

Chapter III

Of England touching nature, and manners, Bodyes and witts, manuall Arts, Sciences, Vniversityes, language, Ceremonyes, particularly in mariages, Childebearinges, Christnings, and Funeralls, as also of diuers, Customes, Pastymes, Exercises, particularly of *H*unting, *H*awkeing Fowling, Birding, and Fishing. /50/

This discourse (as the former, of the Commonwealth of // Booke V. of England touching nature &c Chapt.III. fol.647. England, and also of Religion) I will referr to the intended treatise of England and Scotland vpon these subiectes, more exactly to be written, to avoyde the imputation of ignorance in affayres at home while I affect[1] knowledge of Forrayne States.

yet in the meane tyme till that treatise be compiled I desyre leaue for strangers sakes, breefly to note some singularities of England in these poyntes. And first for the satisfaction of strangers, who say, that old writers haue taxed the old Brittayns to haue beene Cruell and ⌈in⌉hospitall[2] /10/ by nature towards strangers, and that

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[1] Hughes mistranscribes to "assert" here and on fol. 650 line 6, pp. 473, 477.

[2] Hughes changes to "inhospitable" here and on line 43, pp. 473, 474.

to this day they fynde by experience the English to be insolent and rude towards them.[3] For the old brittons Cruelty and inhospitality, generaly the most barbarous people are most cruell, but in the tyme of Cæsar, himselfe wittneseth that the inhabitants of kent were most curteous and full of humanity,[4] and as shortly after they imbraced Christian Religion in the primitiue Church, and [the] had then famous vniversityes, before France had any, (that of Paris being founded in the modell and Imitation of them) so no doubt they /20/ were farr from Barbarisme. And since the Saxons gaue the name of England to this Iland, and since the Normans did Conquer it, I did neuer reade history, through the long and victorious warrs they made in Fraunce & other kingdoms, which euer taxed them of Cruelty, but rather ⌈re⌉[a]corde many examples wherein they vsed singuler mercy and humanity towardes the Conquered, and all such as they tooke prisoners. Yea in our tyme, during the raigne of Elizabeth late Queene of famous memory, in her

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[3] This may have something to do with the public hysteria generated by the proposed Spanish Match between Prince Charles and the Infanta. James Howell, part of the legation that was in Madrid to negotiate terms, writes from there on 15 August 1623, "And I am sorry to hear how other other Nations do much tax the *English* of their incivility to public Ministers of State, and what Ballads and Pasquils, and Fopperies and Plays, were made against *Gondomar* for doing his Master's business." See James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 173.

[4] "By far the most civilized inhabitants are those living in Kent (a purely maritime district), whose way of life differs little from that of the Gauls." Caesar, Book V, Chapter 14, p. 111.

rennouned victoryes, wee remember and our enemyes cannot but /30/ wittnes with vs, singular mercy and humanity to haue beene vsed towardes all Captiues and prisoners, more spetially in the nauall victory of the yeare 1588.[5] And at the seige of kinsale in Ireland, in ⌈both⌉ which it is notoriously knowne that singular mercy was vsed to all Prisoners, and that many Captiues of the best sorte liued in as good if not better conditioned[6] then they did at home, & gayned by theire Captiuity, being released without ransome or paying any thinge for theire expences, which burthen, besydes the bounty of presents, the sustayned to whome /40/ they were Captiues by the lawe of warr.

Now for the Imputation of strangers that the English are inhospitall towardes them, and to this day apt to vse insolent wronges towardes them. Strangers commonly arryue at Grauesende, inhabited by people who haue beene themselues in forrayne parts, and are apt to vse like extortians to them, as perhapps themselues haue receaued abroade. And indeede generally that towne giues such ill intertaynment to the very English, as fewe men of the

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[5] Unfortunately, this is not true. After the surrender of the Papal Spanish garrison in Smerwick in 1580, they were put to the sword by "hewing" a thrust to the neck, or "paunching" a thrust to the belly. Raleigh participated. "Only many years later, when Elizabeth was gone and Raleigh himself had landed in the Tower, did the theme of man's cruelty to man suddenly obsess him and fill his vast *History of the World.*" Berleth, p. 174.

[6] Hughes amends to "condition", p. 474.

better sorte /50/ //

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will lodge there, but vpon necessity. From thence strangers are directed to like hosts at london, where they may be ill vsed for expences, and there parhapps are sometyme wronged[7] by the insolency of the baser sorte of the basser sorte of Prentisces, seruing men Draymen, and like people, which presuming vpon theire nombers doe many like insolences to English gentlemen and laydies Besydes I cannot deny, that the Cittizens of london and of lesse Cittyes, haue had and may haue a spleane against strangers for growing rich among them by traffique vsed /10/ to there preiudice.[8] But if a stranger will chuse an honest guide, and converse with the better sorte, he shall fynde singular Curtesy, out of naturall disposition from lords, from the gentry, from all schoolers, and not only verball but reall in being made welcome to their houses and tables, bearing all respects to them rather aboue then vnder theire degrees. For as the English, contrary to the Custume of all nations, giue the higher place and way to wemen thought of lower degree then themselues, out of a noble mynde to giue honor /20/ and support to weakenes, so giue they like respect to strangers, espetially to military men and Doctors of

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[7] Hughes has "arronged", p. 474.

[8] Donne writes of the "sour prentices" in 'The Sun Rising'. See *John Donne The Complete English Poems*, edited by A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 80.

liberall professions, (as indeede they generally preferr schollers both strangers and natiues) yea they are naturally so inclyned to beare respect and good opinion towardes strangers, as this vertue exceeding meane declyneth to vice, in preferring and more esteeming strangers aswell Phisitians as other like Professors, then their owne Countrymen, tho more learned and skillfull then they are, which makes the English also somuch /30/ travayle in forrayne parts, and so much esteeme theire owne Countrymen being travelers, wisely iudging that the experience of vlisses could not but add much to his other naturall vertues,[9] and this all experienced strangers doe confesse, but they vnthanckfully misconceaue the cause, attributing that excessiue curtesy to the simplisity of the English, which truely belongs to the nobility of their myndes, as may appeare by the foresayd respect to wemen, and espetially in that this curtesy towardes strangers aboundes most in the most /40/ noble and learned men, farthest from simpliscity. Yet I confesse that also very husbandmen and Country people in England espetially within land (for they on the Sea coasts haue daly exasperations against borderinge strangers) I say within land, are naturally curteous and kynde towardes strangers, espetially when by their guide or their one[10] language, they can[not]

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[9] Ulysses in the hero and wanderer in *The Odyssey.* Harvey.

[10] Hughes has "owne", p. 475.

make themselues in some weake measure vnderstoode whence and who [are] they are.

Agayne it is a singularity in the nature of the English, that /50/ //
Booke V. of England touching nature &c Chapt.III. fol.649 they are strangly adicted to all kyndes of pleasure aboue all other nations. This of old was Iustly attributed to Idlenes, when the multitude of monasteryes and the great traynes and large howsekeep[..][in]ges of lords and gentlemen were nurseryes of theefes and Idle persons, so as wee were serued for the most parte by strangers in all manuall trades. But since the putting downe of monasteryes and of these great traynes and large howsekeepings howsoeuer I cannot deny that, out of this naturall adiction to pleasure (or idlenes if you will so call it) and out of /10/ naturall boldenes lesse to feare death then want, more persons are executed in England for stealing and Roberyes by the high way, then in many vast kingdomes, abroade, Yet doe not these offences so much abounde as in those former tymes, and for manuall trades, wee are now almost altogether[s] serued by natiues, who for necessity to eate theire owne bread, are in good measure growne industrous Artizens. But for the poynt of pleasures, the English from the lordes to very husbandmen, haue generally more fayre and more large Gardens and /20/ Orchardes, then any other

nation.[11] All Cittyes, Townes and villages swarme with Companyes of Musicians and Fidlers, which are ⌈rare in other kingdomes. The Citty of london alone hath⌉ foure or fyue Companyes of players, with their peculiar Theaters Capable of many thousands, wherein they all play euery day in the weeke but Sunday, with most strang concourse of people, besydes many strange[rs] toyes and fances exposed by signes to be seene in priuate houses, to which and many musterings and other frequent spectacles, the people flocke in great nombers, being naturally more newefangled then the Athenians /30/ to heare newes and gaze vpon euery toye, As there be, in my opinion, more Playes in london then in all the partes of the worlde I haue seene, so doe these players or Comedians excell all other in the wo⌈r⌉ld.[12] Whereof I

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[11] The English obsession with the garden started in the late sixteenth century. The comparison with Eden was too good to miss. *Richard II* is a play of the loss of political innocence in the garden, "This other Eden, this demi-paradise". II. 1. 43. Donne also employed the conceit in 'Twicknam Garden', "And that this place may thoroughly be thought/ True paradise, I have the serpent brought." See *John Donne The Complete English Poems*, edited by A. J. Smith (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 82.

[12] This famous passage begs many questions. Is each individual theatre capable of many thousands, or does Moryson merely mean the combined capacity ?
This passage was probably written about 1624. Bentley quotes from John Gee's *New Shreds of the Old Snare* of that date, "But the *Iesuites* being or having *Actors* of such dexteritie, I see no reason but that they should set vp a company of themselues, which surely will put down *The Fortune, Red-Bull, Cock-pit, & Globe.*" See Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1941 - 1968), I, 207. The various companies acting at this date were, in order of stated venue above, the Palsgarve's or King of Bohemia's men, Prince Charles's men, Lady Elizabeth's or the Queen of Bohemia's men, and the King's

haue seene some stragling broken Companyes that passed into Netherland and Germany, followed by the people from one towne to another, though they vnderstoode not their wordes, only to see theire action, yea marchants at Fayres bragged more [to they]⌈to⌉ haue seene them, then of the good marketts they made. Not to speake /40/ of frequent spectacles in london exhibited to the people by Fencers, by walkers on Ropes, and like men of actiuity, nor of frequent Companyes of Archers shooting in all the fieldes, nor of Saynts dayes, which the people not keeping (at least most of them, or with any deuotion) for Church seruice, yet keepe for recreation of walking and gaming. What shall I say of daunsing with Curious and rurall musicke, frequently vsed by the better sort, and vpon all hollydayes by country people daunsing about the Maypooles with bagpipes or /50/ other Fidlers, besydes the iollityes of certayne seasons of

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men. Moryson's imprecision, "...foure or fyue Companyes of players, with their peculiar Theaters" may stem from the fact recorded by Bentley, that Prince Charles's men had acted at the *Curtain* from 1622. p. 205. Companies, venues, and actors were ever in a state of flux.

Dr Martin Wiggins suggested a passage from *The Alchemist* which exemplifies the strange toys and fancies exposed by signs to be seen in private houses. Lovewit wonders if his butler Jeremy may have exhibited some such device outside of his home,

> He hung out no banners
> Of a strange Calfe, with fiue legs, to be seene?
> Or a huge Lobster, with sixe clawes ? V. 1. 7 - 9.

Ben Jonson: The Man and His Work edited by C. H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford, 1925 - 1952), V (1937), 387. Moryson has seen the plays of Germans, Italians, Dutch and Moors, but he prefers those of the English. Yet there is no feeling here that plays are more significant than any other type of entertainment.

the yeare, of setting vp maypooles daunsing the Morris with hobby horses, bringing home the lady of the haruest, and like Plebean sportes, //

fol.6[4]50. Booke V of England touching nature &c Chap.III in all which vanityes no nation commeth any thing neere the English. what shall I say of playing at Cardes and dice, frequently vsed by all sortes, rather as a trade then as recreation, for which all strangers much blame vs. As the English are by nature amorous, so doe they aboue other nations affect and followe the pleasant Study of Poetry, and therein haue ⌈in⌉[a] good measure [of] attayned excellency. To conclude with *H*awking and *H*unting. ⌈[Notation] No nation is so Frequently vseth these sports as the English⌉ No nation of greater compasse, alloweth such great proportions of lands for Parkes to impale /10/ Fallowe and Red deare.[13] And as England hath plenty of Red deere, so I will boldly say that it, perhapts one shyre of it, hath more Fallowe deere then all the Continent of the worlde that I haue seene. And for the Parkes of Fallowe deere lately planted in Denmarke Brabant and *H*olland, they haue beene stored[14] in our Age out of England by the late Queens fauor. No Nation followeth these pastimes and exercises on horsebacke and on Foote, so frequently and paynfully in any measure of Comparison. England yealdes

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[13] "1. a. trans. To enclose with pales, stakes or posts...to fence in. Now rare." *OED*

[14] "stowed" ?

/20/ excelent sparrow hawkes, and Ireland hawkes of diuers kyndes, but espetially excellent Goshawkes, and gentlemen with great charge procure plenty of the best hawkes from forrayne partes. Not only gentlemen but yeomen frequently hunt the hayre, not [..y] only with grayhounds but hownds, in keeping wherof for that purpose diuers yeomen ioyne together, for England wants not Acteons eaten vp by their owne dogs.[15] And for all these sportes and other vses, England hath without comparison greater nomber and better dogs, /30/ then any other nation, as Mastiues for keeping the howse, rough water dogs for the Duck, gray hounds for the hayre, diuers kyndes of hounds for all huntings, and Spanyels for hawking, and bloodhounds to tract stolen Deere or other thinges,[16] and litle dogs for wemens pleasure, and all these beautifull and good, and some most rare, as the sayd bloodhoundes, and Tumblers for Conyes, and setting doges to catch Partriges by the nett (which sport not with standing is vnlawfull).[17]

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[15] "For some offence, either because he boasted that he was a better hunter than Artemis or because he came upon her bathing, the goddess changed him into a stag, and he was torn to pieces by his own hounds." Harvey. The English are eaten up by the expence. Moryson was probably most familiar with the version in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book III.

[16] Hughes changes to "track", p. 478, but tract is defined in the *OED* as "v. 2. 5. To pursue or follow up by footprints or traces."

[17] *OED* defines the tumbler as "2. a. A dog like a small greyhound, formerly used to catch rabbits. So called from its action in taking its quarry." Tumbling implies agility and trickery. The setting dog is a type of spaniel. A

Agayne the nature of the English is very singular a boue /40/ other nations in liberality and bounty of Presents gifts and rewardes, if it be not rather prodegality or folly, as when gentlemen and great men will paye more then is due, in small thinges because they will not stand to change mony, in greater because they will not stand to examine Reconings, but would rather seeme negligent[ly] in spending, and in all voluntary rewardes affect bounty aboue their quality and meanes, as I coulde shewe by many instances. The vniversityes //

Booke V of England touching nature &c Chapt III. fol.651.

of England are most famous, wherein no kingdome can compayre with it by many degrees, as I haue shewed in the discourse of the Vniversities in Garmany, and also in Fraunce.

London hath foure singularities aboue all other Cittyes, as the Monuments of Westminster, the Goldsmithes rowe in Cheepsyde, the Exchange for marchants meeting, and the Bridge ouer Thames. And generally no kingdome may compare [with] with England for Churches, espetially the sumptuous and large building and the /10/ number of Cathedrall

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quotation from 1774 in *OED* shows that the illegal practice described by Moryson was still continuing. See setter n. 1. 11.

This British passion for dogs of various types and aptitudes is used by Shakespeare when he gets Macbeth to question what type of men the murderers are. *Macbeth*, III. 1. 94 - 102.

Churches. Not to speake of famous antiquities throughout all England excellently described by our famous Antiquary Master Camden.

England hath great magnificence in the Feasts and Ceremonyes of the kings Coronation, but is singular aboue all other kingdomes or Cittyes, in the yearely Feast of St George, and the particular feasts of installing each knight of the Garter, and in the yearely triumphes and Pagents of the Citty of london when the newe Maior takes his oath, and espetially in the Tables of the Maior & spetially /20/ Sheriffes of london, all the yeare open to intertayne all men of quality, natiues and strangers, who may freely resorte to them.

England hath the best Barbers, and the most commodious Innes of all the world besydes.

The English language is very copious of wordes and expressions of any thinge to be spoken, and being mixed is therefore more and not lesse to be esteemed, as I haue sheewed in the former discourse of the Italian tounge. /30/

Touching Customes, England keepes the old kalander, beginnes the[y] [day] at midnight, and the yeare vpon the 25th of march. But to my purpose of only namining

singularityes.[18] Strangers blame two Customes of the English First that a man telling of a tale or speaking to others at table, if any of them drincke, wilbe silent till they haue druncke, which may be good manners if the speech demand or require a present answer, but other wise is needeles, his drincking not hindring his hearing, and if any ill manners be, it is rather in him that drinckes and /40/ so deserues no such respect. Secondly that wee putt off hatts too often at table, with offence of shedding loose haires and the like, and too litle at other meetings, as at Ordinaryes, where some, as in a place of equall expence, will enter without any salutation, & generally thincke it needlesse towards familiar frendes, and base towardes vnknowne men. England excells all other Countryes in the goodnes and nomber of Ambling naggs and Geldings and no other nation hath so many and easy Padds to ryde vpon,[19] nor in any measure Chayres /50/ and stooles so frequently bombasted and richly adorned. But strangers seeing mos[20] of our gentlemen ride vpon hard northerne saddles, wonder they shoulde vse them //

fol.652 Booke V. of Scotland touching nature &c Chapt.IIII. abroade, who desyre to sett so soft at home. The Custome for each parish to keepe a Register of all Children

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[18] Hughes amends to "naming", p. 479.

[19] "n. 2. 4. A road-horse, an easy-paced horse, a pad-nag." *OED* also quotes Moryson.

[20] Hughes supplies the missing 't', "most", p. 479.

Christned, whereby any man may proue his age (being a thinge important for many cases of lawe and otherwise) was first begonne in England in the tyme of king *H*enry the Eight, and the Romans hauing borowed it of vs, call it the Custome of England, but I knowe no other Country that vseth it. England hath [hath] three very olde and very laudable Customes, vsed in no other kingdome that I knowe. Fist[21] for Children at morning and euening /10/ to aske their Parents blessing, and extraordinarily their Godfathers when they meete them. Secondly that all Malefactors are followed from village to village by publike officers with *H*ue and Cry, Thirdly that when any man is at the point of death, a great bell is towled, to warne all men to pray for him while he yet liueth, and when the party is dead, by a nomber of seuerall stroakes of the bell,[22] notice is giuen whether the party dead be a man woman or Chylde, and then the bell is rounge out. As likewise at the buryall all the /20/ bells of the Church for some howers are runge out. Touching bells England hath many singularities, as in the generall greatnes of them, some one (at that of Lincolne Mi⌈n⌉ster) requiring the helpe of many men to toule it, and some dossen or twenty men to ringe it out.[23] Also in the

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[21] Hughes amends to "First", p. 479.

[22] Hughes has "at the bell", p. 480.

[23] The five ton 'Tom A Lincoln' was recast in 1610, and refitted in 1611. See *EB* and *Tom A Lincoln*, edited by G. R. Proudfoot & H. R. Woudhuysen (Oxford, 1992), p. xix.

incredible nomber of them, as I may boldly say England hath more bell mettall then all the Contenent of Europe and that part of Asia which I haue seene. Besydes that most of the Churches of England haue each of them three, fyue, or seuen bells ⌈of⌉ differing /30/ bignes, which men commonly ringe out in musicall tunes for recreation, which I never obserued to be donne in any other Country. For Turky hath no bells at all, the Priests calling them to the Moschees by the voyce, as our Falconors call hawkes to the lure. The French haue some great bells, which they ringe not out but only toule them for seuerall Masses and purposes. And the Italian[s] Churches haue for the most part litle bells which wee call Saynts bells. Only Venice hath some great bells, whereof they b<ro>ught the greatest out of England after the /40/ destroying of our Monasteries.

These singularities remembred in a shorte meditation, shall suffice, referring the rest to the intended full discourse vpon all the heades of this Chapter.

Chapter. IIII.

Of Scotland touching nature and manners Bodyes and witts, manuall Arts Sciences, vniversities, language, Ceremonyes particularly in maryages, Childbearinges, Christnings, and Funeralls, and also of /50/ theire diuers. Customes, Pastimes Exercises, particularly of their *H*unting *H*awking, Fowling, Birding and Fishinge.

This discourse also (as the former of England) I will // Booke V. of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt.⌈V⌉[IIII]. fol.653.
referr to the intended tretise of England and Scotland vpon the foresayd subiects, more exactly to be written

Chapt. V.

Of Ireland, touching nature, and mamers, Bodyes and witts, Manuall Artes Sciences, vniversities, Language, Ceremonyes, particularly in maryages, Childbearinges, Christninges, and Funeralls, as also of diuers Customes, of Pastymes, Exercises, particularly of their *H*unting /10/ *H*awking, Birding Fowling and Fishing.

{ m.n. 12 - 15. Nature manners Bodies and witts. }
In this Chapter I will [only] speake of the meere Irish. Only I will say for the English Irish that they may be knowne by the discription of our English at home: But as horses Cowes and sheepe transported out of England into Ireland, doe each race and breeding declyne worse and worse, till in fewe yeares they nothing differ from the races and breeds of the Irish horses and Cattle. So the posterities of the English planted in Ireland, doe each discent growe more and more Irish, in nature manners /20/ and customes, so as wee founde in the last Rebellion diuers of the most ancient English Familyes planted of old in Ireland, to be turned as rude and barbarous as any of the meere Irish lords. Partly because the manners and Customes of the meere Irish giue great liberty to all mens liues, and absolute power to great men ouer the inferiors, both which men naturally affect. Partly because the meere Irish

of old overtopped the English Irish in nomber and nothing is more naturall yea necessary, then for the lesse nomber to accommodate it selfe to the greater. And /30/ espetially because the English are naturally inclyned to apply themselues to the manners and Customes of any forrayne nations with whome they liue and Converse, whereas the meere Irish by nature haue singular [and] obstinate pertinacity in retayning their old manners and Customes, so as they could neuer be drawne, by the lawes, gentile governnment, and free conversation of the English, to any Ciuility in manners, or reformation in Religion.[1]

Now to retorne to the meere Irish. The lords or rather cheefes of Countryes (for most of them are not lords from /40/ any gramts[2] of our kings, which English titles indeede they dispise), prefix O or Mac before their names, in token of greatnes, being absolut Tyrants ouer their people, themselues eating vpon them and making them feede their kerne or footemen, and their horsemen. Also they, and gentlemen vnder them, before their names putt nicknames, giuen them from the Colour of their haire, from lamenes, stuttering, diseases, or villanous inclinations, which they

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[1] "The Irish are so wedded to their own customs, that they not only retain them themselves, but corrupt the English that come among them; for so ready is human nature to incline to evil, that it is scarce credible how soon they degenerate." Camden, p. 1048.

[2] Hughes amends to "graunts", p. 482.

disdayne not, being otherwise most impatient of Reproch,[3] though indeede they take it rather for a grace to be /50/ reputed actiue in any Villany, espetially Cruelty and // fol 654. [Booke V.] of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt V theft. But it is strange howe Contrary they are to themselues, for in apparrell, meate, Fashions, and Customes, they are most base and abiect, yet are they by nature proude and disaynefull[4] of reproch. In fighting they will runne away and turne agayne to fight, because they thincke it no shame to runne away, and to make vse of the advantage they haue in swift running, yet haue they great Corage infighting, and I haue seene many of them suffer death with as constant resolution as euer Romans did. To conclude this point they knowe not truely /10/ what honor is, [aff] but according to their knowledge no men more desyre it. affecting extreamely to be Celebrated by their Poetts or rather Rimers, and fearing more then death to haue a Ryme made in their disgrace & infamye. So as these Rymers, pestilent members in that commonwealth, by animating all sortes by their Rymes, to licentious liuing, to lawlesse and rebellious actions are somuch regarded by

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[3] "*They commonly baptize their children by prophane names, adding somewhat from one accident or other, from some old woman's tattle, from colours, as red, white, black, &c. from distempers, as scab'd, bald, &c. or else from some vice, as Robbery or pride; and though they cannot bear reproach...are not ashamed of these appellations.*" Camden, p. 1043.

