

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THE UNPUBLISHED *ITINERARY* OF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

by

GRAHAM DAVID KEW

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts
of The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Volume II

The Shakespeare Institute
School of English
Faculty of Arts
The University of Birmingham
July 1995

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

No 1561.94 Σ.4.1.¹

The fourth Part of an Itinerary

written by Fynes Moryson gent:

first in the Latine tongue and then

by himselfe translated into English

Continuing

The discourse vppon seuerall heads

through all the Dominions he passed

in his trauell described in the former

three Parts

At London

Printed by . 1595² //

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

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

² The 1595 is written in pencil, and was probably added long after the composition of the manuscript. It may refer to the year when Moryson returned to England after his first journey, and set out for his second. It is a mistake.

With [the] king[s] [*James his*] Majesties full and sole Priuiledge to the Author *Fynes Morison* gent his Executors Administrators Assigns and deputyes for xxj yeares next ensuing from the graunt thereof, to cause to be imprinted, and to sell assigne or dispose to his or their best benefitts, the former parts and this fourth *Part* of this booke entitled *An Itinerary &c.* aswell in the English as in the latine tongue; Straitly forbidding any other during the said yeares to imprint or cause to be imprinted to import vtter or sell or cause to be imported vttered or /10/ sold the said Booke or Bookes or any part thereof within any of his Majesties dominions, vppon payne of his Majesties high displeasure and to forfeit Three pounds lawfull English mony for euery such Booke printed imported vttered or sold contrary to the meaning of this Priuiledge, besides the forfeiture of the said Bookes &c. As appeareth by his Majesties leters Pattents dated the xxvth of Aprill the Fifteenth yeare of his Majesties Raigne of England Fraunce and Ireland And of Scotland the Fiftieth.³ /20/ //

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

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

A Table of the Contents of the seuerall Chapters in
this fourth Part.

The first Booke.

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

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

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

Itinerary will be referred to as *Itinerary B* where there is
any possibility of confusion.

This appears to be rather an ungainly paraphrase and
adaptation of the original.

⁴ The very disparate states that are all called
Commonwealths, whatever their political form suggest that
the nearest definition given by *OED* is the second, "The
whole body of people constituting a nation or state, the
body politic; a state, an independent community, esp.
viewed as a body in which the whole people have a voice or
interest."

And of the seuerall absolute Princes thereof. But in this Chapter only of the historicall Introduction in generall for all the dominions.

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

Chapter *v*. Of the Commonwealth of *Venice* in particuler, touching some of the heads conteyned in the tittle of the first Chapter.

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

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

Chapter *viiij*. Of the Commonwealth of *Italy* in Generall, /30/ and of some of the greater States thereof in particuler touching the remayning heads contayned in the tittle of the first Chapter.

The second Booke.

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

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

{ c.w. Chapter *iiij* }

/ii/

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

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

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

The third Booke. */10/*

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

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

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

Chapter *iiii.* Of the *Turkes* Religion.

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

Chapter *vj.* Of *Fraunce*, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* touching Religion.

The fourth Booke.

Chapter. *i.* Of the *Germans* nature, and Manners, strength /20/ of Body, and witt, Manuall Arts [and manners], Sciences, vniuersityes, language, Pompe of Ceremonyes, especially in mariages, Childbearings, Christnings and Funeralls as also of their diuerse Customes, Sports, exercises, and particulerly of hunting, hawking, Fowling, Birding, and Fishing.

Chapter *ii.* Of *Swei[th]/[tz]erland* touching the heads of the first Chapter.

Chapter *iii.* Of the *Vnited Prouinces of Netherland* touching

the heads of the first Chapter.

Chapter *iiii*. Of *Denmarke* touching the heads of the first Chapter. /30/

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

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

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

[Chapter *vii*] The fifth Booke.

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

iii

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

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

Chap: *iii*. Of *England* touching the heads of the first

Chapter.

Chap: *iiii*. Of *Scotland* touching the heads of the first

Chapter.

Chap: *v*. Of *Ireland* touching the heads of the first

Chapter.

Chap: *vj*. A generall and breife discourse of the *Jewes*,/10/
and of the *Grekes*.

The fourth part of an Itinerary written by
Fynes Moryson Gent: contayning the Continuance
of the discourse begunn in the the former third
Part vppon seuerall heads through all the
dominions he passed in his Travell.

The first Booke.

Chap: i.

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

Noe man can iustly expect from me a full, and exact
discourse vppon the heads aboue written, which few men,
(and that with extraordinary labour and practice) can write
of their owne [Country] [labour] that should be best knowne
to euery man, But it ought to suffice, that I make such
obseruations as a Passenger can make in a Cursory Iourney
/20/ of a straunge Country, by reading, Conference, and

like objects of the sence. And because as many hearers of sermons come from Church well satisfied, 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 /30/ any desyre or hope fully to satisfy the curious readers of our *Crittick* age.¹

{ m.n. 32 - 33. *The historicall introduction* }

Thus I fall to the purpose, beginning with the historicall

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

introduction of *Turkye*.² Wicked *Mahomett*, were he an Arabian or Persian, was borne in the yeare of our lord 597. and wrote the *Alcoran* of his new religion about the yeare 622,³ whome his followers saluted king, and the Saracens (most truely called *Agarines*),⁴ leaving the pay of the

² This historical description, and the subsequent description of the court officials owes much to Antoine Geuffroy who wrote *Estat de la Cour du Grant Turc l'ordre de sa gendarmerie et de ses finances: avec ung brief discours de leurs conquestes depues le premier de ceste race*, (Anvers, 1542). It was a bestseller. Subsequently augmented, the British Museum possesses the *Briefue description de la Covrt dv Grant Turc*, (Paris, 1543) which is the edition that I have consulted. Moryson refers to this author "writing in the French tounge", fol. 559. This edition is referred to as Geuffroy hereafter. His work was translated into German, Latin and English. See Stephane Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs Dans L'Empire Ottoman (XIV - XVI siècles)* Publications de la Société Turque d'Histoire VII, 117 (Ankara, 1991), pp. 199 - 200.

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

³ It is generally accepted that Mohammed was born about 570. Moryson may have been wishing to indicate that his alleged youth whilst writing the Koran was a further indication of its falsity. Moryson questions this date on fol. 350.

⁴ "St. Jerome (Ezek. viii. xxv) identifies the Saracens with the *Agareni* (Hagarens, descendants of Hagar) 'who are now called Saracens, taking to themselves the name of Sara'. A. n. 1. a. Among the later Greeks and Romans, a name for the nomadic peoples of the Syro - Arabian desert which harassed the Syrian confines of the Empire; hence, an Arab; by extension, a Muslim." *OED*

Christian Emperor of the East, ioyned their armes to his forces, against whome the *Persian* king drew to his ayde the *Turquestanes* inhabiting *Turquemaniam* or *Turkye* lying /40/ vppon the Confines of *Parthia*. The said *Persian* king being ouercome in the yeare 640.⁵ by the *Mahometan Saracens*, the *Turquestans* (vulgerly called *Turkes*) yeilded themselues tributory to these *Saracens*, and withall tooke their *Mahometan* Religion [falling among] [which to this] day they hold; But a difference of this religion falling among // [Chap]Booke.i. *The Turkes Commonwealth. Chap:i. fol:2* the *Saracens* devided their Empire, [about the yeare 108], part following the *Caliph* of *Persia* and part the *Sultan* of *Egipt*.⁶ The *Turkes* about the yeare 1040. casting of the yoke of the *Saracens*, made themselues a king, and increased their kingdome with the fall of the *Saracen* Empire about the yeare 1080. The *Tartars* about the yeare 1258 cast the *Turkes* out of *Persia* where they planted Christian Religion and after subdued *Syria*,⁷ but the *Sultan* of *Egipt* droue them out of *Syria* about the yeare 1268. At last the

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

⁶ Moryson refers to the split of the Moslems into the Sunni and Shiite sects.

⁷ The Mongols captured Baghdad in 1258 and Aleppo and Damascus in 1260. The Mongols were not Christians, although there were a few heretical Christians among them.

Turquemans or *Turkes* seated in *Asia* the lesser, swallowed the *Saracens* Empire in the East, These *Turkes* had then fower /10/ Familyes, which like the *Cantons* of *Sweitzerland* gouerned their *Commonwealth* till *Ottaman*⁸ of the *Ogusian* family, suppressing the other three, and getting the whole Empire of the *Turkes* about the yeare 1300. left the name of *Ottoman* hereditary to the kings of the *Turkes*, as that of *Cæsar*, was left to the *Rommane* Emperors. *Orcanes* the sonne of *Ottoman* seated himselfe at *Prusa* or *Bursia* in the lesser *Asia*.⁹ The Christian Emperor of the East required ayde against the *Bulgarians* of *Amurath* sonne to *Orcanes*, who inticed by the pleasant fertilitye of *Greece* passed the *Hellespont* with an huge army, and openly /20/ affecting the Empire of the East, in the yeare 1363. stayed in *Thrace* with his army.¹⁰ *Cyriscelobes*¹¹ (or as others write

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

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

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

¹¹ In Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, edited by Charles Hughes (London, 1903), p. 2, referred to hereafter as Hughes, it is spelt *Cyrisceobes*. Only where we disagree on

Calapin) being king of the *Turkes* in the yeare 1397¹², left his sonnes to be his heyres, but his brother *Moses*¹³ caused them all to be killed, whome his third brother *Mahomett* slewe with like trecherie, and became the first king of that name, from which tyme the manner of the *Turkish* kings to beginn their Tyrannicall gouernment with the cruell strangling of all their brothers first grew into Custome, and after was established for a lawe. This *Mahomett* the first, seated himselfe at *Adrianopolis* in *Thrace*, and subdued /30/ *Macedonia*. *Amurath* called vulgarly *Morat: Beg* in the yeare 1419. subdued *Seruia*,¹⁴ and gaue the

the transcription of words will the difference be noted. Where Hughes modernises, and omits repetitions, or substitutes j for i or u for v or vica versa the difference will be passed over, unless it helps to clarify what is unclear.

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

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

¹⁴ "*Amurath, que les Hungres et Sclauons appellent Amanrat, et les Turcs Moratbey, ou Moratbey, & Moratbegy, qui signifie Morat seigneur.*" Geuffroy, sig. G3r. Geuffroy

Hungarians a wofull ouerthrow at *Varna*, and first instituted the famous military footmen called *Ianizares*.¹⁵ *Mahomett* the second vtterly extinguished the Christian Empire of the East, taking the head Citty thereof *Constantinople* in the yeare of our lord 1453. so first deseruing to be stiled the Emperor of the *Turkes*. In the meane tyme the *Mahometan Parthians* about the yeare 1350, had driuen the Christian *Tartars* out of the kingdome of *Persia*, and the *Scithian Tamberlane* in the [yeare] 1400, driving out them, had possessed /40/ himselfe of that kingdome. After *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turkes Assimbeius* discending of the *Turkes* did againe driue the *Scithians* out of the *Persian* kingdome in the yeare 1470.¹⁶

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

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

¹⁶ When a Turcoman Uzun Hasan Bey killed Abu Said in 1469, the "Timurid empire entered a new phase of disintegration", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 7 vols,

Baiazet the second possessed the *Turkish* Empire at *Constantinople* in the yeare 1481. and in the tyme of his Empire, *Ismael Sophus* king of *Persia*, reputed by his for a Prophet, became the Author of a new *Mahometan* sect, differing from that of the *Turkes*, as pretending a more pure reformation thereof, and thereby sowed a successiue and deadly hatred, rising from the said difference of religion, and to this day remayning betweene the *Persian* sect /50/ of the *Persians*, and the *Arabian* sect of the *Turkes*.¹⁷ *Selimus* Emperor of the *Turkes* subdued the Empire of the *Saracen Sultan* of *Egipt*, with his order of knights called *Mamalukes* vtterly extinguishing them both in the yeare 1517, *Amurath* vulgarly *Morat[h]t*) the sonne of *Selime*¹⁸ succeeded Emperor in the yeare [1574. and was living in the yeare] when I began my iourney towards *Turky*. He was said to haue liued with his *Sultana* (or *Empresse*) 32

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

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

¹⁸ In reducing his history, Moryson has conflated Selim I the Grim (1512 - 1520) who conquered much of present day Egypt, Syria and Arabia, with Selim II the Sot (1566 - 1574) and father of Murad III (1574 - 1595).

yeares, and to haue had no Concubine for the first 20 yeares, but the people murmuring, that contrary to the Custome of his Ancestors, he suffered the succession of his Empire to depend vppon one sonne, therevppon to /60/ // *Booke i. The Turkes commonwealth. Chap:i. fol:3.*

haue taken some Concubines, and his obseruance of Chastity once broken, to haue had so many as they could hardly be numbred.¹⁹ He was of a meane stature, of a cleare complexion white and ruddy, a chearefull Countenance, and corpulent or fatt in the body. He greatly delighted in Jewells which he bought at high rates, and wore rich apparrell.²⁰ He was of a merry disposition and hated

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

²⁰ "Era Sultan Murat di mezzana statura, bianco, rosso, e si grosso che pareua che non hauea collo, era il suo volto regale, grande, bello, e giouale...Vestiuu ricca, e pomposamente e era molto dedito alle gioie, e pietre preziose...d'ineestimabil valore." Page 2 of Ische's document in Rosedale.

crueltie, which his dying mother as it were by her last Testament (nothing being more religiously obserued by the Turkes then their parents last Will) charged him to avoyd.²¹ He loued peace, yet with good successe made warr against the Persians, not in person, but by his Generalls,²² which /10/ kinde of making warr is more commodious for these Emperors, then if in person they should lead their Armyes, since their Confines are farr distant from Constantinople where they alwayes winter, so as great part of the sommer is spent in leading forth and bringing back their Army. Howsoever he was of a soft nature, and giuen to pleasure, yet in Affrick he subdued the kingdome of Tunis and razed Goleta²³ to the ground, and in Hungarie he tooke Chiauerin²⁴ and left the Hungarian warr hereditary to his sonne, who pursued the same with great earnestnes. He did willingly read histories, causing some to be translated into the vulgar tongue, and was /20/

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

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

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

²⁴ Chianarini.

said to be an excellent Poett, inviting his Courtiers by rewards to that study.²⁵ He greedily affected noueltie, and built the greatest part of his Imperiall Serraglio or Pallace.²⁶ He loued Musick, but had not the patience to attend the tuning of instruments, so as the Venetians sending him a Consort²⁷ which he desyred to heare, they could not be so ready after they had long expected him, but that vppon his sodeine Coming they were forced to spend a litle tyme in tuning their instruments, whereat he grew so impatient as he went away in anger, and would neuer come againe to heare them. Indeed I could neuer obserue that the *Turkes* haue any skill /30/ in musick, only I haue heard them play with a strong hand vppon a poore litle fidle nothing lesse then delightfully to the eare.²⁸

He was by nature carryed to extremes, seldome holding the

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

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

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

²⁸ It is called *kemençe*.

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

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

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

³¹ "*Non fece alla regina, madre di questo Re...mai chebin, (che vuol dir carta dotale) la quale colei che non l'ha, non si puo chi amare ne moglie, ne Regina legitimamente anzi e sempre schiaua...*" Page 4 of Ische's document in Rosedale. Again Moryson adds details from his personal experience. He had seen the tombs of the Sultans, and comments disparagingly on the fact that they were served in death as in life. See fol. 567. *Chebin* is the gauze worn by ladies of a marriageable age, and so may well have become a vulgar term for a dowry which normally is *çeyiz*. RM

after he had done it,³² which suspicion was not without iust cause, since the mother of the eldest sonne while the father liueth, is in seruile subiectiō to him, but when her sonne raigneth, out of his religious duty to her, vseth to haue great authority and liberty to liue at her pleasure. He raigned 19 yeares 26. dayes and liued 51 yeares, and dyed the second /50/ hower of the night vppon the 6. day of *January* after the old style in the yeare 1595, while I was yet in my Iourney to *Constantinople*.³³ He left two daughters maryed, one to *Ibrahim* cheife *Bashaw*³⁴ (or *Visere*) the other to *Halil Basha*, and besides 25. daughters kept in the old *Serraglio* to be maryed to like great Subiects by the Emperor their brother, and also he left 19. male children, //

<fol:4.> *Booke i. The Turkes Commonwealth. Chap:i.*

besides the eldest succeeding him and three of his

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

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

³⁴ A Bashaw is a transliteration of *baş*, a head of one of the departments. Often a Bashaw would be a vizier as well. Vizier comes from "*vezîr*: a minister of the sultan and member of the imperial council," Inalcik, p. 226.

Concubines great with Childe.

{ m.n. 4,5. *The Emperor then liuing.* }

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

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

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

³⁷ "*Venerdi adunque 27. Gennajo alla noua a quarto hore del giorno giunse in Constantinopoli il nouo Re Sultan Mehemet...presso al gran Serraglio, e guinse vneci giorni doppo la morte di suo padre..*" Ische, Page 6 in the document in Rosedale. In failing to anglicize the date here, Moryson makes it appear that Mohammed took three weeks rather than eleven days to reach Constantinople.

palmes of *Eunuches* who were clothed in black, yet wore their white heads, or Turbents ouer a black cap.³⁸ The same evening his 19. brothers were brought to kisse his hands, at which tyme, he was said to haue wept, and in detestation of the horrible lawe /20/ to beginn their raigne with the cruell murder of their brothers, was said to haue sworne neuer to take any Concubine, nor to know any other Woman then his owne *Sultana*, yet after few dayes he receiued 50 virgins presented to him, and within few moneths, by that tyme I came to *Constantinople*, had 500. Concubines for his owne saddle, whereof that sommer going to the warr in *Hungary*, he was said to leaue 40. great with childe. His said brothers having done reuerence vnto him, vnder pretence to be circumcised were led into the next chamber, where that Ceremony being performed /30/ to them, (whereby a *Turke* is called *Musulman* that is admitted into their Church), they were presently strangled by dumb men,³⁹ and

³⁸ Hughes changes to "rap", p. 6.

³⁹ The subject was topical when Shakespeare was writing the second part of *Henry IV* which was late 1596 or 1597. Hal appears before his anxious brothers, and reassures them by saying,

Brothers, you mix your sadness with some fear.
This is the English not the Turkish court;
Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
But Harry Harry. V. 2. 46 - 49.

All references will be taken from *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, edited by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford, 1988). This stunning and incorrect anachronism, along with Cleopatra's lace and the striking clock in *Julius Caesar*, implies that the play is in a dramatic present, even though the events took place in a time long past.

so laid in Coffins of Cypres, with their faces open, that the Emperor (after the Custome) passing through that chamber to visitt his mother, might see their faces, and with his eyes behold them both living and dead,⁴⁰ lest any one should be preserved. The same brothers were thence carryed, and presently laid by their father in the same Coffines and in a stately Sepulcher built by *Amurath* of purpose for himselfe and them. Then the Emperour went to doe reuerence to his mother in her lodgings; for /40/ as I formerly said, the Emperors make [great] religion to obserue their dead parents last Testament, and to giue their living mother great respect and power in state matters, wherevppon I said the late Emperors were afraid to giue the mother of their eldest sonne (though neuer so deare to them) a letter of dowry least⁴¹ she being thereby made *Sultana*, for hope of power in her sonnes tyme; should practice their death. And so great is this power of the mother in state matters, as the king of *Persia* [not] long before sent a woman to this Court for his Ambassador, as most fitt to treat with the *Sultana* and her women. /50/

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

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

⁴¹ Hughes changes to "lest", p.6.

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. chap:i. fol:5.

putt out of his Pallace his fathers cheife Concubines, and sent them to the old Pallace or *Serraglio*, to be kept their by *Eunuches* apart with the rest of his fathers Concubines, and thence to be giuen in mariage by the Emperor to his greatest Subiects.⁴² Likewise he sent out his fathers *Sodomiticall* boyes. But the three Concubines left with childe by his father were left to the speciall charge of trusty *Eunuches* that the Children at the birth might be strangled if they proued male Children.⁴³ Also he sent out of his Pallace the dumb men and dwarfes, in whome he tooke noe such delight as his father did.⁴⁴ The said Concubines /10/ while the Emperor liueth, are for the most part kept in the old *Serraglio* with his sonnes and daughters, but in

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

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

⁴⁴ "...e la gran turba di muti, e nani, con che se intrateneua il re suo padre, se intende che andaran tutti fuori del *Serraglio*, perche il nouo re non é ingente affetionato a simil gente." Ische, p. 9. of his document in *Rosedale*.

seuerall parts of the house onely the eldest sonne with his mother and some few Concubines in whose more frequent Conuersation the Emperor is delighted, vse to be kept in the Emperors owne *Serraglio*.⁴⁵ Ordinarily each hath 15. Aspers⁴⁶ a day for maintenance and is apparrelled twice euery yeare at the end of their two lents. Certaine old women are sett ouer them, but the whole *Serraglio* is gouerned by an *Agha*⁴⁷ with Porters, & other officers being all gelded men. When it pleaseth the Emperor to take /20/ viewe of them they are all sett in order, and as he passeth by, he casts his handkercher to her whome he will haue brought to his bed, and she is presently carryed to the Bath where she is anoynted with balme and precious oyntments, & washed, and then richly apparrelled, is brought to the Emperors bed who giues her presently tenn thousand Aspers, and besides if she please him, vseth to

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

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

⁴⁷ "*Ağa* : Chief; master; head servant of a household." Inalcik, p. 217.

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

This Emperor *Mahomett* the third living at the tyme I came to *Constantinople*, was borne in the yeare 1564. the moneth of *August* and began to raigne in the yeare 1595. being about /40/ 3i yeares of age. His eldest sonne was called *Selim* being about i4. yeares of age but vncircumcised, and it was expected, that with great pompe and Concourse of Princes Ambassadors, he should be circumcised in the moneth of *August* following at the end of lent, and the Feast of *Beyram* (as our Easter) which they keepe twice each yeare. And after that he was presently to be sent (according to the old Custome) to *Bursia*, of old called *Prusa* the ancient seat of the kings of *Bithinia* and after they were conquered made the seat of the *Turkish Sultanes* till they tooke *Constantinople*. And that Citty and Prouince he was /50/ to gouerne, and neuer more to see the face of his living

father,⁴⁸ nor of his mother, till his father should dye, in regard of the great ielousye attending the throne of kings, which among the *Turkes* //

fol:6 Booke i. The Turkes Commonwealth. Chap:i.

is so excessiue, as it takes away all naturall loue betweene fathers children and brethren. The Emperors second sonne was called *Solyman*. This *Mahomett* began his Empire⁴⁹ with a guift to the Army of three millions of gold Sultanons,⁵⁰ for the number of the soldiers was greatly increased, so as besides other orders, there were then at

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

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

⁵⁰ A Sultanon, a gold coin was worth "six score Aspers" according to George Sandys as quoted in *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584 - 1602: With his Autobiography and Selections from his Correspondence*, edited by Sir William Foster, Hakluyt Society, Series II, 67, (London, 1931), p. 294, referred to hereafter as Sanderson. The *OED* defines it as "A former Turkish gold coin valued at about 8s", and cites Moryson's *Itinerary A* as its second example, the first being in 1612.

Constantinople more then 24000 *Ianizaries*.⁵¹ Then he caused his fathers debts and all mony due for any soldiers stipends to be fully paid. Having a *Ianizarie* for my guide in spite of a great *Chiavss*⁵² offering by force to repell me (as I shall shew in the following discourse of the *Ianizaries* power) /10/ I did see this Emperor when he came riding to St Sophy⁵³ the cheife Mosche or church ioyning close to his Pallace, at which tyme all the Commaunders and officers on horseback, or on foote according to their place, came in the morning to the Emperors *Serraglio* and sett themselues in rancks, from the dore of his Chamber in

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

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

⁵³ Justinian's Church of the Holy Wisdom *Hagia Sophia* had been transformed to a mosque in 1453.

the third inner Court to the very dore of the Church on both sydes the way to garde his person, who at last came riding on horseback with diuers horses richly furnished, and led empty by him, having many great men walking before him, and many footemen running by, vulgarly called *Pykes*,⁵⁴ /20/ carrying short bowes and arrowes, and wearing a Cap of mingled Coulors in the forme of a suger loafe, with white shirts hanging out ouer their breeches, and when the people cryed *Alla Hough*⁵⁵ (as we say long liue the king) the Emperor bowed downe his body. He had a round face which was faire and ruddy, but somewhat frowning, or austere, and he nourished [a] abroad and long black beard, but was very Corpulent or fatt, and seemed on horseback to be of somewhat a low stature. He was said to delight in the exercise of shooting, and to haue skill in the trade of a Fletcher, vsing to make many arrowes with /30/ his owne hand, and to giue them to his great Subiects for a present of no small importance, (as indeed all the *Turkish* Emperors vse to haue, and professe skill in one manuell trade or other). For his exercise of shooting, he had a paire of Butts in a priuate Chamber, and the first sommer within [one] few monethes after his coming to the Empire, being to lead his Army into *Hungary*, for prosecution of that warr which his father left him with the Emperor of *Germany*, and

⁵⁴ Originally from the Persian *peyk*.

⁵⁵ *Allah Huwa Akbar*, God is the greatest, the call to prayer. RM.

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

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

⁵⁷ Moryson probably heard about this from the English Ambassador, Edward Barton himself. The account in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols, (Glasgow, 1905 - 1907), VIII (1905), 320, referred to hereafter as Purchas, differs a little. "The Ambassador reported to Master John Sanderson, that the Hodjee or Schoole-master of the Great Turke, encouraged him in this extremitie to get upon his Horse, wrapping himselfe in Mahomets Flag, and to take these three Arrowes, (m. n. *This holy Flag and these*

Emperors death hapning within few yeares and of his young sonne succeeding him, and of some great Commaunders //

Booke.i. The Turkes Commonwealth. Chap:i. fol:7.

therevppon raising Ciuill warr, together with the *Ianizaries* insolent mutiny and [therevppon raising Ciuill warr] other passages of that State falling out since my being there, the French history compendiously treateth.⁵⁸

I shall not need to add any Geneologie of the Emperors, since they vsing to strangle all their brothers, and not only the daughters but the male children borne of them, being excluded from succession in the Empire, that Family of the *Ottoman* hath noe collaterall lynes, neither can any man be said to be of the bloud Royall, but only the Emperors sonnes, kept for the like butcherie of their elder brother. Only the Common voyce was, That the Emperor of /10/ *Turky* and the king of the *Tartars* were to succeed one an other vppon defect of heyres males on either side.

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

⁵⁸ It seems odd that Moryson did not first consult Richard Knolles's *General Historie of the Turkes from the First Beginning of that Nation* which was published in 1603 and extended in a second edition of 1610, and in another edition of 1621. It seems unlikely that the "French history" could be Knolles's source, Jean Jacques Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcorum* printed at Frankfurt in 1596, a year before Moryson's return from his second journey. Perhaps it is a later work written in French.

{ m.n. 13. *The Turkish state.* }

The *Turkish* Empire in our tyme is more vast and ample then euer it was formerly contayning most large prouinces. In *Africk* it beginnes from the straight of *Gibralter* and so containes *Mauritania*, *Barbaria*, *Egipt*, and all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* sea. The cheife Citty of *Egipt* *Al=caiero* hath rich traffick, and yeildes exceeding great Revenues to the Emperor though no doubt much lesse since the *Portugalls* sailing by the South coast of *Affrick* and planting themselues in the East, /20/ brought all the Commodityes thereof into *Portugall*, from thence distributing them through *Europe*, which voyage in our dayes, is yearely made by the English and *Flemings*. From *Egipt* it contaynes in *Asia* the three Prouinces of *Arabia*, all *Palestina*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, the many and large Prouinces of *Natolia*, or *Asia* the lesser, and of both the Prouinces of *Armenia* to the very Confines of *Persia* (in these tymes much more straightned then in former ages) herein the famous Citty of *Haleppo*, whether all the precious wares of the East are b[r]ought by great Riuers and vpon the backs of Camells, yeildeth huge Reuenues to the Emperor. /30/ In *Europe* it containes all *Greece* and the innumerable Ilands of the *Mediterranean* sea, some few excepted, (as *Malta* fortified by an order of Christian knights, *Sicily* [& *Sardinia*] subiect to the king of *Spaine*, [*Sardinia*], and *Corsica* subiect to the Citty of *Genoa*, and the two Ilands of *Cephalonia*, that of *Corfu*, of *Zante* and

of *Candia*⁵⁹ with some [few] other [small] [few] Ilands, subiect to the *Venetians*). Also it contaynes *Thracia*, *Bulgaria*, *Valachia*,⁶⁰ almost all *Hungary*, *Albania*, *Slauonia*, part of *Dalmatia* and other large *Prouinces* to the *Confines* of the *Germane* Emperor, and king of *Poland*. /40/

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

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

⁵⁹ Crete.

⁶⁰ Wallachia.

fol:8. Booke. i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

the most part Christians of ripe yeares, either taken Captiues or voluntarily subiecting themselues, and so leaving the profession of Christianity to become *Mahometans*, or els they be the Tributary Children of Christian Subiects gathered euery fifth yeare or oftner (if occasion requires), and carried farr from their parents while they are young to be brought vpp in the *Turkish* religion and military exercises; So as when they come to age, they neither know their Country⁶¹ nor parents, nor kinsmen [so much as] by name. But of that after, I shall speake more in the due place.

All that liue vnder this Tyrant, are vsed like sponges to be squeased /10/ when they are full.⁶² All the *Turkes*, yea the basest sort, spoile and make a pray of the *Frankes* (so they call Christians that are straungers, vppon the old league they haue with the *French*) and in like sort they spoile Christian Subiects. The soldiers and officers seeking all occasions of oppression, spoile the *Common Turkes* and all Christians. The *Gouernors* & greatest *Commaunders* make a pray of the very souldiers, and of the

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

⁶² The idea is commonplace. Hamlet uses the same image to Rosencrantz. See *Hamlet* IV. 2. 11 - 20.

Common Turkes, and of all Christians, and the superiors among them vse [like] extortion vppon the Inferiors, and when these great men are growne rich, the Emperor strangles them to haue their /20/ treasure. So as the Turkes hide their riches and many tymes bury them vnder ground, and because nothing is so dangerous as to be reputed rich, they dare neither fare well, not build faire houses, nor haue any rich household stuffe. The Emperor seldome speakes or writes to any, no not to his cheife Visers, but by the name of slaues, and so miserable is their seruitude, so base their obedience, as if he send a poore Chiauvs⁶³ or messenger to take the head of the greatest Subiect, he though riding in the head of his troopes, yet presently submitts himselfe to the execution. Neither indeed hath he any hope in resistance, since /30/ his equals are his enemyes in hope to rise by his fall, his fellow soldiers forsake him as invred to absolute obedience, and he not knowing his parents, kinsmen or any freindes, is left alone to stand or fall by himselfe.⁶⁴ Yea such is the pride of

⁶³ Hughes has "Chiaass", p. 12.

⁶⁴ This situation seemed so alien to Moryson, for the English were proud of their pedegrees and families. In *Coriolanus* the ideas of kin, kind, kith and kindliness fuse together, and the protagonist finds to his own cost that he cannot stand by himself. In this state there is no option. Moryson probably gets this story from William Lithgow, *The Total Discourse of The Rare Adventures and Painfull Peregrinations* (Glasgow, 1906), p. 180, and referred to herafter as Lithgow. Achmet I (1603 - 1617) sent a message that he would pardon the family of the "Bassaw of Aleppo, who was also an Emeere, or hereditary Prince" for his rebellion, if the old man would submit to the sword.

this Tyrant, as the Emperor of *Germany* paying him some tribute for peace in *Hungarie*, he did not long before this tyme write letters to him with the style of his slaue, had not the Emperors Ambassador refused to receiue the letters till the superscription thereof was altered: like is his pride toward all Confederate Princes, neuer seeking /40/ the freindshipp of any by first sending Ambassadors to them, but only accepting such as he liketh, vppon their offer & desyre of amity, and league with him. If he admitt any Ambassadors to his presence, he giues them no answer, or at most in a word referres them to the cheife *Visere*, not thincking it for his dignity to haue any particuler conference with them, only he vouchsafeth to behold their presents or guiftes to the end they may become more large and rich, neither is [any] admitted to him without bringing a present. The *Turkes* in generall scorning all busines that brings not profitt, and makes not /50/ entrance with a present. This Tyrant seldome speakes to any of his subiects, but wilbe vnderstood by his lookes, having many dumb men about his person, who will speake by signes among themselues as fast as we doe by wordes, and these men together with some boyes prostituted to his lust, and some of his dearest Concubines, are only admitted to be

Dismounting from among his six hundred cavalrymen, and realising the ultimate futility of his position, "...the Bassaw went to prayer, and taking his leave of them all, sate down upon his knees, where the Showse stroke off his head, putting it in a Boxe, to carry it with him for Constantinople."

continually nere his person. The cheife *Visere* only receiues his *Commaundements* and his mouth giues lawe[s] to all vnder him, being of incredible //

Booke. i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:9.

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

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

Nothing can be imagined more miserable then a Towne taken by the *Turkes*, for they demolish all monuments sacred and /10/ prophane, and spare not the life of any one whose age or lamenes make him worth⁶⁶ litle mony to be sold for a slaue, and they who scape the sword, are yet more miserable, [reserued as slaues for base seruices and filthy lusts,⁶⁷ yea the yong men are most miserable] who forswear

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

⁶⁶ Hughes changes to "worthy", p. 13.

⁶⁷ Hughes has "seruice", p. 13. As well as its usual meaning, I had wondered whether it had sexual connotations, but the first instances of the noun being so used are from the 1960s in the OED. The first instance of the verb in

Christ and become *Mahometans* to avoyd slavery of men, so becoming slaues to the divell. The Marchants or bawdes following the Camp, to buy slaues, sell them againe to any buyer whatsoever, at great prices, vsing no Compassion to noble, or aged persons, or to tender women and children, neither doth nobility make any man worth a peny more then an other, nor learning, or wisdome, or witt,⁶⁸ which the buyers value not, but only respect beuty in /20/ women, or strength in men, except they haue skill in some in some manuell art, being Smiths or Sadlers (of whome they haue great vse for their horses) or Iewellers (whome they esteeme desyring to haue all their riches portable and easy to be hidden) or be skilfull in nauigation, for at this tyme they greatly wanted Saylor. And these kindes of Captiues, as they are better vsed then others, so are they more warily kept, and more hardly redeemed. Thus a Princesse or lady, if her maydseruant be fayrer then shee, and a Prince or lord if his manseruant be stronger then hee, shall in this Captiuity be forced to serue them in the most base offices /30/ can be imagined. The faire women and

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

⁶⁸ "Good or great mental capacity; intellectual ability; genius, talent, cleverness; mental quickness or sharpness, acumen." *OED* II. 5. a. As used on Fol. 1, "witty" has its modern meaning. The scant respect that the Turks show for nobility, age, and learning as opposed to strength and beauty juxtapose the differing cultural priorities of the beholder and the beheld.

boyes suffer fowle prostitutions, the strong men are vsed to grinde in mills, to beare heauy burthens and to doe all base and laborious woorkes. And if these who promise gaine in the selling are thus vsed, what thinck you becomes of those, who are lesse esteemed. The Marchants or Bawdes buying these Captiues, lead them bound one to an other in Chaynes, forcing the sick and weake with whips to march as fast as the rest, or els cutt their throates if they be not able to goe, and at night when they are brought into a stable, and might hope for rest, then they suffer hunger, the men are scourged with /40/ whips, the women and boyes are so prostituted to lust, as their miserable outcryes yeild a wofull sound to all that are neere them. While myselfe was at *Constantinople*, I wento to view the *Besestein* or Exchaunge, where I did see Captiues to be sold, and the buyers had as much freedome to take the virgins asyde to see and feele the parts of their body, as if they had bene to buy a beast.⁶⁹ For a woman not very faire, I heard the Bawde demmaund three thowsand Aspers and the buyer to offer eight hundred. The *Ianizary* who conducted me by the Commaund of our Ambassador, told me at the same tyme, that the sommer past when the Army was in

⁶⁹ Compare "When we did visite and search them that we were mindfull to buy, they were // strip'd starke naked before our eyes, where the sweetest face, the youngest age, and whitest skin was in greatest value and request...", William Lithgow, *The Total Discourse of The Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations* (Glasgow, 1906), pp. 122 - 123.

Hungarie, himselfe /50/ bought a Captiue virgin, whome he had no sooner led to his Tent, but he found about her (hidden as priuily as can be imagined) more gold then he had paid for her. And while we walked together from the *Besestein* to the parts of the Citty further⁷⁰ remoued, an old woman meeting vs, and taking vs for Christian Captiues, asked //

fol:10. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

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

⁷⁰ Hughes has "farther", p. 15.

⁷¹ Moryson inflates his own value ! Here he equates an asper being worth an English penny, whereas in his introduction he said that it was worth three farthings. See *Itinerary A*, I, p.xxv. Whatever exchange rate is given, it still only amounts to about eight to ten days wages for an English workman. So much for an Oxbridge education ! It is also worth reminding ourselves that just over half a century later, Englishmen were to create the Royal Africa Company for this trade which Moryson sees as an utter inversion of his English values. See Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade 1500 - 1700* (London, 1973), p. 43.

cheife slaues of the greatest /10/ men liue in some good fashion, and as all degrees in *Turky* are knowne by their heads, so they did weare redd veluett bonnetts raised in the Crowne of the head,. The lord hath absolute power of the goods, yea body and life of his Captiue or slaue, whereof they geld many, that they may be fitt to attend their Concubines & daughters. Yet I haue heard, and read of great lords killed by their slaues, when they had fore knowledge that they should be gelded by them.

Touching the Emperors reuenues and Tributes, some say that the ordinary reuenues amount yearely to eight some say to twelue millions of *Sultanons*; besides the pay of the Army; others affirme /20/ that they are fifteene millions yearely ordinary and extraordinary namely five brought in treasure, and tenn disbursed to pay the Army. But the stipends and [forces] payments for the Forces and the officers in that vast Empire being excessiue great, it seemes not probable to me, that so much treasure should remayne, and yet for that huge Empire these Reuenues seeme small, saue that in respect of the Soldiers Tyranny, all arts, traffique, and husbandry are generally neglected. besides that the subiects liues being prodigally wasted in warr, many large feildes & Countries be wast without Inhabitants or tillage. But howso/30/euer the ordinary reuenues are great, surely the extraordinary are greater. Such are the Confiscations of goods where all manner of Subiects by many fraudes and

extortions, frequent in that Empire, haue meanes to gather much treasure, and as euery superiour spoyles his inferiour: so the great Tyrant wants not occasion at his pleasure to take the heads, and goods of the greatest when they are full of riches. Such are likewise the guifts and presents of vnspeakable number and value, since noe man hath any gouernment without buying it, the same being oft sold to diuers men at one tyme, besides that they are scarce warme in their /40/ seats before they are recalled by a Successor sent from *Constantinople*: So as they must vse great speed and cruell extortion to scrape together so much mony in short tyme, as will not only satisfy themselues but also afford them guiftes to be presented to the Emperor, and their cheife superiors, without which they can neuer make a good accompt of their imployment. Besides no Ambassador hath audience before he hath giuen his present; neither can any weaker Princes bordering vppon the Empire treat [without] about their affayres without like presents, or haue peace, truce or immunityes without buying them. Such also are the goods of straungers dying /50/ in his Empire, to whome the Emperor is heyre, vppon which accidents of Christians dying besides taking their owne goods, many fraudes are putt vppon the rich as if their goods belonged to the dying men. In which kinde my brother dying by the way betweene *Haleppo* & *Constantinople* the *Turkes* pretending the Tynne and Cloth of English marchants to belong to my brother, and vppon his death to be due to

the Emperor extorted much //

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

mony of the Marchants before the goods could be released.

The Customes for marchandize are excessiue great at *Haleppo* (a famous Citty of traffique) of 80 Chests of *Indico*⁷² eleuen were giuen to the Emperor for Custome, and of all other goods he had for custome generally five in the hundred; only the English nation had the fauour to pay three in the hundred; But these Customes are vncertaine, being increased or decreased at pleasure.

For reuenues of land, The *Tymars*⁷³ giuen in farme only for life, (besides the horse and foote they are bound to finde as a horse for each 60 *Sultanons* rent; whereof I shall speake in due place) pay tythes and other duties /10/ to the Emperor. Thus the tythes and Tributes of the playne[s] of *Tripoly* alone, (by which the rest may be coniectured) were said to passe 200th thousand French Crownes yearely: For the *Turkes* pay the Emperor the tenth part of all their fruites and Cattell. The Christians not only pay the fourth part thereof, [and of all gaine by manuall trades,] but

⁷² An obselete form of indigo. *OED*

⁷³ The *timar* system was similar to the knight service in return for land of feudal Europe. Inalcik defines a *timar* as, "a fief with an annual value of less than twenty thousand *akçes*, whose revenues were held in return for military service." p. 226.

also being numbred by pole in their Familyes, each one payes a *Sultanon* or more for his head, if he be aboue fifteene yeares old, and if he haue no meanes to pay it, he must begg it from dore to dore of other Christians, and if he cannot so gett it, shall for want thereof be made the Emperors slaue,⁷⁴ Besides that the /20/ Christians Children are exacted for Tribute, whereof I shall speake in his place.

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

⁷⁴ This poll tax paid by non Muslims was called the *Haraç*.

⁷⁵ A former gold coin of Venice and Turkey. The *OED* quotes two instances from Moryson's *Itinerary A*, the most relevant of which here is, "In Turkey the gold zechines of Venice are most currant". II, 125. Sanderson mentions that they were preferred to Turkish coin, because of their constant fineness. p. 295.

in places neere the sea, and the *Turkes* within land carefully keepe their slaues vsing (besides many other meanes) the help of witchcraft, to bring them back when they runn away towards that sea. When we ariued in the Hauen of Joppa,⁷⁶ any *Turke* would take from vs what he list, especially victualls, and when wee landed, having a safe Conduct to *Hierusalem*, from the *Sobasha* of *Ramma*,⁷⁷ /40/ for which euey man paid six *Zechines* by the pole, yet wee were not free from the rapine of *Mores*, and *Arabians* all the way, flying vppon vs for vndue tributes or extortions by way of guift. These *Arabians* partly subiect to the *Turkes*, partly to the *Persian*, yet liue as outlawes, spoiling all men that are not in pention to some great Family among them, in which case they will protect any marchant, and reueng his wrongs against all other men, euen of their owne nation. Neither can they be pursued by any Army, because at such tymes, they withdraw themselues into such places where an Army cannot follow them for want of water, /50/ the trouble of passing mountaines, and the huge aboundance of sand, which is carried with the windes like the flouds of the Sea, and ouer whelmeth all, who haue not the skill to void them by obseruing the windes. When we

⁷⁶ Modern Jaffa.

⁷⁷ *Subaşı* defined by Inalcik as "the holder of a *zeâmet*, [a very lucrative *timar*] commanding a detachment of *timar* - holding *sipâhîs*, [cavalrymen] in the army and responsible for the maintenance of order in his district." p. 225. Rama is modern Ramla.

entred *Hierusalem* wee paid each man two *zechines* for
tribute, and when wee entred the church //

fol:12. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

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

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

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

Touching the officers of the Court, first vnderstand that
aswell they as the officers of the State are military men,
since only [their heads] soldiers beare sway in this Empire
and all the officers of Court /10/ follow the Emperor in
the Army. Six young men or Pages, attend the Emperors
person, two each day by course who pull of His Clothes at
night, and putt them on in the morning, and watch all night
at his Chamber dore, putting into his pockett each morning
on the one syde a thousand *Aspers*, on the other syde twenty
Sultanons, whereof what remaynes at night falls to them by

course for their availes.⁷⁸ The first of them called *Odabassi*⁷⁹ hath thirty *Aspers*, the rest twenty, or twenty five each day for their fee. The *Capabassi* or Capitaine of the Court,⁸⁰ an Eunuch and the *Casnadarbassi* cheife of the Treasurers,⁸¹ had each /20/ of them 60. *Aspers* by the day.⁸² The *Chilergibassi* cheefe of the dispensors or Pantlers,⁸³ and the *Sarandarbassi*, or *Saraybassi*⁸⁴ keeper of the *Serraglio* in the Emperors absence had each 50. *Aspers* by the day. And these fower officers of Court had 12 Eunuches vnder them. Of the tributary sonnes of Christians (hereafter to be discoursed of in due place) 500 are brought vpp in the Emperors *Serraglio*, from the age of 8

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

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

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

⁸¹ From *Hazîne* the Treasury, and *baş* head.

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

⁸³ From *kiler larder* and *baş*.

⁸⁴ *Saray* is the court or palace, and by extension the harem.

yeares to 20 being the choyse of those Children, whereof many are deare to the Emperor in a most sinfull kinde, (for he, as all the *Turkes*, are [fully] [fouled] infected with burning lust towards boyes).⁸⁵ These are instructed in /30/ reading, writing, the study of the lawe (so much as to be able to read it in the *Arabian* tongue wherein it is written), but they medle with no higher misteries, saue only horsmanshipp and vse of their Armes. In the first they are instructed by old *Talismans*⁸⁶ called *Cozza*, as it were doctors of the law, and twice in the yeare at each *Beyram* (so they call the Feast succeeding lent) they are apparrelled in Cloth, neuer going out of the *Serraglio* till they be come to ripe age and are preferred to bee *Sparoglans* or *Silichstars*;⁸⁷ In the meane tyme they liue in Chambers as in our Hospitalls divided into tenns, an Eunuch being sett ouer /40/ each tenn, who is called *Capoglan*

⁸⁵ Hughes omits the section in brackets. In the Edwardian age when even the so called "problem plays" of Shakespeare were deemed too explicit, this is not entirely surprising.

⁸⁶ "A name formerly applied to a Turk learned in divinity and law, a Mullah; sometimes to a lower priest of Islam, a religious minister, a muezzin." *OED*. The third instance of this word quoted is this very passage.

⁸⁷ The boys are promoted to become trainee cavalrymen, or armourers. I take Moryson's *Sparoglan* to be a mixture of of *Sipâhî* and *oğlan*, and *Silichstars* to be his transliteration of *Silahdâr* defined by Inalcik as "a custodian of the sultan's weapons" p. 225. This passage is virtually a direct translation of Geuffroy, sig. B3r, except for the imprecation against the Emperor's sodomizing of his youths.

(oglan signifying a boy).⁸⁸ The *Serraglio* or Pallace is some two myles in Circuit, having a spacious Garden kept by 35 Gardiners vulgarly called *Bostangi*,⁸⁹ being *Ianizarotti*⁹⁰ or inferiour *Ianizaries*, who haue for stipend 3. or 5. *Aspers* the day, and are yearely apparrelled in sky=coloured cloth whose hope of preferment is to become *Ianizaries*, *Solacchs* or *Capigies*.⁹¹ The cheife ouer them is called *Bostangibassi*,⁹² and hath 50 *Aspers* the day for fee, with many availes belonging to his office, neither doth he go out of the *Serraglio*, but only to looke to the Emperors gardens out of the Citty, in which they vse to take much pleasure, having /50/ alwayes two boates at the stayres of this garden, by which the Emperor may passe to other gardens, or rowe vppon the water for his pleasure, being rowed only by these gardeners, the cheife whereof is commonly in good reputacion with him by the often vse of

⁸⁸ The *kapı oğlanı*, "Ott. hist. official assistant, messenger; messenger employed at embassies." *Redhouse Yeni Türkçe - İngilizce Sözlük*, seventh edition (Istanbul, 1984).

⁸⁹ In Turkish *Bostancılar*.

⁹⁰ Hughes has "*Janizarrotti*," p. 19.

⁹¹ *Janissaries* are the standing infantry corps, *Sollachi* are as Moryson explains later, "...the strongest *Ianizaries* chosen out for the Emperor's guard", fol. 14, and *Kapıcılar*, the Palace Doorkeepers. Moryson still draws heavily from Geuffroy, who describes the Gardeners as "...sont uestus tous les ans une fois de drap pers ou turquin." Sig. B3v.

⁹² *Bostancı başı*.

his seruice.⁹³ The cheife of the Cookes in Court, is called *Assibassi*, who hath 50 Cookes vnder him (*Assi*⁹⁴ signifying a Cooke) and this cheife hath 40. or 50. *Aspers*, whereas the rest haue only from 4 to 8. *Aspers* by the day each man. Among other ministers of the Court (who cannot without tædiousnes be all named), one hundred //

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i: fol:13.

Ianizarotts bring wood by Cartloads, and haue each man three or five *Aspers* by the day, besides apparrell. The *Casnegirbassi*⁹⁵ that is Sewer or cheife of them that bring vpp the Emperors meat, hath 80 *Aspers* by the day, and vnder him one hundred *Casnegirs*, haue some 40. some 60 *Aspers* by the day. The charge of diett for the Emperor and all his Court was then said to be some 5000 *Aspers* by the day, by which small expence the temperance of the *Turkish* diett may appeare.⁹⁶ Three cheife Porters called *Capigibassi*⁹⁷ had each one hundred *Aspers* by the day, and one of them stands alwayes at the Emperors dore, /10/ having vnder them 250

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

⁹⁴ *Aşçı*.

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

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

⁹⁷ *Kapıcı başı*, "the chief gatekeeper of the Palace." Inalcik, p. 222.

Porters called *Capigi*, whereof each hath 5. or 7. *Aspers* by the day. Some write that each of these three [cheife] Porters hath 250 vnder them, surely there be many in number, and no Ambassador, or other having busines in Court, doth enter the gate without giuing them a large reward. They are often sent abroad with the Emperors Mandates for the strangling of great men, and to see the execution done. There be many Eunuches in the Court, aswell blackmoores, as other with white skinnes, but all with black harts having forsaken the faith of Christ, to become *Mahometans*,⁹⁸ and these haue the charge of keeping /20/ the treasure, and the women.

The *Musterağa*⁹⁹ is cheife of the *Musteraes* or Squiers of the body, and these goe often to the [tables of the] great Turkish Commaunders, and of all Ambassadors, being then reputed as Spyes, making relation of their actions to the Emperor. Some 30. or 40. Footemen called *Peychs* liue in Court, who having (as they said) taken out their splene or

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

⁹⁹ *Mütefettika* "One of an elite group in the Palace formed from the sons of pashas and vassal lords". Inalcik, p. 224. The aga ending suggests that he is the chief.

milt,¹⁰⁰ were of wonderfull swiftnes in running, alwayes attending the Emperors stirropp.¹⁰¹ The Court *Drogoman*, or Interpreter of tongues, had some 500 *Aspers* by the day, and asmuch more by *Timar*, besides great guiftes from /30/ Ambassadors, and other men vsing his seruice.

The *Visers* or *Viceroyes* residing in *Constantinople* being 4. of old, were 7 at this tyme. These together with the *Mo[s]fty*¹⁰² (that is the cheefe Interpreter of the law) may be said to be their Emperors Counsell of State. The cheefe of them is next to the Emperors person in dignity, by whome all his Commaunds are executed with absolute power, but a slippery estate to whome the rest are ioyned for assistance, but farr inferiour to [t]him in power, and one of these alwayes leades the Army when the Emperor goes not in person. The cheefe had 24000 *Sultanons*, /40/ each of the rest about 16000 yearely fee with thrice asmuch by *Timar*, besides their robes, and large guifts from Ambassadors, and all men preferred to any dignity yeilding an incredible reuenue. These reside in *Constantinople*, saue when they

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

¹⁰¹ "*Plus a ledict Turc enuiron quarante Peich, qui sont comme lacquaiz et courriers a pied...et les appellent Vlach, ou Oulach.*" Geuffroy, sig. C1v.

¹⁰² "*Müftî: An officially appointed interpreter of the şeriat,*" (the sacred law of Islam), Inalcik, p. 223.

follow the Emperor in the Army, and keepe Royall Courts and traynes some one of them, having some 600 slaues following them. They distribute all offices and gouernments, preferring none, nor yet speaking with any man, who hath not first giuen them a present, or bribe. And the dignities of *Viseres* are for life. Next to these out of the Citty are the two *Beglerbegs*¹⁰³ (or lords of lords) the one of *Greece*, or *Romagna*¹⁰⁴ /50/ lying at *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*, or more comonly at the Emperors Court Commaunding in cheefe all the *Prouinces* of *Europe*: the other of *Natolia*, or *Asia* the lesse, commaunding all the Pro[vin]nces [Prouinces] thereof yet vnder him of *Romag~~n~~na* being present. These are next the Generall in commaunding the Army in sommer seruice, and commaund it absolutely at other tymes, //
fol:14. Booke.i. The Turkes Common wealth. Chap:i.
and haue vnder them the inferior *Bassaes*¹⁰⁵ not *Visers* and the *Sangiachs* (or *Sangiglens* (*Sangis* signifying a Standard) and all inferior Gouernors of Prouinces, Townes, and Castles,. He of *Greece* hath 10000 *Sultanons* yearly by *Timar* and was said to haue then vnder him 37. *Sangiacchi*,

¹⁰³ "*Beylerbeyi*: The highest rank in the provincial government of the Ottoman Empire." Inalcik, p. 218.

¹⁰⁴ Known to historians as *Rumelia*, it has nothing to do with the Italian province of *Romagna*.

¹⁰⁵ This is another name for a *bey*. A *bey* normally ruled a *sanjak*, "...the chief administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire," Inalcik, p. 224. Moryson seems to have adopted an Italianized version in line 5, for the ruler of a *sanjak*. Such a provincial governor was known as a *sanjak beyi*.

400 *Sobbassi*,¹⁰⁶ 50000. *Spachi*¹⁰⁷ and *Timarioti*¹⁰⁸ (who are not called *Spachi*, because they possesse a small *Timar* about the yearely value of 100 *Sultanons*) and 60000 *Achengi*,¹⁰⁹ or Adventurers who serue without stipend to be free of Tribute. And all these are horsemen not to speake of two or three other *Bassaes* or *Beggs* in *Hungarie*, and those *Confines* /10/ with the *Zangiacchs* and horsemen vnder them. The other of *Natolia* having 4000 *Sultanons* yearely by *Timar*, was said to Commaund 12 *Sangiacchi*, and 30000 *Spachi* and *Timariotts*. The *Bassa* sett ouer *Damascus*, *Syria*, and *Iudea* having 24000 *Sultanons* yearely by *Timar* was said to haue 2000 slaues, and to commaund 12 *Sangiacchi* having 7000 *Sultanons* by *Timar*, and 20000 *Spachi*, and *Timariots* not to speake of some 30 *Bassaes*, or *Begs* in diuers Countries of *Asia* the greater, with the *Zangiacchs* & horsemen vnder them. The *Bassa* of *Cayro*, *Egipt*, *Africk*, and *Arabia* having 30000 *Sultanons* yearely by *Timar* was said to haue an infinite number /20/ of slaues, and to commaund 16. *Sangiacchi*, and 160000 *Spachi* and *Timariotts*. [In generall] not to speake

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

¹⁰⁷ *Sipâhi*, a cavalryman.

¹⁰⁸ Hughes has "Timaristi", p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ *Akinçi*, described by Philip Longworth as "mounted scouts and raiders" in his article 'The Senj Uskoks Reconsidered', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 57, no. 3 (July 1979), 348 - 368 (p. 364).

of two or three inferior *Bassaes* or *Begs* in *Africk*. Those *Beglerbegs* commaund but for some yeares and the rest are often changed. In generall vnderstand that these reuenues of those great Commaunders by *Timar*, and stipend, are nothing to them in respect of the treasure they gett by extortion, for which they are neuer questioned, so they be able to bribe the Emperor, and *Viseres* by presents at their retorne.

I retorne to the Commaunders that reside at *Constantinople*, or follow the Army, marching thence. The *Bassa* of the Sea or Admi/30/rall commaunds all the Gallies and of old, this place belonged to the *Sangiacch* of *Gallipolis* till the great Pyrat called *Barbarossa* some 100 yeares past, had that place giuen him,¹¹⁰ from which tyme also this officer hath the title and dignity of a *Visere Bassa*, and hath yearely 14000 *Sultanons* by *Timar* out of three Ilands, being absolute Commaunder at Sea, but having the cheife *Viseres* Commission to direct and warrant his actions. He hath 14. *Zangiachs* or *Gouernors* of *Citties* vppon the Sea vnder him.¹¹¹ The *Ianizar=Agar* or cheife of the *Ianizaries* is an office of great authority as shalbe shewed, and he hath

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

¹¹¹ "As *kapudan-i deryâ* - grand admiral - *Barbarossa* united under his administration *Algiers*, which he himself had conquered, and the thirteen sanjaks on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean." *Inalcik*, p. 105.

1000 *Aspers* stipend by the day, and /40/ 6000 *Sultanons* yearely by *Timar*. The *Chiause-Aga* or cheife of the *Chiaus* (400 horsemen in number) is of so great authority, as being sent to any great man to see him putt to death, he is obeyed by word of mouth, though he haue no mandate to that purpose.¹¹² He and all vnder him, are [like] our Gentlemen Pentioners, & bearing a mace on horsback, ride before, and about the Emperors person, and are sent abroad vppon the foresaid or any other messages, and many of them attend at the Cheife *Viseres Pallace* to execute his Commaunds, and also in Courts of Iustice, and some of them follow the *Beglerbegs* in the feild. Two [*C*] *Solachbassi* commaund 150 of the strongest *Ianizaries* /50/ chosen out for the Emperors guard, and called *Solacchi*, and the Commaunders ride on horsback neere the Emperors person, wearing long feathers, but they and their men are vnder the Commaund of the *Ianizar=Aga*,¹¹³ whome I did see riding by the Emperors side (as he vseth to doe) wearing a great plume of feathers, and being a goodly tall man. The *Spacchoglan=Aga*¹¹⁴ is a great office, and he hath 10 *Sultanons* each day in mony, and by

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

¹¹³ *Yeniçeri ağası*, "The chief officer of the Janissary corps," Inalcik, p. 217.

¹¹⁴ The head of the trainee cavalrymen.

Timar. I passe ouer the *Silichtar-Aga*, two *Olifagibassi* cheefes of the orders,¹¹⁵ and the *Mechterbassi*¹¹⁶ who // *Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chapt:i. fol:15* who hath 40. *Aspers* by the day and Commaundes 60. *Mechteri*, who haue the charge to carry the Emperors Tents and Carpetts and to sett vpp and spread them: and the *Sechmembassi* having one 100 *Aspers* by the day with charge of the hunting doggs [and having vnder him some 2000 *Ianizaries*. I passe ouer the *zagarzibassi* having of a speciall kinde of hunting doggs¹¹⁷ and the] the *Zachengibassi*, having charge of some 100 Falcons:¹¹⁸ and [the] *Imralem=Aga* who caryes the Emperors Standard, having 200 *Aspers* by the day: with many other like officers.¹¹⁹

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

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

¹¹⁷ *Zağar* is Turkish for a lurcher.

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

¹¹⁹ This is Moryson's transliteration via Geuffroy for *Mîr alem*, defined by Inalcik as "The keeper of the sultan's standards, tents, and military music." p.223. Moryson is tiring of Geuffroy, since he omits from this description the fact that this officer carries the emperor's horsetail ensign, in memory of Alexander the Great. Other operatives

Certaine swift horsmen called *Vlacchi* alwayes attend the Pallaces of the Emperor, and cheife *Visere* to carry letters, and woe be to those who furnish them not presently with horses.¹²⁰

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

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

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

¹²¹ Hughes has "Mofty", p. 23.

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

¹²³ "*Kâdîasker*: the highest judicial authority of the empire after the *şeyhülislâm*. There were two *kâdîaskers*, one for Rumelia and one for Anatolia." Inalcik, p. 222.

Iudges, one for *Europe*, the other for *Asia*, to whome all appeales are made, each having seuen 1000 *Sultanons* /20/ yearely by *Timar*, Besides that the Emperor payes tenn Clarkes for each of them, and each of them hath 200 or 300. slaues. At *Constantinople* they assist the cheife *Visere*, who committs civill causes to them, reseruing Criminall to himselfe. They take place before the *Visere*, but are farr inferior to him in power,. with his consent they place or displace all inferior Iudges, as those called *Cadi*,¹²⁴ who are Iudges of Citties or Townes, and haue a kinde of Episcopall authority, and the Iudges vnder them, aswell in Citties and Townes as in villages, called *Percadi*, and *Nuipi*,¹²⁵ as also those that are called *Sobassi*. And vppon these depend the *Muctari* /30/ or Sergeants, who apprehend guilty men, and execute Iudgments, rewarded out of the malefactors goods. All these exercise horrible extortions vppon all *Turkes* and vppon *Christians*, especially those that are Subiects.

Among officers of State the *Nisangibassi*¹²⁶ like the

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

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

¹²⁶ "*Nişancı*: the secretary of the imperial council who controlled the *tuğra* (the sultanic monogram) to be attached to official orders and letters." Inalcik, p. 224. Geuffroy

Chancelor of the Empire, keepest the Imperiall Seale taking place next the *Beglerbegs*, and having yearely by *Timar* 8000 *Sultanons*, and said to haue some 300. slaues bought with his mony, who (as all other Iudges) follows the beck of the cheife *Visere*. Of two *Isnadicbassi* or *Defterdari*¹²⁷ (that is Treasurers) the one receiues /40/ the reuenuue of *Europe*, having 6000 *Sultanons* yearely by *Timar* and when the Emperor goes out of *Constantinople* (as sometymes he doth with the Army) he is left to gouerne the Citty in his absence: the other receiues the reuenuues of *Asia* and *Africk*, having yearely 10000 *Sultanons* by *Tymar*, but the auailles of these offices are of farr greater moment.¹²⁸ They haue vnder them 50 Clerkes, and to each of them the Emperor giues 30 or 40. *Aspers* by the day, besides many [other] helpers to cast vpp the accompts of the *Casna*¹²⁹ or Treasure. They send their deputies into all Prouinces, Citties, and Townes, who committ vnspeakable extortions, especially vppon strangers, widowes, /50/ Orphanes, Christians and the heyres of such as be dead. Two

renders the name "*Nassangibassi*", sig. Dlr.

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

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

¹²⁹ *Hazine* can be both treasure and treasury.

Rosunamegi,¹³⁰ or the cheife Clerkes, and 25 inferior Clerkes, receiue and disburse the mony, and each of the cheife hath 40 *Aspers*, each of the other hath 8. or 10. *Aspers* by the day. Two *Desnedari* waigh the *Aspers* each having 30 *Aspers* by the day. One *Casnadarbassi* or Thresorer out of the Citty of *Constantinople* had 50 *Aspers* by the day and had vnder him 10 others having each 10 or 15 *Aspers* by the day. //

{ c.w. one *Destermine* }

fol:16. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

one *De[s]ftermine*¹³¹ kept the Register of the *Timars* and had 40 *Aspers* by the day and he had vnder him 10 Clerkes, each having 10 or 15. *Aspers* by the day.¹³² The cheife *Visere* is as the Secretary of State, and he had vnder him two *Riscatapi*¹³³ or Secretaries, who presented all petitions to him, and gaue his answer in writing.

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

¹³¹ "*Defter Kethüdâsı*: 'kethüdâ of the registers', a provincial official controlling the timar registers." Inalcik, p. 219.

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

¹³³ "*Reîsülküttab*: chief of the clerks", Inalcik, p. 224.

{ m.n. 6 - 8. Of the cheife Visere then gouerning the state. }

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

¹³⁴ Hughes introduces a "had", p. 25.

some things¹³⁵ had happened that Sommer in the said warr had taken from him the dignity of cheife Visere, while he was yet in *Hungarie* and giuen the same to *Sigala Ogly* an Italian Reneagate of *Genoa*, but receiuing letters from his mother at *Adrianopolis* on the behalfe of *Ibraym*, whome she supported, they preuailed so much with him, as he had presently restored *Ibraym* to his former dignity, and before /30/ the Emperor came to *Constantinople*, his mother and *Ibraym* had so incensed him against *Sigala*, as he was forbidden to enter *Constantinople*, the cheife pretended cause of which offence was, that *Sigala* had perswaded the Emperor in the choice of the king of the *Tartarians* to fauour a yonger brother who then followed him in the Army, wherevppon the elder brother getting the victory & kingdome, was much alienated from the Emperor. This *Sigala* was preferred to the dignity of a *Bassa* by the *Hogsi* (others write *Hogsialer*) the schoolemaster of the Emperor in his youth, and lest he should vse meanes to restore him to the Emperors fauour, his mother /40/ and *Ibraym*, vnder pretence of honor, but indeed to send the *Hogsi* so farr of, [as] by reason of his old age he should not be likely to retorne, procured the Emperor to make him the Gouvernor of *Meccha*, so as all men reputed *Sigala* for a dead man. But myselfe in the springtyme retorning into *Italy*, there heard by credible relation, that *Sigala* was receiued to the

¹³⁵ Hughes changes to "some thing", p. 26.

Emperors fauour.¹³⁶ When I was at *Constantinople*, *Halil Bassa* who had maryed an other of the Emperors sisters, succeeded the Admirall *Vccelli* an *Italian* Renagate of *Calabria*, being dead,¹³⁷ but he began the exercise of that office with ill fortune, For myselfe in my retorne before I came to the straight of the Castles, /50/ being driuen by a storme into the Iland *Aloni*,¹³⁸ not far distant from *Constantinople*, there heard that seuen of the Emperors Gallies were lost in that storme.

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

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

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

¹³⁸ Known today as *Paşalimani adası*. See Yerasimos, p. 424.

{ m.n. 54, 55. *Princes Ambassadors* }

Touching Princes Ambassadors; The *Persian* and other like *Potentates*, vppon particuler occasions send Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, but I did not heare a[f]t my being there, of any such [continually] residing in the Citty. Among the Christian Princes, I may say the like of the king of *Poland*. Of the rest only three had leiger Ambassadors¹³⁹ at my being there, Namely *Elizabeth* Queen of England vppon amity contracted in her Raigne only for trafficque of Marchants. And the *French* /60/ //

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

king vppon a league made by *Francis* the first extending further then traffique as may appeare by some events of his tyme, and from this league all the *Christians* of our parts are called *Francks* in *Turky*. The third from the State of *Venice* vppon the necessity of many differences [happening][vppon the necessity] betweene that State and the *Turkes*, but he hath only the title of *Bailye*¹⁴⁰ giuen him from his owne Nation. These three had houses in the Citty of *Pera*,¹⁴¹ or *Galata*, being as it were a Subvrbe of

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

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

¹⁴¹ Hughes has "*Persa*", p. 27. Ambassadors' despatches to the *Serenissima* and to London were addressed "From the Vines of *Pera*," the diplomatic compound where infidels were allowed to grow vines and imbibe wine. See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1592 - 1603* (London, 1897), *passim*.

Constantinople, seated on the north syde of a [very] narrow sea like a Riuer. And they liued in great freedome having *Ianizaries* allowed to guard /10/ their persons, and houses, which were as Sanctuaries, no officer daring to enter them in making [any] search, and they as freinds had liberty to weare the apparrell of their nations only when they went abroad, they wore a loose *Turkish* garment with sleeues to putt out their armes,. The Emperor of *Germany* had his leiger Ambassador in tyme of peace, but he as Tributary wore *Turkish* apparrell, and had his house in *Constantinople*, that they might more narrowly obserue his actions. Myselfe being at *Constantinople*, lodged in the house of Master¹⁴² *Edward Barton* Ambassador for *England*, by his fauour, /20/ having also my diett at his Table, and one of the *Ianizaries* allowed him by the Emperor, daily conducted and guarded me, when I went abroad. Of whome for his great worth, and my loue towards him, I must add something to preserue his memory as much as I can. He was no more learned then the Grammer schoole and his priuate studyes in *Turkye* could make him, but he had good skill in languages, especially that of the *Turkes*. He was courteous and affable, of a good stature, corpulent, faire Complexion and a free chearefull Countenance, which last, made him acceptable to the *Turkes*, as likewise his person, /30/ (for

¹⁴² Moryson almost certainly means Master rather than Mister here and at line 46. On fol. 18 he does not abbreviate.

they loue not a sadd Countenance, and much regard a comely person) but especially his skill in their language made him respected of them, so as I thinck no Christian euer had greater power with any Emperor of *Turkye* or the officers of his state, and Court, then he had in his tyme.¹⁴³ When *Amurath* father to *Mahomett* the third began the *Hungarian* warr with the Emperor of *Germanye*, he cast his Ambassador into prison with sixteene seruants, and some Barons and gentlemen of *Germany* (who at that tyme had the ill hap to be lodged in his house) and after many yeares, when the Emperor resolued /40/ to sett them at liberty, and the *French* Ambassador made great meanes, and gaue large guifts to haue the honor to send them back, the Emperor of his free will said, he would giue them to the *Lutheran Elshi*, (so they called¹⁴⁴ the *English* Ambassador) and this shortly after he performed, deliuering all those prisoners to his hands, and *Master Barton* as freely sent them into *Germany*. but I haue heard him complaine with greife, that for his

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

¹⁴⁴ Hughes changes to "call", p. 28.

Courtesy, he neuer receiued so much as thancks from the Emperor, but rather heard, that some imputations were laid vppon him in the Emperors Court, who therevppon incensed the Queene /50/ his mistres against him.¹⁴⁵ The most proud *Turkish Tyrant*, as he disdaynes to speake to his owne Subjects; so when he admitts any Ambassador, he only adores his person, but seldome or neuer speakes with the Emperor, or at least neuer receiues any answer to his speach, whatsoeuer some may report to the Contrary. Yet //

fol:i8. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

hath this master *Barton* our Ambassador receiued many tokens of speciall fauour in this Court. He had the Emperors graunt that *Flemings* and other *Christians* not being in league with him might enter his Havens vnder the protection of the *English* flag For which and some other causes, he was much envied by some *Christians* espetially by the *French* Ambassador who formerly had enioyed that priuiledge. Myselfe being at *Constantinople*, waited vppon *Master Barton* to the *Serraglio*, where was told he should be admitted to speake with the Emperor. In which case all his attendants should haue kissed the hem of his garment, and /10/ each one should haue receiued a Cloth of gold gowne (for they according to the old fashion of the East, still giue

¹⁴⁵ The release of "Signior Crotskii" and twenty-eight others, and Barton's hopes that "...my service therein shall be gracefull to his highnesse, and acceptable to his Majestie..." are expressed in the narrative and Barton's letters reprinted in Purchas, VIII, 304, 315.

rayments for rewards, and tokens of favour) but after long attendance the Emperor sent him the graunt of his petition, and a gowne of cloth of gold for himselfe, and so we were dismissed. When this Emperor *Mahomett* the third led his Army to the seige of *Agria*,¹⁴⁶ in *Hungarie*, among the *Christian* Ambassadors, he chose *Master Barton* to goe with him, and when he returned to *Constantinople*, *Master Barton* being to goe to his house, the Emperor stayd on horsback till he came to kisse the hem of his garment, and till he returned /20/ to his horse, and was mounted, at which tyme he answered his wonted reuerence with bowing of his body, and so roade into the Citty, not without the wonder of all his Army, that he should doe such honor to a dog (for so they call and esteeme all *Christians*).¹⁴⁷ But howsoever leiger Ambassadors vse not to refuse their attendance to the Princes with whome they reside, and howsoever *Master Barton* followed his Camp without bearing Armes; yet this his iourney into into *Hungary*, made the Queene of *England* much offended with with him, for that he had borne the

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

¹⁴⁷ Sanderson confirms this, adding that the "...Great Turke resaluted him, saluted me also and all our ambassadours trayne, and so turned his horse." Sanderson, p. 60. Mohammed III returned in triumph to his capital on 12 December 1596. (Sanderson, p. 166). The battles and this incident are also reported by Samuel Purchas, VIII, 319. Moryson did not arrive in Constantinople until mid January 1597 (See *Itinerary A*, II, 89) so he must have heard this by report.

English Armes vppon his Tent, whereof the *French* Ambassador accused him to the Emperor, and /30/ the *French* king, who expostulated with the Queene that her Armes should be borne in the *Turkes* Campe against *christians*, though indeed in that iourney, he intended and might haue had many occasions to doe good vnto the *christians*, but had neither will, nor meanes to doe them hurt.¹⁴⁸ But the truth is, that howsoever *master Barton* had strong parts of nature,¹⁴⁹ and knew well how to manage great Affaires in the *Turkes* Court; yet he coming yong to serue our first Ambassador there, and being left to succeed him, could not know the *English* Court, nor the best wayes there to make good his actions. Besides that the *English* Marchants were /40/ ready to

¹⁴⁸ Presumably the Germans unfortunate enough to have been in Turkey at the outbreak of hostilities in 1593 were given to Barton in order to increase his status as a broker in any peace negotiations. "The chefest cause of our ambassitor his accompanieng the Great Turke was to have concluded a peace betwext those two great potentates, as formerlie he had done betw[e]ne the Poles and the Grand Turke deceased." Sanderson, p. 59.

French complaints against Barton were hardly disinterested. The French, who had been in negotiation with the Turks since 1536, regarded the English traders as interlopers. They bitterly opposed the capitulations granted in 1581, and their subsequent renewals always entailed squabbling.

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

¹⁴⁹ "Having great moral power for endurance or effort; firm in will or purpose." *OED*. 3.a. strong. This definition accords with Moryson's view of Barton.

accuse rather then excuse his actions in Court, being displeased with him for meddling in State matters, whereby their goods in *Turky* might vppon some ill accident be confiscated: For howsoeuer he bore the name of the Queenes Ambassador, yet he lay there only for matter of traffique, and had his stipend of some 1500 *Zechines* by the yeare paid fro[m] the marchants. By the way giue me leaue to add that not only he, but all *christian* Ambassadors, haue as great allowance as that before named from the Emperor of *Turkye*, though not in ready mony yet in mutton, Beefe, hay, oates, and like prouisions, saue that /50/ they spend halfe thereof in bribes or presents to the officers of whome they are receiued. Nothing is more hatefull to the *Turkes* then pouerty, who doe nothing without guifts, yet this our Ambassador notwithstanding he was poore,¹⁵⁰ had power in his tyme both to create and depose Princes vnder that State. The Emperor *Amurath* made a king of *Bulgarie* at his request, and vppon his word giuen for payment of his great tributes, which that king failing to pay, //

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

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

¹⁵⁰ Caught between the parsimony of the merchants of the Levant Company, and his mistress the Queen, Barton had real difficulty in maintaining his estate as an ambassador. Sanderson wrote that he died "not wourth one asper", p. 281. As Treasurer to the Levant Company, Sanderson was in a position to know these things. Unlike Barton, he made money.

but in his last testament neuer disobeyed commaunded *Mahomett* the third to remitt the same vnto him.¹⁵¹ And this *Mahomett* likewise did so much esteeme him, as he had power with him, to preferr a freind of his to be Patriacke of the *Greekes* (a place of as high dignity with the *Greekes* as the *Papall* seate with the Papists.¹⁵²) And when *Mahometts* Army was ready to march against the king of *Poland*, he had power to diuert him from that warr, and to make peace betweene them, for which good office the king of *Poland* retorneth thanks to the Queene of *England*.¹⁵³ /10/ Besides that in discourse with myselfe, I found him confident, that he should be the meanes to make peace betweene the *Turke* and the Emperor of *Germany*, but his vntymely death preuented

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

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

¹⁵³ Unprovoked Cossack raids on Bender, Ochakov, and Gözlev nearly caused war in 1589/1590. "...upon the mediation of the English ambassador, Edward Barton, and the Hospodar of Moldavia, Bogdan, the Sultan agreed to accept a peaceful solution." See Kortepeter, p. 106. The Turkish/Polish treaty was subsequently renewed in 1591. Barton was not fully accredited Ambassador until 1596. See Rosedale, p. 83. The Sultan was Murad III, not Mohammed III as Moryson states.

that his hope. By these and other his like actions, it may appeare that they did him wrong, who did attribute his greatnes in the *Turkish* Court, to his betraying the Counsellis of Popish *christian* Princes, especially such as were enemyes to the State of *England*. For as he was a man of good life and constant in the profession of the reformed religion, so he protested to abhorr from furthering the *Turkes* designes against any the greatest enemy of his profession /20/ and Country, further then to diuert them for the tyme from some malicious attempt.¹⁵⁴

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

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

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

Christendome, and especially her preuailing against the Pope and the king of *Spaine*, her professed enemyes, made her much admired of the Emperor, of his mother, and of all the great /30/ men of that Court, which did appeare by the letters and guiftes sent to her Maiestie from thence, and by the consent of all the strangers that liued in that tyme at *Constantinople*.¹⁵⁵

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

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

¹⁵⁵ The original purpose of the embassy as far as the Queen was concerned was to incite the Turks against the Spanish. Moryson is enjoying his nostalgia at a time when Count Gondomar was duping James I, and neutralizing English hostility with the prospects of the Spanish match between the Infanta and Prince Charles. One of the letters between the *vâlide sultan*, the Turkish Queen Mother, and Elizabeth I is reproduced in Rosedale, pp.2 - 5.

{ m.n. 44, 45. *Preste Iean or Gianni*. m.n. 49. *Seriffus* }
*In Africk Preianes*¹⁵⁶ commonly called *Prester Gianni* ruling
the south parts towards the redd Sea is freed from the
feare of the *Turkes*, not so much by Armes as by the high
mountaynes of the moone and the mountaines of Sand carryed
with the wyndes like the waues of the Sea, yet haue they
taken from him all his cheife places vppon the red-sea.¹⁵⁷
The *Seriffus* his kingdome lyes from thence towards the
west, not so large but more fertile then the other, /50/
and he doth no way acknowledge the *Turkes*, but is a free
Prince, yet they are both kept from acts of hostility by
their mutuall feare of the *Spaniards* lying vppon them.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ This seems to be a contraction of Prester John, the legendary Christian African King. The *OED* has a similar sixteenth century form Pretian.

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

¹⁵⁸ "Not long ago [1549] the Sharif masquerading as a pilgrim or hermit, tricked the people into making him King of Morocco and Fez..." Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P. J. and D. P. Waley, and *The Greatness of Cities*, translated by Robert Peterson, (London, 1956), p. 39, referred to hereafter as *State*.

{ m.n. 54, 55. *The kingdome of Poland.* }

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

fol:20. Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

and no way yeilding to them in their body of Footemen. No doubt the *Turkes* haue [diuerse incursions] for a long tyme passed ouer without any reuenge diuerse incursions and spoyles made by the *Polonian Cosacchi*¹⁵⁹, and of late haue for their owne purpose wincked at great iniuryes offered by them. In the yeare 1597. when *Mahomett* the third beseiged *Agrea* in *Hungarie* and great troopes of *Tartarians* coming to his ayde, were to passe the Confines of *Poland*, they were ouerthrowne with a great prey taken from them by the *Polonian* horsemen called *Cosacchi*, about which action two /10/ *Polonian* messengers came in one and the same day to the *Turkes* Campe, whereof the first advised the *Turkish* Emperor that the *Tartarians* might be ledd an other way, lest they falling vppon the *Cosacchi* guarding the Confines, and they being both furious and prone to Armes, it should not be in the power of the Captaines of either syde to keepe them from mutuall iniuryes, but was rather to be feared that they would ioyne in battell together. The second messenger brought newes, that they had fought, and the *Tartarians* were ouerthrowne; yet the *Turkish* Emperor

¹⁵⁹ An Italianate form of the word Cossacks.

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

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

On the Contrary the *Turkes* seemed of purpose to prouoke the *Venetians* with continuall iniuries, and they taught by experience to be ielous of the *Spaniards* ayde vppon any league, and themselues wanting victualls and soldiers, and equall strength of any forces to make warr without ayde against the great power of the *Turkes*, were content to stopp their fury by strong fortes, till by peaceable arts and guiftes, they might haue tyme to appease the *Turkish* Emperor, and make their peace with him, in which kinde they had vnfaithfull peace with him, troubled with many iniuries, and yet were /40/ said to pay him the yearely Tribute of 18000 duccatts for enioying the Ilands and Townes they possessed in the *mediterranean* sea, whereof notwithstanding he hath taken many from them at diuers

breaches of peace. While myselfe was in *Turkye*, certaine *Turkish* Pyratts of the Southwest part of *Morea* or *Greece*, spoyling the Christians with a few small barques, had the Courage to assaile a *Venetian* Shipp of 700 Tonns burthen, and well furnished with brasse ordinance, which they tooke and loaded all their Barques with the most precious Commodityes thereof. Vppon Complaint of which hostile act made to the Emperor /50/ of *Constantinople* by the Balye of *Venice* for a shewe of Iustice he obtayned that a *Chiauss* was sent thither to apprehend the *Pyrats* but they withdrawing themselues into other Havens, and vsing meanes //

Booke.i. The Turkish common wealth. Chap:i. fol:2i.

by large presents to make the *Chiauss* their freind for the present, and after in like sort to make their peace with the Emperor, the cheife *Visere* and the Admirall they so handled the matter as first the *Chiauss* returned back with answer, that they could not be found, and after the *Venetians* were so tyred with delayes of Iustice in that Court, as they were forced in the end to desist from following the cause, without having any restitution.

{ m.n. 8, 9. *The king of Spaine.* }

The king of *Spaine*, being of the elder house of *Austria* had no league nor Ambassador with the *Turkish* Emperor, and howsoever about this tyme vppon a peace made, the king of *Spaine* had sent an Ambas/10/sador to *Constantinople*; yet

master Barton the English Ambassador professed, that he had caused him to be stayd by the way and forbidden to come to Court, with absolute denyall of his residence in that City. The Spaniards and Turkes at that tyme did some hostile acts one against the other at Sea, and on both sides the Captiues were made Gally slaues, but they had no open warr, because the Territory[es] of the king of Spaine lay so farr of, as the Turkes could not assaile him without a strong Navy at Sea. In which Sea-fights, the Turkes had no confidence in their strength and much more feared to ingage themselues in such a kinde of warr /20/ since they receiued the great ouerthrow at *Corsolari* neare the Gulfe of *Lepanto*, by the Confederate forces of the king of Spaine the Pope and the venetians vnder the generall Conduct of *Don Iohn* of *Austria*. And the Turkes more feare the Spaniards at Sea, because they haue bene heretofore fouly defeated by the Portugalls, having Forts in the Red-sea;¹⁶⁰ yet the king of Spaine in regard of his dispersed dominions and distracted forces, hath neuer alone attempted the Turkes. It is very probable especially in respect of the infinite number of Christians groning vnder the Turkish

¹⁶⁰ There was a trade war with the Portuguese in the Red Sea in 1551 - 52, "...in an attempt to redirect the flow of spices through the Middle East; but despite great efforts to maintain a fleet and naval bases in the Yemen and the Persian Gulf, this proved on the whole a failure." See G. R. Elton, *Reformation Europe 1517 - 1559* (London, 1968), p. 146, referred to hereafter as Elton. Moryson is probably alluding to the absorption of Portugal into the Spanish monarchy after 1580, when he states that the Turks fear the Spaniards more after defeats by the Portuguese.

Tyrannye, that the king of *Spaine* might with the lesse charge and efusion [of] /30/ of bloud, haue conquered all *Greece*, and *Palestine* itselpe, then he made warr in those dayes with Christians, and howsoeuer his iust anger, and good reason, might moue him rather to subdue his rebelling Subiects;¹⁶¹ yet all men would haue iudged this a more honourable and religious warr, then that he made with *England* and *Fraunce*, except the Pope, with his votaries,¹⁶² who as he thought it for his greatnes to suffer the *Greeke* church at first to be subdued by the *Turkes*: so in our tyme he had rather see all *Christendome* turned vp-syde downe, then himselfe to fall from his *Antichristian* tyranny to the iust dignity of a *Christian* Bishopp. /40/

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

The Emperor of *Germany* being of the yonger house of *Austria*,¹⁶³ hath in our tyme continually borne an vnsupportable warr in *Hungarye* against the powerfull forces of the *Turkish* Emperor, and with losse of great part of

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

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

¹⁶³ On Charles V's voluntary abdication in 1556, his brother Ferdinand became Holy Roman Emperor rather than his son Philip.

that kingdome; which ill successe *Botero* the *Romane* attributes to a false cause, as if the *Germanes* had lost the glory of warr together with the puritie of Religion.¹⁶⁴ For not to dispute of the *Romane* Religion to be nothing lesse then pure, no doubt the warr of *Hungarie* hath bene made by those *Germanes* who still remayne Papists, wherein the auxilarye bands of the very *Italians* haue as little preuailed against the *Turkes*, /50/ as any other,. And if euer the *Germanes* resume their old Custome to visitt, and reforme the *Romane* Church, I doubt not but the *Italians* shall finde them no lesse equall in the glory of warr, then they passe them in the truth of religion. But indeed the difference of religion betweene the Emperor and the Princes of *Germany*, and the advantage //

fol:22. Booke.i. The Turkes Common wealth. Chap:i.