[4] Hughes supplies the missing "d", "disdaynefull", p. 482.

them, as they grow very rich, the very wemen, when they are young and new Marryed or brought to bed, for feare of Rymes, giuing them the best Apparrell and ornaments /20/ the haue.[5]

The Irish are by nature very factious, all of a Sept or name liuing together, and cleeuing close [to] one to another in all quarrells and actions whatsoeuer, in which kynde they willingly suffer great men to eate vpon them, and take whatsoeuer they haue, proverbyally saying defende mee and spende Me,[6] but this defence must be in all cawses, Iust ot vniust, for they are not content to be protected from wronge, except the may be borne out to doe wronge. /30/

They are by nature extreamely giuen to Idlenes. The Sea Coasts and harbors abounde with fish, but the fishermen must be beaten out, before they will goe to their Boates. Theft is not infamous but rather commendable among them so as the greatest men affect to haue the best theeues to attend vpon them, and if any man reproue them, they Answer that they doe as their fathers did, and it is infamy for gentlemen and swordmen to liue by labour and manuall

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[5] Hughes amends to "they" here and on lines 29 and 55, pp. 483, 484.

[6] "For their common saying is 'Spend me and defend me.'" Spenser, *View*, p. 35.

trades. yea they will not be perswaded that theft displeaseth God, because he giues the pray into their handes,[7] and if /40/ he be displeased, they say yet ⌈he⌉ is mercyfull and will pardon them for vsing meanes to liue. This Idlenes makes them also slouenly and sluttish in their howses and apparrell, so as vpon euery hill they lye lowsing themselues, as forferly[8] in the discourse of the Commonwealth. I haue remembred foure verses, of foure beasts that plague Ireland namely, lyse vpon their bodyes, Ratts in theire howses, Wollues in their fieldes and swarmes of Romish Prists tyranising ouer their Consciences.[9] This Idlenes, also makes them to loue liberty a boue all thinges, and /50/ likewise naturally to delight in musick, so as the Irish *H*arpers are excelent, and their solemne musicke is much liked of strangers, and the wemen of some partes of mounster, as they weare Turkish heades and are thought to haue come first out of those partes, so the haue //

Booke V. of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt V. fol 655.

pleasant tunes of Moresco Danses.[10]

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[7] "...*they say God would not tempt then with an opportunity...*" Camden, p. 1045.

[8] Hughes amends to "formerly", here and on Fol. 655, pp. 483, 484. It seems to be a mistake rather than a variant form as he uses the word correctly on Fol. 655.

[9] Moryson prints and translates the verse on Fol. 255.

[10] Quoting Camden as his source, Moryson thinks the Irish Scots to have been Scythians. See Fol. 244. Camden also writes of the Irish plaiting their long hair, and

They are by nature very Clamorous, vpon euery small occasion raysing the hobou (that is adolefull outcrye) which they take one from anothers mouthe till they putt the whole towne in tumult.[11] And their complaynts to magistrates are commonly strayned to the higest points of Calamity, sometymes in hyperbolicall tearmes, as many vpon small violences offered them, haue Petioned[12] to the lord Deputy for Iustice against men for murthering them, while they stoode before him sounde and not so /10/ much as wounded.

In the late Rebellion wee founde the Munster men to betray the Earle of Desmond their cheefe leader into our handes, for their owne Pardons and rewardes of mony. But howesoeuer the State by publike Proclamation did sett a great reward vpon the head of Tyrone, to any should bring his head, and agreater to any should bring him aliue, yet the morthern[13] men cold not be induced by any rewardes of mony or pardons for theire owne estates and liues, to betray him, no not

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"*folding over their heads many ells of fine linnen.*" p. 1046, which reminds Moryson of the Turkish turbans. This, and in addition, their music, adds proof to his theory that the Irish were of Scythian origin.

[11] The word 'hobou' is probably cognate with 'hubbub', coming from English Irish *abu*, a war cry, and the Gaelic *ub* signifying aversion. See hubbub in Eric Partridge, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966), p. 298.

[12] Hughes amends to "Petitioned", p. 484.

[13] Hughes amends to "northern", p. 484.

when themselues were /20/ driuen to greatest misery, and he forced to hyde his head in the woodes without any forces, and only was Followed by some fewe of his most tr.⌈u⌉sty vassalls. In like sort by experience we reputed the Northern men of better nature and disposition to peace, to Ciuill gouernnment, and Reformation of Religion, then the Mounster men at that tyme Rebells. For howsoeuer the Northern men followed their lordes with all their hartes and powers in rebellions[14] and vnlawfull actions, yet they did it because they liued by them, and had feeling of their power ready /30/ at hand to doe them good or hurt, and had forferly no knowledge of the kings power and Iustice but farr off and not ready to supporte and protect them in theire obedience, whereas the Mounster men had long liued happily vnder the Protection of the State and English lawes, yea when the warrs were ended, and the English Iudges went their Circuites through all Ireland, the Northerne people more obediently and more Ioyfully then any other receaved the English lawes, and government to protect them from the oppression of great /40/ lords and their swordmen. And howsoeuer the Notherne men were generally Papists, Yet wee considered that they must be so or of no Religion, hauing not formerly beene taught any other, whereas the Rebells of other partes, by long conversation with the English, and liuing amonge them, had formerly had

[14] Hughes transcribes "rebellious", p. 484.

great opportunity to be well instructed in Religion and Ciuill manners.

It is an old saying,

Rustica gens optima flens, pessima ridens.

The Country Clownes[15] are best when they doe weepe, /50/

and [most] worst when in plenty laugh and sleepe.

And this saying may more truely be spoken of the Irish, // fo[6]l 656. Booke V of Ireland touching nature & Chapt.V. then any other nation. For nothing more brings them to obedience then poverty, and heretofore they neuer had plenty but presently they rushed into Rebellion. For particularly experience, lett them wittnes who haue kepte Irish footemen, if euer they could bring any of them on foote agayne, whome once the had sett on horsbacke, and if they haue not had better seruice from them whom<e> the kepte most bare in apparrell or mony, and most subiect to correction, then from those the kept most bountifully and vsed most freely and gently. /10/

They are by nature superstitious and giuen to vse witchcrafts. The approued Auther by Master Camden Cited in his owne wordes, sayth they salute the newe Moone with bended knee, saying to it. leaue vs as sounde as thou fyndest vs. *He* adds incantations they vse against wolues.

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[15] "1. A Countryman, rustic or peasant." *OED*

Their opinions, that some one shall dye if they fynde a blacke spott vpon a bared Mutton bone: and their horses shall liue long if they giue no fyer out of the howse, and that some ill lucke will fall to their horses if the ryder hauing eaten eges doe not wash his handes after them, or be not /20/ carefull to chuse the eggs of equall bignes. That they are much offended if a man commend their Cattle, except withall he say God saue them, or ells spitt vpon them. That some mens eyes bewitch their horses, and if they proue lame or ill, old wemen are sought for to say short prayers and vse many incantations to recover them. That if a man fall on the grounde, he vseth to turne thrise about towards his right hand, and to digg vp a sodd of earth with his sword or knife, to prevent ill lucke. That they vse many like incantations when they goe to fyght. /30/ That wemen divorced bewitch the men putting them away, with disability of generation and many diseases, against which men vse the helpe of witches. That when Children be sicke, the Nurses fly to old wemen to helpe them with prayer and incantations. But I will omitt many other superstitions and witchcrafts, which he there relateth.[16]

The wemen generally are not much commended for ⌈Chastity⌉ Chastty, but the Common voyce was that generally, as kissing goes by fauor, so they would rather offende with an

[16] All these are to be found in Camden, pp. 1046 - 1047.

Irish /40/ horseboy then with the English of better rancke. And the foresayd author sayth that Ireland abounded with Prists bastards, knowne by theire names as Mac Decan, mac phersan, that is the sonne of the Deene, or of the Church, and like names to that purpose, and that [se] these men were ⌈the⌉ most notorious theeues & Rebells of Ireland.[17]

The same author Relates that the Irish were great swearrers and forswearers, presuming vpon Gods mercy, and that to make them keepe Fayth there was no other meanes, but to haue them sweare before the Alter, vpon a booke /50/ opened and layd vpon their head, and to sweare by some Saynt, or with kissing of a bell, or to sweare by the head of the lord of their Country, which they most feared, //
Booke V. of Ireland touching nature &c. Chapt V. fol.657.
because these lords vsed to extort Cowes from them for periuryes as hauing theirin abused their Names.[18]

The bodyes of men and wemen are large for bignes and stature, because they are brought vp in liberty and with loose apparrell, b[.]ut generally the very men are obserued to haue litle and ladylike hands and feete,[19] and the

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[17] Camden, pp. 1045 - 1046.

[18] Camden, p. 1046.

[19] Tilley quotes a proverb of commendation "I 89 The Irishman for his hand, Welshman for a leg, the Englishman for his face, and the Dutchman for his beard."

greatest part of the wemen are nasty with fowle lynnen, and haue very great Dugges some so bigg as they giue their Children sucke ouer theire shoulders. For[20] the wemen generally are not straight laced, /10/ perhapps for feare to hurt the sweetenes of breath, and the greatest part are not laced at all. Also the Irish are generally obserued to be fruitfull in generation, as at Dublin in the tyme of the last warr, it was generally knowne for truth, that one of the Segers, while she lodged in the house of Mistres Arglas, bare fyue Children at one birth,[21] and we all knowe an Alldermans wife that bare three at a birth, with many like examples.

For the witts of the Irish, they themselues bragg that Ireland yealdes not a naturall foole, which bragg I haue /20/ hard diuers men confirme, neuer any to contridict. My honored lord the late Eearle of Deuonshyre, till his dying day kept an Irishman in fooles Apparrell, and Commonly called his lordships foole, but wee found him to haue craft of humoring euery man to attayne his owne endes, and to haue nothing of a naturall foole.[22] But for the Irish

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[20] Hughes has "The", p. 485.

[21] "...one Segar, Constable of the Castle of Dublin by Patent, having large offers made him to permit the escape of Oreighly, and acquainting the Lord Deputy therewith, was shortly after displaced..." *Itinerary A*, II, 184.

[22] This wise fool may well have made Moryson, his Lordship's secretary, the butt of many of his jokes as Hughes suggests. This is fooling with a purpose.

generally they are subtill temporisers, and because they haue beene vsed to frequent change of Governors, if they cannot atayne their owne endes, they labour by all shifting deuises to delay their advrsaryes /30/ prevayling against them, till a newe governor be sent as crafty Dauus in the Comedy, thincking he had donne well to putt off his young Masters maryage but for one day, hoping that some newe impediments might therein arise, They are Crafty to obserue their governors humors, and to present to them at their first comming causes of Iustice formerly determined against them, from whome if they can gett (while they are yet vnpractised in the affayres) any new decree contrary or differing from the old, they will not cease to make new trouble to their advarsaryes. /40/ Yea many getting the governors hand to their Petitions, though nothing to their fauour, yet haue made such vse of it with their adversaryes at home, as if it had beene an absolute graunt of their requests. If they can fasten vpon their gouernors any brybe (which is allwayes Cowes), they hold them as slaues for euer. And if they will not be corrupted, but execute Iustice against them, then are they most Clamorous in Complaynts to the supreame magistrate, or to the State in England, and when the inferior governors are called to Dublin, or the Lord /50/ Deputy recalled into England, they fly after them with open throtes to lode them with false C<a>lumnies, espetially if these governors happen to be in any disgrace with the State, or haue any greate enemyes at

home glad to backe theire Complayntes. //

fol.658. Booke V. of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt.V.

{ m.n. 1 - 3. Arts Sciences vniversities Language. }

Touching manuall Arts, I haue shewed that the Irish are most slothfull, the swordmen holding it infamye to labour, but none to steale, which may suffice for that point. Wee reade that in the very Primitiue Church Ireland yealded ma⌈n⌉y and learned men, called Monkes but farr differing from those of the Roman Church at this day. Yet I shoulde thinck that they were rather esteemed for holynes then for learning in Sciences. For howsoeuer the Irish are naturally giuen to Religion (which was holynes in them, and grewe to superstition in their successors), and are also naturally /10/ giuen to a Monkish life of ease. Yet what learning they had then was gotten among the Brittans and Scotts, for I reade not of any vniversityes or publike schooles the Irish [h.] had of their owne, and their naturall disposition to this day makes me thincke they were not laborious in the studdy of Sciences. In succeeding ages they grewe more and more superstitious and ignorant, their Priests Monkes and Bishops growing generally illiterate except some fewe in latter tymes bredd in the vniversityes of the Roman Religion, wherof very fewe or none were of profounde /20/ Learning. And the Common [layers] lawyers likewise were bred in the Inns of Court in london. But at the end of Tyrones Rebellion, the late famous Queene Elizabeth hauing founded a College or Vniversity neere

Dublin, for education of the Irish, many of them haue therein attayned to good reputation of learning, and some fewe haue beene reputed in the Profession of Diuinity (for which the sayde College was cheefly founded) equall to the best and most learned Doctors in England, as no doubt they want not witt to attayne learning, when they wilbe industrous. And /30/ since that tyme (besydes the fruites and hopes of this vniversity) the kingdome hath out of England beene fully furnished with many learned and graue Bishops, and aswell Iudges as inferior Pleaders of the Common lawes.

Touching the Irish language: It is a peculiar language not deriued from any other Radicall toung[23] (that euer I coulde heare, for my selfe nether haue nor euer sought to haue any skill therein) but as the land (as I haue shewed) hath beene peopled by diuers nations besydes the first inhabitants, so hath the toung receaued many newe wordes from them, espetially /40/ spanish wordes from the people comming thence to inhabitt the west parts.[24] But all I haue sayd hereof might well be spared, as if no such toung were in the world, I thincke it would neuer be missed ether for

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[23] Root language. From the Latin *radix, radicis*. Howell noted the similarities to Welsh. See James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 461 (9 August 1630).

[24] Moryson is referring to the ancient migration described on Fol. 244, as well as to the Spaniards who came over in the incursions of Philip II and Philip III.

pleasure or necessity.[25]

{ m.n. 46 - 51. Ceremonyes particularly marryage Childbearing Christinings Funeralls diuers Customes }
Touching Ceremonyes of State or of Ciuill Actions, the meere Irish being barbarous and louing so to continue, can not be acquainted with them, which they affect not.

For maryage, I will only say of the English Irish, that they keepe it orderly as in England, saue that, inrespect of the lawe forbidding them to marrye with the meere Irish, /50/ the Cittizens taking wiues within there owne walls, were growne to be all of kindred one with another, and so vsed to mary those of neere kindred. The fore sayde author printed in his owne wordes by master Camden,[26] affirmeth, that among meere Irish dwelling in the fieldes, maryage was rare, and when they were maryed diuorces were most frequent, and because they were giuen to Incest //
Booke V. of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt V. fol.659.
many diuorces were made vpon pretence of Conscience. In our experience, till the ende of the last Rebellion, these diuorces Continued frequent among them, nothinge being more

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[25] Such is the contempt that Moryson has, that he cannot be bothered to acquire the means of communication.

[26] Camden writes that modern Irish customs were described "...by a certain modern Author, whom I take to be *J. Good*, a Priest, educated at *Oxford*, and a School-master at *Limerick* in the yeare 1566. from whom I shall transcribe them.", p. 1042

ordinary then to take a wife with a Certayne number of Cowes (their Common Portion[27]) and to send her backe to her frendes at the yeares end with some small increase of them, which Diuorces the Brehounes or barbarous Iudges among them esily admitted, vpon a brybe of Cowes, and that vpon trifeling causes. And it was likewise a common Custome for a woman lying at the /10/ point of death, to name the true Father of each of her Children, and for the Children to leaue their Father reputed by the lawe, and with the stayne of Basterdy (which they regaurd not) to Followe the Father named by the dying mother, and this Custome caused many tymes disorders, for if the man childe had a lord or gentleman named to be his Father, he would presently be a swordman, liuing by rapyne or Rebelion, holding nothinge more infamous then to liue by his labour. For Ceremonyes of Ring and the like, it will not be expected I shoulde write any /20/ thinge, the people being conditioned,[28] as the sayde credible Author reports.

Touching Chyldbearing, wemen within two howres after they are deliuered many tymes leave their beds to gossop and drincke with wemen comming to visite them, and in our experience a Soldyers wife deliuered in the Campe, did the same day and within fewe howres after her deliuery march

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[27] Dowry. See *OED*, sense 3.

[28] "...being so disposed", see *OED*, I. 1. a.

six myles on Foote with the Armye to the next Camping place. Some say that commonly the weomen haue litle or no payne in Chyldebearing, /30/ and attribute the same to a bone broken whe[n][re] the are tender Children, but whatsoeuer the cause be, no doubt they haue easye deliuerance, and commonly such strang ability of body presently after it, as I neuer heard any wemen in the wo[r]lde to haue the like, and not only the meere Irish, but most of the old English Irish dwelling in the Cittyes, yea the foresayde Author in his owne wordes Printed by master Camden affirmeth, that the wemen deliuered of Children did after the sixth day admitt theire husbandes to lye with them,[29] /40/ midwiues and neighbors come to helpe wemen to be deliuered commonly more for fashion then any great neede of them, and here is no talke of a months lying in, or soleme Churching at the end of the month, as with vs in England. They seldome Nurse their owne Children, espetially the Wiues of lords, and gentlemen (aswell meere Irish as English Irish) For wemen of good wealth seeke [with] great ambition to Nurse them, not for any profitt, rather spending much vpon them while they liue, and giuing them when they dye sometymes more /50/ then to their owne Children. But they doe it only to haue the Protection and loue of the Parents whose Children the Nurse. And old

[29] "*Women, within six days after their delivery, return to their husband's bed, and put out their children to nurse.*" Camden, p. 1044.

Custome is so turned into a second nature with them,, as they esteeme the Children they nurse more then their owne, and holding it a reproach to nurse their owne Children, yet men will forbeare their wyues beds for the good of the children they Nurse //

fol.660. Booke V. of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt.V.

or Foster, but not for nursing their [owne]. Yea the foster brothers, I meane the Children of the Nurse and strangers that haue sucked her milke, loue one another better then naturall brothers, and hate them in respect of the other, and by frequent examples wee haue seene, many mourne for their foster brothers much more then they would haue done for theire Naturall brothers, and some to expose their owne brothers to death, that they might saue their forster brothers from danger therof. The worst is, that these Nurses with this extreame indulgency cor/10/rupt the Children they foster, Norishing and hartning the boyes in all villanye, and the girlls in obscenity.[30]

In [sti.] Christnings and like Rites of Religion, they vse generally the Rites of the Roman Church in which they persist with obstinacy, little care hauing beene taken to instruct them in the Reformed Doctryne. But in all thinges they intermix barbarous Customes, as when the Chylde is

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[30] "*Nay, the corruption and debauchery of Ireland are, tis believed, to be imputed to no other cause than this method of nursing.*" Camden, p. 1044.

caryed to be paptised, they tye a little peece of siluer in the Corner of the Cloth wherein the Chylde is wrapped, to begiuen to the Priest, and likewise Salt to be putt in the Chyldes mouth. /20/ And at Christnings they haue plenty of drincke, and of flesh meates to intertayne the frendes invited. Yea among the very English Irish remayning Papists, the Father intertaynes the guests, though he be a Bachiler and haue disuirgined the mother, for it is no shame to be or ⌈to⌉ begett a Bastard. Banquets of sweete meates are vnknowne to the meere Irish, and the Nurses are rather beneficiall to the Children they foster, then receaue anything of them or their Frendes (as in the Commenwealth aboue written I haue shewed, in the abuse of fostering Chilldren, both /30/ among the meere Irish, and also among the English Irish.

Touching Funeralls, when any be sicke, they neuer speake to them of making any will, nether care they to haue any made, for the wife hath the thirds of goods, and the Children the rest deuided among them, and the land, after their lawe of Tanistry, (which they willingly obserue rather then the English) is commonly possessed by the most actiue and powerfull of the Sept and kindred bearing all one Sir name, so as the vncles on the Fathers syde or the Nephewes many /40/ tymes invade it, excluding the sonnes. Nether doe they who visite the sicke person speake ought to him of good Counsell for his soules health, which sad discourses they

thincke like to increase his sicknes, taking it for a desperate signe of death, if the sicke person desyre to receave the Sacraments But all their speeches tend to mirth and hope of recovery, and the sicke person hath about him many lights and great stoore of Company, as if thereby they could keepe him from death, wherof I remember an English gentleman who seeing a sicke lord of great quality thus invironed with /50/ lights and hundreths of men and wemen attending in his owne and the next Chambers sayd merily to a frend, if this man thincke not better of Repentance then he doth, all this light and Company cannot keepe him from the handes //

Booke V. of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt V fol.661.

of death and the Deuill. And when the sicke person draweth to the point of death, the neere frendes and all the Company call and crye out to him, as if they would stay the soule from departing, by remembring the goodnes of the wife or husband and Children, and the welth and frendes to beleft behinde him, reproching him with vnkyndnes in forsaking them, and asking whether and to whome he will goe to be in better case then he is with them, When the sicke person is dead, they make a monsterous Cry, with shriking, howling and clampping of hands, /10/ and in like sort they followe the dead body, at the buryall, in which outcryes the Norse, the daughters, and the Concubynes, are most

vehement.[31] The wenen espetially and Children doe weekely visite the graues of theire dead frendes, casting flowers and Crosses vpon them, with weeping and many prayers for the dead. In like sorte with outcryes they bewayle those that dye in the warr, and in stelthes or taking prayes, though they thincke the death of them more happy then any other. The Septs of one name carye deadly feude /20/ towardes the man who kills any of their name, and towardes all that are of the same name or Sept of him who killed him.[32]

Touching diuers Customes: they seldome eate wyldefowle or fish, though they haue great plenty of both, because they will not take paynes in catching them, and soleaue them all for the English. They gladly eate rawe hearbes, as water Cresses, and shamrootes, and most Commonly eate flesh, many tymes rawe, and if it be roasted or sodd, they seldome eate bread with /30/ it, or any meate, holding him a Churle who hath any bread left after Christmaus, saue that they keepe most of their Corne for their horses, wherof they take spetiall Care. They drincke much vsquebah, which is the

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[31] Tilley has a phrase "W 247 To weep Irish" and he quotes from John Webster's *The White Devil*, IV. 2. 95.,

> What ? do'st weepe ?
> Procure but ten of thy dissembling trade,
> [W]ee'ld furnish all the Irish funeralls
> With howling, past wild Irish.

[32] Moryson copies from Camden, p. 1048, and adds a few of his personal reminiscences.

best aquavity in the world, and much sacke, but seldome any Clarett wyne. The swallowe lumps of butter mixt with Oate meale, and often lett their Cowes blood, eating the congealed blood with butter, and loue no meate more then sower milke curdled. In their frequent drinckings, and these feasts of flesh, not only the meere /40/ Irish but allso the old inhabitants of English Irish, haue the Garmans fashion of putting frolichs about the table, as pinching, and kissing ouer the shoulders, and many strange wayes, and the manner is to supp where you [drincke] dyne.[33]

Generally or most commonly the men goe bareheaded, except they weare a steele helmett, but they weare long curled hayre, which both men and wemen norish long, and take pride in it espetilly if it be yellowe. The men weare long and large s[k]hertes ⌈coulored⌉ with Safforn, a preseruitue /50/ against lyce, they being seldome or neuer washed. The [men] men weare shorte Coates and strayte Trouses or breeches, and both men and wemen weare long maltles[34] for the vpper most garment, which the men at night cast into

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[33] The sentence suggests that the "frohlichs" may be pranks as well as toasts to future happiness. *OED* cites examples of both at this time, and Partridge suggests that our 'frolic' and the German *frölich* both come from the Dutch *vroolijk*. See Eric Partridge, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966), p. 237.

[34] This is Hand Two's mistake for "mantles".

the water, and so vpon the grounde sleepe in them cast ouer their heades. The wemen weare many yeardes of linnen vpon their heades, as the wemen doe in Turky, and weare so many bracelets and necklaces as rather lode then adorne.[35] The men, aswell meree Irish as the //

{ c.w. old inhabitants }

fol.662. Booke V. of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt.V.

olde inhabitants of the English Irish, hold it a shame to goe abroade or walke with their wiues, and much more to ride before them on horsebacke. They hold it a disgrace to ryde vpon a mare. They hold it a filthy thinge to breake wynde backward, so as hauing any such occasion, they will bare themselues only for that purpose, and because the English doe not so, they call them vpon all such accidents Cacatrouses (in playne English shite breches) yea they seeme to abhorr it in nature, for [wy] we haue knowne great men putt /10/ away their wyues only for once making this small fault.[36] Yet in the meane tyme both men and wemen weare most fowle linnen, are nastye in their apparrell, and lowsy in their heades and Clothes. And it was no rare thinge to see the wiues of great men to make water as they stoode talking with men, and some in the Rushes of the Presence Chamber at Dublin, and to doe openly the most

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[35] Lode means load.

[36] *Caccaim* is Old Irish for "I shit", and the word has an Indo - European root. In Italian the noun is *caca*. See Eric Partridge, *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966).

secret necessities of the body. Many of their wemen, and of the best sorte, were great drinckers in the tyme of the Rebellion, and with such /20/ excesse as men could not goe beyond them.

As Conquered nations seldome loue their [qu.] Conquerors, so in those tymes Shane O Nele the great lord of the North, is sayd to haue Cursed his people at his death, if any of them should builde houses, or sowe Corne, to invite the Englishmen to liue among them.[37] And in most Customes they affected to be contrary to the English, My selfe haue heard, a worthy old Captayne who had serued long in Ireland, relate some forty Customes Cleane Contrary to the English, which I haue now forgotten, /30/ and therefore will only instance one or two of them, namely that wemen tooke horse on the Contrary syde to the English, with their faces turned the contrary way, and that the[y] ⌈Irish⌉ vsed in harnesse [or] traces for horses drawing in the Plough or drawing sledges with carryage, but only fastend the Plough and the Carryage by withes to the tayles of the horses (or Garrons for so they call them[38]) whereby the tayles are commonly pulled off, and the very Rumpts bared. To omitt

[37] Shane O'Neill's was the first important rebellion in Elizabethan Ireland. Shane died violently in 1567 in a dinner brawl when he was seeking help from his old enemies the Mac Donnells of Antrim against the English. Canny, p. 59.

[38] From *gearran*, "A small and inferior kind of horse bred and used chiefly in Ireland and Scotland." *OED*

the rest which I cannot remember, we generally obserued that not only the wemen /40/ of the meere Irish but also of the old English Irish, who could speake English aswell as ourselues, yet durst not speake it with vs if their husbands or their Fathers were present. They keepe the old Calender, and only [Cittysens Cityes] Cittyes haue Clockes, and keepe them as wee doe in England.

{ m.n. 47 - 52. Pastymes Exercises *H*untinge *H*awkinge Birdinge and Fishinge. }

Touching Pastimes. They exceedingly delight in playing at Cardes and dyce, espetially at dyce, and professed gamsters goe about, carrying Cardes and dyce with them, and they will not only play for all the mony /50/ and Clothes they haue, but euen for the members of their body at a rate of mony, suffering themselues to be tyed by those members (euen the shamefull partes) and so to be led about, till they can free them by paying the rate of mony. They delight much in dansing, ⌈vsing⌉ no Arte of [a] slowe measures or lofty galliards,[39] but only Country danses, whereof they haue some pleasant to beholde, as [B.ll..dye] Balrudry,[40]

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fol.663. ⌈Booke V⌉ of <I>reland touchinge nature &c.

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[39] "1. B. 2. A quick and lively dance in triple time. Hist." *OED.*

[40] This may be a the name of a dance from Balrothery, a village near Drogheda.

and the whipp of Duneboyne[41] and the daunse a bout a fyer (Comonly in the midst of a roome) holding whithes[42] in their handes, and ⌈by⌉ certayne straynes drawing one another into the fyer and also the Matachine daunse with naked swordes,[43] which they make to meete in diuers comely postures, and this I haue seene them often daunse before the lord Deputy in the houses of [diuers] Irish lordes, and it seemed to me a dangerous sport, to see so many naked swordes so neere the Lord Deputy and cheefe Commanders of the Army, in the handes of the Irish kerne, who had ether lately beene /10/ or were not vnlike to proue Rebells.

Touching Exercises, the Actiuity of their bodyes aswell in swift runing on foote, as in the nimble mounting their horses without stirropes, with the dexterity of vsing their speares and Darts, and ryding swiftly, shewes that they are well breathed in like exercises.[44]

Touching hunting, Ireland yealdes some reasonable plenty of Fallow Deare, aswell closed in Parkes, (namely one at

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[41] "II. 10. a. A sudden, brisk or hasty movement", from *wippe*, the Middle and Modern Low German for leap. *OED*.

[42] Branches usually of willow. *OED* quotes Moryson.

[43] A sword-dance in fantastic dress. See *OED*

[44] Used to such exercises.

Menouth,[45] be[g]longing to the Earle of Kildare, and another in Mounster then belonging to the Earle /20/ of Ormode,[46] and a third lately made in the North (as I heare [)] by the lord of Belfast,) as also running loose in the woodes, of the north, of Ophalia, of Leax, and of Mounster.[47] And it also yealdes a fewe Stags or red Deare, lunning[48] loose in the woodes bordering vpon lecayle in the North, and the other woodes aboue named. And the plenty is the greater because ordinary persons dare not, and great lordes of the meere Irish will not hunt them, For the meere Irish delight not in the sporte nor care to eate such meates.[49] So as in the tyme of warr, /30/ and for all the tyme I liued there, the English commaunders and gentlemen of the Army, for the most parte inioyed this game running loose in the woodes. The Irish vsed to kill both fallowe and redd deare by shott with the *H*arquebuse, and Commonly Catched the Stags by driuing them into Netts showting with agreat Noyse vpon the Contrary syde from the netts, which made them goe forward and goe into the netts, or by the way

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[45] Maynooth.

[46] Ormonde.

[47] Offaly, Laois and Munster.

[48] A mixture of "running" and "living" ?

[49] The Irish cattledrovers were still nomadic, living off their cattle with their "white meats" as Spenser calls them, *View*, p. 14. Spenser means the cheese and milk that they produced, rather than the game so prized by the English.

stand gazing till they might be shott. They also had an Art to catch Staggs by singing a certayne tune on all sydes about them, /40/ by which Musicke they fell downe and lay as sleeping. Also they catched both fallowe and red deare by springes of Armes of trees, or young trees, halfe Cutt, and lightly fastned to the grounde, vpon which while the deare browsed, they were Caught by the trees, which being loosened from the grounde, rose vp and many tymes hoysted and griped them farr from the grounde. But of late some of the English haue brought howndes and greyhowndes ⌈out⌉ of England, and sometymes vsed to hunt these deare with doggs. Aat the ende of the Rebellion, /50/ Ireland had great stoore of hares, but very foggy[50] being not breathed with Coursing. The Irish grey howndes are so high that they over beare the hares when they haue turned them. But after the Warr many of the English brought over English greyhowndes, and howndes to //

Booke V of Ireland touching nature &c Chapt V fol. 664.

Course and hunt them as wee doe, Ireland is much annoyed with innumerable wolues, which they labour not to destroy for very Idlenes, though they haue excelent grayhoundes bold to fasten on them. So as they not only destroy their Cattle, but allso the fallowe and Red deare in the woodes, which in tyme of the Rebellion they were obserued to hunt very conningly, and one of our Fortes of Mounster, which

[50] Fat and unfit through lack of exercise. See *OED* 3. b.

could not be vittled being farr within the Rebells Countrye, was twise Releeued by Staggs hunted by wolues, and falling neere it. The Irish hold it ominus to meete /10/ wolues, and haue many Inchantments against them. Sir Richard Bingham gouernor of Connaught was obserued to haue a great disaster vpon the meeting of wolues,[51] and wee reade that the Emperor Charles the fyfth hauing mett a wolfe, did in the same Iourney breake his leg. The Irish also and the English obserued, that before the defeate of Blackwater; and vpon diuers like disasters, the wolues were seene to enter the villages and the townes of Ireland.[52]

Touching *Hawking*, Ireland in tyme of the warr had /20/ great plenty of Partriges and Fesants, so as in mounster it was well knowne that sixty Fesants were serued at one Feast. And my selfe liuing there, founde this plenty, but thought that the Fesants of Ireland were nothing so good

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[51] The career of this brutal soldier had its ups and downs. Like the Earl of Essex after him, he deserted his post to argue his case at the English court, and was imprisoned for his pains. With the worsting of the English forces at Yellow Ford, things were at such a pass that he was recalled. (Perhaps Essex thought the same might happen to him.) Bingham died suddenly early in 1599. *DNB* Perhaps he had seen some wolves before his setbacks.

[52] This is quite likely considering that there was such famine and depopulation caused by the wars in Ireland. Whether the English defeat at Yellow Ford attempting to relieve Blackwater fort was a disaster depends on one's preconceptions. It was a remarkable Irish victory, but one outcome was that the defeat of an English army in the field by Tyrone made the government in London concentrate on crushing the rebellion.

meate as the English, or at least I am sure that they were most eaten by the seruants attending at the Table. They had also plenty of Seafoule, But Birdes in the woods and groues were in diuers parts rare and fewe, wherof I heard some yeald this reason, that they were scared from thence by the frequent shooting of peeces in the woodes and /30/ vnderwoods, where the Irish kern vsed Commonly [more aboundeth] to lurke ⌈to⌉ and skirmish with the English. No Country more aboundeth with fish, aswell seafish in the frequent harbors and vpon all the Coastes, as fresh fish espetially excellent Trowts in the frequent Riuers and Brookes. To conClude the Idlenes of the Irish, and their hauing no delight in these meates, yealded to the English a plentifull inioying of these games, aswell for the sports as for the meates.

Chapter. VI. /40/

Agenerall and brife discourse of the Iewes and Greekes.[1]

The Iewes are a nation incredibly dispised among all Christians, and of the Turkes also, and were dispersed throughout the face of the world, saue that they haue beene long banished out of some Christian kingdomes, as England Fraunce, and Netherland, where notwithstanding they lurke disguised, though they be not allowed any habitation by the State. And where they are allowed to dwell, they liue vpon vsury and selling of Fripery /50/ wares, as Brokers, therein permitted by Christian Princes for priuate gayne to vse horrible extortions vpon their subiectes, but are not allowed to buy any lands, howses, or stable in heritances, nether haue they any Coyne of their owne, but vse the Coynes of Princes //

fol 665. Booke V. of the Iewes [touching] nature &c Chapt.VI.

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[1] These peoples were often yoked together. Here is George Sandys describing the Greeks, "But now their knowledge is conuerted, as I may say, into affected ignorance, (for they haue no schooles of learning amongst them) their liberty into contented slauery, hauing lost their minds with their Empire. For so base they are, as thought it is that they had rather remaine as they be, then endure temporary trouble by preuailing succours; but would with the *Israelites* repine at their deliuerers." *Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (London, 1615), p. 77, [*STC* 21726]. See also the quotation by James Howell in my introduction, p. ccxi, note ten.

where they liue.[2] The tenn Tribes of the kingdome of Israell, were long since carryed Captiue and dispersed in the furthest East, and are not knowne where they liue, hauing no commerce with the Iewes knowne to vs.

Touching those of the kingdome they had at Ierusalem, they are thought to be mingled in theire trybes and familyes, but the generall opinion is, that those of the Tribe of Iudah liue in Turky, and those of the [house] Trybe of Beniamyn liue in Italy, Germany, and Poland, They are a miserable nation and most miserable in that they cannot see the cause /10/ thereof, being the curse of the blood of their Messiah, which they tooke vpon themselues and their Children,[3] whose comming they still expect, saying it is thus long deferred for their sinnes, but they looke for his comming from the East before and towardes the end of the world. At Prage vnder the Emperor of Germany they are allowed a litle Citty to dwell in, with gates whereof they keepe the keyes, and walled rounde about for their safety. The Emperor also allowes them to dwell in two Cittyes of

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[2] The ability to coin money indicates sovereignty and statehood. Thus the coinage minted in the Tower of London for Ireland had a symbolic function. In Chapter 10 of Book 1 of Bodin's *Six Books*, which is entitled "The True Attributes of Sovereignty" the right to mint and regulate coinage is included. See Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, abridged and translated by M. J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955), p. 47.

[3] "His blood *be* on vs, and on our children." Matthew 27. 25.

Silesia, and diuers villages of Moravia, being Provinces of the kingdome of Bohemia. /20/ In Germany they haue only a streete allowed them to dwell in at Francfort, (famous for[4] the yearely Marts. In Poland, at Crakaw they haue a litle Citty, wherein were about. 700 Familyes, which payde yearely to the king 500. Guldens, besyde the tribute vpon occasions imposed of a Gulden for each head, and their obligation to lend the king mony vpon his occasions. They haue also habitation in other townes of Poland, and my selfe passed a village[s] only inhabited by Iewes. Besydes the great men there intertayne Iewes to be their Balyes, to order & gather /30/ their Rents, finding them very vsefull in all seruices of profitt, and wherein witt is required. Generally in Poland they liue in equall right with Christians, for king Casimire the great[5] hauing a Iewe to his Concubyne (which he was not permitted to marry) gaue them great priuileges, and this among the rest, that the lawe might not proceede against a Iewe in any action but vpon the testimony of Iewes. But in Bohemia and Germany, the Iewes vnder the Emperor, liued in great oppression and basely contemned by the people being Christians. In Italy likewise the Iewes /40/ liue in no respect ⌈no⌉ not the most learned [of]⌈or⌉ richest of them, but in lesse contempt of the people, and the Princes who extort vpon

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[4] Hughes has "yor", p. 488.

[5] Casimir III King of Poland (1333 - 1370).

their owne subiectes, doe also for gayne admitt the Iewes into their Cittyes, and permitt them to vse horrible extortion vpon their subiectes, in the lending of mony, and in selling or letting out by the day or weeke vpon vse both mens and wemens Apparrell & furnitures for horses, and all kyndes of Fripery wares. Thus at Venice they haue a Court yearde closed with gates and capable of great nombers, wherein they dwell. /50/ At Rome they haue whole streetes allowed for their habitation, and liue there in great nomber, paying their tribute to the Pope at Shroftyde, when they are allowed to shewe publike games. They are allowed to liue in all Cittyes of Italy and haue greater priuileges in Piemont then in other partes, but in all these places they are tyed to weare a Redd or yellowe Capp, or more Commonly a litle bonett or hatt. //

Booke V. of the Iewes [touching nature] &c Chapt.VI. fol.666.

Only in Mantua they haue more priuileges then the Christian[s] Citizens, keeping the cheefe shops in the very markett places, and hardly to be knowne from Christians, being only tyed to weare alitle snipp of yellowe lace vpon the left syde of their Clokes, which some weare on the insyde of their Clockes, or so, as (they being foulded vnder the left arme) the marke cannot be discerned. In Turky they liue vpon the Sea Coasts, and in Citties of greatest traffique, and commonly haue the offices to gather the Emperors tribuites. As likewise /10/ among Christians

they liue in Cittyes hauing greatest Concourse of marchants. For not one of them liveth vpon any manuall trade, but growe rich by their witts, or rather fraudes in extortions, wherein also many Christians and Turkes fynde their imployment and seruice very vsefull and profitable to them, In Turky they are not seene in any townes within[g] the Continent, but only in theire Iorneyes from one Citty of traffique to another, much lesse are they seene at Ierusalem which is a desert Citty for the habitation of religious men, /20/ but hath no traffique of Marchants.

When I passed through Bohemia I founde at Prage the foresayd litle Citty inclosed, and hauing gates to be shutt vp, allowed to the Iewes for habitation, where free liberty of all Religions being permitted, I had oportunity (without Communicating with them so much as in the least outward reverence of standing bareheaded) not only to beholde diuers Ceremonyes, of the Hussites, the Lutherans, the Papists, and the singular Iesuites, but also to haue free speech with the Iewes, and to enter their /30/ Synogoges at the tyme of diuine seruice. Some. 500. Iewes dwelt in this litle Citty, that Nomber being often increased or deminish as they haue occasion to passe from one Citty to another for traffique. The lawe byndes the men to weare red hatts or bonetts, and the wemen agarment of the same Coller, neere blood, to wittnesse their guiltinesse of Christs blood, but with mony they gett some dispensation from this

lawe, yet so as they men are knowne by apparant markes in their hatts, and the wemen by their lynnen and handes dyed (after the /40/ manner in Turky) with a Coller like saffronn. Thus in all places the Iewes long seruitude and wonderfull scattering is exposed to all Christians for a fearefull spectikle, and to themselues for a dayly remembrance of Gods Curse layd vpon them.[6] At Prage they haue the priuilege of Cittizens, but they buye it and continue it with great payments of mony, aswell imposed on them by the Pope, as by free guift of large sommes to the Emperor, and firnishing him with mony vpon all occasions. Besydes they liue in exceeding contempt, hearing nothinge /50/ but reproches from the people, and vsed by them more like doggs then men, which for gayne they beare,[7] though they might goe into Italy where they liue in better fashion, and where the Deuill himselfe bringing stoore of mony may be welcome and reverenced. //

fol 667. Booke.V. of the Iewes [touching nature] &c Chapt VI

At Prage many Familyes of Iewes liued packed together in one litle house, which makes not only their howses but their streetes to be very filthy, and theire Citty to be like a Dunghill. Also they feede continually vpon Onyons

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[6] Moryson has no doubt that the diaspora is God's design, and a warning to Protestants of what follows disobedience and God's curse.

[7] "...another time/ You called me dog..." Shylock to Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 125 - 126.

and Garlike, so as he had neede first to breake his fast, and haue some good Oder in his hand, who will enter their Citty or haue Conference with any of them, They eate not the hinder partes of any beast in Remembrance of Iacobs lamed thigh,[8] so as at home and in their Iornyes they kill and dresse their owne meate. /10/ In this their Citty they haue Authority yearely to chuse foure Iudges among themselues, to rule them and Iudge causes betweene them, but in Cases betweene a Iewe and Christian they are determined by the Christian magistrate. The Authority of the cheefe Rabby or Priest is very great among them. They punish Adultry by standing vp to the Chinn in water a whole day. Theft with restitution and recompence of dommages, but Murther was vnhard of., among themselues. They had no slaues bought with mony or so borne, but after the manner of Christians the poore /20/ serued the rich for yearely wages. Only the richer sort made wills or testiments in writting, others made verball testaments, and if any dyed without them, their male Chilldren deuided theire goodes, and were bound to provide for their sisters, which were allowed no dowryes. They tooke such excessiue vsury,[9] as it seemed wonderfull the magistrate would suffer them so to devoure Christians vpon pawne of gold or siluer they tooke

[8] "Therefore the children of Israel eate not of the sinew that shranke in the holowe of the thigh, vnto this day: because he touched the sinew that shranke in the holow of Iaakobs thigh." Genesis 32. 32.

[9] Hughes has "oppressiue usury", p. 491.

a fourth part, and vpon a pawne of Apparrell or stuffe they tooke /30/ halfe the principall for vse, and neuer lent without pawnes, yea wheras the lawe of Germany allowes but fyue in the hundreth for a yeare, many Christians were so wicked as to extort the former vse in the name of Iewes, agreeing with a poore Iewe to bring them the pawnes and the mony when it was repayd, and then giue[th]⌈ing⌉ the Iewe some part of the vse, did retayne the rest for themselues. At my being at Prage the Iewes had no maryages, abstayning from them for seuen weekes in which they Cerebrated the memorye of a great /40/ Rabby dead of old, and after abstayning from them for another feast in memory of the lawe giuen to Moses. But the Iewes and Christians related to me that the Bryde among them vsed to sett in the Synogog vnder a rich cloth of State, and to giue her Fayth to her husband in the hands of the Rabby, confirming it by taking a Ringe, and to spende the rest of the day in feasting and daunsing, with the doores open for all Iewes or Christians that would enter, permitting imbraces but no kisses whyle they daunsed. They admitted diuorce for Barrennes, and /50/ many like causes, euen the smalest where both partyes consented. The virgins maryed at. 11. or 12 yeares //

Booke V. of the Iewes [touching nature &c] Chapt VI fol.668.

and the young men at. 15. or. 16. yeares age to avoyde fornication., And if they had no Children the first ⌈or⌉[of] second yeare, their was no loue but continuall

reproches betweene themselues and their Parents.

Touching Funeralls. Vpon each fryday being the evening of their Sabooth, the Iewes in Turky vse to lye and beate themselues vpon the Tombes of their dead frends. In generall from the tyme of our lords death we fynde the Iewes to haue daily more and more declyned to superstitions and perticularly in this point of mourning for the dead, and /10/ keeping Feasts and Ceremonyes in memory of them.[10] So as they are now come to keepe a booke of the Names of all dead persons, and thrise each yeare to reade publikely in the Synogoge the names of all such as haue dyed within the compasse of the yeare, and to pray vnto God that he will receave them into Paradise. Yea contrary to the rules of mourning in the scriptures, vpon the death of a frend, they are now come to rende their garments, for a day or two not to eate in the house, but abroade, to abstayne from eating flesh or drincking wyne, except it be vpon the Sabboth day, not to wash or anoynte /20/ themselues for seuen dayes, nor yet to lye with theire wyues, and to followe the dead body to the graue barefooted, and for seuen nightes to leaue a lampe lighted at home, vpon a Foolish opinion that the soule doth so long retorne to the house to seeke the body, and finally (as I sayd) weekely

[10] According to Moryson, the Jews like the Papists have declined into superstition over time. It is a way of separating the patriarchs and Jesus from the Jews of his contemporary Europe.

vpon Fryday to lye and beate themselues vpon the Sepulcheres of the dead. At Prage the Iewes washed the dead body, and wrapt it in linnen, and buryed it the same day before the sunne sett, calling the people to the Funerall by the yoyce[11] of /30/ a Cryer passing through all the streetes. The body ⌈being⌉ brought to the graue, the boyes did reade songes written vpon the wall of the Churchyeard, bewayling the mortall condition of men, and confessing death to be ⌈the⌉ most iust punishement of sinne, which ended the body was putt in the graue without any further Ceremony but only the laying of ⌈a⌉ greene Sodd vnder the head Then they retorned to the sayd wall reading another song praying God for Abrahams Isackes and Iacobs sake, not to permitt the diuill to kill men, and /40/ recommendinge to those Patriarkes in vehement wordes the afflicted State of their Posterity.