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

¹⁶⁴ We have already met the work of Giovanni Botero, (1540 - 1617). He is also referred to by Moryson as *Boterus*. He is one of Moryson's main sources. The *Romane* refers solely to his religion, since Botero spent from 1582 to 1598 in Milan in the service of the Borommeos, Carlo and Federico, and then until 1614 in the service of the Duke of Savoy. See *State*, pp. vii, viii. Botero seems to equate all the German States of the Empire with Lutheranism, whilst the whole thrust of his book is that Christians should unite against the ever present threat of the infidel. See *State*, p. 156, 220 - 224.

withstand the great power of the *Turkes*. And God graunt that the Princes of *Germanye* through their dissention, doe [so] not lay open that easy way to the *Turkes* inuasion as all *christian* Princes when they most would, shall hardly be able to stopp the same.

{ m.n. 10, 11. *The foundations of the state and Army.* }

I haue formerly shewed that they which gouerne the *Turkish* tyranny, /10/ are not *Turkes* borne, but voluntary or Captiue Christians torning *Mahometans*, and the Children of *Christian* subiects exacted for tribute and trayned vpp in the *Turkes* Religion and discipline, in parts so farr remoued from their natiue Country and freinds, as they forgetting both become most deadly enemyes to all *christians*. Each fifth yeare or oftner as need requires, the *Turkes* Emperor sends officers into *Greece* and *Natolia*¹⁶⁵ (the lesser *Asia*) and to his Prouinces in *Asia* the greater excepting some priuiledged places) to exact the tribute Children choosing in each family the children they iudge most strong, and of best Capacity for witt, of which they bring away tenn or twelue thousand /20/ at one tyme, and howsoeuer by old custome, they should only take the third sonne of a Family, yet now they spare not to take a mans only childe. The poorest of these may rise to the highest places of that State, if they can make their way by

¹⁶⁵ Anatolia.

valour and wisdom. They are disposed by physiognomy selecting the most witty to learn the lawe, the most beautiful to be brought vpp in the Emperors *Serraglio*, the strongest (according to their age and strength) to learn the vse of bowes and arrowes, whipping them so oft as they misse the marke, who are promoted to be *solacchi* (which are choice *Ianizaries* appointed for the Emperors guard) or els [learne] /30/ learne the vse of the sword and the peece,¹⁶⁶ and then are made ordinary *Ianizaries*. But many of them especially those which are to make *Solacchi* and *Ianizaries* are first brought vpp for fower yeares in *Caramania*¹⁶⁷ and *Bursia* vnder husbandmen who for their labour during those yeares mantaine them without any charge to the Emperor, in which tyme they learne the *Turkes* language and religion, and are invred to beare labour,¹⁶⁸ hunger, and thirst After with the rest, they are distributed into Colledges) where they liue together in large Chambers. Of these 500. chosen for beauty are brought vpp in like Chambers within the walles of the Emperors /40/ *Serraglio*. The like number of a second sort is brought vpp in the Colledge of *Pera* or *Galata* (. being as it were a Suburbe of *Constantinople* beyond the water). Of a third sort 300. are brought vpp in a Colledge of *Adrianopolis* in *Hungarie*. out of these and

¹⁶⁶ "11. b. A portable fire-arm, hand-gun; as a musket, carbine, pistol, fowling-piece." *OED*

¹⁶⁷ *Karaman*, a province in Southern Anatolia.

¹⁶⁸ Hughes has "learne labour", p. 36.

some other Colledges, the troopes of horses are supplied. namely the *Spachi*, the *Silichtari*, and the like. The rest of the tributary Children are called *Azimoglani*,¹⁶⁹ and *Ianizarotti*, that is rude *Ianizaries*, and they are brought vpp in diuerse Colledges of *Bursia* (or *Bithinia* [(]) of *Constantinople*, and of *Adrianoplis* out of which ye *Ianizaries* come being the strength of the foote bands, and therefore /50/ chosen of the strongest Children in *Europe*, not of those in *Asia*, who haue euer bene reputed effeminate.

The second foundation of the Army is the *Timariotti*: For when the Emperor takes any *Prouince*, he retaynes to himselfe the Inheritance of the land, dividing it into *Timars* or *Farmes* which he giues only for life to his great vassals with Condition, besides the tythes & tributes, to finde him a certaine number of horse after 60. *Sultanons* yearely Rent for a horse, whereby he not only supplyes his troopes of //

{ c.w. horse, but }

Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fo:23.

horse but in some sort establisheth husbandry, which being neglected by other Subiects in regard of the soldiers tyranny (the people having a prouerbe, that no fruit will grow where the Emperors horse hath once sett his feete) by

¹⁶⁹ "*Acemî ođlan*: a conscript later to join the Janissary corps." Inalcik, p. 217.

the giving of Commodity of husbandry to the soldiers themselves, it is for their owne profitt in some sort mantayned by them.¹⁷⁰ Europe hath of old had some lands possessed by like tenure in Fee for life only, namely to serue the lord in his warres, and howsoever Emperors and kings haue made these lands to be hereditary, yet still the owners are bound to some military duties, the difference only is, /10/ that these lands at the first and the worst, had vnder christian Princes light military duties imposed on them, whereas the *Turkish* Tyrant, according to his absolute will & pleasure exacteth almost to the highest value of the land. These *Tymariotts* are horsemen, and are an vnspeakable number, being thought to be some 250 thousand in *Europe* and almost 500 thousand in *Asia* the lesser, and the greater, and in *Africk*. They keepe in awfull subiection all the Christian Subiects vnder the yoke of extreme Tyranny, being sodenly ready, and sufficiently able to suppress any the greatest sedition may be /20/ stirred vpp. Yet indeed the Christians, there borne and bred in slauery, especially having neuer tasted the

¹⁷⁰ "T. 610. Where the Turk's horse once treads the grass never grows", is recorded by Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950) referred to hereafter as Tilley. His first recorded use is 1639. If Moryson refers to it as proverbial, it must be much older. It is mentioned in Botero's *Breviat* of 1601. But for the Timar system, Botero explains "...wheresoeuer the grand Seignior once treadeth with his horse hoofe, if it were not for this course, there neuer after would grow grasse againe." p. 43.

sweetnes of liberty, are of such abiect myndes, as with the *Israelites*, they seeme to preferr an *Egiptian* bondage with slothfull ease, before most sweet Christian liberty, with some danger and hazard. Howsoever the number of these horsemen is so great, as two third parts being left at home for these and like ends; yet the *Turkish* Emperor can lead forth in his Army, for any sommers service some 200th thousand of them.

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

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

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

for their Country and the law of *Mahomet*. And that a *Stoicall* [S] Fate or destiny gouernes all humane affaires, so as if the tyme of death be not come, a man is no lesse safe in the Campe then in a Castle, if it be come, he can be preserued in neither of them,¹⁷¹ and this makes them like beasts to rush vppon all daungers euen without Armes to defend or offend, and to fill the ditches with their Carkases, /50/ thincking to ouercome by number alone, without military art.¹⁷² Againe all rewards as the highest dignities, and the like giuen continually by the Emperor to the most valiant and best deseruing, make them apt to dare any thing. And in like sort seuerer punishments //

fol:24. Booke.i. Of the Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

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

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

¹⁷² "Besides his Ianizars he hath the Azapi, a base Besonio, fitter for the spade then the sword...yea to fill trenches with their carcasses, and to make bridges of their slaughtered bodies for the Ianizars to passe ouer to the breaches." Botero, *Breviat*, p. 47.

make the soldiers formerly encouraged by rewards no lesse to feare base Cowardise, brawling, fighting or any breach of discipline, and keepe them in awe, as they keepe all other Subiects and enemyes vnder feare of their sword hanging ouer them. And the forme of this State being /10/ absolute tyranny, since all things must be kept by the same meanes they are gotten, the State gotten and mantayned by the sword, must needs giue exorbitant Priuiledges or rather meanes of oppression to all the Soldiers (who (as I formerly haue shewed) are not themselues free from the yoke of the same Tyranny which they exercise ouer others, while the superiors oppressing their inferiors are themselues grinded to dust by greater men, and the greatest of all hold life and goods at the Emperors pleasure. Vppon an howers warning, among whome happy are the leane, for the fatt are still drawne to the shambles. The poorest man /20/ may aspire to the highest dignities, if his mynde and fortune will serue him, but vppon these high pinnacles, there is no firme abiding, and the same vertue and Starr, that made him rise, cannot preserue him from falling. The great men most rauenously gape for treasure, and by rapine gett abundance, but when they haue it, all that cannot be made portable, must be hidden or buryed, for to build a fairer house, to haue rich houshold stuff, or to keepe a

good table, doth but make the Puttock¹⁷³ a prey to the Eagle. Thus the Emperor nourishing poore men to strangle them when they are rich, /30/ seemes not vnlike the <Se>riffo in Africk, whome Boterus the Romane writes gladly to giue large pentiones and stipends to rich men, that he may gett their wealth by the law that makes him heyre to all his Pensioners, so as for feare of this fraudulent bounty, the richest men liue as farr as possibly they can from his Courts.¹⁷⁴

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

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

¹⁷⁴ "To be fingring the wealth of the richer sort, he hath alwaies some office or lieutenantship with an annuitie to sell them: but commonly to preuent those sales, they will not be acknowne of their abilities, remoouing their abodes far from the court and the kings sight, which is the cause that the citie of Fes is much fallen from the ancient splendour." Botero, *Breviat*, p. 167.

that it consumes his Subjects. The foresaid incredible number receiuing stipend from the Emperor, makes me lesse wonder at the *French* gentle man *Villamount*, who writes that all the *Turkes* Subjects haue some pay from him, tho it is most certaine that most *Turkes* borne, living as *Pleibeans* vppon manuell Arts, and tillage, not only haue no pay, but are much oppressed by the soldiers.¹⁷⁵ Men of experience /50/ in *Turkish* affayres agree that the Emperor cannot gather all his forces into one Army, no Country being able to feed them, besides that the *Christian* Subjects living vnder great tyranny might haue meanes to rebell by such remote absence of the soldiers. But many of them thinck that the Emperor can make an Army of five or sixe hundred thousand, as he hath often led forth more then halfe the number //

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

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

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

¹⁷⁶ *Botero* is correct in praising the Turkish commissariat, or what he calls "corne and prouisions, store infinite." which made their armies so effective. *Breviat*, p. 48. Where Moryson is surely incorrect, is that the

leauē to say, besides vulger opinion, that the invention of
of Gunns and Gunpowder was not diuelish and bloody, but
profitable to all mankinde, since histories witnes, that
when battells were fought by hand strokes, then huge Armies
were levyed, and the part defeated euer lost greater
numbers, whereas since that invention, Armyes haue not bene
greater then some 20000, and the part defeated seldome /10/
lost the fourth part, the rest retyring to safe Forts. As
also experience teacheth that the invention of dangerous
fights, as Rapiars, pist<o>lls and the like, hath caused
fewer quarrells and lesse bloodshedd, then the old vse of
swords and bucklers. Therefore I thinck that the great
Armyes of the *Turkes* may be attributed to their small
skill, and rare vse of fighting with gunns, which only some
part of the *Ianizaries* vseth, tho they haue great store of
Artillery, which in like sort they cannot generally so well
manage as the *Christians*. Or els lett these great Armyes of
the *Turke* and *Moscouite*, be attributed to their tyrannicall
gouernments making all Subiects ready to follow them, and
all officers /20/ rather comitt any rapine, and not to
spare their owne goodds then the Army should be vnfurnished
with victualls to the hazard of their owne heads. But
especially the *Turke* may lead great Armyes, by reason of

barbarian tribes were actually migrating as a whole people
in late Classical times. The numbers included dependents,
rather than just fighting men. See R. H. C. Davis, *A
History of Medieval Europe From Constantine to Saint Louis*,
revised edition (London, 1970), pp. 21 - 37, referred to as
Davis hereafter.

his subjects singuler temperance in diett. For they vse no wyne nor any kinde of drinck, but only water in the Campe, being also forbidden wine at home in peace by their lawe if they would obserue it. Euery man can carry his owne prouision of meat being only Rice and hony, except sometymes they gett mutton, and their Cariages are not great, having in Campe as at home a small pott to seeth Rice or mutton, and vsing no Corsletts¹⁷⁷ or other Armor for defence. /30/ Only they vse not to ly in Townes or villages but in the open feild, so as all sleeping vnder Tents, that kinde of baggage is great; For offensiue weapons, they carry store of Artillery, but for great part in rude matter to be cast in the feild.¹⁷⁸ Of their Armes, I shall speake in due place, only I will say that all in generall are furnished with excellent short swords whereof they haue great store, those of *Damascus* being famous for the mettall, but they seeme not much to delight in

¹⁷⁷ "1. a. A piece of defensive armour covering the body." *OED*.

¹⁷⁸ Cipolla quotes this very passage when advancing the argument that technological improvement in arms and shipping ensured the ultimate supremacy of the northern European nations. A precision piece is hardly going to be produced on the hoof ! In Cipolla's view, the Turks were too hidebound to realise that smaller, more accurate and more portable artillery pieces had superseded the bombards that had breached the walls of Constantinople in 1453. See Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400 - 1700* (London, 1965), p. 96n. At the Arsenal in Venice Moryson saw captured Turkish guns used as scrap. See fol. 171. However, with hundreds of miles to cover before reaching the war zones, it made sense to cast the cannon and balls in Bosnia, rather than transport everything from the capital. RM

musketts, nor to haue such ready vse of them as the *Christians*. Whereas our Christian Soldiers are in tyme of peace cast out of pay, and exposed to perish by want, The *Turkes* haue asmuch pay /40/ in peace, as in warr, and so are more ready and willing to spend their life for the Emperor, and againe the Emperor receiuing no lesse Revenues in warr then in peace, yea rather more by selling Captiues at high rates, by turning subdued places into *Timars*, and by making good vse of victories in all parts, is thereby enabled at all tymes to make quarterly payment to his soldiers, wherein he neuer faileth. The *Sangacchi* going to or coming from their gouernments, ride in tyme of peace (as I thinck they march in their Armyes) with drumms and Hoboyes,¹⁷⁹ or such lowde instruments as we in our Citties vse by night, but they haue two drums, one litle one to be beaten at one /50/ end, which they vse by the way, and a great one to be beaten at both ends, not wearing it about the neck when they beat it, but setting it downe vppon the ground, and with that they sett their watches. All degrees among them are knowne by their heads; For as all *Turkes* in generall weare white heads, (as the *Persians* weare greene) called by some *Tsalma* by others *Tolopa*, and vulgarly *Talbent*;¹⁸⁰ so all//

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

¹⁸⁰ Hughes changes to "Tulbent", p. 42. We use the word "turban".

fol:26. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap.i.

degrees are distinguished by the same either by feathers and Iewells, or by the forme, [more] lesse or more rounde or long. This *Tulbent* is made of twenty or more ells¹⁸¹ of most fine linnen, and very white, only the Christians wearing *Shasses*¹⁸² of mingled Couolors, and it is folded into a rounde or long forme, the Emperor, the *Viseres* and some cheife degrees putting out of the top, a peece of red-velvet, vppon which they fasten Iewells, and other things to distinguish their degrees. The *Ianizaries*, being in the house weare such a *Tulbent* without any red veluett, but when they goe abroad in the Citty, and in the Campe, or before any /10/ magistrate, they weare a Capp proper to their order, made of cloth standing vpp from the head, with very small brimnes¹⁸³ and a guilded horne of brasse standing vpp before, and a flapp [like] [of] that of a French-hood falling behinde,¹⁸⁴ some having plumes of the

¹⁸¹ "1. a. A measure of length varying in different countries. The English ell = 45in. " *OED*.

¹⁸² Obsølete form of sash. *OED*.

¹⁸³ A minim seems to have been omitted. It should be "brimmes".

¹⁸⁴ The "French Hood", already very old fashioned by Moryson's day, was made famous by Queen Mary I (1553 - 1558). Worn towards the back of the head, it had a curved front border and horseshoe curve on the top of the crown. The flap that Moryson refers to was a later addition. See C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1954), pp. 76, 82, 172, and Jane Ashelford, *Dress in The Age of Elizabeth I* (London, 1988), p. 151.

Ostridge fastned to the guilded horne, falling backward downe to the very leggs, which feathers they [only] weare who are of the guard to the Emperor, to the *Viseires* and some great persons. In like sort the *Azimoglani* weare *Piramidall-capps* like our suger loaues made of a mingled coulored stufte. The [c] *Turkes* haue no fortified Townes or Castles in the hart of the Empire, excepting only /20/ the two Castles of *Hellespont*, and the two Castles of the black-sea, guarding the passages by Sea to *Constantinople*, neither haue they any vppon the *Persians*, who make warr after their owne manner, but vppon the Confines of *Christians*, they are forced to keepe the places, as they tooke them fortified from the *Christians*, namely *Famogosta* in the Iland of *Cyprus*, and an other in the Iland of *Rhodes*, and diuerse Townes in *Hungarie*, yet they keepe them rather with strong Garrisons, lying vppon the Frontiers ready to be drawne into the feild vppon all occasions, then with small numbers resolued to indure any long seige without /30/ present succour as *Christians* vse to keepe them.

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

For their discipline of warres: They haue small art in ranging battells, especially in small numbers fitting them to the advantages of the place, and howsoever they haue officers for each tenn men, whome they readily obey, yet priuate men runn after a tumultuarye fashion to fight, and

they are often beaten out of their Tents to fight as in like sort without discharge they leaue the place, and retorne from fighting. In which respect, and because they haue no Corsletts, or other Armor of defence, it is no wonder that a small number of *Christians* in a strong Fort, or vppon /40/ advantage of straights,¹⁸⁵ and skill to chuse places to fight fitt for their number, hath bene able to resist, and sometymes to defeat their huge Armyes.¹⁸⁶ But their discipline is singuler in duely giuing rewards & punishments. Whosoeuer disobeyes his Commaunder or neglects his charge, may himselfe goe to the gallowes for he shall neuer escape it, and he that he fights or performes his charge brauely, may of a poore tribute childe become the cheife visere of that Empire,. They keepe wonderfull silence in the Army, speaking with becks, and signes, so as they will rather lett a Captiue escape by flight, then they will make the least noyse to /50/ stopp him.¹⁸⁷ In their huge Armyes there is, not one woman to be found; The entring a vineyard or an orchard to steale anything, is a Capitall offence. But aboue all things they are to be

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

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

¹⁸⁷ "Ther is suche sylence obserued amonge them in the nyght season, that they neglecte their captiues flyinge awaye, for feare leste if a noyse, or clamour shoulde be stirred, they should suf//fer the punishment ordred for ye breche of Sylence..." Georgievits, sigs. F3r - F3v.

prayed aboue Christians, and to be imitated by them, that single fights are forbidden them by the lawe of *Mahomett*, and by military discipline, vppon //

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chapt:i fol:27.

paine of death, so as they neuer happen among them, as also that all brawles are seuerley punished as if such were vnworthy to eat the Emperors bread, who fall out with their Felowes, whome the lawe teacheth to ioyne in brotherly loue, and to vent all their anger and rage vppon the Common Enemyes of their Country and the law of *Mahomett*.

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

Some three monethes before my coming to *Constantinople*, *Mahomet* the third returned thether from the seige of *Agria* in *Hungary*, and because our Ambassador and his gentlemen attended that Emperor in this Sommers warr, I thinck it not amisse to relate /10/ some things which I vnderstood from them by discourse. The Army began to march at midnight, and satt downe the next day about noone. The Emperor rode in the midst of the Army, with two viseres, one on the right, the other on the left hand, and before him certaine *Ianizaries* of his guard carryed torches lighted in the darke of the night, and likewise certaine horsmen called *Chiausslari* bearing maces of yron in their hands kept the press from him. On both his sydes rode the horsemen called *Spachi* and *Silichtari* (of whome we haue spoken, and shall treat more particulerly) being chosen men for the guard of

his person, /20/ and among them were the wagons of beautifull boyes, seruing the Emperors lust; For all *Turkes* in generall are madly carryed with that inordinate burning, being so farr from thincking it a sinne, as if any *Christian* Ambassador vppon their questions professe to abhorr from it, they either beleeeue him not, or thinck he doth it vppon ignorance, as having not tasted the pleasure; But in the meane tyme there was not one woman to be seene in that huge Army.¹⁸⁸ The Emperor had two suites of Tents, whereof one was pitched in the present Campe, the other carryed before him to the next quarter, And when his /30/ Tents were once pitched, then all the Army according to their place and order pitched their Tents or Tabernacles about him, in a huge Circuite of ground, few or none sleeping in the open ayre. The discipline is so rigorous and seuerer against those that take any thing by force, as litle boyes brought [all] things to be sold i[t]n the Campe, and no soldier (as I haue said) durst spoile meadow corne, vineyard, or Orchard vppon paine of death. The *Beglerbey* of *Greece*, and the *Sangiacchs* vnder them did in their seuerall gouernments furnish the Armies with mutttons, and necessary prouisions, which they might easely doe for that huge /40/ Army, their diett (as I haue said) being very simple, with small or no variety or Change of meats, and did neuer faile in performance, such negligence neuer

¹⁸⁸ Hughes omits lines 21 - 28, "and among...huge Army."

being passed ouer without seuere punishments euen to death. The *Turkish* Army thus marching forward, daily expected the coming of the auxiliary Troopes of the *Tartars*, of *Circassia*¹⁸⁹, vsing continually to serue the *Turke*, when he leades forth his Army to any sommer seruice, who within few dayes ariued and ioyned with the *Turkes*, but their troopes had bene broken by the way and in great part defeated, by the *Polonian* horsemen called *Cosacchi*, who lay to guard the Frontiers of /50/ *Poland*, for they both being feirce nations, could not be restrayned from incountring one an other by any Commaund of their Captaines tho the king of *Poland*, and the *Turkish* Emperor, were then in league of peace. These *Tartars* were said to eat the flesh of horses and Camells, not otherwise roasted then by putting it vnder their //

fol:28. Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

sadles, and riding vppon it. They serue altogether on horsback, and when they come to any great riuier, the horses swimn¹⁹⁰ ouer, and great part of the men passe by holding fast by the tailes of the horses, but the best sort carry boates of leather for that purpose. And the *Turke* vseth them only to forrage for his Campe, which they doe each man having some five spare horses tyed one to the taile of the other, still changing his horses as they grow weary, so as

¹⁸⁹ "...a region of the northern Caucasus". *OED*.

¹⁹⁰ A minim seems to have been omitted. It should read "swimm".

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

¹⁹¹ "B. adj. 1. Of the nature of a marsh, marshy". *OED*.

Only *Sigala* a Renegade¹⁹² of *Genoa*, and one of the *Viseres* /30/ retyred with some tenn thousand horse, and the troopes of *Tartars* vnto places of safety neere hand, whence beholding the *Christians*, not so much as turning the *Turkes* Artillery for their owne defence, to fall negligently vppon the tents for pillage, he fell vppon them thus scattered; and vtterly defeated them who had gotten the victory, but could not vse it. The Prince of *Transiluania* made a good retrait of his men with litle or no losse, but the *Hungarians* greedy of spoile, and the slow horsmen of *Germany*, and most of the *Christian Army* /40/ vnder the Emperors brother were killed to the number of some Twenty Thowsand; yet was the victory bloody to the *Turkes*, who had some sixty Thousand men killed, and were putt in such feare, as for three dayes they durst not retorne to their Artillery and Tents, lest the *Transiluanians* should retorne and fall vppon them againe. Then about the end of *October*, the *Turkish* Emperor left tenn Thousand in Garrison at *Agria*, and distributed halfe his Army to winter in the Country of *Belgrado*, and with the rest returned to *Constantinople*, and the last day of his iourney incamped /50/ a myle without the Citty, which he entred the next day with great triumph as I haue formerly shewed.

¹⁹² A variant form of renegade. The first definition given by *OED* is, "An apostate from any form of religious faith, esp. a Christian who becomes a Muslim."

Thus farr I haue [trans][di]gressed to make a breife relation of that I heard from our Ambassador and his gentlemen who //

Booke.i. The Turkes Common wealth. Chap:i. fol:29.

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

{ m.n. 4, 5. *Of their great ordinance.* }

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

{ m.n. 10, 11. *Of their horse and horsmen.* }

Their horse are very beautifull having their skinns shining /10/ which is caused by the horsedung, which they lay vnder them first dryed into powder, for I neuer saw any of them lye vppon any other litter, or soft thing vnder them, either in *Asia* subiect to heat, or the more cold parts about *Constantinople*. They are very swift, and vsed by their Riders either to galloping or afoote pace, but not [p]taught to amble or putt to a trott or managed by Ryders as our great horses are, for indeed they are but of a midle stature the best of them, And thus vntaught they generally

hold vpp their nose with vncomelines. For this swiftnes rather then strength they are preferred /20/ before the heauy horse of *Germany*, the shock whereof they cannot beare, but they soone ouertake the horse of *Germany* flying, and easily scape from them being chased. They are not fitt for long iourneyes, but soone tyred if they be putt to gallop, and no lesse tyre the Ryder, when they goe afoote pace. In warr they are only fitt for light horse, neither vse the *Turkes* any great horse armed, nor themselues (either horsmen or Footmen) weare any defensiuie Armor, but only for offence carry lances and sheilds and good short swords. They haue no Racks¹⁹³ nor mangers, but feed their horses on the ground. /30/ Their sadles are litle, and hard in the seate, for they vse no warr sadles which their horses cannot beare, and the Crooper¹⁹⁴ is comonly wrought like a Caparison, and the stirrops are vnder the foot long, and sharpe beyond the heele of the Rider seruing them for spurrs, which I neuer saw vsed of any horsemen nor yet boots, all riding in their cloth stockings close to their

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

¹⁹⁴ An obsolete form of crupper, of which the first definition given by the *OED* reads, "A leathern strap buckled to the back of the saddle and passing under the horse's tail, to prevent the saddle from slipping forwards."

breeches, and their bridles are like our snaffles¹⁹⁵ but commonly sett with Copper studs guilded, yea sometye sett with glistering if not precious stones, For the *Turkes* are proud, as of their swords (in like sort adorned with stones) /40/ so no lesse of their horses, for which they will giue great prices.¹⁹⁶ The horsemen for the most part are mantayned by the *Timarrs* as I haue formerly shewed, which are called *Timariotts*, and I haue likewise spoken of their incredible number and how they are distributed vnder the two cheefe *Beglerbegs*, and inferior *Bassaes* or *Beggs*. These liue all vppon *Timars* or *Farmes*, tilling their grounds by *Christians*, or *Mores* or their owne bought slaues, and many of them mantaine more horses then one for themselues, and they are of a mingled sort of people. But the cheife strength //

fol:30 Booke.i. The Turkes Common wealth. Chap:i.

of the *Turkish* horse is of them which were tributary Children or or Captiues or Renegates and [are] paid partly in mony, partly by *Timar*, being in number about Thirty thousand generally called *Spachi* and out of them some troopes are chosen to guard the Emperors person. The first of them in dignity are the *Spachoglani*, (*Spachi* signifying

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

¹⁹⁶ Many of such decorated artefacts can be seen in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul.

an horseman,) and *Oglan* a youth) who being tributary Children brought vpp in the Emperors Court, (except some Captiuēs & Renegates) attaine this degree while they are young; and from thence are promoted to the highest degrees as *Sangiachs*, *Beglerbeges*, *Bassaes*, and *Visiers*. Of them 3000 guard the Emperors person riding on his right hand, /10/ and each hath some Twenty, some Forty *Aspers* by the day, and each mantaynes fower or five slaues and horses for them. Their *Aga* hath 500 *Aspers*, or as others say tenn *Sultanons* by the day. His *Checaya* or lieuftenant hath a hundred *Aspers* by the day. But of the Cheife Officers stipends I haue formerly written; and will hereafter omitt them. The *Silichtari* are in the second ranck being of tributary Children, having the same stipends, and the same hopes of preferment to the highest places, only they differ in the Coulor of their pendants and in that they ride on the left hand of the Emperor, three thousand of them being likewise chosen to guard his person. Next to them two /20/ thowsand *Olefagi* (that is Stipendiaries¹⁹⁷) guard the Emperors person on both sydes hands, and eighty *Muteferachi* beare long lances before him, whereof the least hath tenn, the Cheife Eighty *Aspers* by the day. The *Chiausalari*, are horsemen, that beare sheilds and lances, and having broken their launces, they fight with their *Simiters* or short

¹⁹⁷ "Of a soldier (now rare): Serving for pay, mercenary" *OED* Moryson makes a noun of what is normally an adjective, hence mercenaries in daily pay.

swords, holding it disgracefull to thrust and kill with the point of the sword, or to kill an Enemyes horse, and having no other Armes of defence. Of these horsmen I did meet diuerse Troopes in the way sent out by the *Sangiachs* to cleare the high way of Theeues, And they seemed to me so many *Amades of Gaule*.¹⁹⁸ The horsmen in /30/ generall are armed with a *Simiter* or short sword, a weake launce and a round buckler or sheild, and some of them also carry short bowes and arrowes. They haue an other sort of horsmen, which wee call Adventurers, (they call *Vlacchi* if I be not deceiued) having no stipend, but the hope of preferment and freedome of tribute, being said to be sixty Thousand, only when they are in the Army they are allowed victualls. Also I haue heard them called *Achengi* and [by] others *Delli*, but this last name I thinck to be giuen them in scorne as seeming madd; for so the *Turkes* call those that shew to be light headed by Countenance apparrell or gesture, as if they were madd men. /40/ And indeed these are in those kindes ridiculous, wearing a *Gippo* or Iackett, and breeches of the skinns of lyons and beares, with the hayre outward, and Capps of the skinns of ownces,¹⁹⁹ & leopards couered

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

¹⁹⁹ Hughes substitutes "ownees", p. 49. Ounce is an obsolete form of ounce, "N. 2. 1. A name originally given to the common lynx...From 16th c. applied to various other small or moderate-sized feline beasts, vaguely identified." *OED*.

with an Eagles wing, which wings they also fasten to their bucklers and the hinder parts of their horses are couered with skinns of lyons and wilde beasts, affecting thereby to seeme terrible to their Enemyes. They are light horsmen and are armed with a *Simiter* or short sword, and a short weapon of yron hanging at their Saddles, bearing a [long] dart or short horsmans staffe in the right hand. I passe ouer the horsmen vppon the Confines, who /50/ make excursions into the Enemyes Country, and haue no pay but the booty they can gett, as also those that haue pay only in the tyme of warr, and serue for the baser Imployments. Neither will I speake of the great auxiliary troopes of the *Tartars*, comonly some 50 or 60 thousand, nor those of *Walachia* and *Moldauia*. Only I will add that the *Turkish* Emperor having these great numbers of //

{ c.w. horsmen }

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:31.

horsemen, yet placeth small trust in them, being excellent in nothing but in swiftnes to pursue and fly, For the *Timariotts* and *Spachi* are corrupted with rurall sloth, or by living in Citties waxing Couetous, and louers of peace. And the very *Spachoglans* and *Silichtars* are in like sort corrupted by living in Court; and howsoeuer they rise to the highest dignityes, yet for the most part having bene prostitute to lust in their youth, this suffering like women must needs make them effeminate, and they being after vsed to liue in the Court, cannot but loue ease and

freedome from the labours and dangers of warr. Yet no doubt the huge number of them /10/ keeps the great multitudes of Christian Subiects in awfull²⁰⁰ slauery, and were they not disioyned by imployment in vast *Prouinces* farr remoued one from the other, were they not of necessity to be left²⁰¹ in great numbers to keepe the Christian subiects in awe, so as they cannot be gathered together, without great difficulty, long tyme, and apparent dangers of rebellion, their huge number might iustly seeme fearefull to all Christians that ly nere their Confines.

{ m.n. 19. *Of the footemen.*}

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

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

²⁰¹ Hughes substitutes "best", p. 50.

²⁰² As the name implies the *Triarii* were the third line in the Roman battle order, and thus reserves.

whence they are made horsmen and preferred to the highest places of the State but only those Children which are seuerely brought vpp vnder [the] husbandmen; and after in Colledges for this purpose, and are of the strongest children, and of the most warlick nations, for the greatest part of *Europe*, those of *Asia*, /30/ being reiected as [of] more soft and peaceable natures at least by old Custome for of late, this and all the austere institutions are neglected and infringed. These are first circumcised then instructed in the *Mahometan* law and that in places farr distant from their Parents and Country, so as they easily forgett both, only calling and reputed the Emperor their father, and they are taken so young as they cannot remember any thing of *Christian* Religion, but are [easily] trayned vpp, and easily made deadly haters of all *Christians*. After they haue bene fower yeares vnder husbandmen, they are brought to *Constantinople* and there receiued by the *Azi/40/moglan-Aga* who distributes them into Colledges there, and in other parts to be trayned as a Seminary of the *Ianizaries*. These *Ianizaries* were first instituted by *Amurath* the second in number sixteene thousand, and *Amurath* the third added two thousand to that number, which since hath bene much increased, and cannot be lesse then Forty thousand. Howsoeuer *Sansouime* and *Botero* *Italians* writt

them to be no more then 12 or at most 14 thousand;²⁰³ For I haue formerly said that when *Mahomet* the third began his Raigne, there were 24 thousand *Ianizaries* at *Constantinople* which receiued his larges, and nothing was more generally knowne at *Constantinople* /50/ then that 12 thousand of them lye continually there in tymes of peace and the Common voice was that the *Beglerbeg* of *Asia* had 12 thousand vnder him, besides those in *Egipt* and them that lye vppon the *Persians* And a farr greater number in all probality lying vppon the Confines of *Hungary*, where they haue strong enemyes bordering vppon them. Yet doe I not thinck them to be 60. thousand as our Ambassadors men at *Constantinople* affirmed to me.²⁰⁴ The *Janizar-Aga* or Captaine of them is one of the greatest dignities in that Empire, to whome the //

fol:32. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

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

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

²⁰⁴ Intelligence gathering for home consumption was one of the tasks of any Ambassador. It is for this reason that a copy of Solomon Ische's document came to be forwarded to Lord Burghley in London.

feare of their insolencye, And such is this ielousy, as he may not (according to the Custome) appoint his owne *Checaya* or *leiutenant*, but the Emperor names him and giues him 200 *Aspers* by the day,²⁰⁵ as each *Odebassi* sett ouer tenn hath 40 *Aspers*,²⁰⁶ and each *Boluibassi* or *Bolichbassi* that is *Captaine* of one hundred hath 60. *Aspers* by the day.²⁰⁷ These may ride and these /10/ *Commaunds*, and to be *Solacchi*, are the highest preferments a *Ianizary* can expect; For I haue formerly spoken of the *Solachbassi* having 300 *Aspers* by the day, sett ouer the *Solachiers* or *Solacchi*, which are some of the strongest *Ianizaries* chosen to guard the Emperors person, and armed with bowes and Arrowes, besides their swords wearing a Capp differing from the *Ianizaries* and having a larger stipend each man 20 *Aspers* by the day. All the male Children of *Ianizaries* (some say only the Eldest) as soone as they are borne, haue three or fower by the day, the younger *Ianizaries* haue noe more, but the rest haue eight *Aspers* by the day, and each new Emperor /20/ besides his largesse or donatiue adds an

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

²⁰⁶ Head of a company. RM.

²⁰⁷ Head of the Janissary mess. There were one hundred and one such heads, *Bölükbaşı* in the whole Janissary corps. RM.

Asper by the day or some like increase to each mans pay. Three of them in the Campe haue a horse allowed to carry their baggage, and to each hundred a Tent is allowed. At the ends of two lents or tymes of fasting, the Emperor apparrells them, and all without difference weare large Trowses with stockings vndiuided from them, and a long gowne or vpper garment both of violett coulored cloth. Some of them haue wiues contrary to their old institution or Custome, and these liue scattered through the Citty in litle houses,²⁰⁸ but the rest, by eights, by tenns and by twelues as it were in brotherhoods, liue in Colledges or houses appoin/30/ted for them, wherein they haue a Cooke, (tho lesse needfull since in their temperate diett each man may soone haue skill inough in that art) and Contributing their mony, they haue a Cater to buy their meat, and the yonger having lesse stipend bring in their meat, which is soone done, they having but one dish of meat, and a Cruse of water betweene three or fower. When they are past seruice of warr, they are putt to guard Castles, and keepe watches by night, and their Captaines likewise being old, haue the gouernments of those Castles. Some of them are

²⁰⁸ James Howell put down the escape of the Poles [at Chocim in 1621?] to the Janizaries "...who rather than bear the brunt of the Battell, were more willing to return to their Wives and merchandizing..." See James Howell, *Familiar Letters*, edited by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1890), p. 176 (17 August 1623).

armed with Halberts,²⁰⁹ some with musketts, but their muskets are not very good; neither are /40/ they active or skilfull in vsing them, and some only carry *Semeters* or swords. They who commend the *Ianizaries* that warr being ended they willingly retorne to enioy peace, doe not consider that they haue the same stipend in peace as in warr, For if our men had the same, without doubt they would be no lesse glad of peace. In like sort they who praise them for laying downe Armes in tyme of peace, and not so much as wearing a sword, seeme not to haue obserued that they neuer haue any single fights, and very seldome any quarrells among themselues. Whereas our soldiers are forced in peace to weare swords for their owne defence. Besides that our /50/ men haue no such authority ouer men of peace as they haue, who are more feared bearing no weapons, then our men should be with swords and Pistolls. For as a Christian is most seuerely punished if he draw a knife against a *Musulman*, (that is a circumcised *Turke*) or strike him with the hand; so it is a greater offence for any *Common Turke* to resist a Soldier, who aboue all tremble for feare of the *Ianizaries*, so as I haue seene one of them having no Armes but [only] bearing in his hand (as their manner is) a Cudgell of an hard reed, more then an Ell long, not only beat many Citizens in Townes and Cittyes,

²⁰⁹ "A military weapon, espetically in use during the 15th and 16th centuries; a kind of combination of spear and battle-axe". It would appear to be somewhat obselete by the time Moryson wrote this.

but also a whole Careavan in the high way, /60/ of two or three hundred men, armed with musketts and swords, //

Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:33.

till they obeyed all his Commaundements and kissed his feet for mercy. Of the last kinde my selfe did see a straunge example in my iourney from *Tripoly* to *Haleppo*. Aboue all Soldiers the *Ianisaryes* are insolent aswell for priuiledges, as because they take part one with an other in all tumults. When myselfe went to see the Emperor, and standing next to him, did fully behold him a *Chiauss* on horsback, bearing a mace, offered to thrust me back, and to strike me, but a *Ianizary* that our Ambassador had sent to conduct me, putt him back, and when he would not admitt his excuse for me, but said it might not be indured that a /10/ Christian dogg should come soneare to the Emperor, presently other *Ianizaries* whome I had neuer seene, ioyned with my guide, and threatned the *Chiauss*, so as in spite of his teeth,²¹⁰ he was forced to lett me stand. No maruell then that these men willingly lay downe their Armes being without them as terrible as feirce mastyes²¹¹ to all inferiors they meet, for they are knowne by the Caps peculiar to their order, and if they be offended so much as with a looke, vpp goes their long Cudgell (which they call

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

²¹¹ An old form of mastiff.

[m] Mutchler²¹²) and they will giue him that offends them, according to their pleasure hundreths of blowes vppon the belly or the /20/ back, or the soles of his feet, and that without any sentence or condemnation of a Iudge, and not only for offences against themselues, but for mony giuen them by an enemy, so as being protectors of *Christians*, they will vppon their Complaints beate any other Christian or Plebean *Turke*, till they craue mercy of him for whose sake they are beaten, except they haue also a *Ianizarie* to protect them, in which Case they vse not to fight, nor yet striue one with an other. And one *Ianizarye* of the least, is sufficient to guard a man against a thousand *Mores*, or *Arabians* or *Plebean Turkes* in respect of his awfull authority /30/ ouer them, as also against all other Soldiers or *Ianizaries* in respect of their brotherly agreement, and feare to breake their law by fighting or quarrelling among themselues. Therefore the *Christian Ambassadors* at *Constantinople* haue assigned to each of them, fower or six *Ianizaries*, and the Consulls of *Christian* nations lying in other Citties and Townes, haue one or two of them to guard their houses and persons from all wrongs, neither will any Christian having meanes to spend, goe abroad in Cittyes and Townes or take a iourney without a *Ianizarie* to guard him. And it is wonderfull, how faithfull and affable, they /40/ wilbe to a Christian thus

²¹² Hughes has "Mutcher", p. 54.

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

fol:34. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

halfe a *Piastro* or siluer Crowne, wherevppon they vndertooke to protect vs, who otherwise like to haue plotted some mischeife against vs as at *Tripoli* some *Ianizaries* had almost betrayed about this tyme an English gentleman, by selling him to husbandmen, within land for a slaue. An other tyme having a *Ianizary* to protect me, and

²¹³ From *Mekkâreci*, a professional hirer of pack animals. Moryson must have heard an Italian version. RM.

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

Of the *Ianizaries* it is vulgarly sayd they haue all skill in one manuall trade or other (as the very Emperor hath), but as all *Turkes* are idle, and very slow woorkmen for gaine, which they cannot enioy further then from hand to mouth, so I did neuer see any *Ianizarie* working at his manuall trade. To conclude the insolency of the *Ianizaries* cannot well be imagined much lesse described, by whome the

Ottomon Empire seemes to stand, and the /30/ Emperors first to enter. For the heyre of the Emperor assoone as he is circumcised, vnder pretence to gouerne a Prouince, is sent away to be hidden from the *Ianizaries* lest they should cast their eyes vppon him, or he insinuated himselfe into their loue, and while in that Prouince he expects his fathers death, nothing is more dangerous for him, then to affect to be esteemed and renowned of them. The new Emperor thinkes not himselfe safe till he be saluted by them, beginning his Raigne with their ioyfull shouts, and a largesse or donatiue giuen to them, besides the fore said small increase of each mans pay. So as they are and still grow more /40/ and more like the Pretorian bands in the State of *Rome*, who being at hand nere the Citty, at first strengthned the choice of the Emperors, but at last named and deposed them at pleasure.²¹⁴ No doubt the *Ianizaries* want litle of their power, and pride, for in the life of *Amurath* father to [*Amurath*] Mahomett the third living at the tyme of my being at *Constantinople*, they made a tumult requiring the head of the cheife *Visere* much esteemed of the Emperor only because he had putt a *Ianizarie* to death by due forme of Iustice, and the Emperor was forced to giue

²¹⁴ It is natural for Moryson to think of classical rather than contemporary parallels. However, in this particular instance, the comparison is illuminating. Like the Praetorian Guard, the Janissaries started to butcher the Emperors they were meant to protect. Osman II was killed in 1622 when he threatened their privileges.

them his head before they would be appeased.²¹⁵ And because they will not be Iudged but by their owne *Agha*, nor can without /50/ tumult indure any of their number to be putt to death, the Custome was then priuately to strangle such of them, as had deserued to dye. At my being there I remember that walking in the streets, I did see a dead Carkasse that had bene cast out, which being naked the person and quality of the dead man could not be knowne, but the vulgar opinion was, that he should be a *Ianizarie* so strangled, because no man durst proceed against him by publick iustice. Many tumults //

Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:35

like to the former haue bene raised by them, wherein they haue driuen the Emperor into great straights, but none more famous then that which hapned there shortly after my retorne vppon the death of the Emperor then being, which the *French* history relates at large, and to the same I referr the Reader. Finally howsoeuer the wicked practice of killing the Emperors brothers, takes away all likely hood²¹⁶ of any Ciuill warr among them (by which Commonly

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

²¹⁶ Hughes has "good", p. 57.

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

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

²¹⁷ Variouslly transcribed as *azeb* and *azap*, they were marines.

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

²¹⁹ *Voy nuk* was a slang term for a "non - Muslim serving as a horse groom in the Ottoman army." *Redhouse Yeni Türkçe - İngilizce Sözlük*, seventh edition (Istanbul, 1984).

used as Pioners and for all base seruices. They only are beaten to the first assault of beseiged Castles, and exposed by the *Turkes* like so many beasts to be murthered, and fill the ditches, that vppon their dead bodyes the *Ianizaries* may by the breaches enter the Castles and Townes.

{ m.n. 31, 32. *Of their nauall power.*}

Touching the nauall power, I haue spoken of the Admirall among /30/ the cheife Comaunders. The Emperor cannot want matter to build Shippis, having most large Coasts of the Sea shadowed with vast woods, but his cheife woodds most vast, and most fitt to make tymber for this purpose, are said to be in *Albania Carimania Trapezuntium*²²⁰ and most aboundantly in *Nicomedia*, all Prouinces lying close vppon the Sea. At this tyme whereof I write they had of their owne few and vnskillfull woorkmen to builde shippis; only there wanted not Couetous Christians, who for large stipends wrought with them, and taught their art vnto them, so as after the nauall defeate of the *Turkes* at *Corzolari* (called the defeate of *Lepanto*) they /40/ could the next yeare bring forth a Navye, which seemed able [and] and willing to fight with the *christians*. But no doubt the Gallies of the *Turkes* are neither so well built, nor so swift in saile, nor so fitt to fight, nor so strong, nor

²²⁰ From the area of Trebizond in the north east of Turkey. *OED* lists "Trapezuntine" as a noun and adjective.

built of so durable Timber, as those of the *Spaniards*,
Venetians and other *Christians* their enemyes. And howsoever
the Gallies, some Fifty in number, yearely went to be sent
out, to cleare the Sea of Pyrats, and diuerse lesse Gallies
and small Barques armed by priuate Turkes to robb
Christians (many tymes not sparing those that were in
league with them,) gaue some good meanes to furnish the
Turkes Nauie /50/ with Marriners; yet since the *Iewes* and
Christians had all traffique in their hands, so as nothing
was exported by *Turkish* Shippes, (excepting some twelue
great Shippes each of seauen hundreth or a Thousand Tonns,
built rather for burthen then warr, which the Emperor had
to bring necessaryes yearely from *Egipt*, to
Constantinople), and since all *Turkes* and *Christian*
subiects//

fol:36. Booke i The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

are by nature slothfull, which kinde of men loue not the
trouble and danger of the Sea, the Emperor was forced to
vse Cow heards and Shepheards to fitt the sailes, and row
in the Gallies, And howsoever the *Greekes* had some practice
at Sea, to sayle [by] the Coast rather then by Compasse;
yet they being slaues and Christians, the *Turkes* could
promise themselues no faithfull seruice from them
especially in tymes of danger. So as I dare be bold to say
the *Turkish* mariners were partly vnskilfull in the art,
partly vnfaithfull to them, and generally all dasterly in
Courage.

They consisted of *Christians* taken Captiues, most comonly in places /10/ farr distant from the Sea, and of condemned men, all chayned to the oares, except cases of necessity forced them to vse *christian Greekes* and Country people, and this made them gently to vse all Captiues and to preferr all voluntary forsakers of the Christian faith, who were skilfull Seamen, or Carpenters to build shippes (as also Sadlers for their horses and Iuellers to make treasure portable) and much to esteeme the said Captiues, if they would torne *Mahometans*. *Barbarossa* the famous Pyratt of the *mediterranean* sea, in the tyme of *Charles* the fifth Emperor of *Germany*, forsaking the Christian faith and becoming *Mahometan*, was made Admirall /20/ of the *Turkish Nauye*, who subdued the kingdome of *Tunis* in *Africk* and made the *Turkes* somewhat better Seamen then they had formerly bene, but nothing equall to the *Christians*. Their Navall power in those dayes was seene at *Goletta*, at *Cyprus*, at *Malta*, and at their great defeat at [the] *Corsolari*, since which ouerthrowe to the tymes whereof I write, they neuer drew forth their full forces to fight at Sea. They had at this tyme a place in *Pera* or *Galata* beyond the water from *Constantinople* walled in for building and wintering of Gallies, which the *christians* call *Arsenale*, the *Turkes* *Terferate*, And without the walles it had /30/ Thirty two vaults, but within, it was narrow and of small Compasse. They said that two hundreth woorkemen did daily labour

therein and two hundreth Masters or cheife Mariners, had each man tenn *Aspers* by the day, and that Fifty Carpenters, and Artificers had each man twelue *Aspers* by the day when they wrought; and sixe *Aspers* when they had no woorke. That they had a thousand *Asappi* (vsed also for footemen in the Army as I formerly shewed) which did woorke about the *Gallies*, and had each man fower *Aspers* by the day. That in this *Arsenale* at that tyme were two hundred *Gallies*, and twelue *Gallions*, but that the Emperor /40/ could in short space for his full force send three hundred *Gallies* to Sea, besides some of fower oares and small *Barques* to victle and attend them.

Within some sixteene yeares last past, the generall peace of Christendome made our soldiers, for want of meanes to liue, turne *Pyratts*, who having no safety in the Ports of christian Princes, retyred themselues to *Algier in Barbary*, the people whereof and of the parts adioyning, are most daring of all the *Turkes* (except those perhapps vppon the Confines of *Hungarie*). They gladly intertayned these *Pyratts*, and were content at /50/ first to haue share of the spoyles and to goe with them to Sea, but of late they haue gotten some 60. or 80 good shipps of warr from the *Christians* by their meanes, and from them haue learned such skill to saile by the *Compass*, as they haue bene able to man these Shipps with *Turkes*, and haue had the dareing to robb vppon the Ocean, which they neuer knew, nor durst

behold in any former age. And of what consequence this may
proue //

{ c.w. , after ages }

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

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

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

I haue formerly spoken of Iudges and magistrates, and the stipends they haue from the Emperor,. Now it remaynes to add something of Ciuill Iustice. The strict obseruance of lawes among the *Turkes* is worthely called Tyranny, as I haue formerly shewed, since that which is iust must be done iustly. Whereof there is no practice in this Empire. I formerly said that there be two supreme Iudges called *Cadilischieri* which reside at *Constantinople*, the one sett ouer the Causes of *Asia*, the other ouer those of *Europe*, both /10/ vnder the *Mo[s]fti* with absolute authority. These two appoint all inferior Iudges of the law, as those called *Cadi*, which are magistrates sett ouer Prouinces and Cittyes, with a mixed authority of our Bishopps, and lay Iudges, for the law of *Mahomett* is obserued aswell in administration of iustice, as in matters of religion. Each Citty and Towne hath military magistrates, as *Sangiachi*, who are like the Captaines of Garrisons, and Gouvernors of Townes, and if there be any Castle or Fort, it hath also an *Agha* to commaund it. And as with vs in tyme of warr the Ciuill Iudges giue /20/ place to Marshalls having martiall

law in their hands; so among the *Turkes* living with the same discipline at home as in the Campe, (the Common wealth being as it were gouerned by the sword) These *Cadies* are vnder the authority of the *Sangiachs* in each Citty or Towne. And from them there is appeale graunted to the *Diuan* or Court of the *Basha* gouerning diuerse *Prouinces* and from those Courts to that of the *Visperes*²²¹ in the Emperors *Serraglio* at *Constantinople* as from it to the *M<[o]s[f]ti* the oracle of the *Mahometan* lawe, from whose sentence there is no appeale. One thing causeth great oppression to the Christian subiects /30/ that howsoeuer they are more in number then the *Turkes*; yet they haue no peculiar Iudges, but haue their causes tryed vnder *Turkish* magistrates, where the witnes of a *Turke* is taken against a Christian, but not of a Christian against a *Turke*. What Iustice can be expected where a Common soldier for mony without [any] triall at law, or priuate examination of [of] the cause, will beat with Cudgells a Christian, or common *Turke*, euen accused by a Christian, till he craue mercy of his enemy. When wee being Christian straungers returned from *Hierusalem* to *Joppa*, and there found an *Arabian* /40/ *Turke*, who had done vs wrong by the way, vpon our guides accusation, and three *Meideines* giuen to a *Ianizarie*, he was beaten till he kissed our feete, And if they dare doe this to the *Turkes*, how may you thinck Christians are vsed.

²²¹ Hughes amends to "Visyeres", p. 61.

The false accusations and frauds, which daily they lay vppon Christians espetially vppon straungers (whome they call *Francks* of their league with *Fraunce*) are vulgarly called *Vanies*. Such was that which *Villamont* a french gentleman relates of the *Sangiach* of *Hierusalem*, who cast the Guardian of the latin *monastery* into prison, pretending that a *Spanish* /50/ old woman coming with him, had brought the dead body of the knight of *Spaynes* sonne to be buryed there, and howsoeuer //

fol:38. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i.

the fraude was manifest; yet the Guardian vnderstanding that it was a mony matter, offered Thirty Crownes and the *Sangiach* demaunding five hundred, at last he paid Fifty to haue his freedome.²²² The like is that which he also relates of the *Christians* at *Tripoli*, who being accused by the *Turkes* for killing a *More*, whose dead body was cast among their dwellings, were forced to pay one hundred Crownes to be acquitted. like fraudes they continually practice against Christian societyes and priuate men by casting a dead body before their dores or²²³ burying it nere them, and as it were /10/ casually finding it out, or by like fraudes drawing them into suspition of Crimes, from all which notwithstanding they are redeemed with mony except they be accused to haue done or spoken any thing

²²² Villamont, sig. 2K3r - 2K3v, Book II Chapter 18.

²²³ Hughes has "of", p. 62.

against *Mahometts* Religion or be intangled in like netts, from which there is no redemption but death or turning *Mahometans*. When my selfe and my brother tooke our iourney from *Haleppo* towards *Constantinople*, an English Marchant Factor to Sir *John Spencer* Alderman of London²²⁴ sent diuers Camells loaded with his masters goods, as kerseyes and Tinne, which were to passe in the same Carauan /20/ with vs, and howsoeuer the Cameldriuers, and many *Turkes* knew them to be his goods, and he not without a present or guift commended both vs and these his goods to the protection of a cheife magistrate passing along with vs; yet my brother dying by the way, all these goods were seized vppon for the Emperor, only to putt a *vania* vppon the marchant, who not without trouble and bribes long after recouered them againe.²²⁵ It cannot be expressed, what

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

²²⁵ As Moryson italicized this word, it is almost certainly from the Italian. *Avania* means an unjust imposition imposed by Turks on Christians. Sanderson uses the word in this context when he got into trouble in

great iniuryes the *Turkes* will doe vnto Christians vppon the lightest causes. When we came neere vnto *Hierusalem*, a horseman of the Army crossing our way /30/ rann a full course at one of our Company with his launce, in rest,²²⁶ who only escaped killing, by the slipping of the launce into the pannell²²⁷ of the Asse wherevppon he rode, and with like force he was ready to assaile each man of vs, and that only (as our Interpreter told vs) because wee did him no reuerence as he passed, so that we were glad to tumble off from our Asses, and bend our bodyes to him, which done,

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

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

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

²²⁷ "I. 1. A piece of cloth placed under the saddle to protect the horse's back from being galled (obs.); also the stuffed lining." *OED*.

he rode away with a sterne proud looke.²²⁸ For a *Turke* will not abide any *christ[ian]ian* to looke him full in the face without striking him, so as I then vsing to walke with my eyes cast on the ground, as going /40/ about some busines, tooke that ill custome which I could neuer leaue, though I haue often bene reprovued by freinds for the same. Neither may a Christian carry Armes, yea woe to him that drawes a knife against a *Turke*; so as we hearing what Asses patience wee must haue, except we would perish in the iourney, by our freinds advice left our Rapiers in a Chest at *Venice* traouelling through all *Turky* with our hands in our hose.²²⁹ At *Hierusalem* wee were forced to beare a thousand iniuries, hardly keeping the very boyes from leaping vppon our shoulders from the Shopps and higher parts of /50/ the way while their Parents looked on, and commended them for so doing, besides many wrongs done vs in the way by *Mores* //

Booke i. The Turkes Common wealth. Chap:i. fol:39.

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

²²⁹ Moryson's description of the particular Turkish contempt against the Venetians, and the foolhardiness of carrying weapons gives added significance to Othello's final anguished outburst,

And say besides that in Aleppo once,
 Where a malignant and a turbaned Turk
 Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
 I took by th'throat the circumcisèd dog
 And smote him thus. V. 2. 361 - 365.

The man who had talked of his exploits to win Desdemona, remembers the most extraordinary one now that he has lost her.

and Arabians, who mixed with some other nations inhabit [that] that Country (the Jewes only living scattered vpon the Sea Coasts and in Citties of traffique) and a more wicked people cannot be imagined, so as the Duke of Normandie being carryed on some of their backs towards Hierusalem, & meeting a freind retorning into Fraunce, did pleasantly and in that part iustly desyre him to tell his freinds there, that he saw him carryed into heauen (meaning Hierusalem) vpon diuells backs, for litle better they were that carryed him. In our Iourney from Tripoli, to Haleppo, when our whole /10/ Carauan was in danger, for a fyre casually burning the Feilds, howsoeuer my brother and myselfe were free from causing it,²³⁰ yet we knowing how the magistrate would woorke vpon vs more then the rest, thought good to giue the Ianizarie that droue vs a large bribe to dismisse vs, and not to bring vs before him. And howsoeuer we were not altogether vnskilfull in the fashions of Turky, and did warily obserue the Customes, so as we neuer came within iust danger, nor prouoked any Turke [to strike] vs, (which kinde of wrong they are easily moued to offer any Christian) yet myselfe landing in the Iland Aloni /20/ had my hatt taken from my head (as I formerly said) and with words of scorne cast into the durt by a plebean Turke which I was glad to take vpp without any repining. And when I landed at Constantinople in a Greeke Shipp of

²³⁰ Hughes omits "it", p. 63.

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

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

²³¹ "Muscadine 1. 1. In full muscadine-wine.= muscatel".
OED.

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

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

that generally causes, are summarily decided and soone ended (excepting such cases as that of the *Venetians* foresaid shipp robbed, which they seeme to mingle with State matters.) And this expe[p]dition is the greater, because they haue no multiplicity of lawes, or Pleaders, holding themselues to some morall rules left them by *Mahomett*. But especially because the magistrate is loth to leaue any cause to his Successor, that will yeild mony. Yea such is the Corruption of bribery and so generall, as when the Emperors mother sent a present of a whole linnen attyre richly wrought, to *Elizabeth* /10/ Queene of *England*, many peeces thereof were detayned by her women, to the vtter disgrace of the present, till our Ambassador redeemed them with more mony then [they they were woorth.] [halfe purloyned by the Officers] And as I formerly said [large allowance] the Emperors large allowance [vsed] to the Christian Ambassadors, vsed to be more then halfe purloyned

by the officers. Nether is the Emperors person free from this Corruption, no Ambassador or other great suiters being, admitted to his presence without larg presents. So as the office of the *Capagi* or Porters, keeping the gates of the Emperor, and other magistrates, is most gainefull /20/ for they will thrust *Homer* himselfe out of dores if he bring nothing.²³²

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

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

²³² Homer here probably stands for any blind man.

while I was at *Scandelona*,²³³ *master Saunders* coming from *Constantinople* to be Consul of [of] the English Marchants at *Haleppo*, and dying by the way in *Natolia*, the *Turkes* tooke not only all his goods, but those also that belonged to his poore /40/ seruants and followers. For this cause, my selfe being sick in *Turkye*, and fearing that my host hoped to haue my Crownes at my [death] death, thought good²³⁴ to publish [what mony] what mony I had about me, and so taking away all hope of gaine by my death from my Host and those of his house, from that tyme I found myselfe better vsed and attended by them.

The Condition of Subiects in *Turkey* is not much better. For vnmoueable goods: The Emperors soldiers haue none, nor yet his great Officers, being all Captiues or tributarye Children. And howsoever the Emperor subduing any *Prouince* /50/ divides²³⁵ it into *Timars* or *Farmes* giuing them vppon the foresaid Conditions to the cheife men of his Army, yet they hold them only for life, or at his pleasure. In other parts, and perhaps in these subdued *Prouinces*, some say that priuate *Turkes & christians* haue inheritance of houses and lands, but surely they are not great for I did neuer see any Subiect that was reputed to haue such inheritances,

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

²³⁴ Hughes omits "good", p. 66.

²³⁵ Hughes has "divided", p. 66.

but all looked like poore slaues, nothing being more //
Booke i. The Turkes common wealth. Chap:i. fol:4i.

dangerous to any man then the reputation of rents or of
mouable wealth. And the same men told me, that as the
Turkes haue few lawes and short pleading, so for these
lands (whatsoever they [th]be) their evidences are not
great nor many having only a small paper subscribed by the
Cady to witnes the emption or the discent.²³⁶

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

²³⁶ "2. Roman Law. Purchase, in the contract of sale."
OED. "Discent" would be the blood line of descent.
Moryson's studies in the civil law are evident in his
choice of words.

in moueable goods, they hide or bury them in life, and convey them secretly at death.

{ m.n. 23 - 25. *Iudgments corporall and capitall.* }

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

Also I did see one that had bene impaled (vulgarly Casuckde²³⁷) an horrible kinde of death. The malefactor[s] carrys the wooden /30/ stake vppon which he is to dye, being eight foot long & sharpe towards one end, and when he comes into the place of execution, he is stripped into his shirt, and laid vppon the ground with his face downward, then the sharpe end of the stake is thrust into his fundament, and beaten with beetles²³⁸ vpp into his body, till it come out, at or about his wast, then the blunt end is fastned in the ground and so he setts at litle ease, till he dye, which may be soone if the stake be driuen with fauour, otherwise, he may languish two or three dayes in

²³⁷ *Kazik.*

²³⁸ "N. 1. 1. An implement consisting of a heavy weight or 'head,' usually of wood, with a handle or stock, used for driving wedges or pegs..." *OED.*

payne and hunger, if torment will permitt him in that tyme to feele hunger; for /40/ no man dares giue him meat.

They haue an other terrible kinde of death vulgarly called *Gancher*.²³⁹ The malefactor hath a rope or Chaine fastned about his body, whereof the other end is made fast to the topp of a Tower or of a Gibbett made high of purpose, and so this rope or chaine being of fitt length, his body is cast downe to pitch vppon a hooke of Iron, where he hangs till he dyes, with horror of the hight of payne, and of hunger. For howsoeuer he may dye presently if any vitall part pitch vppon the hooke, yet hanging by the shoulder or thigh he may liue long. And if any men giue /50/ these executed men, meat, or helpe to prolong their miserable life, he shall dye the same death; *Mores* and *christians* and they that are not of the Army, are often putt to this death, yea the *Beglerbegs* sometymes putt *Gouernors* to this death for extortions or Cruelties committed by them, or rather to gett their wealth. //

fol:42. Booke.i. The Turkes common wealth Chap:i.

They haue an other terrible kinde of death to flea the

²³⁹ This may be Moryson's rendering of Villamont's *ganché*, sig. 2Z6r, Book III Chapter 9, which Randle Cotgrave renders, "Let fall (as in a strappado) on sharpe stakes pointed with yron, and thereon languishing vntill he dye." See his *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongves* (London, 1611), [STC 5830]. It is anglicized by William Biddulph, "And some are ganched in this manner..." See Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols, (Glasgow, 1905 - 1907), VIII (1905), 277.

skinn of from the living body, and thus they cruelly putt
to death *Bragadino* a *Venetian* Gouvernor of *Famagosta* in
Cyprus, after he had yeilded the Citty vppon Composition
for life to him and his soldiers.²⁴⁰

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

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

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

²⁴¹ *Moryson* read this in *Georgievits*, pp. F7r, F7v. The
unfortunate *Janissary* was hung in *Damascus*.

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

but by turning *Turke*.

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

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

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

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

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

Of the miserable state of Captiuēs whose buyers haue power ouer their goods, and ouer their bodyes to prostitute them to lust, to make them Eunuches; and to dispose of them at pleasure,²⁴² I haue formerly spoken, as likewise I haue shewed, that the Condition of borne *Turkes*, and of *christian* Subiects, is /20/ in many [things] litle better then that of slaues.

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

²⁴² Hughes has "leasure", p. 70.

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

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

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

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

not possibly to be vnited for feare of *Christians*, and other subiects rebelling, the greatest part of the Army consisting of baser kindes of horsmen and footemen, the best horsmen generally being corrupted with rurall sloth and dilicate living in Cittyes, the best footemen the

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

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

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

Chap:ii.

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

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

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

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

² *Wojewoda*. Moryson seem to be transposing later developments, since the Palatines, which this word means, were the ministers of individual Dukes. Zamoyski, p. 25.

But after twenty yeares these *Palatines* disagreeing, *Cracus* nephew to the king of *Bohemia* was chosen *Prince* About the yeare 700, who built the Cittye *Crakaw*,³ at this day the seate of the kings. His Family being extinguished, in the yeare 730, the Common wealth was againe /40/ gouerned by twelue *Palatines* to the yeare 750; at which tyme the people growing weary of many *Gouernors*, againe chose them a *Prince*. About the yeare 842 (others write 806.), *Piasti* was chosen *Prince*, whose Family ruled to the yeare 1370, as it were by hereditary succession, but so as euery *Prince* was chosen to succeed the other. *Myesco* a *Prince* of that Family became Christian with all the nation in the yeare 965 </>, whose sonne *Boleslaus* had the title of//

Booke i. The Common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii. fo:45.

king and a Crowne giuen him in the yeare 1000. by the *Germane* Emperor, *Otho* the third with freedome from all tributes and homage to the Emperor.⁴ *Cassimere* a *Prince* of the said Family being a *Monck* the *Polonians* obtayned of *Pope Benedict* in the yeare 1041. to haue him freed of his vowe, and to be their king,⁵ vppon three Conditions, first that each man of that kingdome by the pole should yearely

³ Cracow.

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

⁵ Kazimierz I (1034 - 1058), had had to flee during the civil war, but was restored in 1040. Zamoyski, pp. 17 - 18.

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

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

⁷ Louis of Hungary (1370 - 1382).

⁸ The name of *Iogaila* Duke of *Lithuania* was transformed to *Jagiello*, and the consequent dynasty named after him. Zamoycki, pp. 43 - 44.

make agreement with the king of *Poland* that the order being extinct, the king should presently haue part of *Prussen*, and part should remayne to him and his heyres males with /30/ the title of duke, and for want of such heyres fall to the king of *Poland*. The foresaid Family of *Iagellon* beginning to raigne 1386. by continuall discent succeeded in that kingdome to the yeare 1572, as if it had bene by right of inheritance, yet not one of them being Crowned that was not first chosen in a solemne and free Assembly by the *Palatines* and gentlemen of *Poland*. At that tyme the heyres males of that Family failing, *Henry of Valois* brother to the *French* king was chosen king, and he within few yeares retorning to inherrit the kingdome of *Fraunce* the *Polonians* /40/ in the yeare 1575, chose for their king *Stephen* of the Family of *Bathori*, Prince of *Transiluania*, and howsoever part of the *Polonians* at the same tyme chose *Maximilian* brother to the Emperor of *Germany*, yet he made no warr for that right, after *Stephen* was possessed of the kingdome.

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

Stephen being dead some of the *Polonians* in the yeare 1587. chose *Sigismund the third* who liued and raigned at the tyme of my being there, and was sonne and heyre to the king of *Suecia* and by the mothers syde of the foresaid Family of

Jagellon.⁹ But an other part did againe choose the said *Maximilian /50/* who beseiging *Crakawe* was opposed, and putt to the woorst¹⁰ by *zamoski* the Archchancelor of *Poland* and so he retorning into//
{ c.w. *Germany*. }

fol:46. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii.

Germany to reinforce his Army, *Sigismund* was crowned the same yeare at *Crakawe*. *Zamosky* followed *Maximilian* and defeating his forces tooke him prisoner in the moneth of *January* 1588. and kept him in *Poland* till the moneth of *September* in the yeare 1589, at which tyme he freed himselfe as the *Germans* write) in the manner following. A place in *Silesia* was appointed for treaty of peace, whether the *Polonians* brought *Maximilian*, and the *Silesians* at the same tyme levying forces for *Hungarie*, *Maximilian* by that meanes finding his party strongest, the *Polonians* being farr inferior /10/ in number refused to retorne with them into *Poland*. At last *Sigismund* marrying the daughter of the Archduke of *Gratz* vnclie to *Maximilian*, he yeilded his right to *Sigismund*. The *Tartarians* in the yeare 1589 prouoked by the *Cosacchi* *Polonian* horsmen vppon the borders, did invade *Podolia* with a great Army,¹¹ but were defeated by the

⁹ *Sigismund* or *Zygmunt* III (1587 - 1632) was the son of *John* III of *Sweden* and *Catherine Jagiellon*.

¹⁰ We would probably say "worsted".

¹¹ *Podolia* is now in the south-western part of *Ukraine*.

Polonians and lost 25000 men in that battell. wherevppon they craued ayde of the *Turkish* Emperor, so as the *Cosacchi* also prouoking the *Turkes* by many skirmishes vppon the Confines of *Walachia* and the Cheife Gouvernors of the *Turkes* demaunding of *Zamoski* to /20/ haue the breakers of peace deliuered to his hands to be punished and *Zamoski* referring the matter to the king, and the king referring it to the Generall Assembly of the Nobles, the *Turkes* in the yeare 1590 prepared for open warr, and were ready to invade *Poland*, had not the English Ambassador at *Constantinople* made peace betweene them as the Common voyce was, and as himselfe avowed to me.¹²

{ m.n. 28. *The common wealth.* }

It appeares by the history of *Poland* that the kingdome is electiue and so limited as it rather seemes a Common wealth then a kingdome, yet that the *Polonians* alwayes vsed such Constancye in /30/ publick Counsells, as not only they chuse the heyres males (except sometymes the affayres of the State being turbulent) but also reputed the kings widowes and daughters to pertaine to the Care of the State (as hath bene seene by many examples for many ages, while the two Familyes of *Pyastus* and *Iagellon* raigned) so as they often imposed vppon the newe Chosen king the Condition, to marry the widow or daughter of the deceased

¹² For Edward Barton's influence at the Sublime Porte, see fols. 17 - 19.

king, (whereof the historyes yeild many examples) and had great respect for want of heyres males to the Father to chuse the male childe on the mothers syde of the blood Royall /40/ if he were Capable of that dignity, (for which respect *Sigismund* the king then living was chosen by them). In the tymes betweene the death of the king, and the Choyce of the new king, by an old lawe the Arch Bishopp of *Gesna*¹³ hath the priuiledge to call the Assemblyes, and to publish the choyce of the king, who is chosen by the *Palatines*, Bishoppes *Castellanes* deputies of Townes and Cittyes, and by all the gentlemen. For euen those gentlemen, haue voyces who are become so poore, as they are forced to attend on other gentlemen as likewise those who come from holding the plowgh, bare footed /50/ without hose or shoops,¹⁴ haue asmuch freedome in their voices as any other.¹⁵ At this election to auoid confusion, they ch[oo][u]se Certaine gentlemen who like *Tribunes* pronounce the voyces, and these in latter ages haue vsurped so great authority to the // { c.w. preiudice, }

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

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

¹⁵ A soaring birth-rate among the minor nobility meant they had "...nothing to offer except a vote and a sword. As they could not indulge in trade, they were obliged to take service." Zamoyski, p. 137.

Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii fol:47.

preiudice of the kings (whome they daily restraine within stricter limits) as therein the [passe] Bishoppe of *Leopolis* and his Suffragane yea the very *Palatines*, and *Castelanes*.¹⁶ Their History sheweth that some Prouinces of *Germany* belonged of old to *Poland*, which in process of tyme by Contracts of mariage, by diuisions of Prouinces among brothers, and by warr especially Ciuill, became alienated from *Poland* which notwithstanding [hath] in the meane tyme vnited to itselpe many other Prouinces no lesse then the former in greatnes, riches and power. The heyres males of the dukes of *Masouia*, failing that dukedome was vnited to /10/ to *Poland*.¹⁷ The large dukedome of *Lituania*¹⁸ was vnited to the same, by Duke *Iagello* when he was Chosen king of *Poland* vppon his mariage to a daughter of the last kings bloud, and howsoeuer the Princes of *Lituania* being of the dukes Family long deferred the vniting of that Prouince to *Poland*, lest they should loose an hereditary *Dukedome* for an electiue kingdome, yet their [heyres] males fayling, it

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

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

¹⁸ Lithuania.

was at last fully vnited to the same. The Prouince of *Liuania* was wonn by Armes from the order of the *Teutonick* knights and from the dukes of *Moscouy*.¹⁹ After warr betweene the /20/ *Polonians* and the said order of knights, at last agreement was made, that the *Polonians* should presently possess great part of the dukedome of *Prussen*, and the said order being then extinguished, the rest should remayne to the master thereof with title of duke, and to his heyres males, he being a *Germane* Prince of the Family *Brandeburge*, yet [so] as [so farr] for want of heyres males that part also should be vnited to the kingdome of *Poland*.²⁰ This Prouince is more ample and rich then almost any other of the *Germans*, whose language they speake. The Citizens and Marchants are most rich and /30/ [magnificall, and the husbandmen are very rich and] next to the English of any I haue seene in forayne parts. The Cittyes are many and stately as *Konigsberg* the seate of the duke, as *Marienburg* a Fort²¹ and Cheife City of the *Polonians* part, as the free City *Danzk*,²² sumptuous in buildings and famous for Traffique, and the litle but most pleasant City *Meluin*, and more pleasant for the Civill Inhabitants, where the English Marchants had their Staple, which is of no

¹⁹ Livonia is modern Latvia.

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

²¹ Marienburg, or Malbork.

²² Gdańsk.

small moment to enrich any City.²³ The two Cittyes last named are free and gouerned by their owne magistrates, yet acknowledge the king of *Poland*, who hath an officer in each /40/ of them to gather his tributes, but they will not receiue his forces, nor himselfe without a limited trayne. And the king is contented with this their subiection, lest they should refuse to pay his tributes, and they being *Germans*, and the Citties well fortified, and bordering vppon the Sea, should seeke meanes to vnite themselues to the Empire, and the free Cittyes thereof. King *Sigismund* at this tyme raigning, was also by Inheritance king of *Suetia*, but that kingdome was not otherwise vnited to *Poland*.²⁴ If a man consider the large Circuit²⁵ of the vast Prouinces and the vnited /50/ power of the king, the *Palatines* and the gentlemen to resist Common enemyes, he will say this kingdome is most ample and powerfull. But if withall he obserue the many and vast deserts and woods, the moderate

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

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

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

²⁵ Circumference. *OED*

riches of priuate men, rather //

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

seruing to liue plentifully at home, then sufficient for the vndertaking of any great actions abroad, the former amplitude and power, will seeme much extenuated. And lastly if he consider the kings limited power often subiect to the constraint of the *Palatines* in publique Counsells, and the *Palatines*, *Castellanes* and Gentleman's immunity from lawes and liberty in generall, and absolute Comaund with power of life and death in their owne Territories, and lands the said amplitude and power of the kingdome will appeare to be vanished into smoke; yet euery [thing] king hath more or lesse authority, and respect, as he is [more] /10/ more or lesse wise, and valiant.²⁶ For in the age past *Stephen Bathori* Prince of *Transilvania* being Chosen king of *Poland*, was said vppon pretence of publick occasions to haue raised an Army, and still keeping himselfe armed and strengthened therewith to haue abated the pride of the *Palatines* & Gentlemen, and then ioyning himselfe with

²⁶ Unfortunately for the Poles, Sigismund III was neither wise nor valiant. One of Moryson's sources, Bodin writes "The highest degree of compulsion is power of life and death, that is of condemning to death, or of pardoning those who have incurred this sentence. This is the highest attribute of sovereignty, proper to the majesty of a prince, and inherent in him to the exclusion of all other public persons." Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, abridged and translated by M. J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955), p. 91. Yet Moryson was able to see that even with split sovereignty, the constitution could work, with a strong personality such as Stephen Bathory (1575 - 1586) as king.

Zamosky Chauncellor of the kingdome, and his faction, to haue preuailed so farr against the Contrary faction as he banished, yea putt to death (a thing neuer heard of in Polonia) some of the Storosky a cheefe Family on that part.²⁷ It belongs to the king to appoint publick assemblyes /20/ and with consent of the same to make peace and warr, and to giue for terme of life, the places and dignityes of Counsellors Bishoppes *Palatines* and *Castellanes*; For these dignityes are not hereditary, but only giuen for life by the king, who is also the head of these Assemblyes, and the supreme Iudge of all Causes euen concerning gentlemen whose pride, and liberty is such as he cannot well moderate, and suppress, so great is this authority and power of the king. Breifely I say that *Poland* is divided into the greater, whereof the cheefe Citty and seat is *Guesna*, and the lesser *Poland* whereof the /30/ Cheife Citty and seate of the kings is *Crakawe*, besides the vnited Prouinces, All which are gouerned by *Palatines* *Castellanes* Captaines, Iudges, Senators or the kings Counsellors.

²⁷ "Barthory co-operated with Zamoyski and his followers and most of the nominees were chosen from this party, to the dissatisfaction of the family of the Zborowski and others." *The New Cambridge Modern History, The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution 1559 - 1610* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 386.

The *Palatines* vulgarly *wawo[e]des*²⁸ are in seuerall principalityes. The *Castellanes* <as> their leiutenants, are leaders of the gentlemen. The *Captaines*, are Gouvernors of Forts, and Castles: The Iudges or *Burgraues* determine Criminall, and Ciuill Causes. The Bishopps of old 9. be many in number by annexed Prouinces, the *Palatines* of old Fifteene now 26. The *Castellanes* are about sixty five, and the number of the rest is farr /40/ greater. Besides they haue great Ciuill and martiall Officers, Civill as two Chauncellors that haue the great Seale, and two *Vicechancelors* having a lesse Seale two Secretaryes having no voyce in the Senate. *Martiall*, as two Marshalls, two Generalls of Armyes. 91. Colonells Chosen by the king. In generall obserue that only the *Castellane* [of] *Crakawe* hath place of the *Palatine* thereof, as I shewed in the History, and so of all other *Palatines* vppon the Cause therein mentioned. The Historyes often make mention of two noble Familyes, the *Zborowski* seated neare [t] the Confines of *Prussen* and the /50/ *Zamoisky* of greater power seated vppon the Confines of *Transiluania*.

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

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

²⁸ This is an effort at anglicizing *wojewoda*. On Fol. 44 it is anglicized to "vuoyeuuodes".

Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii fol:49.

and Queene passed) were ready to conduct him into his hereditary kingdome of *Suecia*, expecting nothing but a faire wynde. He made this voyage to take possession of his Fathers kingdome lately dead, [which in the meane tyme was gouerned by his vnkle] which in the meane tyme was gouerned by his vnkle *Charles*, not without the suspected fauour of the people, he being of the reformed Religion as they were, but the king being brought vpp by his mother in the Roman Religion. The king was tall of stature, somewhat leane of body, with a long visage and browne Complexion, and the hayre of his head was black /10/ and short, with a thinn, short, and sharpe pointed beard of a yellowish Coulor. He wore a litle black silck bonnett hanging downe about his neck, and plaine black garments, he then mourning for his father. The Queene of the Family of *Austria* and the house of *Gratz*, was of a low stature, a full face, and sanguine Complexion. When the Gentlemen brought [vpp] meat for the king, one went before with a short white staffe in his hand, and three gentlemen carryed vpp each of them three Couered dishes with a white Napkin betweene euery dish, and each of them had a Page to beare vpp the trayne of his gowne, /20/ for they did weare two long Garments, the Inner hanging to the knees, the other to the Anckles. They who kept the dore of the Chamber, wherein the king and the Queene did eat were base Groomes, and they admitted any man to enter, so as the roome was full with people of all

Conditions, and those that stood somewhat distant from the Table, putt on their hatts, only when the king did drinke, the Queene herselfe, and they that satt at the Table rose vpp, and all that were in the Chamber putt of their hatts. They seemed not to know any such reuerence, as kneeling to the king, or putting of the hatt to the Chaire of estate,. The /30/ king came to this Port, an english myle distant from *Dantz*, where there was only house, and that very vnfitt to receiue a king with his trayne, because some [few] dayes before, a tumult had happened at *Dantz*, betweene the *Polonians* and the Citizens which Credible men thus related to me. A Porter of the Citty being loded, and passing by a *Polonian*, first hurt him with his burthen, then bad him take heed, wherevppon he (as all *Polonians*) are soone stirred vpp, and prone to quarrells) drew his short sword or *Semiter*, and therewith almost cutt of the poore *Germans* Arme, who running through the streets, /40/ bewayled his mayme, and so stirred vpp the Citizens, as they killed Fifteene *Polonians*, and among them, a boy that carryed meat to his master, these being all they could meet, For there were no other *Polonians* in the Towne, but only those of the kings Court. Of the *Germans* no more than fower were killed, but the king had fower hundred footemen of his Guarde called *Haiducs*, who were lodged in the Subvrbs, and vppon this Tumult marched with banner displayed towards the Citty, and had not the Gates bene shutt vppon them in fitt tyme, no doubt there had bene farr

greater slaughter. The king was most /50/ //
fol:50. Booke.i. The Common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii.
offended at the shewting of a peece,²⁹ the bullett whereof
came in at his Chamber window.³⁰ At last the Magistrates
with great difficulty appeased the multitude, For the
Germans having the advantage doe not willingly forbear,
neither can the *Polonians* though vppon disadvantage, easily
sett downe by the losse. The tumult being appeased, the
Magistrates made a Proclamation to haue him made knowne
that shott into the kings Chamber, and (as it seemed for
forme) promised an hundred Guldens to any man should bring
him forth, but neither could he be found, nor were the
Polonians herewith satisfyed.³¹ The king had /10/ come
[from] *Crakaw* to *Danzt* in boates vppon the Riuier *Vistula*
vulgarly *wexel*. *Crakaw* is the seat of his Court, and I
vnderstood by some *Polonian* Gentlemen, that he there
mantayned for his guard 60 horsmen called *Hascheri*, whereof
each man had fowerteene *Guldens* by the moneth, and 400
Footemen called *Haiducs* whereof each man had fower *Guldens*

²⁹ A firearm. *OED*

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

³¹ "Thirty Polish Grosch makes a silver Gulden; 40 a Reichs Doller," *Itinerary A*, I, xxiv, and since a Reichs Doller is worth four shillings and four pence, the reward offered was worth a little over fourteen pounds.

by the moneth.³² And that his [Soldiers] [Courtiers] kept 2000 horses, some one officer keeping eight horses with the monethly stipend of Thirty *Guldens*. But that these stipends were slowly payd, the king being alwayes in their debt, and hardly making full payment once in fower /20/ yeares. Neither did these Courtiers or officers eat in the Court, there being no Table kept but the kings, the reuersion whereof serued the Queenes women.³³ So as howsoeuer the king might be well attended riding abroad, yet within dores his Court seemed to haue small magnificence.

{ m.n. 27, 28. *The kings reuenues and tributes.* }

Indeed the kings reuenues are small, For the mynes of siluer belonging to him are few, and [yeild not great] [the] profitt, and the Citties of traffique being few, and the exactions not great, his Customes also are small. The mynes of salt also being /30/ to the king, and yeild him greatest profitt, but the Gentlemen haue a portion thereof at a moderate price, whereof they sell, what they cannot spend themselues. And this salt is partly decocted of water,³⁴ but most growes in pitts, and is digged vpp in

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

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

³⁴ Boiled from water. *OED*

black and great peeces like stones. The king hath also certaine Territories of land proper to himselfe, wherein he hath absolute power, the husbandmen being his slaues, as particuler Gentlemen haue in their owne Territories And all things being very cheape in *Poland*, excepting forayne Cloathes, Stuffes³⁵ wynes and /40/ spices, these Reuenues may well answer the kings expences, but for publicke vses, I could neuer heare nor read that the kingdome had any great Treasure. Diuerse affirme,³⁶ that the mynes of siluer and salt, yeild the king sixe hundred thousands Crownes yearely, yet vnderstand that part thereof was ingaged by *Sigismund Augustus*, and that almost halfe was alienated by *Henry of Valois* to diuerse gentlemen for gayning their loue. They said also that *Lituania* and other Prouinces giue the king all necessaries for food, while he keepes his Court among them. And that in /50/ publike Causes of warr, and necessityes of State, Subsidies are imposed by consent of the generall assembly, aswell vppon lands, as beare, and all things to be sold. The dukes //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii. [5] fol:5i.
part. of *Prussen* yeildes him yearely twenty thousand Crownes and the king of *Polands* part thereof being as great and [as] as fruitfull, cannot but yeild him [litle] [like] profitt. It is most certaine that the king hath [also] many

³⁵ Furnishings. *OED*

³⁶ Many [writers?] affirm that....

meanes of great moment to gratify his Subiects as the appointing of his Counsellors and great Officers, the keeping of Castles and Territories, which he giues to gentlemen for life, and if he would make profitt thereof, he might very much increase his Reuenues, but in that case he should offend the Gentlemen, whose loue the kings are so carefull to preserue, as they not only bestow these /10/ guiftes freely among them, but comonly graunt to the *Palatines* and *Castellanes*, such rights as belong to the king in their seuerall Territories. But it is a matter of no small *moment*, that vppon any inuasion of enemyes, or vppon offensive warr decreed by common Consent in publike assemblies, the Gentlemen are bound to assemble, and serue, vppon their owne Cost[s] and Charges, in whome is all the strength of the kingdome, so as no great Treasure is required for defending the same, or for making offensive warr decreed by publike Consent. /20/

{ m.n. 21 - 23. *The horse and horsmen.* }

The *Polonians* are a warlike nation, valiant, and actiue, but all their strength consists in their horse, whereof they haue so great number, as some affirme they can bring a hundred thousand horse into the feild, and one Prouince of *Lituania*, can bring 70 thousand, and king *Stephen* in the [last] last age had 40. thousand in his Army. Of these

horsmen, some are called *Hussari*,³⁷ who are armed with long speares, a sheild, a Carbine or short gunn, and two short swords, one by the horsmans syde, the other fastned vnder the left syde of his sadle. The light horsmen called *Cosachi* are armed with /30/ short swords Iauelin, bowes and arrowes, and a Coat of maile and the whole Country of *Poland* being playne, this great body of horsmen must needs be a [power] [powerfull] strength to the kingdome. The horses are of small stature, but of no lesse agility, then those of the *Turkes* and singuler in boldnes for any seruice of warr. Yet are they all made G[u]eldens;³⁸ And the gentlemen are not prouder of any thing, then of their horses and horsmanshipp professing to weare long garments, as Commodious for horsmen, that they may cast their vpper garment vppon their horses when they are heated with running,. And for this Cause /40/ [many] [may] haue their bridles (which are alwayes snafles by which the horses are easily turned) sett with studds of gold or siluer, sometymes having gold Chaynes, and like ornaments at the eares of their horses, and Commonly paynting the mayne and taile yea the whole body, excepting the back of their horses with light Coulors, as Carnation and the like,

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

³⁸ Horses castrated when foals or colts, geldings, are generally more docile.

therein seeming ridiculous, that whereas art imitates nature, these Coulers are such as are most vnnaturall for horses.³⁹ They haue gilded stirropps as also spurrs which are some handfull long at the heele. Not only soldiers but Ambassadors and their gentlemen, /50/ haue the hinder part of their horse couered with the wings of an Eagle, or skinn of a Tyger, or leopard or some like ornament, either for beauty, or to seeme more terrible, as in //

fol:52. Booke.i. The comon wealth of Poland. Chap:ii.

generall all haue them couered, some lesse, some more richly⁴⁰ The *Polonian* horsmen restraine the incursions of the feirce *Tartars*, and seeme so bold to the *Turkes*, as they haue no hart to invade *Poland*; Neither can the *Moscouites* indure their assault, howsoever for feare of their Tyrant, they must be prodigall of their bloud.⁴¹ The

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

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

⁴¹ Presumably Moryson is thinking of Ivan the Terrible. However, as Ivan died in 1584, it may be that in using the word "tyrant", Moryson is thinking of the organized repression that the office of tsar represented, and that

Polonians haue no care to fortify Cittyes professing nothing more to be disgracefull then to fly from their enemyes, and vaunting to defend their Country with their owne brests, not with walled Townes. which they lesse desyre to fortify lest their kings should /10/ vsurpe power ouer them by giving the keeping of such places to their deuoted seruants.

{ m.n.13. *The footmen.* }

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

Ivan had instituted against the corporations, the boyars (old nobility), and the liberties of the peasant. For all the Moscovite spilt blood, the Peace of Yam Zapolsky, 1582, was a recognition of military failure. See Koenigsberger, pp. 251 - 255.

of *Plato*, what all men care for, each man neglects; so many tymes a Senate of many heads, is either diuerted from the best Counsells by Confusion of opinions, or letts the best occasion slipp by slow and too late resolutions.⁴² For which Causes, and for the foresaid want of Footmen, the *Polonians*, howsoever in a Common /30/ danger they readily concurr to stopp any inuasion; yet se[e]me vnfitt to inlarge their kingdome by Conquering new Prouinces. The strength of their warfare consisting in their horse, and their slaues seruing only for Pioners,⁴³ or like oxen to draw Artillerie, and for like vses, whensoever they raise an Army the Footmen are mercenary straungers, commonly *Germans Hungarians*, and *Slauonians* (whereof king *Stephen* had sixteene thousand in his Army). But the king mantaynes a certaine number of *Hungarian* and *Slauonian* Footmen, not sufficient to serue in the Army, but only to guard his /40/ owne person, and these being commonly taken for *Polonians*

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

⁴³ Usually the advance guard who dig trenches, and prepare for the main body of the army.

are called *Haiducs*, and are most bold in fighting & vndanted⁴⁴ in receiuing vgly wounds, and maymes made by the *Simeters* or short swords they vse.⁴⁵

{ m.n. 45. *Their nauall power.* }

All parts of *Poland* lying within land excepting *Prussen* and part of *Liuania*, which are subiect to the king vnder a free yoke, and haue few shippes of their owne, most commonly vsing those of straungers for traffi[c]ke, the *Polonians* may be sayd to be altogether ignorant in Nauigation. So as when king *Stephen* had beseiged *Danzt*, and the Citizens, had hyred a /50/ //

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

Flemish shipp, to Cutt downe a Bridge of wood, by which the *Polonians* passed ouer the Riuer, the *Dantzkers* at this day tell for a least, that the *Polonian* Footmen stood vppon the bridge to defend it thinking with their Pikes to stopp the shipp vnder all sailes with a strong gaile of winde, till the shipp cutting the bridge with an instrument in the Prowe, these ignorant men were all drowned in the Riuer.

⁴⁴ Undaunted ?

⁴⁵ Being neighbours to the Poles, the Turks had some influence upon them, particularly in the design of weapons. Moryson even mistakes Polish variations for the Turkish scimitar. The curved eastern sabre was modified by the Hungarians, and further adapted by the Poles to give it a very high ratio of cutting power for effort expended. It was regular issue from the late sixteenth century. Zamoyiski, p. 155.

{ m.n. 8, 9. *Warfare in generall.* }

In generall the warfare of *Poland* hath three impediments one of wanting mony and power in the kings to make peace and warr, both these being raised and determined in /10/ Parliaments and againe the want of Footmen for which they vse strangers, but (as I formerly sayd) it hath more or lesse reputation and power according to the kings person. For the histories shew that some vnwarlike kings haue suffered losses, and indignities without reuenge or repayre of them, but their Successors being valiant [being valiant], and of warlike myndes haue not only recouered and repayred those losses and wrongs, but haue at home kept [p]the proude Gentlemen in awe, and haue abroad mantayned their owne and their kingdomes reputation against all their powerfull /20/ neighbors. The *Polonians* suffer the present vsurpation of the king of *Suecia* confining vppon *Liuania* because they haue not power at Sea, and cannot lead an Army against him by Land without great difficultyes, neither doth he offend them being restrayned by iust feare of the *Danes* and *Moscouites*, continuall enemyes to that kingdome, and bordering it on all sydes.⁴⁶ The duke of *Moscouye*, in the warr for *Liuania*, with *Stephen* king of *Poland*, did by

⁴⁶ In 1620, the Jesuit-influenced Sigismund III (1587 - 1632) whilst proclaiming neutrality, sent his Hapsburg relations 10,000 cavalry to help suppress the Elector Palatine in Bohemia. Taking this as a pretext, the Protestant Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, besieged and took Riga, the Livonian capital in 1621, but did not press his advantage further until 1625 when all Livonia was taken. See Zamoyski, p. 133, and Parker, p. 211.

his victorys finde him so powerfull, as he was content to haue peace with him. The *Moscouite* hath his /30/ [sonne] [subiects] more at Commaund and more vnited vnder *tirannicall* obedience, but the *Polonians* are more valiant, more bold and apt to dare any thing in a iust warr decreed by publike Consent. The *Moscouites* are more [fitt to] defend fortified places, the *Polonians* invincible in the playne Feild. The *Moscouites* lesse feare hunger and want of necessaryes, the *Polonians* more despise the sword and death. The neighbor *Germans* feare not the power of the *Polonians*, wanting footmen (as I sayd) to force their strong Cittyes, and the *Polonians* doe nothing lesse then feare the *Germans* in the playne Feild since in such /40/ fights the *Polonians*, though farr inferior in number boast themselues to haue often preuailed against the *Germans*, as namely of late in the warr of *Prussen*, and likewise when *Maximilian* the Emperors brother, was taken prisoner in the Feild. The *Tartarians* haue often made incursions into *Poland*, but rather as Robbers then as Invaders, wasting the Country for the tyme, but neuer planting them selues therein, and this they haue done in tymes betweene the death⁴⁷ of kings, when the *Polonians* wanted their head to lead them, yet euen then haue they often (of old and lately in the age past, and this /50/ //

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

⁴⁷ Hughes adds "and Choyce", p. 86. It is not in the original.

present) bene beaten back with such ouerthrowes as they had litle cause to bragg of their booty. The *Turkes* haue subdued the Prouince of *walachia*,⁴⁸ the Prince whereof did homage to the king of *Poland*, and haue bene bold to prouoke the *Polonians* in tymes betweene the death and Choyce of kings, or when they had vnwarlike kings. Againe the *Polonians* remembring the great defeat of king *Ladislaus* by the *Turkes* and being compassed on all sydes with the aboue named [power][powerfull] neighbors, and warily obseruing the [disvnited] myndes of Christian Princes, are not willing to make warr against the *Turkes*.⁴⁹ But no doubt the *Turkes* had rather make [any] warr then against the /10/ *Polonians*, in regard of their strength in horse, wherein the *Turkes* ouertopp all other enemyes fearing to be forced by them to fight a battell with all forces. And for this Cause they haue of late borne with the *Polonians* seruing against them in *Valachia*,⁵⁰ and with many incursions made by their *Cosacchi* that is light horsmen into the Confines of *Turkye*. As also when the *Tartarians* passed the Confines of *Poland* to ayd the Turkish Emperor, at the seige of

⁴⁸ Wallachia is the land of the Vlachs. A Turkish dependency in Moryson's time, it is now part of Romania. *OED*

⁴⁹ This is probably a reference to the annihilation of the Hungarian forces by the Turks at Mohacs in 1526. King Louis who died on the battlefield was a Jagiellon, and, therefore, related to the Polish dynasty. See Koenigsberger, p. 233.

⁵⁰ Wallachia.

Ag[r]ia in Hungary,⁵¹ and were vtterly ouerthrowne by the *Polonian Cosacchi*, the *Turkish Emperor* was Content to dissemble as if he thought this hostile act to haue happened by Casualty,⁵² though the /20/ same day the *Polonian Ambassador* came to the *Turkish Court* to excuse the king in Case they should fight, a messenger within few howers after arriued there, who related the defeat and ouerthrow of the *Tartarians*.

{ m.n. 25. *Ciuill iustice* }

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

⁵¹ Eger. For details of this campaign, see Fols. 27 - 29.

⁵² Chance. *OED*

⁵³ Hughes corrects to "sonnes", p. 87.

cause be of a certaine value, as aboute one hundred pounds, the greiued party may appeale to the kings Courts of Iustice, which are like wise two, the one of Iudges called Assessors from whome appeale is likewise admitted to the highest Court where the king setts in person, attended by his lords spirituall /40/ and temporall, not vnlike our Starr Chamber.⁵⁴ And these Courts are in the place where the king resides for the present, be it at *Crakawe*, or at *warsaw*, where he commonly abides, or elsewhere. The causes of dowrye and inheritance are determined by the Ciuill and Cannon lawes.⁵⁵ The daughters and sonnes haue equall portions. If the husband outliue the[r] wife, he hath halfe the goodds, and the other halfe is divided among the Children, as likewise if the wife outliue the husband, and when the [longer] living Parent dyes, that halfe also is divided among the Children. Among gentlemen the eldest sonne may haue the Cheife house, and lordshipp, but if the value exceed /50/ the portions of his brothers and sisters, he must pay them that proportion in mony. For our strange [lawe] of giuing all the land to the eldest sonne, is not

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

⁵⁵ Hughes transcribes "Common" law, p. 87, but if that is meant a minim has been missed.

practized among them.⁵⁶

{ m.n. 54. *Capital Iudgments* }

Touching Capital Iudgments. The gentlemen, trusting to their exorbitant priuiledges, often comitt murthers against straungers or any other prouoking them to anger; For they cannot be iudged but in [a] generall assembly which is comonly called at Warsaw where also the kings are chosen, and that but once in two yeares (except //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:ii. fol:55.

[to] the kings death, or some like great occasion of meeting happen) and then they are tryed by the most voyces of gentlemen, who are thought partiall Iudges in a Common Cause, which may concerne any of them vppon the like [occasion] euent; yet men of Creditt report that they proceed directly [against] in this manner. The dead Corpes of the murdered is imbalmed and brought to that assembly, whether the murtherer is cited, and not appearing is banished, looseth his goods, his howses being pulled downe, and the very trees being turned vpp by the rootes, and his person made infamous, but appeaing⁵⁷ as commonly they doe, he must either purge himselfe by the /10/ law or sometyme by the fauour of great freinds by voyces finding him not guilty of murther, (but neuer by any pardon which the king

⁵⁶ Moryson says this from the heart, being the third son of five.

⁵⁷ Hughes amends to "appearing", p. 88.

neither doth nor can graunt) or els must dye, but in that case his goods goe to his Children or heyres. And the gentlemen for murther are beheaded, whereas others haue their bones broken vppon a wheele. Of late a slaue, that had killed his master (as I vnderstood by credible report) had first one hand, and foot cutt of in the place where he did the fact,⁵⁸ and after in the place of execution had first the other hand and foote cutt of, then [had] a large thong of his skinne fleaed⁵⁹ round /20/ about his body, and lastly being yet alieue, had his body cutt into fower quarters. Coyners of mony by the lawe are to be burned, but sometymes in mercy are only beheaded. They that sett houses on fyre are fastned to a Gibbett and smoked to death. He that deflowres a virgine of [most] noble Parentage, must dye by the law and generally he that Comitts a rape is burned. Adulterers by the law are beheaded, if they be accused; but I heard that gentlemen maryed, did many tymes keepe Concubines, seldome questioned, neuer condemned to death for it, being (as I haue formerly sayd) only to be tryed in cases of life by gentlemen /30/ in the said generall assemblyes. //

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

Touching degrees in Common wealth and Family, the

⁵⁸ Crime. *OED*

⁵⁹ This is an obsolete form of "flayed". *OED*

Archbishopp of *Guesna* is primate and borne legate to the Pope, and crowneth the kings. The Archbishopp of *Lempurg* and diuerse Bishoppes [haue] priuiledges as Princes. I did only <se>heare of two Earles of *Osterloch*, but I neuer heard nor read of anymore Earles nor any Barrons among them. The highest secular dignities, are these of the *Palatines* and *Castellanes*, Marshalls Chauncellors Vicechauncellors Generalls and Colonells, which are only for life. The next and cheife for number and power is that of the /40/ gentlemen who haue very great priuiledges aswell in the choyce of the kings as in all things iudged by the publike assembly (wherein as I sayd Crymes Comitted by themselues are iudged by themselues) and also in the absolute Commaund of their owne Territories, wherein they haue power of life and death ouer their owne slaues, and all Confiscated goods and tributes, as the king hath in his territories. These priuiledges were first graunted them by *Cassimere* the great Crowned in the yeare 1333. and since by other kings haue bene increased, alwayes with so much diminution of the kings power, And the priuiledges of the nobility are comunicated to the nobles of /50/ Conquered, and vnited Prouinces.⁶⁰ Euery king at the end of his Coronation doth with solemne Ceremony, knight some Counsellors and gentlemen. And some two or three dayes

⁶⁰ Privileges are given to, or shared with, the nobility of lands conquered or in union. See communicate v 3 and 4. *OED* Moryson uses the word in the Latin sense of *communicare* to share.

after, coming into the markett place of *Crakawe* to take the oath of the Citizens and their guiftes presented him, he doth againe draw the sword, and knight some men of best merit. But they are not dubbed after the manner of our knights, nor haue any aditio[i]n to their names as *Sir.* with *vs.*, and if perhapps they [had] [add] the title of knight to their written stile, yet are they not vulgarly named by it. All these haue moderate //

fol:56. Booke.i. The common wealth of Poland. Chap:iii

riches scarce sufficient to buy forayne Commodities, farr brought and much vsed by them as *Spanish* wynes and spices and stufes of silke, and English Cloth, the greatest not having aboue 5000 libri yearely Rent, excepting the duke of *Prussen*, of *Brandeburg* house, and the duke of *Curland* of *Denmarks* Family, no[r]t were subiect.⁶¹ The marchants and Artisans in Cittyes are not many in number, there being few Cittyes for so great a kingdome, neither are they rich dwelling farr from the Sea, so as straungers fetch their Commodities, and they are subiect to the gentlemen in whose Territories they dwell as they are subiect to the king that liue in his Territoryes. The /10/ rest a[re] meere slaues,

⁶¹ Hughes makes sense of this by inventing "nor were they subiect.", p. 90, which was certainly untrue in the case of Duke of Prussia, who did homage for his lands as late as 1641. Zamoyski, p. 158. The cadet branch of the Danish royal house may also have been subject. Shakespeare gets Hamlet to use a similar idiom, identifying his person with the monarchy and even the land, when he reveals himself with "This is I, / Hamlet the Dane." *Hamlet*, V. 1. 253 - 254.

(as in *Bohemia*) the lord having power ouer their bodyes and goods, and ouer their Children to make them seruants, in their houshold, and if they haue skill in any art to make them woorke for their lordes profitt, for they cannot woorke for themselues; nor haue any proper goodds, all belonging to the lord; yea the *Germans* affirme, and write that in *Lituania*, the lord will cutt of his slaues foote, lest he should runn away. But their seruants attending their persons, are comonly poore Gentlemen: For many Gentlemen are so poore as they drinck water, and follow the plough bare footed, yet loose they not their right to be gentlemen, nor their /20/ voyces in generall assemblyes, as in choyce of the king, and like occasions. These gentlemen seruants waite with their hatts on, and sett at their masters table, both at home and abroad where their masters are invited. For they account it a disgrace to haue slaues wait on them, yet some will apparrell their slaues as Gentlemen to attend on them to the Court, or to Cittyes, and when they retorne take this apparrell from them. The *Polonians* are Courteous and kinde hearted, and so vse their wiues with much loue and respect, as also these Gentlemen seruants, with mildnes and affability. In generall a gentleman will not marry a marchants daughter, /30/ nor any ignoble woman, for any riches whatsoeuer, and if any should so mary, his kinsmen would force him to be diuorced For they are Carefull not to stayne their nobility, insomuch as a gentleman will not buy or sell anything, but his owne

Corne and Catle.

Chap:iii

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

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

Italy was inhabited at first by the *Ligurians* and *Hetrurians*,¹ then by the *Galles*, who called the lower part thereof *Gallia Cisalpina*, that is on this syde of the *Alps*² till at last the *Romans* subduing all made the Inhabitants free of the City of *Rome*,³ and sent out many *Roman Colonies* to possesse part of the subdued T~~err~~itories My purpose is only to write of *Italy*, and the growing of these

¹ Tuscans. "TVscany, anciently called *Hetruria*..." Sir Robert Dallington, *A survey of the great dukes state of Tuscany. In 1596* (London, 1605), sig. Br, [STC 6200], referred to hereafter as Dallington, *Tuscany*.

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

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

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

³ Freedom of the City of Rome, defined by *OED* as "The right of participating in the privileges attached to citizenship...". 13. b.

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

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

the yeare of our lord 476, invaded *Italy*, and forced *Augustulus Momillus* the westerne Emperor to depose his Imperiall Crowne and made *Rauenna* the seat of their kings.⁴ The westerne Empire being thus extinguished, *Iustinian* Emperor of the East by *Narses* his liutenant ouercame the *Gothes*, either driuing them out of *Italy*, or making them his Subiects, and dyed himselfe in the year 565. In the name and right of the Eastern Emperor seated at *Constantinople*, *Narses* with title of duke of *Italy* had his seat at *Rome* and divided [*Italy* into] seuentene Prouinces, and Gouerned them by *Consular Prefects*,⁵ by Correctors and

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

⁵ "...under the empire, a legate sent as governor of a province.", in this case, from Byzantium. *OED* consular a. and n. B.

by /10/ Presidents. But at this tyme *Italy* had also fower cheife Ecclesiasticall dignities, the Bishopp of *Rome* pretending right of the old Emperors,⁶ and present dukes seat, the Patriarke of *Aquilegia* pretending right of antiquity,⁷ the Arch-Bishopp of *Rauenna* pretending right of the Exarches seate⁸ (whereof we shall speake) and the Arch Bishopp of *Milan* pretending right of that Citty (having bene the seate of the last westerne Empire[s]rs and since the extinguishing of them being now the seat of the Consular Prefect of [them] *Liguria*) : which fower Bishoppes vppon these rights from this tymes [for] many yeares /20/ contended for primacye. *Narses* hearing that he should be recalled in disgrace by the Eastern Emperor, did incourage the lombards to invade *Italy*. *Longinus* succeeded *Narses*, and seating himselfe at *Rauenna*, left the title of Duke stiling himselfe *Exarche* of *Italy*, and in the place of the Prefects and Presidents, he appointed dukes ouer the seuerall Citties, and fortified them against the *Lombards*. *Albonius* duke of the *Lombards*, having taken *Milan*, was

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

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

⁸ "Under the Byzantine Emperors, the governor of a distant province, as Africa or Italy; in the latter case with title 'Exarch of Ravenna'." *OED* 1. The Exarch's seat represents his authority. The later Western Emperors had abandoned the insecurity of Rome to hide in the marshes of Ravenna, hence its prestige and the Bishop's claims.

saluted king in the yeare 570. and from this tyme *Lombard* dukes were sett ouer the *Prouinces* and *Citties* of *Italy*, as their king subdued them. *Antharis* king of the *Lombards*, became a /30/ Christian, but presently fell to the *Arrian* heresy,⁹ and he made a league in the yeare 586, with the *Exarche*, and his Successor returned to the *Catholike* faith. Peace was made in the yeare 599. betweene the king of the *Lombards* and the *Exarches* (vnder whose *Commaund*, the *Romans*, aswell the *Bishopps* and the *Citizens*, were alwayes comprehended) *John* the *Patriarke* of *Constantinople* vnder *Mauricius* the *Emperor* stiled himselfe vniuersall *Bishopp*, but *Gregory* the great *Bishopp* of *Rome* wrote bitterly against

{ m.n. 39. *The Popes supremacy.* }

the new presumption, and exceeding pride of this title, saying that the very *Apostle Peter* suffered not himselfe so to be called. /40/ Yet the *Emperor Phocas* having murdered *Mauritius*, and vsurping his *Empire* to gaine the fauour of *Boniface* the third and next *Bishopp* of *Rome*, gaue him this proud title, which his Successors hold to this day. From this tyme in the warrs betweene the declining *Exarches* and

⁹ A heresy named after *Arius* (d. 336), who held that the *Father* was greater than the *Son*. Most barbarian tribes were converted to *Christianity* by *Arians*, with the exception of the *Franks* who became *Catholics* and, therefore, champions of *Papal* claims. This confusing period is well explained in *R. H. C. Davis, A History of Medieval Europe From Constantine to Saint Louis* (London, 1970), and referred to hereafter as *Davis*. He also has a full definition of *Arianism*, pp. 16 - 17.

the *Lombard* kings daily preuayling against them, the power of the *Romane* Bishopps continually

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

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

the Imperiall maiesty, till at last *Philippicus* Emperor of

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

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

¹⁰ Philippicus was a usurper, hence the reaction of Pope Constantine. Iconoclasm only became imperial policy in 726 under Leo III. See John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries* (London, 1988), pp. 354 - 357. Moryson is conflating events. As the preceding marginal note makes clear, iconoclasm appealed to Protestants with their suspicion of images.

Images there to be broken downe in the yeare 726, *Gregory*
Bishopp of *Rome* did excommunicate him, and absolued the
Italians from the othe of //

{ c.w. fidelity, they }

fol:58. Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

of fidelity they had made to him, so as on all sydes of
Italy the magis[trate]strates of the Emperor, either had
their eyes putt out [or] were killed. Thus *Rome* and the
dukedom thereof first came into the *Bishopp*s hands who yet
in long tyme attayned no absolute or temporall Commaund
therein, as hereafter will appeare. The *Exarches* had
recouered *Rauenna* and some part of their dominion in *Italy*
till the king of the *Lombards* in the yeare 752, againe
taking *Rauenna* putt a finall Perioodd to the *Exarchate* of
the Easterne Emperors.

{ m.n. 8, 9. *Popes seeke aide from Fraunce.* }

But when the said king by right of the *Exarchate* subdued by
him, challenged obedience and tribute from the /10/
*Bishopp*s of *Rome*, they terrified begann to sollicit ayde
and support against the *Lombards* from the kings of *Fraunce*,
choosing rather to yeild superiority to the *French* farr
distant then to be vnder the *Lombards* so neare at hand to
exact obedience and punish ambitious innouations.¹¹
Histories witnes that *Stephen* *Bishopp* of *Rome* about the

¹¹ Both words would have a sinister implication to
Moryson's contemporaries that is lost on us. The meaning is
that the *Lombards* would punish the *Pope*'s self-seeking
political opportunism. See *OED* innovation, 2. b.

yeare 760 was the first Bishopp Rome had seene carried [aboue] upon mens [sr]shoulders. *Pipin* the French king¹² having made a league with the *Roman Bishopp* (or the *Pope*) against the *lombards*, the Bishoppes of *Fraunce* first came into *Italy* to the meetings or Counsellis appointed by the Popes. *Charles /20/* the great the king of *Fraunce* coming at the instance of the Pope with his Army against the *Lombards*, subdued them, and made himselfe lord of all *Italy* in the yeare 773¹³ and coming to *Rome* in the 774, gaue to the Popes the *Exarchate* and the *Pentapolis* (or 5. Citties) as they write, but the Popes neuer possessed them that I can read to the tyme of *Pope Alexander* the sixth, as hereafter shalbe shewed. Now according to the diuision first agreed vppon in *Fraunce*, *Charles* kept the kingdome of *Italy* to himselfe by right of Conquest, and was Crowned with the *Lombards* yron Crowne at *Modoetia*.¹⁴ Againe coming

¹² Pepin 'the short' King of the Franks 751 - 768.

¹³ Although invested in 773, Pavia the last Lombard stronghold did not fall until 774.

¹⁴ There was disagreement as to exactly what was given. Charlemagne restored to the Papacy "everything that had been taken from it by King Didier", but nothing more, and that included the overlordship which was still vested in him by right of conquest. However his actions confirmed the existence of the Papal Patrimony formerly given by his father Pepin. See Davis, p.148. *Modoetia* is probably a corruption of *Modicia*, or Monza. Thomas Coryat also writes that this was where the iron crown of Lombardy was kept, "...about some ten miles from Milan." See Coryat, I, 252. Pavia was the former Lombard capital, and although his biographer Einhard does not mention it, Charlemagne would almost certainly have been crowned there. "It would be natural for Moryson to suppose that the ceremony must have been held in Monza." Private communication from Professor

to *Rome* he called a Councell /30/ wherein by the Consent of 154. Bishoppes it was decreed, that *Charles* should name all Archbishops and Bishops, neither should any other be installed then such as he named, that he should chuse the Popes or Bishops of *Rome* and should sett in order the Apostolike seat.¹⁵ Only he still left *Apulia* and *Calabria* to the subiection of the Eastern Emperors, which after being possessed by the *Normans* shall giue the name to the *Neapolitan* kingdome Churches and *Monasteries* as yet had paid diuerse tributes to the *Lombard* kings, and the *Lombards* brought in the *Salick* lawe, so as *Italy* was gouerned by a threefold law, the *Roman*, the *Lombard*, and the /40/ *Salick*, and to the tyme of the Emperor *Lotharius* the second it was free for euery man to professe and chuse after which of these lawes he would liue¹⁶ *Charles* the great gaue certaine dukedomes in Fee¹⁷ to some *Lombard* Captaines and their heyres males. Shortly after the *Hunns* invited by the *Lombards* made bloudye incursions into *Italy*.

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

¹⁵ The setting in order included calling a synod in December 800 for Pope Leo III to compurge his innocence by oath against charges of adultery and perjury. See Davis, pp. 148, 149.

¹⁶ Lothar II (855 - 869) was ruler of Lotharingia, which includes Lorraine. His brother Louis II (855 - 875) was Emperor and ruler in Italy.

¹⁷ "I. 1. b. Phrases, (as) *in or of fee* (=L. *in, de feudo, ut in feudo*): by a heritable right subject to feudal obligations. Now only Hist." *OED*

{ m.n. 46, 47. *The Empire of the west renewed.* }

The *Romans* in the yeare 798 to recouer their old liberty from the *Pope*, raised a sedition, wherein they wounded *Pope Leo*, and cast him halfe dead into prison. After *Leo* fled to *Charles* the great in *Fraunce* who coming [to Rome] in the yeare 801,¹⁸ pronounced *Leo* to be /50/ innocent, and was then saluted Emperor of the west, and being Crowned at *Rome*, left the title of a *Patritian* of *Rome* formerly giuen him, and stying himselfe *Romane* Emperor and *Augustus* did againe reuiue the Empire of the west. Henceforward the the History will shew how [the] *Popes* tyred the *Emperors* their absent lordes with continuall treasons, and when they came armed for reueng to *Rome*, appeased them with prayers and teares; yet no sooner were they returned home, but againe they raised Ciuill warrs against them till at last they fully freed them selues of the *Emperors* yoke.

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

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

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

¹⁸ Leo fled to Charlemagne at Paderborn which was in the kingdom of the Franks, if not in France. Both returned to Rome in 800, not 801 as Moryson states.

had made one Citty, and had Chosen them a duke) should remayne free, and liue safely betweene both Empires.¹⁹ But I finde that the *Venetians* had not yet any Citty on firme land subiect to them, and only mantayned their liberty sometymes by the support of the one Empire, sometymes of the other. The Succesors of the westerne Empire, aswell *French* as *Germans*, for many yeares, sometymes left the Choyce of the Popes to the Clergie and people of *Rome*, sometymes for [there] dissention resume it to them /10/ selues investing the Popes and defending them against the *Romans* who could not long indure their Commaund, and often established many Churches with new lawes, and had their Ambassadors at *Rome* to assist the choyce of the *Popes*, and to invest them, as histories doe largely sett downe, vpon which I cannot particularly insist.

{ m.n. 17 - 19. *Against the Popes Primacye.* }

The Arch bishopp of *Milan* about the yeare 845. reiected the primacye of the *Pope*, and in more then two hundred yeares following could not be brought to his subiection. In like

¹⁹ This may be later Venetian propaganda, for as Frances Yates reminds us at the beginning of her *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975), pp. 1 - 2, the imperial ideal was all-inclusive and universal. Carlo Sigonio (c.1520 - 1584) was a great classical scholar, humanist and historian. His *C. Sigonii de regno Italiæ* was published in Venice in 1574, and deals with the history of Italy from the Lombard invasions of 568 until 1200. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, 29 vols (Cambridge, 1910 - 11), and hereafter referred to as *EB*.

sort the Arch Bishopp of *Rauenna* in the yeare 859, by a publike /20/ act in writing denyed the Pope to haue any authority ouer him, and reiected his Primacye.

{ m.n. 23, 24. *Pope and Princes of Italy grow.* }

The Successors of *Charles* the great first dividing the Empire, and then *Fraunce* being divided from *Germany* retayning the Empire to itselife, and the *Germane* Emperors making many vnhappy voyages into *Italy*, where many of them dyed, and some were apparently knowne to be poysoned, not only the Tyranny of the Popes was daily increased, but the power of the *Italian* Princes became more and more absolute as the historyes of following tymes, playnely shewe. /30/

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

²⁰ Usually translated as Charles III "the Simple", King of France (893 - 923). *Encyclopedia of World History*, edited by William L. Langer, fourth edition (London, 1968), and referred to hereafter as *EWH*.

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

{ m.n. 49. *two Popes.* }

An exceeding dissention rose in the Church of *Rome* in the yeare 89i, one Faction chusing *Sergius*, the other *Formosus* for Pope, betweene whome and their Fauerors great seditions grew, /50/ so as *Arnolphus* Emperor of *Germany* called in by *Formosus* in the yeare 896, recouered the kingdome of *Italy*, and receiued the Imperiall Crowne at *Rome*, yet so as the faction of *Sergius* opposed him, and not only *Arnolphus* was poysoned but many Popes by the like and other vntymely deathes were taken away, and *Berengarius* shortly after [recovered] [receiued] the kingdome of *Italy*. And now the Competitors of that kingdome freely gaue their freinds all dignities and priuiledges, but the *Hungarians* one one syde and the *Saracens* on the other inuaded *Italy*, and spoyled it /60/ //

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

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

The race of *Charles* the great being extinct in the yeare 9ii) the *Germans* leaving the *French* to their owne king chose *Conradus* duke of *Franconia* to be Emperor. The Marquis

of *Tuscia* by right of his wife in the yeare 926, was lord of the Citty of *Rome* being not yet vnder the power of the Popes,. *Otho* the third Emperor of *Germany* in the yeare 961 ouerthrowing *Berengarius*, was crowned king of *Italy*, and in the yeare 962, was annoynted Emperor in *Rome*,²¹ and about this tyme *Pope Leo* confessing that the free choyce of the Popes by the Clergie and people of *Rome*, had bene /10/ more for the dignytye then quiett of the Church, did resigne to the Emperor and his Successors the choyce investiture [of the] and consecration of the Popes and other Bishoppes. The *Romans* expelling the Popes chosen by the Emperor, and chusing newe in theire places, the Emperor *Otho* returned into *Italy* in the yeare 967: where he severely punished and cast out the Consuls, the Tribunes, and the Præfect of *Rome*, and hauing established the government of *Rome*, did in his retorne confirme the State of *Venice*. The Marquis of *Este* in the yeare /20/ 970 obtained *Ferrara* with the title of Duke, and the Emperor gaue the Dukedome of *Milan* to a Plebean person, and made some Cittyes free, others he gaue to Marquises and Earles, reseruing the supreme power to himselfe, but he left them all tributary to the Emperor, also he erected Fees,²² and gaue Prouinces to his Princes with title of Dukes, whence a newe kynde of Nobility came

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

²² He set up large feudal estates. See erect v. 2 and fee n. 2. I. 1. a. *OED*

into Italy, they being only reputed noble, who had these previledges and dignities. Hethertwo the Arch Bishops of Milan annoynting the Emperors, who of /30/ old were seated in that Citty, could by no power of the Popes be established vnder theire obedience. Henceforward the German Emperors were first annoynted and Crowned at Ach²³ in the Chayre of Charles the great, and whyle they Composed the State of Germany sent Ambassadors into Italy to take [the] oath of fidelity from the Italyans, whome themselues shortly followed into Italy with a powerfull Army, and at Milan receaved the Iron Crowne of the Lombard kings of Italy, and at Rome receaved the Imperiall Crowne. And henceforward historyes relate great /40/ warrs betweene the Popes and Emperors, the Popes power Consisting in his thunderboltes of excommunication, and seditions therevpon rising,²⁴ and the Emperors power consisting in the Faith of his subiectes, which those terrors could not withdrawe from him, and in his Armes, to which the Popes were often forced to yealde, yet so as by the support of the Italians, and [the] by the superstition of Religion, they daily grewe in welth and power, making it a common practise to obaye the Emperour comming with an Army, but as soone as he was gon

²³ Aachen.

²⁴ This may be a conscious imitation of François Hotman's polemic *Brutum Fulmen*, brutish thunderbolt, against Papal excommunications. See Robert M. Kingdon, *Myths About the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres 1572 - 1576* (Cambridge, Mass. 1988), p. 216.

to make /50/ all his actes voyde, and ether to kill or to
depose the Popes he had established, so as nothing became
more frequent then the daily death or chaunng of Popes,
Abut the yeare 984 seven

{ m.n. 53 - 55. *Seuen Electors of the Emperor Established.*
}

German Electors of the Emperor were established, with the
Consent of the Pope being a Garman. The Venetians about the
yeare 998. added Istria and Dalmatia to their dominion. //
Booke i The Commonwealth of Italy Chap iii fol.6i

The Cittyes of Genoa, of Pisa, and of Florence, in the
yeare 1004. by braue actions began to drawe the eyes of
Italy towardses them, a volume of [the] Popes Decretals was
first made in the yeare 1008.²⁵ The Grecians subiect to the
Easterne Emperors, being cast out of Apulia and Calabria in
the yeare 1017, the Normans hauing serued brauely in the
warr, possessed those provinces, and yealded due obedince
to the Emperor,²⁶ among whome, about the yeare. 1042. fyue

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

²⁶ The Normans were invited into mercenary service by
the Lombards in 1016. At Cannae in 1018 the Byzantines
resisted Norman encroachment, and it was not until 1046
that the Normans "had conquered the greater part of Apulia
and Calabria". Davis, p.236.

brothers Viscardi were eminent in reputation, from whome descend the first kings of Naples hereafter to be named. The /10/ Arch Bishop<ps> of Milan being Earles of the Citty, appoynted theire Vicounts to governe [in] the same, whome the historyes shewe after this tyme to make themselues at last absolute lordes of the Citty. About this tyme, a long lasting dissention grewe at Milan, betweene the gentlemen and the people, and at Rome the faction of the Tusculan Earles perverting the election of the Popes, placed in that seate men nothing lesse then holy or learned, governing all at theire pleasure. And about this tyme th[is]e question of the Corporall præsence of Christ in the sa[c]ramment first grewe /20/ in France, which not withstanding was not determind by the Popes for some hundreths of yeares after, euery man in the meane tyme hauing freedome to beleue or not beleue it. Pope Benedict for a great some of mony appoynted Gregory a Roman to succede him,²⁷ but the Bishops reiected his election, and Henry Emperor of Germany made Clement the second Pope, who called a Councell in the yeare. 1047. in which he made a decree against Symmony,²⁸ which his successour did not convert against Patronns takeing mony, but perversely vsed

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

²⁸ "The act or practice of buying or selling ecclesiastical preferments, benefices, or emoluments..." *OED*

it to forbidd the Emperor or any lay person to /30/ conferr
Bishopricks or benifices, and in the same Councell it was
decreed that the Emperor should sett in order the Romane
Church, and shoulde confirme Bishopps. About this tyme the
Emperor for summes of mony gaue Earledomes to the foresayd
Normans. And nowe fewe or no Popes satt in the seate of
Rome without Competitors, but two or more chosen at one
tyme, cursed one another with Ecclesiasticall Censures, and
{ m.n. 38, 39. Maring forbid }

about this tyme they first forbad Preists to marry, and
Cardinall Hildebrand vsed all meanes to hinder, that
prophane persons (so they called the Emperor /40/ and all
lay men) should not chuse the Pope or giue Bishopricks
and Benifices; The Arch Bishop of Rauenna in the yeare
1052, imitating his Predecessors, stroue with the Pope for
primacy, denying to yealde him any obedience. The Pope
being cited by the Emperor Henry the third, came to him
from Rome into Saxony, in the yeare 1056, where the Pope
was present at this Emperors death then hapning, with whome
the greatnes of the Empire fell. For this Pope shortely
after dyed, as one too obedient to the Emperor, for such
Popes hauing not the Roman ambition, were neuer /50/ long
liued:²⁹ and the Emperors Some³⁰ Henry the 4th being but a
Chylde, first his Chyldehoode, then his turbulent raigne,

²⁹ Victor II (1055 - 1057).

³⁰ Sonne. A minim is missing.

gaue the Popes meanes to rayse theire power and pryde, and the Italians fitt occasions to free themselues from subiECTION to the Emperors.

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

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

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

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

{ m.n. 3. Primacy }

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

{ m.n. 7, 8. Priests Mariage: }

lawfull for Priests to marrye. Nicholas the second chosen Pope in the yeare 1059.³¹ made a decree that the Popes should be chosen by Cardinalls, whose name now first begann

{ m.n. 10. Cardinalls. }

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

³¹ Nicholas II (1058 - 1061).

{ m.n. 15. Naples. }

Capua from the Emperors obedience, to become liegemen and tributary to the Sea of Rome. The Cittizens of Milan reiected the Popes legats as hauing no power in ordering that Church, and when their Arch Bishop yealded to them, they most bitterly reproched /20/ him for so doing. Alexander the second in the yeare 1061. was chosen Pope, the very Romans then desiring the Emperor to giue them a Bishop after the old manner. The

{ m.n. 24. Maryage. }

Archbishop of Milan in the yeare 1065. did agayne reiect the Popes decree forbidding Priestes to marry. The Emperor Henry the 4th diuorcing his wife in the yeare 1068. did alienate the myndes of the Germans from him, and gaue the Pope advantage to excommunicate him, and to cite him to appeare at Rome to answer this cause of his diuorce. The Romans in the yeare 1073. /30/ chose the abouenamed Hildebrand a furious Cardinall to be Pope, who called himselfe Gregory the 7th. He forbadd any lay man to conferr any benefice, and excommunicated the Princes taking part with the Emperor, and commaunded the decree against the

{ m.n. 35. mariage. }

maryage [to be] of Priestes to be published in Germany, but the Arch Bishop of Metz wrote backe vnto him, that he had not power inough to force the observation thereof; Now the Popes began to sett vp an Archbishop of Milan against the true Archbishop allowed by the Emperor & defended /40/ by

the people. The Emperor Henry the 4th in a Parliament deposed Pope Gregory, and the Pope againe depriued the Emperor of all his dominions by obsoluing his subiectes from theire oath of fidelity, and excommunicated him, wherevpon the Princes of Germany forsooke him, so as in the yeare 1077. he was forced to come to Rome, and with submission to craue the Popes fauor, for which doing his owne Germans more forsooke him, and the Italyans depised him, so as he was now stirred vp to revenge this disgrace, which the /50/ Pope hearing, presently raysed vp a competitor of of the Empire against him. The Emperor in a solemne assembly iudged the Pope to be depriued, and in the yeare. 1083. droue Pope Gregory out of Rome, who fledd to Salernum,³² and there abode with Robert Duke //

Booke i The Commonwealth of Italy Chap.iii fol 63

of the Normans, while the Emperor established a newe Pope Clement in his seate, at Rome. This Gregory was the first { m.n. 1 - 3. Followes the Popes pryde at the highest } Pope that vilified an Emperor, and prostituted Imperiall maiesty to Papall pryde, who dying, the Italyans chose Victor to be Pope, whome they mantayned against the Emperors Pope, so as now for long tyme Rome had two or many Popes at once. Pope Victor stirred vp Conrade the Emperors eldest sonne to rebell against his father about the yeare

³² The old name for Salerno, the capital of the Normans.

1094,³³ which wicked act first opened the way to the liberty of Italy and the tyrannye /10/ of the Popes. The Roman Pope did agayne sett vp an Archbishop of Milan to oppose him against the Emperors Archbishop, and to reduce that church to the obedience of the Roman Sea, which it had so many yeares reiected. Pope Vrban had perswaded the french to a warre for the recovery of the Sepulcher of Christ, and retorning into Italy in the yeare 1096 vsed the same forces against the emperors Pope, & expelling him out of Rome, recovered that Citty. The Popes about this tyme continued to perswade like expeditions /20/ into the holy land, and not only vsed the forces by the way to their priuate endes, but by this Crafte wore out the forces of their enemyes, devoted to Religion, by long and difficult warrs, while in the meane tyme they cherished and strengthened their frendes at home. The Bishop of Florence in the yeare 1104. preached publikely that

{ m.n. 27. Antichrist. }

Antichrist was already borne. At last the Popes raysed Henry the second sonne of the Emperor Henry the 4th to rebell against his Father, and the Bishopps of Germany in a publike /30/ assembly tooke from the Father the Imperiall Crowne, and gaue it to his sonne Henry the fifth, in whose raigne the worthy Father, who (as I remember) had fought more then sixtye battailes in person, was by his wicked

³³ 1093.

sonne and the Clargye driven to that want, as in the Cathedrall church of Spire, which himselfe had built, he begged a Preben³⁴ for his maintenance, and could not obtayne it, yea his dead body (as excommunicated by the Pope) was fyue yeares left vnburied at Spire,³⁵ his wicked sonne Henry the fyfth /40/ being Emperor. And now the Italyans dispising the Emperor, gott liberty, determining all controversyes by Ciuill Armes, and the Cittyes were governed by three Counsellis yearely chosen, hauing ouer them Consulls, or Pretors, and military magistrates, chosen by the Cittizens. The Earles and lordes of Castles ioyned theselues to the Cittyes, and the power and reuennue of Bishops ob<a>ying the Emperor daily decreased, only the power of the Popes grewe by the fall of others. Pope Pascall in the yeare .1107. /50/ by arenewed decree forbad the Emperor and all lay persons to medle with giuing any church livings. And now the Cittyes of lombardy made mutuall leagues one with another, and were all in tumult by Ciuill Armes. Yet Corsus a Cittizen of Rome dared many hostile acts against the Pope, who craved ayde against him
//

{ c.w. from the }

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

³⁵ Speyer.

fol:64. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

From the Prince of Cueta. The Emperor Henry the fyfth in the yeare 1110. rased an Army to passe into Italy, which the Pope vnderstanding, stirred vp the Princes and the Citties of Italy against him, but he comming to Milan, there receaved the Crowne of Iron, and gott the Pope into his handes and vnder his power, so as he was gladd to remitt all Iniuries past to the Emperor, and vnder Seale to confirme the investiture of Bishoppes to the Emperor, and to sett the Imperiall Crowne vpon his head at Rome, where in the masse the Pope tooke /10/ the wafercake consecrated for our lords body, and diuiding it betweene the Emperor and himselfe, sayd these wordes: As this part of the life giuing body is diuided, so of vs two lett him be diuided from the kingdome of Christ, who first breakes this agreement made betweene vs. Yet the Emperor was no sooner returned into Germany, but this Pope Curssed by his owne mouth, breake all the agreement as extorted from him by force, and excommunicated the Emperor, which the Rebellion of the Germans presently followed. For in this age and at all tymes, warre /20/ followed the Popes thunderbolts, as raynes followes thunder, whereby it appeares they haue more confidence in the temporall then spirituall sworde. Milan affecting the Dominion of Lombardy, did againe take armes. Mathildis the Countesse of Toscany, dyed in the yeare 1115. and they write shee gaue all her dominions to the Roman church, which as Imperiall fees [von her] [vpon] her want

of heires males belonged truely to the Emperor, neither could the Popes possesse any part thereof without Armes, no[t][r] to this day haue they gott possession of them. The Romans vpon the death of theire Prefect, against the Popes will declared his sonne Prefect, /30/ and pulled downe the towers of the Popes frends, and drove the Popes out of Rome. The Archboshopps of Rauenna to this day would not be subiect to the Roman Church, and the Emperor retorning into Italy placed Pope Gregory the Eight at Rome, forcing Pope Gelasius to fly to Gaieta.³⁶ At last the Emperor renounced the giuing of Benifices and Bishoprikes to the Popes, with that great losse to the Empire obtayning peace, and dyed in the yeare 1126.³⁷ After warr rose in Germany, the Cittyes of Italy revenged mutuall wronges by warr, and now the Popes began first to exact oathes of obedience from Abbotts, which they as vniustly claymed. Rogerius about the /40/ yeare 1128.³⁸ wrote himselfe king of Italy, and acknowledging the kingdome, with Apulia, and Calabria, to be Fees of the Roman Church, made himselfe the Popes vassall. The German Emperor Lotharius did most thinges at the Popes beck, so as not aboue, but together with the

³⁶ Gelasius II (1118 - 1119).

³⁷ To obtain peace, the Emperor Henry V (1106 - 1125) renounced his powers at the Concordat of Worms in 1122. Modern Historians tend to agree with Moryson, "...the factor which damaged his power irreparably was that he lost the religious authority which normally belonged to the office of a king." Davis, p.256.

³⁸ 1130.

Pope, he was content to giue the Ducall Banner to the Duke of Apulia. He decreed that the Italians (who had hetherto liued after a triple lawe, at theire coyse³⁹ after which they would liue, namely the lombard, the Salick, and the Roman lawe) should hereafter be iudged by the Ciuill lawe. He erected vniversityes, and placed Professors of the Ciuill lawe, first at Bologna /50/ and after in other places, and after he had restored the vse of learning, formerly abolished by Invasions of barbarous people, he dyed in the yeare 1138. After warr rose in Germany betweene the Competitors of the Empire, and [now] it was thought no strang thing, that the Pope should assume to himselfe authority in the Emperors Election, who had formery choses⁴⁰ Popes, and should excommunicate all that opposed his election. But at this tyme Rogerius King of Sicily, not regarding the Popes thunderboltes, did in spite of them, retayne the election and /60/ //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy Chapt:iii. fol:65.

[and] Consecration of his owne Bishopps, and defeating the Popes Army, tooke the Pope and kept him prisoner. The Romans in the yeare 1143. professed that only the care of the church belonged to the Pope, and therefore by their owne voyces chose

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

³⁹ "Choyse".

⁴⁰ "formerly chosen" ?

Senators, and Iudges, and a supreme magistrate ouer them, to whome they gaue all domestick and forraigne tributes and Customes, taking them from the Pope, and saying he ought to be content with his Tythes and free guifts, and in the yeare 1145, they droue the Pope out of *Rome*, and for many yeares would not receiue him in to the Citty, obstinately /10/ protesting, that only the Care of the Church matters, belonged to the Pope, yea exhorting the Emperor vtterly to abolish the Popes authority ouer the Citty. And howsoeuer the Pope *Eugenius* having lewyed forces for the warr of *Hierusalem* and Converting them against the *Romans*, was for feare receiued by them into the Citty, yet shortly after they droue him out againe with armed force. About the yeare 1152. *Gratian* reduced the Popes law into volumes called the decretalls.⁴¹ Now the *Germans* had chosen *Frederick Barbarossa* for Emperor, who with an Army brought the Pope into /20/ *Rome*, and there receiued the Imperiall Crowne. Shortly after when the Popes legate said to his face that the Empire was in the Popes guift, he rann at him with his drawne sword and sent him back to *Rome*, so as the Pope was forced by other legates to excuse the former, and to pacify this Emperor who by Armes reduced the Cittyes of *Italy* to

⁴¹ Little is known about Gratian who produced his work in the decade 1140 - 1150. Moryson calls his work codifying "Pope's law" because of the strong bias manifested towards Papal claims and supremacy. "He is the true founder of the science of canon law." CE His work was the starting point for all future codifications, as Moryson recognises on fol. 90.

his obedience, and caused a decree to be made in a publike Assembly, that all the Regall rights belonging to *Charles* the great were due vnto him, which he tooke in the very Bishoppricks and exacted fodder in the very Territory of *Rome*, and in all /30/ writings sett his owne name before the Popes. Shortly after the Cardinalls disagreeing in the election of the Pope, some chose *Alexander* the third, some *Victor* the fourth. In the horrible scisme following betweene them, the two factions of the *Guelphs*, and *Gibellines*, one Imperiall the other Papall which had many yeares destroyed *Germany*, now begann to divide and spoyle *Italy*.⁴² The Emperor *Frederick* tooke part with Pope *Victor* reiecting *Alexander*, who earnestly sought his fauour. Pope *Victor* excommunicated Pope *Alexander* and he did the like against Pope *Victor* and the Emperor, and /40/ so withdrew himselfe into *Fraunce*. The Emperor beseiged *Milan*, being in league with *Alexander*, and taking the Citty, vtterly rased it to the ground. On all sides he sett ouer the Cittyes of *Italy* Imperiall magistrates called *Podesta*, which name for the Gouvernors of Cittyes hold to this day. But in the yeare 1167, the Cittyes of *Lombardy* made a league against this Emperor, and cast out his Magistrates. The king of *Sicily* tooke part with Pope *Alexander*, and the kings of England and *Fraunce* acknowledged him for Pope. The Emperor

⁴² Moryson gives a misleading impression by reversing the order in which he introduces Guelph and Ghibelline. The Guelphs supported the Papal party, the Ghibellines the Imperial party.

Frederick in the yeare 1168 returned into *Germany*, wherevpon /50/ his faction in *Italy*, distrusting the affayres of the Empire //

fol:[.]66 Booke i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

made their peace, and tooke part with his Enemyes there. The Citizens of *Milan* did againe build their City. Pope *Alexander* offered the *Romans* to be content with the ouersight of sacred things, and to remitt all other to them, yet they would not receiue him into the City. In this age the Popes canonized for Saints the very Rebels to the Emperor and kings, so they fauoured them. The Emperor *Fredrick* returning into *Italy* had many vnhappy Conflicts with those that were in league against him, so as he was forced in the yeare 1177. to sue for *Popes Alexanders* fauour,⁴³ and coming to *Venice* prostrated /10/ himselfe before him, who proudly trode vpon his neck, & abusing the words of *Dauids* psalme in a great audience, and to the dislike of all good men, prophanely said, *the young lyon and the Dragon shalt thou tread vnder thy feete.*⁴⁴ Now *Pope Alexander* the third having no Competitor was adored of all men. [The third having no Competitor] ; He pardoned the

⁴³ The decisive battle against the Lombard League of northern Italian cities was at Legnano in May 1176. Cutting his losses quickly, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa made his peace with Alexander III at Anagni in October.

⁴⁴ "Thou shalt walke vpon the lion and aspe: the yong lion and the dragon shalt thou treade vnder feete." Psalm 91. 13. This is subsequent Protestant propaganda. Alexander III excused Barbarossa from the most demeaning ceremonies. See Davis, p.333.

Romans vppon Condition[s], that their Chosen Senator should not enter vppon their office, before they had sworne to attempt nothing against the Pope: he made a decree that only the Cardinalls should haue power to chuse the Popes, and in the yeare 1181 /20/ he dyed. The *Romans* cast his Successor out of *Rome*. The Emperor *Frederick* gaue large Priuiledges to the Citties of *Italy*, and made peace with them, and in particuler for *Milan*, he graunted that the Pretor⁴⁵ should be an Earle, and should haue power of [or] life and death. *Clement* the third a Citizen of *Rome* being chosen Pope in the yeare 1188,⁴⁶ pacified the *Romans*, and graunted them that they should chuse a Patritian Senators and [a] Prefect, so as they should be invested by the Pope. Now the Cittys of *Lombardy* made mutuall leagues, and pulled downe the Castles of such as fauoured the Emperor. In the yeare /30/ 1190. the Emperor *Henry* for mony gaue large priuiledges to the Cittyes of *Italy*. The free Cittyes of *Genoa* and *Florence* in the yeare 1196 chaunged their Consulls to [be] Pretors. *Pope Celestine* sent legates into *Bohemia* and *Poland* to forbidd Preists mariage, but they { m.n. 35. *mariage.* } were so intertayned as they hardly escaped with life. And this Pope dyed in the yeare 1198. The next Popes applyed them selues to subdue the Cittyes of *Italy*, which they

⁴⁵ *Prætor*, the Latin word for Governor or Chief Magistrate.

⁴⁶ 1187.

called the patrimony of *St. Peter*, and to that end excommunicated the *Germans* possessing them. /40/

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

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

Booke. i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:67.

and to haue temporall power ouer Emperors and kings, to which end Pope *Gregory* in the yeare 726. first despised & excommunicated the Easterne Emperor,⁴⁷ then *Gregory* the seauenth chosen in the yeare 1073, openly rayed rebellions against the Westerne Emperor and not only excommunicated but

⁴⁷ Gregory II (715 - 731) was attempting to save images from the iconoclast Emperor Leo III (717 - 741).

deposed him, and first vilified the Imperiall maiesty. And *Alexander* the third in the yeare 1177., attayned the highest of this greatnes, treading with his Feet vppon the Emperors neck, after many horrible scismes of the Church, and vnspeakable treasons of the Popes. Hereafter, I am to speake of the /10/ Station, and then of the fall of this greatnes, aswell spirituall as temporall, namely how the Popes (neuer so wicked) dominered ouer Emperors and kings, in the blinde tyme of ignorance, and superstition, till the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth was crowned in the yeare 1519, and how from that tyme Religion began to be reformed and the Popes greatnes in both the said powers to decline.

{ m.n. 18, 19. *The station of the Popes greatnes.* }

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

⁴⁸ 1243.

⁴⁹ The Classical name of Johannes Vergenhans van Wyck, a German jurist, chronicler and philologist, who died in 1510. Hyamson.

not yet recouered the Popes seate at *Rome*,. I haue said that the Emperors by litle and litle sold dukedomes and Earldomes to the *Italian* Princes & freedome to diuerse Cittyes graunting them all absolute power. This Pope { m.n. 30, 31. Sicily and Naples } transferred the new erected kingdome of *Naples* /30/ and *Sicily* to *Charles Earle* [of] *Aniou* of the *French* kings bloud. Pope *Nicholas* the third chosen in the yeare 1277. brought *Rome* into *Subiection*, as *Martinus Polonus* witnesseth.⁵⁰ The *Sicilians* hating the *French* conspir[ing]ed with the king of *Arragon* against them, and this king having his Navye ready to enter the Port, in the yeare 1282, the *Sicilians* at an *Evensong* killed Eight thousand *French*, and in place of the *French*, tooke the king of *Aragon* to be their king,⁵¹ but *Naples* still remayned

⁵⁰ Martin of Poland, also known as Martin of Troppau, (d.1278) was the first of the chroniclers of *Chronica Pontificum et Imperatorum*, which dealt with Popes and Emperors side by side, one line per year, fifty lines per page. Moryson may be looking at the work of one of Martin's imitators. The version first printed in Turin in 1477 *Martini Poloni Chronicon Summorum Pontificum et Imperatorum* has no connection with Martin. See *CE*, entry listed under Martin of Troppau.

⁵¹ This is the Don Pedro of *Much Ado About Nothing*. The gallants who have returned from the wars have been fighting the French who tried to recuperate their losses after the Vespers. Shakespeare gives the historical circumstances scant attention. However, it is a background of deceit and war. It is worth quoting from the source, as it casts further light on the Claudio/Hero relationship; the penalty for disloyalty was terrible. "Nor did they massacre only the men and women of the French nation...afterwards, if any woman was proved to have been got with child by a Frenchman she was killed without pity; whence arose the melancholy fame of the 'Sicilian Vespers'. King Piero of Arragon

vnto the *French* with title of a kingdome, and vppon this Act *Sicilian Vesper* grew into a Prouerb. /40/ Whiles the Popes

{ m.n. 40, 41. The Pope[s] }

and all *Italy* acknowledged the Emperors for their lordes, the Emperors vsed to come with an Army into *Italy* to receiue the yron Crowne at *Milan*, and the Imperiall Crowne at *Rome*, to inuest the Popes or to redresse their wrongs, to giue law and Compound Controuersies, and to receiue the *Italians* homage till by the ambition of the Popes arming their subiects against them at home, and woorking treasons against them in *Italy* (so as they could not be safe from poyson in the very receiuing of the holy Sacrament) the good *German* Emperors tyred with these broiles, and finding that /50/ they had nothing from the Empire but a bare title, bearing all the burthen by their owne patrimony, cast of all care of forayne matters, and as vnable to beare that burthen, sold (not only in *Italy*, but in very *Germany*) dukedomes and Earldomes and //

fol:<6>8. Booke i. The common wealth of *Italy*. Chap:iii.

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

hearing of this came quickly thither with his army, and made himself lord of the Island..." Quoted from *La Prima Parte de le Novelle del Bandello* (Lucca, 1554) Novella XXII, translated by Geoffrey Bullough in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* edited by Geoffrey Bullough (London, 1957 - 1975), II (1958), 112.

freedome and absolute power. And *Rodulphus of Habspurge* the first Emperor of the *Austrian* Family, chosen in the yeare 1273. first refused to come into *Italy*, whome all his Successors followed in that point, except *Lodwike* the *Bauarian*, and some few other.⁵² This *Rodulphus* granted to the aboue named Pope *Nicholas* the third, *Rauenna*, and the old *Exarchate*, to the end he should gather strength against the *Saracens* and *Infidells* [in] *Pope Boniface* the Eight chosen /10/ in the yeare 1288, openly wrote himselfe lord of the world, aswell in temporall as spirituall matters, after the example of the old *Augusti*, who were both high Preists and Emperors.⁵³ And now the power of the Emperors being subdued, the Popes began to bring all kings vnder their yoke, so as the kings laboured nothing more, then to haue such Popes chosen as would fauour them, since the hinges of Christendome turned at the Popes beck, to this end giuing large bribes to the *Cardinalls*, and hence forward the Court of *Rome* was distracted with diuerse

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

⁵³ In 1302 Boniface VIII (1294 - 1303) issued the Bull *Unam Sanctam*. It was the last high medieval statement of the subordination of the secular to the spiritual power. The fact that Boniface was such a cynically secular cleric has meant that he has attracted criticism from Dante to Dario Fo. Moryson skilfully builds his argument, that the Popes were like the old (heathen) Roman Emperors who from Julius Caesar onwards had the title *Pontifex Maximus*, the high priest of the religion of the state.

factions of the most powerfull kings.⁵⁴ The /20/ said Pope, *Boniface* the Eight first excomunicated *Phillipp* the *French* king, who despised this Thunderbolt, then vnknowne to our parts, and soone found meanes to destroy that Pope. *Clement* the fifth a Frenchman chosen Pope in the yeare 1305, seated himselfe at *Auignon* in *Fraunce* leaving *Rome* to be gouerned by three *Cardinalls* with *Senators* power. Pope *Iohn* chosen in the yeare 1316, satt at *Auignon*, and Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth at the same tyme chosen by the Emperor seated himselfe at *Rome*. At this tyme the factions of the *Guelphs* { m.n. 30. *Milan*. }

and *Gibellines* in *Italy* did many bloody acts one against /30/ the other. The vicounts of *Milan* by litle and litle had gott the dominion of the Citty, and the Territory, and having bene first called Captaines then Imperiall vicars at last *Iohn Galleacius* obteyned the title of *Duke* from *Wenceslaus* chosen Emperor in the yeare 1376.⁵⁵ Pope *Gregory* the Eleuenth chosen in the yeare 1376. brought back his seat from *Auignon* to *Rome*, [acknowledged by the *Italians*].⁵⁶ Pope *Vrban* the sixth succeeded him at *Rome*

⁵⁴ Moryson indulges in an etymological pun here. The word cardinal derives from the Latin *cardo*, *cardinis* a hinge. See Eric Partridge, *Origins A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, fourth edition (London, 1966).

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

⁵⁶ Gregory XI (1370 - 1378) died at Rome before he could return to Avignon.

acknowledged by the *Italians, Germans* and English, but Pope *Clement* the seauenth at the same tyme chosen, and acknowledged by the *French, Spaniards* /40/ and *Scotts* seated himselfe at *Auignon*. After three Popes together were chosen, *John* the 22, seated at *Rome*, *Gregory* the t[enth]welueth seated at *Rimini*, and *Benedict*, the thirteenth seated in *Spaine*. And

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

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

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

Councell of *Constance* vulgarly *Cosnet[h]z*, deposed the foresaid three Popes, and chose Pope *Martin* // *Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:[.]69.* the fifth in the yeare 1417. Pope *Eugenius* the fourth chosen in the yeare 1431, was cited to the Councell at *Basell*, and not appearing was for diuerse Crimes deposed. The male [kinde] [lyne] of the *Galleaci[a]j* dukes of *Milan* being extinct, howsoeuer

{ m.n. 4. *Milan* }

Alphonsus king of *Arragon* and *Sicily* was made heyre by the last Testament of the last duke; yet *Franciscus Sfortia* by right of his wife base daughter⁵⁷ to the last duke, made himselfe duke of *Milan* neglecting to be confirmed by the Emperors letters Pattents But this *Frauncis* leaving a sonne of vnripe yeares puple to his brother *Lodouicus Sfortia*, he gott the Emperors graunt /10/ to the preiudice of his Nephew and Puple. The foresaid *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, and *Lodowick* duke of *Milan*,

{ m.n. 12. *Naples* }

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

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

hope to recouer their owne liberty by helpe of the Garison soldiers left there by the *French* king, and about this tyme the Family of the *Medici*, for many yeares powerfull in the Free-state of *Florence*, being hated by the said *French* king, /30/ was banished out of that Citty. But the *French* at *Naples* giuing them selues to their pleasure, and (after their manner) gouerning that kingdome insolently, and without order and wisdome, *Charles* the *French* king was no sooner returned into *Fraunce*; But the Princes and people of *Naples* recalled their old king. At this tyme *Genoa* of old a Free Citty, acknowledged for lord the duke of *Milan*, and the Family of *Ballio* became lordes of *Perusia*.⁵⁸ *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* in the yeare 1497. expelled the *French* out of that kingdome, and dyed in the hight of his /40/ honor, leauing *Frederick* his vncler to succeed him. *Pope Alexander* the sixth, at this tyme ayded by the Family *Colonna* made warr against the Family *Vrsini*, they being the most potent Familyes of *Rome*. *Charles* the *French* king dying in the yeare 1498., *Lewes* the twelue succeded him, whose Progenitors the dukes of *Orleance* coming on the mothers syde from the *Galeacij* dukes of *Milan*, had long made warr with no succes against the Family of *Sfortia* for that dukedome. And now *Pope Alexander* the sixt desyrous to advance *Cæsar* his sonne, and to that end resolving to exchange /50/ sacred indulgences for prophane dominions,

⁵⁸ The Baglioni were tyrants of Perugia.

graunted Lewes the French king to be diuorced from his wife, [and *Flaminia*] who ayded the Pope to subdue the Prouinces of *Emilia* [and raysed] and *Flaminia*,⁵⁹ //

{ c.w. and raysed }

fol:70. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

{ m.n. 1. *Milan.* }

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

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

Ferdinand King of *Arragon* and *Sicily* added to these two

⁵⁹ The *Via Flaminia* was one of the great Roman roads leading from the capital to Ariminium, modern Rimini. It was never a province as such, unlike Emilia Romagna. Sugden.

kingdomes [(by the mariage of the heyre) the [two] kingdome[s]] of *Castile* in *Spaine* and about this tyme being first called king of *Spaine*, was the first of the *Spanish* kings, whome we read to be of any great power, or to haue laid his hands with the other great kings of Christendome to sway /20/ the stern thereof, and he having also expelled the *Mahometan Mores* and so recouered the kingdome of *Granata* from them had the title of Catholick king giuen to him and his successors by the Pope.

{ m.n. 25. Naples. }

This *Ferdinand* (as I formerly shewed) gott the kingdome of *Sicily* from the *French* by a murthering *Vesper*, (or *Euensong* Massacre)⁶⁰ and now with faith litle answering his Catholick title conspired with the *French* king in the yeare 1501. against his kinsman *Frederick* king of *Naples* whome they cast out of [t]his kingdome, and according to their /30/ former agreement diuided the same betweene them, king *Ferdinand* having for his part the dukedomes of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and the *French* king *Lewes* the twelueth taking the rest of the kingdome for his part, with title of king of *Naples*. But in the yeare 1502, dissention began betweene these two kings, Which broke into open warr, in which *Ferdinand* king of *Spaine*, casting the *French* altogether out of that kingdome in the yeare 1503, made himselfe absolute,

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

and sole king of Naples.

{ m.n. 40. *The Popes.* }

In the same yeare [Pope] *Alexander* the sixth and his sonne /40/ *Cæsar*, having invited certaine *Cardinalls* to dyne in a Garden whome they ment to poyson, the Pope himselfe, by a mistaking of the botleman was poysoned by the same Cupp he had prepared for others, and dyed thereof the same night, and his sonne *Cæsar* by like error, only tasting the Cupp kept his bedd long in danger of death. Herevppon the *Roman Princes Vrsini*, returned to possesse their Inheritances, and likewise *Ballio* Lord of *Perusia*, and also duke of *Vrbin*, and the Princes of *Pesaro* of [*Caramine*] [*Camarine*], and of *Senogallia*, all cast out by the Armes of the /50/ said Pope,. and his sonne, recouered their dominions, only *Emilia* remayned subiect to *Cæsar*,⁶¹ but Pope *Iulius* the [Emperor, and the *French* king] second

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

taking him prisoner while he lay sick, forced him to
resigne the same into his //

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

hands. This Pope *Iulius* the Emperor and the *French*

{ m.n. 1. *Italy.* }

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

{ m.n. 10. *Genoa.* }

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

⁶² The Bentivogli.

Army to *Genoa*, their duke despairing of his /20/ safety, rann away, and the people yeilded the Citty to the kings pleasure, who restoring their former gouernment to them, yet deeply fyned the State, and built a Fort to keepe them in awe, and in place of the old stamp of their Coyne, gaue them his owne Image in token of their absolute subiection to him. At *Camra* in the yeare 1508, Pope *Iulius* the Emperor, the *French* king, and the king of *Spaine*, all made league together against the *Venetians*,⁶³ each one to recouer the rights they challenged from that State, more expresly the Pope named *Facu[c]za*, *Rauenna*, /30/ and *Seruia*,⁶⁴ besides these Townes which the *Venetians* had already yeilded to him, the Emperor named *Paduoa*, *Vicenza*, *Verona* belonging to the Empire, the Prouince *Frioli* and *Taurisum* as hereditary to the house of *Austria*,⁶⁵ the

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

⁶⁴ Faenza, Ravenna and Cervia. Fenton produces the names in this order, although Moryson seems to have missed Rimini. p.309. It could be objected against my transcription that "Facuza" is in fact Faenza with a badly formed "e" and the "u" being an "n", but I have decided to produce what appears to be there.

⁶⁵ Friuli and Trevigi, modern Treviso. Fenton translates "...for the king of the *Romains*, *Padua*, *Vicensa* & *Verona*, appertaining to him in the name of the / Empire, and the places of *Friul* and *Treuisan*, being parcell of the inheritance of the house of *Austria*". pp. 311, 312. Fenton might have used the latter form because later on he translates the arguments of "*Domenico Treuisan* a Senatour of great authoritie", p.313 who influenced the *Venetians* against accepting the humiliating terms offered by *Julius II*. The family name *Trevisan* implies that his ancestors originally came from *Treviso*. *Taurisum* is a mistake for *Tarvisium*, *Treviso*. See *Orbis latinus*, compiled by J. G. T.

French king named *Cremona*, *Giruddadad*,⁶⁶ *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*, the king of *Spaine* named the hauens and townes of the *Neapolitan* kingdome taken by the *Venetians*, all to be recouered by these powerfull Princes from one State of *Venice*. In the yeare 1509, the *French* Army defeating the *Venetians* tooke *Brescia*, and *Bergamo* from them. /40/ The Pope by advantage of the *French* victory, and the reputation thereof rather then by Armes, tooke from them *Facuza*, *Rauenna*, and the Townes of *Æmia*,. The king of *Spaine* reaped the same fruit of an others labour, namely of the *French* kings victory; For the *Venetians* freely yeilded aswell to the Pope as [the] king of *Spaine* all things they had taken by Armes and thus ye Common wealth of *Venice* which had gaped for all occasions to vsurpe the dominions of others, with a wonderfull force fell itselfe into headlong ruine. But the Pope suspecting the power /50/ of the *French*, to preuent the finall ruine of the *Venetians* // fol:72. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii.

at last gaue audience to their Ambassadors sent to sue for his fauour. In the meane tyme the Emperour had taken from the *Venetians*, the Cittyes and Territoryes of *Verona*, *Vicenza*, and *Padoua*. This yeare the *Pisons*, at last were reduced to the subiection of the *Florentines* who vsed them

Graesse and Friedrich Benedict, second edition, (Berlin, 1909).

⁶⁶ Ghiaradadda, also known as Agnadello, the site of the battleground so fatal to Venetian hopes in 1509.

with singuler lenity, and faithfulness. The *Venetians* recouered *Padoa* from the Emperor, but the duke of *Ferrara* fighting with the *Venetian* shippes vpon the Coast of his Country, defeated the same and cast the *Venetian* magistrate out of *Ferrara*, who by ancient leagues had long bene allowed to liue in that Citty, as a Iudge of all Causes concerning the State of *Venice* /10/ or the Subiects thereof. The Pope *Iulius* the second in the beginning of the yeare 1510. freed the State of *Venice* from excommunication, after they had consented to the following conditions. namely that thenceforward they should not medle with giving any dignity of the Church, but should confirme the Popes disposall of them. That they should not medle with Tythes, or any goods of the Church. That they should renounce all rights in Townes subiect to the Pope, namely the having of the foresaid magistrate in the Citty of *Ferrara*. That they should freely permitt the Popes Subiects to saile vpon the *Adriatique* Sea (or Gulfe) without /20/ exacting any tribute or Custome from them, and should not receiue any enemyes or Rebels to the *Roman* sea. From this tyme the *Venetians* daily recouered many Townes they had lost. And now the Pope beginning to resolue to subdue [many] [diuers] Citties, and Territories, and to driue the *French* out of *Italy*, by whose ayd he and his Predecessor had much increased their temporall patrimony in *Italy*, to that end made a league with the *Sweitzers*. And because he could not draw the duke of *Ferrara* from his faith to the *French* king,

he did (vppon St. *Peters* day when all rents are paid to the Church of *Rome*,) refuse to receiue the rent /30/ or Tribute due from the duke of *Ferrara*, alledging that Pope *Alexander* the sixth vppon giuing his daughter in mariage [to] to the said duke, had reduced his yearely Tribute from fower thousand to an hundred ducates, which graunt he affirmed to be vtterly voyd, and of no force.⁶⁷ Presently the Pope cast a French *Cardinall* into prison, and professing himselfe open Enemy to the *French* king, graunted the kingdome of *Naples* to the king of *Spaine*, vppon the same tribute, which the kings of *Arragon* were wont to pay; whereas the *French* had paid yearely for the same fower hundred Eighty pounds of gold. /40/ And this he did, not so much because the king of *Spayne* had tyed himselfe to send three hundred armed horsmen, whensoever they were required, to defend the Pope, as to oblige him in freindshipp against the *French* king. Then the Pope excommunicated the duke of *Ferrara*, and the Generall of the *French* Army in the yeare 1511. But the Citizens of *Bologna* cast out the Popes soldiers, and receiued *Bentiuoli* with the *french* ayding him. Also the Emperor and the kings of *Spaine* and *Fraunce* with the authority of five principall *Cardinalls*, called a

⁶⁷ The ducat was usually a gold coin first minted in by Roger II of Sicily in 1140 for his Duchy of Apulia. Venice first minted a Ducat in 1284, but in Moryson's time it was more an accounting term, and a generic term for a gold coin, although Venetian ducats were exceptionally minted in 1561 and 1608. See Room, p. 72, and *Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), p. 461.

Councell to be held at *Pisa*, for reformation of the /50/
Roman Church, which came to nothing, because the Emperor
and king of *Spaine* fell to the Popes party. After the
french had obtayned many victories, at last they were cast
out of the dukedome of *Milan* by the *Sweitzers* seruing the
Pope in great numbers out of the hatred they bore to the
french king. The Citties //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol 73.

of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, freely and willingly yeilded to the
Pope as members of the old *Exarchate*. The *french* Gouvernor
flying from *Genoa*, that Citty chose *Fregosa* for their duke.
The Townes which the *french* had taken in *Emilia* and
Flaminia returned all to the Popes subiection. *Bentiuoli*
forsooke *Bologna* which the Pope recouered, and seuerely
fined the Citizens. giuing them no more any part in their
owne gouernment. The *Venetians* recouered all their Townes
and Territories on the firme land, except those Townes
which were yeilded to the Pope, from whose hands (as from
Hell) there is no redemption. /10/ The same *Iulius* the
second, caused the Family of *Medici*, that was banished out
of *Florence* [to be recalled into their Country,] tand,
restored to their former dignity. The *Sweitzers* would in
any Case haue the dukedome of *Milan* restored to *Maximilian*
Sfortia grandChilde to *Lodowick Sfortia* formerly cast out
of the same. Pope *Iulius* the second dying in the yeare
1513, *Leo*, the tenth a *Florentine* of the Family of *Medici*
succeeded him. The *french* king *Lewes* the twelueth recouered

the dukedome of *Milan*, and the State of *Genoa*, but soone after his Army being ouercome by the *Sweitzers*, *Milan* was returned to *Sfortia*, and *Genoa* to the former /20/ State. But this *french* king dying in the yeare 1515, *Francis* the First succeeded him, with whome the duke of *Genoa* made agreement, that laying aside that title of duke, he might be Gouvernor of the Citty vnder the king, and this *French* king defeating the *Sweitzers* Army, recouered the dukedome of *Milan* couenanting with *Maximilian Sfortia* to giue him a pension wherevppon he should liue in *Fraunce*, who vppon these Conditions gaue himselfe into the kings power. The Pope *Leo* the Tenth restored *Parma* and *Piacenza* to this *french* king. And this Pope casting the duke of *Vrbine* out of that /30/ dukedome, gaue the same (as a Fee of the Church) to his Nephew *Lawrence* of the Family of *Medici*.

Ferdinand king of *Spaine* of *Sicily* and of *Naples* dying, his Nephew *Charles* succeeded him,⁶⁸ who being also Nephewe to the Emperor *Maximilian* the First, shortly after succeeded him in the great dukedome of *Burgundy*, and the large Prouinces of *Netherland*, and in the yeare 1519, was also chosen Emperor, the Fift[t]h of that name. This Emperor *Charles* the Fift[t]h being in league with *Pope Leo* the Tenth, tooke *Milan* and diuerse Citties of that dukedome in the yeare 1521; and the Pope recouered from /40/ the *French*

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

the Citties of *Parma* and *Piacenza*. Pope *Leo* shortly after dying, the duke of *Vrbin* was recalled by the people, and recouered his Territory. Pope *Adrian* (who had bene schoolemaster to this Emperor) succeeded *Leo*. While the french sought to recouer the dukedome of *Milan*, the City of *Genoa* returned to the former State, chusing them a duke, and casting out the french soldiers. And thus the french againe lost the possession they had of *Italy* in the yeare 1523, and *Charles* the Emperor yeilded to the Pope, that *Frauncis Sfortia*, should haue the dukedome of *Milan*. *Adrian* the Pope dying in the yeare 1523, Pope *Clement* the seuenth a /50/ Florentine of the house of *Medici* succeeded him. The french recouered *Milan* in the yeare 1524, but in the beginning of the next yeare, the french king *Francis* the First being taken prisoner by //

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

Charles the Emperors Army at *Pauia*, the Emperor tooke all that the French possessed in *Italy*, not restoring the dukedome of *Milan* to *Francis Sfortia*, but keeping it himselfe by right his victory. In the yeare 1528, the Citizens of *Genoa* pulling downe the Fort, which the french yeilded to them, gott [absolute] absolute liberty, and instituted a new forme of gouernment chusing a Senate of fower hundred Citizens, but reseruing eminent authority in greatest affaires to *Andrew d'Auria* who declined, the envy of the people by not meddling with the choice of the duke and Magistrates, nor with the expence of /10/ the Treasure.

Pope *Clement* the seauenth being (as I said) a *Florentine* of the house of *Medici* by the ayd of the Emperors Soldiers in the yeare 1530 beseiged *Florence* and with ye slaughter of many Citizens and destruction of noble Familyes, established the cheife of the house of *Medici* to be duke of *Toscany*, in that greatnes which to this day they hold, saue that Pope *Pius* the Fifth did after giue them the title of the great duke of *Toscany*. And the Emperor to please the Pope invested *Francis Sfortia* in the dukedome of *Milan*, but kept the Forts in his owne power. Pope *Paul* the third succeeded *Clement*, and *Francis Sfortia* /20/ dying, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth vnited the dukedome of *Milan* to his hereditary dominions. The french king *Henry* the second succeeded *Francis* the First in the yeare 1547. Pope *Paul* the third of the Family *Farnese*, gaue the Citties of *Parma* and *Piacenza* to his sonne *Peter Lodowick Fernese*, and to his heyres males with title of the Duke of *Parma*, who holds that dukedome to this day in Fee from the Church of *Rome*. This Pope allowed the society of the Iesuites and to him dying in the yeare 1548,⁶⁹ Pope *Iulius* the third succeeded and he dying Pope *Marcellus* the second was chosen, but liued not absoue twenty /30/ dayes, and Pope *Paul* the Fourth borne at *Naples* was chosen in the yeare i555. This Pope and *Cosmo de Medici* duke of *Florence* sent their forces against the Free Citty *Sienna*, defended by a Garrison of

⁶⁹ 1549.

the french, and taking the Citty, the same with the Territory was vnited to the State of the duke of *Florence* by consent of the Pope and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth.⁷⁰ This Emperor dyed about three yeares after, and the Empire of *Germany* fell to his yonger brother *Ferdinand*, long before chosen king of the *Romans*, whose posterity enioyes it to this day but *Phillipp* sonne and heyre to *Charles* succeeded him in the /40/ kingdomes of *Spaine*, *Sicily*, and *Naples* in the dukedome of *Milan*, in the lordshipp of the west *Indies*, and in his dominions of *Burgundy*, and *Netherland*, to the which [in] our age he hath added the kingdome of *Portugall*, with the dominions of the East *Indies* therevnto belonging. About the same tyme the *French* king *Henry* the second dyed,⁷¹ and his sonne *Francis* the second succeeded him. And now *Fraunce* began to be distracted with dissentions about the reforming of religion, so as they could no longer prosecute the warr of *Italy*, and scarcely had power to defend the kingdome from the vsurpation of the king of *Spaine*, and of the faction or /50/ league, by which the duke of *Guise* aspired to make himselfe king of *Fraunce*.

{ m.n. 53, 54. *The declining of the Popes greatnes.* }

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

⁷⁰ Siena was incorporated with Florence in 1555.

⁷¹ 1559.

Rome by Armes at home ioyned many temporall dominions of
Italy to the

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iii. fol:75.

patrimony of the *Roman* Church. Now lett vs obserue. how in
the meane tyme abroad in forraine kingdomes, the spirituall
power of the Popes began to diminish. For the religion
reformed to the preiudice of the Popes power began to
spread it selfe from the tyme of the Councell of *Constance*
(vulgarly *Costnetz*) called [by] the Emperor in the yeare
1417, and growing daily in *Germany*, was at last so much
increased there by [the] preaching of *Luther* and other
learned men, as it gaue many troubles to the Emperor
Charles the fifth, from the first day of his being chosen
Emperor to the tyme of his death, being about some /10/ 40
yeares. After the same reformed religion began to spread in
Fraunce. The Popes hitherto raysing warre at home, and
abroad, and now faououring one, and now the other party,
(with such art and equall handling of the scales, as the
kings and Princes making the warrs, litle increased their
power), did themselues notwithstanding much increase[d]
the patrimony of the *Roman* Church. But now the troubles
about religion, making Ciuill warrs in *Fraunce*, the Popes
could no longer temper the affayres of Christendome by
keeping the meane, as they had done, but were forced for
hatred of the reformed Religion to /20/ depress the kings

of *Fraunce*,⁷² and for protection of the *Roman Church*, so to advance their Champion the king of *Spaine*, as at length the *french* kings being neglected, and litle esteemed at *Rome*, all things were there gouerned at the will of the Clients of the king of *Spaine*. And indeed for the tyme, the *Romans* litle feared the new risen power of the king of *Spaine*, being abroad distracted by important warrs with *England*, *Netherland*, and *Fraunce*, and at home beseiged, [and] as it were manacled by the authority of the *Iesuits*, and other Churchmen. As in like sort the *Spaniard* feared not to vphold the Popes power /30/ though long tyme fatall to temporall Princes, finding that he could vse it to the ruine of his enemyes, and to the advancing of his owne affaires, aswell because he supported the *Roman Church* against the Protestants of the reformed religion, as for that the *Spanyshe* double Pistoletts bore such sway in the Colledge of the [p]Cardinalls, as nothing was more sure then speedy death to any Pope that began to declare himselfe ill affected to the *Spanish party*.⁷³ In generall

⁷² Moryson is referring to Papal support of the Catholic League headed by the Duke and Cardinal of Guise which opposed King Henry III (1574 - 1589). *OED* defines depress as "1. trans. to put down by force, or crush in a contest or struggle; to overcome, subjugate, vanquish. Obs."

⁷³ Philip II would have been delighted if his relations with the Papacy had been as cordial as the Protestant myth makers pretended. The naval victory of Lepanto was not exploited because of mutual suspicion. Moryson puns on pistolets in the senses of "A small fire-arm" I. 1. and "...foreign gold coins" II. *OED* quotes Moryson *Itinerary A*, II, p.154, "...the double pistolet contains two French

through all Christendome, the Papists prosecuted the poore Protestants with fyer and sword, who though most weake in apparent /40/ meanes of resistance, daily preuailed and gott some ground of their malicious Enemyes, till almost all *Germany, Bohemia, and Netherland* and the better part of *Sweitzerland*, all the kingdomes of *England Scotland, Denmarke, Norway, and Sweden*, and great part of the kingdomes of *Fraunce and Poland*, being fallen from any the least obedience to the Pope, at last in the yeare 1588 the wheele of Christendome was so turned, as the advantage of power was on the Protestants party for numbers though not for riches. I say in the yeare 1588 long since foretold to be wonderfull, as it manifestly proued. For it had bene no /50/ wonder that *Spaine* with that [power] [powerfull] party, should haue subdued litle *England* assisted by none but only the *Netherland[s]ers*, or that the duke of *Guise* by assistance of the powerfull league, should haue vsurped *Fraunce*, but that in the said yeare the Fleete of *England* should beat the invincible Navye of *Spaine* (as they styled it) //

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

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

Crownes."

⁷⁴ Catherine de Medici died in January 1589, 1588 old style.