Touching Religion I obserued that at Prage, aswell at the doores of theire priuate houses as of theire Synagoges, they had a prayer clossed vp within the Posts or walles, that God would protect their going out and comming in, which places ⌈of⌉ the Posts or walls they kissed so oft as they entred or went forth. Also the Iewes did weare about them the tenn Commandments written in a long shred /50/ // fol.669. ⌈Booke V.⌉ of the Iewes Chapter VI.

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[11] Hughes amends to "voyce", p. 492.

of parchment, which they wore aboute theire heades stiched vp vpon the insyde of the Crownes of theire hatts, and also foulded about their left armes. In the Porch of the Synogoge before they entred, they sayd some prayers, and also washed their hands, hauing basons of water and towells layde there for that purpose, which was their inward and outwarde preperation before they entred. The Synogoges had no bells, but the people were called together by the voyce of a Cryer passing through all the streetes, Each Synogoge /10/ had some 20. or 30. Rabbyes, with some 400 Dollers allowed to each of them for yearely stipend, but of these one was supreme, who hauing agreater stipend, had care of educating their Children, and of preaching, which he did with ⌈his⌉ head covered, somtymyes in the language of the Germans, sometymes in the *H*ebrewe toung. The whole Congreation[12] did singe all together, each man hauing imbrodred linnen cast about his shoulders with knotted fringes to the nomber of the Commandements (which I take to be their philacteryes),[13] so /20/ as the Rabby could not be knowne from the rest, but by his standing at the Alter.. Their singing was in a hallow tunne,[14] very lowe at the

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[12] Hughes amends to "Congregation", p. 493.

[13] "They weare certaine Ornaments of imbrodered linnen, cast mantle-wise about their shoulders, which are their Philacteries edged with knotted, fringe, according to the number of the Commandements, and serving as locall memories of the Lawe." Sandys, sig. X4r.

[14] Hughes changes to "a hollow tone", p. 493.

first, but rysing by degrees, and sometymes stretched to flatt roring, and the people in singing answered the Rabby, and some tymes bowed their heades lowe, shaking their hinder partes, with many ridiculous tunnes[15] and gestures, Their diuine seruice (saue that they dispise the newe testament) is not vnlike ours, for it consists of Psalmes, and two lessons, one out of the lawe, the /30/ second out of the Prophetts (which last ⌈a⌉ boye reades, they lesse esteeming them then the lawe)[16] In the midst of the Synogog they had a litle rounde building open in the vper parte where the lawe was layd vp, which was foulded like a Rowle betweene two Pillers of siluer.[17] And this lawe was in the morning opened and lifted vp to be shewed to the people, all men first offering mony to the Treasurye, with great emulation to haue the honor to shewe it by giuing most. And while it was shewed all the people often turned their bodyes /40/ rounde, with diuers mad genstures, and at last fell to weeping and flatt roring, yet so as it appeared an out warde Ceremony rather then inwarde passion or devotion.

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[15] Hughes changes to "tones", p. 493.

[16] "Their Lyturgie in the kinde of it, is not much different from ours, consisting in Psalmes, and Prayers with sundrie short Hymnes and Responds of Lessons: One out of the Lawe, and read by some chiefe person, an other out of the Prophets...but is read by some boy or meane companion; For they will in no sort doe honour, neyther attribute they that authoritie to any other part of the Bible that they doe to their Lawe..." Sandys, sig. X3v.

[17] Hughes has "Joillers of siluer", p. 493. It is a poorly executed 'P', but identical in form to that of "Psalms", and "Prophetts" earlier.

In prayers they neuer kneeled but only bended forward, and neuer putt off their hatts in there devotions or in entring or going out of the Synogoge. Vpon the Saboth day being Satterday, diuine seruice continued from morning to night, but diuers companyes went out to eate or sleepe or refresh themselues at their pleasure, and in shorte space retorned agayne. /50/ But that day no Iewe dressed any meate, nor bought or sould, nor would Receaue any mony though it were a desperate debt, nor yet pay any mony for any gayne //

Booke V. of the Iewes &c Chapter VI. folo..670.

They had lampes burning by day in the Synagoge, to the honor of God only, and these were [fe] very fewe. The wemen came not into the Synogoge among men, but vnder the same Roffe had their owne Synogoge ⌈and⌉ adoore to enter it, hauing windowes or narrowe Cleftes in the wall to heare the men singing, but themselues only did reade or mumble with a ⌈lowe⌉[lowde] voyce, and were otherwise silent.

The Iewes beleeue the [se] Resurrection of the dead. They deny the Trenity of persons in the dyety, and /10/ holde no eternall damnation, but that in prossesse of tyme the most wicked, yea the very Deuills after long repentance and punishment shalbe saued, and hell abolished, and all the Creatures restored to that state in which they were first

Created.[18] They whip themselues in the Synagoges, but more gently then the Papists, being content to weare out the rods vpon the stones, hauing broken the lawe, they came to the Rabby to impose punishment on them, but make no perticular confession of the Fact.[19] They keepe duly all their old Feasts and /20/ Fastinges, yet fast not at nights but only at noone, and are very Charitable in workes of Piety ⌈and pitty⌉, more spetially in ransoming Captiue Iewes.

They keepe the feast of Easter the 14th day of theire first month from the Creation of the Sunn and moone, only for eight dayes eating vnleuened bread, for they hold it vnlawfull to kill the Paschall lambe or to offer any sacrifice but only at Ieresalem.

At Prage the Circum⌈ci⌉sed their Children vpon the eight day, and this Circumcision they vse to the dead /30/ as to the liuing, but thincke it not necessary to Saluation, (as at their first comming out of Egipt they were not not Circumcised in the wildernes for forty yeares), the Covenant standing firme without the seale therof when it

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[18] "...they thinke with *Origen*, That hell, in the end, shall be vtterly abolished: And that the Divels themselues after a long course of bitter repentance and punishment shall finde mercie at his handes that did create them..." Sandys, sig. X3v.

[19] The thing done from the Latin *factum*, in this case it is a crime, or something sinful. *OED*

cannot be had. My selfe did see the Ceremonyes therof in this manner. When the Chylde came meere[20] to the Synagog, they raysed a clamor crying in the *H*ebrewe tounge. Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord. At the dore, the wemen not permited to enter, deliuered the Childe to the Father, who caryed it to the /40/ Alter, and then was a generall offering made with great emulation who shoulde carry the box of powder, who the Salt, who the knife, as in England wee offer who shall haue the Brides gloues. Then the Chyldes linnen Clothes being opened, the Rabby cutt off his prepuce, and (with leaue be it related for clearing of the Ceremony) did with his mouth sucke the blood of his priuy part, and after drawing and spitting out of much blood, sprinckled a red powder vpon the wounde. The prepuce he had at the first cutting cast into a /50/ guilt syluer bowle full of wyne, wherof the Rabby the Father and the Godfather did drincke, sprinckling some drops into the Chyldes mouth. Then the prepuce or foreskinne was taken out, and putt into a box of salt to be buryed after in the Churchyearde. The Father helde the Chylde all this tyme in his Armes, and together //

folo.671. Booke V. of the Grekes &c Chapt.VI.

with the God Father testifyed that it was the seede of Abraham, and so gaue the name to it. This donne the Father carying the Chylde backe to the doore of the Synnagog,

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[20] Hughes amends to "neere", p. 495.

there deliuered it to the Nurse and wemen expecting it. The daughters without vsing any Ceremony in steede of Circumcision, haue names giuen them by their parents at dinner or supper vpon the eighth day among frendes called to the Feast, after the singing of a Psalme.

{ m.n. 9, 10. Of the Greekes. }

⌈Now.⌉ Touching the Grecians somthing must be very breefly sayd of them, before I come to my much wished Peryod /10/ of this discourse, because I passed throug many Prouinces and Iles inhabited by them. The Empire and kingdome of the Greekes from all antiquity famous (and continuing of great power till the Turkes invaded Europe and tooke Constantinople, from that tyme hath beene vtterly abolished, and the people haue beene troden vnderfeete. Of them some liue as in exile (at Naples, in Apullia, in Calabria, at Rome, and in the Citty of Vence) hauing nether land nor coyne of their owne.[21] Others liue subiect to the State of Vence in their owne land, and inioying Inheritances /20/ of land, but vse the Coyne of that State, (as in the Ilands of Corfu, of Cephalonia the greater and the lesser, of Zante and of Candia) But the greatest part liue in the Ilands and Continent of Greece vpon their owne land, yet possessing not one foote thereof by inheritance, but liuing as most base slaues to the Turkish tyranny and

[21] As with the Jews, a lack of one's own coinage is a lack of identity.

vsing theire Coynes, inioying only liberty, of Conscience in Religion, and Churches to meete in for that purpose, vnder Capitall punishment if they perswade any to become Christians, or speake a worde against /30/ Mahomett, but otherwise disarmed and vsed like borne slaues, so oppressed by the Rapyne of the Turkes as they cannot inioye the goodes they gett by the sweate of their browes, the Corne they sowe, nor the wyne they plant, yea not the Children they begett, since (as I haue formerly shewed in the Turkes Commonwealth) every third ⌈5th⌉ yeare their most ingenious and strong Children are taken for tribute, and brought vp by the Emperor in Turkish Religion to serue in [the]⌈his⌉ warrs, where they proue the greatest haters and persecuters of all Christians and of theire owne /40/ parents and kindred.[22] Yea the Greekes are more dispised by the Turkes then any other Christians, because they lost their liberty and kingdome basely and Cowardly, making small or no resistance against the Turkes Conquest. Formerly I haue shewed that Turkes even very boyes will take any thinge from Christians, and beate them at their pleasure, the prowdest or strongest Christian not daring to resist them, so as [the] Christians are forced when they walke or take Iorneyes to hyre a Ianizary to protect them, and Christian shipps ariuing /50/ in their ports must haue a Ianizary sent from their Ambassador or Consul to protect them from

[22] The *devshirme* was levied every three or five years according to need.

pillage, beating, and many abuses of the Common Turkes. And it is strange but true, that these tyranicall Ianizaryes being hyred by Christians, and tyed to giue accompt of //

them to the Ambassador or Consul of their nation, are most faythfull to them, in protecting them from wronges and providing all necessaryes. Travill is an itching disease, and the more wee haue seene the more we desyre to see, but Turky will cure this disease, making [men] more delight in the smoke of Ithica at home, then in the spires of Arabia vnder the Turkes,[23] where a Christian may not carrye weapons, much lesse vse them against Turkes, but Must walke with his handes in his hose, and his eyes vpon the grownde, for if he looke vpon a Turkes face he takes it /10/ for reproch and is ready to strike him, he must heare reproches and not heare, and giue thanckes for Iniuryes.

Nothing in Turky pleaseth the taste, or any sence, nether is ought learned there but the Asses patience. My selfe came to Constantinople in a Greeke Barque of Candia, [subiect to the venetians, and laded with muskedynes.] where assoone as wee Ariued, the Turkes flewe into the Barque, tooke the Greeke Marryners (of good quality, and skilfull of languages, and subiect to the venetians) to

[23] This is like Odysseus who wandered for ten years. In using this image Moryson is thinking of the end of his own Odyssey and his own *Itinerary* created on an epic scale.

carry stores[24] for the Emperor, beating them and the rest, and freely drincking the wyne, till the baly of Venice sent a Ianizary, who did /20/ beate out these Common Turkes like doggs, and after protected the goods, and called backe the marryners taken out to worke. As for Greekes subiect to the Turkes, they haue no traffique, but are vsed as bond slaues, of whome those that liued in the tyme of liberty are long since dead, and those that now liue being borne in slavery, knowe not how seete[25] liberty is, and most of [them] thincke all other nations to liue in like condition with them, which makes them with more ease or lesse greefe beare the yoake of theire seruitude, till tyme and Custome make them insensible /30/ of the tyranny, which would soone kill the most abiect man knowing what freedome is, As the Turkes weare vpon their shaued heades a scarlett Capp and ouer that a Tulbent of many yeardes of white linnen wreathed hallow (to make it keepe out the sunne and yet be more Coole) so the Greekes their subiectes vpon Cloth Capps weare two or three yeardes of striped linnen like our barbars Apronns called Shasses, all other Christian marchants wearing hatts, except sometymes to please the Turkes they will volentarily vse the Shasses. But all Christians aswell subiectes as strangers weare a long /40/ Coate, and over it a longer garment lower then the knee,

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[24] It could be "stones".

[25] As on fol. 521, a 'w' is missing, making "sweete".

the Turkes holding short Cloakes, espetialy worne over the shoulders to be most rediculous garments. No parents will giue their daughters for wiues to any young men who haue not first howses firnished with necessary stuffe to receave them. Meeting at Tables to eate, if the Nomber being twelue, a thirtenth man should happen to sitt downe, all the rest would rise from the table, hating that nomber in detestation of Iudas. The Greekes are by nature Ielious, and when they marye Virgins (as the Iewes did Deutrynomy /50/ 22. 15) they expect to see the signes of virginity, and with great triumph hange them out of their highest windowes or terretts to be seene of the people.[26] But they vulgarly say, that vnchast virgins haue often deceaved them by false //

fol 673. Booke V of the Greekes &c Chapt.VI.

and Counterfeite signes, and that some men fynding them not to be virgins, haue not sent them backe to their parents, as the manner is, but to hide theire shame in the bosome, rather then to weare it on the forehead, haue in wisdome and patience beene Content to haue the sayd false signes hung out, to saue their reputations by deceaving others. The Greekes, aswell in Turky, as in Candia subiect to the Venetians, followe not the Popes new kalender, but recken the yeare after the old style.

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[26] "Then shal the father of the maide and her mother take and bring the signes of the maides virginitie vnto the Elders of the citie to the gate". Deuteronomy 22. 50.

The Greekes by long seruitude are made warye and Crafty, /10/ but besydes they are reputed deceitfull, and not to be trusted by Christians of the lattin Church. They haue euer beene reputed naturally inclyned to mirth, and they still norish it to this day in some measure, hauing great neede of it to make them sometymes forgett their miserye.[27] They are by nature lasciuous for fleshly lust,[28] and still [..]⌈re⌉tayne in some measure their old vayne glory and selfe loue to magnify their owne Actions, as by their historyes appeares. They haue very strong wyne, but burning the stomacke, and of old by nature they were strong drinckers, /20/ or rather did sett long at the wyne, of whome the Germans are sayd to haue first learned their intemperance and drincking of healthes. And this drincking they still vse at some Feasts, and when one drinckes a health, the other taking the Cupp to pledg him lightly toucheth his hand with one finger in token of loue. But I did neuer see any of them druncken, ether among the Italians who hold that vice a great reproch, or among the Turkes who oppressing them more then the Egiptians did the Isralites, giue them small cause to be merry, or to reioyce

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[27] Compare "A woeful Cressid 'mongst the merry Greeks!" *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. 5. 55. *OED* also quotes from some panegyric verses in *Coryat's Crudities*, "Ulysses was a merry Greek they say/ So Tom is, and the Greeker of the tway."

[28] Moryson is probably thinking of the captain of the boat taking him to Constantinople from Crete, who seemed more interested in "an harlot" than in steering the craft. See *Itinerary A*, II, 85.

/30/ in any vice. Their wemen drincke wyne, but sparingly, and when they goe with Childe altogether abstayne from it. When the wemen are brought to bed of Children, they nor any of their house come not to Church till the Priest haue beene called to pray [for]⌈with⌉ them at home, and the Children are not baptised till the fortyth day, when their mothers are purifyed, except some necessity hasten it. As many Children as are Baptised at one tyme so often is fresh water blessed for them. And when they plung the Chylde into the water, the Priest sayth, be thou baptised /40/ the seruant of God in the name of the Father, the Sunne and the holy Ghost, (holding himselfe vnworthy to say I baptise thee) Then the Priest anoyntes the Chylde, and cutts off alitle of his hayre, which he mingles with wax and layes vp in a place of the Church thervnto appointed. And the watter Blessed for Baptising each Chylde, is cast into a ditch which they haue ready digged for that purpose.

Touching the Greekes language. I haue thought good to sett downe some wordes in present vse /50/ //

{ c.w. to coniecture }

Booke V. of the Greekes &c Chapt VI. fol.674.

to Coiecture the difference of them from the old tounge.[29]

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[29] The difference between Classical and Modern Greek never failed to dismay Moryson's generation. It was a further sign of Greek decadence. Compare James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 64 (5 May 1621). "I convers'd with many *Greeks*, but found none that could understand, much less practically

And these wordes I write not in Greeke but in latin letters, better to expresse how they pronounce them in vulgar speach.

prassi, wyne // tsomi, bread // elado, come hither // photia, fyer // kalemeres, good day // kalesimere, the answer to that salutation // kalesenichta, good night // geneka, a woman // pedi, a boy // pedichi, a sonne // Iasas, God saue you // kalenosenra/, I drincke to you // kalenomortes, much good doe it you // Afendi, Sir or [M] Master // Arkontes, a Prince // Seliby, a gentleman // katsa, /10/ sett downe // Manitsa, old wife // kethetis apomere, what would you haue of me // nero, water // pie, drincke // phai, eate // oxsi, no // noski, yes // exite ya, farewell // gligora, quickly // exse, goe out of doares // spolate, I thanck you // soynè, lett it suffice // kakomera, thou wicked woman /// eine, one // dea, two // tria, three // tessera, foure // pende, fyue // exi, six // ephta, seuen // oigto, eight // enia, nyne // deka, tenn // edeka, eleuen // dedeka, twelue // dekatria, thirteene // dekatessera, fourteene // dekapende, fifteene // dekaxi, sixteene // dekaphta, seuenteene // dekaoigto, /20/ eighteene // dekayne, nynteene // exosi, twenty // Trianda, thirty // Saxanda, forty // Penida, fifty // Exida, sixty

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speak, any of the old Dialects of the pristine *Greek*, it is so adulterated by the Vulgar, as a Bed of Flowers by Weeds..." Only in the Morea were there seven parishes where it was "not much degenerated".

// Ephtenida, seuenty // Oigtoida, eighty // Enenida, nynty // Exato, an hundreth // killia, a thousand //

Touching the Greekes Religion, it is one of the eicht sects of Christians of which most are subiect and liue in slauery to the Turkes, and all which are founde at Ierusalem, besydes the nynth called diuersly the lattin, Romane, or Westerne Church. Of this the Roman Church I will only say in this place, that the Fryers or Priests of this latin Church liuing /30/ in Turkey, are about the nomber of fyfty, scattered by two and three in diuers places of traffique, for exercise of their Religion among the Italian marchants (as at Cyprus, at Ca<r>ao, and Alexandria in Egipt, and *H*aleppo in Asia). But the greatest parte of them liue in the Monastery at Ierusalem. And these fyfty are sent for those purposes out of Italy each third yeare, when the former fyfty, hauing (as they thincke) merited inough and more then inough by that seruice, are recalled backe into Italy. At their first Ariuall in Turky they bring /40/ a rich present to the Emperor, and come well firnished with mony, besyde the large Almes giuen them Continually by the Italian Marchants trading in Turky. So as they being the richest sect, liue there with greatest priuileges, espetially at Ierusalem, where they haue the keeping of the cheefe Monuments of Christ. All the nyne sects haue their Monasteries in the Citty of Ierusalem, and weekely send one, two or more of their Priests or Fryers, to be locked

vp in the Church built ouer Christs Sepulcher; where they daily say diuine seruice, and keepe their lamps /50/ //

burning vpon the Monuments commited to their Charge particularly, ⌈besydes⌉ that all the Nyne sects keepe each of them a lampe continually burning day and night vpon three Cheefe Monuments, namely the place where Christ was Crucifyed; and the stone vpon which his dead body was anoynted, and the Sepulcher where it was layd. These Priests sent into that Church haue daly meate sent to them from their Monasteries, which they receaue at a litle windowe made in the dore for that purpose. Of these thinges, and the opinions of the seuen sects vnknowne to /10/ vs in Europe, (so much as I could learne of them) I haue written in the first Part of this worke, where I haue discribed Ierusalem. And of the westerne Church I haue formerly written in the due places. Now it remaynes to write more particularly what I haue learned of the Greekes Religion. At Ierusalem in the Church built over the Sepulcher, the Greekes haue the keeping of the Cauncell, being not in the vper part but in the midst of the Church, and in the midst of this Chaunncell they haue a litle stone which they call the Center or midst of the worlde, proving it by /20/ the wordes of the Psalmist, saying In the midst

of the world I will worke their salvation.[30] Ierusalem is indeede by one of the Prophetts called the Nauell of the worlde,[31] in respect of the parts therof then [vn]knowne, but in discourse with some of the Greekes, I sayd that as the parts of the worlde are now discovered, and as they were then Ierusalem could not be sayd to be in the midst of the worlde literally vnderstood, being bolde to interprett the wordes of the Psalmist, as if he had sayd, I will worke their Salvation in the open sight of all Nations so manifestly /30/ as the world shall wittnes it, further adding that in the *s*uperficies[32] or vper part of a rounde Globe (as the worlde is,) any part where the Compasse is sett might be measured for the midst of the worlde. But they answered that wee must beleeue the scripture, and sticke fast to the literall vnderstanding therof, as they commonly and obstinately doe in other opinions. For they are generally most Ignorant, except some fewe in Italy, and some in Candia vnder the Venetians, which made mee forbeare to dispute further with them. /40/

The Greekes beleeue not the Proceeding of the holy Ghost

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[30] "Euen God *is* my King of olde, working saluation in the mids of the earth." with a marginal note "Meaning in the sight of all the worlde." Psalm 74. 12.

[31] "And in thy natiuitie when thou wast borne, thy nauell was not cut: thou wast not washed in water to soften thee..." Ezekiel 16. 4. Jerusalem is viewed anthropomorphically.

[32] The surface. *OED*

from the Sunne, and if wee obiect to them the Creede of Athanasius a Greeke Father avowing it, they answer by tradition that *Filioque* (and from the Sonne) is not founde in the old Copyes, but was added in later tymes.[33] They holde auricular Confession with the Roman Church, but make no such mistery of it as the Iesuites doe, thereby to knowe the secrets of States and priuate Familyes, concealing what they will and from whome they will, and reuealing what they list and to whome they list, as best fitts their turne. For the /50/ Masse they sing it in the vulgar toung, and for the body of Christ eate leuened bread, hauing a loafe of bread, wherof the consecrate one morsel in the midst, cutting ⌈the rest⌉ in peces and distributing them to the people, and the lay men partake the Sacrament in both kyndes aswell ⌈as⌉ the //

Booke V. of the Greekes &c Chpter.VI. fol.676.

Priests, and both receave it with reuerence of low bending the body, almost but not fully kneeling, also the conse[..]⌈c⌉ration is ⌈not⌉ made openly, but in a Chappel which only the Priests enters called sanctum sanctorum, and the eleuation to the people is made with the Priests face towardes them, holding vp the *H*ostia before him, wheras the Romanists eleuate it the Priest hauing his face to the

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[33] The Creed of Athanasius (296 - 373) Bishop of Alexandria was a statement of belief against the Arian heresy. Richard Hooker defines it as "That Creede which in the booke of common prayer followeth immediatly after the reading of the Gospell." in *The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. The fift Booke.* (London, 1597), p. 86.