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

If any man desyre to know the affayres of Christendome /20/ from the tyme of Pope *Paul* the fourth to the tyme of *Clement* the Eight when I passed through *Italy*, lett him read the historyes of *Germany*, *England*, *Fraunce*, and *Netherland*, where the Cheife actions haue bene managed; For I finde nothing changed in the State of *Italy*, whereof I write in this place, till the yeare 1598, in which *Alphonso*

duke of *Ferrara*, dying without a lawfull heyre male, and *Cæsar* his base sonne taking possession of the dukedome, whose investiture therein *Alphonso* yet living could neuer obtayne of the Pope by mony or intreaty, the Pope lord of that Fee did excommunicate the said dukes base sonne /30/ and all his party, so as he terrified with that Thunderbolt, and wanting the protection of forrayne power (without which the weake *Italian* Princes for long tyme haue attempted nothing) layd asyde Armes, and taking Conditions of peace, retyred to *Modena* with title of duke. And thus the Pope without labour or bloud, added to the patrimony of the *Roman* Church, the rich Citty of *Ferrara* with the fertile territory, out of which the Princes of *Easte* had for long tyme raysed very great Reuenues.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Este.

Chap: iiii.

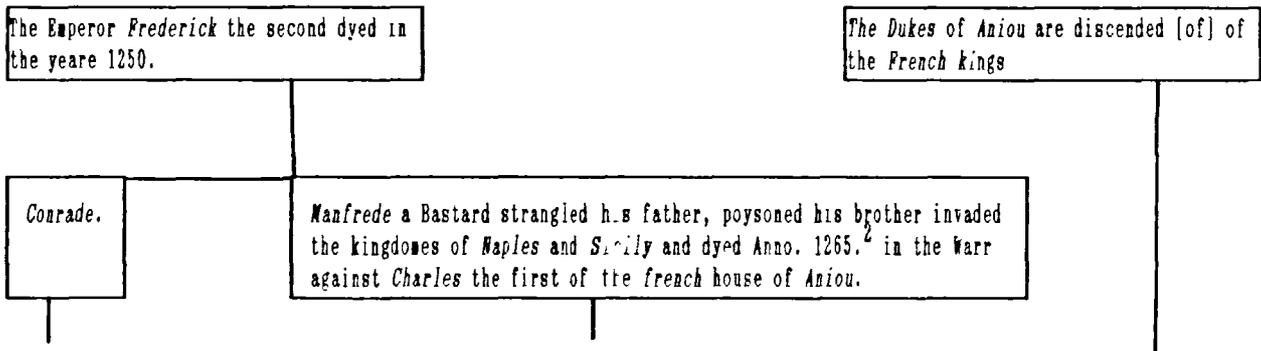
Of the common wealth of Italy namely the Pedegrees of the Princes, and the Papall /40/ dominion, and the new power of the kings of Spaine in Italy; Of these I say touching some of the heads contayned in the title of the first Chapter.

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

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

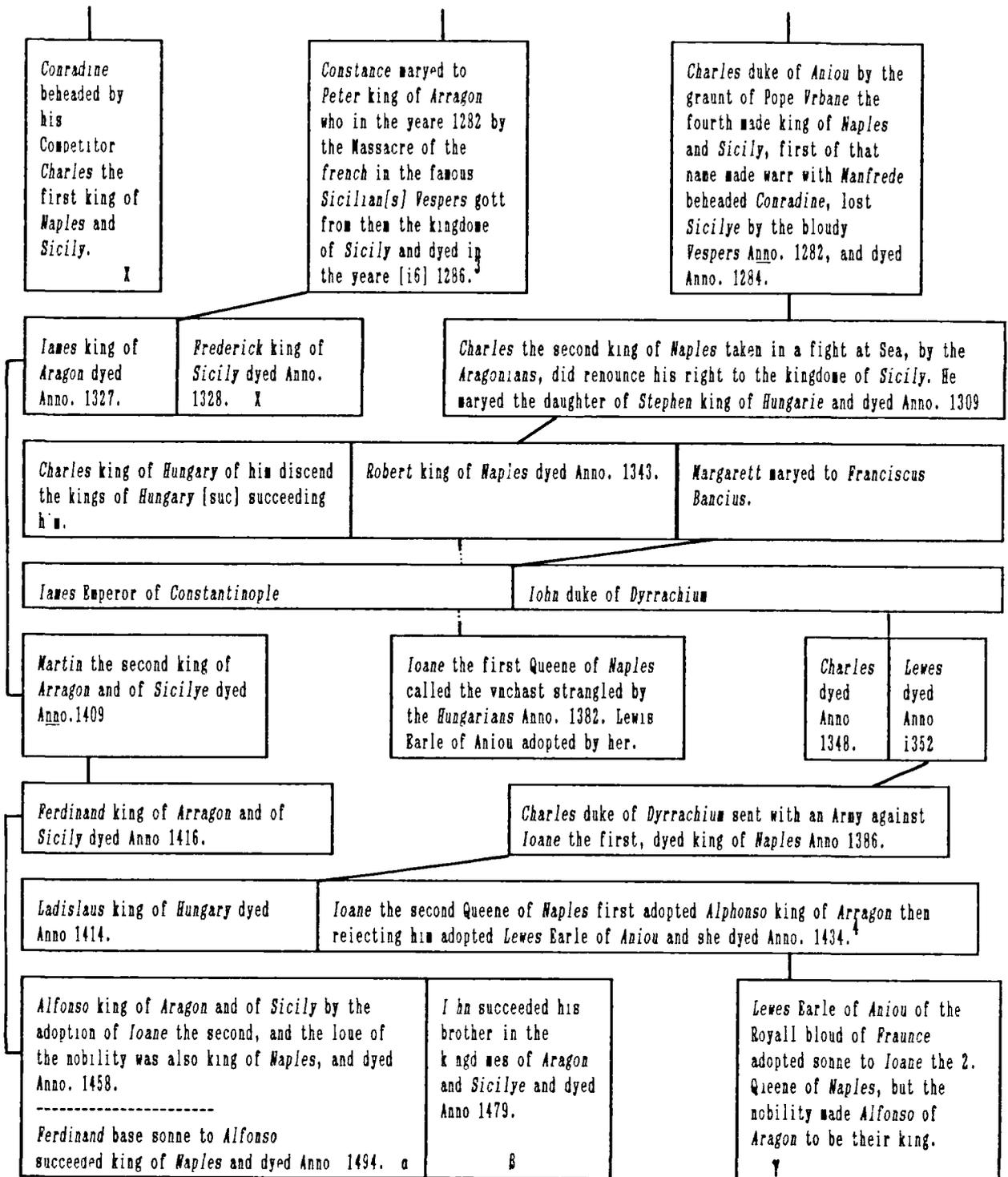
Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:77.

The Pedegree of the Neapolitan kings



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

² 1266 new style.



fol:78. Booke.i. The common wealthe of Italy. Chap:iiii.

a

b

γ

³ 1285.

⁴ 1435.

Ferdinand dyed when the french king Charles 8 came to invade the kingdome of Naples.

The french king Charles the eight heyre to the Earles of Anjou, cast Alfonso out of the kingdome of Naples, but his sonne Ferdinand recovered the kingdome from Charles, expelling the French.

Alfonso king of Naples, cast out by the french king Charles. He dyed Anno 1495.

Frederick king of Naples after his nephew Ferdinand [cast out of his kingdome by his Cousin Ferdinand] king of Spaine and by the french king Lewes the twelue.

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

B
Ferdinand king of Spaine devided the kingdome of Naples with Lewes the french king, and they first expelled Fredericke king of Naples, after this Ferdinand expelled also the French, and was king of Naples and dyed Anno 1516.

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

Ioane married to Phillip of Austria sonne to [the] Emperor Maximilian the first.

[Ferdinand Emperor of Germany of whome are the present Emperors.]

The Emperor Charles the fifth king of Naples dyed Anno 1518.⁵

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

Phillip king of Spaine heyre to the Emperor Charles the fifth, from whome the kings of Spaine have the kingdome of Naples.

The Pedegree of the Duke of Milan.

To the vicounts of Milan governing that City and Territory vnder the Empire, about the yeare 1000, succeeded Iohn Galeacius created duke of Milan by the Emperor Venceslaus in the yeare 1395,⁶ he dyed in the yeare 1402.

Iohn duke of Milan killed by the Citizens Anno. 1412 +

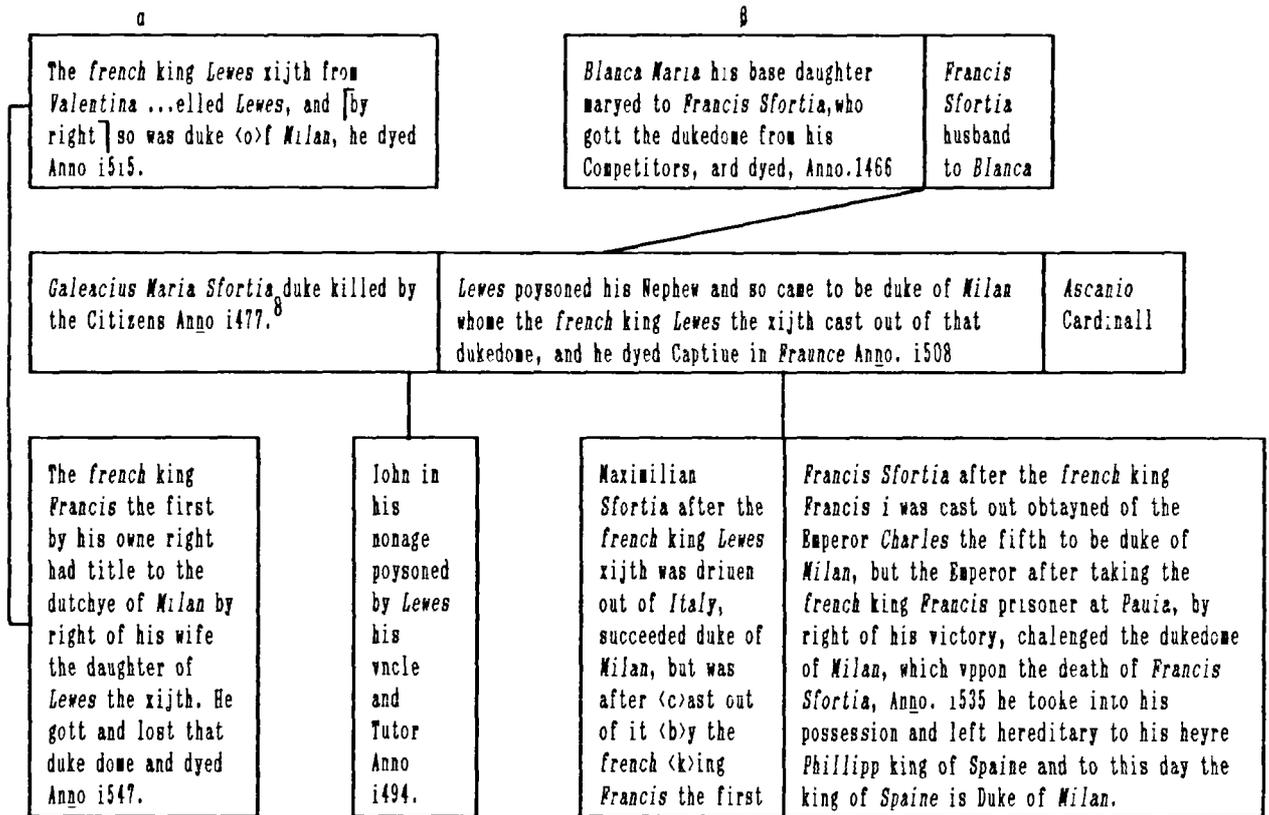
Valentina married to Lewes duke of Orleans in Fraunce of the Royall blood Anno. 1387 a

Phillip duke of Milan after his brother Iohns death. He dyed Anno 1446. B

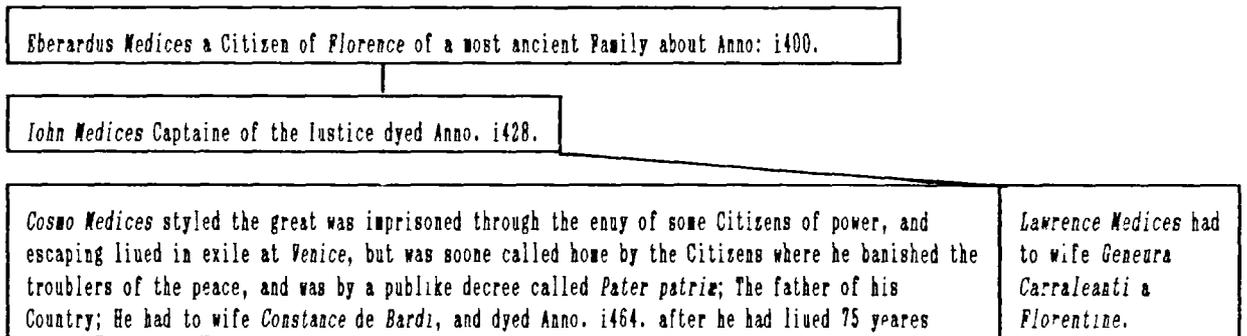
⁵ A mistake for 1558.

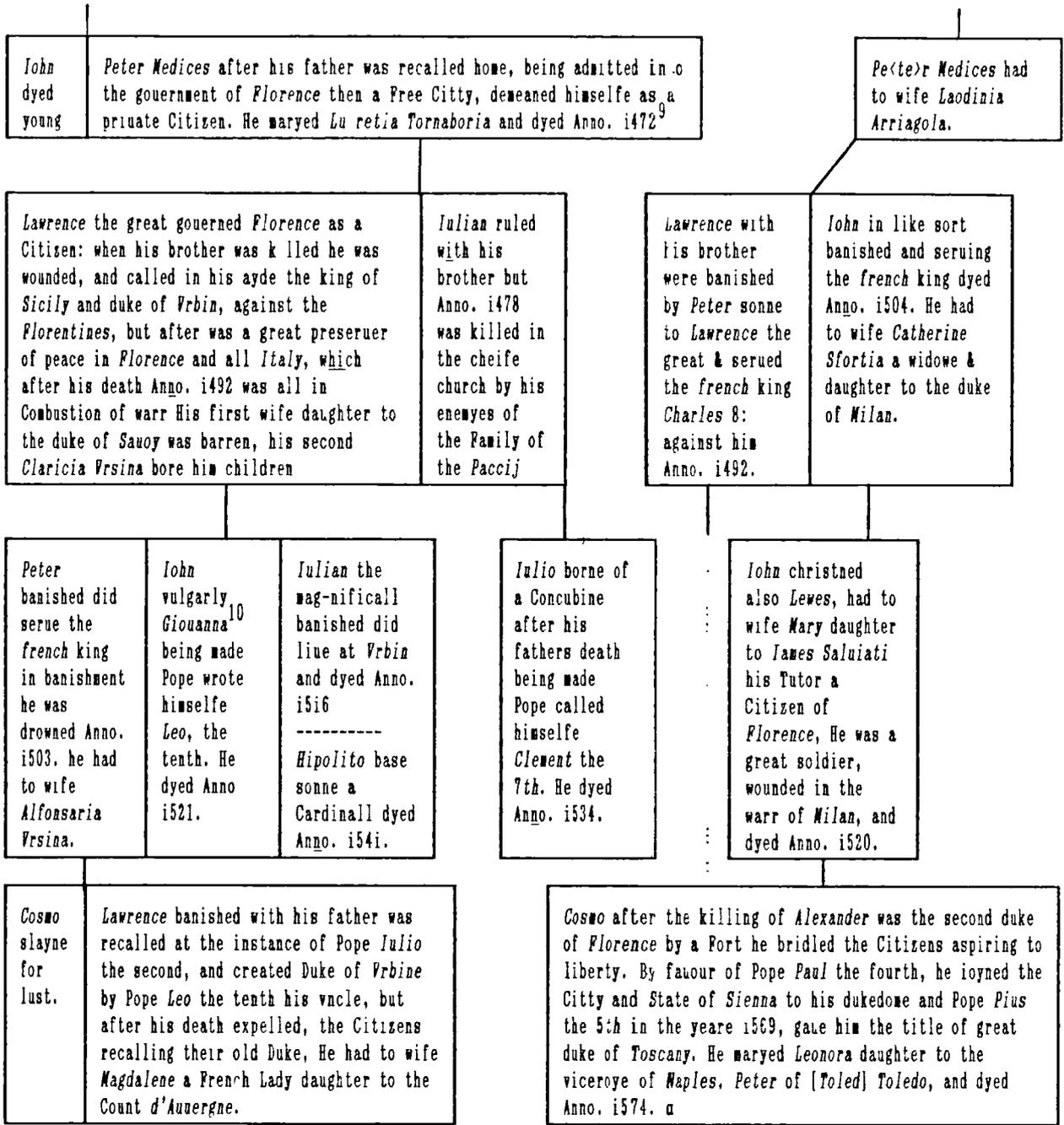
⁶ 1396.

⁷ 1447.



The Pedegrees of the great Dukes of Toscany or Hetruria.





⁹ 1469.

¹⁰ Giovanni.

Catherine married to the french king Henrye the 2. fatall mother to the three kings, dyed Anno. 1589 beginning.

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

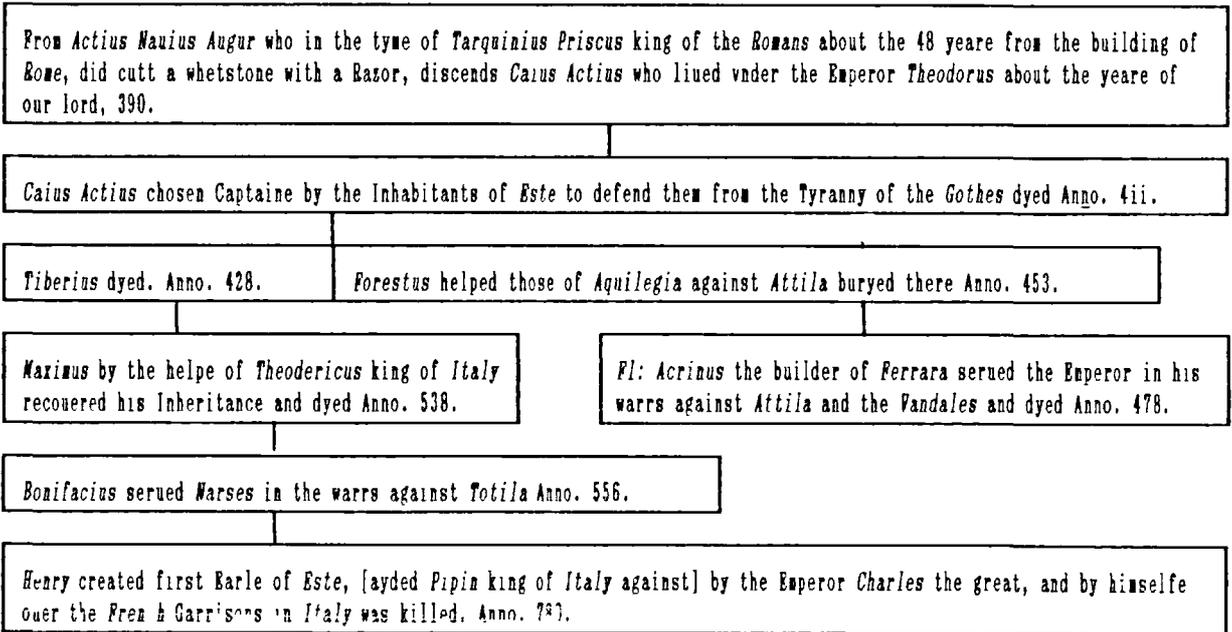
Of him comes Lawrence who killed Alexander the first duke for which he was condemned to dye by the Senate of Florence, Anno. 1534. of his age 23.¹¹

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

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---|--|
| Francis great duke of Tuscany married Ioane of the house of Austria | Lucretia married to the duke of Ferrara-Alfonso the 2. | Isabell- married to Peter Iordan Vrsino a Romane Prince. | Ferdinand after the death of his brother Francis putt of his Cardinalls habitt and was great duke. And Anno. 1589 married Catherine daughter to Charles duke of Loraine, both living when I passed through Italye. | John borne of Camilla Martesli first his fathers Con-cubine then his wife. He serued lately in the warrs in Hungarie. | Peter the third sonne lawfully begotten married a Spaniard and living in Spaine, was therefore not loued of duke Ferdinand |
|---|--|--|--|---|--|

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| Leonora married to the duke of Mantua living at my being in Italy. | Mary married to the french king, Henry the 4th then living. | Anthony a base sonne then living borne of Bianca Capelli a Venetian gentlewoman his Concubine. |
|--|---|--|

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



¹¹ 1537 as Moryson correctly states under Alexander.

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

a

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

a

Otho Earle of Este invested by the Emperor Lodouicus the second, Anno. 854.

Sigibert the first Prince of Luca when Berengarius tyrannized in Italy, subdued Parma, and Regio, and he dyed Anno. 945.

Hubertus Earle of Este tooke part with Berengarius. He dyed Anno. 926.

Azo. i. the scourge of Berengarius dyed Anno 970

Hugo [2] Earle of Thuscia and Marques of Milan and Genoa by the Emperor Otho i, made his lieutenant in Italy dyed Anno 1953.

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

Theobald Earle of Este dyed Anno 1007

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

Hugo the second.

Mathildis Dutchess of Lombardy and Thuscia Marquis of Parma, Mantua, Ferrara, Hetruria, Spoleto, Ancona and Pesaro, married to her Cosen Azo the 5th, but divorced from him by Pope Gregorie the 7th. Her forces overcame the Emperor Henry 4th and drove him out of Italy. She obstinately defended the Pope, ruled by the Salique lawe, but wrote with Lombard letters, At her Comaund the lawes of Iustinian were published, and she dyed Anno. 1115, and bequeathed Lombardy, Thuscia, and Ferrara to the Pope, which thence is called the patrimony of St. Peter, though the Popes had no present possession thereof. And here vpon a voyce was said to be heard from heauen, that a woman had giuen poisoned tempered with hony to christians for drinck, as if that guift had corrupted the Roman Bishoppes.

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

His eldest sonne borne of Cunigunda daughter to the duke of Bauaria, had that dukedome in Germany giuen him in Fee from the Emperor Henry the 4th, which he and his posterity being of the faction of the G[e]l. Juelffi inoyed.

Azo the 6th borne of Iudith daughter to the Emperor Conrado the 2d, and being Marquis of Este did serue the Emperor Henry the 5th in his warrs and dyed Anno. 1110.

Bortholdus going with his eldest brother into Germany had there the Dukedomes of Carinthia and Styria giuen to him and his [friends] heyres.

a

Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:83.

a

[Obizo had Mutina and Rhegio giuen him by the Emperor R. dolph the first, and dyed Anno 1291.]

Obizo the 6th Marquis of Este had the Marquisates of Genoa and Milan giuen him by the Emperor Frederick the first and dyed Anno 1184.

Otho the 6th. had Mutina and Rhegio giuen him by the Emperor R. dulphe the first, and dyed Anno 1291.

| | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Azo</i> 10. Marquis of Este, Ancona Ferrara Mutina and Rhegio and dyed 1308. | <i>Aldebrand</i> the third dyed 1318. | <i>Francisco</i> Marquis of Este and Ancona made warr vppon his brother <i>Azo</i> for marrying the daughter of <i>Charles</i> king of Sicilye who being killed 1312, the Pope gaue Ferrara to <i>Robert</i> king of Sicilye. |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <i>Reinaldo</i> droue the Popes Garison out of Ferrara Anno 1317 | <i>Otho</i> 7.th Marquis of Este &c. was excommunicated by the Pope for holding Ferrara, and dyed Anno 1341 | <i>Azo</i> 12. Marquis of Este &c enemy to <i>Nicholas</i> 3 Marquis of Ferrara, dyed 1390 |
|--|---|--|

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Aldebrand</i> 4. dyed Anno. 1361. | <i>Albert</i> founded the vniuersity of Ferrara Anno 1392, dyed Anno 1393. |
|--------------------------------------|--|

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Azo</i> excluded a Childe, could not after recouer his right but dyed in banishment Anno. 1402 | <i>Nicholas</i> 3. a bastard, ayded by the Venetians against <i>Azo</i> the 12, who would haue excluded him as base borne, dyed Anno 1441. |
|---|--|

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <i>Hercules</i> 1. succeeded his brother [<i>Borsi</i>] <i>Borsius</i> , the second Duke of Ferrara Mutina, and Rhegio, brauely defended himselfe against Pope <i>Sixtus</i> 4, and the Venetians, recalled from Naples by <i>Borsius</i> and made his heyre | <i>Leonell</i> his base sonne sent his brother <i>Hercules</i> to Naples, ruled in his stead, and dyed Anno 1450. | <i>Borsius</i> base borne, created duke of Mutina, and Rhegio, by the Emperor <i>Frederick</i> 3. Anno. 1452, dyed vnmarried Anno 1471. |
|--|---|---|

Nicholas a childe commended to *Borsius* to haue the dukedome at full age, taken prisoner was beheaded without the priuity of his vncler *Hercules*.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|---|
| <i>Alphonso</i> 1. duke of Ferrara and Marquis of Este, bore the threats and armes of 3 Popes, and dyed at the seige of Bastona. Anno 1534. a | <i>Hypolito</i> Cardinall of Este, pulled out the eyes of his brother <i>Iulio</i> , because his mistresse was in loue with him for his eyes, and dyed Anno 1520. | <i>Beatrice</i> marryed to <i>Lodouico Sfortia</i> duke of Milan. | <i>Isabella</i> marryed to <i>Francis Gonzaga</i> . Marquis of Mantua. | <i>Iulio</i> bastard had his eyes pulled out by his brother but recouered the vse of one eye and dyed Anno .1505. |
|---|---|---|--|---|

fol:84. Booke.i. The comon wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| By <i>Lucretia Borgia</i> daughter to Pope <i>Alexander</i> 6. marryed 1514 he begat <i>Hercules</i> 2. duke of Ferrara and Marquiss of Este, who serued the french king <i>Henry</i> . 2 against <i>Phillipp</i> king of Spaine, he after marryed <i>Benata</i> daughter to the french king <i>Lewes</i> , and had a dukedome in Fraunce for her d wrye and dyed. Anno; 1559. | <i>Hipolito</i> , 2 Cardinall of Santa Maria in Aquino 1539. | <i>Ferdinand</i> Marquis of Massa marryed <i>Maria</i> Cordona. | <i>Alfonso</i> Marquis of Montella marryed <i>Iulia</i> daughter to <i>Francis</i> duke of Urbine |
|--|--|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|--|--|---|---------|--|---------------------------|
| Alfonso 2. duke of Ferrara, Mutina and Marquis of Este, ledd against the Turkes 400 horse and 300 fo te, Anno i566. He married Lucretia daughter to Cosmo duke of Florence, and Barbara daughter to the Emperor Ferdinand and Anna daughter to Gulielo Gonzaga duke of Mantua. | Anna married to Francis duke of Guise in France. | Lucretia married to the duke of Urbine. | Leonara | Aloysio Cardinal thought to be poysoned at Rowe Anno 1587. | Frederick Prince of Este. |
|--|--|---|---------|--|---------------------------|

| | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| By a Concubine he had Cæsar who was forced to yeild the dukedomes of Ferrara to the Pope, content to haue Modina with the title of duke, He married the daughter to the Duke of Mantua, and still liueth. | Cæsar hath a sister married to a Prince in the kingdome of Naples. | Maruisia married to the Prince of Massa. | Bradawanta married to Hercules Beui-l'acqua |
|---|--|--|---|

The Pedegree of the Dukes of Mantua.

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| Aloysius Gonzaga disceded from the Germans seated himselfe at Mantua | | | |
| Guido Gonzaga had part of the Territory of [the] Rhexio giuen him in Fee from Azo the 10.th Marquis of Este. | | | |
| Lodouicus Gonzaga the Tyrannie of [the] Bonacessij being extinct with full consent of the people became Prince of Mantua anno. i328, and dyed i360. | | | |
| Lodouicus Gonzaga Prince of Mantua and viccar of the Empire was beheaded by the Mantuans for adulterye Anno i382. | | | |
| G[.]iouianni Francisco Gonzaga first created Marquis of Mantua by the Emperor Sigismund Anno i433. dyed i444. | | | |
| Lodouicus Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua married Barbara daughter to Iohan: Marquis of Brandeburg in Germany and dyed Anno 1478. | Carolo married Lucia daughter to the Marquis of Terrara | Alessandro | |
| Frederico. 3 Marquis dyed Anno.i484. | Francisco Gonza= a Cardinall. | Barbara married to the duke of Wirtemberg, in Germany. | Susanna married to Calesti Sfortia duke of Milan |

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:85.

| | |
|---|---|
| Francisco Gonzaga married Isabella [daughter] to Hercule i duke of Ferrara and dyed Anno. 1519. | Sigismund Cardinall of Santa Maria Nuoua. |
|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|---|--|
| <i>Frederico Gonzaga</i> Marquis of Mantua created duke Anno. 1531 by the Emperor Charles the fifth married <i>Margarett</i> daughter of and heyre to the Marquis of <i>Montferrat</i> , he dyed Anno. 1540. | <i>Hercule Gonzaga</i> Cardinall and Tutor to his Nephew <i>Francis</i> | <i>Ferdinando</i> made viceroye of Naples and Milan by the Emperor <i>Charles. 5.</i> dyed Anno. 1557. | <i>Elionora</i> married the duke of <i>Urbine</i> and [<i>Pesaso</i>] <i>Pesaro</i> | <i>Hippolita</i> a Nunn of the order of <i>St. Catherina.</i> | <i>Paula</i> a Nunn of <i>Santa Clara.</i> |
|--|---|--|---|---|--|

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <i>Francis</i> duke of Mantua Marquis of <i>Montferr.</i> married <i>Catherine</i> [daug] daughter to the Emperor <i>Ferdinand</i> , and dyed Anno 1550. | <i>Guilielmo Gonzaga</i> layed aside his sacred order and succeeded his brother, he married <i>Leonora</i> daughter to the Emperor <i>Ferdinand</i> , and dyed Anno. 1587. | <i>Lodonic[a]o Gonzaga</i> serued in the warres of <i>Fraunce</i> on the kings part, and married the daughter to the duke of <i>Neuers.</i> |
|--|--|---|

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>Anna</i> married to <i>Alfonso 2.</i> duke of <i>Ferrara.</i> | <i>Vincentio</i> the duke then living, was diuorced from <i>Margarett</i> daughter to the duke of <i>Parma</i> , and married <i>Leonora</i> daughter to <i>Francisco</i> great duke of <i>Toscany</i> , by whome at that tyme he had 3 sonnes |
|--|---|

The Pedegree of the duke of Parma.

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

| |
|---|
| <i>Ranuccio</i> in the East part of <i>Toscanye</i> is said to haue intertayned king <i>Iohn</i> with the Queene of <i>England</i> passing to <i>Naples</i> about the yeare 1250. |
|---|

| |
|--|
| <i>Alessandro Farnese</i> created Cardinall by Pope <i>Alexander</i> the sixth, came himsele to be Pope about the yeare 1534, he made his sonne <i>Pedro Lodonico</i> duke of <i>Parma</i> , and <i>Piacenza</i> and built the Pallace of the <i>Farnese</i> at <i>Rome</i> , and is reported to haue fayned himsele to be sickly, that the Cardinalls might be thereby induced to chuse him Pope. |
|--|

| |
|--|
| <i>Pedro Lodonico</i> the aboue named bastard of Pope <i>Paul</i> the third, was first created duke of <i>Castro</i> , then duke of <i>Parma</i> ; He was said to be murdered by men hyred by those of the noble Family <i>D'Auria</i> in the City of <i>Genoa</i> , after whose death the Emperor <i>Charles</i> the fifth tooke into his power the Citties of <i>Parma</i> and <i>Piacenza</i> . |
|--|

a.

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

a

¹² 627 ?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---------------------------|
| Alexander created Cardinall by his Grandfather Pope Paul the third. | Vittoria mother to Francisco Maria of Urbine. 2 duke. | Constance married one of the familye of Sfortia | Horatio duke de Castro married the sister of the french king Henry 2. | Ottavio duke de Castro duke de Camerina, duke of Parma and Piacenza, lost the last of these dukedomes, but was restored to it by Pope Iulius the second and married Margarett base daughter to the Emperor Charles. 5. for her incontineny called a Mule by the Italians. | Ranuccio also a Cardinall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---------------------------|

Alexander duke of Parma &c. governed the low Countries, vnder Phillip king of Spaine, who after the sack of Antwerpe, his father yet living, obtayned of that king, to haue the Spanish garrison remoued out of the Castle of Parma.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Ranuccio duke of Parma then living. | Eduardo created Cardinall. | Margareta married to the duke of Mantua, and diuorced. |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|

Of the Popes Power in generall, How it grewe.

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

The Roman Empire through many ages vastly enlarged howsoever it groned vnder the weight of it selfe and was weakened by the wickednes of the Emperors, and the licentiousnes of the Pretorian Souldyers, yet had no enemy how powerfull soeuer more fatall to it, then the humble obsequiousnes of the Servant of Servants (for so the Pope is styled) yet no doubt all Popes were not wicked, but in tyme ambition, /10/ and with it all wickednes, by degrees invaded the Roman Sea. The Popes of the first rancke to Miltiades setting at Rome about the yeare 305.¹³ a litle before the Ragne of the Emperor Constantine the great, were all godly, learned, vigilant, poore, and for the most part martyres. But they of the second rancke from Silvester the

¹³ Miltiades (311 - 314). EWH

first, made Bishopp of Rome in the yeare 311,¹⁴ and the
fyfth yeare of Constantyne the great, to Pope Sabinian
about the yeare 604. howsoever they were not ill men, yet
were they inventers of humane /20/ traditions and too much
desyrous, by vndecent ambition, to exalt the Roman Sea
aboue others, for which some of them are numbred among the
forerunners of Antichrist. As for them of the third rancke
from that tyme to this present, what kynde of men they haue
bene appeares by the Ecclesiasticall and prophaine
historyes. This three headed or tripplecrowned monster hath
devoured the two headed Eagle of the Empire, not vnlike the
Snake halfe killed with colde, which reuiued in the husband
mans bosome, stunge him to death who saued her life.¹⁵ For
/30/ the first Roman Bishopps, for their holines &
humility, were much revered by the Emperors, but their
//

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:87.

¹⁴ Sylvester I (314 - 335). *EWB*

¹⁵ As Moryson makes clear later, the triple crown represents the Pope and the two Eagles the Empire of the East, Byzantium, and the Empire of the West, the Holy Roman Empire. It is an interesting inversion that the man nourishes the female snake in his bosom. It is a fable derived from Æsop, which Moryson and his siblings would probably have learnt in Latin. Æsop's fables were very popular in this period, for their simplicity and didactic value, as the number of references in *STC* demonstrates. In *The fables of Esope in Englysshe with all his life* (London, 1551), [*STC* 179], there is the fable 'Of the Man and the Serpent'. "...and for the great wynter and froste the Serpent was harde and almost deade for colde, wherof the goodman pytyed and toke and bare her before the fyre." sig. H3v. Incidental details differ, but the moral is the same. Evil yields evil.

Successours, enriched by the Emperors bounty and pyety, to treade their benefactors heades vnder their feete, first made vse of the diuision of the Empire into orientall, and occidentall, then of the Occidentall Emperors remouing his seate from Rome to Milan, and those partes at the foote of the Alpes. But when the Occidentall Empire was destroyed by the Gothes, then the Roman Bishoppes stucke fast to the Orientall Emperors, to [be] defended from that barbarous people vnder their protection, as in like sort the Lombards Conquering the Gothes kingdome in Italy, and being as yet Pagans these Bishoppes /10/ subiected them selues to the protection of the same Emperors, who being farr distant could lesse bridle their ambition, and so they daily increased their owne riches and dignity. Yet when the lombards became Christians, these Bishoppes vpon a new { m.n. 14 - 17. Marke Idolatry the first ground of the Popes Dominion in Italy }

pretence of defending the worshipp of Images, forbidden by the Emperors of the East, durst be so Impudent, as first to excommunicate them, and after invading their possessions in Italy, by deuiding the pray with the lombards, and by absolving the people from the oath of Alegance, to expell the Emperors altogether out of Italy. After lest /20/ the Emperors should recover their owne, and lest the lombards should bring Rome and them into subiection, these Bishoppes sowed mutuall warrs betweene them to weaken their forces, and to increase their owne power, as arbiters of all

Controversyes betweene them, and these Foxes now takeing one now another parte, labored nothing more then to destroy them both, and never ceas<e>d, till at last in long processe of tyme, the Orientall Empire was so wasted, by theyre owne dissentions, and by the Covetousnes of the Genoesi¹⁶ for great sommes of mony transporting the /30/ Turkes out of Asia into Europe, as that Empire was in the end vtterly destroyed by those Turkes. For the Greeke Church, abhorring the errors and tyranny of the Popes was by the Popes authority over the westerne Princes abandoned to this more then Babilonian servitude, so as the Citty of Constantinople, one of the heades of the two headed Eagle of the Empire, was in the yeare 1453. taken by Mahomett king of the Turkes, who vpon that Empire thus subdued tooke the tytle and possession thereof. And as for the Lombards { m.n. 39. [In Italy] }

[in Italy] hauing increased theyre kingdome at the first by casting out of /40/ Italy the Exarches of the Orientall Emperors, when after they begann to restrayne the ambition of the Roman Bishopps, they not able to abyde so neere and powerfull a lord, who on the sudden could bring his Army to the walls of Rome, and suppressse theyre pryde, howsoeuer the could not deny the lombard kings to be good (that I may not say most superstitious) Christians, yet Conspiring with the French against them, and deuiding the pray of Italy

¹⁶ This form seems to be between the Italian *Genovesi* and the English Genoese.

with Charles the great, whereby the patrimony of St Peter (as they call it) was much increased, they were also the authors of the distruction /50/ of the lombards kingdome. After because these powers being taken away, it was apparant that Barbarous people (the scourges of God) would not cease to afflict Italy, these Roman Bishopps thought good to erect agayne and as it were agayne bringe out of the graue, the Imperiall maiesty of the west, and conferred that dignity on Charles the great, most ambitious vpon any colourable pretence to rayse his power and State,

{ c.w. in which }

fol:88. Booke i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

in which first stepp they gayned two important aduantages, first to haue theyre Temporall lord farr distant, whereby they might more safely deny or more fraudulently yealde him obedience: secondly that whereas they ought them selues and all they had to the old Emperors, now in the new erection of the Empire of the west, these Emperors seemed to be in some sorte obliged to them for this dignity at least in fitt tymes they sticked not to boast so much. The Roman Bishopps long obeyed this Charles and his Secessours, to be defended in the Dominion they had vsurped from the Emperors of the East, and /10/ likewise against the Cittizens of Rome, dayly attempting to recover the liberty they (among Others) had lost by vsurpation. And while the race of Charles lasted and long after these Bishopps durst not in deede or worde offend the powerfull Emperors, and were so

farr from Challenging any authority in nameing or chusing any Emperor, as they were gladd with thanckefullnes to receave that Bishoppricke from the Emperors, and with patience to be deposed by them vpon theire ill demmeanure. But at last the Romans by Custome growing more patient of theire Bishopps yoke, and the power of the Eastern Emperors /20/ being fallen to a lowe degree (vnder envy or feare), these Bishopps or Popes seriously bent all theire forces to establish theire tyranny in Europe. To omitt theyre contentions with the Orientall Patriarkes, about theyre primacy or equality, which by the wofull ruine of these Churches were now ceased, in the first place they bent all theire force a gainst the Riuals of theire power in Italy, namely the great and ancient Archbishops of Milan and of Rauenna, who for many ages had ether denied them any primacy, or had assumed it to themselues, and these in tyme they /30/ brought to obedience, by power of Armes and all possible meanes limiting and restrayning theire power and authority, and cutting of or deminishing theire Iurisdictions ouer other Churches. But still two great impediments choked the current of the Popes ambition, namely the deuine authority of Gods worde, and the Awfull reverence and most ample power of the sacred Empire of the west, and it will not be a fruitlesse labor breefly to obserue how they layed sacrilegious hands vpon these holy things, notwithstanding that in the historicall introductions of Germany Italy and /40/ Fraunce a more

large treatise is generally made, of the begining and increase of St Peters Patrimony, of the Popes supremacy, of their choise, of the Emperors choise, vniust depositions by them and continuall vexations by thunderbolts of excommunication, by cups of poyson, by raying vp rebellious subiectes (yea most wicked sonnes) in armes against them, and of like Papall practises. First to make blunt the sharpe edge of Gods worde, they rayed vp Scholasticall Diuinity and thereof diuers Sects, these called Thomists, these Scotists, these Reals. these Nominals, /50/ by whome the pure streames of Diuinity being by degrees polluted with the dreggs of Philosophy, and through vnprofitable questions, the Popes tyranny was first established.¹⁷ The say^{17A} pollution or confusion of Philosophy did breake downe the force of the Scriptures, and the heape of //

Booke I The Commonwealth of Italy Chap:IIII. fol: 89.

vnprofitable questions disparaged the authority of diuinity. I call these and such like vnprofitable

¹⁷ Thomists were followers of St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1227 - 1274). Known as the *Angelicus Doctor* for his mastery of theology in the *Summa Theologica*, he reconciled much of Aristotle's thought with Christian philosophy. Scotists were followers of John Duns Scotus (c.1265 - 1308) who was known as *Doctor Subtilis*. The CE admits that "...subtle discussions and distinctions which to this age are meaningless, abound in his works". His followers attacked the humanists of the succeeding age and also became known as 'dunces'. Realists and Nominalists were the two main schools of thought within medieval philosophy. Realists were the inheritors of the Platonic tradition, and the philosophy lead to Neoplatonism and metaphysical thought in the seventeenth century. CE

^{17A} Possibly "sayd" or "saym"?

questions: namely: whether God may commaund any ill, yea euen the hatred of himselfe: whether he could from eternity haue made this world better then he hath made it. Whether he can make a man that may not haue the power to sinne. Whether he can make that vndonne which is donne, and a Virgin of a hore. Whether God be conteyned in any Predicament. Whether God can produce and preserue vniuersall nature without particulars: to omitt the questions of Notions, /10/ formalities, quiddities, Indiuidualls, and arable of such like.¹⁸ All Schooles were sett on worke with these wranglinges, by which the pure latten tounge was torned into a base and barbarous language, for the disputations were full of obscure distinctions, and Phrases, yea Students were Commanded by Statute to vse those and no other kynde of formes of speech in disputing. Then followed the wicked doctrynes, of Purgatorye, of Indulgences, of praying to Saynts, of the

¹⁸ These problems were tackled by the Schoolmen, the philosophers of the medieval schools who were trying to determine what correspondence intellectual concepts have outside of our intellect, often referred to as the "problem of universals". What relation do these notions or forms have to the individual? *CE* Punning, Moryson loses patience with these "quiddities", in both senses of "1. The real nature or essence of a thing; that which makes a thing what it is. 2. A subtlety or captious nicety in argument; a quirk, a quibble. (Alluding to the scholastic arguments on the 'quiddity' of things.)" *OED* There was a long lived fashion to denigrate the medieval as against the classical age. In the eighteenth century, Fielding could jovially dismiss the period as "centuries of monkish dullness". See Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones* edited by R. P. C. Mutter (Harmondsworth, 1966), p.87. It was not until the Romantics and Victorians that a reassessment of solid medieval achievement took place.

Masse, and the like, repugnant to the worde of God, yet whosoever doubted of any such invention, /20/ was presently pronounced to be an heritike. From this tyme lay men ceasead to reade the Scriptures, which they might not haue in the vulger tounge, yea very Schollers were more reputed for skill in these doctors, writings, then for knowledge and readines in the scriptures. And now they taught the people to bable prayers in the laten tounge, and nothinge of the vulgar tounge was any more hearde in the churches. Indeede it behoued the Pope to haue the people at his beck, who being blynded with Ignorance and superstition, as the learned Clarkes /30/ were on his syde for their owne intrest, it was more easye to force Princes and the nobility to blynde obedience. After this tyme it was lesse danger to offende against the gospel then against the decrees of the Popes, who began to sell all thinges for filty gayne, without difference of persons, which Christ offers of free guift only to the beleeuers. At last they became so impudent, as in the Councell of Constantia (vulgarly Costnetz) a decree was made, that howsoever Christ gaue his last supper to his Disciples in both kyndes of bread and wyne, and the /40/ primitiue Church kept this Institution, yet this notwithstanding, no Priest vnder payne of excommunication should giue the same to laymen in both kyndes, but only in that of bread. The Father of th[is]e [foresayd] scholasticall diuinity, was lanfrank made Archbishop of Canterbury in England in the yeare

[i07i] [i074] [[to 9]] and there followed him Anselm in the
yeare. i094.¹⁹ Hugo de Sant Victore about the yeare ii27.²⁰
Gratian about the yeare ii5i, Peter Lombard stiled the
master of the Sentences about the yeare ii60.²¹ And those
that came after did with more boldenes corrupt /50/ the
Scriptures, as albertus Magnus. Thomas Aquinas, Durandus,
Scotus, Nicolaus, de lyra, and Bonauentura, to omitt the
rest.²² To this add the obscure translation of the
scriptures, which howsoeuer they were content to hyde, //
fol:90. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.
and forbidd the reading thereof without doing any open

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

²⁰ Hugo of St. Victor (1096 - 1141) Medieval philosopher, theologian and mystic. *CE*

²¹ Peter Lombard (c.1100 - c.1164) was known as *Magister Sententiarum* because of his four part work the *Sentences*. (c.1150). "In a long series of questions it covers the whole body of theological doctrine and unites it in a systemized whole." *CE*

²² Albertus Magnus (1206 - 1280) was a scientist, doctor and theologian. One of his pupils was St. Thomas Aquinas. Moryson could mean Durandus of Troarn (1012 - 1089) Benedictine writer and reformer and contemporary of Lanfranc and Anselm, or Durandus of Saint Pourçain (d.1332) a Dominican theologian. Nicholas de Lyra (1270 - 1340) was a Professor of Theology at the Sorbonne and a specialist in Hebrew and textual exegesis. He influenced Luther, and therefore his inclusion here is surprising. St. Bonaventure (1221 - 1274) was a practical Churchman and Cardinal - Bishop as well as being a friend of Aquinas, a teacher and philosopher. *CE*, Hyamson.

violence to the text; yet it is as cleare as the light
itselfe that they forbore not to corrupt the writings of
the old fathers and divines, yea of very historyes and
Poetts, as may appeare by many old and new Copyes still
extant yea in the Councell of *Trent*, many bookes were noted
with a black quill, of particuler places to be left out, or
altered to their purpose, at the next printing of those
Authors, then which nothing could be invented more
iniurious to the living or dead writers. Lett the Reader
/10/ obserue the Papall pollicy.²³ No dead man might come
to heauen, hardly be layd in his graue, except he gaue some
thing to the Church; and whatsoeuer was once giuen, could
by the Popes law neuer be alienated, so as the blinde
deuotion of the laymen dayly robbed their heyres, to make
the Churchmen rich, till they had gotten almost the third
part of euery kingdome, and the sonnes of the nobility were
glad by their fauour to enioy their fathers landes in Fee

²³ "...in bad sense, political cunning." Policy, n. 1.
3. *OED* A modern historian has called the implementation of
the reforming decrees of the Council of Trent not as
Moryson and some historians see it "an arbitrary imposition
by a few authoritarian prelates...[but] the most
universally popular movement in the whole history of
Italy..." Eric Cochrane, *Italy 1530 - 1630* edited by Julius
Kirshner, Longman History of Italy (Harlow, 1988), p. 188,
and known hereafter as Cochrane. Even in censorship this
was the case. The Florentine Republicans in 1529, the
Siennese in 1541 and the Venetian Senate in 1543 were
starting to ban heretical books, Cochrane, p. 142. Thus
when the commission "...charged with determining which
books currently in circulation actually fell within the
Council's general categories of wholly prohibited,
partially prohibited or prohibited until emended"
(Cochrane, p. 188) began its work, the atmosphere for
protecting the faith was conducive.

from them, becoming vassalls for them to Bishops and Abbotts. To breake the power of the Emperors, greater /20/ force of Armes, and no lesse subtle Craft were required. The Emperor had comaunded the Ciuill law to be repayred and published for vse in Courts of Iustice, and to shake of this yoke, the Popes published a new law, compiled of their owne decrees and Statutes, wherewith they bound mens Consciencs vnto them. For the Monke *Gratian* in imitation of the *Pandects* of the Ciuill lawe did in the yeare 1151 make a woorke of decrees out of the decrees of Councells and Bishopps, and the writings of Fathers, which contaynes the foundations of the Cannon lawe, and the sinewes /30/ of the papall Tyranny. *Gregory* the ninth in imitation of *Iustinians Codex*, did in the yeare 1227 make bookes of decretalls out of the Epistles of Popes. Pope *Boniface* the Eight, added the sixth booke of decretalls, namely new Statutes made by himselve and his last predecessors. Pope *John* the 22th in the yeare 1317, made an end of that woorke, and published the *Clementyere Constitutions* and the *Extrauagants*, seuerally commaunding them to be receiued in all Courts of Iudgment, and all schooles making Doctors of that lawe in *Bonomia* (/40/ vulgarly *Bologna*) with statutes for taking of their degrees, and for the Ceremonyes thereof.²⁴ With this Bulwarke the Popes fortified their

²⁴ Gregory IX's Decretals were published in 1234. They had entailed a complete revision, although about 90% were to be found in Gratian. Boniface VIII updated the decretals for his age in 1298. His successor Clement V wanted a

tyranny against the Imperiall lawes. And herein they extoll
themselves aboue all Creatures, make Emperors and kings
subiect to them, place all lawes in their owne brest,
compare themselves to gold, Emperors to leade, themselves
to the sunne, Emperors to the moone, yea make the Emperor
a sawe, which can doe nothing except it be drawne by the
Popes hand, teach that the Pope is subiect to no mans
iudgment, neither can be /50/ //

Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:9i.

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

further official collection made, but he died before they
were published by John XXII in 1317 under the title
Constitutiones Clementinæ. The *Extravagantes*, the work of
private individuals, were so called "because they were not
included in the official collections". CE

Prerogatiue to their owne power and right only, whereby in short tyme they alienated the myndes of all Clergie men from their Princes and lay Superiors, and firmly obliged them only to depend vppon the Papall power, only able to advance them, and vppon that ground tooke the boldnes after a new manner formerly vnknowne to the Church, to exact an oath of obedience from all Clergymen, /20/ and so to make voyd their oathe of obedience to their seuerall kings and Princes vnder pretence that therein the greater bond to the Popes was alwayes vnderstood to be excepted. Henceforward the Popes in euery kingdome had more subiects in number, and especially in politike or superstitious faithfulness then the right kings and Princes thereof, and from all places scraped, and yearely drewe to *Rome* great treasure gratifying out of speciall grace the Princes with blessed Roses and like trash,²⁵ and aswell them as the people with indulgences and imaginary graces of /30/ moderne invention in leiu thereof. And to binde the Clergymen yet more firmly to the Papall Chayre. The Popes gaue them through all kingdomes an abhominable immunitie that they should not be bound to answer for any Crime in Courts of Iustice before a lay Iudge. This immunitie produced impunity, and impunity made all wickednes abound in Clerkes more then others, who ought to shyne in life and doctrine before

²⁵ "IV. 2. *Golden rose* an ornament wrought of gold, blessed by the pope on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and usually sent as a mark of favour to some notable Roman Catholic person, city, or church." *OED*

others, and the guilt of wicked Acts, with liberty or
Connuency to committ them (the greatest punishment of
Clerkes for murthers being /40/ only the close immuring in
a Monastery) did setle in their myndes, a strict obseruance
of all Papall lawes. Besides the infinite numbers of
Clarkes and Monckes intrhalled to the Popes obedience, they
had diuerse religious orders of military knights instituted
by the Popes, whose number was great, valour yet greater,
and yearely Reuenewes greatest of all, and all those tyed
to the Popes obedience, with firme bonds of superstition,
and wealth. Such were the *Templary* //
{ c.w. knights [of St.] }

fol:92. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

knights confirmed in the yeare 1124., and for many
notorious Crymes dissolued in the yeare 1312.²⁶ Such were
the Hospitall knights of *St Iohn*, confirmed in the yeare
1119, who after were called the knights of the *Rhodes*,
having taken and inhabiting that *Iland*, till the *Turkes*
tooke it from them in the yeare 1522, From which tyme to
this day, they are called the knights of *Malta*, inhabiting
that *Iland*, fortified for the defence of *Italy*, and they

²⁶ The Knights Templars were founded in 1118, and in
1128 at the Council of Troyes adopted the rule of St.
Benedict. Their secret rites of initiation, and their
enormous wealth gave rise to scandals which Philip the
Fair, who was greedy for their wealth exploited by
obtaining 'confessions' by torture. Sodomy, heresy, and
devil worship were imputed to them. The Gascon Clement V
weakly dissolved the order in 1312. Many ex - members
joined the Knights of St. John. CE

were enriched with the Rents, and goods of the *Templaries* extinguished. Such were the *Teutonike* or *German* knights, instituted /10/ (as were the rest) in *Palastine* about the yeare 1190, who driuen from thence, came to inhabitt *Prussia* in *Europe* whereof late the order ceased, the king of *Poland* taking part of their land; and [giuing] the rest in Fee to the master of the order with title of a duke.²⁷ Such are the knights of *St Iames* in *Spaine* confirmed by the Pope in the yeare 1158,. And such was the order of the *Fencers* in *Liuania*.²⁸ The said knights of *Malta* (and in like manner the rest) are bound by oathe, to obey the Pope, to defend the *Roman* Religion, to fight against any other as hereticall, to woorshipp the Masse, /20/ to keepe Fasting dayes, to say ouer their beades often each day, to visitt the Pope once in the yeare, and to doe many like duties. The Creation of *Cardinalls*, *Bishopps* and *Abbotts* is a great bulwarke of the *Papall* Tyrannye. For they being *Princes* and *Gentlemen* of the greatest *Familyes* in all kingdomes, had thereby power, (and [[] for their priuate Interest, no lesse desyre) to vphold the *Corrupt* state of the Church.

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

²⁸ Founded in 1197, the *Ensiferi* or Swordbearers of Livonia were instituted to protect Christians against pagans in the Baltic. They became part of the Teutonic Order in 1238. *CE*

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

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

*Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.
fol:[.3][93].*

nations for the foresaid employment, as they say to be sent into the vineyard, but indeed to breede the seditious subiects of forayne Princes, who may at their superiors Commaund (, to which they vowe blinde obedience without any examining whether the end be lawfull or vnlawfull) be thrust headlong with vnavoydable dangers euen of their Liues, to trouble the peace of such States as dare make opposition to the Papall Tyranny. These fraudes and bulwarkes haue made the Pope dare to despise the Imperiall maiesty, to stirr vpp Ciuill warrs in the Empire, yea to animate /10/ wicked Children of Emperors to take vpp Armes against their fathers, and when by the Imperiall Army ledd to Rome, the Popes at any tyme were compelled to due Conditions of respect, and obedience [vnto] [vpon] their oathes, yet to keepe them no longer then till the Imperiall Army was returned out of Italy, and then to thunder against the Imperials, direfull excommunications made dreadfull by their Clients Sermons and Bookes, by which and like practices, the Popes so vilified and weakned the Emperors, as renouncing their authority from all antiquity to gouerne /20/ chuse and depose Popes, they now by newe and formerly vnknowne example, were forced to receiue that Imperiall Crowne from the Popes fauour, which from the tyme of Charles the great, the Emperors vsed first to putt on at Rome, only for the secrett awfulnes of State, which the old

dignity of that Citty seemed to giue the stile & title whereof they still reteyned, or at least [they] could not obtaine this Crowne without the Popes fauour, or if coming with an Army, they obteyned it by force, and brought the Popes Bishoppes and Princes of *Italy* to subiexion by Armes, /30/ yet all these expeditions were soone made voyd by the foresaid fraudes, and euen by poysoning the Emperors, yea in the very Communicating of the Lords supper. So as their Successors terrifyed with these Tragical events, ceased to medle any more in the gouernment of *Italy*, and sold for mony hereditary Principalities to those Princes, who formerly had gouerned the Territories vnder the Imperiall authority, and likewise the freedome of Citties to the Citizens thereof. Thus the Emperor *Charles* the fourth in the yeare 1378 sold *Milan*, and the Territory to the Vicounts thereof, /40/ and caring more for his kingdome of *Bohemia*, then for the Empire, sold all dignities in *Italy*, whence he could scrape any Treasure, and after in the tymes of other Emperors, the Princes, and Citizens of *Italy*, still bought for mony Confirmations of old, and increases of newe Immunities; For (to my knowledge) only *Venice*, among the Citties of *Italy* hath bene free from the first foundation, For the Citizens thereof, after the fall of the Westerne Empire vppon the invundation of barbarous nations into *Italy*, fledd into the Ilands of that Citty and there reteyned /50/ their liberty, at first with great art temporising with the Emperors of the East, and the kings of

the *Gothes* and *Lumbards* //

fol:94. Booke. i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

and after with the Emperors of the west renewed, so as some of them haue made league and freindshipp with the *Venetians* but neuer any challenged vassalage of them for the Citty itselfe. The Popes by the *Anarchicall* gouernment of *Italy* deuided among Petty Princes and free Citties, by twice dividing the prey of *Italy* once with the *Lombard* kings against the Eastern Emperors, [and] Secondly with the *French* king *Pipin* against the *Lombards*, but especially by the Exchange Pope *Alexander* the sixth made with the *French* king *Lewes* the xijth of spirituall indulgences for temporall aydes, whereby /10/ all *Emilia* and *Flaminia* fell to the Popes subiection, to which they had only pretences by the former practices but neuer gott possession, and likewise by their sowing dissention among the *Italian* Princes, which they well knew with singuler craft to turne to their owne profitt, at least vppon their ostentation of piety being made Arbiters, and reseruing to *St Peter* either some present part of the thing controverted, or [the future succession in these Fees for want of heyres Males, in which sort they long since] to be present lords of the Fee controuerted, to which Princes yeilded, in /20/ hope to enioy it more safely vnder their patronage, and to haue the future succession in those Fees for want of heyres males, in which sort they long since intruded into diuerse Lordshipps and in <our> age haue gott in possession the

rich dukedome of *Ferr<ara>*, I say by these meanes the Popes haue gotten the ample Territoryes called the patrimony of *St Peter*, casting the Family of *Bentiuoli* out of *Bologna*, the ancient Lords of *Perusia* the Family of *Malatasti* out of *Rimini* and *Pesaro*, the *montefeltri* out of *Vrbine*, the *Manfredi* out of *Faenza*, the *Aledosij* out of *Imola*, the Free /30/ Citizens out of *Ancona*, and the *Venetians* out of *Rauenna*. For as for *Rome* the first Emperors of the west gaue them liberty to practice by remouing their seat from thence to the Foote of the *Alpes*, but they neuer gott possession of *Rome* and the Territorye, till they excomunicated the Emperors of the East forbidding the woorshipp of Images, nor enioyed the same without many oppositions made by the kings of *Italy*, nor without many and long rebellions of the *Roman* Citizens. And as for the donation of *Constantine*, they might thereby gett some pretences but neuer gett ought in possession, and indeed it is /40/ thought a meere fable, so as it is a speach vulgarly receiued, that the Pope desyring to see the Charter by which the *Venetians* challenged some priuiledges, and they not being willing to shewe it, should merily answer, that he should finde it written vppon the backsyde of *Constantines* donation.²⁹ To conclude by all the foresaid

²⁹ The Donation of Constantine was a document forged probably in the eighth century to substantiate papal claims to secular power. It purports to date from c. 317. It is to Pope Sylvester from Constantine, the first Christian Roman Emperor, in which he is happy to decamp to Constantinople and to leave the Lateran palace, Rome, Italy and all the

fraudes and practises, the Popes did so establish their tyranny in forayne parts, aswell as in *Italy* it selfe, as this man stiled the Seruant of Gods Seruants, became the lord of Lords euen ouer their Lordes heritage, vsurping supreme power in the vniuersall World, not only in spiri/50/tuall things, but vnder that pretext also in Corporall and Temporall matters, challenging all power in heauen it selfe, and opening the Gates thereof only to them who satisfied their coueteousnes, and obeyed their decrees, finding meanes of pardon, not only for living sinners, but also for the dead, namely //

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

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

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

still in *France*) by the fyer of Purgatory, by masses and watchings.³⁰

And to these polluted fountaynes forsooth of sacred treasures many more might be added, I will only remember one, not least profitable to the Popes Chamber, namely dispensations of mariage, not only for degrees forbidden in the scripture, but for others farr more remoued, which the Popes haue added, lest they should want sinnes to which they might not giue, but sell pardons. To omitt many fowle practices herein as dispencing with incest, lett the Reader obserue /20/ in *Guicciardine* how dearely Pope *Alexander* the sixth sold a dispensation of diuorce to the *french* king *Lewes* the xijth³¹ and read the *french* history, how in the Case of the *french* king *Henry* the fourth, one Pope allowed his first mariage, dispensing with all impediments, and an other Pope pronounced a nullity therein, nothing in the meane tyme being changed in his case, but only the kings his Queenes, and the Popes myndes.³² Now for many ages this beast hath exalted himselfe in the Temple of God to be

³⁰ I have found it impossible to recognize which Huguenot polemicist from the information given.

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

³² Clement VIII's need to counter Spanish influence meant that ultimately he was sympathetic to Henry IV's difficulties.

adored by the kings of the Earth, giuing Cardinalls /30/
the right syde hemm of his garment, to Bishoppes his right
knee, to all others without distinction his shooe to be
kissed in forme of adoration, and prophanely treading the
necks of Emperors and kings vnder his feete.

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

*Iohannes Boterus Benesius*³³ in his politike relations,
while in each Comon wealth he followes the discourse he had
with Natiues and approued Authors generally comes neare the
marke, but in the late differences of religion, [and the
but in the late differences of Religion] and the warrs of
our tyme, and the age before vs, he manifestly declares
/40/ himselfe a Pentioner to *Spaine*, and a vassall to his
Roman Bishopp; For first he calles the Navies of England
and the victories thereof in a long and iust warr with
Spaine, nothing els but Piracye, then howsoeuer he cannot
deny the famous victoryes of the *English* by land in old
tymes, yet in our late warr with *Spayne* he partially
detracts from our actions, and concludes that the *English*
neuer did any famous exployt since Gunns and great
Artillery were in vse, whereas we dare appeale to the
Spaniards //

fol:96. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

themselues what they haue gotten from vs by Armes, and

³³ Botero came from Bene in Piedmont. *State*, p. vii.

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

³⁴ Botero as a good Catholic is hardly likely to extol Protestant victories. He does talk of "The dissoluteness and licence introduced into Germany by Luther and into England by Calvin..." *State*, p. 156, but he is level headed enough to recognize English maritime expertise, *Breviat*, pp. 16 - 17.

thought good to recall him, and so were in tyme by foraine forces brought absolutely vnder its yoake. And he forgetts that among the *Iewes* the Tribe of the *Leuites* having the Tythes, had no inheritance in the land divided among the other, Tribes,³⁵ And that Christ forbad his Apostles to be temporall lords, as vnfitt for their office and that St. *Peter* himselfe, forbad his Fellow ministers /30/ to vsurpe any lordshipp ouer Christs flock.³⁶ He saith that the kingdomes of England, and *Ireland* belong to the Pope in Fee, because king *John* was forced to yeild to the Popes Tyranny, but he nor any king, euer had power to alienate or giue away his Successors right.³⁷

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

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

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

³⁷ I cannot find this reference. King *John* (1199 - 1216) had to surrender his kingdoms to *Innocent III* to get the interdict lifted in 1213. Davis, p. 309.

&c,³⁸ For christ /40/ sent all his Apostles as his father sent him, and so *Peter* had only a ioynt Commission with the rest and his Successors if they challenge a more ample Commission must require more then was giuen [to] [by] Christ by his father. And indeed he can proue no authority giuen to the Bishopp of *Rome* by the scriptures, but only in his owne diocess. He saith that Pope *Xistus* the 4th bragged that in regard of the Clerkes and monckes acknowledging the Pope for their Prince, he could neuer want mony, so long as he had [a] hand and penn to demmaund it.³⁹ Lett him remember how viustly⁴⁰ the Popes /50/ gott this power ouer the Clergie, and monckes in preiudice of their right kings and lords. He adds that *Pope Pius* the 4th gathered 400th thousand Crownes of the Clergie, and religious orders.⁴¹ Lett him consider how much all men //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:97.
repined in all ages of the Popes tyranny at these great extortions, and remember with what scandall *Leo* the tenth

³⁸ "And I will giue vnto thee the keis of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt binde vpon earth, shall bee bounde in heauen: and whatsoeuer thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heauen." Matthew 16. 19, and "Verely I say vnto you, Whatsoeuer yee binde on earth, shall bee bound in heauen: and whatsoeuer ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heauen." Matthew 18. 18.

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

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

⁴¹ Pius IV (1559 - 1564). I cannot find this reference but Moryson may be confusing his pontiffs.

expected mony,⁴² and the great defection following whereby the Popes haue lost the ample reuenues they were wont to draw from *Germany, England,* and other great dominions. He saith that no Tribunall on earth is aboue the Popes; yet the scriptures teach that *St. Paul* appealed to the Tribunall of *Cæsar*,⁴³ and historyes witnes, that Pope *Gregory* the great called the Eastern Emperor his lord.⁴⁴ And lett him remember that all the power the Popes haue /10/ is grounded vppon pretended rights graunted from *Tyrants* and vsurpers, as the Emperor *Phocas* killing [himselpe] his lord and master, and *Pipin* of *Fraunce*, and such Princes vsurping States from the right heyres, whose parts the Popes euer followed as most skilfull to fish in troubled waters.⁴⁵ He saith the Pope in matters of faith is

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

⁴³ "I appeale vnto Cesar", Acts 25. 11.

⁴⁴ Gregory I (590 - 604).

⁴⁵ To Moryson this is a further Papal blasphemy. Christ wanted his followers to be fishers of men. See Mark 1. 17, and Matthew 4. 19. Phocas and Pepin are two examples crucial to the central thesis of Protestant historiography on the human (as opposed to divine) origins of Papal power. They were repeated at the set-piece treason trial of the Gunpowder plotters where the whole case against Catholicism was reheared before sentence. "*Phocas* a lasciuious faithlesse tyrant, wickedly embrued with the slaughter of *Mauritius* his master, wife, and heires..." sig. 2M2r, joined "*Zacharie* the Pope [who] deposed *Childericke* of *Fraunce*, for nothing else there specified *Sed quia Inutila*, but onely for that he was reputed vnprofitable to gouerne." sig. T4r. See *A true and perfect relation of the proceedings at the severall arraignmentes of the late traitors (Guy Fawks, H. Garnett)* (London, 1606), [STC 11618]. For a modern assessment of these events see Davis,

of absolute authority, from which appeales to generall Councells are not lawfull. Yet in the first Councells, he had no authority aboue other Bishoppes, and by late Councells out of *Italy* Popes haue bene condemned of Crimes and /20/ heresyes and for the same deposed. And it is a ridiculous argument whereby he proues the Emperors power, [whereby he proues] inferior to the Popes [because that Emperors are limited by oathe at their] Coronation, but the Popes power is neither by Councells, nor any other way limitable, for if this were not most false, the Popes would not so often haue bene frighted with Councells called by the Emperors, as wee read them to haue bene in many histories and namely *Guiccardines*,⁴⁶ all compiled by men of the *Roman* Religion And St, *Bernard*⁴⁷ of the same religion prescribes many due limitts to a iust Bishopp of *Rome*, wherein it were to be wished they would /30/ contayne

pp. 126 - 133, and John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium: The early Centuries* (Harmondsworth, 1988), pp. 277 - 283.

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

⁴⁷ St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090 - 1153), controversialist, mystic, and preacher of the Second Crusade. *CE*

themselves. He boldly saith the Popes feed the Flock by doctrine, sacraments and example[s]; and with the same breath he addes that they doe this by deputies, making belike the Pope Christs vicar, and all other Clerkes the Popes vicars. It is too manifest what dumbe teachers the Popes haue beene for almost a thousand yeares. And for the Sacraments how they feede, to omitt many other inuentions that one decree shall witness by which the Communion in one kinde of bread is commaunded notwithstanding that Christ instituted it in two kindes of bread and wyne, and the primi/40/tiue Church, so gaue the lords supper. What examples of good life most of the Popes haue beene, I appeale to the best Historians and Poetts of *Italy, Germany* and *Fraunce* all of the *Roman* religion. If he doe these offices by deputies, that substitute who makes another substitute, and that continually, ill deserues the title [the] of Christs vicar. He saith that the Pope defends the flock from the wolfe as from Heretikes but a wise obseruer shall finde, that the Popes doe not so much oppugne⁴⁸ old wicked heresyas as new heresyas of their owne making, and Coyning as the heresy to deny, that the Pope may /50/ depose kings and absolue subiects from the oath of allegiance, the heresy in a layman to giue a Benefice in a Clergyman to take it of his guift, which by old positions

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

of diuinity were not thought heresy, as by the same Historians may appeare, and since the Popes haue graunted the Collation of Benefices to the kings of *Fraunce* and to others for the tyme, either it is no heresy so to giue and take them, or Popes haue done as wickedly in //

fol:98. Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

permitting a knowne heresy, as they did [at] first, in wresting that right from Princes and laymen, and appropriating it to themselues. He adds that the Popes roote out heresy by Synodes and Councells. But lett him read *Sigonius* a Popish writer and Pentioner, confessing the Pope to haue forced the Fathers by feare and threats to consent to his decrees; Lett him read the same *Sigonius* and other Popish Historians confessing from the mouth of all good and best learned Christians, that the Church had great need of reformation, especially in the head thereof, and witnessing that the Antichristian /10/ Popes of the last rancks aboue named abhorring from nothing more then from a generall Councell[s] in a free vnsuspected place, neuer calling them but at *Rome* or places vnder their power, except they were sometymes called elsewhere against their wills. He adds that the Popes not preuailing by Synods and Councells against heresy, were forced to flye to excommunication, deliuering the excommunicated ouer to the sword of secular Princes, and so had destroyed the *Albigois*

in *Fraunce*.⁴⁹ Yet if he had read *Sigonius*, *Guicciardine* and other Historians of the *Roman* Religion, he might haue found /20/ Popes and Cardinalls vsing this temporall sword with their owne hands, I confesse rarely with good successe, the Popes and Cardinalls having Commonly bene taken prisoners, or suffered great Calamityes in their persons. But this deliuering ouer to the secular sword, hath bene a faire Cloake for ambitious Princes, of which protecting the Church, the *Spaniards*, none of the oldest Christians haue in these Corrupt tymes made profitable vse aboute others. *St. Paul* excommunicated the incestuous person, but was so farr from animating any man to kill him, as having left his soule in that /30/ fearefull state for Gods iudgments, he soone had Compassion on him. But these Popes not content to exclude men from heauen, doe presently without giving space of repentance raise vpp temporall persecution against them. You shall not finde a Pope of the third or last ranck excommunicate any Prince, but he hath first rayseed vpp a temporall enemy to take Armes against him, so as we finde in their leagues with temporall kings and Princes expresse Conditions, that assoone as the temporall sword is ready to be drawne, the Pope shall giue the Alarim with their thunderbolts, not /40/ to speake of their inconstancy in the same warrs to flye from syde to syde, and vse the same

⁴⁹ The Albigensians, a heretical sect living in the south of France, were crushed with exceeding brutality from 1209 - 1213. Since they were heretics, the war was pronounced a 'crusade'. Davis, pp. 350 - 352.

thunderbolts now against one, then the other part, as if a Prince were presently to be deliuered ouer to Sathan, assoone as the Pope for his priuate auayle had left his party, without doing any ill act against religion. Surely if they had confidence that God would power his iudgments on those they excommunicate, they would not take such Care to be seconded by seculer power. Besides the best historyes witnes that the *Albigois* were only dispersed and in our age grew strong againe in *Fraunce*, and there suffered /50/ for profession of the truth the persecutions, which we haue heard of and seene.⁵⁰ He proues the temporall power to be inferior to the spirituall power, by the examples of *Samuell*, creating *Saul* king, and after deposing him, and of *Elias* creating many kings of *Israell*. But it is one thing to create, an other to anoynt, one thing to depose, another to denounce Gods sentence of deposition. And these Prophetts were warranted //

{ c.w. for their }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:99.

their doing by Gods expresse Comaundement, whereas howsoeuer wee read some of the Popes to haue bene Coniurers

⁵⁰ Moryson obviously thinks the Albigensians to be like the Lollards or Hussites, precursors of the Reformation. They believed that only God the Spirit was perfect, the material world was evil, so Christ could not have been incarnated. Davis, p. 350.

and familiar with the diuell;⁵¹ yet not one of them hath made knowne any such speciall Commission, for these were speciall actions of those Prophetts, not generally practiced by all. Neither did *Samuell* raise vpp warrs and seditions against *Saul*, as Popes vse to doe in like cases, nor yet absolue the Israelites from the bond of allegiance to *Saul*, as they doe, but when he had denounced Gods sentence against him, he left to God the Execution which was not done till long after, and that when *Samuell* was dead.⁵² /10/ And for the superiority of kings ouer Preists and ecclesiasticall affayres for the forme and order of them, lett him remember that both the Trumpetts were giuen to *Moses* though *Aaron* had vse of one to call the Congregation at the appointment of *Moses*, yea it is expresly said to *Moses*, both the Trumpetts shalbe to thee, he shall be thy Prophet, and thou shalt be his.⁵³ When the Booke of God was found, it was brought to the king of

⁵¹ Moryson means a raiser of spirits. In Barnabe Barnes's, *The Devil's Charter*, edited by Jim C. Pogue (New York, 1980), lines 1130 - 1131, Cardinal Ascanio sneers at Alexander VI,

Blasphemous exorsist, heere are no diuills
Which thou canst conjure, with thy diuillish spirit.
The play had been performed before James I on 2 February 1607. Moryson might have been present at Court representing the interests of himself or his late master's wife, Penelope Rich. However, the Borgias became part of Protestant myth, and another rod with which to beat the Catholics.

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

⁵³ The making of the trumpets occurs in Numbers 10. 1 - 10. Aaron being Moses' prophet is in Exodus 7. 1.

Iudah, and he published it, *Dauid* ordered the seruices of the Preists and singers, and *Salomon* deposed one high Preist (being a Type of Christ, farr aboue his pretended vicar) and /20/ gaue that office to another.⁵⁴ He brings many examples of Popes excommunicating Emperors, [but they are most of late tymes. The Popes reuerenced the Heathen Emperors,] and no lesse the Christian[s] for many hundred yeares, and ether the succeeding Emperors became woorse then the heathen, or the succeeding Popes degenerated from their Predecessors. And no doubt it is a most weake argument, that because a thing hath often bene done, therefore it may lawfully be done. He brings like examples of many Emperors disobedient to Popes that were vnfortunate. No Maruell, since the Popes persecuted and brought them to misery, for otherwise I finde [...] [no] kings [more] [as] rich and glorious, /30/ then those that raigned before the Papall tyrannye, or since haue cast of that yoake. And he could not haue instanced a worse example then that of the *French* king *Henry* the third, in Gods iust iudgment killed by a Fryer, because he commaunded the Cardinall of *Guise* to be strangled. For first he records an horrible Act against a Fryer, and this king was a most superstitious Papist, or seemed so, and without doubt was of no other religion, and for the strangling of the

⁵⁴ "So Salomon cast out Abiathar from being Priest vnto the Lorde, that he might fulfill the wordes of the Lorde, which hee spake against the house of Eli in Shiloh." I Kings 2. 27. Abiathar was a political priest.

Cardinall, the French histories make both the kings and his killing to be the iust iudgment of God /40/ to both, in that they were great Actors in the most bloody massacre[s] of *Fraunce*, whereof not one escaped without exemplary iudgment. But perhappes he doth not so well beleeeue the histories as the Mapp in *Sala Regia* of the Popes Pallace, where myselfe did reade this Massacre approved by the Pope for a holy religious act.⁵⁵ He brings for prooffe of the Popes power, the Examples of kings and Princes acknowledging those tytles not from Emperors, but from Popes, and willingly making their dominions tributary to [St] *Peter*,. The first Example, he brings of the first kinde /50/ fell about a thousand yeares after Christ, and the rest long after, when the Popes did beate downe the Emperors reputation, and exalted their owne, and so wittnesse the //

fol:i00. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

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

⁵⁵ Moryson relates how shocked he was in 1594 on his visit to Rome to see this in the kingly hall or *Sala Regia*, "I wondred to see the Massacre of Paris painted upon the wall, with the Popes inscription greatly commending that detestable cruelty." *Itinerary A*, I, 280.

being commonly Arbiters in Princes Controuersies, one of the Competitors to haue his fauour should yeild to the intayling of his principality to the *Roman* Church after the heyres males of his body should faile. It is most ridiculous that he makes the Popes /10/ the only Peacemakers among Christian Princes, and cheife defendors of Christendome from the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, For the most approued *Historians* of the very *Roman* Religion witness, that the Popes of the last ranck from 600th yeares past, haue bene the only makebates,⁵⁶ raysers of Warr, and sowers of sedition, in kingdomes they ment to bring vnder their yoake. When they were to breake the Emperors, they gaue *Fraunce* and other kingdomes rest; but that being broken, all the rest had a share in their turbulent practises. So as most worthy *Petrarch* /20/ could not to forbear to say (though they haue rased it, and many like speeches out of his sonnetts) that the *Roman* Church in playne termes was in his dayes

Nido di tradimento in cui si cuoa

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

The nest of treason, where wee hatred see

All ill, that through the world dispersed bee.⁵⁷

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

⁵⁷ Three censored sonnets by Petrarch, numbers 106 to 108 form the preliminary matter to *Two Discourses of Master Frances Guicciardin, which are wanting in the thirde and fourth Bookes of his Historie* translated by W. I. (London,

For their defence against *Sarracens* and *Turkes* it concernes the Popes deeply for their owne sakes to keepe them as farr as they can from *Italy*. And otherwise the most can be /30/ said, is their perswading of expeditions into the holy Land, whereof the *Historians* so write, as they giue manifest suspitions, that the Popes intentions were not sincere in furthering them, since thereby they exposed the Emperors and kings with their vassalls and freinds to great dangers and certaine expence of treasure, euer sending out those they loued least, while in the meane tyme they not only practised against their good successe abroad, but kept their owne freinds at home, daily growing more abundant in riches, and stronger in faction. Besides that the Popes /40/ made priuate vse of theise soldiers in their passage, to subdue their rebellious Citizens of *Rome*, and for like purposes. Likewise by these expeditions they dispersed the forces of Princes, when with vnite power they should rather haue broken the Popes power before it had gotten strength to breake them. Not to speake of many other suspected ends,

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

Oh neast of sinne, wherein now hatched is,

That euill which through al the world is spread...

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

Thou neast of treasons, wherein hatched lies

All mischiefes broached through our Hemisphere...

manifestly inferred by the Historians of these tymes. He concludes that the Pope hath no superior, but only God, nor any æquall vppon earth, his power being seated beyond the wayes of the yeare and the Sunne. Behold the Pope not con/50/tent with the lott of *Iupiter* and *Neptune*, but intruding also vppon the Inheritance of *Pluto*.⁵⁸ And I conclude that no doubt his power was so transcendent, and built vppon so strong pillers of policy, as it seemed vnresistable & everlasting, had not God [b] disposed of them to breake downe their owne //

Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:[i9i2]
101

woorke with their owne hands.⁵⁹ First by their insatiable auarice, while they invaded the temporall Inheritances of laymen, and sett the deliuerance from Hell the possession of heauen, all humane and diuine happines at sale to him to him that would giue most, though otherwise he deserued least. Seconly by their monstrous ambition and pryde, the Popes treading vnder their feete the neckes of Emperors and kinges, and the Bishops at home dominering ouer them in their owne dominions, wherein the Foxes were not so wise

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

⁵⁹ There is a ghost of a reference here to Samson destroying himself by pushing over the pillars. See Judges 16. 29 - 30. Tetzal was sent on a sales campaign of indulgences into the German states, and Luther challenged the need for indulgences for money when the Grace of Christ is free.

as to lett the lyons sleepe. Thirdly by theire thunderbolts of excom/10/munication more frequent then the thunderbolts of Iupiter, euen in matters of State not concerning Religion, whereby these censures grewe in contempt:⁶⁰ for Seneca sayth truly, Seuerity leeseth the sole prop it hath of authority by continuall vse,⁶¹ Fourthly by horrible schyismes among the Popes and great Church men, whereby they being often deuided, bitterly rayled against the other on sermones and written bookes, both for impure life and doctrynes, laying open the same and the hipocrisye of their fayned deuotions, which otherwise lay men had not so easily perceaued. [deuotions]. Yea many Popes rying vpp at one tyme, setting /20/ in diuerse Cittyes and kingdomes, obiected horrible Crymes and heresyces one against the other, and excomunicated on the other thereby teaching laymen to detest their persons, and to despise their excommunications. Lasty by their insulting ouer laymen, while they excluded them out of the Chancells, as vnholly

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

⁶¹ "...severitas, quod maximum remedium habet, adsuitate amittit auctoritatem", Seneca, *De Clementia*, I. xxii. 2. See Seneca, *Moral Essays*, 3 vols (London, 1928 - 1935), I (1928) 418 - 419. FB's translation differs from Moryson, "Severity, because it has the greatest remedy, by continual use loses its authority."

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

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

⁶³ There are many candidates for underhand massacres, but one of the most notorious was the attempt against the Servite Friar Paolo Sarpi whose defense of Venice and himself against Papal excommunications, and his subsequent *History of the Council of Trent* earned him great Protestant and Venetian respect. It was as if the Roman Church were declaring war on all dissenting intellectuals. See John Leon Lievsay, *Venetian Phoenix: Paolo Sarpi and Some of His English Friends* (Kansas, 1973), pp. 1 - 85.

plotting in *England* a diuelish way by Gunpowder to blow vpp
at a blast the kings Maiestie: with all the bloud Royall,
and Lords temporall and spirituall assembled in Parliament.
In which kingdome (I may boldly say) no law hath bene made
against Papists, but prouoked by their owne actions. Thus
they made cleare that Antichrist was come, whereof many
before doubted, and as great troopes were at first /50/
converted to Christ by the Apostles miracles, so now
kingdomes and Prouinces at once fled out of *Babilon*, and
seperated themselues from Communion with the *Roman*
Church.⁶⁴ For not to speake of *Greekes*, and Eastern
christians neuer obedient to the *Roman* church, it is
wonderfull that in lesse, then one //

fol:[i923] i02 Booke i. The common wealth of Italy.
Chap:iiii.

hundred yeares space more then halfe *Europe* hath shaken of
the Popes yoake. I speake of the number of persons, not
Compassse of land, lest any man should obiect the desert
kingdomes of *Spaine*, and the Colonies of the *Indies*. So as
they remayne vnder that yoke, find it more easy, having
Pardons and *Roman* graces at better rates, perhappes in some
places freely. For that wolfe stripped of his lyons skinn,
doth not roare as he was wont, and it cannot be but that

⁶⁴ All of this is influenced by Moryson's reading in Revelations. There is no doubt that he regards the Papacy as Antichrist, the Whore of Babylon complete with Imperial pretensions, "And the woman which thou sawest, is the great citie, which reigneth ouer the kings of the earth." Revelations 17. 18.

Roman Crowe spoyled in part of the Imperiall Eagles Feathers, and likely to haue the /10/ rest in short tyme pulled away, wilbe exposed naked to laughter, and woorse Calamityes.⁶⁵

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁷ The events referred to happened in 418. Eulalius (418 - 419) is known as an anti - Pope, Boniface I was Pope from 418 until 422. *EWB*

⁶⁸ Symmachus (498 - 514) is listed as a Pope and Laurentius (498 - 505) as an anti - Pope in *EWB*.