Alter and the people at his backe to whome [the] he lifts it. And the Priest the night before he is to say Masse must abstayne from his wyues bedd, and /10/ must say it being ⌈fasting⌉ other wise concurring with Rome in the opinion of Transubstantiation, in the sacrifice, and ⌈the⌉ whole body of the masse. But whereas the Rominists haue diuers masses at one tyme vpon diuers Alters, the Greekes say masse at diuers tymes vpon one Alter, but neuer more then one masse at one tyme, and vpon the Sabboth or Feasts. The Greekes deny the two Saraments of Confirmation for baptisme, and extreame vnction [of] at death, which the Church of Rome holdes. /20/

The Greekes haue foure Patriarckes, one of Antiochia the second of Ierusalem both in Asia, the third of Alexandria in Affricke, the fourth of Constanople in Europe, cheefe and supreme. They haue also Archbishops and Bishops, both being commonly Monkes of the Order of St Baizell They liue of their handsworke, or of that is giuen them freely at this day, their old lands and Rents being vsurped by the Turkish Emperor, and they are much reverenced of the people, as they likewise are carefull to liue holily with good example of life, fearing their flocke /30/ liuing vnder scorne and opression, and hauing no hope but in the world to come, should turne Turkes. They haue [.] only one

Religious Order, manely[34] the Monkes of St Bazill, of which Order also their Patriarkes and bishopes are Commonly, and likewise ⌈Priests⌉ are often made out of ⌈these⌉[thse] mnkes. T[c]his order weares a blacke habitt, vpon the heade strayght, and large to the foote. The [...es] Monkes may not mary nor eate any flesh, but nether they nor the Priests are shauen vpon the Crowne of the head, as in the Romish Church. The Greekes Call the Monkes Caloyri[a] /40/ and some of them are laye men, as fishers, Cookes, Gardiners, and of all sortes. *He* that is admitted Priest, giues the Bishop a Confession of his Fayth, and a testimoniall of his life, and must be about thirty yeares old, and at the Age of. 60. ceaseth to say masse any more. Priests Cutt the hayre of the Crowne of their head not bare but in a Crosse, and weare the rest as long as wemen, and norish the hayre of their beardes. They may take one wife, not a widowe but a virgin, and if shee dye they may not marry agayne. For where the Apostle sayth /50/ lett a Bishop or priest be the husband of one wife, in this as in all other Texts they commonly and obstinately followe the literall sence,[35] Priests or monkes for adultery or fornication are degraded, and made slaues //

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[34] Has Hand Two transposed the letters of "namely"?

[35] "A Bishop therefore must be vnrepoueable, the husband of one wife..." I Timothy 3. 2. Today Greek Orthodox Bishops may not be married.

in the Turkes Gallyes. laymen or wemen may not marry the second tyme being forty yeares old, nor the third tyme of what age soeuer they be, except some wanting male Children obtayned dispensation from the Patriarcke or Bishop. In which case for two yeares they are barred from the Communnion of the lords Table, and must fast weekely vpon wensday and fryday, and are tyed to giue much Almes. To which also the wemen are obliged vpon like dispensations. Harlotts are barred from the Communnion of the lords Table, and sett apart from the other wemen [of] /10/ in the Church. The Greekes burne tapers in the Church, but putt them out and light them agayne often in the tyme of diuine seruice. They vse to crosse themselues, but where the Papists begin crossing at the forehead and breast, [they]⌈then⌉ on the left syde and end it on the right syde, they begin to crosse themselues at the right syde, because (forsooth) Christ sitteth on the right hand of the Father. They abhorr from grauen Images, but haue the pictures of Saynts in their Churches, and to those of Christ and our lady they giue worship, and when the Creede is pronounced publikely /20/ in the Churches, I haue seene the Priest bring the embrodered picture of Christ from the high Alter, and lift it vp to the people to say the Creede to it. This high Alter is clossed in a litle Chappell which only the Priest enters, and is called the holy of holyes, because they will not make common to the people the Crossings & Ceremonyes which the Priest vseth, in consecrating the

Hostia, and (as they thincke) in turning the bread and wyne into the very body and blood of Christ. To the other pictures of Saynts the grauest men pretend to giue only ordinary reverence, /30/ and to preserue them only for memory, but no doubt they all pray to the dead Saynts. Besydes heauen and *Hell* they beleeue a third place, where the soules of the dead are till the day of Iudgment, but deny the Papists Purgatory of torment, holding that no Saynt is in heauen till the day of Iudgment but only the glorious virgin, and perhapps the good theefe,[36] nor yet any in hell till that tyme, when the body partner of good or ill in life, shalbe Ioyned to the soule to partake reward or punishment, saying that in the meane tyme the elect are in good lightsome places, and visited /40/ by Angells, more or lesse according to their meritt in life, and the reprobate soules in ill and darkesome places, troubled with visions of Deuills after the same measure. And if they be asked why then they pray and giue Almes for the dead, they answer that a more cleare and Ioyfull place may be giuen them, and because their praying for Saynts intercession may seeme vayne if they be not in heauen, they answer that their distance hinders not God from hearing them. They deny that after death any satisfaction can be made by the liuing for the mortall sinnes of the /50/ dead vnrepented, or that any hope of saluation remaynes to them,

[36] "Then Iesus saide vnto him, Verely I say vnto thee, to day shalt thou bee with me in Paradise." Luke 23. 43.

but for veniall sinnes (as the Schoolemen speake) they hold that the intercession of the dead and liuing Saynts availes the dead to haue the Punishment mitigated or taken away, as kings Pardon offenders for their sonnes or Favorites sakes. They laugh at Romes dreame of Purgatory and the Popes power to deliuer //

soules from thence, to whome they giue no more power then to other Bishopps, and that only in Italy. It is true that the Greekes in Rome and kingdome of Naples giue the Pope supremascy, but they vnder the Venetians and vnder the Turkes, and the Church of Moscouia (for the Moscouites are of the Greeke Church,) only giue him primacy of order. They abhorr the Popes guiding by the spiritt that he cannot err in Fayth, and his taking authority from the Scriptures, and the praying in a toung vnknowne, holding the Scriptures sufficient to Salvation (with reverence reserued to the old /10/ fathers interpretations and opinions not repugnant to them. They condemne the Popes pryde to haue spirituall Iurisdiction ouer other Churches, more his temporall State, and most the temporall power he vsurpeth ouer kings. They detest his persecuting Christians dissenting from him, and a boue all his dispencing with Gods lawe, and pardoning sinnes as in the seate of God, and his foresayd freeing from Purgatory. They deny all workes of supererogation, since wee cannot meritt heauen, giuen freely of grace, our workes only procuring greater degree of glory, They laugh

at the fable /20/ that deuills are afrayde of holy water.

In prayer the kneele not, but bend their bodyes forwarde, more or lesse according to the Reverence they will giue. As the Turkes, in respect of the situation of Mecha, in prayer sett their faces towardes the South, so doe the Greekes pray towardes the East, in respect of Ierusalem, from whence our Salvation shyned. And they pray privately in their Chambers, not with the Pharasaicall ostentation of the Papists, who pray in publike streetes and markett places, and while they pray walke and often mingle with /30/ their prayers Idle speeches with by=standers. Nether doe the Greekes nomber their prayers vpon beades as the Papists doe, at least I am sure the laye people vse no beades at all to that purpose. And I remember the Greeke Patronn of the shipp in which I passed from Venice to Ciprus, shewed me with great detestation a French Fryer, praying vpon his beades while he eased his body in the Gallery of the shipp vpon the publike seate for that purpose, in the sight of all them that were in the ship.

The Greekes are much inclyned to superstition, at least /40/ I will boldly say out of my experience, their Marryners are most superstitious. For in the fore sayd ship when a French man at dinner turned his foule trencher to eate on the Cleane syde, the Greeke Patronn and cheefe Marynners were so inraged against him as if they would haue

cast him overboarde, not because he did the Act of a slouen, but taking it for an ominous signe of shipwracke, and that the ship should be turned vpsyde downe. likewise in a tempest of thunder and lightning, they strooke an hatchett into the great Mast of the ship, as the heathen /50/ Romans in like cases were of old wont to strike in a nayle for in deede they thincke any Iron as good for that purpose as the hatchett). Also they vse to baptise the Sea vpon the day of St Catherine (as I Remember) to make it calme.[37]

The Greekes yearely fast foure lents. The first and the greatest is our lent, which they keepe after the old kalander, but beginn it the Sonday after Ashwensday, and therein //

{ c.w. abstayne not oly }

fol.679. Booke V. of the Greekes &c Chapt.VI.

abstayne no only from flesh but also from fish, and the most devoute take only bread and water all the weeke, except Satterday and Sonday (on which they hold it a sinne to fast, at least so strictly). But the lesse devoute take only bread and water vpon monday wensday and espetially Fryday, eating oyle and hearbes vpon the other dayes. The second lent begines the eighth of the Penticost, and lasts till the day of St Peter and St Paule, increasing and

[37] 25 November is the day of the martyred St. Catherine of Alexandria. *CE*

deminishing as Easter riseth or faleth. The third they call the fast of the blessed virgin, and it beginns the first /10/ of August, and endes the day which the Papists call the virgins Assumption.[38] The fourth lent is called of the Aduent, and lasts seuen weekes,[39] wherein they eate flesh, [only vpon]⌈all dayes but⌉ wenesdayues and Frydayes. They fast not the *Quatuor Tempra*, or Ember weekes,[40] nor the vigils or Euenings of Saynts dayes, as the Roman Church doth. Twise in the yeare betweene these lents, and for. 12. dayes at Easter, they eate flesh on very Frydayes, and this irregular liberty they call vrsebursy, which I write in our letters better /20/ to expresse their pronuntiation of the worde.[41] All the rest of the yeare they fast weekely vpon wensday and Fryday, not fasting on Satterday which the Papists obserue to the virgin Mary, as likewise the Papists fast not ordinarily vpon wensday but only in Ember weekes.

At the Citty of Venice in Italy, the Greekes haue a Church,

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[38] It is also known as the "Dormition" of the Virgin, and celebrated on 15 August.

[39] November 15 until December 24.

[40] "The English name of the four periods of fasting and prayer (L. *quatuor tempora*) in the four seasons of the year. Each of these occupies three days, called *E. days*, and the weeks in which they occur are called *E. weeks*." *OED*

[41] Rev. J. Clifford Culshaw suggested that this may be from a word used by Sophocles "ouresibote(e)s" meaning feeding on the mountains, i. e. seasonal grazing when animals were taken up for pasturing out of the heat of blistering summer. If food were short, people would need to feed when they had the opportunity.

and over it. An Archbishop of Philadelphia being a Monke of the order of St Basil, hauing vnder him diuers Monkes of that Order, and allso /30/ a Bishop of Origo, and Priests to serue the Cure of that Church.[42] And in this Church my selfe was once present at their diuine seruice, performed in this manner. The wemen satt apart from the men in a place of the Church higher then the rest. The men satt in two or three Rowes of wanscott carued seates on the right syde,[43] and at the vpper end of those seates satt the Archbishop in a Chayre, but nothinge eleuated, hauing a Cloke with redd gardes,[44] and a short staffe of syluer in his hand, and before him /40/ satt the monkes of his Order, the body of the Church being voyde, in the midst wherof was an hollow stone, a representation (as I tooke it) of the Monument of the midst of the worlde, which the Greekes keepe in the foresayd Church at Ierusalem. when they entred the Church, they thrise signed themselues with the Crosse, and thrise bowed their heades and bodyes. At the vper ende of the Church was a litle chappel but open at the top, and therein was inclosed the Alter vpon which the Priest /50/

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[42] "For as for the Græcians they have a Church at *Venice*, with an Archbishop of *Philadelphia*, a Bishope of *Origo*, and sundry other Priests to governe it." Sandys, sig. V4v. I cannot find what diocese is meant by Origo.

[43] "5. attrib. *passing into* adj. Made of wainscot" previously described as "A superior quality of fine oak...chiefly used for fine panel-work." *OED*

[44] "*Guard* Band of material used either as a decorative border or to cover a seam. It was made of a contrasting material and colour to the garment." Ashelforth, p. 151.

sayde that part of the Masse in which he Consecrates the bread and wyne, they hauing but one //

Booke V. of the Greekes &c Chap VI. fol.680.

Alter, as they only say one masse at atyme, and that vpon the Saboth day or Festiuall dayes. This Chappell the call Sanctum Sanctorum that is the holy of holyes, and only the Priest with a boy to minister vnto him entred it, and there the Priest, after he had often signed himselfe with the Crosse and bowed his head and body, began to sing Masse, six of the foresayd Monkes, without the doare, and three on one syde, singing with him, all without any surplices, Copes, or any like ornaments, the people /10/ in the meane tyme setting in their seates with great reverence (not walking about the Church till the eleuation, and then, after beating of their brests, returning to walke, as they of the Roman Church in Italy vse to doe) The ministring boy brought forth to the Archbishop, a Booke, which he kissed, and then the boy kissed his hand, which he did as often as he went in or out of the sayd Chappel. And in the meane tyme wax Candles were lighted, but only vpon the Alter, which indeede was in a /20/ darke place, the Chappel hauing no windowe but the open part towardes the Church. Anon forth came the Priest, and after he had smoaked all about him with incense, he did reade the Epistle for the day in the vulgar toung, (as all the seruice is, but in the old language, much differing from the Modern, which not withstanding they say is by Custome easily vnderstoode of

the people) The Priest[s] hauing performed this, with many bowings of his body before he did reade, then he brought forth the Consecreated /30/ bread (which they hold to be made the very body of Christ), and all the people often bowed themselues. Then the Priest did reade the Gospell, and after the Archbishop setting in his Chayre made a shorte sermon, which ended they all sung a Psalme of Dauid. Then the Priest lifted vp in the Church the Consecrated bread to be worshipped by the people, and that donne, he offered incense to the pictures of Christ and of his blessed Mother. In the meane tyme the poore, passing through the narrowe seates where the men /40/ did sett, not only touching but pressing them (which most Christians would haue disdayned), receaved of each mans owne hand his Almes. Besydes that a syluer basen was caryed about for Almes to publike vses, into which the men did cast such larg Almes as elswhere I neuer saw so generally donne. lastly the men one by one went vp to the Archbishop, and with low bowed body, but not kneeling, receaved from him the last Supper of our Lord //

in both kyndes of bread and wyne. And to some of them he gaue hallowed bread and Candles, and withall wrote their names but I knowe not to what purpose. In this Church I did see no Pictures much lesse Images, but only two Pictures, one of our lord and Sauior, the other of his blessed Mother, which were after locked vp in the foresayd Chappel,

nether after seruice donne left they any Candles or lampes burning. But in this and all other theire Churches, I obserued continually hanging vp many /10/ peeces like marble and in the forme of egges, which they told mee were Crocadiles eggs. It seemed strange to mee that the Pope should tolerate the Greekes to haue Churches in Italy and Rome it selfe, calling them only scismatikes, whereas they stand condemned for heritikes in the highest Article of Fayth touching the Trenity, and yet is so farr from suffering Protestants to haue Churches vnder him, as he will not lett them liue where he hath power to kill them if they be knowne to be /20/ Protestants.

To conclude, besyde the nation of the Greekes the great Empire of the Moscouites professeth their Religion. And so I gladly ende this discourse and worke.

All glory be to God the Father
the sonne the holy Ghost foreuer
Amen.

14• Iunij 1626:

Imprimatur

Tho: Wilson[45]

[45] *Imprimatur*, a jussive subjunctive, "Let it be printed", the formula signed by an official licenser of the press, authorizing the printing of a book. From 1588 a panel of twelve appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury

could licence for the press. In effect the Bishop of London also had some influence in the composition of this panel. See W. W. Greg, *Some Aspects of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford, 1956), p. 51, 61, 62. W. W. Greg lists two Thomas Wilsons in *Licensers For the Press to 1640*, Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications X (Oxford, 1962), pp. 98, 99. Both were Doctors of Divinity. One held an Essex curacy until 1626. The other was Canon of Westminster from 1625. As Moryson was a Londoner, perhaps the latter is the more likely. On the strength of their being at Cambridge together, Hughes equates him with Sir Thomas Wilson, author, head of the State Paper Office, and Keeper of the Records. p. xli. 14 June 1626 was the day before Charles I, despairing of supply, and determined to save Buckingham from further attacks, dissolved Parliament. See Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers First Duke of Buckingham 1592 - 1628* (London, 1981), p. 331. However, there is no obvious significance here between these two events.

Appendix One

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF

FYNES MORYSON (1566 - 1630)

1566

Born, third son of Thomas Moryson. Edward, Thomas, Fynes, Henry, born 1569, Richard born 1571.

1572

Father Thomas MP for Great Grimsby, until 1589. He was Clerk of the Pipe (registrar of land tax), and became very wealthy.

1576

Thomas Mayor of Great Grimsby.

1580

18 May. Easter Term. Matriculated as a pensioner, i.e. admitted into Peterhouse, Cambridge University in the second of the three ranks of admission.

1584

B.A.

1586

November (?) He has a precognitive dream that his mother, Elizabeth *née* Moigne dies, which proves to be true.

1586/7

13 March. M. A. Fellow.

1589

Fellowship. Paid £20 p.a. Studying Civil Law in London, prior to visiting foreign universities.

1590

3 August. "Leave to discontinue" given to the Peterhouse fellow, until All Saints 1595. His Father probably had second thoughts about his journey, and wanted him to go into the church, for he was to leave him the advowson of Louth, Lincolnshire.

1590/1

22 March. M. A. of Cambridge incorporated at Oxford.

1591

1 May. Left from Leigh. Chased by pirates.
10 May Stode (Stade).
Hired a wagon to Hamburg.
Coach to Lubeck (Lübeck) via Altslow (Bad Oldesloe).
Via Millen (Mölln) to Luneberg (Lüneburg).
Cornelier(?) Magdenburg (Magdeburg), Leipzig, Teben (Bad Düben)
Witteberg (Wittenberg) where he spent the Summer.
Set out for Freiburg to see the funeral of the Elector Christian.
Day One Torge (Torgau), Belgar (Belgern)
Day Two Misen (Meissen), Dresden
Day Three Friburg (Freiberg) Returned via Misen (Meissen) Dresden, Owsen (Seerhausen) Wortsen (Wurzen), to Leipzig for the Winter, "that I might

learn to speak the Dutch toung (the Grammer wherof I had read at Witteburg..." *Itinerary A*, I, 25.

1591/2

19 January His father Thomas mentions him in his will.

26 February Edward Moryson paid £30 for clearing up Thomas's final affairs in the Pipe Office.

Early March Fynes sets out for Prague, via Derwaldhan, (Waldheim?) Dresden

8 March leaves Dresden, via Gottleben (Bad Gotteluba)

9 March Ansig (Außig)

10 March Welber(g) to Prague. "I lived in Prague some two moneths..." during which time he had a cognative dream about his father's death. *Itinerary A*, I, 33, 38.

1592

Mid April Sets out for Nuremburg, Day One via Berawn (Beroun)

Day Two Zudermont(Zdice?), Bodly(?), Spil(?) Ruchstan (Rokycany?), Pilsen

Day Three Kladen (Kladrau), Frawenburg (Pfraumberg)

Day Four Weithawsen (Waidhaus)

Day Five Amberg, Hous-coate(?)

Day Six Erspruck (Hersbruck), Schwang (Illschwang?), Nurnberg (Nuremburg), where he received confirmation of his father's death.

Diverts his course back to the Low Countries, because of his father's death. "Being (as I have said) certified of my Father's death at Nurnburg, and thinking not fit to goe on my journey into Italy, and yet being loath to returne into England, / before I had finished my purposed voyage, I tooke the middle counsell, to returne into the Low Countries, that in those neere places I might dispose of my small patrimony (for in England gentlemen give their younger sonnes lesse, then in forraine parts they give to their bastards) and so might leave the same in the hands of some trusty friend." *Itinerary A*, I, 37 - 38. Left £10 a year until he was twenty-eight, and some plate. When he was twenty eight in 1594 £300 was to be paid, but not land which conferred real status. Thus of the Poles he says, "For our strange lawe of giuing all the land to the eldest sonne, is not practized among them...", fol. 54.

26 April Sets out via Augsburg Day One via Blinfield (Pleinfeld).

27 April Day Two Wassenberge (Weissenburg), Monheime (Monheim), Donaward (Dönauworth), Weschendorff (?).

28 April Day Three Reached Augsburg.

29 April Day Four Burg (Burgau), Ulme (Ulm), Baltring (Baltringen)

30 April Day Five Bubery (Biberach), Waldshut (Bad Waldsee), Ravenspurg (Ravensburg).

1592 1 May Day Six Lindaw (Lindau). Spent nine days successfully petitioning for return of currency which he had hoped to exchange with a citizen who had bankrupted.

Mid May Over Bodensee to Costnetz (Constance)
By Boat to Styga (Steckborn?), and Schaffhausen. By foot to Eglisaw (Eglisau), tiredness and drink made him lose a day.
By foot to Zurich from whence he writes a letter dated 24 May

Late May Baden, Brucke (Brugg), Kingsfeld(?), Hornsea(?), Bazell (Basle)
By boat on the Rhine to Brisack (Breisach), and Strasburg (Strasbourg).

Sets out for Heidelberg.

Day One Leichtenou (Lichtenau)

Day Two Milberk (Mühlberg), Graben,

Day Three Heidelberg.

Summer 1592 "I lived here the rest of this summer..." *Itinerary A*, I, 68. Visited Spire (Speyer), Wormz (Worms)

September 1592. Wished to visit the Frankfurt Fair

Day One Bentzon (Bensheim)

Day Two Dormstat (Darmstadt), Arhelygen (Arheilgen), Franckfort (Frankfurt), where he saw the travelling company of English players.

Late September Wished to visit Hamburge & Stode

1592 Day One Freideburge (Friedberg)

Day Two Geysen (Giessen), Kirnham (Kirchnain)

Day Three Drest (Treysa), Fesler (Fritzlar)

Day Four Cassiles (Kassel), Myndaw (Münden)

Day Five Norton (Nörton), Namerton (Northeim)

Day Six Zeason (Seesen)

Day Seven Wolfenbeiten (Wolfenbüttel), Brunswicke (Brunswick/Braunschweig)

Day Eight Getherne (Gifhorn)

Day Nine Empsdorff (Ebstorf), Luneburge (Lüneburg)

Day Ten Wintzon (Winsen), Bergendorff, Hamburge

1 October Writes to Francis Markham from Stade. Leaves for Emden.

Day One Ford (Bremervörde ?).

Day Two Meinedig(?), Breme (Bremen), Steinweck(?)

Day Three Oldenburg.

Day Four Stickhausen.

Day Five Leere (Leer).

Day Six Continuous rain meant he walked to Aldernsea (Oldersum?).

Day Seven Continued on foot to Emden.

21 October Writes from Emden to Ægidus Hoffman, a fellow student of Heidelberg.

27 October Sails from Emden. Destination Leyden

28 October On the flats called the Gat (Wad).

1592 30 October Docked at Anjou (Anjum) in Friesland.
31 October Embarked by water to Dockum (Dokkum). Contrary winds[1].
3 November Lewerden (Leeuwarden), Froniker (Franeker), Harlingen.
4 November By Zwidersea (Zuiderzee) to Enchusen (Enkhuizen), anchored in River Tay (Y).
5 November Amsterdam
mid November By boat to Harlam (Haarlem), and Leyden (Leiden), returned to Amsterdam for encashing his bill of exchange and returned to Haarlem by sledge and on to Leiden where he spent the winter.