Bishopp euen since the Cardinalls had that /50/ power, in which tyme if lesse bloud hath bene shedd, & lesse open force vsed, surely the Corruption of bribery and crafty // *Booke.i. The Common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:[i094] i03.*

practises haue more abounded. But to proceede particularly the old Empire of the west destroyed by barbarous nations being renewed in the *French* king *Charles* the great, both he and his race in *Fraunce* and his Successors in *Germany*, till after *Otho* the third did all name the Popes, except sometymes they gaue the Clergie, and the people of *Rome* leaue to chuse them. *Pope Gregory* the seauenth chosen in the yeare 1073 did first bend himselfe seriously to beat downe the Emperors power, and beginning with his election by the People and the Clergie, extorted that power from the Emperor /10/ *Henry* the fourth. From that day till the Imperiall power was fully broken, the Pope seldome blessed, but often cursed the Emperors persecuting them for this right, and for very temporall power they challenged aboue them. After the election of Popes by the people and Clergy of *Rome* seldome falling out peaceable, some power in the election was giuen to the Cardinalls, by consent of the Clergie and people, which by degrees was increased, till at last in the yeare 1274 at the Councell of *Lyons* in the tyme of *Pope Gregory* the Tenth, the /20/ sole power of this election was confirmed to the Cardinalls alone. Euer since many hath borne sway in that election, not only kings

Ambassadors giuing the Cardinalls great bribes, to chuse some man they best liked, but also the freinds of the Competitors ingaging their patrimonyes, and giuing all the mony they could make to preferr their kinsman, knowing he would amply reward, and raise their fortunes when he was chosen. And as they avoyd to chuse a Pope of great freinds, lest he should oppress them, so more often to sell their voyces, they /30/ alwayes chuse an old man and one that is sickly or at least faynes him selfe so to be, as some haue done. The Cardinalls are alwayes distracted by Princes factions, and in tyme of warr when Armyes are in *Italy*, they follow the stronger part, yet Popes so chosen against their myndes, commonly by sicknes or poyson dye soone after. At the first institution of these Cardinalls to be Electors, they were to be shutt vpp in the Chamber where the Pope dyed, no man being admitted to speake with any of them, and all Cautions were vsed, that they should receiue /40/ no messages or letters, and if they agreed not within three dayes, many write that for five dayes after, each Cardinall had only one dish at a meale, and if in that tyme they agreed not, they had only bread wyne and water till a Pope was chosen by them. The Pope being dead, they were tyed to expect for tenn dayes the coming of absent Cardinalls, which notwithstanding coming after, the Conclaue was shutt, were admitted to enter. This forme was confirmed by *Clement* the fifth chosen about the yeare //

{ c.w. i305, with }

fol:[i95] i04 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy
Chap:iiii.

i305. with expresse prohibition that the same in the vacancy should not be altered by the Cardinalls; yet Pope *Clement* the sixth chosen in the yeare i342, added some moderations aswell about the partition of the Cardinalls Celes where the Cardinalls did seuerally eate and sleepe, and the furniture thereof, as for their diett, and like things. At this day the Custome is, that when the Pope is dead, the Cardinalls putt on a peculier garment in signe of their Iurisdiction, and the people taking Armes, keepes the gates of the Citty, the Cardinalls Pallaces, and /10/ like places. The first and second day, the Cardinalls consult of publike affayres, and of preparing the Conclaue, in which they are to meet, then the deade[s] Popes body is brought to St. *Peters* Church, except he haue appointed some other Church for his buriall, which is reusted⁶⁹ in *pontificall* habitt, and in solemne presence of the Cardinalls layd vppon a bedstead like a Beere, and so exposed to the people to kisse his feet. But historyes witnes that their bodyes haue bene sometymes handled by the people with lesse reuerence, yea with dispitefull malice in the highest /20/ kinde, and not to speake of other examples famously knowne, in the last age, the people flocked to see the body of Pope *Alexander* the sixth as a monster depriued of his deadly

⁶⁹ "1. a. Arrayed in ecclesiastical vestments" *OED*

sting, and freely powred horrible curses vppon him. The third day of the vacation,⁷⁰ the Ambassadors of the Emperor, kings and absolute Princes are admitted to commend him to the Cardinalls, whome they iudge fittest to be Pope, wherein they respect their owne masters affayres. In the vacancy the great Chamberlane gouernes *Rome*, but nothing can be dispatched in the Chauncerye, /30/ For assoone as the Pope is dead, the vicechauncellor calles in the Bulls and Seales, and rayseth the *Popes* name ingrauen on one syde of them, and so defaced past vse, giues them to the keeping of his owne *Chamberlane*. The offices of the great Chamberlane, and great Penitentiarye⁷¹ only remayne stable in the vacancye. After the Funeralls on the nynth day they celebrate the masse of the holy Ghost (as they call it). Then the Cardinalls enter the Conclauē, contayning the most fayre Chappell of Pope *Sixtus quintus*, proper to the Popes Court and /40/ the *Pauline* Chappell, and the *Sala Regia*, that is the kingly Hall, seated betweene these Chappells, all diuided by Trauerses of Arras cloth, as into monasticall Cells, for the Cardinalls lodgings. Thus ent<err>ed, they meete in the *Pauline* Chappell, and take

⁷ i.e. of the Papacy being vacant.

⁷¹ Moryson explains on fol. 109 that the Great Penitentiary "hath vnder his power all dispensations, absolutions, Indulgences and guiftes (may I not say sales) of Benefices and Bishoppricks (the very Cardinalls giuing a feeling thanckfulnes to the Pope himselfe before they be created), and the profitts of Resignations and Alienations."

the oathe of those that keepe the Passages within and without the Conclaue, which as yet remaynes open, that Ambassadors may negotiate their Masters Requests about the Election. The next day it is shutt, so as no man may enter but only a Cardinall arriuing at *Rome*, and all messages or letters are excluded. Vnderstand /50/ that only the Cardinalls that are Bishoppes, Preists or deacons //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:[i96] i05.

haue power in this election, though the Cardinall Archduke of *Austria* being only Subdeacon had a voyce in the choyce of Pope *Sixtus quintus* by a speciall priuiledge giuen him from *Pope Gregory* the xiiijth. The inclosed Cardinalls haue their diett daily serued in at a window, with curious search that no letters be conuayed in the dishes or otherwise. Each Cardinall may haue two attendants, which are called Conclauists. The next day after the Conclaue is shutt, the Deane of the Cardinalls after masse sung, distributes to them the Sacrament of the Alter, which donne they all /10/ meete in the *Pauline* chappell, and by a statute of Pope *Pius* the fourth, each one giues his oath before the Master of the Ceremonies. Each day after some one of the Cardinalls sings a masse in the *Pauline* Chappell (which they call the masse of the holy Ghost) and then they meet for the choyce of the Pope. This Election hath bene and is made by Comprimise, by scrutiny and by adoration. That of Comprimise is worne out of fashion, as they say,

because the Cardinall of [Saint] *Eustacius*, having many voyces compromitted to him, chose himselfe Pope, who was called *Iohn* the /20/ xxiiijth.⁷² In scrutiny each man writes his voyce in a folded paper, and in this as other manners of election, two third parts of the Cardinalls must agree vppon the choyce of one man, or the voyces giuen for that day are made voyd. Sometymes the scrutinye is made voyd by the coming of the Cardinalls, that is when renouncing written voyces, they come in person to him they chuse. They haue a third manner of scrutinye, and as the first kinde is called *secrett*, because they secretly giue their written voyces, so this is called *open*, because each /30/ man openly in the assembly, and with a loud voyce pronounceth by word of mouth the man he chuseth. The election by adoration, is when the Cardinalls assembled turne to him they chuse, and fall vppon their knees before him. And howsoeuer they compare this election to that which was anciently tearmed by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, which this generall Consent of all in one mynde seemes to inferr; yet it is not reputed so good and lawfull as that by scrutiny, because the example of many cheife Cardinalls consenting in one /40/ man, often drawes many of the Inferiors obseruing their Concourse, and fearing he wilbe chosen without them, to be carryed by the presse to this

⁷² The anti - Pope John XXIII (1410 - 1415) was deposed by the Council of Constance which he had been forced to call. *EW*

adoration, and so to make him Pope whome they neuer ment to chuse when they came to the meeting, lest they incurr equall danger of the Elects displeasure by vnchearefull [displeasure] coming among the last, as if they stood out with the rest that giue no consent to his election. The man thus chosen by two third parts of the Cardinalls, either by scrutiny or adoration is Pope, and presently the cheife of the Bishopps /50/ Cardinalls goes to signify vnto him, that he is chosen, and then all the rest rise to congratulate him, and putting a white vesture vppon him, giue him the Ring of the Fisher, and pray him to make knowne by what name he wilbe //

fol:[i96] i06 The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

called. For the Popes alwayes chaunge their owne names and one obserues well, that commonly they chuse a name contrary to their nature, as to be called *Leo*, when they are timerous by nature, and *Clement* when they are feirce and cruell, and *Boniface* when they haue a crabbed countenance. And this Custome hath bene from the yeare [\] 844, (as they write) when the Chosen Pope called Hogsface (or a name of that sence) tooke the name of *Sergus* the second. Then the cheife of the deacon Cardinalls opening the windowe, putts out a Crosse, and Cryes to the people /10/ with a loude voyce, *I tell you of great ioy, we haue a Pope.* The most reuerent C. E.⁷³ is chosen the cheife Bishopp and hath

⁷³ The "E" here is a specimen initial, but may stand for *exemplum*.

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

⁷⁴ The Reverend J. Clifford Culshaw tells me *Haram* is Hebrew for "devoted to God and therefore to be destroyed", which fits neatly with Moryson's view of the Pope as Anti-Christ. FB quotes from Niemayer's *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* which gives *ara(m)* = *hara(m)* = *porcherie* = pigsty, the obvious place for Hogsface. See above. Professor Brian Pullan's suggestion was that the word was *tiara* (or *tiaram* in the accusative case), a symbol Papal power. However, the 't' would be of an unusual form for Hand One. *Regnum* means sovereignty. Clovis, who was baptised c.496 - 506, was the first Christian Frankish King. Davis, p. 48.

thus passeth the glory of the world, and many such like. In the last place this Pope makes a solemne prosession to *St. Iohn Lateran,* and he feasts the Cardinalls. They say that in our age the place of Election is changed into the large roomes of *St. Peters Pallace.*

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

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

had bene suiter for a Bishopprick.⁷⁵ But to returne to the purpose, the Senate of the Pope and //

[fol:94.] *The comon wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol [i08i] i07*

Cardinalls, is vulgarly called the Consistory. The Cardinalls were of old only xij after the number of the Apostles, and sometymes more, according to the number of the Parishes of *Rome*, whereof they were *Curates*, men of small or no reputation, the redd hatt scarlett gowne, and all things of dignity being later inuentions. Now the number is farr greater, having beene increased by diuerse Popes so as in our age 70 haue bene made at one tyme, and alwayes some places are kept voyd to gratify great persons About the tyme whereof I write, they reckoned seuen /10/ Bishopp Cardinalls, namely the Cardinall of *d'Ostia* (who consecrates and installes the new Popes; Cardinall *Porticese*, Cardinall *d'Albe*, Cardinall *Prænestine*, Cardinall *Tusculane*, Cardinall de *Sabin*, and Cardinall de *Sant: Rusina*: These sett neere the Pope, when himselfe celebrates Masse, and assist him therein at Festiualls in *St. Iohn Lateran*. They reckoned 5i Preist Cardinalls, who

⁷⁵ "Celà fut cause que ie retarday vn peu mon voyage pour auoir licence de sa Saincteté, laquelle il m'accorda & signa de sa main, mettant au bas: Fiat vt petitur, & pour l'absolution de tous pechez, il escriuit plus au bas, fiat fælix. Et comme ie pensois estre depesché apres qu'il l'eust signee, ie fus esbahy qu'elle passa par autant de mains/ comme faict l'expedition d'vn benefice, sçauoir par celle du Sous-dataire, des Visiteurs, Reuisiteurs, Cardinal Dataire, & au Registre, tant qu'en icelle y auoit onze signatures." Book I Chapter 25, sigs. H7r - H7v.

serue in the Cheife Churches of *Rome*, seauen at a Church, and assist the Pope when he sings masse. And they reckoned ii deacon Cardinalls, who attayre the /20/ Pope when he sings masse and serue[s] him at the Alter. This Senate of old assembled twice, now meetes but once a weeke, and they consult of the election of ArchBishopps Patriarkes, Bishopps &c of faith and of all great matters, concerning religion, and of preseruing and increasing the spirituall and temporall Patrimony of the Pope. And in this Senate all kings and absolute Princes, haue their Proctors to manage their affayres, And all petitions haue their answers sealed with the Apostolicall subscription which they carry /30/ to the vice Chauncerie, where they receiue answer in writing conformable to that was sealed vpp in the Consistory.

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

Touching the Popes priuate temporall State or Power in *Italy* called *St. Peters* Patrimony: First I haue shewed, that as the donation of *Constantine* is thought fabulous; so at the best it is only a pretended title, For the Popes enioy no temporall principality from such ancient tymes, howsoeuer in later tymes the pretence of that old title might giue some Coulor to their vsur/40/pations, But at this day the Pope hath the Prouinces of *Latium*, and *Spoletto* (or *Vmbria*), first invaded at his casting the Easterne Emperors out of *Italy*, and after in [a] long process of tyme confirmed. The Prouinces of *Romania* (or *Flaminia*) of

Morchio, of *Emilia* (or *Lombardia di qua del Po*) and of *Bononia*;⁷⁶ all challenged by old titles from *Constantine*, and *Charles* the great, but first possessed with Armes in the tyme of *Pope Alexander* the sixth, by the ayde of the french king *Lewes* the xijth. some hundred yeares past: and the dukedome of *Ferraria* /50/ //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol [98]
i08 [fol:99]

falling to the Pope as lord of the Fee for want of heyres males within lesse then Twenty yeares last past before the writing hereof, yet with Composition to giue in Fee to the last dukes base sonne, and his heyres males, the Cittie of *Modena* and some small Inheritances. All these Territories lye close together all the breadth of *Italy* and in the midst thereof from one Sea to the other, only the dukedome of *Vrbine* (whereof the Pope is Feaudatorie lord) lying betweene them, and towards the East they border on the kingdome of *Naples*, as towards the west, on /10/ the dukedome of *Florence* and the Free State of *Venice*. Herein are numbred Fifty or more Cittyes, but excepting *Roma*, *Bologna* and *Ferraria*, most of them deserue scarcely the names of Townes, howsoever they are poorely walled, and graced with Bishoppricks, And the Pope hath in them only two hauens, namely *Ancona* vppon the *Adriatique* Sea, and *Ciuita Vecchia* vppon the *Tirrhene* Sea, where the Hauen of

⁷⁶ "...Romagna, Flaminia, the Marches, Emilia (or Lombardy from here to the River Po) and of Bologna..."

the *Tyber* at *Ostia*, hath in the old Emperors tymes, bene stopped with *Obelisks* that no enemyes might sodenly come by sea to *Rome*, and now *Tyber* ends there in a /20/ lake, where only small boates can enter. Besides the Pope hath from the first kinde of possession *Beneuentum*, with the Territory thereof in the kingdome of *Naples*, and by the guift of a Queene of *Naples* he hath *Auignone* in the kingdome of *Fraunce*. He hath many Princes to his vassalls, as the king of *Naples*, the king of *Sicily*, and the dukes of *Vrbine*, of *Parma*, and of *Massarine*.¹¹ And as I haue shewed, that the Popes neuer wanted art, nor force to intrude to be lords of Principalities by Fee, so when they fall voyd for want of heyres males, the people willingly /30/ become the Popes Subiects, as some what more milde lords then the Princes of *Italy* are, who always oppresse them with greuious exactions. The foresaid Territories are fertile and yeild plenty of victualls did they not permitt transportation to feede other adioyning Prouinces. The banished men on the borders of the kingdome of *Naples* not farr distant from *Rome*, doe much afflict these parts, but *Sixtus quintus* first found a remedy against them by rewards of mony and their owne pardons for killing one an other, whereby they are ielous of an other and are soone broken. /40/ The rents of the patrimony of *St Peter* are much alienated yet are said to yeild yearely a million and halfe Crownes into the

¹¹ Massarosa ?

Popes Chamber.⁷⁸ Touching some particulers.

The Customes of *Rome* all deductions

made yearely yeild-----17000. Crownes

The Triennall Subsidy of *Marchia*-----14958. Crownes

In augmentation-----9912. Crownes

The Triennall Subsidy of *Rome* all

deductions made &c-----29758 Crownes.

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

Of *Latium* or *Campagna di Roma* all

deducted-----13632. Crownes

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

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

} //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol.i09.

Taxes of horses in *Marchia*-----77221. Crownes.

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

Besides these particuler reuenues vulgarly in good relations thus esteemed, and many others omitted, the Popes haue reserued rents for feudatory Prouinces. As namely for the kingdome of *Naples* of old as some write 48000 ducates, but I finde in *Guicciardine* and the french Historiographer *Iohn de Serree*⁷⁹ and in like approued authors, that of old the Popes receiued yearely for that kingdome 7000 ducates,

⁷⁸ "The silver Crowne" is worth "almost five shillings English..." *Itinerary A*, I, xxiv.

⁷⁹ Jean de Serres (c.1540 - 1598) theologian, and historian whose work on France Moryson used extensively. Hyamson.

and a litle white Hackney or mule, which are ledd spare before /10/ the Pope when he rides in triumphe, so many in number as himselfe hath satt yeares in the Papall throne. And that the *Neapolitan* kings of the *french* house of *Aniou* paid of old 480 pounds of gold yearely and 7000 ducates in siluer, and the said Hackney or Mule,. And the said *french* Historiographer Page 899. writes, that the *Spaniards* after payd yearely to the Pope, 8000 ounces of gold with a white Hackney or mule, aforesaid, and that the viceroy of *Naples* in person of the king his master, vseth to doe homage, to the new chosen /20/ Popes.⁸⁰

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

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

⁸⁰ "He [Henry IV] continued in *Rome* vntill Easter, [1600] during his aboad, he did see the *Vice roy of Naples* make his entry into *Rome*, comming to do homage vnto the Pope for the Realme of *Naples*, presenting vnto him a white Steede, for an acknowledgement of the fee, for the inuestiture of *Naples*, for that is one of the Realmes which holds in fee and doth homage vnto the Church of *Rome* and for that reason (bcside the eight thousand Ounces of Gold which they owe yeerely,) they are bound to take armes for the defence of the Church." Jean de Serres, *A General Inventorie of The History of France*, translated by Edward Grimeston (London, 1607), p. 899, [STC 22244] and referred to as Serres hereafter.

Imperiall seate, not for any Clayme from *Peter* by succession, then *Pope Gregory* the great thundred against him as a forerunner of *Antichrist*; yet the next Successor to *Gregory* /30/ in *Rome* tooke the same title by the guift of *Phocas* murtherer of the Emperor *Mauritius* his lord and made other vse of this spirituall supremacy then the *Greeke Patriarke* had done, euen that abhominable vse which we reade and see. And this power had his beginning more then 600th yeares after our Lords death. For the temporall power therevppon depending, it was first challenged by wicked *Hildebrande* called *Pope Gregory* the seauenth, chosen in the yeare 1073, and from that day to this hath caused /40/ much bloud shedd in Christendome, but yeilded to the Popes farr greater profitt, then *St Peters* priuate patrimony. All the Reuenues hereof are committed to one of the *Cardinalls* called the great *Pænitentiarye*. who hath vnder his power all dispensations, absolutions, Indulgences and guiftes (may I not say sales) of Benefices and Bishoppricks (the very *Cardinalls* giuing a feeling thanckfulnes to the Pope himselfe before they be created), and the profitts of Resignations and Alienations, Among the dispensations some be of /50/ great moment, as those in mariage for the degrees forbidden by mans lawe and Gods lawe, too, (with leaue be it spoken) those for legitimating bastards, for pardoning //

fol:[i00]iii0 *The comon wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.*

murthers, for pluralities, for Simony, for banishment for

oathes, vowes, and lawes broken, for vttering these goodly
war<es>⁸¹ the Pænitentiary hath his deputyes in the
greatest churches of *Rome*; but the cheife dispensations he
reserues to himselfe, and for the Petitions if he thinck
good, and the thing vsed to be granted, he subscribes in
the Popes name, by vertue of his office *fiat in forma*, or
de speciali, or *de expresso* &c.⁸² But at this day the
multitude of humane lawes and of the lawes of Popes and
Councells growing infinite, he doth not alwayes /10/
subscribe definitiuely, and in that Case his deputyes
examine the Cause, and then giue absolution. This office
hath twenty fower Aduocates to lay open the Causes of
Petitioners and to procure the dispatches of the Bulls, for
so they call the grants. These wares yeild great yearely
rents, besides that the Pope selles all offices, and hath
each three yeares an ayde of the Clergie imposed by Pope
Paul the third, and many foraine Collections. So as Pope
Sixtus the fourth might well bragg, that he could not want
mony /20/ so long as he had a hand and a penn to demaund
it. And it is no maruell that *Pope Pius* the fifth in fiue
yeares layd vpp fiue millions of gold in the Castle of St.

⁸¹ "Utter. v. I. 1. a. To put (goods, wares, etc.)
forth or upon the market; to issue, offer, or expose for
sale or barter; to dispose of by way of trade; to vend,
sell. Obs. in very frequent use from c1540 to c1655." *OED*

⁸² "It seems fairly clear from the context that they
must be formulas used by the Penitentiary and his officials
for introducing certain types of concession or
dispensation. 'By special grant', or 'By express
permission...'
BP

Angelo, and that Pope *Paul* the third ayded the Emperor *Charles* the fifth with i2000 foote and fiue hundred horse, and Pope *Pius* the fifth ayded the french king *Charles* the ninth with 4000 foote and 2000 horse, and of late to take the possession of *Ferraria*, he raised 20000 Foote of his owne Subiects in *Marchia* and *Romagna* and 2000 horse. For /30/ *Marchia* alone affords 20000 Foote, they being the only good foote in *Italy*, and the rest reputed base and of small or no value. Besides that the Pope for his glory State, or cause of religion, neuer wants great Princes to protect him. But to speake some thing of his Rents in particuler. The alienations for life are sayd to yeild into the Popes Chamber yearely 508000 Crownes. The Rent of *St. Peter* on *St. Peters* day 31000 Crownes. The datary⁸³ or dispatcher of the Popes Bulls 68250 Crownes. The forayne Collec/40/tions are vncertaine, but one yeare with an other that of *Spaine* is said to yeild 44000 Crownes. That of *Portugall* 22000 Crownes. That of *Italy* i2000 Crownes. Add to this that the Popes goings out are nothing in respect of his comings in. His household retinue, hath small wages & stipends. His *Nuncio* in *Toscany* hath 57 Crownes by the moneth. in *Fraunce*, 145, in *Sauoy*, 115 in *Germany*, with the Emperor 230, in *Venice* [230, and in *Poland* 230.] The Captayne of his guardes hath yearely 2400 Crownes. The leiutenant 639.

⁸³ "1. An officer of the Papal Court at Rome, charged with the duty of registering and dating all documents issued..." OED

the /50/ stipend of the guard of men at Armes and light horse //

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

{ m.n. 15, 16. *Courts of Requests and other Courts.* }

The Pope hath two Courts of Requests vulgarly called *Audienze*, the one of Iustice, the other of Grace, and each hath his Iudges. All the Cardinalls skilfull in the lawes, may sett in that of Grace, and none vnskilfull therein setts in either. But each one hath one Cardinall more specially ouer it, and certaine Iudges [....] called *Referendaries*, determining Causes by number of voyces. /20/ The *Referendaries* meete once in the weeke, and if need be appoint a day for the whole *Senate* to meete,. propound the Causes to be determined, whereof when the Fathers haue

disputed, if any cause be reiected, it is propounded no more. The Iudges write vnder the Petitions their opinion of the equity, and the Cheife Cardinall graunts ordinary, yea and greater requests so as the Pope rarely subscribes to any, but when he subscribes, to causes of Iustice, he writes *Placet I*, to causes of grace *Fiat vt petitur I*.⁸⁴ And this letter *I*. /30/ signified the Christian true name of the Pope then being, who by his Popedome styled [.] *Clement* the Eight, had *Ipolito* for Christian name, and *Aldebrandino* for Sirname. And if the Pope graunts any thing of his free will, he addeth *motu proprio*. The Cardinall cheife or master of the Office subscribeth *concessum in presentia D. N. Papæ*. graunted in the presence of our Lord the Pope, and that by vertue of his office though it be not graunted in the presence of the [doubtfull] Pope, but he addeth also his owne name. In doubtfull /40/ Cases all of the Senate ioyntly subscribe their opinion vnder the Petition.

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

⁸⁴ It is pleasing, Ipolito; Let it be as asked for, Ipolito.

bestowing all Benefices of the Church. /50/ //

fol:ii2 The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

The Apostolicall Chamber is the Popes household Court, ouer which he setts six houshold Prelates called *Clerici*, of the Greeke word whereof Clerkes haue their name, as selected men. And with these Counsellors, he consults his owne affaires proper to himselfe as the Gouvernment of the Citty, his temporall dominion, and the Accompts of his Treasure. Here he was wont to chuse Magistrates, of whome the Chamberlane at this day takes their oathes. Here as in the *Chauncerie* Benefices vse to be granted. And here as in the supreme Court, he was wont to heare all Appeales. The *Chamberlane* with the Consent of his Assessors /10/ and many tymes of himselfe alone writes Mandates to the Iudges about prophane Causes in the temporall dominion of the Church belonging to the Magistrates, and about the payment of Tythes and other things belonging to the Iudgment of the Chamber, and alwayes he writes in the name of the Pope, as if himselfe had written it. The Treasurer of the Chamber keepes and disburses the Popes Rents. The Auditor is sett ouer spirituall Causes. The Gouvernor of the Chamber iudgeth Capitall Causes, having the execution of the secular Arme in diuerse Causes, as the Complaints of vassalls after forme of the *Roman Statutes* /20/ or according to the Common Lawe, but he medles not with Excommunications and Censures of the Church which properly belong to the Auditor. The President of the Chamber is ouer the Accompts of the

Treasure, which he takes aswell from *Rome* as all Prouinces, and having censured them referres them to the Senate. The Advocate of the Chamber defends the Causes of the poore, and all priuate men against the Advocates of the Treasure, among which one is chosen to plead the causes of the Treasure in other Courts. The Proctor of the Treasure among other dutyes lookes that the Notaries /30/ make publike Records for perpetuall memory of things belonging to the Popes power and State. Namely submission or Homage done to the Pope by any king or Prince and such like things. The Commissary of the Chamber is sett ouer all exactions, Customes, coyning of mony, and other things that are not Iudiciall, but at this day his place is of small respect, because the Gouvernor, Treasurer and Proctor intermedle with his [d..ht] Office. The last Assessor in [the Chamber] is the Clerich of the Cardinalls, who defends their Rents and Causes. This Senate vseth to meet thrice each weeke, /40/ in the Apostolicall Chamber, and howsoever there be many Iudges in *Rome*, yet the number of Prisoners being very great, the Fathers of this Court, as supreme Iudges, many tymes in the yeare visitt the Prisons with the inferior Iudges, and moderate their Iudgments if need be.

The affayres of the Church increasing daily, the Popes haue withdrawne themselues from the trouble of this Court, and rarely sett to iudge therein except it be to heare some cause of the Treasure or like great matter, /50/ having

erected a priuate Councell of some cheife men called household Secretaries, with which familiar freinds he determines many causes of the Chamber [at] [at] this day, as the Choyce of Magistrates, and the like.

The Pope permitts the *Romans* to haue their Magistrate whome they call Senator, and he dwells in the Capitoll, and iudgeth the Causes of the Citizens. At this day he hath three viccars vnder him, from whose Iudgments, if any man appeale, Each vicar hath his [a] superiall Iudge in the Capitoll to heare these Appeales, And if this Iudge confirme /60/ //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:ii3.

the former sentence, then the *Romans* haue municipall lawe[s] to forbidd the Citizens any further appeale. Besides some seuerall trades or arts haue their peculier Courts of Iustice And the Artizans chuse their Consulls to iudge their causes, from whome they may appeale to the Iudges of the Capitoll, and this Iurisdiction of the Capitoll was graunted by Pope *Iulius* the second. Also the Pope hath his viccar in *Rome* who hath the Preists vnder his Iurisdiction, and in his Courts all Clergy men are punished, deposed, and iudged for all their Causes. This vicar visiteth all Monasteries that are not /10/ exempted by speciall priuiledge, he giues many Benefices, punisheth offenders, and imposeth on them a signe of penance. He hath also vnder his Iurisdiction, all the Iewes widowes Pupills,

and poore men, and his authority in many things extends forty myles out of *Rome*. He doth accompany the Iudges visiting the Prisoners, and deliuers ouer to the secular power such as are condemned to corporall punishment, and hath vnder him two substitute vicars, and fower publike Notaries. For the Cittyes and Townes the Pope gouernes them by legates, and vicelegates, and bestowes /20/ these places on his kinsmen and Fauourites. Thus much shall suffice of the Courts of Iustice in *Rome*, and the Popes Territoryes. Lett me only add that it hath alwayes bene fatall to the Popes not to sett long in that Chayre, and to dye vntymely deathes. At first most of them were Martirs, vnder cruell Emperors, after most of them perished sometymes by open violence of barbarous kings, but most Comonly by secrett Treasons of poyson, by which one faction of *Rome* tooke away the Popes advanced by the other Faction, and when the Emperors had established any Popes, /30/ they seldome liued long, and sometymes were taken away before the Emperors Armyes were returned ouer the Alpes. After the Popes had by Tyrannicall prescription vsurped power ouer Christian Princes, and their Choyce was [ad]committed to Cardinalls, [through the ambition or couetousnes of them,] fewe Popes were Chosen that were not of decrepitt age, or sickly, or at least fayned themselues to be sickly, yet if they liued longer then was expected, these Cardinalls seldome had the patience to stay for their naturall death, but either through Coueteousnes oftner to sell their voyces, or

through ambition to haue them/40/selues or their freinds chosen Popes, this Chayre of St *Peter* was euer found farr more slippery then any dominion in the world.⁸⁵

Touching Christian Princes, when the Popes first begann to tyrannize ouer them, *Phillipp* king of *Fraunce* taught Pope *Boniface*, how easy it was for kings, if they had the will, to finde the meanes to repell fraude by fraude, and treason by treason.⁸⁶ The succeeding kings of *Fraunce* found no other meanes to defend themselues from proude and powerfull Popes, then by gayning a strong partye /50/ or faction in the Colledge of the Cardinalls, by making lawes more specially the pragmaticall sanction,⁸⁷ to restrayne all mony exacted by the Popes officers from being conuayed out of *Fraunce*, and by that and like pollicyes to curbe the Popes power from hurting them, and by raising schismes in

⁸⁵ It is true that sixteenth century Popes had a startling death rate. Pius III (1503), Hadrian VI (1522 - 1523), Marcellus II (1555), Urban VII (1590), Gregory XIV (1590 - 1591), Innocent IX (1591) all lasted a matter of weeks or months. Often a decrepit compromise candidate would be acceptable to the heads of closely fought factions as in 1503 when Cesare Borgia tried to prevent (ultimately unsuccessfully) the elevation of the old Borgia enemy, Cardinal della Rovere.

⁸⁶ Moryson is referring to 'The Outrage of Agnani' of 1303, when Philip the Fair's agents tried to arrest Boniface VIII in his bedchamber. In this case two rough diamonds were scratching each other. See Daniel Waley, *Later Medieval Europe From St Louis to Luther* (London, 1964), p. 54, referred to hereafter as Waley.

⁸⁷ The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges 1438 "...checked papal authority in France to the advantage of the Crown." Waley, p. 261.

the *Roman* Church to sett vpp a *french* Pope chosen by the //
fol:iii4. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

Cardinalls of the *french* nation and faction, and residing
in *Fraunce* against the *Italian* Pope residing at *Rome*.⁸⁸ In
all which tymes the Popes on both sydes fayled not to
drinck the dreggs of poysoned Cupps. The Popes Parasites
much declame against the freedome, which the *Gallicane*
church hath from the first challenged against the Papall
vsurpation. No doubt all Churches should be free[d] no
lesse then the *french*, but I confesse they meritted
priuiledge aboue others, in that being Christians of the
Primitiue Church, they were most vnwilling to come vnder
the Popes yoke, in all ages to the vttermost /10/ by witt
and force resisting that tyranny. And they must likewise
confesse to haue had aboue all Christian kingdomes, space
and meanes to confirme and setle their Church in the truth
being free from all papall practises, whiles the Popes were
long tyme wholly taken vpp in subduing the Emperors power
vnder their feete. For howsoever the *Britaines* were
converted to Christianity in the Primitiue Church, yet the
Saxon kings that gaue the name of *England* to *Britany*, were
first converted or established Christians, when the Popes
had with opinion of sanctity, and by Armes subdued the
Emperors, and /20/ gayned greater power in *Fraunce*, and

⁸⁸ The French were prepared to create a schism to keep
a Pope at Avignon, when the anti-pope Clement VII was
elected in 1378. See Waley, pp. 124 - 125.

among all Christian Princes. So as being in the first foundation seasoned with *Romish* superstitions, they had neither the meanes nor the will to resist the Popes, which the *french* had. Notwithstanding when the Popes began to vsurpe ouer their temporall power, they could no more indure that then the *french*, and restrayned the same by forbidding his Legates to passe the Sea into *England*, or mony to be transported thence to the Popes vse, and by making a party in the Colledge of the Cardinalls. Some 200th yeares past the house of *Austria* by nuptiall /30/ Contracts getting the principalityes of the Low Countries, and the kingdomes of *Spaine*, first layd hand to the sterne of Christs Shipp, and became great in *Italy* and powerfull in the factions of the Cardinalls Colledge, and by nothing more sustayned and increased their greatnes, then by professing the protection of the *Roman* (stiling itselife the Catholike) church, when all other Christian Princes groning vnder that yoke, begann to hate the tyranny thereof: For it is remarkable, that nothing hath more strengthned the Popes then two Acts of ambitious and Couetous Princes, while the ambitious desyring to inuade /40/ one an other, were content to take a pretended title of Territories from the Popes guift, and while the Couetous desyring to raise mony were content to take the Popes leaue to exact vppon the Clergie, whereby when the Pope should turne from them (which he did as lightly as the wynde) they had (as it were by Prescription) graunted two mayne preiudices to the Pope,

one to transferr kingdomes at his pleasure, the other to haue a supreme power ouer the [ir owne] Clergie in their owne dominions. But not to insist therevppon, I say that in all these tymes, whiles the Cardinalls were divided into facti/50/ons of *England Fraunce* and *Spaine*, the Popes neuer liued free from the treasons of the aduerse part. Shortly after *England* falling from the Popes obedience, and trusting to the defence of Armes, neglected to practice any faction or party among the Cardinalls. About this tyme, *Fraunce* being rent in peices be Ciuill warrs, betweene the Papists and Protestants, the *french* kings began to haue small or no care of *Italian* affayres. So as the kings of *Spaine* dominering alone //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:ii5.

at *Rome*, had power to promote all Cardinals at their pleasure and by their helpe to haue such chosen Popes as they best liked, who liued no longer then they promoted all *Spanish* affayres and shewed themselues well affected to them both in word and deed. In which point the yonger sonne of the Church, matched or ouertopped the *Romans* in their owne art, making great shew to woorshipp the Popes while he might vse their authority to his owne profitt, but taking order they should be (*Diui modo non viui*) Saints in heauen rather then Princes on earth when once they declared any

ill affections to *Spaine*.⁸⁹ /10/ And lest herein I should seeme to write from any nationall hatred, I desyre them, who doubt in so cleare a Case, to remember how *Pasquin* (the *statua* of libells divulging the voyce of the people, prouerbiially called the voyce of God or truth) lately in our tyme bore in his hand a cleane sheete of paper, and his Fellow *Marsorius* demaunding the reason, his answer was annexed, that he ment to tender the same to the Popes Holynes, that he might presently make his last will and Testament, since he having lately declared some ill affection to the *Spanish* affayres, was not like to liue long after. But (to the former /20/ purpose) the Ciuill warrs being ended in *Fraunce* by the valor and wisdom of the *French* king *Henry* the fourth, the *Cardinals* of the *French* nation and faction began againe to beare some sway, and to Counterpoise those of the *Spanish* faction in *Rome*, and the Princes of *Italy* in like sort began to leane to the *French* kings protection.⁹⁰ Yet the *French* at that tyme

⁸⁹ This a cynical reference to the Roman custom of deifying, giuing the title *divus*, to good but dead, and therefore, powerless Emperors. Thus Nero would not have qualified. The Latin tag means "gods now not living" or in FB's slick translation "the late but no longer the great".

⁹⁰ "Once Henry IV and Clement VIII had made their peace, the papacy was in a position to return to the balance of power politics which had served it so well before Spain became supreme." Elliott, p. 378. For Clement, the first prize was Ferrara, into which Papal troops marched unopposed in 1598. Henry IV had promised to interuene, personally coming over the Alps, thereby enabling Clement to face down the Spanish. The Catholic Church militant and triumphant haunted Moryson's imagination.

worne out with home Calamities, the wounds whereof were not yet healed,⁹¹ did not affect nor were like to imbrace any expedition into *Italy*, so as the *french* kings party at *Rome* and in all *Italy*, was more strengthened by the hatred the /30/ *Italians* bore to the *Spaniards*, then any firme confidence they had in the Patronage of the *french* against them.⁹²

{ m.n. 33, 34. *King of Naples and Sicily.* }

The kingdome of *Naples* and the kingdome of *Sicily* (sometymes disioyned though at this tyme vnited) are Fees of the *Roman* church and so possessed by the king of *Spaine*. In the *historicall* introduction of the third Chapter, I haue shewed how the Pope became lord of the Fees, and how they were possessed first by the *french*, after by the *Spaniards*, and in this Chapter treating of *St. Peters* patrimony, I haue sett downe the tribute paid for them. And it is no maruell that Contrary to the Popes /40/ Custome in generall to giue small rest to those that with hold greatnes or riches from them, and in particuler to make

⁹¹ In 1608 when Coryat disembarked in France, one of his first impressions was the extent of the devastation still apparent. "About eight miles beyond Boulogne I saw a very ruinous Monastery, which belike was battered down in the civil warres." Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities* 2 vols (Glasgow, 1905), I, 159, referred to as Coryat hereafter.

⁹² In Venice politics divided between the *vecchi* (who placated Spain) and the *giovani* (who wanted to take a firmer stance). Until France had recovered, this policy had its limits. See Elliott, pp. 377, 378.

dayly graunts of new Pattents for these kingdomes, yea diuerse tymes two Pattents of them at one and the same tyme the kings of *Spaine* haue notwithstanding long possessed the same with peace if we consider the great power he hath in *Italy*, and that *Rome* is compassed, and as it were beseiged by his forces. When myselfe and my Consorts entred *Naples*, because we were apparrelled like *frenchmen*, not only those of the abiect sort, but also miserable men (as Prisoners) and some of the more Ciuill sort mocked vs /50/ by words and gestures as we passed the streets, by which and like arguments they spared not to manifest their hatred to the *Frenche* to whome they had formerly bene subiect. Neither [did] did they forbear by discourse and otherwise to shew their hatred to the *Spaniards* then Lords ouer them, having long bene reputed a //

fol:iii6 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii.

wauering people, not able to commaund nor willing to obey. But the *Spaniards* held them by a strong hand, For besides many Garisons in the Cittyes and the Forts built vppon the passages of that kingdome, they kept three strong places in the Citty of *Naples*, namely the two Castles built in the playne vppon the Seasyde, and a third Fort of a greater strength built by the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth on the Topp of a Mountayne, who at first made shew to inlarge the *Carthusian* Monasterye adioyning, but when he had layd the foundation guardable, did by night draw vpp Ar/10/tillery into it, and soldiers to defend it, turning the same to a

strong Fort, which the Monckes thought built for their lodging. And because the Citty bore in their Armes a wilde horse without bridle or sadle, the Emperor *Charles* when he had built this Fort said merily, *that he had putt a bridle in the wilde horses mouth.* In these three Forts the *Spaniards* haue a great Garison of soldiers.

The kingdome is gouerned by a viceroy residing at *Naples*, who at this tyme was named *Don de Suenda Sonica Count of Mirandola*,. Each day at fower a Clock in the after/20/noone he vsed to giue audience to Petitioners, and when the Complaint was opened, either gaue present Iudgment, or delayed the Cause if it required further consideration. There did I see him being a decrepitt old man, so as he could not goe but was carryed by his seruants, yet about matters of loue, he was sayd to haue great amitye., with the *Neapolitan Prince of Salerno*. He was said to haue stipend from the king of Twenty fower thousand Crownes yearely, besides the pay of Fifty dutchmen for his garde, having each man Fifty Crownes by the moneth from the king, out /30/ of which pay, he was said to detayne asmuch as payde twenty *Spaniards* of his household. The *Viceroy* was sayd to be changed, and a new sent out of *Spaine*, at the end of each third yeare. //

{ m.n. 35, 36. *The Dukedome of Milan.* }

Further the king of *Spaine* possesseth in *Italy* the dukedome

of *Milan* by right of the sword. For when the Family of *Sfortia* was extinct the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth of the Elder house of *Austria* invaded the same by the sword, and by transactions with the kings of *Fraunce*, and so transferred it to his sonne *Phillipp* king of *Spaine*, who held it, and transferred /40/ it to his Successors without taking any investiture from the *German* Emperors of the yonger house of *Austria*, who challenged that right to be falne back to them for want of heyres Males of the Family of *Sfortia*. Thus the kings of *Spaine* having *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Milan*, may be reputed lords of a third part of *Italy*. In the vast Citty of *Milan*, I did see, or obserue nothing that did equall the daunger I incurred by entring the same, when *England* had Warrs with *Spaine*. At this tyme whereof I write the Vice duke was called *Don Iean Ferando de Valasco* by Inheritance /50/ Constable of *Castella*. This Citty is vast and hath great riches being excellently seated, for the traffique of *Fraunce*, *Germany* and *Italy*, and the whole territory is a playne Country, and a very fertile soyle, more specially for pastures which are rarely founde in other parts of *Italy*, so as it yeildes not only plenty of Cattell, butter and Cheese to spend at home, but //

{ c.w. also to }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:iiii. fol:ii7.

to export, by which and the Customes of traffique, the dukes haue raised great Reuenewes, but the king of *Spayne* keepes so strong garisons in the impregnable Castle of

Milan, and the Fortes of other Cittyes, as neither it nor the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily* bring no great quantity of Treasure into his Coffers. For at this tyme *Italy* was sayd to yeild to the king of *Spaine* yearely fower millions of ducates of gold, and great part of the reuenuue of *Naples* being at that tyme ingaged for the kings debts. *Sicily* was said to supply *Naples* yearely with 400th thousand ducates of Gold, besides other /10/ supplyes made by the Councill of *Spaine* for the affayres of *Italy*. Since for defence of the same, the king was sayd then to mantayne ordinarily in diuerse Cittyes and Forts tenn thousand *Spanish* foote, one thousand two hundreth armed Horse, and 300th light horse, besides that for defence of the Coasts from *Turkes* and *Pyrats*, he did then mantayne 24 Gallies at *Naples*, 12, in *Sicily*, 16, at *Genoa*, and 3 in *Sauoy* in all 55 Gallies. Neither can he keepe them in obedience without this charge, For the *Neapolitans* doe not hate the *Spaniards* more then the *Milanesi*, who seemed much inclined /20/ to rebellion, were not their owne power curbed with a strong hand, were not the kings of *Fraunce* distracted from recouering their right in that dukedome, And were not the Emperors of *Germany* vnable in respect of the *Turkish* warres, and vnwilling in respect of Consanguinity with the kings of *Spaine* to recouer their right in the investiture thereof; yet the *Milanesi* at this tyme spared not to manifest their malice to the *Spaniards*. For myselfe heard many not of the lowest ranck often carping and scoffing at the pride of the

Spaniards, as if euery base groome in *Spaine* /30/ when he came into *Italy*, would indure no lesse title then a gentleman of *Castilia*, and also at their poore diett at home, and plentifull feeding abroade, at other mens Costs, and at their guilded rapiers and daggers, which they bragg to haue bene vused by their Progenitors in famous battells, yet sometymes laid to pawne for a poore debt. But nothing was so common in the mouthes of the meaner sort, as to sing base balletts of the *Spaniards*, as among others that vulgar song of *Lombardy*.

Quando son'in lor'terra - If at home you doe them take, /40/

Fan le scarpe di cordella - Shooes of Cordouan they make,

Quando sono in questi paesi - But [if] with vs if you them

see

Tutti son'conti et Marchesi - Marqueses or Counts they bee

Con la cappa infoderata - With their Cape richly lyned

Con la spada margentata, - ⁹³ With their raper siluered

&c.

In a word vppon any mention of a *Spaniard* or the sight of any one passing by, these *Italian* Subiects did not cease both by wordes and gestures to witnes the malice they bore vnto the *Spaniards*.

⁹³ An extra 'm' seems to have been included in error.

fol:i[o]i8. Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice Chap:V.

V. Chap:

Of the common wealth of Venice in particular touching some of the heads containd in the title of the first Chapter.

The first Chapter.

The free State of *Venice*, besides the stately Citty of *Venice* built within Channells of the Sea vppon litle Ilands, hath vnder it vppon the firme land of *Italy*, the fayre and well fortified Cittyes of *Paduoa*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Bergamo*, *Vdane*, and /10/ *Treuoso*¹ with their Territories, and the Castle or walled towne of *Crema*. It hath also vnder it and adioying to the forsaid Territories, at the Foote of the *German Alps*, the Prouince of *Forum Iulij* vulgarly *Friol*,² the fertile Prouince of *Istriæ* being a *Peninsul* vppon the Gulfe of *Venice*, diuerse Citties vppon the Sea coast of *Dalmatia* as *Cattaro* and *Zara*,³ and many litle Ilands within the said Gulfe, out of which in the *Mediterranean* sea it hath subiect to it, the Ilands of *Corfa*, of *Cephalonia* the greater, and the lesser of *Zante*, the rich, and goodly Iland of *Candia* and the litle /20/ Iland *Serigo*.⁴ The Pope *Alexander* supported by the

¹ Padua, Udine and Treviso.

² Friuli.

³ Now Kotor and Zadar.

⁴ Cerigo, now known as Kíthira, an island south of the Peloponnese.

Venetians till in that Citty he trode vppon the neck of the Emperor, for [in]gratitude gaue the Commaund of that Sea (namely the large Gulfe of *Venice*) to this State, I know not by what right, except it were that by which the diuell promised to giue the kingdomes of the earth,⁵ yet such a title as Princes haue in like cases bene content to take from him, for such things as they desyred to gett and preserue by the sword. From this right they haue a Custome yearely vppon *Ascention day* (as I remember) that the duke and /30/ the Senators (with great pompe and solemnity, and with loude instruments of musick tooke boate in the *Bucentoro* (so called of the Capacity to beare two hundreth men) and rowe to the mouth of the Hauen entring the *Mayne Gulfe*, where the duke casts a gold ring into the Sea, by that Ceremo[nies] espousing it to the State of *Venice*. Notwithstading Pope *Iulius* the second extorted from them priuiledge of freedome vppon this Gulfe for all the Popes territories lying there vppon. Of old they had the Iland of *Cyprus* in the bottome of the straights nere *Asia*, and many Citties /40/ vppon the Continent of *Grece*, all which the *Turkish* Emperor now possesseth, either wonn by the sword, or at diuerse tymes yeilded to him by transactions of

⁵ This was the final temptation of Christ by Satan in the wilderness. See Matthew 4. 8, and Luke 4. 5. The Pope here is a Satanic tempter.

peace.⁶ This State was in great danger to leese their virgine liberty in the age before this wherein we liue, when the Princes of *Italy* by their growing power, iudging them to affect the dominion of all *Italy*, did ioyntly combine against them, so as the Pope the Emperor of *Germany*, the king of *Fraunce*, and the king of of *Aragon*, *Castile*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, for diuerse ends and prouoked by diuerse iniuryes, did all make league, and at one /50/ tyme with their forces assaile the *Venetians*, having none to take their part. In which warr *Lewes* the king of *France* tooke from them *Cremona*, and diuerse other places which // *Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:i[o]i9.* himselfe had graunted them, while they assisted him to conquer the dukedome of *Milan*, all which the king of *Spaine* to this day possesseth with the said dukedome taken from the *french*. Also the Pope making vse of the *french* victoryes, tooke from them *Rauenna Faenza Rimini* and all the adioyning territories, and as there is no redemption from Hell, so to this day, they haue not recouered any thing out of his Pawes, nor euer attempted any recouery. The same victory of the *french* against the *Venetians* gaue *Ferdinand* king of *Aragon* fitt opportunity to take from them

⁶ Venice had come face to face with the Ottoman Turks since the elimination of Byzantium. The Venetian losses were mostly "of old", particularly in the war of 1499 - 1503. Cyprus was lost in 1571. John Julius Norwich, *Venice The Rise to Empire* (London, 1977), known hereafter as *Venice Rise*, and John Julius Norwich, *Venice The Greatness and the Fall* (London, 1981), known hereafter as *Venice Fall*, provide much of the basic information that follows.

*Monopoli /10/ Brandusio,*⁷ *Trani and Ottranto*, Sea bordering Cittyes of the kingdome of *Naples* formerly ingaged to them for great sommes of mony, all which the king of *Spaine* his successor holds to this day. In like sort *Maximilian* the Emperor by the said victory and ayde of the *french* forces, tooke from the *Venetians*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, and *Treuiso*, all strong and rich Cittyes of *Lombardy*, with large and rich Territories, lying at the foote of the *German Alps*, and likewise great part of the Prouince *Frioli* and the very City and Territory of *Padoua* compassing the lakes /20/ of *Venice*, which now had lost all dominions vppon firme land. But the *Venetians* to stopp the Popes mouth, yeilded to him whatsoever he asked, and supported by his freindshipp and factions, daily growing betweene the Emperor[s] and the kings, did preuaile against the Emperor, forsaken by both the kings, and soone recouered from him all he had taken from them, with which dominions they rest contented to this day, without attempting to increase the same, by any new Invasion or by recouering that they lost to more powerfull enemyes. This Common wealth of *Venice* hath lasted more /30/ then a thousand two hundreth yeares, and he that shall see the grauity and wisdome of their Senate, and the iustnes of their gouernment, would iudge it likely to last so long as the Sunne and moone indureth; yet many reasons make it

⁷ Brindisi.

vnlake to increase and grow much greater; For all *Italy* being divided into many parts of free Citties & principalityes euery small warr threatens ruine, and destruction to the whole Country. And the *Venetians* are taught by experience of the foresaid Combination against them to preferr a secure peace though dearely bought, to the /40/ vncertaine event of warr promising gayne. As also the Princes of *Italy*, so feare their safety in tyme of troubles as they are likely all to ioyne their forces against the first disturber of peace. Yea the very Bishoppes of *Rome*, which of old sowed and rayed all dissentions and warrs, now since the falling of many kingdomes and Prouinces from their obedience finding that they cannot fish in troubled waters as they [were] wont, but rather that the wonted reuerence to that Sea is so decayed, as the preuayling party would in all likelyhood force them to reformation of the Church, and depriue them /50/ of their temporall dominions, haue of late applyed their Councells to peace, espetially in *Italy*, where the danger of warr //
fol:i[i]20 Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:[iiii]V.

would be so neare them to woorke these effects, as no doubt they would oppose themselues against the Rayser of warr in *Italy*, both by their forces and excommunications. Whereas forrayne kings and Princes vnder the Popes obedience take it as [a] great fauour from them to haue their subiects and freinds made Cardinalls, the *Venetians* that their Common

wealth may longer last, desyre nothing lesse, then that the Pope should preferr any gentleman of *Venice* to that dignity, being terrifyed from this ambition by the Examples of the family of *Medici* in *Florence*, whereof diuerse being made *Cardinalls* & after /10/ Popes vtterly ouerthrew the liberty of their Country, and brought it in hereditary subiection to their owne Family.⁸ For they are not ignorant what braue feates the Popes haue played in those cases, taught by many examples, but more specially by that of *Pope Iulius* the second, who had the power by the foresaid league to ruine them, and soone after by forsaking that league, and turning his fauour towards them, to inable them in short tyme to recouer the dominions they now hold vppon firme land.

Touching the Correspondencye this State holds with bordering /20/ Potentates. First for the house of *Austria*, besides the old ielousyes, which moued the Emperor *Maximilian* to ioyne in the foresaid fatall league against them, the Emperor *Rodulphus* about the tyme [when] [that] I was in those parts, did vehemently expostulate with the *Venetians* for building vppon the frontiers of *Frioli*, a

⁸ Moryson is thinking of the two Medici Popes, Leo X (1513 - 1521), and Clement VII (1523 - 1534). The latter suppressed the republic by enlisting the help of Charles V, who, embarrassed at the Sack of Rome by his troops in 1527, lent help at the siege of Florence of 1530. See Book XX of Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, edited by Sidney Alexander (New York, 1969), pp. 430 - 431, and pp. in Fenton.

most strong Fort. This Fort they called *Palma*, and it was built in a round forme with nyne bulwarkes in the wall, having the markt place in the Centre or Navell, from which all the streets grew by litle and litle larger towards the wall, so as from the markt place, all the /30/ streets lay open to the veiwe. In memory of this Forte built, the State of *Venice* then stamped a Coyne, with this inscription on the one side in latin, *Paschale Ciconia* duke of *Venice* in the yeare 1593, together with an Image of a winged lyon, representing St. *Marke* the *Tutelar Saint* of that State, and this inscription on the other syde in latine *the propugnaele (or fort) of Frioli, of Italy*, and of the Christian faith, *Palma*, together with the signe of the Crosse and the *Mott* in latine, vnder *this signe thou shalt ouercome.*⁹ The *Venetians* professed to build this Fort against the *Turkes* /40/ but the Emperor tooke it in ill part, not only because it was built vppon his Frontiers, but also for that he thought it seated within his Territory; yet the *Venetians* knowing that his forces were employed in *Hungary* against the *Turkes*, and that he had no warlike disposition, litle regarded his expostulations, not like to breake out into blowes.

⁹ The motto or legend on the coin *In hoc signum vinces* with the cross is an allusion to the dream of the Christian Emperor Constantine before he overcame the heathen Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in 312. The implication is obvious. The ungodly barbarians come from the Empire.

For the *Turkish* Emperor, the *Venetians* had not many yeares past ioyned in league against him with the Pope, and *Phillip* king of *Spaine*, and obtayned a great Navall victory, yet in that and other leagues with diuerse Popes, more specially the /50/ league they made with the Pope, against the duke of *Ferraria*, they haue by experience found their Confederacye not to be relyed vppon, while in the very beginning of the warrs vndertaken, the //

{ c.w. Popes vsed, }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:[..]V. fol:i2i
Popes vsed to withdraw from expences, and having attayned their owne particular ends, made no scruple to forsake their Confederates, yea offer to terrify them, by Ecclesiasticall Censures from pursuing the Enterprises vndertaken.¹⁰ And in the said league against the *Turkes*, they found the *Spaniards* so reserued to their owne ambitious Counsells, as they could neuer promise themselues faithfull second in any attempt, or playne dealing in resolutions, but still feared to be exposed alone to [all] the daunger when it should be greatest, so as in respect of some detected purpose of surpris[.]ing /10/ *Corfu*, and like ielousyes, they found it vnsafe to giue the *Spanish* shipps free vse of their Hauens, euen in that tyme, when

¹⁰ Moryson is probably alluding to the time of Sixtus IV (1471 - 1484). Sixtus supported Venice in the war against Ferrara of 1481. In 1483 with his southern frontiers threatened, Sixtus changed sides, and put Venice under interdict for not doing likewise ! See John Julius Norwich, *Venice Fall*, pp. 103 - 106.

they were thus ioyned in the said league,¹¹ For these reasons, it was then thought, that nothing but extreme necessity, could draw the *Venetians* to make any new league with them against the *Turkes*, and [that] they iudged it more profitable for their Common wealth, to strengthen their dominions against the *Turkes* by strong Forts, and vppon any imminent feare of inuasion, to purchase peace by large bribes, and like expence of Treasure. /20/ And as generally in respect of the gentlemens effeminatenes, trayned vpp in delicacye, and wantonnes, and of the *Senators* wisdome imbracing peace as the best end of all warrs, and not willingly plunging into vnnecessary troubles, they were iudged at this tyme litle to affect Counsells of any Warr, so more specially from the *Turkes* they suffered many great and daily iniuryes, and the spoyling of some rich shippes in the *Mediterranean* sea, rather then they would enter warlike lists with their vast power, yea not only paid yearely tribute to the *Turkish* /30/ Emperor, for the peacable possession of some Ilands in that Sea, but at all tymes when they vnderstood his mynde to be incensed against them, were ready to please him, with rich guifts, which haue power to appease both Gods and

¹¹ The Spanish were in league with Venice's old enemy the Genoese. The geographical position made the Genoese alliance crucial to Spanish interests in the Italian wars against France. Andrea Doria returned to Genoa rather than help the Venetians when Corfu was attacked by the Turks in 1537. Moryson always imputes the worst of motives to Spain. See John Julius Norwich, *Venice Fall*, pp. 193, 194.

diuells.

Touching the Popes, as the *Indians* are sayd to sett vpp one Candle to God that it may doe them good, and an other to the diuell that he may not hurt them, so the *Venetians* having bene smitten with the Popes thunderbolts, were thought to affect their blessing, rather for the ill they feared by /40/ wanting it, then any good they expected from it, yet if their displeasure should be vnavoydable, seemed lesse then of old to feare the declining terror of their thunderbolts, as since that tyme they haue brauely made knowne to the World by bold and open Contestations against the Popes temporall power in forrayne Dominions.¹²

Touching the king of *Spaine*, since by succession he attayned large dominions in *Italy*, he hath made no warr vppon the *Venetians*, either for the foresayd reason of

¹² This undoubtedly refers to the interdiction pronounced against Venice by Paul V from 1605 - 1607. It was the last time that a modern Pope tried to behave like a medieval one, by defending the benefit of clergy from any lay jurisdiction whatsoever, and by insisting that the state had no powers to regulate bequests. The pamphlet war generated was partly translated into English at the very period when Moryson was beginning to write the histories of the countries that he had visited. There were even English hopes, advanced by the Veretian embassy staff, and particularly by Sir Henry Wootton and William Bedell the chaplain, that Venice could be won from the Catholic camp. The final result in 1607 was a humiliating defeat for the Papacy, and three assassination attempts against Venice's able defender, the theologian Fra Paolo Sarpi. See John Leon Lievsay, *Venetian Phoenix: Paolo Sarpi and Some of His English Friends (1606 - 1700)* (kansas, 1973), pp. 11 - 25.

their generall[s] desyre of peace, and carefull auoyding all occasions of new /50/ troubles, or for that he being taken vpp fully with the warrs of *Netherland, England, and Fraunce*, and thincking vppon good successe in them, *Italy* compassed with his forces, and diuided into small principalityes, would of it selfe, or without any strong constraint soone fall into his subiection, did for that tyme only intend all advantages of his affayres in those // { c.w. parts leaving }

fol:i22. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V.

parts, leaving *Italy* at rest. And noe doubt both the *Venetians* and all the Princes and free States of *Italy*, were not a litle glad of his ill successe in those warrs, and in the end reioyced to see the *french lillyes*¹³ flourish againe by the Prowes and wisdome of their king *Henry* the fourth, whereby the scales of Christendome, being more equally ballanced, they hoped to finde Protection and succour against any ambitious desseigne¹⁴ of *Spayne* to invade their liberty, which had long and strongly laboured by all meanes to erect their new Empire in the West. Yet had the State of *Venice*, more then the rest, /10/ great confidence in their owne strength, aswell by reason of their many places strongly fortified, as of their Navye; I meane Gallies aptest to fight in these *Mediterranean* Seas,

¹³ The *fleur de lis* was the French royal symbol.

¹⁴ The French spelling, common in the sixteenth century. *OED*

in the number and goodnes, whereof they equalled or indeed much surpassed the king of *Spayne*.

{ m.n. 16. *The Duke*. }

The Comon wealth of *Venice* consists of an head and a body diuided into three parts, namely the Gentlemen, Citizens and Artificers, being a mixt gouernment, *Monarchicall*, in respect of the duke, *Aristocraticall* in respect of the Gentlemens Counsells, or Courts, bearing cheife sway /20/ and *Democraticall* in respect of Citizens exercising offices of great authority in the *chauncerie*, and otherwise. For the great *Chauncelor* is a Citizen, and as it were a *Tribune* of the people, [and the three Aduocates (vulgarly Auogadori) are Cittisens, and meerely Tribunes of the people,] of which one must alwayes be present in any of the great Counsells, and likewise the Secretaries are Citizens. Only the dignityes of the duke and of the Procurators (or Proctors) of *St. Marke*, are for life, all other officers whatsoeuer are Chosen for a limited tyme, of all which, I will particularly write some thing, but breifly.¹⁵

¹⁵ "Moryson has altered Contarini's famous theory of the Venetian mixed constitution. In Contarini's version only the nobility come within the pale of the constitution at all, and the democratic or popular element in the constitution consists of the very large noble Great Council. Moryson says, quite differently, that the democratic element arises from the involvement in public business of non-noble citizens, who can become Secretaries or even the Grand Chancellor himself. He then makes the misleading remark that the *Avogadori* are mere citizens, although in reality they are nobles. Contarini...refers [confusingly] to nobles as *cives*, since they are the only

Gentlemen may enter the great Counsell at the age of /30/
Twenty fiue yeares, and giue their voyces (that Councell
being of all gentlemen, and only of them) but each ones
Father mother or nearest kinsman must first confirme that
his age by oath, and by two witnesses must in like sort
testify him to be sonne of the Gentlemen he pretends to be
his father. Yea a gentleman may b[.]y lott come to th[e]is
dignity sooner, For vppon the fourth of December euey
yeare the gentlemen of Twenty yeares age goe to the
Auogadori di commune, and prouing their age and their
fathers as aforesaid, each one takes from them a Tickett,
which they carry to the /40/ Secretary of the *Quarantia
criminale* (so called of the Iudges number for Criminall
Causes) who writes their names, and vppon the day of St.
*Barbara*¹⁶ putts the same Ticketts into a Picher before the
duke and his Counsellors, and vppon the other syde as many
Balls couered with siluer, and so called siluer Balls are
putt into a picher, and as many golden Balls, as equall the

people who enjoy full civic rights. Perhaps Moryson was misled by the full title of the *Avogadori*, who were called *Avogadori di Comun*, into thinking that they were tribunes of the non-noble people - whereas in fact they were noble attorneys-general, supposed to act as guardians of the laws." BP Bodin, another of Moryson's sources, will have no truck with this splitting of logic, "...if the nobles or wealthy alone govern the state, and reserve lands and honourable charges for their own class, one can say not only that the state is an aristocracy, but also that it is governed aristocratically. Such is the case of Venice." See Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, abridged and translated by M. J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955), p. 74.

¹⁶ 4 December. CE

fifth part of them, which done the duke by lott takes out each Tickett seuerally, & reading the gentlemans name, takes a Ball out of the pitcher of the other syde, which being of gold, the gentleman is presently /50/ admitted to his voyce in the Councell, but being of siluer he is putt [of] to the next yeare, and so from yeare to yeare is receiued or putt of by lott till he come to the yeare of xxv. yeares age, at which tyme without lott, by his owne right, he is admitted into that Counsell, and to haue his voyce therein. For the old Custome for gentlemen to enter, the Counsell two yeares before they could giue any voyce, is now out of vse. //

Booke i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:i[i]23.

But if the Father of any gentleman through absence or for any other cause, neuer entered that Councell, then his sonne cannot be admitted till he goe, and make knowne his right to the said *Auogadori*, who propound his cause in the foresaid *Quarantia criminale*. where his right is iudged. And lest any man should fraudently putt himselfe vppon this tryall, he must lay downe fiue hundred ducates, which he looseth if he be iudged to be no gentleman. The Chamber wherein this Counsell is kept, being in the *Dukes* publike Palace, is very fayre, large and lightsome,¹⁷ with windowes, /10/ and adorned with most rare woorkes of Paynters, and they say, it is *Quadrangular*, but I measured

¹⁷ "a. 1. Having the effect or appearance of lightness..." *OED*

the insyde 76,. ordinary paces long, and 32 broade. There is a Tribunall or Throne of wood to be remoued at pleasure, much higher then the other seates, and vppon ix double Bankes, and it hath two principall gates. In this Chamber, the great Counsell meetes euery Sunday in the afternoone, and vppon occasion oftner; As when the Counsell of [the] *Pregadi* is to be Chosen, and here they chuse all magistrates, and the /20/ Assembly is called together by the sound of a great Bell, touling for the space of a whole hower, After which tyme the Chamber is shutt, and may not be opened to lett any man enter, except it be one of the Counsellors or one of the *Auagadori*,¹⁸ or one of the heads of the Councell of the [*Quaranta*] Councell of Tenn, called *Capi del consiglio di dieci* or one of the Censors. Vppon the dukes left hand sett the six Counsellors the three heades of the Counsell of *Quaranta* (that is Forty men) then the foresayd three heads of the Councell of *Dieci*, then the three *Auogadori*, and the two Censors, all which /30/ weare the ducall Robe [... sleeues] or gowne of Scarlett with large wyde sleeues, open at the hands, and lyned with rich Furres. Neare the dukes throne are two benches vppon which the *Chauncelor* and his officers sitt. In generall, I can hardly beleeeue, that the *Roman Senate* passed that of *Venice* in grauity of Countenance or statelynes, <of> ornaments, and all the Gentlemen, aswell as the *Senators*, weare gownes

¹⁸ Although it is the same hand, the spelling changes from *Auogadori* to *Auagadori* and back again.

and litle Caps vppon the Crowne of the heads, not only in Councell, but [also] at all tymes, when they goe abroad. The rest of the great Counsell haue no /40/ places assigned to them, but sett promiscuously, only the brothers and the sonnes of the living and deceased dukes, and knights, and doctors haue priority of place, and all the gentlemen giue due respects one to an other, in which outward things the *Italians* seldome fayle.¹⁹ Before the *Duke* three pichers are sett, which are shutt, so as no man can looke into them, and in the two on each hand of the third being in the midst of them, Eight hundreth siluer Balles are putt in each of them, wi[t]ch equall or some what passe the number of the gentlemen being i500, or /50/ more that come to Counsell, besides some thousand more that are vnder 25 yeares, and come not to Counsell. And in each of the same Pichers, 30 balles of gold or guilded, //

fol: i24. Booke.i. The Common wealth of Venice. Chap:V.

are mingled with those of siluer In the midle pitcher are 36 balles of gold, and 24 of siluer. The great *Chancelor* from an eminent place reades what Magistrates are to be chosen that day, then he sends out the *Auogadori*, the heads of the Counsell of *Dieci*, the Censors and the newe and old

¹⁹ The Italian reputation for superficial courtesy which means very little is one complairt of the banished earl, the centre of moral gravity, in Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller*. Italy makes a young man "...to kiss his hand like an ape, cringe his neck like a starveling, and play at heypass, repass come aloft, when he salutes a man." Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, edited by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth, 1972), p.345.

Auditors, who take an oath of the gentlemen to obserue the lawes of the Counsell, namely that no man for a sett tyme shall remoue from his seate, neither shall seeke any magistracye by vndue meanes, and the like. Then three of the Counsellors sett downe by the three /10/ pichers. And first the lott is drawne out seuerally, by which [the] order is prescribed how the gentlemen shall come from their Benches, and who shall come to the Picher on the right hand [and who to that on the left hand.] Then in this order each Gentleman comes to his owne Picher, and drawes out a ball, which if it be siluer he layes it asyde, and goes back to his seate, but if it be gold, he deliuers it into the hand of the Councillor, and going to the midle picher he drawes out an other ball, which being siluer he returnes to his seate, but being gold, he is one of the Electors, /20/ and sitts downe in place [a] appointed, with his back to the Company, that no man by any beck or signe, may desyre his voyce. Thus in order the Electors are made by lott, and because some magistrates place admitts two and some fower Competitors, and Comonly nine magistrats are chosen each day, those that admitt two haue Eighteene, and those that admitt fower haue 36, Electors. Then the Secretary in a place apart, reades the Statutes, and putts ix balles into a Picher, which the ix first Electors draw out, and thereby vnderstand what Competitor /30/ for each Magistrates place the lott will haue each man name, and if casually eleuen or more magistrates be to be Chosen, he that names the first

Competitor, names also the tenth, and the second the Eleuenth, and so forward. These electors may change their voyces one with an other, but they must be suertyes for those Chosen by them with whome they haue changed, if that Magistrate haue any thing to doe with the treasure. This done the first Elector names his Competitor, who in like sort vndergoes the lott of the nyne Electors, and if /40/ he haue six voyces he is approued, but if he haue fewer the Elector must name an other man till one be named that hath so many voyces. Thus the Competitors being Chosen in order, the Electors cannot retorne againe [again] into the Counsell, except they be Counsellors or some principall men. One thing I haue omitted, that among the Electors two of the same Family cannot be admitted, but one of them must be referred to the second course of [the] Electors. The names of the Competitors chosen is as aforesaid, are by the *Secretaryes* exhibited /50/ to the great Chauncelor, among whome those that admitt exception [for] being intangled in publike debt, or with like note disabled, vse to be reiected, and the rest are allowed or disallowed by voyces, but first the Competitors themselues and all their kinsmen of bloud goe out of the //

{ c.w. Councill, }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:i[i]25.
Councill. Then the first of the Competitors is named, and certaine young men goe about, whereof each carryes two boxes, one white, an other greene, and they that approue

the Competitor named, put a ball into the white boxe, they who disaproue him, putt it into the greene boxe, which done, the Counsellors number the balls or voyces, and if the Competitor haue more then halfe, the gentlemens voyces, then he is capable of being that magistrate, till the rest of his Competitors, haue vndergone the like tryall of voyces, for then he among them, who hath most voyces /10/ aboue the halfe number, is chosen magistrate. In the like manner all Magistrates are chosen, the kinsmen, of the Competitors [....]alwayes going out of the Counsell, and when all are Chosen, they are all commaunded to come before the Censors, and each one takes his oathe that he vsed no vndue meanes to attayne the place to which he is chosen. But if not any one of the Competitors for any one magistracye, had more then halfe the voyces, none of them is reputed chosen. And in that case, because of an old lawe, this great Counsell must be dissolved before the setting of the sonne, /20/ if they haue not tyme that day to take voyces againe, then new Competitors must be named the next day following.

The Counsell vulgarly called *di Pregadi*, is reputed among the Cheife members of this State, which of old conteyned no more then sixty persons, but the multiplicity & consequence of affayres daily increasing, now twenty, then more were added to them, till the number of those added, equalled those of the first institution, so as at this day this

Counsell contaynes i20 persons, and among the first sixty, only three, among the added sixty, only two, may be of the same /30/ Family. Moreouer the *Duke*, the six Counsellors, all the Counsell of *Dieci* (or tenn men) the *Auogadori* (or Advocates), all the Procurators (or Proctors of *St. Marke*), the Forty Criminall Iudges, three Inferior Counsellors, the two Censors, are by their places of this Counsell without any Election therevnto. Also three *di Castaldia*, three Gouvernors of the Reuenues, three ouerseers of victualls, and fower of salt, three Chamberlanes of the Common, three old Auditors, and three new, three Prouisors of the Common three masters of the *Arsenall*, three Prouisors of the Chambers /40/ three other Prouisors, and three officers called *Cataueri* haue their voyces in this Counsell.²⁰ But some are admitted to the Counsell that haue no voyces, as the Colledge of the *Sauij*,²¹ three Prouisors of the waters, three Prouisors for health, and three for Customes, and Tolls, the Prouisors for *Alexandria*, twelue Prouisors for *Damasco*, and twelue for *London*. This Counsell hath the name *Pregadi*, because the Iudges called to meeting, were invited by prayers, and intreatyes, and these Iudges, as all other magistrates are chosen by the foresaid great Counsell, and by an old Custome, /50/ in tymes of danger to the State,

²⁰ All these functionaries and their official duties are described in more detail later in this chapter. See fols. 133 - 135.

²¹ Sages, wise men.

all were admitted to this Councell for more grace or honor,
who releiued the Commonwealth by lending sommes of mony.
This Councell vseth to be //

fol:i26. Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V.

called together at the pleasure of the Senators, [from]
[some] officers going about to invite them, and a Bell
sounding before the hower of the meeting, and (as I
remember) they ordinarily mette vppon Saterdag each weeke.
There can be nothing determind, except fower of the
Counsellors, and 60, of them that haue voyces [to] be
present. In this Councell new lawes are made, and they who
perswade them, first propound their reasons in the
Colledge, where they being allowed, the matter is referred
to this Councell, and being approued therein, the law hath
force, and is published. /10/

In like sort this *Senate* determines warr, peace, truce, and
the greatest affayres of the State, and chuseth the
generall of the Army, the Campe master and the magistrates
called *Sauij grandi*, and *Sauij d[e]i terra firma*, and all
things are concluded (as in the great Councell) by the lott
of voyces, and by more then halfe part of the voyces, so as
he that most voyces aboue the halfe part, is preferred
before the rest. But the Generall of the Army chosen by
this *Senate* with the Competitors, may be approued or
reiected in the great Councell. Lastly in this *Senate* /20/
all the Captaynes and military men propound their Petitions

to be determined by the same.

The Colledge is the third member of the Common wealth and consists of three magistrates, Six *Sauij grandi*, that is [to say]) sixe great Sages or wise men), five *Sauij* of firme land, and five of the Sea, in all sixteene, and in this Counsell enters the Senate [called] *la Signoria* representing the person of the State, namely the duke, the sixe Counsellors, the three heads of the Forty Criminall Iudges called *Capi, di Quaranta*, (which *Senate* is /30/ admitted also in the great Counsell, in the Counsell of *Pregadi* and of the *Dieci*). Of this Colledge, five haue vnder their authority all affayres of the Continent, or firme land, Five the affayres of the Sea, and six both affayres with superintendancye, but of late the *Sages* of the firme land haue bene adiudged æquall to the grand *Sages*, and those of the Sea, are of lesse estimation, which of old were preferred to those of firme land, when the State had greater power at Sea, and lesse at land, then now it hath. All these /40/ *Sages* are Chosen in the Counsell of *Pregadi*. If any thing of the firme land be to be de<termin>ed, the grand *Sages*, and these of firme land, may exclude those of the Sea affayres, but most commonly being admitted to Consultations, they are only barred from having any voyces in determining; yet if any Sea matter be handled, the *Sages* of these affayres, cannot exclude the other, or debarr them of their voyces,. When they haue

deliuered their Iudgments, a *Secretary* writes them downe, and after, those *Sages* doe more at large /50/ yeild the reasons of their Iudgments before the Counsell of *Pregadi*, which done the matter is [there] determinined by voyces, which you must alwayes vnderstand to be dumbe, not in open wordes, but by diuerse balles putt into diuerse boxes. If any opinion be so generally displeasing as most //

Booke.i. The Common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:127.

of the Iudges put their balls into a third boxe, being as it were nutrall (which voyces are called not sincere) that opinion may be no more propounded. And [b]lest the Common wealth should be deprived of any mans Iudgment it is the Custome that any man may deliuer the same to one of the Iudges who vse to propound it, and putt it to voyces. These three kindes of *Sages* are chosen at diuerse tymes, not all at one tyme, and their office indures for six moneths, and before them are handled all matters concerning the Army, and forces by /10/ land and Sea, and they receiue all publike letters and giue Audience to all Ambassadors of forayne States.

When the duke (being the supreme Magistrate) is dead, the six Counsellors with the three heads of the Forty called *Capi di Quaranta* (whome I sayd with the duke to [pre] represent the person of the State, and to be called *la Signoria*) doe enter the publike Pallace, and the eldest of the Counsellors is reputed vice *Duke*, and signeth some

things, as certaine notes concerning the Choyce of a new duke, but publike letters are written ioyntly in /20/ all their names, and those are shutt vpp in the Pallace, neuer coming out till a new *Duke* be chosen. And howsoeuer the Citty vseth no more to be troubled with the death of a duke then of any other great gentleman, yet a garde of Armed men is by old Custome to watch before the Pallace.²² The dead body of the duke clad in the *Ducall* vesture is layd in a withdrawing Chamber where for three dayes continually twenty gentlemen in Scarlett gownes sett about it, then his Funerall is performed, which done the great Counsell is called /30/ together, and the *Chauncelor* signifyes that a new duke must be created, and to that end they are to chuse five Correctors, and three Inquisitors. Then the eldest Counsellor being vice duke, makes an oration in praise of the deceased *Duke*, and exhorteth the Gentlemen to chuse a new *Duke* profitable to the Common wealth. Then the lawes of this Election being first read, they chuse the said Correctors and Inquisitors in like manner as other Magistrates are chosen. The office of the Correctors is to propound new lawes to be made, which /40/ they finde by experience fitt to restrayne the succeeding *Dukes* power.

²² "There is in the Cittie of Venice no greater alteration at the death of their Duke, then at the death of any other priuate Gentleman." Gasparo Contarini, *The Commonwealth and Gouvernment of Venice* written by the Cardinal Gasper Contareno, translated by Lewes Lewkenor (London, 1599), pp. 156 - 157. I will refer to this book as Lewkenor, as he includes material not in Contarini.

And the office of the Inquisitors is, to inquire into the life and actions of the deceased *Duke* that in case he hath offended against the Common wealth they may accuse him, and punishment may be layd vppon his Heyres, which must alwayes be a mulct of mony.²³ Thus the *Duke* [of] *Lored[i]ano* being dead, was condemned that he had not liued with magnificence fitting his dignity, and his heyres were fyned at a 1500th ducates.²⁴ The decrees of the Correctors and Inquisitors are seuerally /50/ reprod or reiected in the great Counsell by the foresaid //

fol:i[i]28: Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V.
dumbe voyces, namely Balls, and no gentleman vnder thirty yeares age may come into this great Counsell, though generally it consist of all the nobility aboue xxv yeares age. Thirty golden balls and as many siluer as the gentlemen of the Counsell be in number, are putt into a picher, and one of the Counsellors brings a boy out of the

²³ "1. A fine imposed for an offence." *OED* It was a relatively modern word when Moryson used it, and has largely gone out of modern use. *OED*'s first example is from 1591, the last from 1894.

²⁴ This may have been retrospective spite against Doge Pietro Loredan (1567 - 1570). As *il Dose della carestia*, he was blamed by the people for the famine of 1569 - 1570, and the consequent adulteration of loaves with millet. See *Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), pp. 112 - 113. The fine was a symbolic criticism of his failure to provide generous relief in the time of scarcity.

Church of St Marke adioyning to the Pallace,²⁵ (who formerly vsed to goe before the Duke in publike processions, and so is to goe before the next Duke, and when he comes to ripe age is made one of the Secrataryes.) /10/ This boy drawes out the balls and when a golden ball falls to any gentleman by lott, all [the] [his] kinsemen in the Counsell are numbred and vse to goe forth, because they are no more admitted to any lott for the rest of the thirty balls, which being in like sorte drawne out, the Counsell is dismissed, and the thirty gentlemen that haue them by lott, are commaunded to sett downe before the Signoria representing the State (as aforesayd) and twenty one siluer and nyne golden balls are put into a Picher, and they to whome the nine golden balls fall by lott, being shutt /20/ into a Chamber, and giuing oath to make a good choyce may not come forth till they haue chosen Forty gentlemen of diuerse Familyes, [are] all to be named by them and each one to be approued by seuen voyces of the nyne, which done they certify the same to the Senators representing the State, who assemble the great Counsell, whe[n]re the great *Chauncelor* with two Secretaryes demaunds the names of the Forty Chosen and reades them aloud, and they are presently

²⁵ It was generally the youngest member of the *Signorià* who chose the *ballotino*, the first boy he saw when leaving the Basilica of St. Mark. See John Julius Norwich, *Venice Rise*, p. 190. *OED* explains how it gave us our word, ballot. "1. A small ball used for secret voting; hence, by extension, a ticket, paper, etc. so used." Black balling also ultimately derives from Venetian practice.

putt into a chamber a part, and if any of them be not present they send /30/ for them, with Caution that no man speake with them by the way. Then before the said Senators 28. siluer and i2 golden balles, are drawne out of a picher for these Forty Chosen gentlemen, and they who haue by lott the twelue golden balls, are shutt into a chamber, and taking the former oath, chuse 25. gentlemen of diuerse Familyes each one by ix voyces of i2. These 25. come to the said Senators, and i6, siluer ix golden balls being drawne out for them, the ix that haue by lott the golden balls in like sort name and chuse by /40/ seauen voyces 45 gentlemen of diuerse Familyes, and for them 34 siluer, and 11. golden balls being drawne out, they who by lott haue the 11 golden balls, chuse 4i gentlemen alwayes of diuerse Familyes, each one chosen by nyne voyces of [the] eleuen. These 41. gentlemen being the Electors of the *Duke*, goe to heare Masse, and then being shutt into a Chamber each one in writing names one to be *Duke*, but all of them neuer name more then Eight, iudged capable of that dignity. Then the names of the Competitors are drawne by lott out of a /50/ picher, and the first being drawne out, if perhapps he be one of the Electors, he is shutt into a Chamber for that purpose, and it is permitted to all to object against him what they can, which done he is called back to the Electors, and the obiections being read to him, he is permitted to answer them, and then he vndergoes the dumb //

Booke.i. The Common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:i[i]29.

voyces of the 41. Electors shewing consent or dislike by balls putt into boxes of diuerse Coulers, and if he haue 25 voyces, he is chosen *Duke*, otherwise the rest of the Competitors are drawne out and vndergoe this tryall one by one till so many voyces agree vppon one of them. Then the Electors make knowne the Chosen duke to the said *Senators*, who first come to congratulate him, then all the Bells are rong, his kinsmen come to visitt him, new mony is coyned in the *Dukes* name, and the duke with the 41 [one] Electors goes to the Church of St, *Marke*, where the eldest Elector pre/10/sents him to the people, and after wonted acclamations the duke makes an oration to the people, and giues his oathe before the Procurators of St. *Marke*. This done the duke his Standard bearer, and his dearest freind[s] who carryes the Purse of the new Coyne to be dispersed among the people, sett downe vppon a portable seat made of purpose, and the Maryners of the *Arsenall* carrye[s] this seate vppon their shoulders rounde about the markett place, and sett it downe at the gate of the Pallace, where vppon the stayres, the six Counsellors, and the three heads of /20/ the *Quaranta* meete the duke, and the eldest of the Counsellors putts the *Ducall* Cap vppon the head of the *Duke*.²⁶

²⁶ It was known as the *corno ducale*. See Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 221 - 222, for its religious symbolism.

While I liued at *Venice* I did often see the *Duke*, and once more fully when the *french Duke* of *Neuers* came to visitt him. The *Duke* was a very old man for such are comonly chosen.²⁷ . His habitt was proper to that dignity of Scarlett and rich Furres, but in the sleeues differing from priuate men, and vnder his *Ducall* Cap he wore a white Coyfe hanging downe from his eares ouer his neck.²⁸ /30/ The magistrates called the *Sauij grandi*, in blew gownes stood by the *Duke*, and the six Counsellors in redd gownes (for the yongest gentlemen is gowned, all of one fashion and of

²⁷ The Doge Moryson would have seen in 1594, would have been Pasquale Cicogna (1585 - 1595), who was in his mid eighties. I have gleaned this from Giustiniano Martinioni's additions to Francesco Sansovino's *Venetia Citta Nobilissima 1663* (reprinted, Farnborough, 1968), p. 623. Ludovico Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers (1539 - 1595) was "...third son of Duke Federico of Mantua and Margherita Paleologo. He had been nominated by his maternal grandmother, Anne of Alençon, heir to the property she possessed in France. Sent to the French court at the age of ten, he became very prominent there as a stalwart of the Catholic party...He married Henrietta of Cleves and acquired control over his wife's possessions, also becoming Duke of Maine and the Rethelois, and a Peer of France. In general, Venice and France were drawing close together during the early 1590s, because Venice moved promptly to recognize Henry IV as King of France and to persuade the Pope to do so. The visit of Nevers, a French aristocrat of Italian birth, may well have been connected with this matter." BP These peronal contacts were not without significance, since Venice supported the claims of his son Carlo Gonzaga (1580 - 1637) to the Duchy of Mantua, which the Habsburg Emperor disputed. BP

²⁸ "n. 1. b. In later use, worn by men only as a night-cap, skull-cap, under-cap. Obs." *OED* Originally Byzantine, the *camauero* was reinterpreted by Sansovino as a Venetian substitute for a regalian symbol, something resembling the *fascia* used by ancient kings as a crown. See Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 207 - 208.

black Coulor, and aswell young as old weare very litle Capps on the Crowne of the head). At this tyme I obserued that one of the Counsellors alwayes stood so neare the *Duke*, as no word could passe betweene him and the *french Duke* which was not heard by one or more of them. And indeed it is vulgarly sayd that the *Duke* may not receiue a letter, no not from his sonne or wife, but one of these /40/ Counsellors must be at the reading of it, nether can he send any publike or priuate letters, but vppon the like Condition, yea the *Duke* may not without leaue goe out of the Citty, which *Peter Loredon* asked, and obtayned to goe to his village in the Country, but the like vseth seldome or neuer to be asked or obtayned. Many publike Precessions are yearely appointed, wherein the *Duke* betweene two cheife Ambassadors, and accompanied with the graue *Senators*, with a gentleman carrying a naked sword by his syde, with many banners before him and with Trumpetts, and Bells sounding /50/ is carryed in a gilded chayre about some parts of the Citty with a Canopye ouer his head, and not only all the pompe but the very spaces of tyme, and place in those processions //

fol:i[2]30. Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. are prescribed by the lawes. Not to speake of the like pompe [being] in going to Sea vppon [vppon] the Assention day to cast a ring into the Sea as a pledge of mariage betweene it and the State. And I remember that in the markett place of St [.]*Marke* nere to the Publike Pallace

where the *Duke* resides, there be two stately carued Pillers, vppon which they say that a *Duke* seeking to oppresse the liberty of the State, was hanged in a tumult.²⁹ And it was vulgarly sayd that the duke must in all [the] Processions (as myselfe obserued often to be done) passe through these Pillers, I know not whether by law or Custome /10/ *Sansouine* reports, that a *Duke* making an oration, a gentleman that told him that he spake idly, was seuerely punished for the same, yet no doubt, excepting those outward pomps the *Duke* hath no more authority then one of the honourable *Senators*. *Sansouine* reports that the *Duke* hath yearely 3500. ducates from the State, and that he is tyed to keepe an honourable Family, but the written relations testifye that he hath weekely a hundreth zechines of Gold, and it cannot be imagined, how priuately he liues, neither indeed doe the *Italians* know what [it] is to keepe a Court fitting the /20/ greatnes of a Prince, or surely

²⁹ This probably owes more to myth than fact. Vitale Michiel II (1156 - 1172) was stabbed to death in a riot. Marino Faliero (1354 - 1355), the subject of a play by Byron, did attempt to subvert the republic and massacre the oligarchy, but he was decapitated, rather than hanged, within the inner courtyard of the Doge's palace. As Sansovino puts it, "... fu decapitato in quel luogo, doue hebbe la corona Ducale." See Book XIII of Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia Citta Nobilissima 1663* (reprinted, Farnborough, 1968), p. 569, (referred to hereafter as *Venetia*), and John Julius Norwich, *Venice Rise*, passim. The columns, which were taken from Constantinople, are mentioned by Sansovino in Book VIII on pp. 316 - 317.

they haue small practice thereof.³⁰ Likewise he writes that the Duke is tyed fower tymes yearely to invite the gentlemen to a Feast, not the same men often, but all in order, so as they of equall age and Condition are invited together,³¹ And that the Duke yearely giues each gentleman a guift, of old fyue wilde ducks of the Sea, in these dayes a Coyne stamped of purpose with the inscription of the Dukes name, and the yeare of his Dukedome.³²

³⁰ "In fiscal documents of 1582-3, which contain statements of the income and expenditure of the Venetian Republic, the Doge's salary is given as 4,800 ducats a year, which does indeed suggest that Sansovino underestimated it (though it didn't quite amount to 100 gold ducats a week, as Moryson surmises). See *Bilanci generali della Repubblica di Venezia*, ed. Fabio Bestia (Venice, 1912), p. 323." BP

³¹ "*Et perche si restrignesse ancora molto più con la nobilità, s'ordinò, che ogni anno facesse quattro Conuiti, accioche communicando in quell'occassione la sua conuersatione con diuersi nobili d'ogni grado, & èta, venisse à sembianza de i conuiti de i Lacedemoni...*" Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 487. "And in order to have closer bonds with the nobility, it was decreed, that four feasts would be held every year, with a view to communicating on that occasion his conversation with various members of the nobility at every level, and of every age, that it should resemble the feasts of the Spartans." Since Moryson seems to contradict this, Professor Pullan suggests that he is probably working from memory.

³² "...still known as *oselle* in memory of the birds they replaced." John Julius Norwich, *Venice Fall*, p. 180. In Book XI Sansovino writes, "*...ne primi tempi, il dono era di// cose mangiatue, si tramutò in vna moneta di argento*", *Venetia*, pp. 486 - 487. "...at the outset, the gift used to be comestibles, then it changed to silver coin." Moryson takes material from various sources, without always correctly attributing it, since the following also seems to be a source. "Whereas *Contaren*, in the former treatise writeth of a present of fiue wild Duckes, which the Duke was // yearely accustomed to send to euery Gentleman that had not beene at his feast, now since the time in which he wrote, that kind of present is turned into a peece of

The six Councillors without whome the *Duke* can doe nothing /30/ are aged gentlemen of greatest reputation. Three of them vse to be chosen at one tyme, and the Counsell of *Pregadi* names one Competitor for each place, and the great Counsell chuseth the rest by lott, and aswell the first as the latter, are approued or reiected in the great Counsell. Yet those named by the Counsell of *Pregadi* are commonly approued, aswell because they are named with sincere iudgment, as because the Senators that named them procure their freinds to chuse them. The *Duke* and these six Councillors, giue audience to Ambassadors /40/ receiue and reade letters written to the State, graunt priuiledges, and dispatch many affayres, but the *Duke* can doe nothing without fower of them be present, whereas they can dispatch any thing in the *Dukes* absence, and in the Causes to be propounded to this or that Counsell, any one of them not having any of the rest to ioyne with him, hath more authority then the foresaid great *Sages*, or the three heads or Cheifes of the Councill of Tenn. For in the great Counsell, or in that of the *Pregadi*, he alone may propound any thing, but not in the Councill of Tenn, except /50/ three other consent with him. These Councillors are chosen for a yeare, but they assist the *Duke* only Eight monethes

siluer coyne, vpon one side of which is the picture of a marke reaching a standarde to the Duke, and on the other the names of the Duke, with the yeare of his raign with this circumscription. *Donum A. G. Ducis Venetorum.*" Lewkenor, pp. 158 - 159. See the picture of Doge Cicogna's *osella* reproduced after this text, p. 178.

for they are tyed to sett fower monethes in the Court called *Quarantia criminale*, either at the beginning or ending //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol: i[2]3i of the yeare. So as there be alwayes nine Counsellors, whereof six assist the duke, and three sitt in the said Court. Also the *Duke*, and these sixe Councellors are assisted by three of the said Court called *Capi di Quaranta*, and these three [of the said Court] are chosen continually for two monethes by the rest of the said Forty Iudges of the said Court. And the duke with these nine, are vulgarly called the *Signory*, representing the State of *Venice*. The duke and the Counsellors may be present, and propound things to be deliberated vppon, in the Colledge of the *Sages*, in the /10/ Counsell of the *Pregadi*, in the great Counsell, and the *Decemuirall* Counsell, so as nothing of moment is done without the *Dukes* presence, but nothing is done, by his owne authority alone. All letters are written in the name of the duke, and signed by him, adding the name of the Counsell, or of the heads that decreed the dispatch, and the Answers of them are in like sort returned from these to whome they are written, be they Subiects or forayne Princes. And all Priuiledges and publique graunts, are made in the name of the duke. He was wont /20/ euery Wednesday to visitt the Courts of Iustice, and to exhort the Iudges to doe Iustice, hearing the Petitions of all Plaintiffs, commaunding the Iudges to doe them right, or

reprouing them that rashly complayned without cause,. but now he keepes not a sett day, but doth this on the sodaine any day at his pleasure.

{ m.n. 27, 28. *The Decemuirall Counsell.* }

The *Decemuirall* Counsell or Counsell of Tenn, is like the dictatorship of *Rome*, saue that this is perpetuall, the other was only appointed in tymes of danger.³³ This Councell is of equall authority with that of the *Pregadi*, for it consults /30/ of publike affayres, having no superior Counsell, but exerciseth this authority only in cases of greatest moment, as in the decrees of peace and warr, which being handled in the Counsell of the *Pregadi*, to which they properly belong, the affayres would not be dispatched with due secrescye, and necessary Celerity. And in these Cases letters are written in the name of the duke, and this Counsell, and the answers are made to them, and they exclude the heads of the *Quarantia* and the Sages of the Sea from deliberating of these affayres. The Counsell

³³ It was established for just two months in 1310 after the suppression of Baiamonte's revolt, and became permanent, in the same way that the Roman dictatorship was infinitely prolonged by Julius Caesar. In both cases this aroused opposition. At the time that Moryson was writing this, Renier Zen and his followers tried to call the Ten to account. See Harvey, and John Julius Norwich, *Venice Rise*, and his *Venice Fall*.

Moryson follows Lewkenor closely, "The counsell of tenne is a mightie member of the Venetian commonwealthe, hauing in some sort a kinde of likenesse, in authority to the Romaine Dictator, that was created in times of danger..." p. 159.

is assembled by the three heads or Cheefes of the /40/
Counsell, and therein must assemble the *Duke*, his
Counsellors, the *Decemuiri*, the great Sages, and the *Sages*
of firme land, with fifteene Assistants, Advocates and nyne
Procurators of *St. Marke*, but only the *Duke*, the
Counsellors, the *Decemuiri*, and the Assistants haue voyces.
At first it was of small authority, but grew great in tyme,
drawing to it selfe all Causes of Treason, of Coyners, of
Sodomye, and the like, and having vnder it the Gallyes
marked with *C. X.* , for *Capi Dieci*, that is heads of
Tenn,³⁴ also having the Care of great Ordinance, and
munition, but of these things /50/ the Counsell iudgeth of
itselfe without the Assistants. The *Decemviri*, or Tenn
Counsellors, are chosen by the great Counsell, and each
moneth three of them are chosen to be heads or Cheifes,
whereof one each weeke is President of the Counsell, and
these three //

fol:i[2]32. Booke i. The Common wealth of Venice. Chap:V.
call the Assembly and propound the Causes to deliberation.
Of old they had no sett day of meeting but finding that
vppon their assembly the whole Citty was moued, as if it
po[r]tended some danger, they haue euer since vsed to
assemble vppon the Eight day; by which Custome the
Commotion of the people hath ceased. When fiue of these

³⁴ "...the Councell of tenne haue certaine Gallies in
the Arsenall particularly belonging to their commandement
& charge, signed with these two letters c. and x. for *Capi
de dieci*." Lewkenor, p. 159.

Councillors iudge any cause, the man iudged may not defend his cause, by himselfe or by any other, except some one of them will defend it, but they examine him writing his answers, and there is no appeale from their Iudgment, which can only be changed by themselues /10/ or by their Successors, for they exercise this place for one yeare.

{ m.n. 13, 14. *The Procurators of St. Marke.* }

The office of *Procurators* is of great estimation, not for the gouernment of the Common wealth, but for the dignity of that degree, they being (as the *Duke*) chosen for life, and the office being of great antiquity seldome any being chosen *Duke* who was not *Procurator*.³⁵ At first there was only [one] *Procurator* of *St. Marke*, but the Reuenewes of that Church greatly increasing, an other was made, and after a third in the yeare 1270, then a fourth, and /20/ shortly two other, and in the yeare 1423, three more were made,. Lastly in the yeare 1509, when the Common wealth was distressed by the *french*, king *Lewes* the i2th and his Confederates, the State was forced to make six *Procurators* more, and to giue this honor to such men as releiued the Common wealth with mony. By their authority thay may

³⁵ "...there was neuer in *Venice* any gentleman of any principall reckoning, but that did thinke himselfe greatly honored with this dignitie, and since the first institution thereof, few haue beene chosen *Dukes*, that had not first beene *Procurators*." *Lewkenor*, p. 160. *Moryson* seems to have *Lewkenor* in front of him throughout the section on the *Procurators*.

compell all heyres to performe the wills of the Testators. They weare ducall Robes, and haue place of all magistrates, but in the publique processions, the Counsellors and the heads of the *Quarantia* /30/ or Counsell of Forty goe on the right hand of the duke, and the Procurators in their order[s] goe on the left hand. The State allowes each of them a Pallace, or sixty ducates yearely in leiuie thereof, till one of the Publique Pallaces fall voyd. They are admitted in the Councell of *Pregadi*, but the nyne eldest are chosen in the *Decemuirall* Counsell [and they may be] and they may be chosen to be of the great *Sages* or of the Assistants in the *Decemuirall* Counsell, but may beare no other magistracys, neither are they admitted, [neither are they admitted] into /40/ the great Counsell, but only at the Election of the *Duke*, and that by a late priuiledge, but the great Counsell being called, they were wont of old to attend in the Courtyard and be ready to appease by their authority any sodeine Commotion of the people, by which it seemes probable that of old they were not admitted at all into the great Counsell, but the Common wealth becoming peaceable, their attendance in the Court yarde is growne out of vse. In the passed age their estimation began to be diminished, when the state in tymes of danger was forced to add more to their /50/ number, who were nothing equall to the former in dignity, so as at this tyme they were in all 24 in number.

{ m.n. 53. *Inferior magistrates.* }

This shall suffice of the supreme Magistrates, I will add something of the Inferior. the Court of Petitions at this tyme, whereof I write, iudged of Causes aboue 50 ducates // *Booke i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. fol:1[2]33.* in bargaynes and Controuersye, betweene marchants and masters of Shipps, and in Causes of Pupills and Testaments. The Court of mouables answerable to the former, iudgeth cause<s>[th] vnder Fifty ducates. A Procurator iudgeth the Causes belonging to the Procurators, and the Complaynts of wiues against their husbands,. The Court of *Property* iudgeth of dowryes after mariage dissolued, the diuision of Inheritances, the succession of those that dye without wills, and all Controuersyes of neere kinsmen. The Examiner takes the oathes of witnesses for /10/ perpetuall memory, when any one feareth lest his witnesses should dye or leaue the Citty. He hath also care of sales, Guiftes proscriptions, Sequestrations, breuiaries of Testaments,³⁶ Conditionall legacies. And these iudge all the Causes of the Inhabitants only. Among the Courts of *St. Marke* are the *Cathaueri*, fiscall Iudges, who take care of publike things, Seaze the goods of those that dye without wills, having no Successor, levye the Fynes imposed vppon any by other Iudges, determine the Causes of Mariners and of Treasure found by land, and goods found by Sea. /20/ And of old they

³⁶ "1. a. A brief statement, summary, epitome. ? Obs."
OED

were wont to take the names of Pilgrimes to the holy Land, and to iudge their differences, but at this day the names of Pilgrimes are not taken, neither doe any Gallyes (according to the old Custome) transport them yearely from *Venice to Palestine*.³⁷ The *Piomego*³⁸ iudgeth vsurious Contracts, taketh care of [the] high wayes and that no building be sett out further into the streets, or vppon the Channells of the Sea, then the lawe permitteth. And in this particuler my selfe remember, that not long before my being at *Venice*, a gentleman of the house /30/ of *Grimani* built a stately Pallace nere the *Realto*, the foundations whereof reached much further into the great Channell, then any other building, for which cause the Pallace should haue bene pulled downe, had not the builder found speciall fauour to redeeme that fault by a very great Fyne. The

³⁷ Moryson parphrases Lewkenor's description, "These are Iudges of the confiscations, and exactors of the publike duties, they were created in the yeare 1280. They succeed in the goods of those that die intestate, if they haue no lawfull heires. They gather in those penalties as are by the other Iudges inflicted vpon offenders.

They are Iudges ouer the officers of shipping. They make publike sales in name of the commune: they are Iudges of such thinges as are founde at sea, or treasures that are found at land. They heare such differences as do arise between pilgrims that go to the holy land, and the matters of the ships wherein they go, & the names of the pilgrims are registered in their office..." p. 181. Note how Moryson brings the information up to date, from his personal knowledge. Names of pilgrims are no longer taken. However, he fails to note that the *Cattaveri* "...had acquired another function - in that they had jurisdiction over the Ghetto, or at least over the part of it occupied by the Germanic Jews, and were required to enforce the wearing of distinctive headdress by Jewish men." BP

³⁸ *Piovego* is the normal Venetian spelling. BP

Iudges called *Sindici* iudge of Fees in going to lawe, that the Coueteousnes of Aduocates may be restrayned. *Sopracastaldi* iudge executions and appeales are made from them to superior Iudges.³⁹ The old Auditors iudge of Appeales, and send them back /40/ to the *Quarantia ciuile* (that is the Court of the Forty Iudges for Ciuill Causes). They cannot admitt new witnesses which were not produced in the first Iudgment of the Cause, except sentence were giuen in the absence of one of the parties (namely of the defendant or Plaintiffe.) The new Auditors heare forayne Appeales, and if all of them (being three) doe with one consent approue any one Iudgment, no further appeale is admitted in that Cause. But they medle not with any Iudgments giuen against Soldiers in pay; which are referred to the *Sages of firme* /50/ land called *Sauij di terra firma*. When the Gouvernors (called *Podesta*) ouer Cittyes and villages, goe out of their //

fol:1[2]34. Booke.i. The common wealth of Venice. Chap:V. office, these Auditors heare all Appeales from any Iudgment of theirs, so it be made within due tyme, according to the Priuiledge of the place, but no prescription of tyme can preiudice the Church, the publique State, widowes Pupills, or the poore. Auditors called the *Newest*, are appointed in

³⁹ "There are other called *Sopracastaldi*, whose office is to serue executions vpon iudgement, so that they are called Iudges of executions. They haue the selling of such goods as are attached by executions, & haue the hearing of all such differences as do arise about such attachments, executions, contradictions, &c." Lewkenor, p. 182.

respect of the multitude of Causes to heare forayne Appeales vnder the value of 50 ducates.⁴⁰ The Ciuill magistrates of the night haue care of the executions of forayne Iudgments, and the letting of houses, and iudge some mixt causes in part Criminall. /10/ The Criminall magistrates of the night first instituted by *Duke Marino Morosini*, haue the care to preuent the firing of howses, and murthers and incursions made by night, And they haue power of Capitall Iudgment, assisted by the *Quarantia Criminall* or the Court of *Proprio* or Property,⁴¹ they also iudge such as haue two Wiues or husbands, and Rauishers of Virgines, and Receiuers of Theeues, and the Controuersyes of Iewes, with any Christian,⁴² as also the Phisitions and

⁴⁰ "The *Auditori Novissimi* were established during the reign of the Doge Pietro Lando (1538-45). According to Girolamo Bardi, they were established in order to expedite justice for the poor, since the *Auditori Novi* were liable to be too much occupied with the cases of the great who lived in the dominions of Venice. See his *Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia* (Venice, 1606), p. 88. Sansovino says some of the same things, and adds the detail that the *Auditori Novissimi* were established in Lando's sixth year, about 1543-4 (Sansovino, p. 596)." BP

⁴¹ After Desdemona's flight, Brabantio in *Othello* orders up "some special officers of night." I. 1. 184. They were more like the English constables at this time, having "onely power to correct base vagabonds and tryfeling offences." Lewkenor, p. 97. Their written testimony, and depositions from witnesses would be used in the Court of Property, (which could inflict capital sentences.) See Lewkenor, pp. 96, 97.

⁴² It would be doubtful if, as in *The Merchant of Venice* the Doge would have been present at a controversy between a Jew and Christian. Yet Shakespeare embodies a larger truth, in that Shylock is able to appeal to the Venetian respect for the rule of law,

If you deny me, fie upon your law:

Surgeons who giue not vpp the names of such as being wounded are vnder /20/ their Cure. The *Quarantia vecchia ciuile* (or old 40 Iudges for Ciuill Causes) iudgeth the Causes sent thither by the old Auditors, as the new *Quarantia* iudgeth these [causes] sent thither by the [old] [newe] Auditors. The Colledge of 25 Iudges definitiueley determineth Ciuill Causes from 50 to 300, ducates, and for two monethes heard domesticall, for 2 monethes forayne Causes. The Iudges of the *Quarantia criminale*, for honor are clothed in Robes of *Paonazzo* (that is of Peacocks blew, which I thinke, we vulgarly call Turkey Coulor)⁴³ when they are sett in the Court, where /30/ the duke himselve was of old wont to sett, but now (as I formerly sayd) three of the Counsellors sett there in his steede. These heare Criminall Causes aswell formerly vnheard, as coming to the Court by appeales, where Aduocates plead the Causes of the accused, and sometymes they defend their owne Causes. The Iudges for the waters vulgarly called *Signori all'Acque* haue care of all concerning the *Lagune* or Channells of the Sea, as the Cleansing thereof and the like. Other Iudges haue Care of Corne and prouision of victualls. Others prouide /40/ for the health of the Citty, that no person infected with the

There is no force in the decrees of Venice.
I stand for judgement. Answer: shall I have it ?
IV. 1. 100 - 102.

⁴³ *Paonazzo* is a purple, or a more violet blue than peacock blue. Zingarelli defines it as a bluish violet, "*di colore bluastro e violaceo.*"

plague be receiued into the same, vnder whome are the Phisitians, the *Mountibankes* and the like, and in their Court the names of the *Curtizans* or *Harlotts* are written. Others are sett ouer the *Tolles* and *Customes* to see that priuate men deceiue not the State. Five Iustices of the peace punish those that breake the peace by striking wounding, or doing any other iniury. The Court of old Iustice setts a price vppon fruites, and like things and punisheth those that deceiue with false weights and /50/ measures, and from them appeale may be made to the *Cataueri* and old Auditors. Three Consulls among the // *Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence. and Lucca. Chap:vi. fol:i[2]35.*

Marchants iudge of Contracts. Three called *Sopraconsuli* iudge of marchants banckrowting, and giue the Creditors security to keepe them from prison, and cite such as flye, and sell their goods to satisfy the Creditors, so farr as they can, and iudge of other mens goods founde in their possession, dividing the goods equally among the Creditors.⁴⁴ The Iudges of the *Pomps* haue care there be no excesse in diett, or apparrell, and in that kinde punish or

⁴⁴ "*Sopraconsuli* are those that haue to doe with Marchantes that breake bankerout, and with matters of pawnes. They grant protection to such as are indebted, whereby their bodies may be kept free from prison: they proclaime with a very solemne ceremony those that are fugitiue for debt..." *Lewkenor*, p. 183. In 1597, *Moryson* had a personal experience with these officers who had kept his belongings safe, when the merchant with whom he and *Henry Moryson* had left their goods went bankrupt.

giue liberty to the Harlotts.⁴⁵ Other Iudges ouersee the meale for iust weight, and that it be not musty. The Iudges of /10/ the new Iustice ouersee the Innes and the letting of Chambers.⁴⁶ Others haue care of the salt; For the Venetians haue a bay course salt in their owne Territorie, which must be sold by forbidding the sale of forrayne white Salt.⁴⁷ Others haue Care of building shipps, and the building or repayring of Bridges. Others ouersee things sold in the markt, and punish them that vse fraude in making of Cloath. Lastly the Chamberlanes of the Common, keepe the Treasure of the State, which is issued by the Mandates of the Colledge subscribed by the Coun/20/sellors, and the magistrates, called *Sauij* or *Sages*. The Venetians affirme, that the State each fifth yeare chuseth Iudges to examine the faults of Gouvernors, which notwithstanding the old Auditors continually heare, who iudge of forrayne appeales. The Gouvernor of a Citty or any village is called

⁴⁵ "*Signori delle pompe* who are diligently to looke into the reformation of apparell, and moderation of excesse generally in all other expenses..." Lewkenor. p. 155.

⁴⁶ Lewkenor writes of the *Iustitia Noua* as overseers of Inns, and the liquor they sell. p. 184.

⁴⁷ Is bay in opposition to white, and therefore the salt an unattractive red-brown? Or does it refer to the inlets where the salt was extracted from seawater? *OED* offers a third possibility. "2b. A piece of low marshy ground producing large number of Bay-trees." "On the West side, the Citty is compassed with marshes, and after five miles with the territory of Padoa. On the North side with marshes..." *Itinerary A*, I, 163. However, the examples cited from *OED* are from the late eighteenth century onwards.

Podesta, and is sent thether for a yeare, or some such tyme, yet while I liued at *Padoua*, there was in Fifteene monethes but one Gouvernor though a new Gouvernor were still expected.⁴⁸ And these Gouvernors are only Gentlemen of *Venice*, chosen /30/ in the great Counsell, and after their gouernments are punished if they haue offended in Coueteousnes, or in not doing iustice.

⁴⁸ "Unfortunately there are no surviving records from the governors of Padua for the years 1589-1603, so it is not easy to say specifically why the *Podestà* was not changed in 1593-4. The office was a high-ranking and probably very expensive one, and often it must have been difficult to find suitable candidates at the appropriate time, experienced and rich patricians who were free of other duties. Because of the expense involved, it was the kind of job that people might prefer to dodge if they could find an excuse. For similar reasons, ambassadors could be stuck with a post abroad for much longer than they had expected." BP

Chap:VI.

Of the common wealth of the Dukedome of Florence intermixed with that of the Free Citty of Lucca; of both touching some of the heads contayned in the tytyle of the first Chapter.

Florence, is sayd to haue beene inhabited some yeares /40/ before the birth of Christ, and to haue bene destroyed by *Totilas* king of the *Goathes*,¹ or as others write by the *Frisolanes*, a people of that Territory, at this day subiect to the *Florentines*,² and that Emperor *Charles* the great after that he had ouercome the *Lombards* retorning from *Rome*, that way tooke such delight in the pleasantnes of the Seate, as he caused the Citty to be built //

fol:1[2]36. Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence and Lucca. Chap:VI.

againe in the yeare 802 from which tyme it was vnder the

¹ As here, the spelling (and the pronounciation) of Goths and goats used to be similar. Touchstone uses this in a lumbering word play, "I am here with thee and thy goats as the most capricious poet honest Ovid was among the Goths." All of this is lost on Audrey, but not on Jaques. See *As You Like It* III. 3. 5 - 6. Similarly, Dallington writes of the descent of the Italians to explain the "Gotish behaiour and insolence of the Pesant." *Tuscany*, sig. K2v.

² Inhabitants of Fesulæ ? "The Citie of *Florence*, after many conflicts with the olde City of *Fesulæ*, (whereof now almost remaineth no memory, but the hills whereon it stood)...got the vpper hand..." Dallington, *Tuscany*, sig. C3v.

Emperor,³ and other Princes, till the yeare 1287, when the Cittyzens bought their liberty for in 6000 [yeares] Crownes from *Rodolphus* Emperor of *Germany*, which liberty they inioyed many yeares, till the Family *de Medicis* growing great brought them in subiECTION, which Familye beares *fiue Pills, gules, and one Azure in a feilde ore* for their Coate of Armes.⁴ *Cosmo de medicis* was the first of that Family, that grew eminent in the Citty, who had such power as he might easely haue /10/ disposed of that Common wealth, but for the publike good he attempted no change, and dyed in the yeare 1464. His sonne *Peter* the first kept his fathers authority; and the loue of the Citizens, wisely gouerning the Common wealth, rather as a priuate Citizen then as a Prince. The Pedigree of this Family insert[ing]ed in the beginning of the fourth Chapter of this booke, among other Princes of *Italy*, doth giue light to that I now write. The said *Peter* left two sonnes *Lorenzo* called the Great, and *Iuliano*. By a Conspiracye of the /20/ Familyes *de Paccij*, and *de Saluiati*, the yonger *Iuliano* was killed,⁵ but

³ Moryson ignores Dallington who quotes Guicciardini in claiming that Charlemagne did not "reedifie it". Sig. C4.

⁴ The heraldic word that Moryson means is a "pile", generally thought to represent arrowheads "issuing...from the...top of the escutcheon..." OED n. 1. 4. The Medici arms consist of five red piles and one blue on a gold field.

⁵ Known as the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478. Pope Sixtus IV and Ferrante of Naples were also involved. See Waley, pp. 223 - 224.

Lorenzo keeping his [old] authority, demeaned himself⁶ so modestly and so wisely, as he seemed not only to gouerne the Citty, but all *Italy*, the Princes thereof reuerencing him, and seeking Counsell of him as from an Oracle. But he dying in the yeare 1492, his sonne *Peter* the second, seeking to rule as absolute Prince, when *Lewes* the french king entered *Italy*, with an Army, was banished with his brothers *Giouanni* and *Iuliano*. At which tyme Pope *Alexander* the sixth /30/ sought to bring that State subiect to his sonne *Cæsar Borgias*, who to that end *Peter* being dead, laboured to bring back his two brothers from banishment, but their reuocation was effected in the yeare 1512, by *Ramondo* Generall of the Army of *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, yet still the Cittizens had their wonted magistrate called *Gonfaloniere*,⁷ and their Prior of Iustice, and howsoever the Commonwealth was gouerned at the becke of the Pope *Leo* the tenth, and Pope *Clement* the seuenth, both of the Family *De Medici*, and by their fauorites, yet the sayde Magistrates were yearely chosen, till Pope *Clement* the seuenth being besidged by the Emperour *Charles* the fyfth, the *Florintynes* resolued in the yeare [1527] 15[0]27 to take Armes for the recouery of their liberty. Wherevpon the Pope after obtayned of the Emperour desirious to regaine

⁶ conducted himself, see *OED*, v. 1. 1.

⁷ It literally means a standard bearer, although *Zingarelli* defines a second sense as head of the civil government.

his fauor, to send the Prince of Orange with his Army to Florence, who droue the Cittizens to such want of vittles as they were forced to obey the Pope in receauing his kinsman Alexander sonne to lawrence, and in electing him perpetuall Prior, whome shortely after in the yeare /50/ [i535] i5[5]35. the said Emperor created Duke of Florence, giuing him his base Daughter to wife. Alexander // *Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence and Lucca.. Chap:Vi. fol:i[2]37.*

was killed by one of his kinsmen in the yeare 1537.⁸ And Cosmo [sonne] to Iohn succeeded him first stiled great Duke from which tyme to this day, that family by right of inheritance succedes in that Dukedome, as absolute Princes. The sayd Pope Clement the seuenth was a bastard, and historyes record with what art he proued himselfe legitimate, for bastardes are not capable of the Papall seate. Now the family de Medici begann to be [in] great [[in]] estimation, hauing had diuers Popes and Cardinalls, and the French King Henry the second hauing marryed one of that family namely /10/ Queene Catherine that so wonderfully in our age troubled Fraunce by factions, which she raysed, and so tempered, as the strongest still had neede of her helpe (but vnderstand that Henry the second was a younger brother when he maryed her and by the death of his elder brother came to that Crowne) yea Pope Leo the

⁸ He was killed by his cousin Lorenzo. The incident provided the basis of Alfred de Musset's *Lorenzaccio*, 1834.

tenth Chusing 30 Cardinalls together of his owne faction, left the Papall Sea as it were intaled to his Family, for by them Iulio de Medici was likewise chosen Pope who wrote himselfe Clemen the seuenth. Fraunces the last [duke] deceased duke before my being /20/ at Florence, had to wife Ioane of the house of Austria sister (if I be not deceaued) to the Emperor Charles the fifth,⁹ and by her had a sonne who dyed yong, and two daughters Leonora then maryed to the Duke of Mantua, and Maria then a virgin and a most fayre lady, of whose marryage I shall hereafter speake. His wife Ioane being dead, he liued long vnmaryed, and it was vulgarly spoken aswell among his subiectes as strangers, and a thing so well knowne in Italy as I thincke it fitt for good vses to be here mentioned, that during the tyme of his single life /30/ a Floryntine marchant intangled in his loue a Venetian gentleman¹⁰ called la Signora Bianca di Capelli, so as shee stole from her frendes, and being his Concubyne came with him to Florence, where he hauing wasted his estate in shorte tyme, shee was thought a fitt pray for

⁹ This section is reproduced in Thomas Middleton, *Women Beware Women* edited by J. R. Mulryne, *The Revels Plays* (Manchester, 1975), pp. 178 - 179 as a possible source for the play. Mulryne notes that there are various details in Moryson and in Middleton that are not in the main source Celio Malespini's *Duecento Novelle*.

"sister...the fifth", is omitted by Hughes, probably because the information is incorrect. Duke Francesco (1574 - 1587) had Charles V's niece Joarna, who died in 1578, as his first wife. Long before she died, Bianca had become his mistress. See Mulryne, p. xxxix. I shall use his edition hereafter.

¹ Hughes corrects it to "gentlewoman" p. 94.

a better man.¹¹ Wherevpon Duke Fraunces, after the manner of Italy, in the tyme of Carnovall or shrouetyde going masked through the streetes with a litle basked^{11A} of egges filled with Rose water, passed by her windowe and threwe vp an egge, which shee caught and retorned it broken into his /40/ bosome, and so [most] modestly played the wanton with gracefullnes, as the Duke inamored brought her to his Palice, where shee being his Concubyne, first brought him a sonne called Antonio, then seeming to make conscience to liue a Concubyne, at last shee had the power to make him to take her to wife, which donne shee bent all her witts to haue her sonne legitimate, and admitted to succede in the dukedome, and while Cardinall Ferdinand brother to Duke Fraunces opposed this her desseigne, it happened that he came to Florence to passe some dayes merrily with the /50/ Duke, and they being to goe on¹² hunting earely in a morning, the duchesse sent the Cardinall a Marchpayne for his breakfast,¹³ which he retorned with due Ceremony saying that he did eate nothing but that was dressed by his owne

11

Take hold of glory.

Do not I know y'have cast away your life
 Upon necessities, means merely doubtful
 To keep you in indifferent health and fashion-
 A thing I heard too lately, and soon pitied ?

The Duke seducing Bianca in *Women Beware Women* II. 2. 374 - 378.

^{11A} "Basket" is an obvious emendation.

¹² Hughes substitutes "out", p. 95.

¹³ The old English form of marzipan. *OED* suggests that German success in exporting this confection, prompted the use of the German word.

Cooke, but the Duke by ill happ meeting the messenger, did
eate a peece thereof, and when the Duchesse sawe it broken,
shee smiled and spake some wordes of Ioy, but the messenger
telling //

*fol:i[2]38. Booke.i. The Common wealth of Florence, and
Lucca..Chap:Vi.*

her the Cardinall Answer, and that the Duke had eaten that
peece, shee with an vnchanged Countenance tooke another
peece, and hauing eaten it, locked herselfe in a clossett,
and herevpon the Duke and she dyed in owne hower,¹⁴ and the
Cardinall Ferdinand succeeded [in] the Dukedome, who liued
at the tyme when I was at Florence.¹⁵ Duke Fraunces (as I
heard from Credible men) was of a meane stature, black
hayre, nothing curious or sumptious in Apparell, not
delighting in hunting or any laborious exercises, but giuen
much to his studdyes, hauing invented the melting of the
Cristall of the mountayne,¹⁶ /10/ and delighting to make
Porcellana d'India which wee call China dishes, and to Cutt
Iewells, and sett the false to make them appeare true, to

¹⁴ It is possible that disease such as malarial fever rather than poison could have killed them. In this age Italians and poison automatically go together in English minds.

¹⁵ Moryson already knows that he is dead. Ferdinand I reigned from 1587 - 1609.

¹⁶ "2. a. A mineral, clear and transparent like ice; esp. a form of pure quartz having these qualities. Now more particularly distinguished from other senses as *rock-crystal*, formerly also *crystal of the mountains*." It was thought to be a form of ice, hence why the Duke attempted to melt it. *OED*

norish silke wormes, to distill many waters, for which he had many fornnaces, to make bulletts to breake and murther. He was sayd to be of good and sounde Iudgement, warye in speech, eloquent to discourse of the Mathemmatiques or such thinges wherein he was more Conversent, faythfull in his promises, a loue of peace, frugall, popular, and so confident as by night he would walke out alone. The noble Familyes of Dulci and Caponi are sayd to haue /20/ Conspired to kill him, and his two brothers Cardinall Ferdinand and Don Petro, but that one of the consperitors made knowne their purpose, wherevpon they were all put to death, yet the Duke vsed such moderation therein, as he scarcely confiscated 3000 Crownes of their goods, and put the Iudgement of them to the publike magistrates, who had not yet forgotten the loue of their owne liberty, nether did he after the manner of the Italian factions punish [anye] any of their Familyes that were Innocent, but still held in his seruice with good estimation the brother of a Cardinall one of the Consperitors.¹⁷ /30/ Don Petro yongest brother to Duke Frances marryed the daughter of Don Garzia di Toledo a Spaniard brother to his mother, so as his wife

¹⁷ He is unlike the Duke of Florence who orchestrates the catastrophe in *The White Devil*. Perhaps in his moderation he was following the hard nosed advice in Chapter 17 of *The Prince*, "...he refrains from the property of others, because men forget more quickly the death of a father than the loss of a father's estate." See Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, selections from *The Discourses* and other writings, edited by John Plamenatz (London, 1972), p. 105.

was his cosen germane, of whome he had a sonne, yet because he liued in spayne, he was sayd to be lesse loved of Duke Frances, so as he perswaded Cardinall Ferdinand his brother not to be a Cardinall Priest, that he might succede him hauing no sonnes, and might be free to marrye. This Ferdinand hauing giuin[g] vp his Cardinall hatt, possessed the Dukedome when I was in Florence, being of a meane stature, Corpulent, /40/ and fatt with great leggs one eye a litle squinting or some such way blemished, his visage broode¹⁸ and full with a great Chinn and a browne bearde; not thicke of hayre and kept short. He seemed to mee to haue nothings in his apparell furniture or trayne to drawe mens eyes vpon him.¹⁹ His Cloke was of blacke Cloth with one silke lace, his breeches were rownd of black velvett without any the least ornament, he wore lether stockings and a lether sheath to his sworde, his Coach was lyned with

¹⁸ "Broad".

¹⁹ By the time that Moryson had written this description of the niggardly Duke, he was probably used to the pomps and display of the court of James I. However, as Moryson himself remarks on this page, the Florentines had not forgotten their liberty. In "drawing men's eyes", (an echo here of Henry IV, describing how, as Bolingbroke, he won men's hearts from the rightful king ? See *I Henry IV* III. 2. 29 - 91) their thoughts may have stretched to treason. Moryson tones down Dallington's unflattering portrait, "The Gouernment (to speake in one word, and not to vse a harder terme) is meerely *Despoticall*, The Prince himselfe is of stature meane, of colour by complexion browne, by yeares grisled, of body corpulent, of age somewhat aboue fiftie, his name *Ferdinando*, who (till his brothers death) was Cardinall, which dignity he hath since renounced, hauing attained this Scepter, whereof hee had not beene capable, if he had before entered the order of Priest-hood." *Tuscany*, sig. F4r.

greene velvett, but worne till it was thredbare, nether was it drawne with braue horses /50/ but such as seemed to come from the Plough, and those that went on foote by his choach spake to him with theire heades Covered, only the Bishop of Pisa satt in the Coach with him on the same syde, and on his right hand, who was his cheefe fauorite.²⁰ He was sayde to be of good & sounde Iudgment, affable, and mercifully disposed, and in matters of loue to desyre the first gathering of the Rose, but neuer after to care for the tree. At the same tyme when I did see him passing the streetes of Florence, his Duchesse was in //
{ c.w. his Company, }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence & Lucca . Chap:Vi fol:i[2]39.

his Company carryed in a litter vppon mens shoulders, for that she was great with Childe, she was daughter to the [sonne] Duke of *Lorraine* whome the *Duke* had wooed with rich Iewells and presents, and not long before at her entry into *Florence* intertayned her with great pompe and magnificence. I did see her apparrelled once in a Tuft-taffety gowne and an other tyme in a purple Taffety gowne, then and alwayes attyred after the *French* fashion, her visage was long and pale with a short nose. The second tyme, when she came from her Pallace to the Church, she had none in her trayne /10/

²⁰ Dallington names him as Monsignor Puteo, sig. G3v, "a man who for his dexteritie of wit, and experience in matters of State, hath purchased himselfe great credit and reputation with his Prince". *Tuscany*, sig. I4v.

but a wayting mayde and two dwarffs, only the Princesse *Maria*, daughter to the late duke *Francis* by his wife of the howse of *Austria*, went before the *Dutchess*, being a lady of excellent beauty, and in all things of princely Port, tall in stature, her face gracefully mixed with white and redd, so as a straunger by her sanguine complexion might know her to be of the *German* bloud, the hayre of her head hung downe knotted in curious wreaths, Her gowne was of Cloth of siluer, loose yet not hanging only at the back, but like our Ladyes night gownes with larg hanging /20/ sleeues, and buttoned close vpp from the brest to the Chinn, and she wore a thick short Ruffe altogether of the *Italian* fashion, and she was ledd by a man on each hand.

This *Dukedome* contaynes three famous Common wealthes, that of *Florence*, that of *Pisa* (first bought by the *Florentines*, and after in tyme of their liberty vppon a long rebellion reduced againe to subiECTION), and that of *Sienna*, added by *Duke Cosmo* to this dominion, and these with their territories contayne the greatest part of old *Hetruria*, being compassed on three sydes with the mount *Apennine*, and open on /30/ the fourth syde in a playne towards the Sea, and to the *Roman* Confines, being said to haue in length some two hundreth and in breadth one Hundred *Italian* myles. The State of *Florence* hath one Archbishopp, and xviiij bishopps vnder him. The State of *Pisa* hath one Archbishopp, and two Bishopps vnder him, and the State of *Sienna* hath

likewise one Archbishopp, and three bishopps vnder him.

The duke ha[th]d no Counsell of State, but gouerne[s]ed the Common wealth by publique magistrates, and his secrett affayres by [by] the advice of some fauourites, among which the Arch/40/Bishopp of *Pisa* was sayd to be in greatest grace with him whome commonly he carryed with him in his Coache, and in his Company wheresoeuer he went.²¹ Formerly I haue shewed that this *Dukedome* was settled by *Spanish* forces vnder the Family of *Medici*, in fauour of some Popes of that Family, but at this tyme the *Duke of Florence* no lesse then all other Princes of *Italy*, suspected and maligned the greatnes of *Spayne* as ready to swallow vpp their Principalityes, and oppress the liberty of all *Italy*, howsoeuer for the present they were not disturbed while the king of *Spayne* was busy about his ambitious dissignes /50/ of subduing *Fraunce*, *Netherland* and *England*, In which // { c.w. warrs he, }

fol: i[3]40. Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence and Lucca. Chap:Vi.

warrs, he had great vse of the Popes fauourable authority, which once ended *Italy* was so intangled on all sydes with

²¹ "...it cannot be properly be said of his Court, that there is a Counsell of State, but euery thing immediatly hath his motiue, processe, and ending of the Princes will amd pleasure." Dallington, *Tuscany*, sig. I4v. Dallington blackens the picture further, writing that Duke plays his courtiers off against each other, and nominates his creatures to public offices. Voryson is more circumspect.

his netts, as the Conquest thereof seemed not difficult. The *Dukes* at the first settling of their Estate by *Spanish* forces, either to shew their Confidence in *Spayne*, or because they had neede of forrayne succors to keepe their new Subiects in obedience, did receiue and pay *Spanish* Garrisons in two Forts of *Florence* and in three Ports vppon the Sea, called *Telamone*, *Penteuole*, and *Orbetello*, but they soone groned vnder their suspected support, and ceased not till by petition, mony and all /10/ like meanes, they had freed themselues of that burthen, so as at this tyme *Ferdinand* the present *Duke* had only one *Spanish* Garrison in a Towne vppon the Seacoast called *Porto d'[e] Ercole*. *Francisco* his brother and Predecessor, in the life of his father *Cosmo*, was brought vpp in the Court of *Spaine*, and being there when his Father dyed, did not without some difficulty gett the possession of his Dukedome; For while he liued in *Spayne*, he had by diuerse accidents, alienated the *Spaniards* myndes from his affayres. And after he did more prouoke them against him, by releeuing the Citty of /20/ *Genoa* with victualls, and their fauourers abroad by all other meanes, when *Don Iean* base brother to the king of *Spaine* sought to bring that Citty vnder his subiection, whome thereby he also made his open Enemy, yet in the midst of these Ielousyes, he was strengthened by his mothers being of the Family of *Toledo* most powerfull in *Spaine*. As he was likewise strengthened by his Consanguinity with *Catherine* Queene of *Fraunce*, and by the fauour of the Pope, and the

Colledge of the Cardinalls, by which meanes he kept his State in peace. No doubt while the kingdomes of *Fraunce* /30/ and *Spaine* were equally ballanced, the *french* were a strong support to preserue the *Italian* Princes from the yoke of *Spaine*, so as the *Dukes* of *Florence* had great strength by *Catherine de Medici*, then Queene of *Fraunce*. But this Queene had borrowed great sommes of mony of Duke *Francisco* her kinsman vppon her Iewells laid in pawne to him, and before a third part of the debt was paid, she desyred the vse of her Iewells, which the *Duke* to witnes his loue and Confidence easily restored to her, yet he after finding that not only the mony was kept from him /40/ but that also the Queene pretended right to some of her Fathers goods that the *Duke* had in his possession, he did not only euer after forbear the offices of loue, but diuerse ielousyes therevppon grew betweene them.

Touching *Ferdinand* the present *Duke* at this tyme whereof I write, he had none of his brothers Iealousyes with the Court of *Spaine*, he had the same mother of the *Spanish* Family of *Toledo*, and the same or greater grace with the Pope *Clement*, the Eight, being a *Florentine* gentleman borne, and with the Colledge of Cardinalls, whereof /50/ himselfe had bene a member, but he could haue no Confidence in any support from the kinge of *Fraunce*, that kingdome being then rent and wasted with strong factions of the league, the *Royalists* and the party of the good //

{ c.w. [*Patriarke*] *Patriots*, }

*Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence and Lucca. Chap:Vi.
fol:i[3]4i.*

Patriotts, as also the party of the Protestants [betwene] whome three Ciuill warrs had long continued. Only in this *Dukes* latter tyme, these Ciuill warrs being composed, the *Duke* much strengthened himselfe and his Successors, by giuing the *Lady Mary* his deceased brothers daughter in mariage to the famous *french* king *Henry* the fourth. And no doubt he did nothing lesse then fauour the growing power of *Spayne*. For howsoeuer that kings warrs with *England* & *Fraunce* for his mayne proiect of obtayning the *Westerne* Empire, kept him for the present from attempting anything in /10/ *Italy*, yet the greatnes of his power, could not but be fearefull to all the Princes thereof. And that this *Duke* feared the king of *Spaine* appeared by many infallible arguments, and not to insist vppon all, in particular, namely by [his] deliuering the miserable Captiue bearing himselfe for the king of *Portugall* into the hands of the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, whome men feare, they also hate, and as all the people subiect to him manifestly shewed at this tyme great hatred of the *Spanish* nation, so no doubt the duke howsoeuer he in policy obserued the king of *Spaine* by /20/ outward offices, yet he was farr from wishing well to the successe of his ambitious affayres, and earnestly laboured by all meanes to haue the foresaid *Spanishe* Garison in *Port Ercole* drawne out of his Country. For his

mariage, he sought not a wife in *Spaine*, though his mother were a *Spaniard*; but as I formerly sayd, he maryed a *french* Lady daughter to the *Duke of Loraine*, which Family then pretended to be of the *Spanish* faction, and the Ciuill warrs being ended, (as I sayd) gaue his neece to the *french* king, vppon whome himselfe and the other /30/ Princes of *Italy* then cast their eyes for protection against the power of *Spaine*. The last *Duke* his brother had much depended on the Emperor of *Germany*, in regard his first wife was of the house of *Austria*, and with the expence of mony mantayned freindshipp with him, and the Princes of *Germany*, more specially the *Duke of Bauaria* aswell to gett a more full investiture of his *Dukedome*. from the Emperor, as in hope to haue aydes from them in any tyme of danger. But this *Duke Ferdinand* litle inclined to the declining Empire, but rather nourished /40/ amity with the Protestant Princes especially after the appeasing of the Ciuill warrs in *Fraunce*. He had long tyme kept the picture of *Elizabeth* Queene of England and expressed asmuch reuerence and loue towards her as he might well doe towards the Popes professed Enemy, and not only he but the State of *Venice* had for many yeaes admitted the said Queenes priuate Agents, as they and the *Duke of Sauoy* haue since receiued the publike Ambassadors of our Soueraigne King *Iames* to be resident with them, and haue openly shewed much to depend vppon /50/ his Royall ayde and protection.

For the Citty of *Genoa* I formerly shewed that *Duke Francisco* ayded them against *Spaine*, but this could not take away the hereditary quarrells betweene that Citty, and the *Dukes* of *Florence*, in regard that *Genoa* still keepeth the Forte of *Sorezana* of old belonging to the Citty of *Florence* and //

fol:1[3]42. Booke.i. The Common wealth of Florence and Lucca.. Chap:Vi.

the Iland *Corsica* of old subiect to the Citty of *Pisa*.

It is manifest that the Princes of *Italy* depend vppon the fauour of the Popes, and Cardinalls aboue all others, And I haue shewed that this *Duke* and his deceased brother especially affected and euer had great power in the Court of *Rome*. For no State is more able to anoy them, then the Popes, *Rome* lying on the East syde, and the Popes State of *Bologna* on the west syde of them. From which parts their State can only be entred, being otherwise compassed with the Sea, and vnpassable mountaynes. Besides that a great /10/ Army of Enemyes cannot finde victualls in the State of *Florence*, being all laud vpp in Cittyes, which only the Pope can supply having aboundance thereof. And this they haue found by wofull experience in that two Popes had the power to oppresse the liberty of that State, and bring it in subiection to the Family of *Medici*. Thus say the *Florentines*, but for my part I thinck aboue all they feare the Thunderbolts of his Ecclesiasticall Censures, which no

mountaynes can resist, though our ages contemning them, and the frequencie thereof, hath much blunted and abated their force, and /20/ terror; Neither doe I reade that the Popes temporall power hath euer done great hurt to any State, and howsoever two Popes haue of late oppressed and subdued the liberty of *Toscanye*; yet it was effected by the Army of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth for their sakes, not by their owne forces. The Commodities are [of] no lesse importance which this *Duke* findes in the freindshipp of the Popes and Cardinalls, as the reputation he thereby gayneth among all Princes of the *Roman* Religion, together with his safety from a*y*²² their purposes against his State, and the true intelligence /30/ thereof from *Rome*, where by Confession and all other meanes they best know all such Princes most secrett Counsell, yea euen by their owne communicating of them to the Pope for his approbation thereof: As also by the benefitt the *Duke* reapes of Ecclesiasticall livings, which by the Popes fauor, he hath liberty oftentimes to bestow on his seruants and Followers. For howsoever the Popes for some 400th yeares past, haue made a new heresye and Simony for laymen to dispose of Ecclesiasticall Benefices, tho neuer so freely bestowed without any the least bribery /40/ yet they approue laymens disposing of them with their Consent and indulgence first obteyned. Not to speake of the supply of victualls from the States vnder

²² There is a dropped minim here, thus it should read "any".

the Pope, and many like Commodities.

To conclude howsoever the Popes are not in these dayes as of old, the Arbiters of all Christian affayres; yet the vnion of the Pope, the State of *Venice*, and the great Duke of *Florence*, is the cheife foundation and strength of the peace of all the small Principalities of *Italy*. For the *Venetians* since their State was almost ruined by the *frenche* king *Lewes* the /50/ xijth seeme to haue cast of all ambition to invade their neighbors, and are not as before they were suspected in that kinde of the *Italian* Princes, but are honoured by them as defenders of the Common liberty.

{ m.n. 55, 56. *The common wealth of Lucca.* }

The Citizens of *Lucca* are afraid of this great Duke as Partridges of an hawke, being compassed with his territories on all sydes, and furnished with Corne from the *Maremma* of *Sienna*,²³ with flesh and oyle from the Territory of *Florence*, and with all kindes of victualls from other parts of his dominion, and if they haue any victualls from any /60/ //

²³ The *maremma toscana* is defined as the "*zona costiera un tempo paludosa compresa fra la Toscana meridionale e il Lazio settentrionale*" by Zingarelli, the marshy coastal zone between southern Tuscany and northern Lazio. This is more helpful than John Florio's general definition as "the Sea-strond, or shore, or as we say in Norfolke, the washes." See *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London, 1611), [STC 11098], referred to hereafter as Florio, *Words*.

{ c.w. other places }

*Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence and Lucca. Chap:Vi.
fol:[2]i[5]43.*

other places; yet the same as all other goods of Marchants or Citizens whatsoever, can passe no other way to *Lucca*, then through some part of the *Dukes* dominion, and with his safe conduct, so as it is apparent the *Duke* might with ease subdue that Citty were it not that he forbears to disturbe the peace of *Italy*, which warr would soone bring in confusion. *Italy* consisting of many petty principalityes gouerned by many heads. All [which] [which] the beginner of any warr should make his enemyes, and so the *Duke* in stead of gayning a Citty., might leese or disturbe his owne dominion. And besides /10/ that *Lucca* in this Case is like [f]to receiue strong aydes from *Genoa* which of old in like sort so supported [*Genoa*]*Pisa* rebelling against the *Florentines*, as also from other Cittyes, and States of *Italy*, who making the Case their owne, would in all probability assist any member in *Italy* invaded by an other, no doubt *Lucca* relyeth vppon forraine succours, which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth and after his sonne *Phillip* in their tymes professed to haue in protection. Againe the *Duke* suffers *Lucca* to rest in peace, because the Citizens wealth consists /20/ litle of stable inheritance, and almost altogether of ready mony and moueable goods, who finding their liberty in danger, would no doubt remoue their estates and dwellings to some [other] free Citty, and

so the duke should haue lesse profitt in taking the Citty thus vninhabited, then now he hath by their respect and feare of him in regard whereof vppon his occasions he may commaund the loane of any mony he needeth, and all like offices from them, who seldome refuse him any lesse equall²⁴ request, being in name free, and yet in /30/ some manner subiect to him. *Lucca* is a small Citty lesse then two myles Compasse, and hath a small territorye, as I haue shewed in my Iournall of *Italy*, but is Compassed on all sydes by States of farr greater power. It is gouerned in cheife by the great Counsell consisting of 150 Citizens, and the Citty is diuided into three parts, and of each part, three *Senators* are chosen, and in course of each part the cheife magistrate called *Gonfaloniere* is chosen, which tenn men inioy this dignity for three yeares, and representing /40/ the dominion, are vulgarly called *La Seignoria*. This *Senate* hears Petitions, giues all graunts, administreth Iustice, and to these ends alwayes remayneth in the publike Pallace, whence none of them may goe forth vppon payne of death, but they are there mantayned out of the publike Treasure. These tenn men chuse one among them who is called *Commandator*, and for three dayes comaundes all the rest, euen the *Gonfaloniere* himselfe, and for these three dayes, he receiues all Petitions, which he must notwithstanding /50/ (howsoever contrary to his liking)

²⁴ "...lesse equall" omitted by Hughes, p. 106.

comunicate to all the rest, and can doe nothing without their Consent, and whatsoever is agreed among them with seauen voyces, the *Gonfaloniere* propounds it in the great Counsell //

fol: 1[5]44. Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence and Lucca.. Chap:Vi.

to be approued or reiected. This Senate of Tenne men hath absolute authority ouer strangers, but not so ouer Citizens, whose causes, and all other matters they cannot fully determine, but must propound them in the great Counsell. Three *Secretaries* are absolute Iudges of Treasons, and therein are aboute the *Gonfaloniere*, yet he must necessarily be present, at those Iudgments, and howsoever they must comunicate such causes to the great Counsell, yet often it happens, that after the execution of the iudgment, they giue accompt thereof to the great /10/ Counsell, as in cases dangerous to be deferred, till the Counsell can be assembled. They haue a second Counsell of 18 Citizens chosen by the great Counsell to determine doubtfull Causes. And a third Councell of six men, that hath care of the receipt and expence of the publique Treasure, chosen likewise by the great Counsell, as all other magistrates are. They haue a body of Iudges called *La Rota*, namely three Doctors of the Ciuill lawe, whose place of birth must be fiftye myles distant from *Lucca*, and one of them hath the /20/ title of *Podesta*, the other Iudgeth Crymes, and the third Ciuill Causes, and these places by

course[s] they chaunge euery halfe yeare. If any Citizen be accused before the *Podesta*, he only formes the processe, and subscribeth his opinion, but the Iudgment is referred to the great Counsell to be approued, reiected or moderated, only in the Causes of straungers, this *Podesta*, hath absolute power. They haue a Court of nyne marchants assisted with one doctor of the Ciuill lawe, being a straunger borne, who iudge the Causes /30/ concerning marchants, and in those Cases also may condemne to death. In like sort they haue nyne men sett ouer the office called *Abundanza*, namely three of each third part of the Citty, and the office hath that name, because their duty is to furnish the Citty with victualls in aboundance, and to see that the Citty neuer want three yeares prouision of Corne before hand. They haue a like Counsell of men sett ouer the Ordinance and munitions of warr. Many Citizens inroll themselues soldiers, and six Commissaries are sett ouer them. Three Officers /40/ haue the Care of health, whose duty is to looke that no musty or rotten thing be sold, that no filthines be suffered in the Citty, and that no goods or persons be admitted into the Citty coming from places suspected to be infected with the plague. Besides they haue a Counsell called de *Discoli*, most woorthy of obseruation and imitation and their duty is once in the yeare some fewe weekes before Easter to assemble together, at which meetings any one of them may putt into a Chest the names of such persons as with vs are called of the *Damned*

crue or /50/ roaring boyes, and these names being after read in the great Counsell, if two or more of these Counsellors haue concurred in [any] one mans name, he is called in question by voyces in the great Counsell (the voyces being dumbe, not by mouth, but by litle balls putt into diuerse vessells) and if he be iudged such a person by the voyces of two third parts of that Councell, then he is banished for three //

*Booke.i. The common wealth of Lucca. Chap:Vi. fol:[245]
[2]i[5]45*

yeares, so as he may not for [that] tyme dwell within 50 myles of the Citty, wherein if he fayleth, he is in absence condemned to death, and a reward of mony sett vppon his head, is proclaymed to be giuen to any man who shall kill him, which is the highest prosecution in *Italy* against banished men; and after sentence is pronounced against him, he must goe out of the Citty before night, and after three yeares he may retorne agayne to dwell in *Lucca*, but shall euery yeare be subiect to this tryall, if he mend not his manners. Thus the *Athenians* banished their /10/ Citizens by *Ostracisme*, but they bannished for tenne yeares, and not wicked persons as these of *Lucca* doe, but eminent persons in power or riches, being therby like to inuade their liberty. The Iudges called vulgarly *de la Loggia*, inquire what buisnesse Strangers haue in the Citty, and finding suspicious persons, examine them by the Tortor of the *Strappa di corda* which wee call *Strappado*, and all that

keepe Inns must giue to those Iudges the names of all strangers they receaue, and must aduertise what buisines they haue in the towne, and that dayly, so as it /20/ may appeare to them how long they stay[,]. Thus doe they with great warines and feare watch to preserue theire liberty, but for trayned soldiers, they haue only some hundreth in the Pallace, whose places of birth must be fifty myles distant from *Lucca*, and out of these are chosen Captaines to leade theire soldiers in tyme of warr, but they are punnished no lesse then with death, if in the night time any of them alone or accompanied goe to the walls of the Citty, for only the Artisans of the Citty (hauing goods²⁵ wiues and children there) watch /30/ vpon the walls in the night, and two Cittisens with a Commissary keepe each Gate therof in the day time. And the sayd hundreth soldiers haue each of them three gold Crownes stipend by the moneth.

{ m.n. 35 - 37. *The Court of the great Duke of Florence.* }
After this excursion, I retourne to speake of the great Duke of Florence. The Italians write and speake of the Dukes Court, as if it were magnificall, aboue the degree of a Duke yet somthing vnder that of a King, and that he hath a great number of Gentlemen attending him, wherof some only haue a stipend, others both dyett /40/ apparrell and stipend. But in my opinion strangers, be they English or

²⁵ "good" Hughes, p. 106.

French, will hardly say that they haue obserued any such magnificence therein. For howsoeuer wee may yeald the Italians some preheminance of glory in Fountaynes, Aqueducts, Gardens, Iewells, and some such permanent goods, yea somtimes likewise in their Feasts, which being rare, and the people being as proud as rich, may often tymes exceede like Niggards Feasts. Yet no doubt they of all Nations can [wos] worst iudge what it is to keepe a plentiful house, or a Princes Court and /50/ trayne. The Duke was sayd to haue sixty young gentlemen //

fol:1[5]46. Booke.i. The common wealth of Florence. Chap:Vi.

for his Pages, whome he trayned vpp in exercises fitt for them He had i00 duthmen for his garde,²⁶ for the *Italians* trust not their owne Countrymen for the guarding of their bodyes but commonly vse dutchmen whome they esteeme most faithfull and each [of] them had fiue Guldens of *Germany* by the moneth finding themselues apparrell and dyett. Perhapps formerly they had some what more allowed for apparrell or dyett, for themselues told me, that this *Duke* had abated their intertainment. Thirty of them by course each day and night attend at Court, be it held in the Citty or in the /10/ *Dukes* Pallaces, not farr distant, and [at] [that] day they haue i4 loaues of bread and two Flagons of wyne allowed them by the Duke, but [not] otherwise I haue seene

²⁶ The 'c' seems to be missing, which Hughes provides, p. 106. Moryson means Germans, from *deutsch*.

them vppon high dayes haue homely fayre, as Cabages and Colewoorts,²⁷ only they haue great releife by wayting on their owne Countrymen and other straungers that come to the Cittye. He had 30 Footmen which by course wayted and followed his Coaches; And they said that the *Dutchess* had not more then some i2. women in her seruice. For my part, I saw nothing in the trayne, or Tables of the Court, wherein /20/ many of our Earles and *Barons* doe not equall it, and I dare boldly say, that very few,²⁸ and I thinck not aboue 30 persons haue their diett allowed. The *Italians* that magnify this Court, say that the *Duke* spends some fiue [hundreth] thousand ducates yearely in his Court, his priuate delights, his pleasures and the keeping of his houses, Gardens, Aquaducts, in repayre For his Stable they report, that he had 150 Coursers of *Naples* and Gianetts of *Spayne*²⁹ besydes choyce horses of his owne Races. For my part, I could [only] see in *Florence* two Stables, each having some 3[2]3 horses, which seemed to me of his owne Races, and not of /30/ any extraordinary woorth, and twice or thrice I saw his Coaches drawne with very ordinary horses, and I conceiue that the *Italians* reckon the expence of his Stable in the estimate of all his like expences formerly made. Of the dukes forces, Tributes, lawes, and

²⁷ Any types of greens. *OED*

²⁸ Hughes repeats these two phrases p. 107.

²⁹ Jennets, small Spanish horses. *OED*

Iustice, I shall speake in the following Eight Chapter of this Booke.

The Citty *Pisa* with the Territory is the second principall member of this *Dukes* State, first subdued by the *Florentines*, and after rebelling by the aydes of the *french* king *Charles* the Eight, when he entred *Italy* to conquer *Naples* /40/ againe subdued by the *Florentines* while they yet enjoyed their old liberty, and free Common wealth, which the Family of *Medici* shortly after invaded. And for the manner of the second subduing of *Pisa*, *Guicciardine* in his history hath fully described it.³⁰

It is a pleasant Citty, and an vniuersity, and the *Duke* hath there an *Arsenall*, or Store house for his Gallyes, in which respect the knights of *St Stephen* imployed to goe to Sea with them, haue their residence in that Citty where also the great *Duke* was wont to hold his Court, Some three /50/ monethes in the yeare, aswell to shew his loue to the Citizens, as by his presents³¹ to incite them to more diligence in drying vpp the adioyning Fenns, not only for profitt, but also to make the ayre more pure and free from the wonted infection. //

³ In Book Eight, he describes the mild terms agreed by the *Florentines* after the siege of 1509, because of their fear of Emperor Maximilian I.

¹ Hughes changes to "presence", p. 108.

Booke.i. The common wealth of [Florence]f <Genoa>.
Chap:Vii. fol:i[5]47.

{ m.n. 1. *Sienna.* }

Sienna is the third principall member of this *Dukedome*, having a shadow but not altogether so true fruition of the old libertye as *Florence* it selfe hath in the Continuance of the wonted magistrates. For it was a free Common wealth; First subdued by *Duke Cosmo*, by whose institution they haue still their wonted magistrates, and the wonted authority of the Pallace, where they liue to iudge causes; yet the *Duke* settis his Gouvernor called *Podesta* to represent his person, without whose approbation the said *Senate* determines nothing of importance. The *Senators* office lasteth for two monethes, and they are /10/ said vppon payne of death to be tyed not to goe out of the Pallace by day during that tyme, but with their faces couered, perhapps lest the people should be incited by them to mutinyes for recouery of their old liberty, and myselfe haue seene diuerse of them goe abroad thus masked; yet I thinck they are allowed some pompe vppon some featiuall dayes, for myselfe haue seene these *Senators* vppon such occasion come in solemne pompe from the Church of St *Katherine* cloathed in gownes of Redd silke, and square Capes of redd veluett with two banners, and two maces before them.³² But /20/ howsoeuer these

³² Hughes has "Caps", p. 108. The 'e' is blotted or imperfectly crossed out. The stateliness of the procession described might favour my reading.

Senators liue in the publique Pallace of the Citty and there assembl[y]e to iudge causes, no doubt the *Dukes* Gouvernor hath absolute power in all affayres, and vseth their helpe rather to dispatch, then to determine them. Also the *Duke* hath a Fort in the Citty where he mantaynes Soldiers to keepe the Citizens in due obedience, and hath a Captayne ouer them chosen by himselfe as an officer of great trust.

Chap:Vii.

Of the free Citty Genoa and of the Dukes /30/ of Mantua, and of Vrbine touching some of the heads conteyned in the title of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 34. The citty of Genoa. }

Genoa is an an ancient Citty whereof the Romans make mention some 300 yeares before Christs birth, and when the Empire of Rome declyned, it became a free State, and was of old powerfull at Sea, having vnder it all *Liguria* in *Italy*, and diuerse Ilands adioyning, besides sondry Dominions vppon the Sea Coasts of the Easterne Parts. And at this day it possesseth *Liguria*, a large, and /40/ though mountanous and rocky, yet [a] pleasant and fruitfull Prouince of *Italy*, and the Isle of *Corsica* not farr distant. But by the factions of the Citizens, betweene the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, one of the Popes, the other of the Emperors syde, and the Familyes *Adorni* and *Fregosi*, as also the noble and popular Familyes, the Common wealth hath bene subiect to many hazards, and sometymes oppressed, and subiected to the *french*, [sometymes to the *Dukes* of *Milan*. At last when it was subiect to the *french*,] *Andrea d'Auria* a cheife Citizen of *Genoa*, being Admirall to the *french* king, and having by Sea //

<fol:i[3]48.> Booke.i. The common wealth of *Italy*.
Chap:Vii.

gotten a victory against the *Spaniards*, refused to send his

Captiues taken into *Fraunce*, desyrous to keepe their Ransomes to himselfe, and so combined with the Marquis of *Vasto* alluring him to the *Spanish* party, and not only opened the first advantage to the *Spaniards* of casting the *french* out of the kingdome of *Naples*, but practised by all meanes to free *Genoa* from subiection to the *french*, from which party himselfe was fallen, and this he easily effected by the vnion[s] of the factions newly made, whereof the *frenche* Governour had improuidently bene the cheife Author, /10/ whereas wise men thought he should rather haue nourished some dissention among them.¹ This Prince *d'Auria* (after the manner of the *Italian* Princes and States often to chaunge their protecting Patrons to better their estate vnder others) thus falling from the *frenche* to the *Spaniards*, animated the *Genoesi* to expell the *french*, and to institute that forme of gouernment, which they haue at this day. The said vnion of the factions was made in the yeare 1527, and the yeare following the said Prince *d'[Austria][Auria]* fell from the *french* to the *Spanish* party. And for the making /20/ of the said vnion twelue Reformers were chosen, who made a lawe to abolish all faction, and reduced all the nobles into 28 cheife Familyes, all other inferior being inserted into them, so as to auoyde factions, no Nobleman might signe any other

¹ The defection of Andrea Doria (1466 - 1560) to the Spanish/Imperial cause in 1528 ensured French failure in Italy, and in the Mediterranean. See Koenigsberger, p. 236.

Surname then one of them, and to the hands of these 28, Families, the [Citty] [Stern] of the Common wealth was committed, all Plebeians being excluded from the same, yet so as by a lawe then made tenn of the richest, or best deseruing Citizens might euery yeare be receiued into the number of these noble Families. /30/ And thus all factions haue from that tyme ceased f[or]ro[m] any fact, but to this day they are iealous one of an other, and haue certaine fashions of attyre, of wearing Roses in their Capps, and sondry manners of drincking, and like signes, whereby they are easily distinguished and knowne among themselues. The said *Andrea d'Auria* is much praysed of the *Italians*, that he not only freed his Country from all subiection, but also having that power yet forbore to invade the liberty thereof himselve. But no doubt, if he had not had the protection of *Spaine* /40/ in such measure as he could not probably haue had in any action of his priuate ambition, he could not haue expelled the *french* or resisted their powerfull forces, neither would the Citizens haue bene so constant to him, but for the loue of Common liberty. The *Genoesi* are generally reputed to be of a wauering disposition, affecting chaunge, wee reade that their estate hath bene much troubled with factions and innouations among themselues, and when for the miseryes they haue bene forced to cast themselues into the subiection of forrayne Princes /50/ for present protection, wee finde that assoone as they could in any reasonable manner allay these troubles, their

first endeouours were to practise for recouery of liberty,
yea //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy.. Chap:Vii. fol:i[3]49.
since their state settled by *Andrea d'Auria* in the forme of
gouernment it now hath, *Conte Gio:Luigi Fiesco* wanted litle
of oppressing their liberty, and making himselfe Lord of
Genoa, by a tumult he rayseed in the night, if in his first
attempt to surprise the Gallies, while he leaped from one
Gally to an other, he had not bene drowned by a casuall
fall into the water. Touching the kings of *Spaine* by whose
aydes the *french* were cast out of *Genoa*, they haue searched
all Counsells to finde the best course to subdue this
Citty, and at first builded a Fort, kept it with a strong
garison, /10/ and probably thought to keepe the Citizens in
awe of them possessing great part of *Italy*, and adioyning
Lombardy, but in the end considering that they could not be
subdued without disturbing the peace of *Italy* with Common
preiudice of all; and as the affayres stood no lesse of
Spayne in priuate, that the Citizens vsed to subiection of
forayne Princes were dead, all now liuing having [beene]
borne in the tyme of sweet liberty: That the cheife riches
of the Citizens are in mouables and huge Treasures of ready
mony: That they are like Froggs coming to /20/ land for
pleasure, but vppon the least feare ready to leape back
into the water, and having bene of old antiquity an nation
powerfull at Sea, are not only like to flye with their
wealth vppon danger to be subiected, but also to

surp[p]rise the *Spanish* Gallies harbouring in their Port, and vse them for their defence, I say considering these and like reasons, they haue not thought good to hazard the certaine power they presently haue in the Citty for the vncertaine hope absolutely to subdue it. *Spaine* presently hath full vse /30/ of their Commodious Port for harbouring and building of Gallies, and of the Citizens bodyes and Treasures aswell in warr as peace. The cheife Princes or Nobles of *Genoa*, haue Commaunds in the *Spanish* Army and Navye (as the aboue named *Andrea d'Auria* was Admirall of the *Spanish* Gallies []) in *Italy*), and aswell the Noble as popular Familyes are great Marchants and sayd to be the richest in ready mony of any Citizens in the world, and this Treasure the kings of *Spaine* may not only commaund /40/ at all occasions to their great advantage, but also they inthrall the priuate men and publick liberty by having it in their hands: For as we reade that the *french* king *Charles* the viijth after the example of his progenitors, had and held the *Florentines* in awe and dutifull respect to his Commaund by their couetousnes of gayne in the traffick of *Lyons*;² so the kings of *Spayne* by the same art but a

² These details are from Guicciardini's *History of Italy*, Book One. Charles VIII attempted, successfully, to divide the Florentines from their ruler Piero de Medici, by appealing to their pockets. "The king...banished out of *Lyons*, not the generall marchants, but onely the factors and bankers of *Piero de Medicis*, to the end that they might iudge at *Florence*, that he acknowledged this iniurie particularly vpon *Peter*, and not vpon the bodie of the state." Fenton, p. 25.

stronger bayte haue the *Genoesi* at their Commaund. For they continually borrow great //

{ c.w. sommes of }

fol:i[4]50. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Vii.
sommen of those marchants giuing them for assurance of repayment, the Tolls and Customes of *Maritime* Ports and Cittyes and diuerse *Monopolies* of traffique yeilding great gayne for the vse of those monyes, and the same being not halfe repayd still renewe the debt, and so having alwayes in their hands the Citizens Treasure, and the hart being where the Treasure is,³ (as of all men, so more specially of the *Genoesi* noted aboue others with the vice of vnsatiabable Couetousnes⁴) they haue the Citty more in their power, then if they had a Fort and strong /10/ Garison therein. Lett a Citty be neuer so strong, yet if the Enemy beseiging it, can cutt of the Conduits of water seruing it, he shall soone be master thereof, and in like sort if the king of *Spayne* not paying his debt to the *Genoesi*, or stopping the payments Course for a tyme, can make all them and their bancks breake and faile in Creditt, I may boldly say he hath them fast bound in Fetters of gold. And that

³ This is an echo of Christ's admonition from the Sermon on the Mount. "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also", Matthew 6. 21, and Luke 12. 34. The implication is clear. In selling out to Spain, they were selling themselves to the powers of darkness.

⁴ What is extraordinary is the persistence of public perception. When I lived in Milan from 1990 - 1991, the *Genovesi* were often characterized as being mean.

Genoa hangeth in this sort vppon *Spaine* as a dore [from] [vpon] the Hingens, experience sheweth plainely to the world at this tyme of my being in *Italy*, when /20/ the king of *Spaine* having besides his exhausted Cofers contracted great summes of debt, and so not being able for the present to giue his wonted Assignments of Customes, and the like for payment of his debt, the cheife Marchants and bancks of *Genoa*, were forced to breake with their Creditors, and the Contagion of this mischeife soone had spread itselife to *Venice* and *Florence*, and other Cittyes after a straunge manner; yet howsoever this Comon wealth is thus at the beck of the kings of *Spaine*, it hath the name and reputation of a Free State gouer/30/ned by the Nobles, that is gentlemen of 28 Familyes. The magistrates are not chosen (as of old) so many of one faction, so many of an other, neither (as of old) are the Gentlemen excluded from being *Dukes*, but these and like nourishments of factions are abolished, and at this day out of the said 28 Familyes, 400 *Senators* are chosen, [w]hich *Senate* is called the great Counsell, and chuseth the *Duke* and 8 *Gouernors*, which nine persons represent the dominion, and are vulgarly called *la Signoria*. The *Duke*, the 8 *Gouernors*, and /40/ the great Counsell, gouerne the affayres of State but they chuse by dumbe voyces, that is with diuerse balls, out of the body of the great Counsell, one 100 gentlemen called the lesser Counsell, which dispatcheth other things of lesse importance. The *Duke* being head of the Common wealth is

chosen for two yeares, during which tyme he liues in the
publike *Palace*, and hath 300th dutchmen for the garde of
his body; when he enters this dignitye, for the first two
dayes he weares the *Ducall* habitt, but after [vseth] an
other habitt, comonly a gowne of Veluett, /50/ or Satten of
Crimson, or Peacocks blewe Coulor, and a Corner Capp of the
same Coulor, as myselfe haue seene him attyred, and the 8
Gouernors weare black gownes //

{ c.w. and Caps, }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy.. Chap:Vii. fol:i[4]5i.
and Capps. The *Duke* hath great authority, since no man
besides himselfe can propound any thing in the great
Counsell, so as nothing can be confirmed therein, which he
doth not first allow. The two yeares ended, vppon the first
day of *January*, he becomes a priuate person, and goes to
dwell in his owne house, but euer he hath the dignitye of
a Procurator during his life. Then (as he formerly was) a
newe *Duke* is chosen after the manner following. The third
day of *January* the lesser Counsell, and the Eight Gouernors
chuse 28 gentlemen, namely one of euery Family, /10/ and
these chuse the like number, who in like sort chuse 28,
gentlemen, [and these last chosen, with the *Senators* who
for age or other cause are not capable of the ducall
dignity, choose 4 gentlemen] whose names are propounded in
the great Counsell, and he that hath most voyces is chosen
Duke for the next two yeares. The foresaid Eight Gouernors
(who with the *Duke* represent the dominion, yet can

determine nothing without the Consent of the great Counsell) are chosen in like manner for two yeares, yet not all at one tyme, but two each third moneth in manner following The *Duke*, the Gouvernors and the lesser Counsell chuse 28. gentlemen, who chuse 12 gentlemen, and propound their /20/ names to the great Counsell, out of which number, the *Duke*, the Gouvernors, and the great Counsell, chuse one day one, the next day an other to succede in the place of two Gouvernors whose tyme is ended. And of these Gouvernors being like Counselors, two dwell for three monethes by course, with the *Duke* in the Pallace, and the other sixe dwell in their owne howses. The Gouvernors having ended that office, are chosen Procurators for two yeares. And these Procrators namely the old *Dukes* chosen for life, and the old Gouvernors chosen for two yeares, haue Care /30/ of the Treasure, and other publique affayres, and are of great reputation. The magistrates of *St George* are eminent in this Citty, instituted in the yeare 1407, who haue long preserued this Common wealth. These officers first settled the meanes to raise mony sodenly for publique vses, in any doubtfull occasion of the Common wealth, taking it vpp of priuate men, were they willing or vnwilling, yet so as the State, according to the variety of tymes, allowed sometymes 10. 9. or 8, sometymes but seauen in the hundreth. for vse of the mony, lest priuate men should suffer losse by /40/ promoting the publike good, besides that they gaue them security for repayment by ingaging to them some publike

reuenewes, or by selling to them some Tolls or Customes of the Citty for a certayne tyme. By this institution Eight men were yearely chosen to be sett ouer this busines to prouide the satisfaction of publike Creditors. The charge of this office daily increased, by many villages and Communityes subiected to the gouernment thereof, and many large Priuiledges were granted to this office in process of tyme, aswell by the State of *Genoa*, as by /50/ diuerse Popes and Emperors, and all men coming to any place of gouernment in the State, must take an oath not //

fol:i[4]52. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Vii.

to infringe these Priuiledges of the office of *St. George* which is not subiect to the power of any other magistrate. [which is not subiect to the power of any other magistrate.] At this day more exact courses are taken in these affayres, and the Creditours haue not the same gayne at all tymes for vse of theire mony, but more or lesse according to the increasing or decreasing of the publike Rents, Tolls, and customes. And this office in tyme hath appropriated to it selfe diuers large reuennewes. So as this one Citty may be sayd to contayne two Commonwelths, the /10/ greater of the Pallace, administring Iustice to all the Citty, which hath often bene oppressed with tyranny, and the lesser of *St George* sett ouer publike Creditors, which hath allwayes bene free without suffering any such oppression, so as the same Citty within the same walls and at the same tyme might be sayde to haue lost

liberty and to inioye it. The foure sayd eight Magistrates of this office are called the protectors of St George, and are chosen for a yeare in this manner. All the Creditors in the Citty of what condition so euer, chuse by lott among themsells 80. persons /20/ out of which nomber agayne 24 are by lott selected, who being shutt vp in a chamber, may not depart till by dumb voyces, that is by diuers litle balls, they haue chosen eight Protectors, and each one that is chosen must have. 16. voyces of the. 24. Electors. This office increasing, so as the eight protectors in one yeare could not dispatch all the affayres thereof, the Creditors in the yeare 1444. Instituted the choyse of 24 men, who should dispose the remayning Reuenewes (which is the sinewe of the publike Treasure) for the Common good of the Citty, and that most secretly, lest /30/ any Tyrant might take occasion to lay violent hands on the Treasure. The Iland *Corsica*, and other places of no small importance, are vnder the gouernment of this office, which is bound to preserue them aswell in warr as peace. Touching the forces of *Genoa*, the munitions for warr, the difference of degrees in the State, the iustice and Iudgments, both Capitall and Ciuill, I shall speake in the following Eight Chapter of this Booke.

{ m.n. 40. *The Duke of Mantua* }

Vicenzo duke of *Mantua*, at this tyme whereof I /40/ write) was a young man, having a redd bearde, a full visage, a

chearefull ruddy Complexion like the *Germans* of whome he discends, and of some what a low stature, and mourning then for his dead mother, he was apparrelled in black Freesado.⁵ His Court was after the *Italian* manner, faire for building but solitarie for trayne of Courtiers; yet he was sayd to giue pay to Gentlemen for 200th horses after six Crownes the moneth for each horse, and when these gentlemen vppon occasion iourney with him, they also haue diett in Court /50/ but not otherwise. In his Stable [neare his Pallace], neare his Pallace in the Citty, I numbred[ber] ii4 horses (whereof many were Coursers of *Naples*, the rest of *Italian* races, and most of his owne races, which are accounted mo[s]re generous then any other in *Italy*,⁶), and two Camells, besides a like number of horses, which they said were kept in an other stable for Coaches and other seruices, and a stable without //

{ c.w. the Cittie }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Vii. fol:1[4]53. the Citty, wherein were some sixty faire Colts all bredd of *Neapolitan* horses and Mares, within⁷ that dutchye. The *Duke* had 50 *Germans* for his garde, hauing each man 4 Crownes stipend by the moneth, without any diett except each Eight

⁵ Frieze, a coarse woollen cloth with a nap. *OED*

⁶ Moryson means generous in the original Latin sense of *generosus*, noble, high born, a sense that *OED* notes as archaic.

⁷ Hughes has "with", p. 117.

day when it comes to euery mans Course to waite, vppon which day they [also] haue diett in Court. I was credibly informed that the *Duke* gaue pay to 500th soldiers in tyme of peace, kept for defence of his dominion, and that his yearely reuenue amounted to some 350 thowsand Crownes by the yeare, yet /10/ that he was greatly in debt. Of tributes exacted by him is to be spoken in the following Eight Chapter of this Booke. This *Dukes* honor was much scandaled among the *Italians*, because in his youth while his father liued, he had in following manner killed a *Scottish* [gentle]man reported to haue bene indued with extraordinary vertues. This Prince one night walked the streets with his followers but vnknowne, and by ill adventure meeting the said *Scottish* gentleman, well reputed in his fathers Court, tooke a fancye to /20/ trye his valor, and to that end commaunded one of his familiar freinds to assault him with his drawne sword, whome he taking for [an] enemy, in good earnest resisted valiantly, and at the first encounter hapned to giue him a deadly wounde, wherevppon the Prince much lamented, and the *Scottish* gentleman knowing him by his voyce, and so humbling himselfe at his feete, with tender of His Rapier the point towards himselfe, the Prince in rage killed him with his owne Weapon.⁸

⁸ Compare Lithgow's description of the admirable Crichton, "...Monsieur Creichton his worth, in learning and excellent memory, rests admired in Italy, but especially by the noble Gonzagaes, and dependant friends of the house of

{ m.n. 30 - 31. *Inferior Princes.* }

For the *Duke of Urbine*, I passed through some part /30/ of his Territory, but did not see his person, or Court, and of the tributes exacted by him, I shall speake something in the following Eight Chapter of this Booke.

Of the *Neapolitan* Princes subiect to the king of *Spaine* and others not having absolute power, I haue no purpose to write. Passing from *Pisa* to *Lirigi*,⁹ by chaunce at *Masso* lying vppon the Confines of *Toscany*, I did see the Prince of that Towne and small Territory, wherein he hath absolute power, and is of the Family *Malaspina* being a goodly gentleman of a good stature, /40/ comely person, and manly Countenance, with a black pointed bearde,. Besides this small Territory, [w]hereof he was absolute Prince, they said he had a great Inheritance in the kingdome of *Naples* vnder the king of *Spaine*. Here I heard that the Count *Stentafiori* was absolute Prince of a Territory not farr distant, but I did neither see him nor his Court. These are petty Princes of small power to defend their States, only subsisting by the equall ballance of *Italy*, and protection from *Spaine*, or *Fraunce*, or other States of power, and more specially by the Common /50/ ayne of all States in *Italy*,

Mantua; for whose losse, and accidentall death, they still heavily bemone: acknowledging that the race of that Princely stock, by God's judgements was cut off, because of his untimely death." Lithgow, p. 291.

⁹ Lerici is in the Gulf of Spezia.

to preserue it in peace; For as a Crased shipp¹⁰ may be safe in a calme Sea, but lyes open to the waues vppon any storme; so the small States of *Italy* haue safety in peace, but fewe of them may iustly haue confidence to stand vnshaken vppon troubles of warr.

¹⁰ We still use crazy in *OED*'s first sense of shattered in the phrase "crazy paving". Here it means a storm damaged or shattered ship.

fol:i[4]54. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

Chap:Viii.

Of The common wealth of Italy in generall and of some of the greater States thereof in particular touching the remaying Heades conteyned in the tytle of the first Chapter.