1592/3
7 January Entered as Student at Leiden University. "*Fynes Maryson. Anglus, stud. liter.*" One of thirteen Englishmen to have enrolled in the 1592 - 1593 year.

1593
June Recommenced travels. Delph (Delft), Sluse, (Maassluis) over the River Mase (Maas) to Brill, Roterodam (Rotterdam), Dort (Dordrecht), by water to Getrudenberg (Geertruidberg) under seige from the Dutch States, by water to the Island Plate (Ooltgensplaat), and Island Tarlot (Ter Tholen), and Bergenapzome (Bergen-op-Zoom) and Midleburg. By wagon to Vlishing (Vlissingen/Flushing) to see friends, and back to Midelburg and by boat to Roterdam, Delph, The Hage, Leyden,
Late June. Alpha (Alphen), Gonda (Gouda), Werden (Woerden), Utrecht, Amsterdam. Left for Emden.
Early July Friday Day 1 Ship via Enchusen
Days 2 - 3 Sailed to the Island Fly (Vlieland). Storms made them stay there.
Day 4 - 6 Boat Becalmed and then lost its anchor. Returned to Fly harbour. Those in the convoy that went on were attacked, sacked, tortured or killed by the Dunkirk pirates. Shock delayed Moryson's party from embarking.
Day 7 By small boat to Harlingen, Froniker (Franeker), Lewerden (Leeuwarden).
Day 8 Friday. Dockam (Dokkum). They could hear the cries of the peasants being despoiled by the Spanish troops from Groning (Groningen).
Day 9 Sailed all day for safety.
Day 10 Passed Rotermere (Rottummeroog), disembarked and walked to Emden. Stayed the night. Journeyed to Stode (Stade).
Day 1 Detrem (Detern), Oldenburg.
Day 2 Delmerhurst (Delmenhorst), Breme (Bremen), Furd (Bremervörde).

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[1] Moryson says that it took four days but then dates the trip to Lewerden as 1 November instead of 3 November.

1593 Day 3 Stode (Stade).
21 July By boat to Hamburge (Hamburg).
22 July Altslow (Oldesloe), Lubecke (Lübeck), Tremuren (Travemünde?).
Sailed to Denmark, Passed by Munde (Møn?).
3 August Disembarked at Drakesholm(?). Waggon to Coppenhagen (Copenhagen). Roschild (Roskilde) to see the King and court. Returned to Coppenhagen, Elsinure (Elsinore/Helsingør) by sea, Fredericksburg (Frederiksborg), Coppenhagen, Elsinure by waggon, Saw Tycho Brahe's observatory on Wheen(Hven).
26 August Sailed in "Antilope" for Dantzke (Danzig).
30 August Landfall at Kettell(?), Melvin (Memel),
early September 1593 Dantzke (Danzig)
9 September Left for Crakaw by coach via Diershaw (Dirschau), Zuzane (?), Gratenis (Grandenz)
10 September Colmersea (Kulmsee), Toarn (Torun)
11 September Massovia(?), Britzoll(?)
12 September Quodonab(?). Left coach and went on a "sledge".
13 September Hired a wagon, Lonzchizcha (Łęczyca), Peterkaw (Petrikau/Piotrków).
14/15 September Travelling across country in a waggon.
16 September Pnecho(?), Crakaw (Cracow/Krakow)
October Bought a horse and trappings for his journey into Italy.
Day Two Opsenson (?)
Day Three Plesna (Pleß/Pszczyna)
Day Four Entered Moravian territory, Freestat (?), Ostrenam (Ostrara)
Day Five Botevisa(?)
Day Six Granitz(?), Leipny(?), Speron(?).
Day Seven Creitzon(?).
Day Eight Nimsitch(?), Tracht(?).
Day Nine Entered Austrian territory, Pasdorffe (Poysdorf?).
Day Ten Near Ulrich-kirke (Ulrichskirchen), Vienna. Stayed three days to rest his horse.
19 October Left for Padua.
20 October Newstat (Weiner Neustadt), Newkirke (Neunkirchen), Schwatzen (Schottwein?).
21 October Morthusly, Spitle (Spital) into Styrian territory.
22 October Brucke (Bruck an der Mur), Lowen (Leoben)
23 October Near Knettelfeld (Knittelfeld)
24 October Judenburg, Newen-markt (Neumarkt)
25 October Entered Carinthian territory near

1593 Freysacke (Friesach), Sternfield (Dürnfeld)
26 October Saint Voyte (St. Veit)
27 October Feldkirken (Feldkirchen).
28 October Villake (Villach), Altaporta(?).
29 October Treviso (Tarvisio), Pontena (Pontebba).
30 October Spilenburg (Spilimbergo), Sanvocate (San Vito).
31 October Konian (Conegliano).
1 November Trevigi (Treviso), Padua (Padova). Stayed to study at the university.

1593/4 Via Brenta canal to Lizzafusina and Venice
Left for Ferrara
3 February NS By water to Chioggia
4 February NS Lorea, Popaci
5 February NS Francoline. Left bark, walked to Ferrara.
Left for Bologna. Walked to Torre della Fossa. Boat to Mal'Albergo. Walked to Bologna.
Took post-horse to Imola.
Took post-horse to Faenza, Ravenna.
Rode to Rimini via Savio, Cervia, Cesnadigo.
Pesaro. Hired new horses for Ancona, rode via Fano and Senogallia, where they stayed for the night.
Rode to Fimesino and Ancona.
Hired horses for Rome.
Day One. Saw Loreto, (where he took some money from the offerings as a mark of Protestant contempt), Macerata.
Day Two Polverina, Serevallo.
Day Three Fuligni, Spoleto.
Day Four Narni, Otricoli.
Day Five Castelnuovo, entered Rome by Porta del Popolo.
12 March NS By horse to Marino, where a group assembled with Il Procaccia, the Papal carrier. Reached Velitri.
13 March NS Sermoneta, Piperno (Priverno), saw Circello (Monte Circeo) in distance.
14 March NS Terracina, Fondi, Sportelle
15 March NS Mola (Formia), River Garagliano, Sesso.
16 March NS Francolisse, Capua, Anversa (Aversa) Naples.

1594 Saw the Classical sights of the Bay, Avernus, Cumae, Baiae, Baulos, and returned to Rome where he sought the protection of Cardinal Allen, before going on a tour of the classical sites. Priests enquire who will not communicate in Holy Week which forces Moryson to leave for Siena. Sees
1594 5 April NS Bellamine in the Jesuits College, before leaving on horseback via l'Isola

1594		(Isola Farnese), Bachano (Campagnano di Roma), Monterose (Monterosi).
	6 April NS	Lago di Vigo (Vico), Viterbo, Montefiaschoni (Montefiascone).
	7 April NS	Passes Lake Bolsena, Acquapendente, Scancicricho (Radicofani?)[2]
	8 April NS	Sienna (Siena).
	9 April NS	Castle Pioggio (Poggibonsi?), Tavernelle (Tavarnelle).
	10 April NS	Easter Day. Florence.
	11 April NS	Walked to Prato, Pistoia. Saravalle (Serravalle), Piovanni (?), By boat to Borgo Nuovo (Borgo a Mozzano?) Stayed at Inn *La Moretta* Lucca Walked to Pisa. Stayed for a few days, met "T. H." and professors at the university. Rode to Ligorno (Leghorn) Returned to Florence for funds. Stays at *Alle chiave d'oro.*
	Summer 1594	Sees Ducal Palace at Pratoline Settles at San Casiano, to learn language. Befriended by Nicholai della Rocca and Raphaele Columbano. Discusses literature with them including *Orlando Furioso.*
	23 July NS	Writes to T. H. from San Casciano.
	10 August NS	Writes from Florence to della Rocca revealing that he is English.
	August?	San Casciano, Colmo, Barbarino, Puodibonzo (Poggibonsi), Sienna
	21 October NS	Name entered at University of Padua "*Ignes Morison, anglus, cum cicatrice sub oculo dextero*"
	18 November NS	Castel Certaldo, (Boccaccio's grave), Fiorentino, over Arno, Ponte Capiano.
	19 November NS	Lucca, Pisa.
	20 November NS	Rode to Via Regia, Pietra Santa, Masso By foot to Carrara to see marble quarry.
	21 November NS	On foot, over River Magra, Lirigi (Lerici) where he stayed until
	24 November NS	By boat ("Feluce") to Wien (Vernazza?)
	25 November NS	By boat to Sestri (Sestri Levante).
	26 November NS	By boat to Portofino. Storms meant he

[2] Moryson says this is the last day of April NS, *Itinerary A*, I, 307, but this is impossible since Easter Day never occurs later than 25 April. Probably he has confused the Julian and Gregorian calendars, as he does on fol. 4.

1594 set off for Genoa on foot.

27 November NS Reached Genoa in early hours.

December Sets off for Milan on foot.

Day One Ponte Decimo.

Day Two Franciscan friar shares food with him. Gavidon (Gavi?), Seravalle (Serravalle).

Day Three Tortona, Ponte Curon (Pontecurone), Voghera. Penetrates the disguise of an Englishman posing as a German.

Day Four Hired horse to Bastia, walked to Pavia.

Day Five (?) Walked to Milan. Saw Duomo and San Ambrogio and Lorenzo, but soon left not wishing to draw the attention of the Spanish authorities. Hired a horse for Cremona.

Day One Marignano (Mairago).

Day Two Castle Pizighitone (Pizzighettone).

Day Three Cremona.

Day One Hired a horse for Mantua, via Mercaria (Marcaria).

Day Two Mantua (Mantova).

Set out for Padua.

13 December NS Rode to Lignaco (Legnago), Monteguiara (Montagnana).

14 December NS Rode to Castle Este, boat to Padua. Certificate of matriculation, passport and exemption from dues given to him.

1594/5 Wishes to visit Petrarch's tomb, walking via Praia Monastery, and Abano, to Arquà. Returned to University at Padua. Bought "an Hungarian horse", *Itinerary A*, I, 374.

3 March NS Rode to Vicenza.

4 March NS Rode to Verona. The ostler set his stallion to cover the mares. Concupiscent thoughts made him difficult for Moryson to handle thereafter.

5 March NS Peschiara (Peschiera), Brescia.

6 March NS Bergamo.

7 March NS Trescher, Louer (Lovere).

8 March NS Lago d'Iseo, Val Camonica, Edoll (Edolo).

9 March NS Ascent to Auryga (Aprica). Villa (Tirano?), Poschiano (Poschiavo).

10 March NS Ascended Mount Berlina (Bernina), Lasagna (?).

11 March NS Lanzi (Lenz or Landquart?).

12 March NS Chur, Walstat (Walenstadt).

13 March NS Rabesuele (Rapperswil), Zurech (Zürich). After resting his horse for a few days, he sets out for Geneva.

1595 Day Two — Solothurn
Day Three — Arberg (?), Morion (?).
Day Four — Bitterline (?), Milden (?).
Day Five — Losanna (Lucerne), Morgen (Morges), Geneva. Meets Theodore Beza. Advised not to go through France because of mercenaries returning home, Moryson persists, but agrees to go via Lorraine, "..which the time was though more free from the tumults of warre..." *Itinerary A*, I, 390.
Day One — Sets out via Morgen.
Day Two — Losanna (Lucerne), Milden, Bitterline.
Day Three — Morten, Berne.
Day Four — Solothurn.
Day Five — Ottmersea(?), Besa(?).
Day Six — Gerzen(?), Strassburg.
Day One — Saverne (?), Villa Nova (?).
Day Two — Monwick (?).
Day Three — Nanzi(Nancy).
Day Four — Metz. Advised to sell his horse, and to appear "...disguised in poore apparrell", *Itinerary A*, I, 396, because of the disbanded armies.

27 April NS — By foot to Pontmolin(Jouey aux-Arches)
28 April NS — Pont(Pont-à-Mousin), Toul. Heard cries of the country people, afraid of marauding soldiers rustling cattle.
29 April NS — Hired posthorses to Saint Aubine (St. Aubin sur Aire).
30 April NS — Hired horses. Longueville (Tronville), Bar (Bar-le-Duc), Ampton Cour(?).
1 May NS — On foot to Chalons(Châlons-sur-Marne). Held up at gunpoint and robbed.

Set off for Paris in a "long wagon", *Itinerary A*, I, 401. Saw untilled ground and much devastation.
Day One — Sizan (Sézanne).
Day Two — Nangi (Nangis).
Day Three — Paris. Spends some days sight-seeing.

Set off for "Fontain-bleau" to see Henry IV.
Day One — Took a boat on the Seine to Corbevile (Corbeil) and Melune (Melun). Walked to Fontainebleau.
Day Two — Sees Court, Walks to Sone (?) Hires a posthorse back to Paris.

Charles and Henry Danvers, on the run for murder in England, and friends of Richard Moryson, finally gave him funds the "base and costive Merchants" denied him. *Itinerary A*, I, 419. Set off for Roane (Rouen).
Day One — On the Seine via Poissy, St. Germain.
Day Two — Andale (les Andelys?) Port S. Antoine
Day Three — Roane (Rouen).
Day Four — Rode to Dieppe.

1595	13 May	Landfall at Dover, only to be held as a suspected Catholic priest.
	July	Cambridge renews fellowship (to expire July 1600).
	29 November	Started out again with his brother, Henry by boat from London to Gravesend
	7 December	Set sail.
	8 December	Off Margets (Margate).
	9 December	Disembarked at Vlishing (Flushing).
	11 December	Walked to Midleburge (Middelburg).
	12 December	Sea to Armuren (Arnemuiden).
	13 December	Sailed to Island Plat (Ooltgensplaat).
	14 December	Sailed to Delphs Haven (Delfshaven). By wagon to the Hage (the Hague).
	15 December	Wagon to Leyden (Leiden).
	16 December	Boat to Amsterdam.
	17 December	Took boat through the icy sea (Zuider zee), after two and a half days got to Horn (Hoorn).
	19 December	Whilst walking towards Enchusen (Enkhuizen), hired a "sledg" to across Zuider zee to Stavern (Staveren).
	20 December	Walked to Warcome (Workum).
	21 December	By water to Bolsworth (Bolsward), and Lewerden (Leeuwarden).
	22 December	By private boat to Kaltherberg (?)
	23 December	Reached Groning (Groningen), and Delphs Ile (Delfzijl).
	24 December	Sailed to Emden, and Lyre (Leer).
	25 December	Rested.
	26 December	Hired soldiers for protection from Spanish freebooters. Walked and boated via Stickhausen, Aopen (Apen), wagon to Oldenburg.
	27 December	Wagon to Dolmenhurst (Delmenhorst), and Breme (Bremen).
	28 December	Set out by wagon for Stoade (Stade).
	29 December	Foard (Bremervörde?) Stoade.
	30 December	Alte-kloster (?).
	31 December	Luneburg (Lüneburg).
1595/6		
	Hired coach to Brunswick	
	Day One	Sawerburg (?)
	Day Two	Owsen (Uelzen), Gethurne (Gifhorn)
	Day Three	Brunswick (Braunschweig)
	Hired a Coach to Nurnburg (Nuremburg/Nürnberg)	
	Day One	Wolfenbeyten (Wolfenbüttel), Rauchell (Roklum?)
	Day Two	Halberstatt (Halberstadt) Ermersleben (Ermsleben)
	Day Three	Mansfield (Mansfeld), Sangerhausen
	Day Five	Erfurt, Armstat (Arnstadt), Blaw

1595/6 (Plaue)
Day Six Frau-im-Wald (Frauenwald), Eysfield (Eisfeld)
Day Seven Coburg, Clawsen (Gleußen)
Day Eight Bamberg.
Day Nine Nurnburg (Nuremburg).
Hired a Coach for Augsburg.
Day One Blinfield (Pleinfeld).
Day Two Monheyme (Monheim), Donwerd (Donauwörth).
Day Three Augsburg
Sets off for Venice on horseback.
Day One Landsperg (Landsberg am Lech)
Day Two Schongraw (Schongau), Amberg (Ammergau)
Day Three Wartenkerken (Partenkirchen), Seyfield (Seefeld)
Day Four Inspruck (Innsbruck), Lueg(?)
Day Five Passed Mount Bremer (Brenner) Sterzen (Sterzing)
Day Six Clausy (Klausen)
Day Seven Bolzena (Bolzano), Newmart (Neumarkt)
Day Eight Trent (Trento), Bersena(?)
Day Nine Borgo (Borgo Valsugana), Grigno
Day Ten Primolano, Carpanella (?)
Day Eleven Castle Franco (Castelfranco)
Day Twelve Trevigi (Treviso), Mestre
Day Thirteen Boat to Venice
1596 21 April NS Left for Cyprus in the "Little Lion"
24 April NS Passed by Ancona
25 April NS Passed by Sant. Andrea (Sv. Andrija?)
3 May NS Contrary winds meant they only got as far Cataro (Kotor)
4 May NS Passed by Valona (Vlore) and Otranto
6 May NS Passed by Corfu (Kérkira)
8 May NS Disembarked briefly at Cephalonia (Kefallinía) for water
13 May NS Cleared Candia (Crete/Kríti)
19 May NS Becalmed off Paphos
22 May NS Disembarked at Larnaca
The Moryson brothers, three French friars, and two citizens of Blois, hired a boat for Joppa (Yafo)
24 May NS Embarked. Varying winds.
29 May NS Drifted near Damietta (Dumyat)
30 May NS Passed by Gaza.
31 May NS Anchored in Joppa harbour, awaiting permission to land and for protection.
3 June NS Permission granted. Passed by Lydda (Lod), arrived at Ramma (Ramla).
4 June NS Arrived at Jerusalem through the Joppa Gate. Did extensive sight-seeing.
14 June NS Left Jerusalem for Ramma (Ramla)
15 June NS Joppa (Yafo)

1596 16 June NS Sailed for Tripoli (Tarābulus esh Shām).
17 June NS Landfall.
22 June NS Left for Haleppo (Haleb Alep/Aleppo).
25 June NS Reached Aman (Hamā). Rested for this day, and most of next.
26 June NS A "Basha" joined the caravan, thereby improving security.
27 June NS Marrha (Ma'arret en Nu'mān).
28 June NS Caon (Saraqueb)
29 June NS Aleppo, where after a few days Henry caught dysentry. Shortage of money forced the brothers to move on.
30 June Set out for Constantinople. Havaden (Ram Hamdan)
2 July Antioch (Antayka)
4 July Reached Byland (Belen) where Henry died.
5 July Stayed with the English Factor at Scanderon (Alexandretta/İskenderun). Fynes very ill, and in mental torment.
10 October NS So emaciated as to be unable to stand, he was carried aboard a French ship, the "John the Baptist".
23 October NS Left on a deserted seashore in Crete near Cape Calisminiones.
25 October NS Reached the Monastery Santa Maria Ogidietra.
Took two days to arrive at Candia (Iráklion) in the company of Health officials, and seven in the Lazaretto, as a Venetian precaution against the plague. In Candia city Moryson shared expenses with Richard Darson, a factor purchasing muscatels. He built up enough strength to continue to Constantinople.
20 December Took ship for Constantinople
21 December Set sail. Passed by Zantorini (Santorini)
22 December Passed by Páros, and landed at Náxos. Set sail again.
23 December Passed by Chios (Khíos). Anchored by Metelene (Mitilíni) on Lesbos.
24 December Passed by Troy (Truva); Tenedos (Bozcaada); landfall at Gallipolis (Gallipoli/Gelibolu).
25 December Contrary winds kept them there.
1596/7
1 January Reached Marmora (Marmara adası)
2 January Contrary winds meant the ship only got to Aloni (Paşalimanı adası), and stayed there for ten days.
13 January Passed Palormo (Bandırma); Heraclea (Marmara Ereğlisi); anchored at Constantinople (Istanbul).
14 January Lodged with Edward Barton at Pera. Viewed sights, befriended Barton.

28 February Missed the departure of the "Great Lion"
1596/7 of Venice. Sailed in a faster boat, a "Pyrame", *Itinerary A*, II, 102 to Selebris (Silivri).

1 March Disembarked at Heraclea, and hired a "Cayke", *Itinerary A*, II, 103, or caique.

2 March Reached Marmora

3 March Reached Gallipolis, where the "Great Lion" was awaiting clearance of customs.

7 March "Great Lion" left.

1597 30 March Left Zante.

12 April Corfu.

27 April Rovingo.

30 April Hired a private rowing boat for Venice.

1 - 4 May Stayed in "Dutch Inne" at Venice.

Received funds, bought two horses at Mestre, and passed through the German states the same way he came.

4 July Went aboard an English ship at Stade.

9 July Gravesend.

10 July Cock Inn, Aldersgate, London.

1598

Journeyed to Scotland.

April Barwick (Berwick-on-Tweed).

Rode to Edenborrow (Edinburgh) via Aton (Ayton), Dunbar, Preston-graung (Prestonpans), Fisherawe (?), Musselborrow (Musselburgh), in a day. Leth (Leith), over River Frith (Firth) to King-korn (Kinghorn), Falkeland (Falkland), back to Edenborrow on urgent business.

1599

5 August. Fynes's brother, Richard, knighted by Essex in Ireland.

1600

Early year In Lincolnshire where "The indisposition of my body by reason of an ague staied me some few moneths in that Countrey", *Itinerary A*, II, 343, so he was unable to follow Mountjoy to Ireland.

July Resigns Fellowship. Given £40 from Peterhouse. Fynes finally gets employment as one of Mountjoy's three secretaries, and semi official recorder of the suppression of Tyrone's Rebellion, "...his Lordship purposed to imploy me in the writing of the History or Journall of Irish affaires." *Itinerary A*, II, 343.

1600 late Sept. Leaves for Dublin in stormy weather.

October Dundalk, where his brother Richard was Governor.

13 November Battle at Carlingford where George Cranmer, Mountjoy's Chief Secretary killed.

1600 14 November Fynes promoted to his place.

1600/1

8 February Essex's Rising in London fails.

20 February Fynes wounded in the thigh whilst viewing rebel positions on one of the islands of the loughs of Westmeath.

22 February Mountjoy informed of Essex's committal to the Tower for treason. Mountjoy considered flight to France. His mistress and mother of his children Lady Penelope Rich was Essex's sister; his secretary Fynes Moryson was brother to Sir Richard who was one of Essex's protégés.

23 February Mountjoy took all his personal papers into his own care much to Fynes's chagrin, and distanced himself from Richard.

1 March. Mountjoy receives Elizabeth's mollifying letter.

1601

October. With army besieging Spanish in Kinsale.

24 December Battle of Kinsale.

1601/2

2 January Translator of the articles of surrender of the Spanish force at Kinsale into Spanish, Latin and Italian.

1603

30 March. Fynes prevents news of Queen's death leaking out before Tyrone's submission.

mid May. Returned with Mountjoy and Tyrone to England.

25 July Attended the Coronation. Mountjoy now Earl of Devonshire.

1604

19 June. "The King to Lord Treasurer Buckhurst "In consideration of the surrender of a pension of 4s. a day granted by us to Sir John Skinner, and of another pension of 2s. a day to Clement Turner, we grant Fras. Morison, at suit of Sir John Skinner and Clement Turner, a pension of 6s. a day, provided Fras. Morison bring a certificate from time to time from the pay-master of Berwick, that neither of the said pensions of 4s. or 2s. granted to Skinner and Turner have been paid." [1½ pages, draft. The docquet of this grant, Calendar 19 June 1604, gives the name as Fynes Morison.]