{ m.n. 7 - 8. *Tributes in generall.* }

The Princes of *Italy* aboue all others in the world impose not only vppon their Subiects but vppon all strangers passing through their Territories great and many Tolls, Customes, and like exactions. All gates of Cittyes and /10/ Townes swarme with searchers, who if the passengers haue any thing that payes custome search narrowly¹ to finde it, and if they haue nothing, yet will ransack the smallest things they haue, except they will giue them some reward. The Cittyes, and Townes and newe Territoryes of petty Princes, are very frequent, so as a Traueller passeth many² of them in one dayes iourney, and he cannot passe a Towne or a bridge, but he shall pay for his person, at euery bridge two or three *Quatrines*, at some Gates six at some Eight Solde of *Venice*, /20/ besides that he payes for his

¹ "Carefully, closely, with close attention." *OED*

² Hughes has "in any", p. 119.

baggage,.³ He that carryes, Jewells or any thing of Gold or siluer or pretious thing of small weight easy to be hidden, if he conceale it, and pay not Custome for it till he haue passed a certaine stone or marke, then the same found by the searchers is confiscated to the Prince, and if he shewe them to paye Custome, he runnes no lesse danger of his life by being knowne to haue such things about him. For anything almost that he carryes through *Italy*, he shall pay asmuch as the thing is worth. In some places it is vnlawfull to /30/ carry a sword, in some to carry a dagger, and at these <Gat>es men attend to offer their seruice, to carry the Passengers sword to the Inn, whome he must pay, and these places being frequent, he shall pay the worth of his sword before he haue passed through *Italy*, paying for carrying of it in each Citty at the entring and going out of the Towne, and many tymes in one dayes iourney. A poore woman that carryes twelue Eggs to the markett, must giue one at the Gate for Custome, and if she buy a payre of shooes in the /40/ Towne, or spice, or any like thing, tribute must be paid going out of the Gate. If a poore body gett his living by a wheele, to spinn, by Carding⁴ or by a Weauers Looe,

³ From Moryson's definition, whereby three quatrines equal a soldo, and twenty soldi equal a lire, and seven Venetian lire equal a silver crown worth almost five shillings, to cross a bridge cost a halfpenny, and to enter towns tuppence halfpenny. This represents a considerable added extra cost. See *Itinerary A*, II, 154 - 155.

⁴ "To prepare wool...for spinning, by combing out impurities and parting and strengthening the fibres with a card." card. v. 1. 1. *OED*

he must pay yearely tribute to his Prince for licence to vse that trade. And all Inkeepers and those that sell any thing to eat <and> drinck, pay so great yearely Tributes to the Prince (as likewise the Poastmakers⁵ and those that haue horses to hyre) as they must [needs] vse great extortion, vppon all Passengers, and vppon subiects that // *Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap.Viii. fol:1[4]55* haue occasion to vse them, for such licences are sold to them as it were at the outcrye, to him that will giue most for them.

{ m.n. 4 - 6. *The tributes in the Popes state.* }

The Pope is more mylde to his Subiects in this kinde then any other Prince in *Italy*,. And no doubt the fame of this gentlenes, auayle[d]th him more then his excomunications to gayne the Peoples harts, when he tooke into his possession the dukedome of *Ferrara*, the dukes whereof had formerly oppressed their Subiects with great exactions; so as all other Princes haue iust cause /10/ to feare this Foxes practises, lest he conuert this fame of his gentlenes to their preiudice by like vsurpations. yet the Popes themselues lay vppon their Subiects many and heauy exactions, so farr as they make filthy yet great yearely gayne of the Harlots in the Stewes, who Haue for their

⁵ Whilst this word is not cited in *OED*, post as an adverb is defined as "with speed or haste", so presumably Moryson means mounted messengers.

Iudge the marshall of the Court Sanella, and he also for him selfe makes no small earely⁶ Rent of them. As also for gayne they allowe the Iewes a place in Rome for their habitation, wherein they haue their Synagoges, which priuiledge they would not permitt /20/ to any Christians differing from them in poynts of Religion, and (after the manner of the Italian Princes) suffer the Iewes to grynde the faces of their subiectes, so they may extorte large tributes from them, and haue the commaund of their treasure to vse vpon all occasions. Besydes the Popes governors and Magistrates sett ouer their Provinces and townes, are [most] [more] often changed then by any other Prince of Italy, and as hungry flyes sucke more greedily then those that are full, so these gouernors often changed must needes be a greater burthen to their subiects /30/ then if they continued long in office. Of the Papall exactions by spirituall Power, as Indulgences Pardons and the like, I haue formerly spoken in the [first] [fourth] chapter of this booke, I will only add in generall, that a learned historyographer of Germany, after their manner of Computation of Treasure, writes the yearely Reuenue of of them to haue exceeded one hundreth Tunns of Gould Guldens,⁷

⁶ Hughes corrects this to "yearely", p. 120.

⁷ "The Gold Rhenish Guldens of Germany, are almost of the same standard with the Crowne Gold of England..." *Itinerary A*, II, 143. Although gulden implies that the coin should be gold, there were silver guldens *reichsguldiner* circulating in southern Germany. Wood, p. 174. I cannot find the historiographer.

but in our age to be much abated by the defection of many Dominions from the Popes obedience. In the same chapter I haue spoken of exactions by the Popes /40/ temporall power and State, and the yearely Reuenue of all his tributes, I will only add that passengers going through the Papall State, in all his Portes, Frountyer twnes, the City of Rome, and all passages where tributes are frequently imposed, not only pay Customes for all marchandize, but for every [l.t.] litle Portmanteau to carry daly necessaryes pay [. pay] one Iulio, yet haue not the same ransacked as in other places.⁸

{ m.n. 48 - 50. *The tributes in the Dukedome of Florence* }
 They who will [not] learne the Art to spend treasure sparingly and to exact it cruelly from their Subiectes, /50/ lett them Imitate the Italian Princes, among whome the Dukes of Florence excell in both kyndes, of whose frugality I haue formerly spoken, and now will perticularly sett downe some exactions in that State. For each measure // *fol:i[4]56. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.* of land vulgarly called Stoara contayning. 60. Perches euery way, the owner payes yearely to the Duke (if the land

⁸ A *julio* is worth between sixpence and sevenpence; "fortie giulii make twentie shillings sterling English", *Itinerary A*, II, 157. "Compare with Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, ed. G. B. Parks (Rome, 1969), p. 189, where he relates how Pope Pius IV offered to provide for the beggars of Rome by a regular pension of 'a July a day, that is seven pence'." BP As its name implies, it was named after Pope Julius II (1503 - 1513). Wood, p. 89.

be most barren) tenn Iulij, if it be firtle thirty Iulij, yea more, not only according to the firtelity of the [land, but also vpon any extraordinary increase of the yeare.⁹ For] [yeare. For [land]] an asses loade vulgarly called Soma of wyne they pay. 32. Quatrines,¹⁰ For a bottle of some three quartes of wyne two Quatrines. For the like measure of oyle three Quatrines, For an Asses loade of oyle 4 Iulij. For a Barrell of wyne one Iulyo For the grynding of a Sacke of Corne. 12. Quatrines, and for a note of license to grynde it. 6. /10/ Creizers¹¹ (very monkes and Religious Fryers paying this trybuite for grynding of Corne) The Country people to the age of. 60. yeares pay each man for his head a Crowne yearely: For euery beast or any head of Cattle 20. Soldi, and as much for euery horse, Asse, or like Beast solde from man to man, how often so

⁹ Florio in his *Words* defines *Staia* the plural of *Staiio* as bushels, and *Staiuola* as "a certain measure of land 160 foote of ours", but that is much smaller than sixty square perches which are about five and a half yards. *OED*. Dallington's explanation helps, "And as we measure our land by the Acre, so they theirs by the *Staioro*, which taketh his name of the *Staiio*: because one of these parcels of Land, if it be on the hills, will ask a *Staiio* of corne to seed it..." *Tuscany*, sig. F2v. *Stoara* is not recorded in Zingarelli.

¹⁰ Florio defines it as "any kind of load, burthen, fraught or charge that any beast doth beare." *Words*. The fourth meaning of *Soma* is defined by Zingarelli as a old unit of measurement, with values varying between 66 and 145 litres.

¹¹ About threepence. "...five quatrines make a baello (or creitzer, which is a little coyne of silver)". *Itinerary A*, II, 157. However, Dallington defines it as "Crazie, three half pence." *Tuscany*, sig. H4v.

euver the property is altered, but the worth of the beast allters the payment after the rate of one Iulio in two Ducates.¹² He that will keepe a shop to sell warres payes at the entrance. 50. lire, and yearely one Crowne. The Duke sells all Salt /20/ as his owne, and the Country people are bound to carrye it, hauing in that respect the priuiledge to buye a measure theireof for foure Quatrines, which is sould to others for 12. but they must buye no more then serues theire priuate vse, for if it be knowne they sell any, they are condemned for a tyme to serue in the Gallies, or in like sorte punished. The Duke Commandes the very Snowe to be gathered and layde vp in the winter, which he sells in the Sommer to be mingled with wyne, and for like vses. Whosoeuer brings the least thing into the Citty /30/ to be solde, or Carryes out the least thing bought, payes tribute[s] at the gate. For Iewells or any thinge of gould or siluer according to the worth they pay a Gross for each Crowne: For a payre of newe shooes foure Quatrines. An old woman that hath a Cerchio of eggs that is 12. eggs to sell,¹³ payes two Quatrines, or giues one of the eggs to the officers at the gate. Flesh sold in the markett payes a quatrine the pound that is some iiid of our English mony in the stone, For a liuing hogg solde, thay pay to the Duke

¹² This represents a tax rate of about 8 - 10%. A ducat is worth about 3s 6d. *OED*

¹³ *Cerchio* suggests a circle or hoop. The word meaning a dozen is not in Zingarelli, so it may be obsolete dialect.

4. Iulij, one for each foote: /40/ and the like trybute the poore people pay for Cherryes, Rootes, and the least thinge they haue to sell. yea a dead body carryed [carryed] in or out of the Citty to be buryed, payes a Piastro¹⁴ or Crowne to the Duke. And least any fraude should be vsed by those that are poore or crafty, the officers search not only the Carryage but the very Apparrell of the people, and sometymes the secrett parts of the body, and there is a place at each gate with a marke which if any haue passed without paying of tribuite, those goods are forfeited to the Duke. Yet they report of /50/ many that haue plesantly and coningly deceaved the Crafty and Crewell searchers. As of an old woman, that tooke a gold Chayne her master had bought, and foulding it vnder the Flax of her Distaffe, passed the gate without paying tribuite. And of an other old woman, who carryed a Gammon of Bacon to sell, and being demaunded at the gate if shee had any thinge that payed tribuite, scoffengly yet truely answered that she had *vna coscia secca* a dry thigh, and they thincking her to speake of her owne body, with laughter dismissed her /60/ free of tribuite. And of a Country Clowne, who hauing //

*Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i[4]5<i>*¹⁵

¹⁴ "And a silver crowne called Piastro...was given for ten guilii and a halfe." About 5s 2½d. *Itinerary A, II, 157.*

¹⁵ This should be numbered 157.

bought Cherries for which they demaunded tribute, at the Gate, did rather eat them vpp in their presence, then he would pay ought for them. And of an other that having bought a Crucifixe of siluer, for which like things being newe, and vnvsed tribute is payd, hung it vpp at the gate, and falling vppon his knees, mumbled prayers to it, by that vse to saue the tribute; And of a soldier who having bought a gold Chayne putt it into the h[a]ollow handle of his horsemans speare, so as the Searchers could not finde it, tho by spyes they knew he bought it,. And of a pleasant *Monke*, who /10/ having bought spice, and sewing it in the hinder part of the Cusheon, which the *Italians* vse ouer their sadles, and being demaunded what he had to pay tribute, answered scoffingly yet truely, *ho del, specie al culo*, I haue spice at my back syde, and so passed for a rude, or merry Felowe and paid no Tribute, without danger to forfeit the confessed spice, if they had after found it.¹⁶ But to omitt Ieasts, I retorne to the serious purpose. In the dowryes of women to be marryed, and all bargaynes, the *Duke* hath seauen (others say eight) Crownes in euery hundreth Crownes. /20/ In hyring of houses he hath the tenth part of the yearely Rent and a like Tribute out of the last wills and Testaments of his subiects. And one tribute I wish all Princes would imitate and exact the

¹⁵ The friar may be punning in many senses. *Specie* is a rare form of *spezie*, spices according to Zingarelli. *Specie* can also be money in the form of coin, and from the Latin ablative of *species*, it could mean money in kind.

like, that no man goes to lawe, but he payes tribute, according to his cause before he can enter his suite. When the *Duke* foresees a dearth of Corne, he makes search what Corne priuate men haue, and leaving them as much as will serue their owne Familyes, he buyes the rest at a reasonable price, and layes it vpp in the office of *Aboundance*, as they vulgarly call it, vsing equalitye /30/ towards all, in that he spares no man more then an other, but when Corne growes scant, it is sold to the people with great gayne. In like sort to preuent famine, the *Duke* buyes sheepe, comonly each yeare three thousand, and more if need seeme to require, out of *Lombardye* the only Prouince of *Italy*, yeilding plenty of grasse to feede Cattle, and these sheepe he distributes among the Butchers of his dominion at such rates, as howsoever he pretend the releife of the publique want, yet those Butchers thinck themselues most faouored who haue fewest of his sheepe /40/ allotted to them. The State of *Florence* aboundeth with wyne oyle¹⁷ and flesh for foode, and the Fenns of *Sienna* called *la maremme* yeild such plenty of Corne as from thence great quantity vseth to be transported for the releife of neighbors as *Lucca*, and *Genoa*, yet often it happens that when corne beares a good price in *Italy*, shipps fraught therewith, ariue in the havens of this State, in which Cases priuate marchants buy not this Corne according to the Custome with

¹⁷ "Oyle" omitted by Hughes.

vs, but the *Duke* himselfe buyes it, and sells it by small measures in the markt with good gayne, and with such /50/ priuiledge, as the *Dukes* corne must be sold before any priuate man may expose his on the markt. And if by any accident the fore said Office of *Aboundance* (as they call it) suffer losse in buying any prouision, a taxe is allotted vppon euery Family for repayre of that losse, yea euen vppon those that were no way releiued by that prouision, In which case I haue seene my host a poore Inkeeper pay three lire at one taxe,¹⁸ and his brother a poore Artisan pay halfe asmuch, having had no whitt¹⁹ //
fol:1[47]58. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

of the Corne for which it was imposed. If an extraordinary Death²⁰ happen the *Duke* hath vsed to make an Edict, that all men shall haue a quantity of brann mixed with their meale, and howsoever the very meanest *Italians* vse to feede of pure wheaten bread, wherewith and a poore rootte, or apple, they will make a good meale, so their bread be pure, and so greatly abhorr this mixture, yet for feare of spyes (neuer wanting) the richest dare no more breake this Edict

¹⁸ This was at an inn in July 1594 at San Casciano, where he had "diet here at an easie rate, spending not above one Giulio each meale, and yet having such meat as I most desired, neatly dressed, and being diligently attended..." *Itinerary A*, I, 334.

¹⁹ "bit". *OED*

²⁰ Dearth.

then the poorest. Besides ordinary Tributes, many extraordinary taxes, are imposed vppon diuerse accidents, as when the *Duke* is maryed, /10/ when his Children are baptised, when his daughters are maryed, when any bridges are broken by the ouerflowing of the Riuer, *Arno*, or like accident, and vppon many such casuall events, Yea the *Statua* of *Duke Cosmo*, newly then sett vpp in the markett place, was erected at the charge of the people, by a generall taxation. And in generall, since in all publique Collections more is gathered comonly then laid out, the Prince himselfe gaynes by the very mischeifes, and burthens of the Common wealth. The ditches of Cittyes and Townes and wast places of high wayes belong to the /20/ *Duke*, and in them he planted mulbery trees, whereof he sold the leaues for feeding of silke woormes with great profitt, no man daring to breake a leafe from them. My selfe in heat of Sommer breaking a small branche, to carry for shade, a gentleman [meeting me] [and] and obseruing me thereby to be a stranger, advised me nobly to cast the bough away before I passed by any house or village, for otherwise the breaking thereof, would cost me many Crownes, besides imprisonment. Aboue all other things the *Duke* makes excessiue profitt by Innes and victualing howses, which sometymes he /30/ builds and letts the houses at high rates. Againe those that haue houses of their owne or hyred, that are fitt to be made Inns, yet pay excessiue yearly tribute for license to keepe them, so as it makes

litle difference, whether the house be publike or priuate, and since he that buyes must needs sell, the *Florentines* otherwise courteous to strangers by their Princes auiarice, are forced to oppresse them. When any Inne (I meane not the house but the license to keepe an Inne) is to be lett (for the Custome is to lett them at first for one, then for sixe yeares, and those /40/ ended againe for one and then for sixe yeares, and so euerlastingly in that order) I say when such Inns falling voyd are to be lett, it is done by the Out crye, a Candle being lighted, where the people are called together, and he that offers most before the Candle is burnt out, shall keepe that Inn during the foresayd tyme, and many tymes Citizens of noble Familyes harken, and beare out poore men in taking these high rented Farmes, to the end themselues may vtter in those Inns more easily at an high rate, the increase of their owne Wynes, oyle and fruites which they /50/ haue to sell. Myselfe for learning the language did lodge for some moneths in two Inns, whereof the first was in the high way to *Rome*, yet in a village, about eight myle distant from *Florence*, and the Hostesse being an old widow, and paying 23 Crownes yearely to a gentleman for the //

{ c.w. rent of her }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i[4]59.

Rent of her howse, did also pay to the *Duke* 56 Crownes yearely for license to keepe that Inn, wherein she sold no wyne but such as she fetched from an other man, that had

license to sell it. The other was kept by a shoemaker out of the high way to *Rome*, in a village, whose house was his owne Worth six Crownes by the yeare to be lett, and he paid to the *Duke* yearely 20 Crownes for license to keepe this Inn and sell wyne, and a *Iulio* and a halfe to exercise his poore trade,. For the poorest old woman may not keepe a wheele to spinn, without paying tribute and each /10/ weauer payes a Crowne or more yearely to the *Duke* for his loome. Most Inns pay the *Duke* yearely one hundreth or a hundreth Fifty, some few pay fiue hundreth or six hundreth Crownes yearely, as I remember the Inn vppon the Confines of *Toscany* in the way to the Sea syde of *Liguria* paid six hundreth Crownes yearely to the *Dule*,. Whensoeuer the *Duke* wants mony, he takes a list of his Subiects able to lend it, and diuides the same among them according to their ability giuing them assurance for repayment by assignments out of his Customes, which /20/ payments are alwayes duly made to them. The *Siennesi* are rich in yearely Rents of Lands, but the *Florentines* having a more barren soyle are rich by arts & traffique. For *Sattens* they pay to the *Duke* 50. in the hundreth and the very traffique of *Sattens* in the Citty of *Florence* amounted in one extraordinary yeare to two millions of gold. The Reuenues of the *Duke* were said ordinarily to exceede a million, and a hundreth thousand ducates, [others said one million and a halfe. The very Citty of *Florence* was said to yeild fiue hundred thousand

Ducates:] The Port of *Ligorono*²¹ one hundred thousand yearely. The /30/ other Portes in generall one hundred Fifty thousand. The Tribute of flesh one hundred forty thowsand. The mynes of salt and of yron, and the Tribute for siluer a like somme. The Toll of milstones (besyde the State of *Sienna*) was said to yeild yearely one hundred sixty thousand *Ducates*, And the sole Tribute for Inns was said yearely to amount at least to two hundred thousand Crownes. Besides that the *Duke* makes great gayne by the bankes of Exchaunge wherein he hath much mony espetially in *Banco de Rizzi* whereof himselfe is the Cheife. If we consider /40/ the Continuall peace of *Italy* wherein the *Duke* was thought to lay vpp yearely at least halfe a milion of gold, no doubt he must be powerfull in Treasure. And as I dare boldly say that no Christian Prince euer did or can exact more of his Subiects, so I reade in a late writer that this *Duke Ferdinand* left to his sonne and successor ten millions of gold in ready mony, and two millions in Iewells.

No Prince of *Italy* exacts much lesse of his subiects, and for the *Dukes* of *Ferrara* of the Family of *Este*, before that *Dukedome* fell to the Pope, as lord of the Fee for want of heyres males. /50/ //

fol:1[5]60. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

²¹ This is mid-metamorphosis between the Italian *Livorno* and the English Leghorn.

I did not obserue more exactions in any place then in the Citty of *Ferrara*. Each straunger paid a *Gagetta* to the *Duke* at the Gate for his head where the searchers rifeled all packs,²² Carriages and the least Portmanteau, to finde out things for which Tribute was to be paid, and if they fonde any such thing, as gold Chaynes spoones any thing of gold or siluer (which as I sayd in *Italy* can neither be hidd without danger, nor shewed without as great daunger of spoyling). nor any new apparrell, or any thing newe or not vsed, so as it may be fitt to be sold, all these things if they had not paid /10/ tribute for them, were confiscated to the *Duke*. The searcher followed vs to our Inn, there to search the small things, we carryed with vs, and for this office of Respect that he did not stay vs and search vs at the gate, he extorted a reward from each one of vs, and those straungers who gaue them not rewards aswell as dutyes, were sure to be molested by them many wayes, as by keeping their mayles or other Cariage²³ at the gate with them; [were sure to be molested by them many wayes] to be searched at their leysure, in which meane tyme they would not suffer him to take out a shirt to chaunge /20/ or any other necessarye for daily vse. The *Dukes* territory was small, yet this one Citty lying in the beaten way to *Rome*, by like exactions yeilded large yearely Reuenues. The very

²² Hughes has "parts", p. 127.

²³ Things which had been carried ?

fishing of Eeles in the lake of *Comaccio* where the Riuer *Po* enters the Sea, or rather ends in standing waters, was said to yeilde to the *Duke* 150 thousand Crownes Yearely.

{ m.n. 28 - 29. *The tributes in the state of Venice.* }

The State of *Venice* in imitation of the Pope, calling his Rents the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, doe also call their tributes the Reuenues of St *Marke* the protecting Saint of the /30/ *Citty*. Of Stable Rents, not such as are Casuall and gotten by industry, each man payes tenn Crownes to St *Marke* in the hundreth. Each measure of wyne called *Botta* vulgarly, payes fiue Ducates, and each *Secchio* of wyne payes tenn *Soldi*²⁴ Each measure of Corne called *Staiò* vulgarly [called] payes 48 *Soldi*. But the shopkeepers pay no such Tributes as are exacted in *Florence*, exercising their trade freely. The *Magazines* of wyne²⁵ only in the *Citty* of *Venice*, were said yearely to yeild three hundreth thousand Ducates, for those that sell wyne by small measures, paid each man some thousand /40/ Crownes for his license, after which rate the Inkeepers also paid for their

²⁴ *Botte* is the usual Italian form of wine butt. Zingarelli states that the size varied between regions. In Venice it paid duty of about eighteen shillings. Zingarelli's fourth definition of *Secchia* "*Antica unità di misura per liquidi*" does not advance our understanding to any appreciable extent. Twenty soldi made a lire, which is worth about eight pence halfpenny. Thus ten soldi, half a lire is about four pence farthing. See *Itinerary A*, II, 155.

²⁵ From *magazzino*, warehouse.

licenses. Many houses kept Chambers to be lett, and suppose the house be hyred for some hundreth Crownes the yeare, or being theire owne be valued, at so much, they pay halfe the Rent, namely Fifty Crownes to St. *Marke*. The very boyes and men wayting in the marketts, like our Porters with basketts to carry home things bought, and vulgarly called *Cisterolli*,²⁶ doe pay each moneth Fiftye *Soldi* each one for his license. In diuerse written relations I finde the generall Reuenue of this State valued at two /50/ millions of gold yearely though *Monsieur Villamont* attributes so much to the Citty of *Venice* alone.²⁷ And for seuerall tributes of the State, I finde them thus valued in generall. The wyne //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i[5]61. yearely at one hundreth sixteene thousand Ducates; The oyle at fower Thousand; Marchandize imported at Thirty thousand, and exported asmuch. Corne at fowerteene: Flesh at seauenteene thousand. The flatt²⁸ vulgarly *Il Grasso*, as butter, suett, and the like; Fourteene thousand [The Iron seauen thousand.] The fruites foure thousand: The wood six thousand. And for particular Cittyes, these relations record, that *Padoa* brings yearely into the Treasure of *Venice* thirteene thousand Ducates: *Vicenza* thirtye two

²⁶ Probably related to *cesto* and *cestino*, a basket.

²⁷ Villamont, sig. M6v, Book I, Chapter 37.

²⁸ Hughes amends it to "fatt", p. 129.

thousand: Verona nynty thousand: Brescia (besydes many extraordinary Subsidyes) /10/ one hundreth thousand foure hundreth and fyfty: Bergamo fyfty thousand: Vdane twenty fyue thousand: Treuigi²⁹ foureskore thousand. Not to speake of the Ilandes of Istria, and Dalmatia Cittyes Cataro and Zara,³⁰ and other places of small importance, this sufficing for probable coniecture of their Reuenues, which may satisfye a stranger, who can hardly and needeth not for his owne vse search the perfect knowledge thereof. My selfe returning from Padoa towards England, and hauing the test[a]imony of the vniuersity (vulgarly called *Matricola*) that I was Student thereof was thereby freed from many /20/ small payments in that State,³¹ as six *Soldi* demaunded at the Gate of *Padoa*, and eight *Soldi* at the gate of *Verona*, and some *Quatrines* for the passing of bridges and the like, which I mention to shewe that these payments were due to *St. Marke* only for my person, since I carryed nothing with me but some two or three shirts, and that the same payments being exacted of euery Passenger for his head, in such a beaten way<e> from *Fraunce*, *Germany* and many kingdomes to *Rome* must needs amount to a great somm yearely. I haue /30/ omitted to speake of the Tribute rayسد by Harlotts, called

²⁹ Treviso.

Modern Kotor and Zadar in Croatia.

³¹ A sixteenth century student discount !

Cortisane,³² which must needs be great in that State, neither haue I spoken of extraordinary Tributes, as in the tyme of warr, wherein the Tenths for land, and in like sort the Customes are doubled or trebled, and priuate men not only with Chearefulnes lend, but also giue great sommes of mony and the women [are] haue not spared to giue their Iewells, so as it may be sayd that the publique treasure is neuer poore, so long as priuate men be rich.³³ Neither haue I spoken of the depost payd /40/ by gentlemen when they are admitted capable to beare office, nor of many like Reuenues. Giue me leaue to add that a late writer hath published in print, that the generall Reuenue of Venice amounts yearely to two millions of gold Crownes. That the Townes yeild yearely eight hundreth thousand Crownes, of which summ *Bergamo* and *Brescia* yeild three hundreth thousand; That the Imposts of Venice amount to 700 thousand, wyne alone in the State to i30 thousand, and salt

³² *Cortigiana: fig Prostitua*. Zingarelli. The similarity to the word for courtier, *cortigiano*, enables Nashe in the persona of the banished earl to get a side swipe at Castiglione, when he apostrophises Italy, "...it maketh a man an excellent courtier, a curious carpet knight; which is, by interpretation, a fine close lecher, a glorious hypocrite." Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works*, edited by J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 345.

³³ In its greatest crisis in 1509 when Venice faced the League of Cambrai alone, Doge Leonardo Loredan "set an example by offering to the Treasury all his private plate and returning 5,000 ducats of his salary...he trusted that many others would follow his lead." John Julius Norwich, *Venice Fall*, p. 141.

alone to 500 thousand Crownes.³⁴ /50/

{ m.n. 51 - 53. *Tributes in the Dukedome of Mantua.* }

The *Duke of Mantua* maketh no lesse exactions vppon his
subiects and all straungers, then other Princes of *Italy*,
but hath one thing singular, that to the preiudice of his
subiects he intertaynes the Iewes with greater priuiledges
//

fol:i[5]62. *Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.*
then they haue in other parts of *Italy*, so [as] in *Mantua*
they keppe the cheefe shops, and are not easily knowne from
Cittizens, carying only a marke in obscure places, as vnder
theire Clokes, whereas all Iewes in other parts of *Italy*
ether weare [were] yellow hatts, or haue other notorious
markes by which they are very aparently knowne.³⁵

{ m.n. 7 - 9. *Tributes in the Dukedom of Vrbin* }

³⁴ Moryson "is quite often near the mark" in his estimates. BP Usually the deviation from the official figures is no more than 10%. See *Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford, 1992), pp. 148 - 152.

³⁵ Notorious in the sense of "generally, openly or publicly known." a. 1. 2. b. *OED* These would be obvious props for productions of *The Merchant of Venice*. My tutor, Dr. T. P. Matheson reminds me that the 1984 production by the RSC at Stratford - on - Avon, starring Ian McDermaid complete with yellow conical hat caused considerable controversy. I have never seen a pre - Kean interpretation of this play, with Shylock as a humorous rather than a sympathetic character. It would be an interesting dramatic experiment, but can only happen when the world is much more at ease with itself. I suspect that will not be in my lifetime.

The Reuenues of the Duke of Vrbin were sayd to amount yearely to one hundreth thousand crownes, yet his territory was small, and he thought to be a gentle exactor in comparison of others, wherevpon he was /10/ sayd to be much beloued of his subiects. notwithstanding passing by Senogallia (which towne belongs to the Pope, but it seemed the Dukes territory came to the gate therof, for the Inn without the gate lodging all passengers belonged to the Duke) I say passing by Senogallia and lodging in the Inn without the gate, I vnderstood that the Innkeeper payd yearely 500th Crownes to the Duke of Vrbin, for keeping that Inn, and his being Postmaster, so as I nothing marueiled to be abused in our supper and the hyring of horses, but rather wondred at the auerice of /20/ the Italian Princes, who by these immoderate exactions not only oppresse theire subiects, but force them to grinde the Faces of all strangers passing through theire territories.

{ m.n. 25 - 27. Tributes in the kingdome of Naples. }

The tributes of the kingdome of Naples are no lesse rather more excessiue, for not only marchants pay them, but gentlemen buying silke stockings and like small thinges, pay tribute, except they were them once, and so likewise for chaynes and Iewells of gold except they be openly worne about the neck or handwrests.³⁶ And if any haue passed /30/

³⁶ "Hand-wrist. Obs. exc. dial." *OED*

Naples gate without paying tribute and taking a testimony therof, his goods shalbe forfeited when the Searchers at Sportelle vpon the Frontiers fynde them.³⁷ Yet all these caterpillers will also extort somthing of guift. And great tributes are payd for horses which cannot goe out of the kingdome without license from Naples, searchers attending at Fondi³⁸ and other places otherwise to forbid their passage. Yea the Searchers will not only rifle a strangers portmanteau, but will see what mony he hath in his purse, and those who lett horses & Mules, /40/ must haue a pasport for passing of their beasts. To conclude this point too perticularly handled already. I will only add that the Catholike king of Spayne imitates his holy Father the Pope in the tribute exacted for harlots, wherof 60. thousand were sayd to be in the City of Naples, and of them the poorest payd two Ca[r]lini the month,³⁹ but the proudest and fayrest not only payd much more to the kings treasure, but also were subiect to many extortions of diuers magistrates sett ouer them. So as the Pope and these Papall Princes seeme to haue learned of the heathen /50/ Emperor

³⁷ *Sportello* is a window at which money can be paid. Zingarelli. Possible emendations such as Spoleto and Spotorno were not on what was the Neapolitan frontier.

³⁸ A little inland town near Gaeta.

³⁹ *Carlino* is from Charles of Anjou who first had them coined in 1278, ancient silver and gold from the Kingdom of Naples. Zingarelli. Similar to the *guilio*, it was valued by Moryson as worth sixpence, since "a French crowne of just weight, was given for thirteene carlini" and a French crown was worth six shillings. *Itinerary A*, I, 157, 161.

of Rome, that the smell of gayne is sweete though it come of Dung, who exacting mony of Vrine sold, and taxed by his owne sonne for the basenes of the gayne, putt to his nose a peece of mony of that tribute, and another of a sweete Commodity (as spice or the like) and asked him what difference there was betweene the smell of them.⁴⁰

{ m.n. 57 - 59. of the power of Italy in warr generally }
The Princes of Italy placing all the hope of preseruing their States in the greatnes of their treasure, not in the loue of their subiectes, which they loose by the foresayd cruell /60/ //

Booke.1 [C]The Commonwealth of Italy Chap Viii fol.i[5]63.
exactions (under which they [loose by the foresayd] grone as vnder the bondage of Egipt) and so hold their faythfulnes suspected, for that cause keepe them from any the least experience in military seruice, or so much [or so much] as the vse of the wearing of the sword desyring to haue them as base & fearefull as men may be. And for this Cause in their warrs, they vse auxiliary soldiers, and especially Generalls of other Nations. Yet I confesse that

⁴ The Emperor alluded to is Vespasian (70 - 79), and his son is the Titus who fulfilled Christ's prophecy of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. "When Titus found fault with him for contriving a tax upon public conveniences, he held a piece of money from the first payment to his son's nose, asking whether its odour was offensive to him. When Titus said, "No", he replied, "Yet it comes from urine." " Suentonius, *Works* translated by J. C. Rolfe, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1914), II, 319

the State of Venice being a free State, vnder the which the people, are not so much oppressed as vnder other Princes of *Italy*, raise part of their /10/ foote of their owne Peasants, but the strength thereof is in straungers, as likewise they imploy some gentlemen of the Cittyes subiect to the State to comaund some troopes of men at Armes or Armed horses. But howsoeuer they make gentlemen of Venice Gouvernors and Generalls of their Navye, yet they neuer imploy them to commaund their land forces, having alwayes a Straunger to their Generall.⁴¹ But this they doe, not that they suspect their faith, but lest any gentleman gayning great reputation in Armes, and the loue of the soldiers, should haue power at any tyme to vsurpe /20/ vppon the Freedome of their State.⁴² Againe I will boldly say that the *Italians* generally haue so litle Confidence in the hopes of the life to come, and finde such sweetnes in the possession of their earthly Paradice, as they care not to hazard Certayne things, for those that hold vncertaine, and [so] howsoeuer they are more proude then valiant in reuenging priuate wrongs with base advantages, which pride may [also] make them braue in warr, when they are forced to that Course, yet I thinck they are not willingly bold

⁴¹ Thus an outsider like Othello would be ideal as a general.

⁴² The lessons from history have been learned. Julius Caesar was able to subvert the Roman Republic with an army at his back. In more recent times, *condotierre* mercenary leaders, like the Sforzas, and the Borgias were able to carve out states for themselves.

adventurers of their persons in any action that presents death to /30/ their eyes. And for this Cause for the great warrs of *Europe*, in forrayne parts, and particularly in the long warr of our tyme betweene *England*, *Fraunce*, *Spayne* and *Netherland*, wee neither reade, nor heare of any great voluntary troopes or bands of *Italians* carryed to that seruice with loue of that profession. For those few *Italians* which haue serued in *Netherland*, were for the most part *Neapolitans*, pressed by the king of *Spayne*, or banished men, or such whose fortunes permitted them not to liue in *Italy*. For the Fo<rce>⁴³ of *Italy* the *Marchians*⁴⁴ subiect to the Popes of *Rome*, are most commended /40/ and I know not how good soldiers they are abroad but surely straungers finde them at home rude, and feirce towards them. But the woorthy *Historiographer Guiccardine*, being himselfe an *Italian* confesseth in the warr of the *French* king *Lewes* the [...h]twelue in *Italy*, that the *Italian* foote were base, and litle to be esteemed, and that the *Italian* horsemen could not sustayne or beare the strength and the force of the *french* horsemen charging them.⁴⁵ And

⁴³ This word is difficult to decipher. Hughes has "Foote", p. 133. His reading may well be superior to mine.

⁴⁴ From *Le Marche*.

⁴⁵ In Book Ten in the description of the Battle of Ravenna in 1512, Guicciardini writes via Fenton, "The *Italian* footemen gaue backe, being no more able to resist so great a multitude: but one part of the *Spanish* footemen running to their succours, sustained them for a time..." p. 449.

he that reades his Historye, shall finde in the warr at that tyme, aswell in the kingdome of Naples, as in the State of *Pisa & Dukedome of Milan* that /50/ //

fol:1[5]64. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

the *Italian* Troopes and bands deserued small or no prayse, and sometyme much blame,. I will not dispute whether the old *Romans* conquered the world by their owne wisdome which they still retayne, and by the valour of forrayne Legions, made free of the Citty and so called *Romans*, or whether the old *Romans* were indeed braue soldiers while they beleued that all men dying for their Country went directly to the *Elisian* Feildes, rather then now they haue woorse *Maximes* of Religion, but Historyes warrant me to say, that after the declining of the *Roman* Empire, the barbarous people neuer made inuasion, /10/ nor the Emperors of *Germany* any expedition with Armyes into *Italy*, wherein the *Italians* did make any braue resistance for life liberty and goods, but rather did not basely yeilde themselues to the invading power. And that in the last age, when *Fraunce* and *Spaine* stroue for the dominion ouer *Italy*, the *Italians* euer subiected themselues to the invading Armye yea that all the forces of the States and Princes of *Italye* combyned and assisted by the power of *Ferdinande* king of *Arragon* were all straungly beaten by the *French* alone⁴⁶ And for the ill

⁴⁶ Presumably Moryson is still referring to the Battle of Ravenna fought on Easter Day 1512 when the French beat The Holy League, a coalition of Spanish, Venetian and Papal forces, plus mercenaries of various nationalities.

successes of the french in the kingdome of Naples, /20/
Guiccardine himselfe, attributes it in no part to the
Italians, but altogether to the valour of the *Spaniards*.
About the tyme when I was in *Italy*, one of the brothers of
the *Duke of Florence* ledd some *Italian* bands of Foote and
troopes of horse to assist the Emperor in *Hungarie* against
the *Turkes*, but after a yeare they returned, having done no
memorable seruice. For the horse of *Italy*; the race of the
kingdome of *Naples* is much prized, being vulgarly called
Corsers of their swiftnes, wherein notwithstanding the
Giannetts of *Spaine* excell them.⁴⁷ And that kingdome also
yeildes /30/ strong and great mules. Otherwise in *Lombardy*
they vse litle naggs, and comonly Mares for cariage &
riding, and oxen to drawe euen in Coaches sometymes as in
Toscany and the mountanous vpper parts of *Italy*, they vse
Asses and litle mules, and neither haue any good races of
horses, saue that some few Princes [breede a small number
of the] [and especially the State of *Venice*] Race of
Naples. Yet some Princes [and] especially the State of
Venice in tyme of peace mantayne some troopes of Armed
horse, which I haue seene mustered in very braue equipage,
the horses being well armed and beautifull, and /40/ the
horsmen attyred in Coates of blewe veluett or like Coulor,
whereof I shall speake in the particular discourse

⁴⁷ A jennet is a small Spanish horse. Such a beast, "A
breeding jennet, lusty, young and proud" tempts the courser
of Adonis in *Venus and Adonis*, 260, in an ironic
juxtaposition with Adonis's distinct lack of ardour.

following. The Foote Captaynes especially of the State of Venice, are to be commended that they liue not luxuriously and prodigally, but content with their pay of Twentye five Crownes the moneth, liue modestly both for diett and apparrell, as the Common Soldiers likewise liue of the pay of some three or fower Crownes the moneth, the Pioners having only [i]12 *Soldi* of Venice by the day. Nether doe the Captaynes make any extraordinary aduan/50/tages by their Companies, either in deficiency of numbers or victualls or Apparrell for them, only *Guiccardine* writes that the Popes vse to be much cosened in those kindes.⁴⁸/
{ c.w. For the nauall }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:1[.]65
{ m.n. 1, 2. *The nauall power in generall.* }

For the Nauall power of *Italy* in Generall; The *Italians* the old Conquerors of the world, are at this day so effeminate and so inamored of their Paradice of *Italy*, as [nothings] [none] but desperate fortune can make them vndertake any voyages by Sea, or land (great part of them having neuer seene the villages and Townes within fiue or tenn myles of their natiue soyle,) or any warfare by Sea, or land, or any

⁴⁸ The Venetians were perhaps unusual in Italian experience for the orderliness of their forces. In Book One of his history, Guicciardini describes the technological and organizational superiority of the French. He compares this to the Italian armies, and their discontented captains. Fenton renders it thus, "And being bound to no tearme fixed for their payes, and absolute commaunders ouer their companies, they oftentimes beguile the seruice with lesse numbers then they are payed for..." p. 36.

hard Course of life. And as generally they are reputed not very confident in Gods protection by land, so they lesse trust him at Sea, thincking that man to haue had a /10/ hart of Oake and brasse who first dared to make furrowes vppon the waues of the Sea, having nothing but a boarde betweene him and ougly death. To which purpose they haue a Prouerbe, *Loda il mar', sta su la terra*. That is, *Praise the sea tyde, on land abide.*⁴⁹ So as they seldome proue expert, neuer bold marriners. And howsoeuer some venture to sayle along the Coast at home, fewe or none professe to be Marriners at Sea, having their shippes for the most part (or altogether) furnished with Comaunders and Common Saylers of the *Greekes*, and /20/ Ilanders about them. These *Greeke* Marriners I haue found by experience to be very superstitious for ominous tokens of *Shipwrack*, and they sayling only in the narrow *mediterranean* sea, if once they haue lost the sight of the loued shore by any mist vppon the least ill weather, most of them soone leese the knowledge where they are, and if any storme arise, they make such a fearefull noyse, and by confusion shew such ignorance, and want of Courage, as would make a man afrayd where no feare is. In my *Iournall* of my retorne from

⁴⁹ Florio quotes the proverb as following:
Lauda il mare, e tienti alla terra
Lauda il monte, e tienti al piano.
Praise the sea, on shore remaine
Wonder at hills, keepe on the plaine.
See John Florio, *Florios second frutes* (London, 1591), pp. 106 - 107, [STC 11097].

Constantinople & landing /30/ at *Zante*, I haue shewed that with great wonder I vnderstood a *Venetian* Shipp of five hundreth Tonnes well armed, to be taken by a few small Frigatts of the *Turkes*, being themselues neither good Seamen, nor bold soldiers, but only Pyratts hartned to Rapine where they finde small resistance. Neither durst any *Italian* Shipp in that Port, for feare of these Pyrates goe forth to fetch Corne for the necessarye foode of the *Iland*, but were forced to compell an English Shipp waft⁵⁰ their Corne from *Morea* into the [great] Port of *Zante*. Likewise I obserued English Shipp going forth /40/ from *Venice* with *Italian* Shipp to haue sayled into *Syria* and returned to *Venice* twice, before the *Italian* Shipp made one retourne, whereof two reasons may be giuen, one that the *Italians* pay their marriners by the day, how long soeuer the voyage lasteth, which makes them vppon the least storme putt into harbors, whence only few wyndes can bring them out, whereas the English are payde by the voyage, and so beate out stormes at Sea, and are ready to take the first wynde any thing fauourable vnto them. The other that *Italians* Shipp are heauy in /50/ sayling, and great of burthen, and the *Gouernors* & *Mariners* not very expert, nor bold, and so are lesse fitt in that narrow Sea full of *Ilands*, to beate out stormes at Sea, whereas the English Shipp are swift in sayling, and light of burthen, and the marriners excellent

^f "Wast" in Hughes, p. 136.

both in knowledge //

fol:i[5]66. Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:viii.
and Courage, and so more fitt to beate out all weathers at
Sea. Insomuch as I haue obserued the *Italians* with
astonishment and admiration stand vppon the shore beholding
an English Shipp woorke[s] into the harbor with a very
scant,⁵¹ and boysterous gayle of wynde while their Shippes
lay abroade and neither durst nor could come in. In
generall the shippes of *Italy* trading in forrayne parts, are
of great burthen From five hundreth to twelue hundreth
Tonne, and howsoeuer they are well furnished with great
peeces of brasse ordinance; yet in regard of this greatnes,
being /10/ slowe to vse their sailes, and being built large
in the wast and keele for Capacitye of Marchandize, they
are vnfitt to fight at Sea, howsoeuer they may serue like
Castles to defend a Port or the entrance of a Riuer lying
at Anchor. The lesse Barques seruing to vnlade these
shippes, and for passage vppon the Coasts, are altogether
vnarmed. For in warr vppon that Calme Sea, they altogether
vse Galleys, whereof the greatest are called Gallyons, the
Midle Gallies and the least Galliasses and Frigotts. And
only the king of *Spaine*, at *Naples*, and in the Hauens of
that kingdome /20/ and in the Port of *Genoa* (as likewise
that Citty in the same Port, and the *Venetians* in the Port

⁵¹ "Slant", Hughes, p. 136. Scant surely is the superior reading here. The English can take advantage of all winds.

of *Venice*) may be said able to arme a<ny> Navye of Gallyes: For otherwise the Ports of Italy are fewe, as *Ligorno* subiect to the *Duke of Florence* and *Ciuita Vecchia* on the one syde, and *Ancona* on the other syde vppon the Sea subiect to the Pope, which Ports also are not open and secure Rodes for great Shippes, but shutt and fortified for security of Gallyes, and that in no great number. And howsoever the Pope hath some fewe Gallyes, and the Duke of *Florence*, and the Knights /30/ of *Malta*, haue likewise some fewe Gallyes, whereof they arme some part yearely to spoyle the *Turkes* vppon that Sea, yet the number of them is so small as they deserue not to be called an [Army][Auay].⁵² More miserable men cannot be found then those who are condemned to Rowe chayned in the Gallyes. Some of these for Capitall Crimes are condemned to this slauerye for life, others guilty of lesse Crimes are condemned to this seruice for certayne yeares, and some are so foolish as to sell their liberty for mony to vndergoe this bondage, till the mony be repayd. As at *Naples* they /40/ haue a stone where vnthrifts play at dice, and the Commaunders of Gallies are alwayes ready there to lend them mony, who will take it vppon this slauish Condition, and if they haue ill luck to leese those fewe Crownes, they are presently carryed into the Gallyes, and they are chayned, whence they are seldome or neuer redeemed. For their allowance of victualls being

⁵² Hughes corrects it to "a Navy", p. 137.

scant, and the victualers in the Gally giving them Creditt, their debt monethly increaseth, till it be so great as fewe or none can [fynde] freinds to pay it. And this their misery proues more intollerable by the extreme Cruelty of the /50/ Commaunders who beat them with Cudgells and whippes for slacknes in rowing, and when they fall downe for faintnes they lift them vpp with a Rope, and beat them still to their woorke, yea after the manner of *Turkye* when they committ //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i[5]67.
any fault, they are terribly beaten with Cudgells vppon the back, the bellye, and the soles of the feete.

{ m.n. 4 - 6. *The power of the State of Venice in warr. }*
The State of *Venice* is more powerfull in warr then any other State, or Prince of *Italy*. And this power made them suspected in the last age to affect the subduing of all *Italy*, where vppon the Pope of that tyme, the Emperor *Maximilian*, the french king *Lewes* the twelueth, and *Ferdinand* the king of *Arragon* made a league at *Cameracum*^{f3} to ioyne all their forces for suppressing the power of this State, which with great Courage defended it selfe against these strong /10/ vnited forces, and being beaten by the french alone; yet the wise *Senators* thereof applyed themselues first to appease the Pope by yeilding to his

⁵ Cambrai, 1508.

demaunds, who combined the rest of the league in that great action almost to the fatall ruine of this state. And the Pope being once satisfied, by his inconstant leaving of his Confederates, and their mutuall ielousyes among themselues, the *Venetians* having lost all their dominion on firme land soone recouered the same, excepting the Townes yeilded to the Pope (from whose possession as from Hell there is no redemption) and the Townes of the kingdome of *Naples* /20/ which the king of *Arragon* had ingaged for mony to the State of *Venice*, and now during this league had by Armes extorted out of that States possession. From which tyme the *Venetians* haue only laboured to preserue their owne, and seeme to haue cast of all proiects of vsurping vppon their neighbors. The written relations of this State taxe the Nobles (so their gentlemen are called) with want of Courage, whereby they abhorr from any Warr, and more spetially against the *Turkes* daily prouoking them with many iniuryes, to whose *Sultans* (or Emperors) they not /30/ only pay yearely tribute for the peaceable possession of some Ilands they hold in the *Mediterranean* Sea, but also vppon all occasions when the *Sultanes* are incensed against their State, spare not by large bribes, and like meanes to appease them. And indeed the Gentlemen of *Venice* are trayned vpp in pleasure and wantonnes, which must needes

abase and effeminate their myndes.⁵¹ Besides that this State is not sufficiently furnished with men and more specially with natiue Commaunders and Generalls, nor yet with victualls, to vndertake /40/ (of their owne power without assistance) a warr against the *Sultane of Turky*. This want of Courage, & especially the feare lest any Citizen becoming a great and popular Commaunder in the warrs, might thereby haue meanes to vsurpe vpon the liberty of their State, seeme to be the Causes that for their Land forces they seldome haue any natiue Comaunders, and alwayes vse a forrayne Generall. Yet we reade that Gentlemen of *Venice* haue brauely commaunded their Navye euen in cheefe. In tyme of peace, they vse to giue a great yearely stipend to some /50/ Prince or great Commaunder to be generall of their land forces in tyme of warr. //

fol:i[5]68. Booke.i. The comon wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

{ m.n. 1. *The Fortes* }

This State hath many and strong Forts well furnished with Artillery munition and victualls vpon all their Confines being many and dangerous as before I haue shewed.

{ m.n. 5. *The horse.* }

⁵⁴ To Moryson, sex is a wealening, a spending of manliness, so that none is left for war. This is a representative view. Botero praises continence which "...helps to preserve health and strength, for unbridled licence weakens men as well as beasts, hastens old age, enfeebles the will, wears out the nerves and opens the way to gout and death." "Of valour", *State*, p. 53.

The written Relations of this tyme testifye that in tyme of peace they mantayned in pay 600th. men at Armes, or Armed horse, of their owne Subiects being gentlemen of their Territoryes vppon firme land, each one of these 600.th mustering three horses with their Riders all armed, and each one having yearely i20 Ducates, And that they can rayse i000 or i500 vppon necessity. They were /10/ diuided into twelue Companyes or Troopes, and made a generall Muster euery Sommer. Two of these Troopes were of the Citty of *Paduoa*, which my selfe did see mustered making a glorious shewe, the horse being beautifull and well armed, and the horsemen in like sort armed & wearing Coates of blewe veluett, with great plumes aswell for the men as horse.⁵⁵ Of old they also mantayned one thousand light horse, but of late had none such in pay vsing for that purpose the *Stradiotti* of *Dalmatia*, whence they say 3000 may be drawne vppon occasion to vse them.⁵⁶ /20/

{ m.n. 21. *The foote.* }

They doe not altogether distrust their owne subiects to whome they are (after the manner of Common wealthes) more

⁵⁵ The plumes would suggest more of a ceremonial use.

⁵⁶ Zingarelli defines *Stradiotto* as a word of Venetian origin, denoting "*Soldato a cavallo, armato alla leggera, assoldato dall'antica repubblica di Venezia tra albinosi, bulgari, greci e dalmati.*" a lightly armed cavalryman hired by the Venetian Republic from Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Dalmatians. Florio defines one as "Also a kind of souldier that the Venetians vse, like our Carbines, Freebooters or bootie-halers." *Words.*

milde and gentle in exactions, then the Princes of *Italy*. So as according to the number of Fyers the Subiects are to mantayne soldiers aswell for land as Sea seruice,⁵⁷ and the Captaynes haue the names of all Subiects written for the one, or the other seruice.

They mustered 25 thousand Foote of their Peasants, seruing both in Gallies and land Armyes, at least for baser vses, but for foote they generally vse and haue the strength /30/ thereof of *Grisons* and *Sweitzers*, and to this end some Commaunders among them haue stipends euen in tyme of peace, but in warr each man had 3 Crowres for 45 dayes while they were imployed, and in cases of necessity they haue giuen each man 5. Crownes the moneth. The Gentlemen of *Venice* serue freely without pay.

{ m.n. 37. *The Nauye.* }

For their Navall power, in the last preceding generall discourse, I haue sayd that the *Italians* or rather *Greekes* vsed by them, are neither expert nor bold mariners, and that the great shippes are slowe in sayling, and vnfitt for /40/ fight at Sea, and that the lesser Barques are vnarmed, and that vppon the Calme *mediterranean* Sea, all nauall fights vse to be made with Gallies whereof the greatest are

⁵⁷ A fire implies a common hearth which implies a household. Thus some sort of capitation was established on the number of households.

called *Galeoni*, the midle sort *Galee* and the lesser *Galeasses* and *Fregates*. And therein I spoke of the miserable *Gallyslaues*.⁵⁸ All this spoken in generall belongs to *Venice* as a principall part of *Italy*. The *Venetians* haue a lawe that each marchants shipp of. 500 Tonnes, must carry in the voyage it maketh, a young gentleman of *Venice*, giuing him sixe Crownes stipend by the moneth, and must bring vpp two /50/ //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i[5]69. boyes of *Venice* to breede them Mariners. But this wisdome of their Progenitors hath bene made vayne by the sluggish disposition of their posterity, for neither haue the gentlemen any skill thereby in nauigation or commaunding at Sea, since the young gentlemen chuse rather to stay at home, so they may haue the stipend and value of their diett for the voyage, neither are the shippes thereby furnished with natiue mariners, since (as I formerly sayd) the *Italians* in their nature abhorr from that or any like hard Course of life, tho otherwise they are so proude, as they

⁵⁸ Zingarelli distinguishes between *Galeoni*, galleons, three masted, square-rigged warships and transports with two or occasionally three decks, a castle and high quarterdeck, and armed with thirty to forty large cannon, and *Galea* a typically Mediterranean narrow, single-decked ship powered by 26 - 30 benches of four oarsmen each and also powered by wind, and *Galeazza*, a galleass or great galley, similar to the above, but broader and with higher sides, a three masted Venetian warship of the sixteenth century with thirty oars per side, 288 rowers and a full complement of 500. Additional information came from the glossary in Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and The Decline of Venice 1580 - 1615*, translated by Jane and Brian Pullan (London, 1967), pp. 152 - 156.

will doe any seruice at home rather then /10/ basely to
begg. They who serue in the Gallies of Venice, are partly
Freemen, as the *Gondelier*, or watermen of Venice which for
the *Tragetto*⁵⁹ or passage where they haue priuiledge to
plye, or transport, are bound vppon extraordinary occasions
to serue in the Gallies to rowe, as likewise the Soldiers
are free, aswell the natiue Peasants aboue mentioned as
straungers, and of them that are free some haue stipend and
victualls from this or that Citty setting them forth others
haue the same from the Treasure of *St. Marke* (so they call
the Exchequer,) /20/ as the Pope calles all he hath *St.
Peters*, and at *Genoa* the publique Treasure is called the
treasure of *St. George* their protecting Saint). Others that
serue in the Gallies are slaues, vppon Crimes condemned to
the Gallies for life or certaine yeares, and *St. Marke*
giues them raggs to couer their shame, and victualls in
scant measure, but the victualer giues them Creditt that
are condemned for yeares, by which growing debt they are
made perpetuall slaues, and both sorts of Condemned slaues
are chayned by the legg to the place where they rowe, which
/30/ their Gouvernor vnlocks at one end when he sends them
forth for fresh water or wood bearing still their Chaynes
on their leggs. The Gallies are comonly called after the

⁵⁹ "*Passagio da un luogo all'altro.*" Zingarelli. This
is one of the authentic details that Shakespeare includes
in *The Merchant of Venice*,

Bring them, I pray thee, with imagined speed
Unto the traject, to the common ferry
Which trades to Venice. III. 4. 52 - 54.

names of their Cheefe Gouvernor. Myselfe did enter one of the Gallies, and the Castle in the Prowe was some twelue [of my] paces, and the bodye with the Poope [some] fifty of my paces long, and the master commaunded from the Castle to the great mast, as the Comito (or mate) commaunds the rest.⁶⁰ In the poope satt the cheefe Gouvernor, vnder hoopes couered with a fayre Cloath, and beyond the sterne /40/ was a litle Gallery, and vnder the deck his Cabbin, and aboue the poope hung the cheefe banner of St Marke, the Gally being grauen on all sydes with white lyons for the image of St Marke. The Gally bore fower great peices in the Castle (where the Trompetters sounde) and Thirty more on the sydes, and in the poope twelue whereof two great lay aboue directly layd out vppon the sterne, and two of like greatnes vnder them, and two of like greatnes some 22 spans⁶¹ long were turned towards the Gallye to shoote syde wayes, the other were lesse, but all of brasse. /50/ The Gallye had 25 oares on each syde, and seauen men to rowe each oare, and when they are in Port two sleepe vppon the benche where they vse to sett, two [sleepe] in the place //

⁶⁰ "*Comito: Nell'antica marina, soprintendente della ciurma a delle vele e direttore di stiva.*" Zingarelli. The person in charge of the galley slaves, sails and what goes on within the vessel. *Stiva* literally means hold. Florio's definition is near Moryson's, "a Masters mate of a ship." *Words.*

⁶¹ A measurement from the thumb to little finger, about nine inches long. n. 1. 1. *OED*

fol:[i60]i70 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy.
Chap:Viii.

which is vnder their thighes, and two where they setle their feete, when they rowe, and the seauenths slept vpon the Oare, and vpon a litle boarde betweene each Oare three soldiers vsed to sleepe. So as their being in the Gallie is nothing commodious, but straight, vneasy, and subiect to contagion. The State or Citty of Venice continually vsed to arme Fifty Gallies, whereof 25 were called of the *Schooles* or Companies of Arts, arming and paying them, and 25 Palatines, Armed and payd by St Marke in which the foresaid watermen are bound to serue when /10/ they goe forth. In each Gallie the Cheefe Comma^under is a gentleman of Venice, and the next Comma^und is likewise comm^uitted to two gentlemen, and they are called *Sopracomiti* as aboue the mate, and they which comma^und in the *Palatine* Gallies are of greater estimation then the other, And I finde in written Relations, that these Comma^unders haue each of them 1600 Crownes yearely stipend, for which it is expected from them, they should giue some releife to the Soldiers, and and specially to the slaues, having a slender diett allowed, and so being forced to runn in the victualers debt. /20/ They write of twelue Gallies armed by subiect Cittyes of the firme land towards the Sea Coast. This Navye they are forced to arme against the *Turkish* Pyrates vsing to spoyle their Shippes in the tyme of peace, and in winter tyme, it commonly lyes in the haven of Corfu having a

strong Fort, and sometymes in the havens of *Candia*. And hereof some five Gallies, and some small Barques armed, lye vppon the Gulfe of *Venice* to purge the same of Pyrates, more specially the *Vscocchi*, who liuing on the Coast of *Dalmatia* in *Signi* vppon the Confines of the Empire, *Turkey* /30/ and the State of *Venice*, and being Christians, yet liue as outlawes, neither subiect to the *Turkes* nor to any Christian Prince, and robb all men especially the *Italian* Shippes at Sea.⁶²

In the Citty of *Venice*, they haue a fayre and large *Arcenall* compassed with walls, wherein they keepe all munitions for warr, and haue a secure Station for their Gallies, where likewise they build their shippes and

⁶² "The interest generated by the Senj Uskoks is strikingly disproportionate to their numbers" writes Philip Longworth, 'The Senj Uskoks Reconsidered', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 57, no. 3 (July 1979), 348 - 368, (p. 348), for their total could not have exceeded 2,000 including women, and a raiding party probably consisted of only 400, 600 for an expedition. p. 362. Yet their fearsome reputation preceded them. They were accused of drinking their enemy's blood. They were a border people, acting out their lawless lives of cattle rustling, kidnapping, slave trading and, above all, piracy, in the power vacuum between Venice, Turkey and the Holy Roman Empire. They were a symptom of the overpopulation of the era mostly consisting of runaways, dispossessed peasants and escaped galley slaves nominally under the control of the Emperor in Prague.

Since Barnadine refuses to die in *Measure for Measure*, the Provost suggests a substitute head be sent to Angelo,

There died this morning of a cruel fever

One Ragusine, a most notorious pirate... IV. 3. 67-68. The Uskoks "...were immigrants from Austrian (and Ragusan) territory." Longworth, p. 353. Ragusine would have come from Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik). His career as a notorious pirate confirms that Shakespeare envisaged him as an Uskok.

Gallyes, to which purpose they haue much timber on the Sea
 co[a]st of their dominion. The walles are some three myles
 Compasse, and the officers shewe /40/ the same Courteously
 to straungers. The *Maestranza* consists of some 2200
 woorkemen,⁶³ weekely paid by St Marke, whereof 300 are
 expert men in building Shipps and Gallyes. They shewed me
 fower vpper Chambers, wherein Sayles were made and layd
 vpp, and therein some 20 or 30 woorke continually, and each
 of them hath a portion of wyne, Bisquitt, and *Soldi* by the
 day. In fower low roomes are layd the Cordage. and Cables
 sufficient to furnish more then 300 Gallyes, beside an
 infinite number of Oares, each woorth fiue ducates, and
 Costing the State more then fower ducates. They shewed /50/
 mee five *Magasines* vppon one syde,⁶⁴ In the first were
 great peeces of Artillery, disposed in 24. Rows. In the
 second were peeces for 50 Gallyes, besides 150 peeces, some
 greater, some lesser. In the third were great peeces for
 five great Gallyes, Forty for each one, besides 250. other
 ordinary peeces. In the fourth vppon the right hand were 72
 small peeces for the Feilde, and vppon the left hand //
 { c.w. 356. peeces }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:[i6i.]

⁶³ Zingarelli's second meaning comes nearest to what appears to be intended here, a collection of workers, each master of his trade, called "maistrie" by Florio, *Words*.

⁶⁴ "1. a. A place where goods are laid up; a storehouse or repository for goods or merchandise; a warehouse, depot. Now rare." *OED*

356 peeces of battery and some i00th Instruments called *Trombi* for the fyre woorkes.⁶⁵ In the fifth were laid vpp such peeces, as at diuerse tymes were taken from the *Turkes*, whereof many had bene and were daily melted and newe cast. They told me they had in all some 2000 great peeces, the bulletts whereof were some 70, some 100, some 200, some 300 pounds weight, and myselfe did see one great peece [of] 12400 poundes, and the Bullett 120 pounds. In diuerse other roomes they layed musketts and all Armes for Soldiers at Sea. They shewed me many Gallyes newe /10/ built, and some 100th old, but strong lying at Anchor, and together with the Navye they haue alwayes abroad, this State can Arme /200th, other say /300th Gallies, and of late in tenn dayes they had armed 30.tye great Gallyes ready for a Sea fight; Besides that they haue many litle Barques and fregates. They shewed me a litle Gallye called *Bucentoro* because it beareth 200th men *D* by corruption of speach being changed into *B*. and therein I had seene the *Duke* with the *Senators* goe forth in pompe especially at *Whitsontyde* when the *Duke* vseth to marry /20/ the *Sea* by casting a Ring into it. Vppon this Gally is a Chamber some 38 of my paces long, which is all guilded and couered with a rich Cloath when the *Duke* and *Senators* goe forth in it, and vnder the Chamber sett i50.tye mariners to Rowe it, and

⁶⁵ *Trombi* can mean rocket tubes.

it is then hung with many banners taken from the *Turkes*, and the image of Iustice is grauen at the Prowe.

The *Duke of Mantuoa* hath the like, and so called to rowe for pleasure, and for iourneyes vppon the Riuer *Po*. The keele thereof is flatt bottomed, and the Prowe and sterne /30/ are voyde for mariners to rowe, only the sterne is couered as in Gallyes, ouer the rest of the Gally is a litle house contayning fower Chambers belowe, the one of 15. paces the second of 8, the other two each 5 paces, and aboue them a gallery some 40, paces long, having stayres at each end to ascend it, and all furnished round about with seates.

The *Arcenall* of *Venice* hath moreouer many roomes [to] furnished with all munitions, Armes and necessaryes for an Armye at land, sufficient for 70 thousand Foote, and 2000 horse. Besides many Armes now growne out of vse, /40/ and layd vpp apart from the rest at the gate of the Armorye. To conclude they haue aboundance of all necessaryes for warr by land and Sea, so that howsoeuer this State wants victualls for an Army, and numbers of men answerable to the furniture, and haue the defect to vse straungers for Soldiers, and euen for their Generalls by land; yet since

they want not Treasure the sinewe of warr,⁶⁶ and the Sea is open to bring victualls which is commaunded by their Navye, and they haue orderly Officers appointed in peace and warr, and euer /50/ carefull to prouide victualls, and since the straungers are so duely paid by them, as they haue no cause to mutinye or be discontented, no doubt this State were able to vndertake and preuaile in any great attempt in *Italy //*

fol:[i62]i72 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

and vppon their neighbors at Sea, had they not the vast power of the *Turkish* Empire lying heauy on their shoulders.

{ m.n. 4 - 5. *The power of the Duke of Florence in warr.* }
The *Duke of Florence* vsed to giue large yearely stipends euen in tyme of peace, to forraine Princes and noblemen, (I meane *Italians*, but not borne vnder his dominion) to some 1500 to some 2000 or 3000 Crownes according to their quality, that he might ingage them to his seruice in tyme of warr. They said the *Duke* had some 150 peeces of Artillery in the Castle of *Florence* /10/ with a due proportion of powder match and bulletts. And to the same Castle, as also into the strong Cittyes, they sayd the *Duke* vsed yearely to haue brought and layd vpp all the Corne and

⁶⁶ "Money is called the sinews of war because it serves to co-ordinate the forces and dispose them where they are needed..." Botero, *State*, p. 141.

victualls of his Territoryes, aswell ordinarily thereby to releue and serue the necessityes of the Countrey[s] and villages as in tyme of warr to mantayne soldiers. So as for that reason, and because his Territory is all compassed with high mountaynes except the part that lyeth towards the Sea, and towards *Rome*, an Army of enemyes entring the same, /20/ can fynde no victualls in the open Country, if the number were great, and so would either be driuen out with ease, or doe litle harme, if the number were small. Only because the Popes Territories are plentifull in victualls whereby they are able, aswell to furnish the *Dukes* subiects therewith as to detayne it from them and releue their enemyes, for this and many other reasons before alledged, the *Dukes* neuer faile by all meanes to keepe the Popes and Cardinalls fauour. Againe the *Duke* vsed to trayne his subiects of diuerse Townes and /30/ Territories (but not the *Florentines*, for suspition of Revolt), and of these he was sayd to haue inrolled some 35 thousand Foote, some 100th men at Armes or horse armed (having seauen Crownes the moneth pay,) and some 400th light horse, having each man three Crownes the moneth, besides that in tyme of warr, the horsmen haue a proportion of victualls allowed them. All these haue many immunityes and priuiledges, as to weare swords, not only abroad, but euen in the Citty of *Florence*, and to be free from imprisonment for debt, (which doth /40/ not a litle increase the number of them), and diuerse like. And all

these may be drawne [in]to *Florence* in eight dayes, as they say, but the Territory is of so small Circuite, as me thinkes[th] they might be drawne thether in much shorter tyme. In tyme of peace, the *Duke* sometymes vsed these men to keepe watche vppon the Sea Coast for feare of *African* Pyratts, whome the *Duke* yearely prouoked by the Gallyes he sett out to spoyle the *Turkes*. The *Duke* hath a Commodious hauen at *Ligorno* a Citty newly built and fortified, but the /50/ *Florentines* haue no Traffick at Sea, but haue their goods exported by forraine marchants, who likewise bring them victualls, and other necessaryes, and the *Duke* made much of the Captaynes and owners of these shippes - espetially bringing victualls, Whereof he made no small // *Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:[i63]i73*

profit. He had no league with the *Turkes*, but yearely sent out Gallies to spoyle them at Sea, and euen in their hauens, and by landing sometymes on their Coast. To which end there was an *Arcenall* in the Citty of *Pisa* for building and keeping of Gallyes, and munitions to furnish them, and tymbre and hempe.

They said that *Duke Francis* mantayned i2 gallies, but this *Duke Ferdinand* at this tyme whereof I write, had only seuen, whereof he vsed to arme euery sommer three or fower to ioyne with the knights of *Malta*, in spoyling /10/ the *Turkes*. But some write that now the present *Duke* hath two

Gallions, twelue gallies, and five galliaces. And for the reputation of this Navall power, *Duke Cosmo* instituted an order of Knights of *St Stephen*, who haue their residence in the *Citty of Pisa*, where I said the *Duke* hath his *Arcenall*, and that *Duke* obteyned priuiledges for this Order of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, namely to haue each man two hundreth Crownes yearely pention of *ecclesiasticall* benefices, yet so as none of them can haue a *Commendum*⁶⁷ or beare any office in the Gallies, till he haue serued /20/ three yeares therein, and likewise priuiledge or freedome to haue wiues (as Relations testifye, tho contrary to all other military orders that I remember). Of this Order *Duke Cosmo* was himselfe cheife master, in which title his sonne succeeded him, as other *Dukes* since that tyme. Lastly the *Duke* was serued for Marriners, by *Greekes*, *Ilanders of Corsica*, and *french men*.

{ m.n. 28 - 29. Of Genoa for warr. }

The State of *Genoa* is gouerned (as I sayd) by the gentlemen and of that body of the Nobility. (So they, the *Germans* and *french* call the Gentrye) forty Captaynes are yearely /30/ chosen and changed, who commaund each a Company of one hundreth Citizens, and these 4000 soldiers the *Cittye* vseth for defence in tymes of vprore, or other danger, to keepe,

⁶⁷ "[Perh. originally meant as a rectification of the abnormal *commendam*]" *OED*, which also gives Florio's definition of 1598 as an ecclesiastical living.

watch, and to garde the State. And these 40, Captaynes, are attyred in veluett Coates, the honorable habitt of the Senators, and so attend the *Duke*, and the *Gouernors*, when they come out of the publike Pallace. Besides the rest of the Citizens, and the Inhabitants of the Territory, from 20 to 60 yeares age, are inrolled vnder other Captaynes to serue vppon occasion for defence /40/ of the Country. Also the State in tyme of peace giues an honorable pay to a Generall of their Army, which place is giuen by them to some Citizen most eminent in military experience, as to the *D'Auria*, *Spinolæ* or the like. The Port of *Genoa* is a secure Station for Gallyes, and Commodious to build them, being large, and Compassed with a wall, and having a *Mola* or banck for defence,⁶⁸ reaching into the Sea, most fayre, and some 600th of my paces in length. And for this harbors sake the Dukes of *Milan*, and after them the kings of *Fraunce* & *Spaine* /50/ contending for that *Dukedome*, haue much laboured to haue that Citty in subiection, or in some sort at their Comaunde.

This Citty of old, and till after the fall of the Christian Empire in *Constantinople*, was famous in Nauall power. At this //

fol:[i64.]i74 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy.
Chap:Viii.

⁶⁸ "2. A massive structure, esp. of stone, serving as a pier or breakwater..." OED The Italian word is *molo*.

day it hath good shippes for traffique and a number of armed Gallies sufficient to defend their liberty, at lest from any sodeine attempt. But the king of *Spaine* for the reasons aboue mentioned is much respected of the Senators, and hath free vse of the Port for his Gallies [My self did enter one of the cheefe Gallies] of *Genoa* called *la Reale*, fayre, and strongly built, being some 75 of my paces in length, and having 400 Mariners to rowe it. Their shippes beare *St George* (the English Tutelar Saint) in their flaggs.

{ m.n. 10 - 11. *Of inferior Princes for warr.* }

For the *Duke* of *Mantua* I formerly sayd that he mantayned /10/ 500 soldiers to defend his State, and keepe his Forts, and as I passed by *Senogallia*, I heard that the *Duke* of *Vrbini* then trayned some 1200 Foote of his owne subiects. But it were superfluous to speake particularly of the inferior Princes, since all the power of *Italy* is in the States of the Pope, the king of *Spaine*, the *Venetians*, and the *Dukes* of *Florence*, since the *Dukedome* of *Ferrara* is fallen into the Popes hands.

{ m.n. 19 - 21. *The difference of degrees in generall for the common wealth.* }

In generall all *Italians* desyre to liue of their owne and generously thinck nothing more abiect then to /20/ depend vppon others for meate or any maintenance. They which are not absolute lordes are litle esteemed among them. Yet the

Families of *Colonna* and *Vrsini* being Princes subiect to the Pope were reputed then to haue great Reuenues and power, and were much esteemed as braue Captaines, by the Princes and States of *Italy*.⁶⁹ The Cardinall *Colonna* alone was said to haue 300 Townes and villages in the Territory of *Rome*, besides great inheritance in the kingdome of *Naples*. And the *Vrsini* were sayd to haue some 100 Townes and villages vnder /30/ the Pope, besides some inheritance vnder the king of *Spaine* in the kingdome of *Naples*. My selfe at *Sienna* did see a Countesse passe the streets attended with poore maydes not any one gentlewoman, litle or nothing respected by those that mett her, and as litle in the Church, where she could hardly gett a seate. I should first [haue] spoken of the Clergie, Cardinalls and Bishopps, whereof are no lesse proude in their degree then the Popes, and the Cardinalls haue great Reuenues, but the ordinary Bishopps, howsoeuer they be infinite number (the Popes for voyces /40/ in Councells having made many *Italian* Bishopps, so as euery small towne is a small Bishopprick) yet our Bishopps in *England*. haue much greater reuenues yearly then most of them. In all *Italy* I neuer heard of any Barron, only in reproch they call *Barrons* such as begg and keepe dicing houses.⁷ They haue no such degree of knights

⁶⁹ The Orsini cousins were in charge of the Venetian forces at Agnadello. See John Julius Norwich, *Venice The Fall*, pp. 142, 143.

⁷⁰ *Barone* means scoundrel.

as we haue, nor any military orders of knighthood in *Italy* except that of *St. Stephen* which I haue said to be instituted by *Cosmo* Duke of *Florence* to commaund his Gallies armed to spoyle the *Turkes*. For /50/ the Nobility, whereas we call our lords Noblemen, and the inferior Nobility *Generosi*, that is Gentlemen, the *Germans* and many forraine nations giue the title of *Generosi* to Princes and lords, and call the gentlemen Nobles. In *Italy* the Gentlemen of *Venice* in singular pride wilbe called *Nobles*, whereas the rich ancient Familyes of *Florence*, and other *Italians* are called *Gentilhuomi*⁷¹ Gentlemen. In generall the *Italian* Gentry //

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:[165.]i75

vseth litle, or no pride in diett, or apparrell and disdayne not to be marchants, yea in *Florence* and other Cittyes to be weauers of silke, and since the riches of *Italy* lye therein, by this gayne and generall frugality the gentlemen haue much Treasure in Iewells ready mony, and rich household stufte, and haue all pleasant Gardens, with carued fountaynes of stone, and stately Pallaces, the Chymneis whereof are litle anoyed with smoke.⁷² The husbandmen and Country people liue poorely and basely, whome the *Italians* vse and hyre like oxen and Asses for

⁷¹ "Gentilhuomini", Hughes, p. 150.

⁷² The implication is that English houses were smoky.

their woorke, and at /10/ the yeares end turne them out of doores, not giuing them leases or accounting them seruants belonging to the Family, as we vse them.⁷³

Thus oppressed and after haruest tyme commonly turned out of seruice, they neuer grow rich, nor study to advance their masters profitt further then themselues prouide for it, and hate their masters for exactions, so as whiles I was in the State of *Florence*, a gentlewoman being a widowe was found killed by one of her husbandmen. The landlords take no rent of them, but a proportion of Corne and all things they haue, euen of their very Chickens, /20/ and Eggs, in such hard measure, as they haue not to eate or Cloth themselues in any convenient sort.

{ m.n. 23 - 25. *Degrees of Familyes in generall.* }

Husbands take straunge liberty in the vse of Courtezans (so their Harlotts are called) who liue a merry life courted and Feasted at <home> by their louers, and honoured by all men with respectfull salutations when they passed⁷⁴ the streets so long as they are yong, and sound.⁷⁵ I say

⁷³ It is a modern idea that to be a Family Servant must be a demeaning occupation. *OED* cites examples only from the nineteenth century where "patronage" implies patronizing. Sense 3. d.

⁷⁴ "pass" Hughes, p. 150.

⁷⁵ Free of the *mal francese* as the Italians called it, the scourge of syphilis.

straunge liberty to all forreiners but so generally vsed in *Italye* as no man doth otherwise; neither doe the wiues marry with any hope to enioy their husbands alone, but are content /30/ if they may haue the tythe of their loue. They marrye vppon agreement of Parents without having seene one an other, and the husband takes a noble wife only with purpose to haue Children by her litle caring that her person may content him; since he is free with strange women to satisfy his desyres which are Comonly in high degrees of wantonnes; while the poore wife sitts alone at home, locked vpp and kept by old women, not having liberty to looke out of the windowe, especially if it be towards the streete.⁷⁶ And if they goe to Church /40/ which liberty is rarely graunted, their faces are couered with a vaile and they are attended with the old women their keepers. Yea many are so cruell that they keepe them in awe with beating, and if the husband bring home a Courtezan (which they⁷⁷ doe not generally having libertye inough abroad) the wife dares not in word or deede shewe dislike. Yet by corruption of the old women, and by any occasion of having Conuersation though it be with meane men this strict keeping makes them

⁷⁶ Englishmen were well aware of the constraints suffered by Italian women. Corvino says to Celia,
Death of mine honour, with the city's fool,
A juggling, tooth - drawing, prating mountebank
And at a public window... II. 3. 1 - 3.
The window facing the interior courtyard was her normal vista. See Ben Jonson, *Volpone; or, The Fox*, edited by David Cook (London, 1962).

⁷⁷ "he", Hughes, p. 151.

thinck it simplicitye not to take the reuenge their husbands most feare, euen with /50/ hazard of their honors and liues.⁷⁸ And mariage is reputed such a yoke as brothers living with goods in Common (whereof I shall speake in the lawes of inheritance) thinck themselues much bound to that brother who will marry for procreation and leaue them free, in which Case they will mantayne him //

fol:[i66.]i76 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

and his wife with their goods in Common and much respect her and be as ielous of her honor as they would be of their owne wiues. In like sort they keepe the Chastity of their daughters and sisters at home, or for more safety putt them into Nunneries to be kept either till they may be perswaded to become Nunnes, or at ripe yeares may be taken out and maryed. To the sonnes and kinsmen vnder their charge they giue great liberty and good maintenance. And myselfe [had] [heard] two gentlemen, who asked why they were so indulgent, the one to his sonne, the other to his kinsman of ripe yeares, and chal/10/lenging right to the inheritance he enioyed, did answer playnely for their

⁷⁸ Having got her nurse to act as broker, Juliet is able to steal away to marry Romeo under pretence of shrift. See *Romeo and Juliet*, II. 4. 66, 67. The pathologically jealous Corvino's suspicions are raised when Celia remonstrates about her infrequent visits to church,

Why, dear sir, when do I make these excuses,
Or ever stir abroad, but to the church ?

And that so seldom - Corvino: Well, it shall be less.
See Ben Jonson, *Volpone; or, The Fox*, edited by David Cook (London, 1962), II. 3. 45 - 47.

particular,⁹ that if they should doe otherwise they feared practising of their deathes, as themselues should doe in like Case. I haue not obserued *Italians* to keepe men seruants in their houses, but to be serued altogether by women except in Courts of Princes, where they dyett and liue apart from the women. For as they are viciously frugall in house keeping, so they dare not trust mens seruants^p with their wiues and daughters. Neither haue I obserued that the *Italians* make it an ordinary Course of life to serue in other mens /20/ Familyes.

{ m.n. 22 - 23. Of Venice in perticular }

In my *Iournall* describing Venice I haue sayd that they numbred 3000 Familyes of Gentlemen in that one Citty, and among the famous men of former ages, I haue named the *Iustiniani Contarini, Grimani, Morosyni, Dandoli, Barbarigi* and others.⁸¹

The Gentlemen of Venice in singularity wilbe called *Nobles* and appropriate to themselues the title of *Clarissimo*, for which and their generall insolencye, they are reprobued and condemned, not only by strangers (who may as safely stumble

⁹ "B. n. 5. b. An individual person, an individual... Obs." *OED*

§ Hughes amends to "men seruants", p. 152.

§ These families provided thirteen doges up to the time of Moryson's visits.

/30/ vppon a Bull as vppon one of these gentlemen, so as when one of them passed by, I haue heard men say *Guarda il toro*. Looke, or take heed to the Bull, as they crye when a Bull is bayted in the streets) but also by other *Italian* gentlemen who by writings in the vulgar tongue taxe them of vnsupportable pride (insomuch as to vse their owne words) they dreame themselues to be *Dukes* and *Marquises*, while they are indeed couetous, miserable, breakers of faith & hatefull to all men for their pride, vayne glory and ambition, yea in the very Citty they haue a Prouerb *D'vna pietra bianca* /40/ *d'un Nobile Venetiano, et d'vna Cortigiana, ch'abbia madre, Dio ci guarda*, from a white stone (because it is slipperie) from a gentleman of Venice (for their pride) from a Cortisan that [hath] a mother (to teach her to spoile her louers), God deliuer vs. No doubt the *Senators* are most graue iust reuerent and comely persons, and generally they are [all] rich, and many abound in Treasure. In *Poduoa*, *Il signor Pio obici*, was sayd to haue i2000 Crownes yearely Rent⁸² and I was credibly

⁸² "A Pio degli Obici is mentioned in very favourable terms by the *Podestà* Giovanni Battista Contarini in his report on Padua of 1566 (he served there from 6 December 1564 to 6 April 1566). Contarini found the city's corn supplies sadly depleted, but managed to restore them by raising a loan from the local gentry. Pio degli Obici set the example by being the first to contribute to the loan. See *Relazioni dei Rettori Veneti in Terrafirma*, vol. IV: *Podestaria e Capitanato di Padova* (Milan, 1975), ed. A Tagliaferri, p. 59." BP. Compare the report of the Spanish ambassador in 1618, "Indeed in Padua there are only four, or at most six, families with fortunes of 15,000 crowns or perhaps a little more." *Venice: A Documentary History 1450 - 1630*, edited by David Chambers and Brian Pullan (Oxford,

informed that in *Brescia* diuerse gentlemen had from tenn to thirty thousand Crownes yearely Rent. And the estates /50/ of the Gentlemen of *Venice* must needs in all probalitie be much greater.

{ m.n. 53 - 55. of *Florence in Particular.* }

The Courtesye of the *Florentine* Gentlemen was by all men highly praysed at my being in *Italy*.⁸³ Of old [in] tyme of their freedome they had powerfull Familyes, then diuided into factians [Fa.t.yes] we read of the *Agli, Ariqui, Adimati Grandonici Ardinghelli, Bardi, Gualterosi, Importuni, Boun-del- //*

{ c.w. *monti, Sucardetti,* }

Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viuii. fol:[i67.]i77

monti sucardetti, Mozzi cerchi, Caualcanti, Merli, Pulci Donati Frescobaldi, Tebaldi, and other powerfull Familyes of the Guelphes faction, and the Ammidei Giuochi, Amirci Galli, Agolauri, Abbat, Tudi Vberti Bruneldeschi, Vbriacchi, Capiardi, Lamberti, Capriarni, Castigliani, Malespini, Capon sacchi, Palermini, Scolari, and others of the Gibelline faction. These daily hated each other yet at

1992), p. 33.

⁸³ Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* disparagingly comments on mere superficial courtesies as a mask for something altogether more sinister. He "learn'd in Florence how to kiss my hand..." II. 3. 23. See Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, edited by J.B.Steane (Harmondsworth, 1969).

last agreed with singular vnity to defend the liberty of their free State against the house of *Medici* invading it, but Pope *Clement* the seauenth of the house of *Medici* preuailed against them not /10/ without the slaughter of many and totall ruine of diuerse familyes before he could make his kinsmen absolute *Dukes*. So as at this day the number and riches of the gentry are much decreased, [by] but they which now liue being borne vnder absolute *Dukes*, with ease beare that yoke, hauing not their Progenitors loue of lost liberty, nor their feruent desyre to recover it. And as all gentlemen of Italy so these of old and to this day exercyse Marchandice and the trade of weauing silkes, though not laboring with their owne handes therein.

{ m.n. 20 - 21. Of the gentlemen of Genoa. }

The Genoesi haue euer beene much deuided in factions but /20/ howsoeuer one faction had the name of Nobles the other of popullar, yet no doubt the latter was so called because the people tooke parte with them, being otherwise as noble as the other. For among them some are called Marquises some Earles some ViceRoyes, not that they are such indeede, but that vpon diuers occasions such names haue beene vulgarly giuen them. And in the most Factious Citty of Pistoia (now subiect to the *Dukes* of Florence who lately forbad vpon payne of death the wearing of Robes or like signes of

Faction) wee reade that the sonne of the Chancelor⁸⁴ and /30/ the sonne of Signor Petruccio being being both kinsmen of one Family, when contending together the sonne of [the Chancelor gaue a blow on the eare to the other, the Chancelor sent his sonne] [the *Chancelor* gaue a blow] to *Petruccio* to craue pardon on his knees, who cruelly cutt of his right hand, wherevppon all the Citty was diuided into a long lasting faction, and because the *Chancelors* wife was named *Bianca* that faction tooke the name of *Bianchi* that is white, and the other tooke the name of *Neri* that is the *Black*. In *Genoa* they are Gentlemen who haue their names written in the booke of *Ciuilta* (Civilitye) and some of them are saluted with the /40/ titles of *Marquis* and others aboue named and are stiled illustrious by the *Genoesi* howsoever they exercise marchandize and cannot challenge⁸⁵ those titles abroad. No man of the highest degree in *Genoa* disdayneth to be a marchant, and to haue mony at vse vppon the bankes [of] Exchange. And many of them were sayd to haue at home and in *Spaine* Fifty thousand Crownes. The Marquis of *Spinola* was said to haue one hundreth thirty six [thousand] Crownes yearely Reuenue. Howsoever the *Fuggari* of *Augspurg* in *Germany* are famous for their great Treasure, no doubt *Genoa* /50/ hath a farr greater masse of ready mony

⁸⁴ Hughes corrects to "Chancelor", p. 154.