1605

26 December William Laud marries Devonshire and Penelope Rich, the Stella of Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella.*

1605/6
January Devonshire in disgrace at the marriage.
3 April He dies. Fynes writes a short life, modelled on Plutarch, of his old master in *Itinerary A*, II, 260 - 272.

1606 - 09.
Fynes, now out of a job, abstracts the histories of all the lands he visited. He destroys the work.

1606/7
25 January, 12 February. Writes to Edward Lacon asking for prompt payment of rent.

1607
6 July Chases Lacon for his rent again.

1609
Sets to work on his *Itinerary*.

1610
7 May, 19 June. Attempts to compose differences between a Mr. Gresham and his brother Sir Richard.

1611/2
26 February Carried the pennon at the funeral of his sister Jane Allington at St Botolph without Aldersgate.

1613
9 September Lands at Youghal harbour having narrowly escaped shipwreck.
Visits Sir Richard his brother in Ireland, who had been Vice President of Munster since 1609.

1617 *AN/ ITINERARY/ WRITTEN/ By FYNES MORYSON Gent./ First in the Latine Tongue,/ AND THEN TRANSLATED/ By him into ENGLISH:/ CONTAINING/ HIS TEN YEERES/ TRAVELL THROUGH/ THE TVVELVE DOMJNIONS OF/ Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland,/ Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, Eng-/ land, Scotland, and Ireland./ Diuided into III Parts./ AT LONDON/ Printed by John Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate/ street. 1617./*, dedicated to William Third Earl of Pembroke.
5 April. Entered by John Beale in Stationer's Register.
29 April. Royal Privilege or Patent for 21 years.

1617 - 26(?) Works on Part IV. Obviously stung by the critical response to the first three parts, "And because as many hearers of sermons come from Church well satisfyed, if they haue obserued 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 whome (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 giue all the members to this my

vnlicked whelpe, then out of any desyre or hope fully to satisfy the curious readers of our *Crittick* age." fol.1. Part IV 366,000 words.

1624

30 July — Name struck out of Richard Moryson's will as one of the executors.

1626

14 June — Thomas Wilson (probably a cleric attached to Westminster) gives his *Imprimatur* to Part IV. Never printed in Moryson's lifetime.
Writes of devoting the rest of his time to religious studies.

1627

9 June — Mentioned in the petition to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury of Mary Morison, Richard's widow, to promulgate a sentence to uphold the validity of Richard's will. As he did not physically appear as a complainant, it was probably a legal fiction for Mary to get a recorded title.

1629

15 September — Nuncupative will drawn up, which implies that Moryson either had intimations of mortality, or an incapacitating illness? [3]

1629/30

12 February — Moryson dies.
Buried at St. Botolph's Church without Aldersgate.

18 March. — Will proven.

Was the intended work on Britain ever started ?

1697

Ms. mentioned in Edward Bernard, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, (Oxford, 1697) a compilation of all the manuscripts in Britain. Then, as now, within the collection of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The

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[3] "Nuncupative wills remained fairly common, indicating that some testators did not share the perception of a wide selection of possible scribes," Christopher Marsh, 'In the name of God? Will-making and faith in Early Modern England', in *The Records of the Nation the Public Record Office 1838 - 1988* (Woodbridge, 1990), 215 - 249 (p. 234). However, in London, Moryson must surely have been spoiled for choice for somebody competent to write a watertight will. Dr. Brock tells me that when researching *Playhouse Wills 1558 - 1642*, edited by E. A. J. Honigman and Susan Brock (Manchester, 1993) she found that the longest time between the date of a nuncupative will and death of the testator was two years.

description reads, "The fourth part of *Fynes Moryson's* Itinerary. Licens'd by Tho. Wilson, June 14. 1626. Fol."

1735

In Dublin details of the Irish Campaign "Printed by S. Powell,/ For GEORGE EWING, at the *Angel* and *Bible* / in *Dame-street*, Bookseller. MDCCXXXV." The full title was given as *A History of Ireland from 1599 to 1603. With a short narration of the state of the kingdom from the year 1169. To which is added a description of Ireland*, "By *FYNES MORYSON*, Gent. Secretary to Lord *Mountjoy*, then Lord Deputy." This was a reprint of the Irish parts of *Itinerary A*, comprising of the complete Part II, and Part III, Book III, Chapter 5.

1903

Part IV remained in MS. until sections were printed by Charles Hughes under the title *Shakespeare's Europe*. 40% published, inevitably slightly bowdlerized.

1905 - 10

Glasgow University Press embarks on a series of reprinting Travellers' Tales including the complete Hakluyt and Purchas, Coryat, Lithgow and Fynes Moryson.

1918

Complete Dutch sections published by J. N. Jacobsen Jensen in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, XXXIX, (1918), 214 - 305.

1967

Hughes's work reprinted in New York by Benjamin Blom.[4]

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[4] Sources for this chronology include, *Itinerary A*, *Itinerary B*, *DNB*, *BMGC*, Hughes's introduction, Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London, 1950), p. 311, Dr. C. D. van Strien who kindly copied the entry in the *Leiden Album* of students and gave me the modern names of Dutch towns, J. C. Whitebrook, 'Fynes Moryson, Giordano Bruno and William Shakespeare', *Notes and Queries* (October 1936), 255 - 260, (p. 258) for details on his admission to the University of Padua, and Henry Cohn and Peter Skrine, and Brian Pullan supplied some of the modern names of Polish, Bohemian and German and Italian towns.

Appendix Two

Letters sent by Fynes Moryson.

Folger Library, Washington, D.C., Loseley MSS, L.b. 621r.

Master Lacon.[1] The tyme of the paying the Kinges Rent being neere, I though good to remember you of your promise (when you were with me) to send me vp xxl. out of your next Michaelmas Rent for the payment therof.[2] I pray you to send it vp sometymes before <and> after;[3] and in the meane tyme I pray you lett me heare from you of the tyme when I shall expect it, because it would be a great displeasure to me, if I should looke for it and you should fayle me therein. I shalbe in Essex most part of Lent and Easter hollydayes, in which tyme if you send it, I pray you lett it be deliuered to my brother Alingtons hand and his acquittance shalbe as sufficient as my owne for your discharge.[4] I heare that after this Michaelmas Rent the former extent wilbe payd and that suite wilbe made then for discharg of the Land: but there is another debt drawne out of the Court of wardes due by my brother Edward Morison, for which the land wilbe all extended anewe; and when that is answered there is a greater debt of my brother Thomas to be charged on Tetneye: I am watchfull and haue sure intelligence to knowe of any alteration and will not fayle to vse my best meanes for the renewing of the Lease, and will aduertise you of any imminent chang, for it concerneth you no lesse then my self, since you will neuer haue so queet possession of your Lease as during the kinges extent which stayeth all statutes and Recognizances for comming on Tetney.[5] I pray

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[1] Edward Lacon (died 1615), was, like Moryson, a younger brother who came from an armigerous Lincolnshire family. See *Harleian Society, Lincolnshire Pedigrees G - O*, 51 (London, 1903), p. 575.

[2] The feast of St. *Michael* the Archangel, 29 September, was in this period usually the final quarter - day of the English business year.

[3] Does Moryson want part before Michelmas and part after?

[4] George Alington (c.1550 - 1632), Moryson's brother - in - law, looked after the business interests of most of the younger Morysons when they were away from London.

[5] "2. Law. a. [In full *writ of extent*]: A writ to recover debts of record due to the Crown, under which the body, lands and goods of the debtor may be all seized at once to compel payment of the debt." Moryson implies that

you send the xxlibri against that tyme so as (the troble to send it considered) it may be payd here before Easter, and in the meane tyme let me heare from you when to expect it. So with my very harty Commendations, praying you vpon oportunity to remember my kynde loue to Master Mussendine and my sister, [I] and to commend me to your neighbor Iohn Chapman and his wife I bid you very hartily Farwell. From my chamber at Master Iaruis his howse in Redcrosse streat. the xx<v>th of Ianuary i606.[6]

your very louing frend.

Fynes Morison

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 621v.
Mr .....
Letter i607
To my very good frend Master Edward Lacon, Tennant of Tetney graung.
R. p.ar. .at my att...mbers <& 2 bills> of

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once the debts to the crown are discharged (which take priority) there will be a mad legal scramble for others to sequester the lands for debt. It would appear that the death of Moryson's eldest brother Edward in 1598, leaving minors as his heirs, meant that the Crown through the Court of Wards had a further interest in the property. Equally it may be that *Harleian Society, Lincolnshire Pedigrees G - O*, 51 (London, 1903) is as inaccurate about Edward's death in 1598 as it is about the elder Thomas's children (which it confuses with those of the younger Richard). Fynes certainly writes here as though his brother is still living, and he might issue a writ. This is my interpretation on p. lx.

[6] 1606/7. Having not had employment for the nine months since Mountjoy's death, Fynes may have been running short of funds.

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 622r.

Master Lacon I recay[v]ed your lettre by this bearer and for the twenty pownd̄es demaunded by the Shieriffe out of your rent if the high Shieriff be cast out of the Court and haue payed yt, there is no remedy but to repay it him againe. Otherwise I am promised by my Brother Alington and by my Brother Wingefield that they will deale effectually with Master Osborne for allowance of my warrant of discharging yt the next Tearme if the vndersheriff or any friend of his will call vpon me or them for the dispatch of yt, till which tyme I am warranted by them both to write vnto you that you showlde desire the vndershieriff in theyr name to forbeare leavying the same.[7] I doubt not but they being in seuerall Offices to that Shiere he will regard theyr intreaty for a greater matter. I wrote vnto you the other day to remember you of the xxti pownd̄es you promised to sende me vp to paye the Kinges rente, and because the tyme is at hande doe againe pray you to sende yt to me if you can possibly before Easter, and because I goe out of the Towne before mid-lente, and retourne not till after the holydayes yf you sende yt in the meane tyme I pray [you] direct yt to my Brother Alington. or if you cannot finde commodity to sende yt vp before the beginninge of the next Tearme,[8] yet I pray you in the meane tyme sende me worde when I shall certonly expect yt, that till then I may borrow yt. But if you can sende yt before you shall doe me a great pleasure to save me that troble according to your friendly promise when you were with me. Howsoeuer I pray let me heare from you with the first, soe with my very harty Commendacyons I leave you to the protection of the Almighty. from my lodginge at Master [..] Iaruis his howse in Redcrosse=street. this 12 of February [i566] i606.

Your very Loving friend
Fynes Morison

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 622v.

To my very louing frend Master Edward Lacon at Tetney graung.

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[7] There seems to have been a fair bit of pulling rank, so that Fynes could achieve priority of payment.

[8] "...if you cannot conveniently send it before the start of the next Law Term..."

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 623r.

Master Lacon. I looked to haue seene you before yor going downe but was better contented to fayle therein, because I hoped yor spee=dy departure could not be without a releefe of yor molestation, with better content to you then satisfaction to yor accusers.[9] Vpon yor promise to pay xx libri at Bartholomewtyde[10] out of yor Michaelmas Rent to any of whome I should here take it vp, I haue borowed the mony, vpon my sister Alingtons being ingaged to see it payd at that tyme, which she præsumeth to performe vpon this my letter, and I haue vpon yor promise assured her to receaue it; and therfore pray you not to fayle the payment if not at th[e]at tyme precisely, (which doth not much import) yet assone after as you can. I knowe not whether you will come vp in Michaelmas tearme, or at what tyme you ⌈will⌉ send vp the rest of the Rent, but if it be after the Day præfixed for the Kinges Rents, I pray you likewise by my sister Alington send me vp at Michael=mas tenn powndes for the halfe yeares Rent to the king. So with my harty Commendations and wishes of yor welfare, I commend you to the Almighties Protection, From my lodging in Redcrosse streat at Master Iaruis his howse, the sixth of Iuly. i607.

Yor assured frend
Fynes Morison.

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 623v.

To my very good frend Master Edward Lacon at Tetny-graung.

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[9] Lacon has obviously been in London to sort the legal mess out.

[10] 24 August.

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 628r.

Sir. I pray you to beleue me on my honest word, that [which] the suite in Lawe wherof you write is not followed by me, but by a gentleman Sir R Moryson hath imployed to that purpose onlye and that to his great charg; tho he might haue had asmuch effected by my self of free cost (I meane for my paynes not the expence of the Lawe). So as first it is not in my power to doe any thing therein (acording to yor request) as of my selfe and since you may perceaue Sir R Moryson hath some ielosy of [my] me; so as he would not committ the cause to my care., I hope you will not thinck fitt that I should by perswasions deterr him whome he hath trusted. This I write is the truth written in more playnenes for the second poynt, then I would vse to any, but such a good frend as yorself, to whome I desyr<e> to giue full satisfaction of my readynes to doe any curtesy in my power. And if at yor comming to [ye] the towne, you will please to see me at my lodging, I will make both these pointes cleare to you, and assur you to be free [of any] (to my vttermost power) of any attachement[11] to be serued on you at this yor comming to me. Or if you please to send me word where you lodge, I will come to you, for I [h] desyre to speake with you about a small matter concerning me./ yet because I shall haue occasion to shewe you many papers [I .] as occasion of or speach shall offer for making all I say more cleare to you, I rather wish (if it may stand with yor conueniency, that you would come to my lodging where you shalbe free from any trapp so farr as I can possibly præuent it. And so I take my leaue. 7. May. i6i0.

Yor very louing frend
Fynes Moryson

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 628v.

To my very louing and much respected frend Master Gresham at Fullum.

7° May 1610.

That the suite is not prosecuted by him, [by] but by another <whom> Sir Rich: Morison imployd therein, & therefore hee is vnable to doe any thing[12] therein <&> desir<e> to speak with Master Gresham.

[11] Any act or writ of apprehension or seizure. *OED*

[12] I have been unable to establish whether this Gresham has any connection with the financier Sir Thomas, or the translator James. *DNB*

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 629r.

Master Curwin. I maruayle that I heare not from Master Gresham, in reguard I haue caused Master Garret to stay Sir R Morysons suite in the Exchequer, only to speake with him acording to his desyre, [&] and haue my self putt in my Bill in the duchye to which he promised me speedy answer. Master Garret will stay no longer from prosecuting his suite, and if he would giue me direct answer in my owne buisinesses., I should tell what to resolue, wheras nowe I leese the tearme in wauering expectance,[13] and if he fayle me in the curtesy promised, he shall doe me doble wrong, not only in fayling me, (which I am loth to thincke he should doe), but in staying me from taking other courses I entended before. I pray you lett me haue a speedy and direct answer, and I wilbe beholden to you for yor kyndnes, and if [I] you please to further me in so honest a cause, you shall fynde me thanckfull. So I take my leaue. i9 Iune i6i0.

Yor very louing frend
Fynes Moryson

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 629v.

To my very louing frend Master Curwin at the Flette.
19 Iune 1610.

To Master *Curwin. Co*mplains that he heares not fro<m> Master Gresham. That *hee had c*aused Master Garret to stay Sir Rich: Mor: suite in the Exchequer but hee would stay noe longer. T*h*at hee (vizt) fynes Mo: had put in his bill into the Dutchy.

[13] Moryson will lose the opportunity to prosecute until the following law - term.

Folger Library, Loseley MSS, L. b. 630r.

Master Garret, I pray you speake with Master Curwin in the Fleete. and apoint with him a tyme for Master Greshams meeting you here in my chamber, and giue him assurance, that he shall come & goe away from thence without any troble from you or by yor meanes., and lett me knowe the tyme ⌈of meeting.⌉ when you haue spoken with Master Curwin, that I may be within in my chamber.

Yor very louing frend *Fynes Moryson*

Master Curwin his lodging is hard by the dore on the left hand.

British Library, Harleian MSS, 5133, f. 3r - 3v. Letter to William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke. c. 1626?

Illustrissimo Domino

Fas mihi sit (Illustrissime Comes) per tibi imnatem et continuò assuetam benignitam, te grauiora agentem paucis interpellare: & patrocinium tuum pro concesso habenti Clientis deuoti nomine (verbo non amplius) te affare.

Non illucubratrum opus, vel septemplex Aiacis clypeus a iusta reprehensione, sed nec politissimum quodque ipsius Mercurii Caduceus a morducibus inuidi Momi Faucibus vnquam protegit. Absit vt talis fiduciæ quicquam in tuo quantumius potenti patrocinio posuerim. Sunt qui lucubrationibus, suis æternitatem pollicentur eiusque participationem Patronis etiam se impartiri posse confidunt, sed nec me cæcus amor mei sic fascinauit, vt hoc opus cum Minerua Phidiæ in summa arce collocatum iri sperem: nec tu, qui pro publica re excubias agens, Mausoleum in dies magnificentius tibi extruis, suffulcro tam imbecilli, quo nommis tui splendor nitatur, eges. Humilius sapiunt & rectius (me censore) faciunt, qui inveteratæ consuetudini se hac in parte obsequi, ac deuoti solum modo animi testimonium exhibere profitentur. Nam si non præmium certe excusationem meretur, quod consuetudine semel inualuit, et Medorus Angelicæ, (tot Heroum amore celebris) nomen / singulio arborum corticibus insculpens, eius si famam nihilo auctiorem, certe amorem suum abunde testatum reliquit. Imo ipsi Deo, omnium [bonorum] authori omnium rerum Domino, hoc pii officii nomine, victimarum et odorum (vel ex suo) oblationes acceptæ, gratæque euadunt. Huic itaque mori ego more[m] gerens, te potissimum operi meo Patronem exopto: et post defunctum Dominum ac Herum (pia semper memoria mihi colendum) te orbitatis meæ defensorem vincè ambiens, hanc qualem cumque deuoti erga te obsequii testandi occasionem libenter arripio. Et fruatur sanè hoc opus sua sorte, ac pro merito suo vel viuat, vel interitum patiatur. Tu modo supplicam Clientem non asperneris; tu modo a tui obseruantissimo benignes oculos non auertas. Deinque tibi quo dixi animo hoc qualecunque sit munus, quam possum officiosissime offero, et meipsum in vernam dedo

Tibi ad Imperata humiliter

[humiliter] obedunda promptassimus

Fynes Moryson

Most noble Lord,

May I be permitted, through your unchanging and indeed customary kindness, briefly to interrupt you, engaged as you are on more weighty business, and, taking your kindness for granted, address you in the words of a devoted client (I ask no more).

To a work that has not lacked midnight oil, it is not indeed that the sevenfold shield of Ajax has failed to give protection from just criticism; nay, it is that not even the most gleaming wand that, such as it is, belongs to Mercury himself, has ever protected it from the jaws of envious Momus.[14] Far be it from me to have placed so much reliance in your patronage, powerful though it be. There are those who promise eternal fame to (the fruits of) their own midnight studies and are even confident that they can pass it on to their patrons, but no such blind self-love has ever clouded my judgement that I should hope this work to be set alongside Phidias's Minerva atop the Acropolis;[15] nor do you, who by your efforts on behalf of the common weal, are raising a Memorial daily more magnificent for yourself, need so weak a prop to make the glory of your name more brilliant. They are more humbly wise, and, in my judgement, act more correctly, who confess what they display, by ingrained custom, is a testimony of their obedience to your party and of their spirit devoted only [to you]. For what has once been confirmed by custom deserves excuse if not reward, and Medorus, in carving the name of Angelica (beloved of so many heroes) on the bark of individual trees, though he left his own fame no more increased, at least he left his love well celebrated.[16] Nay,

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[14] There seems to have been some vicious criticism and counter criticism occasioned by Moryson's work. Momus was "...in Greek mythology the personification of criticism and fault-finding". The Caduceus, the "gleaming wand" of Mercury, originally an olive branch, had twined serpents, and was an emblem of those sent to treat about peace. Harvey. Perhaps Moryson simply means that the critics will not stop.

[15] Phidias (c. 500BC) the great sculptor produced three such statues, one of them being in ivory and gold. Harvey

[16] This refers to one of the central episodes in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, when Orlando goes mad (the *furioso* of the title) when he knows of the love of Angelica and Medorus from the incised names on the trees. Moryson compares himself to Medorus, but the parallel with Orlando spurned, a bit like Moryson by his Lordship, cannot have escaped him.

God Himself, Our Lord who is the author of all good things, is influenced by offerings, made in the name of dutiful devotion, of the odour of grateful sacrifices, even though they are his own.[17] Therefore I, following this established custom, choose you as the most mighty patron of my work; and after the death of my Lord and Master (always to be remembered by me with dutiful devotion) soliciting you alone as my protector in my bereavement, I willingly seize this opportunity (such as it is) of testifying to my obedience towards you. Let this work enjoy its own destiny, and in proportion to its deserts, let it live, or let it suffer extinction. I merely beg you not to spurn your Client; only do not avert your kindly gaze from your most watchful servant; finally in the same spirit in which I devote this work to you (such as it is) which I offer with as much sense of duty as I am capable, I devote myself to be your own house-born slave.

Humbly waiting your instruction,
most ready for your tasks,
Fynes Moryson.[18]

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[17] This is typically Morysonian. Having spent pages inveighing against papistical practices, and the ineffectiveness of working our own salvation, Moryson almost writes like a Catholic. The self - conflict that I noted on pp. lxxxvi - lxxxix is most evident here.

[18] Mr Frank Beetham translated this letter.

Appendix Three: The Wills of Thomas, Richard and Fynes Moryson.

The Will of Fynes Moryson's father, Thomas. 1592.

In the name of god amen. I *Thomas Morison* of Candebie in the Countie of Linncoln[1] esquier beinge whole in bodie and of perfecte remembrance praized be god, doe make this my laste will and testamente in manner and forme followinge. Firste I bequeathe my soule to allmightie god the father, the sonn and the hollie ghoste, three persones and one god, stedfastelie and faithefullie trustinge and belivinge, by the onlie merittes of the moste bitter deathe and passion of my sauiour and redeemer Iesus christe, to haue cleere and free forgivenes, and pardonn of all my sinns and liefe euerlastinge, yeat consideringe the vncertentie of liefe in this mortall & transitorie worlde, and howe behoovefull it is,[2] for the satisfaccion of my minde and conscience, and that my younger childrenn yeat not advaunced maie be prouided for, and my debtes, instelie[3] and trulie satisfied and discharged, and that all suche legacies and bequestes, as I shall dispose and bequeathe, by this my laste will and testamente maie be performed [Item] I giue and bequeathe to the poore people inhabitinge within the parishe of St Botulphes without Aldersgate in the cittie of London Five poundes of lawefull englishe moneie, And to the poore people inhabitinge within the townes of Hawhardbye Beseby Woldnewton and Thoresbie in the countie of Linncolne[4] five poundes And to the poore people in Tetney Twentie shillinges. Item I giue and bequeth to my sonn Fines Morison Three hundred poundes of good and lawfull money of Englande To be paide vnto him when he shall comme and be of the age of twentie eighte yeeres, And in the meane time I will that my Exequutors shall paie vnto him. Tenn poundes yeerelie vnto suche time as hee shall comme and be of the said age of twentie eighte yeeres. Item I giue vnto my said sonn Fines Morison, the advouson of the nexte gifte of the prebende or rectorie of Louthe in the said countie. The which I and my sonn[5] George Alington have of the gifte and graunte of Master Devereux and Master Cave esquiere. Item I giue and bequeathe to my sonn Richarde Morison, one annuitie or rente, charge of Twentie poundes by yeere out of my grange or capitall messuage in Tetney, and other landes theare in the saide Countie yeerelie to be paid at the feastes of Easter and Michaellmas by even porcains or

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[1] Cadney ?

[2] "...how necessary it is..."

[3] Instantly ?

[4] Aswarby, Revesby or Bigby or Bilsby ? and Thoresby.

[5] Son-in-law.

within fifteene daies nexte after either of the said feastes, And if it shall happenn the said annuitie or rente charge of Twentie poundes, or anie parte or parcell theareof, to be behinde and vnpaide at the said feastes and daies, That then it shalbe lawfull to the said Richarde Morison or his assignes, to take a sufficiente distresse,[6] and the same to keepe and detaine vntill he be satisfied and paide of all suche arrerages as shalbe behinde vnaunswered and vnpaide. Prouided allwaies that if my said sonn Richarde, shall heereafter, alien, bargaine ⌈or⌉ sell his said annuitie or rente charge of Twentie pounde by yeere, or anie parte or parcell theareof; That then this my gifte and bequeste shalbe to him vtterlie voide and of none effecte, anie thinge heerein contained to the contrarie notwithstandinge. Item I giue and bequeathe to my lovinge daughters, Iane Allingeton and Faithe Mussenden My twoe standinge cuppes or bowles double gilte nowe beinge in my house in London, And Iane Allingeton to take her choice which of them shee will have. Item I giue and bequethe to Frauncis Morrison, and Elizabethe Morison daughters of my Sonn Edwarde Morison, to either of them one hundred poundes of lawefull englishe moneie at the daie of their seuerall marriages, or when they or either of them shall accomplishe the full age of Twentie and one yeeres which shall happenn firste And if it shall plese god that theie or either of them shall die and deperte this worlde before they or either of them shalbe married or to be of the saide age of Twentie one yeeres, Thatt then my minde and will is, the other soe livinge, shall have the porcion of the other sister soe dienge.[7] Item I giue to Charles Alingeton, the sonn of George Allington fortie poundes. And to Hughe Allingeton Sonn of the said George one hundred markes to be paide to them or either of them when theie or either of them shall come and be of the age of Twentie one yeeres,[8] And if it happen the saide Charles or Hughe or either of them to die before theie or either of them doe accomplishe the saideage of Twentie one yeeres, Then my minde, and will is, that the porcion of him soe dienge before the said age of Twentie and one yeeres, shall comme and remaine to his brother then livinge. Item I giue to euerie one of my brother William Morison his childrenn Three pounde six shillinges eighte pence To euerie one of my Nephewe Cowper his childrenn Three pounde six shillinges eighte pence. To

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[6] "II. Law. 3. a. The action of distraining...especially for rent unpaid." *OED*

[7] Frances lived to marry a William Trowsdale in 1604, but Elizabeth must have died as a younger sister was also baptised by the same name in February 1597. See *Harleian Society, Lincolnshire Pedigrees G - O,* 51 (London, 1903), p. 693.

[8] A mark is two thirds of a pound sterling, that is thirteen shillings and four pence.

everie one of my neiphewe Leonarde Palmer his childrenn Three poundes, six shillinges eighte pence. To my neiphewe Thomas Morison sonn of Henrie Morison five poundes. To Iohn Clerke fortie shillinges. And Richard Clerke fortie shillinges. Item I giue to my Cozin Power five poundes, And to euerie one of men servauntes, and women servauntes to whome I paie wages, one yeeres wages. Item I giue and bequeathe to Thomas Morison eldest sonn of my sonn Edwarde Morison Tenn poundes to be paide vnto him, when he shall accomplish and be of the age of Twentie one yeeres. Item I giue and bequeathe to my sonns Fynes Morison Henrie Morison Richarde Morison. And to my daughters Iane Allington and Faithe Mussenden, all my plate nowe in my house in London, not bequeathed in this my laste will and testamente, to be diuided amongste them by the discrecionn of my Exequutors or anie twoe of them. Item I giue and bequeathe vnto my lovinge daughters Iane Allingeton and Faithe Mussenden, To either of them Twoe paire of fine sheetes[9] Twoe pillowes, And twoe pillowbers, One fine table clothe, and one dozen of napkinns of my linnen at Cadeby in the Countie of Lincolnn by the discrecionns of my Exequutors. Item I giue to my goddaughters Katherine Pimme, and Katherine Saunderson, and to my Godsonns Anthonie Williams and Thomas Palmer, to euerie of them, a ringe of the value of Twentie shillinges And to my Niece Timberman Three pounde six shillinges eighte pence And to her daughter Fortie shillinges, And I giue to my Clerkes Matthewe Palmer Thomas Spencer, Richarde Kettle and William Halton, to euerie one of them one colte or nagg by the discrecionn of my Exequutors. Item I giue and bequeathe vnto my sonn Edwarde Morison all my plate in my house at Cadeby aforesaid Excepte the lesser double gilte bowle or standinge cup theare; the which I giue to my daughter morrison, his wiefe. Item I giue to my ⌈said⌉ sonn Edwarde Morison, my ringe with the seale of ⌈my⌉ armes. Item I giue and bequeathe to my sonn Richarde Morison one bedsteade and a featherbed withall the furniture thearevnto belonginge Item I give and bequeathe to my sonn Henrie Morison one bedsteade, one fetherbed withall the furniture thearevnto belonginge, my lease of the demeanes of the mannor of Waythall with the appurtenaunces in the Countie of Lincolnn, and the lease of his chamber in Graies In, in the countie of midlesex, And the lease[10] of the thirde parte of the graunge of Eastrandall, And the sixte parte of the saide Graunge in the Countie of Lincolne. Item I giue and bequeathe to my saide sonn Henrie Morrison fortie poundes, To be paide vnto him when he shalbe of the age twentie and six yeeres: Item I giue and bequeathe to my sonn Thomas Morison and Helen his wief my brewinge vesselle in my house at Sandon in the Countie of Hertforde And soe muche of my pewter brasse, and other implementes theare, to the value

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[9] Pillow - cases. *OED*

[10] East Ravendale.

of Twentie poundes; Ann Morison theire daughter fiftie poundes to be paide to her when shee shall accomplishe the age of Twentie and one yeeres, or daie of her marriage the which shall happen firste. Item I giue vnto Robert Morison one of the sonns of my sonn Edward Morison one annuitie or rente charge of Tenn poundes of lawfull englishe moneie out of my graunge in Tetney and other landes pastures and meadowes, parcell of the same graunge theare duringe his liefe naturall to be paid yeerelie at Ester and Michaellmas by evenn porcionns or within sixteene daies after, either of the saide feastes, And if it shall happenn the saide annuitie or rente chardge, or anie parte theareof to be behinde and vnpaide, at the saide feastes and daies, That then it shalbe lawfull for the saide Roberte Morison or his assignes to take a sufficiente distresse, and the same to keepe and detaine, vntill he be satisfied and paide of all suche arrereages as shalbe behinde vnaunswered, and vnpaide[11] And that this my laste will and testamente maie the better be performed, my debtes and legacies theareby discharged, My minde and will is that my Exequutors, or the Suruivors or the Suruivor of them, shall presentelie after my death with as muche speede as convenientelie maie be, Give, bargainne, allien, and sell all that my mannor of Fulstowe with the appertnannces, and all my landes, tenementes and heriditamentes in Fulstowe, Marche chappell, Garuethorpe, Warholme, Sondcoates and Vtterbie in the Countie of Lincolnn,[12] And all that my capitall messuage or Tenements with the appertnannces in the parishe of Saint Botulphes without Aldersgate in the cittie of London, And with the moneie that shalbe receaued for the same, shall satisfie contente and paie, all my debtes, and all my legacies, by this my laste will and testamente givenn and bequeathed, to anie person or persons, at such daie, daies, time and times, as shalbe due to be paide to them and euerie of them. Item I giue & bequeath vnto my sonn Edwarde Morison, all that my capitall messuage Graunge or Tenemente with the appertnannces in Tetney, and all other landes, meadowes, pastures, and feedinges, called Parker thinge in Tetney aforesaide,[13] and the tithe corne, and hey of the saide Graunge and Parker thinge, or either of them with the appertenannces in Tetney aforesaide. To my sonn Edwarde morison, and his heires forever, vppon condicionn, that he my saide sonn Edwarde Morison shall suffer my Sonnes Fraunces Mussenden, and George Alington or the Suruivors of them, To give graunt allien bargaine, and sell all that my saide mannor of Fulstowe, and my capitall messuage, or

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[11] Robert Moryson died still a child in May 1592. See *Harleian Society, Lincolnshire Pedigrees G - O,* 51 (London, 1903), p. 693.

[12] Fulstow, Marshchapel, Grainthorpe, Waltham? Somercote, Utterby.

[13] I have been unable to identify this.

Tenemente in London aforesaide, whearein he hathe anie righte or titell by reason of the tenure, Wheareby it cannot be deuised by this my laste will and testamente But onlie Twoe partes of the saide premisses, And that my will and meaninge is that if my foresaide sonn Edwarde Morison goe aboute to lett or hinder the sale of the premisses, accordinge to my true intente, and meaninge, and shall refuse to make anie assuraunce to my saide sonns Frauncis Mussenden, and George Alington of all his intereste he cann claime in the same for the furtherance of the sale of the premisses. That then this deuise shalbe voide vnto my saide sonn Edwarde Morison, and vnto his heires, And that I giue and bequeathe the saide capitall messuage, Graunge or Tenemente and other the premisses with the appurtnances in Tetney aforesaid vnto my Sonnes Fynes, Moryson, Henrie Morison, and Richarde Morison, And that my will and meaninge is, that my saide younger sonns before nominated, shall have holde, and enioie, the saide messuage, Landes, Tenementes, and heriditamentes in Tetney aforesaide, after my debtes funeralls and legacies paide, To them and to theire heires foreuer.[14] Item my will and minde is, That if my sonns Edwarde Morison and Thomas Morison, or either of them, or anie other, by theire assentes, meanes or procuremente doe lett or interrupte, the exequucion of this my laste will and testamente, or anie thinge thearein contained, accordinge to my trewe meaninge and intente mencioned in this my laste will and testamente, That then my giftes and bequestes to them or either of them givenn by me in this my laste will and testamente, shalbe to them or either of them soe interruptinge, Vtterlie voide, and of none effecte, anie thinge contained in this my laste will and testamente to the contrarie notwithstanding Item I make and ordaine my lovinge sonns, Edwarde Morrison Frauncis Mussenden, and George Alington Exequutors of this my laste will and testamente and doe give vnto the saide Frauncis Mussenden Tenn poundes, And vnto the said George Alington Twentie poundes for their paines, And also I doe make and ordaine my verie good Lorde the Lorde chiefe Iustice of Englande Sir Drewe Drurie knighte, and my verie lovinge and assured frendes Hughe Alington and Master Thomas Tailor esquiere Superuisors of this my laste will and testament and doe give to everie one of them one peece of plate of the value of five poundes The residewe of all my goodes, leases, cattell, Iuells and plate not before bequeathed, my funeralls performed, my debtes paide, and legacies dischardged, I give & bequeathe to my sonn Edwarde Morison. Item my will and minde is, that if anie ambiguitie, doubte or question shall growe, or arise in this my laste will and testamente and my meaninge thearein, Then I will and my minde is, that my saide meaninge shalbe decided, expounded,

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[14] Edward Lacon, the recipient of three letters from Fynes (see Appendix Two) presumably farmed this land as a tenant - farmer. Fynes was entitled to a proportion of the rental.

determined, and ended by my said supervisers, or anie twoe of them. In witnes wheareof I haue heerevnto subscribed my name and sette my seale The nineteenthe daie of Ianuarie in the Thirtie fowerthe yeere of the raigne of our soueraigne ladie Elizabethe by the grace of god of England Fraunce and Irelande Queene defender of the faithe &c One thousande, five hundred ninetie one.[15] Thomas Morison. Sealed and subscribed in the presence of Richarde Kettell. Henrie Becher. William Halton. S. Roberte Robinson.

Public Record Office, 28 Harrington.

[15] 1592 in modern reckoning. The old man must have left it to the very end to sign his will, as the following month the eldest son Edward was paid by the Crown for the final clearing up of his father's affairs as Clerk of the Pipe.

The Will of Fynes Moryson's brother, Richard. 1624.

In the name of God Amen: The thirtieth daye of Iuly anno domini one thowsand sixe hundreth twenty and fower and in the yeares of the Raigne of oure sovereigne Lorde *Iames* by the grace of God of England Fraunce and Irelland kinge defender of the faithe &c the twoe & twentithe & of Scotland the Eighte and fiftieth I *Sir Richarde Morison* of Tooley in the Countye of Leicester knighte fyndinge my selfe to growe weake, and sickly And willinge soe to settle my worldly estate whilste God affordes me strengthe and memorie That whensoeuer it shall please him to visitt me with any extremitie of Sicknes I be not troubled with the cares thereof but maye whollye applye my self to make my reconciliacion and peace with his divine Maiestie doe make this my last Will and Testament in manner & forme followinge (vizt) First and principallye I commend my Soule vnto Allmighty God Hopeing and vndoubtedly beleevinge throughe the Passion, Deathe, and Resurrection of my Lorde & only Savioure Iesus Christe and by his only merrittes to have Remission of my Synnes and to enioye everlastinge lyfe Next I commend my body to the Earthe to be buryed in decent manner at the discreacion of my Executors hereafter named And as for my estate I owe divers debtes amountinge to a greate Somme occasioned by the stoppe or Wante of payment of my entertaynements due, vnto me by his Maiestie bothe in England and Ireland which I conceive will amounte to neare asmuche as I owe and which I am confident his Maiestie (when by the meanes of my honourable Friends he shalbe putt in mynde of the faithefull service I have done to him, and the late Queene Elizabeth, for the space of well neare Fourty yeares, aswell abroade, in the tyme of Warre, as at hoame, in peace, And howe my estate in the latter end of my tyme is comme to be broken) wilbe graciouslye pleased oute of tender commiseracion to my wief and Childrem to be soe good and gracious to them as by payment of my entertaynementes and monyes due vnto me to enhable my meanes that my iust & conscionable debtes maye be satisfied and payde Till when I can call nothinge my owne nor indeede knowe what I haue nor howe to make any perticulor disposicion thereof But for a full and playne declaracion of my Will and honest meaninge to have my debtes payde with asmuche convenient speed as maye be not knowinge howe longe it maybe before the monyes due by his Maiestie maye be obteyned & gotten I desyre that the Mannor of Bushops fee conveyed to Sir Thomas Coventrye and Sir Roberte Heathe his Maiesties Attorney And Solicitor generall in t<ru>st for his Maiestie maye be rede<e>med & sett free And aswell the same as my Office of Leifetena[u]nte of the Ordinaunce (which besyde my owne lyfe, I have, for the lyfe of Sir *William Harrington* by Patent taken in his name in truste to be sould or disposed of to the best proffitt by my executors hereafter named or the survivors or survivor of them or by the greatest number of them with all convenient speed And with the money thereof commeinge that suche other thinges as I have morgaged or pawned maybe redeemed and my

other debtes (so farre as the same will extend) trulye satisfied And towardes the further satisfienge of my debtes and redempcion of my Morgages and pawnes and raysinge of moneys for other iust occasions I desyre that suche a convenient proporcion of my Plate and other Furniture of howshould (as maye well and decently be spared leavinge my wief competentlye furnished at the discreacion of my Executors or the survivores or survivor of them or the greater number of them (as aforesayd) maye also be soulde And that the monye thereof commynge (together with suche Ready money as I shall leave at my deathe (or soe muche thereof as shalbe needfull) maye be disposed towardes payment of my owne proper debtes havinge noe desyre to paye other menns further then of necessitie shalbe enforced vnles my estate were better able to beare it But aswell for the better manageinge orderinge thereof (with reputacion & accordinge to good conscience). As for all other thinges I referre my self to my Executors or the survivors or survivor of them or the greater number of them (as aforesayd) And for that I knowe not what a hole may be made into my estate by that tym the debtes be payde nor can make any estimate what the Remayne wilbe And therfore cannot make a perticuler division thereof to & amongste my wief & Children But must repose speciall truste and confidence in my executors (On whose faithefullnes and sinceritie I wholly relye) And for the better direction to knowe my intent and meaninge my desyre is that (sale being made, and my debtes payde as aforesayd) That the rest of my estate be lefte to my deare and loveinge wief for the supporte of herself and the breedinge and preferment of my younger children whome I leave to her motherly care aswell for vertuous educacion as convenient porcions Havinge respect to my estate vppon the Condicions and limitacions hereafter mencioned Not doubtinge but that shee (like a vertuous lovinge wief & an affectionate tender Mother) will soe farre as her iudgement leades her) be more carefull of them then any Frend can be soe longe as shee shall live vnmarried to have power of hir owne will But incase shee marrye agayne which I forbydd not) Then to take awaye Iarres and vnkyndnes that maye aryse betwixte her and her second husband concerninge my Children and estate Or if shee shoulde throughe overmuche indulgence vppon some of my sayd Children and too muche neglect of others (perhapps of better hopes) faile in her iudgement (as the best and wisest weomen often doe) My will & meaninge is that in either of them cases vizt of marryenge agayne or vneven carriage towardes my sayd younger Children havinge respect to theire demerrittes whereof I make my sayd executors Iudges betwixte their mother and them that my said wief be allotted to her owne perte and my Childrens pertes and porcions devided from the same and everye of them to knowe their owne by a distribucion to be made by my sayd executors or the survivors or survivor of them or the greater number of them in suche sorte manner and forme as if the same distribucion had bene made by my self accordinge to what they shall thincke in theire consciences

moste meete dulye consideringe all occasions and accidentes then happened and aswell the same as all other thinges to be done accordinge to discreacion and good conscience as my truste is in them. And as concerninge my eldest Sonne I have already procured him a Pencion of Twenty shillinges sterlinge per diem duringe his lief. And purpose (by Godes grace) to turne over my Company to him yf I can obteyne soe muche favoure of his Maiestie Which if I shall effect Then I conceive him to be well provided for (my estate considered Havinge lefte him a fayre foundacion for his vertues to buylde vppon. But if I shall faile in my hopes of gettinge my Companye for him, Then I must leave him amongste the rest to the care of his Mother and my executors as aforesayd Intendinge him besydes his Pencion as good a share in my estate as any of my other Children if my executors shall not fynde cause to the contrarye. And of this my Will I make and ordaine executors the Righte Honorable my ever moste honored Lorde William Earle of Pembrooke and my worthye loveinge Freindes Sir Iohn Iephson my loveinge Brothers in lawe Sir William Harrington and Sir Beniamyn Rudyard knightes and George Alington esquier selected Freindes chosen oute of longe experience & knowledge I haue had aswell of their loves as of theire faithefullnes and trewthe in all matters of Honor & Honestie Humbly desyringe his Lordshipps countenaunce and assistance with his counsaille and honorable advise to the rest Some of whome as their seuerall occasions will permitt I assure my selfe will vouchsafe some tyme for accion as neede shall require And the better to enable my said executors and to give them the better strengthe and power to execute this my Will accordinge to my intent and true meaninge I doe hereby (as farre foorth as in me lyeth either in lawe or equitie) give will and bequeathe to my sayd executors William Earle of Pembrocke Sir Iohn Iephson Sir William Harrington Sir Beniamyn Rudyard George Alington and to their heires and assignes & to them their executors and assignes respectively as the case requireth, All my Mannors Messuages Landes Tenementes Hereditamentes. And all my Leases Goodes Chattells debtes & Creditte̲s whatsoeuer aswell those in morgage or pawne as otherwise or wherein I or any other to my vse or in trust for me in any wise haue any estate righte tytle propretye clayme or demaunde whatsoeuer either in lawe or equitie or whereof or wherein I have or maye have any manner of disposinge power or power of Redempcion in lawe or equitye To haue & to houlde vppon the truste aforesayd & to thinntent herein before expressyd In wittnes whereof I haue hereunto putt my hand & seale the daye and yeares firste above written *Rich: Moryson.* Signed sealed and published by the abovenamed Sir Richard Moryson as his last Will and in the presence of *Autho. Lowe. Na: Butler* Anthony Rouffe The marke of Tho: Mark Codee.

{m.n. <F>ynes Moryson strooke owte in twoe in all places with some other into the line <altera>cions of lesse moment before the signings <se>alinge & publishinge thereof
Antho:Lowe

Na: Butler.
Anthony Rouffe.
The marke of *Tho:*
Macodee.}

PRO, 60 Skynner.

Fynes Moryson's Will. 1629.

Mr Fines Morison his last will and testament bearinge date i5 Sept 1629.

To Mistris Elizabeth Dynne his pictures To George Allington Esquir his best night Capp and handkercheife To Master Francis Dynne his bookes and Cabonett To Master William Ireland his guilded halberd[16] To Mistris Susan Ireland his wife all his lynnen and the truncke wherein it lyeth To Sarah Ireland two chaires and two redd stooles both of Cloth To Master Edward Waterhouse Twentie shillinges To his Servant Isaack Pywall all his wearinge apparrell except his best cloke Alsoe his bed wherein he lay with all the furniture belonginge to it and the bedd wherein his servant Isaack Pywall lay with the furniture belonging therevnto As alsoe the hanginges of his Chamber And of his last will he makes Master Francis Dynne Executor This is the effect of the will of Master Fynes Moryson who died the twelveth of Febr. last Witnes: Fra: Dynne Isack Pywall Susan Ireland

PRO, 27 Scroope.

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[16] J. C. Whitebrook, in 'Fynes Moryson, Giordano Bruno and William Shakespeare', *Notes and Queries* (October 1936), 255 - 260, first suggests that this is the William Ireland, haberdasher who had been granted the twentyfive year lease in 1604 of the Blackfriars property and gatehouse that Shakespeare was to acquire on 10 March 1613. See Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford, 1977), p. 272.

Appendix Four: Three Coins Relevant to Fynes Moryson.

An osella, a presentation piece of Doge Cicogna.[1]



An Elizabethan Irish sixpence minted in the Tower.[2]



Augustus of Saxony commemoration thaler "*Gotha capta*".[3]



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[1] "...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*." Fol. 130.

[2] The harp image used by Moryson on fols. 259 and 299 for bringing Ireland to good order may well have been prompted by his familiarity with its coinage.

[3] "As when the Emperor had proscribed the Duke of Coburg, elldest sonne to Iohn Fredericke late Elector of Saxony, and had giuen authority to Augustus, present Elector of Saxony by the guift of the Emperor and father to the Elector Christianus nowe buryed, that he as marshall of the Empire (indeede as his cheefe enemy for the emullation of the Electorship which he had gotten from his Father) should make warr vpon the sayd Duke of Coburg, and when he vpon the sayd authority, but with his owne forces, and at his owne charge, had taken and dismanteled Gotha the sayd Dukes strongest Forte, he at his retorne to Dresden in triumph, did cast like monyes amonge the people, Coyned of purpose for memory of that act, whereof my selfe did see many peeces kept by diuers Cittizens" Fol. 495.

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The numbers refer to Moryson's pagination, or rather his fol. numbers. They do not refer to my pagination. As this necessitated hand rather than computer generation, I decided not to aim for absolute comprehensiveness. Thus if somebody wanted to find Tugium, that person would have to go to Switzerland and Swiss and search for 'cantons', and 'cantons described in terms of religious affiliation'. Moryson loved lists, and sometimes I have just put them under a general title. I include everybody in the Regency Council of the young Christian IV of Denmark, because there is a Rosencrantz there, and the potential literary link is obvious. Ultimately, my choice is open to criticism, but a comprehensive index would be very long indeed. Under the main headings of peoples and lands, I have tried to achieve some uniformity of approach for Moryson was dealing with various peoples in a similar way. Italics indicate a significant entry.