⁸⁵ "5. To assert one's title to, lay claim to, demand as a right, claim *for*, arrogate (*to obs.*) oneself. arch. or Obs." *OED*

then any other City of the world wherein many Citizens were sayd by expert men to haue 500 thousand ducates, and some one or two to haue a Milion in ready mony, and that it was common among them for Marchants to haue Cabbinnes of 5 foote long, //

fol:[i68.]i78 Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

parted into diuerse boxes, all filled and piled vpp with diuerse Coynes of Gold.

{ m.n. 3 - 4. *Of Italian lawes in generall* }

Sigonius shewes that when the westerne Empire was reuiued the *Italians* chose whether they would liue after the *Roman* or *Salique* lawe. Now *Italy* is gouerned generally by the Ciuill lawe of the old Emperors, and the Cannon lawes of the Pope, and diuerse municipall lawes of seuerall States and Cittyes. Before I speake of the iustice and iudgments I will in a word sett downe some Common lawes of Inheritance. /10/

In the seuerall Common wealths of *Italy* the father dying intestate, the brothers diuide his mouable and vnmouable goods (yet in the kingdome of *Naples* and in the Fees of absolute Princes the eldest brother succeeds) and the Care to mantayne their sisters, and to dispose them in mariage lyes vppon the brothers Inheritance, the magistrate of Pupills interposing his authority, and forcing them to

equity if need be. And Comonly these young virgins are putt into Nunneries for education, where they are by all Cunning intisements allured to become Nunns by vowe, /20/ in which Case the brothers saue their dowrye, but if they will not take that profession vppon them, the brothers and the said Magistrates, may take them out of the Cloisters when they will, or when they are [to be] disposed in mariage. Sonnes may not be dishinherited but for iust and lawfull causes, as for striking their Parents, for not having releiued them in any distresse or like Crimes, I meane for lands discending from their Ancestors, yet euen for those it is in the fathers power to charge them with legacyes, and the bestowing of such goods as the father hath gotten is altoge/30/ther in his power. A notary, and fower legall witnesses are required in a mans last will, or els they must be sealed in a monasterye, in which Case the Fryers vppon payne of Excomm~~u~~nication must keepe the same secrett. The Sonne who in tyme of his fathers life wilbe [reuenged] emancipated (that is made free from the Fathers Family to liue of himselfe) may challeng his portion of his Fathers goods, and after that tyme all that he getts by his owne industry is proper to himselfe, but while he remaynes in the Family vnder his Father all the Children and the Father /40/ haue equall share in all goods gotten by any of them, as all are lyable to the debts of any of them for theire goods. And for this cause many Fathers emancipate prodigall Children, that they may not be lyable to pay any

debts they may after contract. Neuer did I obserue brothers to liue in such vnity as in Italy, so as the Father being dead, many of them ordinaryly liue in one house together, not deuiding their patrimony, but hauing all goods in common or as they call it in brotherhood (vulgarly fratellanza) and perswading one to mary for procreation, the rest /50/ liuing vnmarried, and much respecting their brothers wife and [..h] her honor as their owne. And while they liue in this sorte, if any one spend wastfully, or giue his daughters in marryage, all is supplied of the common charge, and if at any tyme after by consent, or by desyre of any one to leaue that course and liue of his owne, they will deuide their patrimony, that brother shall [not] haue //

{ c.w. a penny }

*Booke.i. The common wealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.
fol:[i69.]i79*

a peny lesse then any of the rest for hauing formerly spent more. And it is strange but most true, that the Italians in common practise make the inheritance of mony as firme and stable to the heyres as of land. As the sayd brothers by their Fathers will or owne consent liuing in fratellanza, haue only in their owne priuate power to dispose of the yearely increase of the mony (by what meanes soeuer), and the Creditors of any of the brothers growing in debt, haue right to recover that his part of increase, but the principall or stock is common to all, so as any one /10/ of

them cannot deminish it, nether can any priuate Cretitors⁸⁶ sease therevpon, for any one brothers debt or bargayne, but only for the Common debt or contract of all the brothers ioyntly. If any mans wife dy without children, the husband keepes halfe her dowry, and restores the other halfe to her next kindred, but if shee haue children he retaynes all her portion for them. If a husband dye, his widowe leaues his Family, and taking her portion retornes to her owne kindred. Whether her portion were in land or mony and mouable goods, and if she marry agayne, the second husband hath /20/ that portion, saue that the Magistrate of the Pupills interposeth his authority for due respect to be had of her children by the first husband when shee marryeth agayne, as likewise when she dyes a widow in the house of her next kinsman.⁸⁷

{ m.n. 25 - 27. Of Iustice in generall. }

The Italyans in generall are most strict in the courses of Iustice, without which care they could not possiblief keepe in due order and awe the exorbitant dispositions of that nation, and the discontented myndes of their subiects. Yet because only the Sergiants and such ministers of Iustice

⁸⁶ Hughes corrects to "Creditors", p. 156.

⁸⁷ This whole subject is near Moryson's heart, as *fidecommesso* or family trust helped to solve the "problem of younger sons". Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice 1470 - 1790* (London, 1972), p. 29. Needless to say, that human nature being what it is, *fidecommesso* was an ideal which did not always work.

are bound to apprehend /30/ malefactors, or at least will doe that office (which they repute a shame and reproch), and because the absolute Principalities are very many and of little circuite, the malefactors may [not] easily flye out of the confines, where in respect of mutuall ielosies betweene the Princes, and of their booty in parte giuen to those who should prosecute them, they finde safe retrayt. In the meane tyme where the Fact was donne they are proscribed and by publike Proclamations made knowne to be banished men vulgarly called *Banditi*. And where the crime⁸⁸ is haynous besydes the bannishment /40/ rewardes are sett vpon their heades to him that shall kill them or bring them in to the tryall of Iustice, yea to their fellow banished men not only those rewardes but releases of their owne banishments are promised by the word of the State vpon that condition, which prolamation vpon the head is vulgarly called *Bando della Testa*, These banished men are only found vpon confines hauing mountaynes and espetiall woods / which are very rare in Italy. But because the confines of Naples kingdome vpon the State of Rome are both mountanous and also woody, they /50/ abound more spetially there, and (as in all places) committ robberies and murthers with strang exampls of cruelty. For which cause Pope Sixtus Quintus first by the sayd *Bando delle Teste*: that is rewardes and impunityes and releases to like malefactors, sett vpon the

⁸⁸ Hughes changes to "ruine", p. 157.

heades of the most wicked outlawes, did free in great part those Confines and all passengers from those great dangers,⁸⁹ Yet to this day the carrier of Rome or Naples called *Il Procaccia*,⁹ dares //

fol:i80. Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

not passe weekly from either City without a garde of soldiers appointed for the guard of them, and all strangers and Passengers vsing to passe in their Company with their loaded mules. And the very weeke before I passed that way I remember a gentleman banished by the Pope *Clement* the eight (if I be not deceiued the nephewe of the *Cardinall* of *Caieta*) hearing that one of the Popes Minions passed that way, did assault the Carryer of *Rome*, his garde and all the Company, with hope to take him prisoner, whereby he thought to make his owne peace vppon good /10/ Conditions, but vnderstanding vppon the first assault that the said minion was escaped to the next towne, he presently did

⁸⁹ "From 1578 to 1595 the Papal States were submerged beneath the tidal wave of banditry which at times lapped against the walls of Rome itself, and cut the road to Naples. For a moment it seemed that Sixtus V had got the better of the bandits...But the dearth and starvation of his pontificate brought them out again..." Elliott, p. 372. Shylock's fears about "land rats and water rats, water thieves and land thieves" I. 3. 22, 23 were a real preoccupation to contemporary Italians.

⁹⁰ "*Chi s'incarica, dietro compenso, di fare commissioni o di trasportare merci, lettere, pacchi da un luogo all'altro.*" Zingarelli. Somebody who undertakes to convey goods, letters, and parcels from one place to another for remuneration. Florio defines *Procaccio* as "an ordinarie poste or carrier, namely hee that goeth between Rome and Naples." *Words*.

withdrawe himselfe and his men, without offering any more violence to the Company. And perhappes these Outlawes fynde more safe being in those parts, by the wickednes of the people commonly incident to all borderers and more speti[.][a]lly proper to the Inhabitants thereof.⁹¹ But these rewards, and impunityes promised to outlawes for bringing in the heads or persons of other outlawes hath broken their /20/ fraternity. So as hauing found that their owne Consorts haue sometymes betrayed others to capitall Iudgment or themselues killed them, they are so ielous one of an other, and so affrighted with the horror of their owne Consciences, as they both eat and sleepe armed, and vpon the least noyse or shaking of a leafe, haue their hands vpon their Armes, ready to defend themselues from assault. They haue many other meanes also to redeeme themselues from banishment, as for murthers by intercession of freinds at home, vpon agreement /30/ made with the next freinds of the party murthered. And myselfe at *Loretto* did see some [one] of these outlawes ready to passe the Sea towards *Hungary*, who looked like Cutthroats, and were armed (as the *Italians* prouerbially say) *Dal capo fin'al buco del culo*, from the head to the very backsyde, and these all had their pardons vpon Condition to serue the Emperour in

⁹¹ The fear of the borderers, men without the law, was widespread in this age. Moryson has already talked about the Uskoks. In *I Henry IV*, Westmoreland reports how the Welsh Borderers overcame Mortimer, and were doing outrages on corpses of the slain. See I. 1. 34 - 46.

Hungarie two yeares against the *Turkes*. But in Crimes extraordinarily haynous, the Princes and States are so seuere, as in their publique Edict of banishment, besides rewards /40/ sett vppon their heads, great punishments and Fynes according to the qualityes of offence and person are denounced against them, who at home shall make petition or vse other meanes at any tyme to haue them restored to their Countrys lands and livings.

{ m.n. 46, 47. *Of Iudgments in generall.* }

No doubt all *Italy* is more free from Robberies and more happy [and] [in] trades and Arts by the nature of that nation, abhorring from living vppon others, and from not having meanes to liue in some free sort, by their owne industry, as likewise by the Comendable Course to condemne vagrant /50/ idle, and wicked persons to rowe in their Gallies.⁹² They haue no single Combatts, which are forbidden by the Councell of *Trent*, to which the *Italians* yeild obedience, because it is consonant to their disposition; For indeed you shall seldome or neuer heare of any mans slaughter vppon heat of bloud, but if any man be killed, it is commonly premeditated murther, //

Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i8i.

vppon all advantages of Armes and otherwise, as many armed

⁹² Moryson like many of his age fears the "vagrant idle" and has little perception of the exterior causes of distress such as overpopulation and poor harvests.

sodenly assayling one vnarmed, whether it be by theeues in woods or by murtherers in Cittyes. Of which bloody act some are knowne to make profession to be hyred therevnto, and many are knowne to be likely men for that imployment, so that he [who] hath malice and mony, cannot want a man to doe the mischeife. So as I haue credibly heard, the partyes being named, that one of these murtherers coming vppon a marchant being alone in his Chamber, told him he must kill him, who demaunding the reason and having answer /10/ that he was hyred by such a man with two hundreth Crownes, replied that he would giue him fower hundreth Crownes to kill that man, and he tooke his mony with promise to effect it, yet still persisted in his purpose to kill him, saying he should dye with the Comfort that his enemy should not [long] outliue him, and so killed them both one after the other, seeming to make conscience not to breake his word with either, and desyrous to preserue his reputation of a faithfull bloudhound.⁹³ These murthers are most common in places lying most open for escape, where banishment is the highest punishment, /20/ And are most committed of the *Bachinall Feasts of Shrouetyde*, lasting with them from after Christmasse to lent, and vulgarly called *Il Carnoual*' that is the *farewell* to flesh.⁹⁴ And they are most frequent

⁹³ Hughes omits this story, probably because it is repeated by Moryson.

⁹⁴ Most of the catastrophes in the plays of the period occur at feasts and entertainments.

in the lower parts of *Italy*, more spetially in *Lombardy*, where many carry long peeces (the short gunns being forbidden for feare of sodeine treasons) and goe daily armed from the head to the foote, so as myselfe haue seene young Gentlemen, for feare of those with whome they had some quarrells, weare continually an yron Coate of male of 30 pounds weight, next aboue their /30/ shirts. The murtherers that cannot escape, but are taken by the officers, are putt to death by beheading.

Adulteries (as all furyes of Ielousy, or signes of making loue, to wiues, daughters, and sisters) are commonly prosecuted by priuate reuenge, and by murther, and the Princes and Iudges, measuring their iust reuenge by their owne passions proper to that nation, make no great inquiry after such murthers, besides that the reuenging party is wise inough to doe them secretly, or at lest in disguised habitts. The frequent punishment for [common] breaches of the [Common] lawe, is the /40/ Corde called *Strappado* or *strappa di corda*, where the delinquent is cast downe with Cords fastned to his Armes running in a pully, so as at the fall the ioynts at the shoulder turne rounde about, except he haue agilitye to saue himselfe, which some practise, and haue, so as they dare take the Ierke of the Corde for a small reward. For vsury five in the hundreth is allowed in the mounts of piety, which are bankes of mony to be lent to the poore, but in C mmon Contracts it is not limited, so

as they may take as they can agree. The very name of the hangman, and of his seruants and officers /50/ belonging to him in Criminall Iustice are odious, as in *Germany*.⁹⁵ About this tyme whereof I write, a Foraine gentleman lying in *Rome*, and being in some grace with one of the Cheefe Cardinalls had license from him to weare his sworde, but it happened that //

fol:i82. Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

he becoming Rivall to the Cardinalls Nephew (so their bastards are called) and by free spending of his mony getting the Cortizans grace, so much as she excluded the other, he for reuenge plotted with the Sarieants to take the gentleman going thether by night with his sword when he had not his license about him to shewe, and to giue him a touche of the *Strappado* who did accordingly, and when they had apprehended him, and he avowed his license, and offered mony to send [to] the Cardinalls house, they suffered him to send a messenger, but in the meane tyme putt him to the Corde, and gaue him a litle Ierke, when /10/ presently the same Nephewe of the Cardinall, and some of his other gentlemen came in, and freed him, after they had attained their end, For in reguarde the officer of Criminall Iustice had but giuen the gentleman that litle touche of their

⁹⁵ Compare Abhorson the hangman in *Measure for Measure* who does not want a bawd for his assistant. "Abhorson: A bawd, sir ? Fie upon him, he will discredit our mystery. Provost: Go to, sir, you weigh equally; a feather will turn the scale." IV. 2. 26 - 29.

hands, the Cortisan would neuer after admitt his loue or Company, but gaue herselfe wholly to the [sayd] Cardinalls Nephewe. The like thing happened about that tyme in *Vicenza* a Citty vnder the *Venetians*, where a yong Cortisan arriuing, and setting a very high price vppon a nights inioying her,⁹⁶ such as the gentlemen of the Citty, howsoever desyrus of /20/ new game, would not giue, after they had in vayne tryed all meanes to make her fall in the price, they called the hangman, and one gaue him a dublett, an other, a hatt, and so for all gentleman like attyre, and all ioyntly furnishing him with the mony she demaunded, they sent him to enioy her that night, and the next morning all coming to her Chamber, the one cast his dublett, the other his hatt, and so the rest of the attyre into the fyer, and then the hangmans man bringing him his apparrell, after their departure, the miserable Cortisan perceiuing how she was skorned, fledd /30/ secretly out of the Citty, and was neuer more seene there.

{ m.n. 32 - 35. *The Iustice, lawes, and Iudgments in the Popes State.* }

At *Rome*, the lawes are with much seuerity putt in exequution, and namely the lawes of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* against outlawes Cortisans, quarrells, and the like. And it is peculiar (as I was informed) to the State of the Church,

⁹⁶ Hughes bowdlerizes, "and setting a very high price vppon herselfe", p. 161.

that a murtherer escaped out of an other Princes Territory, where he committed the fact, shalbe executed for the same in the Popes State, if he be there apprehended, and accused thereof. It is Capitall to challenge, or answer a Challenge of Combatt, and in quarrells he that first drawes his sword, shall dye or be /40/ condemned to the Gallies or in some such sort punished. And it is not only vnlawfull to weare swords in that State without license, but the wearing of daggers openly is forbidd, and the Carrying a pistoll secretly or like pockett weapons for feare of sodeine murthers, are capitally forbidden. And at *Rome* more then in any other City of *Italy*, the *Strappado* is giuen for euery small offence. *Monsieur Villamont* writes of a principall gentleman of *Bologna* about this tyme executed by strangling in [a] [his] Chamber at *Rome*, only for having receiued an outlawe into his house: /50/ And of an other who was hanged on the bridge of *St. Angelo* for having giuen a blowe to a *Sweitzer* of the Popes guard.⁹⁷ If a man be cast into prison for debt, the Iudges after the manner visitting frequently those prisons, finding him to be poore, will impose vppon

⁹⁷ "*Pour le regard des ordonnances que le Pape Sixte quint à faites à Rome, elles sont inuiolablement gardees, & aduenant que quelqu'un les trangresse, sans remission il est faict mourir: comme il arriua au Comte Iean Pepoly de Boulongne, lequel encor qu'il fust grand Seigneur, & de marque, ce neantmoins fut estranglé en sa chambre, pour auoir seulement retiré vn bandy en sa maison: & le neueu de Dom Pierre de Nauarre qui a tant composé de doctes liures, fut condamné à estre pendu & estranglé sur le pont de saint Ange, deux heures apres auoir donné vn coup de houssine à vn Suisse de la garde...*" Villamont, sig. E8r, Book I, Chapter 15.

the Creditor a mitigation of the debt, or tyme of forbearance, as they iudge the equitye of the Case [to] require, or if by good witnesses they finde the party // *Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i83.*

so poore as really he hath not wherewith to pay the debt, they will accept a release or assignement of his goods to the Creditor, and whether he consent or no, will free the debtors body out of prison. At Rome the least idle word of the Pope, the Church, or Religion, will drawe a man into the Inquisition, where he may lye long tyme close prisoner (not so much as a keeper comming to him, but his meat being giuen out [at] an hole in the dore, and he making his owne bedd), before he shall know who hurt him, or why he is imprisoned, and if he be found of the reformed religion /10/ (whome they call heretiques), of old he was soone brought to the stake, but the constant death of some, having (as they found) dore hurt, since they are kept in perpetuall prison, and a credible Convert deceiues vs, if by the *Iesuits* they be n t many tymes strangly affrighted, and euen secretly putt to death in close prisons vnder the ground. Pope *Sixtus Quintus* made a lawe, that no Cortisan should ride in a Coache vnder paine to pay a i00 Crownes, and the Coachman to haue the *Strappado* for the first tyme, and death for the second tyme, but they weare Clothe /20/ of gold, and liue in all excesse for meate, and all things, and haue incredible respect shewed them in salutations, only they are knowne by going on foote so richly attyred.

Yet I am deceiued if krowne mistresses of great Clergy men, tho no professed Cortisans, passe not *Rome* in as great pompe and pride as any. Speaking of Iustice in generall, I haue shewed, the late Popes Iustice against Outlawes, whereby their strong partyes vppon the Confines of *Naples* haue bene in tyme broken, and are now weake, and almost destroyed. /30/

{ m.n. 31 - 35. *The Iustice, lawes and Iudgments in the State of Venice.* }

The *Senate of Venice* is most reuerent for the gray heads grauity and Comelynes of their persons, and their stately habitts but for nothing more then their strict obseruing of Iustice. They haue a lawe that in tyme of *Carnauall* or Shrouetyde, no man that is masked may weare a sword, because being vnknowne, he might thereby haue meanes to kill his enemy on the sodeine, and while I was in *Italy* a forayne gentleman vppon a fancy to mock the officers of Iustice, being masked wore a wooden lathe like a sword. The officers apprehended him, and finding /40/ it to be a lath, yet carryed him to the magistrate, who with a graue Countenance said to him, *Non burlar'con la Giustitia, Veh* : Ieast not with the Iustice, marke me. And he found that he had mocked himselfe more then the officers, for he payd not a few Crownes before he could be freed by mediation of great freinds. But since the *Citty of Venice* lyes open without any walls, so as malefactors may easily escape, and

the Citty lyes vppon *Lombardye* where murthers are frequent, this Citty especially in the tyme of *Carnouall* is much subiect to murthers, and like outrages. /50/ And so is the next Citty *Padoa* vppon priuiledges of the vniuersity, whereby murther in schollers is punished only by banishment. //

fol:i84. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

And that the rather, because in the State of *Venice* (for the great Confluence of strangers) it is free for all men to wear Armes by the day, excepting Pistolls, which no man may haue without the locks taken of, and also because they who haue ill purposes, will aduenture and vse to weare these Armes by night also, I say for these reasons, murthers (especially in the libertine tyme of *Carnouall*) are frequent in this Citty, from which also the lesser Cittyes of that State are not free. Murther was punished by hanging till death, till *Duke Mich[a]ele Morosino* created in the yeare 1381, /10/ made a law that murtherers should be beheaded.⁹⁸ But most comonly they escape by flight, and so are banished till they can make peace with the freinds of the murdered, and so obtayne liberty to retorne into their Country. Adulterers are punished (as other like Crymes) according to the Ciuill and Cannon lawes, but the

⁹⁸ Michele Morosini was Doge in 1382, and died of the plague after four months in office. Moryson probably follows Gasper Contareno, *The Commonwealth and Gouernment of Venice*, translated by Lewes Lewkenor (London, 1599), p. 222 in ascribing it to 1381.

Italians impatient to bring their honor vnder publique tryalls dispatch the punishment of all Ielousyes by priuate reuenge killing not only the men so prouoking them, but their wiues sisters or daughters dishonouring themselues in those kindes. /20/ Yea brothers knowing their sisters to be vnchast when they are maryed, and out of their owne house, yet will make this offence knowne to their husbands, that they may kill them. Whereof Examples are frequent, as namely of a *Florentine* gentleman, who vnderstanding from his wiues brother that she had dishonoured them by adulterye, tooke her forth in a Coache having only a Preist with them, and when they came to a fitt place gaue her a short tyme to confesse her sinnes to the Preist, and then killed her with his owne hands. And howsoeuer in this /30/ Case, it is like she confessed the Cryme, yet in this and like Cases the Magistrate vseth not to inquire after these reuenges, which the *Italians* nature hath drawne into Custome, besides [that] many of them are done secretly without danger to be reuealed.

Among other high Crymes it is not rare to [haue] [heare] blasphemous speeches in *Italy*, and the State of *Venice* is much to be praysed for the most seuerer Iustice they vse against such offenders, having a lawe to cutt out their tongues. Yea while I liued there, some roaring boyes one night /40/ went out vppon a wager who should doe the greatest villany and when they had done most wicked things,

at last they came all to the windowe of the Popes *Nuntio*, where they song terrible blasphemyes against our lord, his blessed mother, and the Apostle *St Peter*. The next morning these Rascalls (so I call them, whereof most notwithstanding were gentlemen) had escaped out of the Citty, only two were taken whome I did see executed in this manner, their hands were cutt of in fower places where they did the greatest villanyes, their tongues were cutt /50/ out vnder the windowe of the Popes *Nuntio* and so they were //

Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy.. Chap:Viii. fol:185.

brought out into the markt place of *St Marke*, where vppon a Scaffold they were beheaded with an axe falling by a Pully, which done the scaffold and their bodyes were burnt, and the Ashes throwne into the Sea⁹⁹

{ m.n. 5 - 8. *Ciuill Iudgments. in the State of Venice. }*

For *Ciuill Iudgments* I remember a stone at *Paduoa* called *lapis turpitudinis* (that is the stone of filthines because vppon markt dayes such were sett vppon it with naked backsydes, as had runn into debt having no meanes to pay it. The lawes of *Venice* in generall were reputed so iust by the *Senate of Nurenberg* in *Germany* as in the /10/ yeare 1508, by Ambassadors sent to this State they obteyned a Copy of them. Among other *Ciuill Iudgments* they giue

⁹⁹ For a more detailed discussion of this case by Moryson, see fol. 425, and the note.

singular Iustice in the Cases of debt and haue particular Iudges ouer marchants banckrowting, who giue the Creditors security to keepe them from prison, and cite such banckrowtes as fly selling their goods and dividing them equally among the Creditors and preuenting all fraudes may be vsed. So as if they finde other mens goods deposited in their hands they keepe them for the Owners. In which Case myselfe when I passed from thence into *Turkye*, and /20/ also my brother leauing our Chests with our apparrell & bookes in the hands of a marchant, who shortly after proued banckrowte, the magistrate kept our goods safe, and when I returned, did restore to me without any Charge, not only my owne goods, but also my brothers who dyed in the Iourney.

I haue formerly sayd that all the *Venetian* lawes are made in the Counsell called *Pregadi*,¹⁰⁰ for when any Magistrate iudgeth it profitable for the Comon wealth to haue any new lawe made for any thing concerning his office and /30/ Charge, he propounds his reasons in the Colledge of the *Sauij*, and they being there approued, the lawe is propounded enacted, and published by the Councell *di Pregadi*. So the magistrate of the Poms (or Ceremonies) caused certaine sumptuary lawes for diett and apparrell to be made in this Councell which are in force [to] this day. Yet sometymes the law is made in the Great Counsell, if the

¹ See Moryson's extensive description on Fols. 125, 126.

magistrate thinke that it will receiue more life, and force by being confirmed therein. So the *Censors* in the last age past desyr<in>g a lawe should be made /40/ against making any Congratulations with any man that had obteyned an Office or magistracye, the same was first approued in the Counsell of the *Pregadi*, and then with generall Consent confirmed in the great Counsell.

{ m.n. 45 - 46. *Of the iustice in Genoa.* }

I haue formerly spoken of the gouerment and magistrates in the free City of *Genoa*; Now it remaynes in a word to speak of their Iudges. A doctor of Ciuill law borne out of the State, hath a great yearely stipend, and is vulgarly called the *Podesta*, He dwells in a Pallace adioyning to the *Dukes*, and iudges all Criminall Causes, but no Capitall /50/ sentence is executed without the Consent of the *Senate*, neither //

fol:186. Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii.

can he otherwise commaund it. He hath two d<oc>ters to be his Assistants, and one is his vicar, who also medles in some Ciuill Causes. Five Doctors of the Ciuill lawe borne out of the State, are likewise hyred for two yeares to iudge Ciuill Causes, the body of which doctors or Iudges is vulgarly called *La Rota*. Also of the Citizens the magistrates called the seuen men extraordinary, are chosen for six monethes to represent the *Dukes* person as busyed with higher affayres, in hearing of differences betweene

men, and in appointing Tutors for Pupills. And because the lawe fo<rbid>es a rich /10/ man to goe to lawe with a poore man, or one kinsman with an other (a lawe in my opinion most woorthy to be imitated), these seuen men in such cases appoint Iudges, who as Arbiters end their differences. Fiue men called the supreme *Sindici* may and vse to call in question the duke and the Gouvernors after the tyme of their Magistracye ended, and vppon iust causes to punish them, liberty being giuen by publique proclamation for eight dayes to all men, that they may accuse them, or any of them, for any fault done in their magistracye, /20/ after which eight dayes, these fiue men giue them letters Pattents to testifye their innocencye, without which letters they cannot be admitted to the dignity of Procurators belonging to their places, as I haue formerly shewed. These fiue also heare many appeales being men of great estimation, and they are chosen by the lesser Counsell. All arts haue their *Censors*, who sett the price of things sold, and prouide no deceite be vsed in weights or measures. Besides all seuerall Arts haue their owne Magistrates chosen by the Artisans /30/ themselues, and called Consulls, all which haue authority ouer those of their owne Art or trade. Among them the Consulls of the silkeweauers haue the greatest authoritye, for they may putt any of that art to the *Strapado*, yea condemne them to banishment, or to be slaues in the Gallies, and to like high punishments.

{ m.n. 36 - 38. *The Iustice* [Iudgments and] *lawes, [and governments] in the State of Florence.* }

I haue formerly shewed that the *Duke of Florence* is an absolute Prince, and hath no priuy Counsell of State, but comunicateth his most secrett affayres to the aduise of his Fauorites, whereof the Archbishopp of *Pisa* was /40/ reputed cheefe, and gouerneth the Commonwealth by publique Magistrates. For the magistrates and *Tribunalls* of Iustice remayne still the same they were in the tyme of the free State. Ciuill Causes (as in other Cittyes of *Italy*,) are iudged by a certaine number of doctors in the Ciuill lawe, (whose body is called *la Rota*,) And criminall Causes are iudged by the magistrates of *Florence*, in nothing changed, but that the cheefe of old called *Confaloniere*¹⁰¹ is now called Leiutenant. All other magistrates as the old Counsellors, eight men &c and the vicars and Gouvernors /50/ of Townes and Iurisdictions (vulgarly called *Podesta*) are now chosen as in the tyme of the free State, saue that the Gouvernors of the cheefe Cittyes, as *Sienna* and *Pisa* and the keepers of the Forts, are appointed sent and reuoked at the *Dukes* pleasure. The said Magistrates are in this sort // *Booke.i. The commonwealth of Italy. Chap:Viii. fol:i87.* chosen. The gentlemens names of the first Ranck, and so of the second and third are putt into three vessells and the

¹⁰¹ Hughes corrects it to "Gonfaloniere", originally meaning a standard bearer, and later head of a civic post or department.

cheefe magistrates are chosen out of the first, the inferior out of the second, and the lowest out of the third, by drawing out for each Magistrates place five names of whome he hath most voyces in the Counsell is chosen. And the gentlemens names are yearely altered in the vessells, & changed out of one into the other. These Elections are confirmed by the *Duke*, but otherwise he medles not with their choise or Iudgments, only he hath his *Secretary* vulgarly called /10/ *Del criminale* who sees the Processes of Criminall Iudgments, aswell in the City as in the Territory, and acquaintes the *Duke* with those of greatest moment, and no doubt from him directs the Iudges proceedings, which makes them more vigilant in doing Iustice. One thing I cannot omitt which I wondred to see in the City of *Florence*, namely a Court of Iustice, whose title is written vppon the gates *la' corte de' l'honestà*, the *court of honesty*, and wherein Iudges sett in *Scarlett Robes* to [doe] right to *Cortisans* or Harlotts for the hyre of their bodyes, if any wrong /20/ them therein.¹² For howsoever the *Stewes* be restrayned to certaine streets, no Harlott being permitted to dwell among the houses of the *Matrons*, if she [be] but seene at a windowe; yet it hath such priuiledges, as if a mans wife flying from him can come into the *Stewes* before he lay hold on her, he cannot bring her back, nor haue her punished. The very *Duke*

¹² Hughes omits "for the hyre of their bodyes".

passing the streete will in honor putt of his hatt to some of them, and at publique Comedies Cortesans, and Torchbearers enter freely, and pay nothing. The State of the *Duke of Florence* is to be praysed aboue all /30/ other parts of *Italy* for Iustice, where strangers liue more safely then anywhere els, so they bring not themselues in danger by foolish shewing of their mony, and may safely passe in the Citties and high wayes by day or night with their pocketts full of gold. Besides that Strangers haue more priuiledge then Natiues in wearing their swords, which is only granted to some gentlemen of *Florence*, but other Natiues hardly obtayne license to weare them which is easely graunted to all straungers. Nether doe any in this State (as in *Lombardy*) carry Gunns or goe armed from head to foote, /40/ For no man in Citty or Country may weare or haue in their howses other Armes then Rapiers and daggers vppon great penalty. Yet cannot I commend the Citty *Ligorno* for this Ciuility, nor the Inhabitants for honest men. And no maruell for howsoever it hath of old bene a place of dwelling; yet *Duke Cosmo* first compassed the place with walls, *Duke Francis* caused many [walls] howses to be built there, and *Duke Ferdinand* (living when I was in *Italy*) first brought it into the forme of a Fayre, and well fortified Citty. And these *Dukes*, with lesse charge to furnish it with buildings & Inhabitants, /50/ as *Rome* at the first was made a Sanctuary to malefactors, so they imposed punishments on malefactors in lesser Crimes,

according to the quality of the offence, to build one or more //

fol:i88. Booke.ii. The commonwealth of Fraunce Chap:i.

houses in this Citty, and to dwell there for yeares, or for life, so as the Inhabitants were not like to be of the most peaceable and best sort of men.¹³

¹³ Leghorn at this time had the feeling of a frontier town, hence the unmannerliness of the "Citizens guilty of crimes, and of no civill conversation" *Itinerary A*, I, 315, of which Moryson complains. Welcomed by the Grand Duke to his freeport, the English merchants had arrived in 1593, and some of them either financed or became pirates, particularly against the ill defended Venetians. Leghorn's gain was Venice's loss, as is discussed in Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice 1580 - 1615*, translated by Jane and Brian Pullan (London, 1967), and the changing patterns of trade are discussed in Ralph Davis, *English Overseas Trade 1500 - 1700* (London, 1973).

Chap:I.

Of the commonwealth of Fraunce according to the
seuerall heads conteyned in the title of the first
Chapter of the former booke.

{ m.n. 9 - 12. *The historicall Introduction with the
Pedegree[s] of the kings.* }¹

*First for the Historicall Introduction, and kings Pedegrees
Pharamund Prince of the Francks inhabiting Franconia /10/
a Prouince of Germany lying vppon the Rheine, did in the
yeare of our lord 420, lay the first foundation of the
french kingdome among the Gaules, of old subdued by the
Romans, and then subiect to them,. For while barbarous
people on all sydes, invaded the Roman Empire he sent out
his Captaynes to subdue Gallia, and first brought thether*

¹ These details of dynastic succession, have, at best, only a vague antiquarian interest for the modern reader. However, the considerable effort that Moryson expends on this section is indicative of the contemporary importance that was attached to pedigree, bloodline and dynasty. The extended wars between England and France 1337 - 1453, and the Italian Wars 1494 - 1559 had the competing claims of dynasties among their many causes. Raphael Holinshed in his *Chronicles*, and Moryson, obviously take dynasticism very seriously. The words of Holinshed describing the French succession are put almost verbatim into the mouth of the Archbishop of Canterbury in *Henry V*, I. 2. 33 - 114. He is rather a cynical cleric, and commentators have noted how he wishes to divert Parliament from despoiling the Church by dynastic excuses for a French war, I. 1. 1 - 99. However, if he is portrayed as just a cynical rogue, it unbalances the prayer scene where the king accepts that he must bear responsibility for the war and its consequences, IV. 1. 227 - 281. I would also suggest that in the Archbishop, Shakespeare shows us where belief and self-interest happily combine.

the *Salick* lawe, so called of a Riuer in *Franconia*, being a fundamentall lawe of the kings succession and other things concerning Regall Maiesty.² At this tyme *Italy* invaded by barbarous people, fledd to the succour of their /20/ Bishopps who having formerly liued subiect to the Emperors now first began to growe great by protecting the laiety and to exercise power ouer them as their Clients.³ And now the Bishopp of *Rome* began to bring not only the laietye but also the inferior Bishopps by degrees vnder their power. *Clodius Comatus* king of the *Francks* passed the *Rheine*, and subdued *Lorayne*, and *Burgundi* and dyed in the yeare 451. *Meroueus* king of the *Francks* tooke *Paris*, and gaue to all *Gallia* the name of *Fraunce*, and of him the Family of the succeeding kings was called the *Merouingian* /30/ Family, and he dyed Anno. 458. *Childericus* succeeding made the *Franckes* and *Gaules* one Nation, both called

² "The verie words of that supposed law are these, *In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant*, that is to saie, Into the Salike land let not women succeed. Which the French glossers expound to be the realme of France, and that this law was made by king Pharamond; whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betweene the rivers of Elbe and Sala...". Raphael Holinshed *The Third Volume of Chronicles* 1587 quoted in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, edited by Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols (London, 1957 - 1975), IV (1966), 378. The French lilies were still on the royal coat of arms and English coinage, so Moryson is presenting here an uncontroversial English viewpoint. The Salic law did not apply to France. Consequently, kings of England were by right of succession Kings of France.

³ Moryson is using this word derived from *cliens* in its classical sense of the followers of a Latin patrician (which amply describes many Bishops of this era) to whom patronage and protection was extended. *OED*

frenchmen.⁴ The *french* king *Clodoneus* the first, was the first Christian king, baptised with all his soldiers by *St. Rhemigi* in the yeare 485.⁵ He left the old Armes of the *Toads* (others write three Crownes) and tooke the Lillyes which the *french* kings [beare] to this day., and he dyed Anno. 524.⁶ *Clotarius* the second succeeded king of *Fraunce* Anno. 588, being also king of *Austrasia* and of *Burgondye* by the death of his kinsmen.⁷ In his tyme *Pipin* being his Maior [Domus] [d.....] or /40/ high *Steward* of his Pallace, vppon the kings seldome appearing abroad,

⁴ Pharamund is a mythical figure, although a Chlodio (son of Merowech) was defeated by the Roman general Aetius in 451. *EWB* In the Palace of Justice in Paris, Moryson noted "There bee the painted Images of all the French Kings from Pharamund." *Itinerary A*, I, 415.

⁵ Davis suggests that Clovis was baptised at least ten years later, p. 109.

⁶ *OED* defines toad-back as "...having a section of three lobed shape held to resemble the back of a toad". Whatever devices Clovis chose for himself, may have resembled this. Clovis died in 511. *EWB* Thomas Platter noticed an arras in Henry VIII's bedchamber at Windsor in 1599 which depicted "...how the three lilies fell from heaven out of an angel's hand into the hut of the hermit of Remigi who was holding a chaplet, and he/ gave them to King Clovis' consort and instructed her in the Christian faith so that she might become a Christian, and he advised her to hand the three lilies to her lord the King and persuade him likewise to become a Christian, so that he should be the first Christian sovereign, and to bear these three lilies as arms, instead of the three toads he had previously borne, as it came to pass, and the French still bear the lilies for their emblem t day." See Thomas Platter, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599*, translated by Clare Williams (London, 1937), pp. 213 - 214.

⁷ Austrasia comprised of part what is now West Belgium and eastern Holland, and northern Germany with the capital at Metz. See Davis, p. 121. If Moryson means Lothair II, he was not King of all Franks until 613. *EWB*

first gott authority in gouerning the kingdome, and this king dyed, Anno 632.⁸ The french king *Clodoneus* the second began to raigne Anno 645,⁹ and was the first of the sloathfull kings, who [by] altogether withdrawing himselfe from publique affayres, gaue way to the maiors of the Pallace to grow great by managing them, for they now began to despise the kings their lords, and craftily to bring them in Contempt with the people for their sloath and to gayne opinion to themselues by vndertaking difficult warrs, and /50/ //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:I. fol:i89. especially by shewing zeale to religion, and so to aspire vnto the kingdome.¹⁰ *Clotarius* the third succeeded him Anno 660, who gaue all power of gouernment to *Ebroinus* Maior of the Pallace, whome his brother *Theodericus* succeeding would haue putt him from that dignity, but was taken Prisoner by him.¹¹ King *Clodonieus* the third succeeded his father *Theodericus*, and made *Pipin* (discending of the former *Pipin*), the Maior of the Pallace vnder him, and first he, then his brother *Childebert* the second raigned as shadowes

⁸ 629. Pepin I was a major landowner and Mayor of Austrasia. *EWB*

⁹ Clovis II (637 - 657). *EWB*

¹⁰ For Moryson, zeal to the Catholic Church leads onto rebellion.

¹¹ Lothair III was King of Neustria 657 - 673, and of all Franks 656 - 660. Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace in all provinces was murdered in 681 by Theodoric III King of Neustria 673 - 698, ard of all Franks 678 - 691. *EWB*

of kings, *Dagobert* the second sonne to *Childeric* dyed Anno 720. whome his vncle *Clotarius* the fourth and after him *Chilpericus* the third brother to *Dagobert* succeeded, and, [and] after him *Theodericus* the second, being sonne to *Dagobert*, succeeded in the yeare 726, and dyed in the yeare 740, and these fower kings had *Carolus Martellus* base sonne to the last named *Pipin* for the Maior of the Pallace, vnder whome they reigned, having only the name of kings, and scarcely that, for *Carolus Martellus* is reputed the first king of the *Carolines*, being the second race of kings raigning in *Fraunce*, though the *Merouine* race was not yet deposed nor extinct.¹² For *Chilpericus* or *Childericus* the fourth in the yeare 740, succeeded his brother *Theodericus* the second, in the name of king, and had *Pipin* sonne to *Carolus Martellus* for Maior of the Pallace who thrust *Chilpericus* into a Monastery in the yeare 750, and made himselfe absolute king of *Fraunce*, being the second king of the *Caroline* race, who notwithstanding drew his Pedigree from *Clodoueus* the great of the *Merouian* race, lest he should seeme to violate the *Salick* lawe.¹³ Hetherto

¹² Clovis III, King of all Franks (691 - 695) and Chilebert III King of all Franks (695 - 711) and Dagobert III King of all Franks (711 - 716) had Pepin II as Mayor of the Palace. Chilperic II (719 - 720) and Theodoric IV (721 - 737) had Charles Martel, Pepin II's illegitimate son, as Mavor. Martel e en kept the throne empty after 737 until his death in 741. EWH

¹³ Moryson reverses the argument that Holinshed (and Shakespeare) put into the Archbishop's mouth, that Pepin III deposed Chilperic III in 752, claiming "...the crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he was descended of

the Bishoppes of *Rome* were vnknowne /30/ to the *french*, only the had gotten great reputation of holines, and of loue to cherrish Christian kings, and at this tyme Pope *Zachary* came into *Fraunce* to craue *Pipins* ayde against the king of the *Lombards*, and when *Pipin* had reconciled him to that king, this Pope to merritt his fauour, and to haue helpe out of *Fraunce* against the kings of *Lombardye*, did first without example free the *french* of their oath to *Chilpericus*, and perswaded the States then gathered together, to chuse *Pipin* king of *Fraunce*, who dyed in the yeare 768,.

For illustration I will first /40/ add the *Pedegree* of the kings following.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Charles called the great sonne to <i>Pipin</i> and of the second race called <i>Caroline</i> reputed the third king of <i>Fraunce</i> Anno 750, subdued the kingdome of <i>Lombardye</i> in <i>Italy</i> Anno 776, and was crowned Emperor of the west at <i>Rome</i> Anno 800, and dyed 814. | | <i>Carolomannus</i> at first divided the kingdome with his brother, and after fledd to the <i>Lombards</i> , but came into his brothers power | |
| Lodouicus the first succeeded king of <i>Fraunce</i> & Emperor, and tooke the kingdome of <i>Italy</i> from his Nephewe <i>Bernard</i> , and dyed Anno. 840 | | <i>Pipin</i> king of <i>Italye</i> . <i>Bernardus</i> deposed by the Emperor his vnclie. | |
| Lotharicus Emperor | <i>Pipin</i> king of <i>Aquitania</i> . | <i>Lodouicus</i> king of <i>Bauaria</i> left only one daughter. | <i>Charles</i> surnamed <i>Caluus</i> king of <i>Fraunce</i> , borne of a second mariage dyed Anno 879. |

fol.190. Booke. ii. The commonwealth of *Fraunce*. Chap:i.

Blithild daughter to king *Clothair* the first..." thereby violating the Salic law. See *Raphael Holinshed The Third Volume of Chronicles* 1587 quoted in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, edited by *Geoffrey Bullough*, 8 vols (London, 1957 - 1975), IV (1966), 378, and *Henry V*, I. 2. 64 - 68.

Lodouicus called [Bcalled] Balbus crowned emperor and king of Fraunce Anno. 879, left his Queene great with Childe and dyed 88i.

Charles called simple being Posthumous borne after his fathers death Anno. 88i, was crowned king of Fraunce Anno. 902, but his nonage being full of troubles, the Princes of Germany chose Arnolphus Emperor, and drewe the Empire from the French to theselues., In his nonage, for 22 yeares Lodouicus and Carolomannus his bastard brothers ruled as Regents, and Carolus surnamed Crassus and Eudo earle of Aniou ruled as Tutors appointed by his father. and some of them were crowned. After he was king, he killed Robert brother to Earle Eudo, in battell. but Rodolphus king of Burgundy deposed him Anno 923, and vsurped the kingdome of Fraunce.

Lodouicus the fourth surnamed. Transmarinus fledd into England with his mother an English lady, But the vsurper Rodolphus dying in the yeare 935, he was recalled and crowned king of Fraunce.

Lodouicus the fifth despised his brother Charles being left to his disposall & hated of all men, dyed king of Fraunce. Anno 964.

Lodouicus the fifth king of fraunce dyed Anno 965., leaving only his vncl Charles of the Caroline race.

Charles despised by his brother fledd to Otho Emperor of Germany who gaue him the Dukedome of Lorayne; and he carryed himselfe so vnwisely in the warrs betweene Germany and Fraunce, that the french hated him as Client of the Empire, who chose Hugo Capete king of Fraunce having taken Charles prisoner in battell, yet his children succeeded in Lorayne, from whome the present Dukes thereof deriue their Pedegree.

The Caroline race of kings ended.

The Pedegree of a third race of the french kings succeeding the Carolines.

Whitkind Prince of Saxony had the fauour of Charles the great, and serued Charles surnamed Calus in his warrs, who made him gouernor of a Prouince. Of him are the Electors of saxony, and a second house in Fraunce.

Otho others write Eudo, and Vdo) duke of Orleans and Earle of Aniou and Paris, sonne or Nephewe to whitkinde, did raigne as Tutor to Charles the simple, and dyed Anno 898.

Robert affecting the Crowne from Charles the simple, was killed in a battell in the yeare 922.

Hugo Earle of Aniou and of Paris stirred vpp the Normans against Lodouicus the fourth, but for feare of Otho the Emperor. he made peace with the king. He maryed the daughter of the Emperor of Germany, Henry the first and dyed. Anno. 945.

Hugh Capete Earle of Paris having taken Charles duke of Lorayne and the last of the Caroline race prisoner in battell was chosen king of Fraunce in the assembly of the States Anno 987. Charles being iudged a straunger and Enemy to Fraunce, and he dyed Anno 998.

Capeti: the third race of french kings.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Robert, surnamed <i>Pius</i> king of Fraunce [and] the Dukedome of Burgundy fell [to] back [to] him which Hugh Capete gaue to his yonger brother, he dyed Anno. 1030. | | Lambert Earle of Aniou serued the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in his warrs of Italy, and there the Fawilyes of Spinola. and Mocenigo discend of him. |
| Henry the first, king of Fraunce dyed. Anno 1060. | | Robert Duke of Burgundy |
| Phillipp the first king of Fraunce to whome [to whome] Baldwin Earle of Flaunders was Tutor dyed Anno 1109. | Hugh maryd the heyre of the Earle Veromandiorum | of him discend many Dukes of Burgundy, till it falles to the Crowne vnder king Iohn de Valois. |

Booke.ii. The comonwealth of Fraunce. Chap:1 fol:i[8]9i.

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| Lodouicus the sixth surnamed <i>Crassus</i> king of Fraunce had warr for Norwandy with Henry the first [king] of England | | | |
| Phillip died his father yet livinge | Lodouicus the Seaventh kinge of France ledd an Army to the Holy Land with Conrad the second Emperor of Germany, & died Anno 1180. | Robert, [Brother] of whom descend the dukes of Brittainne in France beinge absante Princes | Peter of whom descended the the Emperors of Constantinople to Baldwynn driven out Anno [1661] 1261. |
| Phillip the second kinge of France, hee & Richard the first kinge of England made warr for the Holy Land against Infidells; hee died Anno 1223 | | | |
| [Lodov] Lodouicus the 8th kinge of France, called to be kinge of England against kinge Iohn by the Barrons but sent home by them reconcyled to Henry the 3 the kinges sonne; he died Anno 1226 | | | |
| Lodouicus the 9th called <i>Sanctus</i> kinge of France., hee died Anno 1270 in the second Expedicionn of the Christianns ¹⁴ against the Sarracenes in the holy Land: | Charles of Aniou kinge of Sicilye & Na<ple>s was cast out of Sicilye by the kinge of Arragon but died kinge of Naples Anno 1284, of whome descend d<iner>se kinges of Naples of the howse of Aniou, vide [next Pag]: infra | Robert of whom descend many Earles of Artois | |
| Phillipp the third called <i>Andax</i> kinge of Fraunce dyed in the yeare of our lord 1285 | Robert Earle of Cleremount | Peter Earle of Alduson. | |

¹⁴ The Greek contraction for Christ is used.

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| Phillipp the fourth called <i>pulcher</i> king of Fraunce and by right of his wife king of Nauarra dyed Anno 1314, after he had begunn the fatall warr with England, which ceased in the Raignes of his sonnes, but breake out againe vnder Phillipp the sixt of Valois. | Charles Earle of Valois dyed Anno. 1325. | Lodou-icus Earle Epora-censis dyed Anno 1319 | Lodouicus called the great was the first duke of Burbon by Phillipp the sixt king of Fraunce. He dyed Anno 1329 |
|--|--|--|---|

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| Lodouicus the tenth called <i>Hutinus</i> king of Fraunce died Anno 1316 | Phillipp the 5 called <i>Longus</i> king of Fraunce dyed Anno 1321 | Charles the 4th called <i>Pulcher</i> king of Fraunce dyed Anno 1328 | Isabell married to Edward the 2. king of England father to king Edw: the third. |
|--|--|--|---|

Johanna heyre to the kingdome of Nauarr not of Fraunce wife to Phillipp Earle of Eboracum looke this page. H.

G

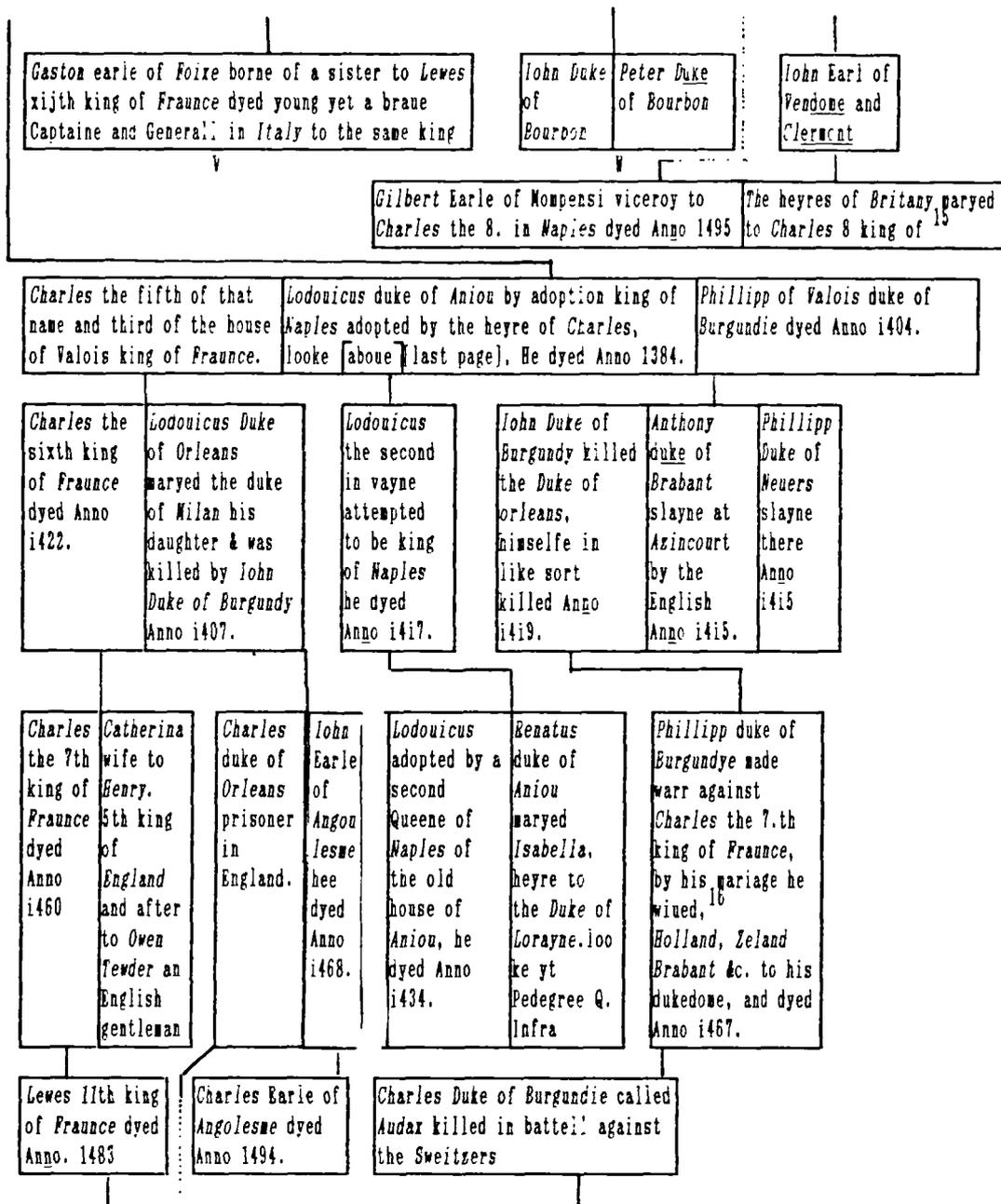
The house of Valois second branche of the Capeti kings

| | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| Phillipp the sixth of Valois king of Fraunce vnhappy in the warr with Edward 3. king of England looke this page G | Charles Earle of Alencon taken by the English at <i>Cressiacum</i> Anno 1346 | Phillipp Earle of Eboracum married the heyre of Nauarra daughter to Lodouicus 10 king of Fraunce looke this page H | Peter first duke of Burbon killed by the English in a battle of <i>Poinctou</i> Anno 1356. | James Earle of Clermont Constable of Fraunce. |
|---|--|--|--|---|

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| John of Valois duke of <i>Normandy</i> and after king of Fraunce in whose tyme the <i>Dukedome</i> of <i>Burgundie</i> returned to the Crowne (Looke [page 3] Robert aboue) he was taken by the English near <i>Poictou</i> in battell & after 4 yeares freed of that Captiuity, of the free will returned into England, and there dyed. Anno 1364. | John Duke of Alencon slaine in the battell of <i>Azincourt</i> by the English Anno 1415 | Charles king of Nauarra dyed Anno 1398. | Arcenbald married the daughter and heyre to the Earle of <i>Bearne</i> . |
|---|---|---|--|

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Blanche his heyre married to John king of Arragon and now of Nauarra she dyed Anno. 1439. | James first Duke of Bourbon Erle of <i>Mompensier</i> prisoner to the English Anno 1415 at <i>Azincourt</i> | John earle of Clermont by his wife also Earle of <i>Vendome</i> |
|---|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| Blanche diuorced by Henry 4th king of Castile neuer Queen of Nauarr | Leonora Queene of Nauarra married to Gaston Earle of Foix dyed Anno 1478 | Of him is Gaston Earle of Foix and of Bearne and by his wife leonora king of Nauarr | Charles first Duke of Bourbon dyed Anno 1456 | Lodouicus Earle of <i>Mompensier</i> | Lodouicus Earle of <i>Vendome</i> and Earle of <i>Clermont</i> serued Charles 7th king of Fraunce valiantly against the English. |
|---|--|---|--|--------------------------------------|--|



¹⁵ The manuscript is cut off, but the missing word is probably "Fraunce".

¹⁶ Either this is "wived", Moryson was thinking of Philip's marriage, or "wined" a variant past participle ?

Charles the 8th king of Fraunce made warr in Italy maryed the heyre of Britany, but his children dyed young. He dyed in 1497.¹⁷

Lewes or Lodouicus 12 succeeded Charles 8 king of Fraunce, and maryed his widow heyre of Britany. (looke this page <P>). he dyed Anno 1515.

Mary heyre to Burgundye and the lowe Countryes maryed to the Emperor Maximilian the first. She dyed Anno 1482

The present kings of Spaine are heyres to them.

fol:192. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

R

S

T

Claudia heire to the dukedome of Britanny married to Francis i kinge of France

Francis the i Kinge of France, by Claudia his wife duke of Britanny now vnited to ye Crowne of France, discending only to heires males, hee was taken prissoner in ye warr of Italy at Pauia, & hee dyed Anno 1547

The dukedome of Aliencon returned to the Crowne in the tyme of Francis the ii K: of France

| | | | | | |
|--|--|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Francis died of poyson Anno 1536, his father yet livinge | Henry the 2 K: of France married Katheryn of Medices a florentyne he was by Chance killed at a solempne Tiltinge Anno 1559 | Charles died without Issue | Two virgins died | Magdalen married to the K: of Scottes | Margareta married to ye duke of Sauoy |
|--|--|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|--------------------------|--|--|--|---|-----------------------------|
| Francis 2 K: of France married Mary the Queene of the Scottes & died without yssue Anno 1560 | Isabell married to Phillip of Spaine died Anno 1568 | Claudia married to Charles duke of Lorraine Anno 1559 | Lodouicus died an infant | Charles ye 9th K: of France made horrible [the] massacre Anno 1572 & died Anno 1574 thought to be poysoned | Henry the 3 K: of France and of Poland killed by a fryer Anno 1589 | Margarett married at the Massacre to Henry the 4th K: of Navarre diuorced by him | Francis called Hercules died before his brother Henry the 3 Anno 1584 | Two daughters died infantes |
|--|---|---|--------------------------|--|--|--|---|-----------------------------|

Mary borne Anno 1572 died younge
The second branch beinge of Valois extinct in Henry the 3

V

W

I

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| v | w | x |
| Catheryne, not his daughter, but the heire to ye Kingdome of Navarre married Iohn the sonne to the Lord of Albrecht who in hir right beinge K: of Navarre and takinge perte with the French K: Lewes the 12 against Pope Iulius the 2, was by him given in pray to the K: of Arragon, who toke great perte of his kingdome & the Cheefe Citty Pamplona. | Susanna married to hir Cosen Charles Earle of Nompensier: | Charles 2 Earle of Nompensier by his wife Susan, ducke of Burbon; ledd ye Emperors Armye in Italye against Francis the First, K: of France sacked Rome & dyed there Anno 1527 |

| | |
|---|--|
| Ioan heire to the Kingdome of Nauarr married to Anthony duke of Burbon & duke of Vandome died Anno 1572 | Anthony duke of Burbon & duke of Vendome by his wife K: of Nauarr & prince of Beirne killed casually by a Bullet Anno 1562 |
|---|--|

| | |
|---|--|
| The Howse of Burbon. the 3 branch of ye kinges of the Capeti beinge ye third race of the kinges | |
| Henry the 4th kinge of France also K: of Nauarr diuorced from Margarett his wife [daughter to K H] [... ..] [henry second k of France, after] daughter to Francis of Medices duke of Florence & by hir had yssue male & female: | Catheryne married to the duke of Barr, soane and heire to the duke of Lorraine |

The kinge of France raigninge at my being there

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| y | Francis sonne to Iohn Earle of Vendome serued in ye warrs of Italye vnder Charles the 8 Kinge of France and dyed there. | Lodovicus Prince of Yona & Earle of Nompensier |
|---|---|--|

| | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Charles created duke of Vandome by ye French K: Francis the first | Antonia married to Claudin duke of Guise | Lodovico created Duke of Nompensier. | Charles Prince of Yona: |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|

| | | | |
|--|---|--|-----------------------------|
| Francis dyed Casually Anno domini 1549 | Charles of Burbon Cardinall died Anno 1590: | Iohn died in the Battaile of Saint Quintyns: | Lodovicus Prince of Condye: |
|--|---|--|-----------------------------|

| | | | | | | |
|--|---------|---------|--|---|---|---|
| Henry poisoned (as they write) by his wife Anno 1588 | Francis | Charles | Charles a Twynn Earle of Soisons the other Twyn Lodovicus died | hee had 8 daughters wherof one married to the duke of Neuers two weare Abbasses and one a Nunn. | Francis d: of Nompensier Wolphyn of Avern | Anna married to ye d: of Neuers Francisca to the d: of Bulloigne & Carola a Nunn after married to the Prince of Orange and 2 Sisters Abbasses |
|--|---------|---------|--|---|---|---|

The Prince of Condye first prince of the blood

The Count of Soisons a Prince of the blood.

The Dukes of Nompensier & Auvergne Pr: of the blood.

Because the dukes of Guise had great Power in the last Civill Warres of France and because in that tyme of Faction, as they bore themselues for Princes of France, and descended of great Kinges, soe their opposittes vilefied them as Strangers: I thought good to add their Pedigree.

The Pedigree of the Dukes of Lorraine and the dukes of Guise:

Some derive them from Charles duke of Lorraine putt from the kingdome of France by Hugo Capetus, (as aboue appears, but I haue not seene that Pedigree

Eusta[th]in[us] Earle of Bullon descendinge of the ancient kinges of France married the neire of the duke of Lorraine.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Godfrey of Bullon Kinge of Hierusalem died Anno ii00. | Baldwynn Kinge of Hierusalem died Anno iii8 | William Duke of Lorraine defended it valiantly against the Emperor Henry the 5th and died Anno ii25 |
|---|---|---|

Booke ii The Comon wealth of France Chap:i fol i93

Isabella descendinge of him the heire to the dukedom of Lorraine married married to Renatus duke of Anjou, who died Anno i480; vide supra:

Iola heire to the dukedom married to Frederick Earle of Vadamont and Auuale, died before his Father in law Anno 1472, as Iola also dyed shortly after hir Father Anno i483

Renatus duke of Lorraine and Earle of Vadimont Cast out of his dukedom by Charles duke of Burgondye: but he beinge killed did recouer the same and died Anno i508.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|-----------|---|
| Anthony duke of Calabria, duke of Lorraine serued the French K: faithfully against the Venetians & Spaniardes, built the walls of Nancye and died Anno i544 | Claudius duke of Guise & Auuale married Antonia daughter to Francis Earle of Vandome, vide supra: and Anno i5i5 serued in the warres of Italye: | John Cardinal of [Sant] Omaphrio, borne Anno i498 | Lodovicus | Francis Earle of Lamb and Orge taken prisoner with Francis kinge of France in the battaile of Pauia and died in Anno i524 |
|---|---|---|-----------|---|

| | | | | | |
|--|--|---|---|--|---|
| Francis duke of Lorraine married the daughter of Christiern kinge of Denmarke and dyed Anno i546 | Anna married to the Prince of Orange Anno i549 | Nicholas resigninge his Bishopricke. became [..] Duke of Mercury: | Francis duke of Guise ledd the Army of Hen: 2 K: of France into Italy, & toke Callis from the English and was slayne by Poltrott Anno i563. | Mary widdow to the duke of Longaule married James 5 Kinge of Scottes, mother to Mary Queene of Scottes, married ... Francis 2 kinge of France. | Claudius duke of Auuale taken prisoner at Metz Anno 1552, contynued the Civill warrs after the death of Henry Duke of Guise his nephew: |
|--|--|---|---|--|---|

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|---|--|--|---|---|---|--|
| Renata married to William duke of Bauaria : | Charles duke of Lorraine beinge i5 yeares old married Claudia daughter to Hen: 2, K: of France Anno i559 | Dorothea married to Ericlus duke of Brunswick | Aloisia married to Henry 3 kinge of France | Henry Earle of Vadamont duke of Mercury | Charles a Cardinall Phillip E: mannell & other[s] brothers | Margareta married to Anna duke of Joyeuse. | Henry duke of Guise borne of the daughter to the duke of Ferrara, was killed by Henry 3 kinge of France Anno i588 | Lodovicus Cardinall strangled at the tyme with his brother Henry. | Charles duke of [ene] contynued ye civill warr after his brothers death | Catherina married to hir kinsman ye duke of Mercury: |
|---|--|---|--|---|--|--|---|---|---|--|

le Duc de Main Le Duc d'Auuale

| | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Henry Marquess of Pent & duke of Barr married Catherina sister to Henry the 4th K: of France, & succeeded his father in th dukedom of Lorraine | Charles Cardinall | Catherina married to Ferdinando d: of Florence Anno 1589 | Power other Sisters. | Francis duke of Guise beinge then of young yeares escaped out of prisson to which hee was committed at his Fathers death, & Contynued a while the Civill warr. | his brother the duke of Lauille |
| The Duke of Lorraine | | | Le Duc de Mercure | | Le Duc de Guise |

{ m. n. The Historicall Introduction }

Charles called the Great reputed the 3 kinge of the Carolines beinge the second race of the French kinges was the greatest of any French kinge before or after him, to whome all France, great perte of Germany and of Spaine weare Subiect: And till the tyme of his father Pipin the Popes weare vnknowne in France saue only by some Fame they had gotten to be holy men & great Cherishers of kinges, in which respect Pipin helped Pope Zacharye //

fol:194 Booke ii. The Comon wealth of France' Chapter 1

to make his peace with the Lumbards, and was content (with a most pernicious example) to make vse of this opinion of his Holines, to depose Chilperick and to absolue the french from their oath of allegiance to him. Now againe the Pope calling Charles the great into Italy, he subdued the Lumbards, and added that kingdome to his in the yeare 776.¹⁸ And shortly after the Romans expelling Pope Leo, and Charles the great coming with his Army to establish him Bishopp of Rome in the yeare 800, he was there crowned Emperor, and so the /10/ Empire of the West long extinct

¹⁸ 774. EWH

was renewed in him, and the Bishoppes of *Rome* did obey and reuerence him and his Successors; yet so as in many discentions¹⁹ about the Empire, these Bishoppes daily increased their owne power and authority. The Emperor *Charles* called *Caluus* dying in the yeare 879, *Lodouicus Balbus* gott the Empire with great difficulty, w[h]i[t]ch some Princes of *Italy* laboured to vsurpe,²⁰ And first at this tyme the States of the West, began to taske the Popes daily to draw to themselues Imperiall rights. *Lodouicus Balbus* dyed /20/ leaving his wife with Childe, of whome *Charles the Simple* was borne, Anno 881, in whose Nonage while *Carolus Crassus* was his Tutor, the *Germans* chose an Emperor, which Empire to this day they hold, leaving only *Fraunce* to *Charles the Simple*, for *Italy* followed the Empire, yet often rebelling. And from this tyme the Popes daily increased their spirituall and temporall power ouer the Emperors, raying warrs against them and presuming to depose, and excommunicate them, in the meane tyme leaving *Fraunce* and the other States of /30/ the West, in peace for many yeares, without exercising any such power ouer them, The french king *Lodouicus* the 5th dying Anno 964,²¹ the french hating *Charles* his brother as a vassall of the

¹⁹ Dissensions.

²⁰ *Charles the Bald* (843 - 877) was succeeded by *Louis II* (877 - 879), the stammerer. *EWH*

²¹ *Moryson* seems to have confused grandfather *Louis IV* (936 - 954) and grandson *Louis V* (986 - 987). *EWH*

Empire, chose *Hugh Capett* for their king in the assembly of the States Anno 987 neuer vsing any art of Preachers, or of the Popes authority to approue the act, but themselues iudging *Charles* to be a stranger, an enemy to *Fraunce*, and making free election.²² Thus the *Carolines* the second race of kings being extinct, the third race of *Capeti* began to raigne in /40/ three branches, whereof the *Capeti*, and the house of *Valois* being in tyme extinct the house of *Bourbon* at this day possesseth the Crowne. Till the Raigne[s] of *Hugh Capett* Earldomes and dukedomes in *Fraunce* were only gouernments for life, but he wonn the loue of the *french*, by making them hereditary, reseruing only homage to the kings and by giuing great authority to the assembly of the States, by instituting 12 Peares²³ of the kingdome, and by decreeing (which the *french* deriue from the law *Salike*, tearming it a fundamentall lawe of the *Francks*, being the first /50/ race of their kings) I say by decreeing that yonger brothers to the king, who formerly had part of the kingdome with title, and power of kings, should forbear the title of king and should doe homage to the Elder brother for the lands allotted to them, and that Kings Bastards who formerly had equall portions with the

²² Lothair (954 - 986) rather than Charles seems to have been meant here. "The emergence of the new house of Capet was not the victory of a race, a nationality, or a principle, but the triumph of a family, already distinguished, over a decadent rival." EWH

²³ Peers.

legitimate, should not succeed in the kingdome, nor take the Sirname of the king their father.²⁴ The Pope contending, with *Hugh Capett* to restore a Bishopp he had deposed, he yeilded to him, lest he should trouble his new
//

Booke ii. The commonwealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:i[8]95. founded kingdome. In this age the *Roman Church* was often troubled with great schismes, diuerse Popes being chosen at one tyme each one thundring Censures of excommunications against each other, only agreeing all in one thing, namely to beat downe the Imperiall maiesty, and draw that power to the Papacy as very *Platina* (the Popes deuoted Client) recordes, and of these Popes some were expelled out of *Rome*, others imprisoned and some strangled.²⁵ King *Lewes* the seauenth dying Anno 1180, and *Phillipp* the second succeeding, the Popes in their tyme having broken /10/ the power of the Empire, began first to vsurpe power ouer the westerne kings and States; For Pope *Innocent* the fourth

²⁴ Hugh Capet was attempting to weaken the elective principle of kingship in favour of the hereditary one.

²⁵ Moryson is referring to Bartholomeus Sacchi de Platina, *B Platinae Historia De Vitis Pontificum Romanorum*. The edition that I consulted in the British Library was printed in Venice in 1562, but it was constantly being reprinted well into the eighteenth century. As Moryson points out, there is no doubting where his sympathies lie. Thus the controversial Hildebrand, Gregory VII, is referred to as "*uirum multæ doctrinæ, magnæ pietatis, prudentiæ, iustitiæ*", a man of much learning, dutifulness, prudence and justice, whilst the Emperor Henry is driven by greed.

excommunicated *John* king of England,²⁶ and threatned the same Censure against the *french* king *Phillipp* the second for Impositions layd on the *french* Clergie. And in this age many new orders of Monkes were invented, and the *Albigois* in *Fraunce* required Reformation of Religion whome the Popes persecuted with Censures, fyer and sword²⁷ *Phillipp* the fourth in the yeare 1293 first began the fatall warr with *England*, which long wasted and almost had /20/ destroyed *Fraunce*, and *Phillipp* the sixt (the first king of the second braunche of the house of *Valoys*) renewed this warr, which for a tyme had bene appeased, and thereby brought great Calamities vppon his Successors. And this *Phillipp* was the first *french* king that felt, and despised the Popes power;²⁸ For when Pope *Boniface* the Eight had excommunicated and deposed him from his kingdome for Impositions layd on the *french* Clergie, and for giving Ecclesiasticall benefices, as former kings had done, which right the Popes had extorted from the /30/ Emperors, and now first challenged in *Fraunce*, this king tooke reuenge in the right kinde, by the surprise and destruction of that Pope. From this tyme forward the *french* kings to defend themselues from the tyranny of Popes, practised to haue a strong

²⁶ Innocent III (1198 - 1216).

²⁷ The Albigensian Crusade 1208 - 1213, organized by Innocent III, is for Moryson, an early example of religious reformers persecuted by the Papacy.

²⁸ Moryson is now referring to Philip IV again.

faction in the Colledge of Cardinalls, whereby they had power sometye to sett vpp a Pope in *Fraunce* against the *Roman* Pope, and Comonly to haue their freinds Chosen Popes, which Course likewise the kings [of England] held, labouring to haue the fauour of the Cardinalls, And because the Emperors /40/ of *Germany* depressed [by] the Popes, forbore any more to medle with the affayres of *Italy*, the Papall Court of *Rome* was for many yeares swayed by these two English and *french* factions among the Cardinalls, with diuerse events as the factions were tempered or [*<prouoked>*] one against the other, till *Ferdinand* king of *Aragon* vniting the kingdomes of *Spaine*, did about the yeare 1479, first beginn to beare sway among the Christian kings with title of king of *Spaine*, From which tyme and in the Raigne of his Grandchilde the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, Crowned Emperor /50/ about the yeare 1519, a third *Spanish* faction began to haue greater power in the Colledge of the Cardinalls //

fol:i[8]96. Booke.ii. The commonwealth of Fraunce. Chap.i. within fewe [a] yeares [after] *Henry* the Eight king of *England* fell from the obedience of the Pope and in the tyme of the three last [*french*] kings of the house of *Valoys* from Anno 1560, to Anno i589, *Fraunce* was distracted with Ciuill warrs about the reformation of Religion, so as the Court of *Rome* was altogether swayed by the Clyents of the kings of *Spaine* till the *french* king *Henry* the fourth (being the first of the third branche, of the house of

Bourbon) did settle his kingdome, and turning to the Popes Religion, renewed the power which the french kings were wont to haue in the Colledge /10/ of the Cardinalls. In the meane tyme for the temporall affayres of *Fraunce*, the English having for many ages possessed large Prouinces in *Fraunce* by right of Inheritance, and after the said fatall warr begun Anno 1293, having increased their dominions in *Fraunce*, and *Henry* the fifth king of *England* being Crowned king of *Fraunce* in *Paris*, and dying while his sonne was a Childe, the french in the nonage of his sonne *Henry* the sixth king of *England* and of *Fraunce*, not only recouered the kingdome of *Fraunce* from the English, but tooke from all their possessions /20/ in *Fraunce* about the yeare 1454 (excepting *Callis* which after they tooke in the yeare 1557,²⁹ neither could the English recouer their right to the Crowne of *Fraunce* and other their Inheritances, being long distracted by Ciuill warrs at home. After the death of *Charles Duke of Burgondy* Anno 1477 the french king *Lewes* the 11th tooke the *Dukedome of Burgondy* by force from *Mary* his daughter and heyre, maryed in the house of *Austria*. Likewise the french king *Charles* the Eight who dyed the yeare 1497,³⁰ and his Successor *Lewes* the twelueth, maryed /30/ the daughter and hayre of the Duke of *Brittany*, and vnited that *Dukedome* to the Crowne. And this was the

²⁹ 1558.

³⁰ 1498.

kingdome of Fraunce established as it now stands, not to speake of the kingdome of Naples and the Duchy of Milan in Italy, which the French kings gott and lost agayne.

To shewe how the kingdome of Fraunce was established vnder Henry the fourth, I will sett downe in fewe words how it was first rent in peeces by the forerunning Ciuill warrs. King Henry the second of the house of /40/ Valois, beganne to persecute thos of the reformed Religion, (whome the French call Hughonots, as the Germans call them Protestants) but he was taken away by an exempliary death in the yeare 1559.³¹ In the Raignes of his thee sonnes, France was continually troubled by Ciuill warrs, nurished by foure Factions, and by the fifth fyerbrand setting them all on worke.³² The Popes Iudging the kings of Fraunce slowe in persecuting the Protestants, did at Perona Combyne in league to roote them out,³³ not only the Princes of Fraunce, but strangers, which faction was /50/ called the league, deuided in it selfe, for besydes the house of Guise

³¹ "Exempliary" because Henry II was persecuting Protestants, and his death, after wounds received at a tournament, a dire warning of God's Providence.

³² Henry II's three sons who reigned were Francis II (1559 - 1560), Charles IX (1560 - 1574) and Henry III (1574 - 1589). The Pope is the fifth firebrand.

³³ "In March [1585] the League issued, in the name of the cardinal of Bourbon, the declaration of Péronne, which protested against maladminstration and the Protestant tendencies of the crown, and called all true Catholics to arms." J. H. Elliott, *Europe Divided 1559 - 1598* (London, 1968), p. 309, referred to hereafter as Elliott.

and other Princes of Fraunce professing to prosecute the Protestants, a second Spanish Faction arose, the king of Spayne being called in by the cheefe Cittyes to sucker³⁴ the afflicted State of Fraunce, who knowing the nature of Ciuill discorde not appeased in the begining, to consume the strength of all partyes, first norished the warr with his mony, then sent his Forces called in by the weaker // *Booke.ii. The common wealth of. Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:i97.* part, and at last aspired to the Crowne. The third Faction was of the Royallists, who vndertooke the defence of the Regall magesty agaynst both Invaders and Rebels, and at the first were no lesse agaynst the Protestants then the former, till in the ende they were gladd of their helpe against the former preuayling Factions, The Fourth Faction was of the Protestants, led by Princes of the blood, who at first only defended their liberty of Conscience, but in the ende were the happy instruments to assciest³⁵ Henry the third with his Faction of Royallists, and after to settle their owne Captayne Henry /10/ the fourth in the kingdome. The Queene mother Catharine of Medici a Florintyne was by the Printed legends of that tyme accused to norish all these Factions, and thereby to drawe vnto her selfe great power in the managining of publike affayres, for howsoeuer

³⁴ Succour.

³⁵ Assist.

the French abhorre the government of weomen,³⁶ and being at vnity haue often sent the kings mothers and female hayres to the spindle, yet her intercession to the kings her sonnes was so necessary to the other factions, and the power she had with them so vsefull to the kings, as her authority was great in the kingdome, which rather then shee would lose, they /20/ taxed her not only not to haue giuen good Counsell, but to haue much corrupted the young kings her sonnes, and by her ministers to haue nusled them in sloath and luxury.³⁷ Yea such was the mallice of the tyme, as they not only taxed her with the worst Counsellis of ambition, but also with disordinate affections to some of the league, which made her more inclyne to that party. In this Ciuill warr the Protestants behaued themselues so valiently, as they often forced their malicious enemyes to giue them peace, which they allwayes founde vnfaythfull, wittnes that horrible Massacre of Parice /30/ Ano. 1572. so called through the effusion of Protestants blood [were] generally through all Fraunce, so as howsoeuer my selfe haue seene in Sala Regia (the hall of the Popes Pallace) the same paynted with the Popes strange approbation of the

³⁶ Moryson may be thinking of the banishment of Marie de Medici, the mother of Louis XIII in 1617.

³⁷ The word intended may be "misled", and the ink from the quill failed to flow, and the 'i' was left undotted. Equally, it may be a corruption of "nursed", or even "nuzzled" "1. 4. To nestle, to lie snug in bed, etc... 2. To train, educate, nurture (a person) in some opinion, habit, etc." *OED*

fact, Yet God to whome vengeance belongeth, gaue exempliary punishment to all that had any hand therein.³⁸ For not only the seduced king Charles the ninth, but his succeeding brother Henry the third, and his brother Frances that neuer came to the Crowne, and Henry the Duke of Guise, with the Cardinall his brother, and the Quene /40/ mother, dyed soone after, and all but two by a miserable death, as shall appeare. But first giue me leaue to obserue, that many Prophecyes of the yeare 1588 foretolde the fatall events thereof, which could not be (as the Papists supposed) wonderfull by the destruction of a fewe Protestants with theire huge forces, or the subduing of litle England by the invincible Spanish Nauie, prouided in many yeares with huge expence of Indian treasure, but it proued indeede wonderfull by the victory of the English against that Nauie, and by the death of Henry /50/ the third king of Fraunce, the Queene mother, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall his brother, whereby the voge of all Christendome was turned, so as the party of Protestants formerly prosecuted, then first began to be feared and respected of theire greatest enemyes.³⁹ For not to speake of the distruction of that nauie in the sommer tyme, I will only

³⁸ "Dearely beloued, auenge not your selues, but giue place vnto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine: I wil repay, saith the Lord." Romans 12. 19.

³⁹ "I. 1. *the vogue*, the principle or foremost place in popular repute or estimation; the most pronounced success or general acceptance...Obs." *OED*. The final clauses of this sentence amplify this sense.

add, and in a worde, that in the winter following, the States of Fraunce assembled at Blois, where king Henry the third, founde Henry Duke of Guise so powerfull in the asssembly, and his owne dang[ht]er of being deposed /60/ so great and iminent; as he had no remedy but suddenly //

fol:i98 Booke:ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

to kill *Henry Duke of Guise* by his guard, and to strangle the the *Cardinall* his brother, and to imprison the duke of *Guise* his sonne, who shortly after escaped, and together with the duke of *Mene*⁴⁰ his vncle, and the rest of the league, made warr against the king, and droue him into a Corner of *Fraunce* till *Henry* king of *Nauarr* with the Protestant forces came to assist him, yet could not his Army free him from the knife of a monck, who killed him in priuate Conference in the yeare i589, which fact not only the Iesuites and more seuerer Papists held meritorious, but euen the Pope *Sixtus* the fifth /10/ comended in a *Panagerricall* oration.⁴¹ Thus the king of *Nauarra* was in the Army proclaymed *Henry* the fourth king of *Fraunce* being the first king of the house of *Bourbon* the third branch of the *Capeti*. But the *Duke of Meine* and the rest of the league suruiving, still made warr against him, and many of his

⁴⁰ Mayenne.

⁴¹ *Sixtus* delivered his opinion on 2 September 1589. Moryson may have seen John Wolfe's quarto translation *Antisixtus. An oration of Pope Sixtus the fift, vppon the death of the late French King, Henrie the third. With a confutation.* (London, 1590) [STC 14002] or the original in French or Latin by M. Hurault Sieur de Fay. *BMGC, STC*

Army being Royalists and Papists were ready to forsake him, because he was of the Protestants religion, and the Pope Gregory the fourteenth not only fauoured the factions of Spaine and the league against him, but sent forces into Fraunce to ayd them. /20/ On the other syde the french Protestants stuck faithfully to him, and some great men though Papists referring the difference of religion to a generall Counsell, followed him as the vndoubted heyre of the Crowne. Likewise Elizabeth Queene of England with mony and forces and the States of the vnited Netherlanders with mony supported him, aswell for the Common cause of religion, as to expell the Spaniard the Common Enemy out of France. In this last Ciuill warr King Henry the fourth with great valour and many good successes defended his right against /30/ the power of Spaine and his Enemyes of the league in Fraunce, till at last they were disvnited by contrary ends of ambition, some desyring the king of Spaine, or his sonne, or Ernestus of Austria the Emperors brother to be chosen king of Fraunce, others rather desyring the duke of Meyne, others the young duke of Guise (as the french legends report) others desyring some Prince of Fraunce to be named by the king of Spayne, and to be ioyned in affinity with him and some were not wanting who desyred the kingdome should be rent in peeces, hoping to make themselues absolute Princes /40/ ouer some cheife Cittyes and Prouinces. Where vppon king Henry the fourth terrified by the Bull of Pope Clement the Eight which

should giue the french authority to chuse a new king, and ouercome by the intreaty of his freinds to diuert this election of a king, [and ouercome by the intreaty of his freinds to diuert this election of a king] did in the yeare i593 leaue the Protestants religion, and professing himselfe a Papist, and going to the Masse celebrated, with great solempnity, obtayned the Popes absolution.⁴² Yet at the same tyme the *Capucine Fryers /50/* and *Iesuites* belike doubting the kings true Conversion, animated a Traytor to kill him. In the beginning of the yeare 1594, the king was Crowned at *Chartres* in the moneth of *February*, after which tyme the leaguers daily submitted to him. In the moneth of *March* the City of *Paris* yeilded to him, then *Monsieur Villiers* Gouvernor of *Normandy*, [came] in to the king and was made Admirall of //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:199. Fraunce. Shortly after the duke of *Guise* submitted himselfe. In the meane tyme a Nouice of the *Iesuites* wounded the king in the mouth with a knife at *Paris*, where his fathers house was demolished neuer to be built againe, and the order of the *Iesuits* was also banished out of

⁴² Jean de Serres records how members of the Catholic League grew so weary of continual war, that "The zeale of the new Pope, *Clement* the eight, moued them very little." *A General Inventorie of The History of France*, translated by Edward Grimeston (London, 1607), p. 765, [STC 22244], referred to hereafter as Serres. *Clement's* bull certainly moved Henry IV, who caused it to be treason to even keep it, Serres, p. 766.

*Fraunce.*⁴³ In the beginning of the yeare 1595, the king first proclaymed open warr against the king of *Spayne*. And in this yeare *Bourgondy* returned to the kings obedience. Pope *Clement* the Eight gaue his solemne benediction to the king, the *Duke of Meine* submitting to the king, reduced many Cittyes to his /10/ obedience, and the *Duke of Nemours* and the *Duke of Ioyeuse* likewise submitted themselues. In the yeare 1596. *Henry* the 4th, king of *Fraunce* made a league offensiue and defensiue with *Elizabeth* [king] [Queene] of *England* and the States of the vnited *Netherlanders*. In the yeare 1597, the *Duke of Mercur[y]*e yeilded the *Dukedome* of *Britany* to the king, and in the same yeare at *Verinus* the king made peace with the king of *Spayne*, who surrendered vnto him all the Cittyes and Forts he had taken in *Fraunce*,⁴⁴ but the *Queene* of *England* and the vnited *Netherlanders* /20/ were left by the *french* king still ingaged in warr against the king of *Spaine*.

Phillip the second king of *Spaine* having marryed his daughter to *Albert* Archduke of *Austria* gaue her the Prouinces of *Netherland* for dowry, and dyed in the following yeare 1598; And giue me leaue to digresse so much as in a word to sett downe out of the *french* History some

⁴³ Moryson noted the gap on his visit to Paris in 1595, "Right against the Gate of the Pallace [of Justice, where] stood the house of John Chastell..." *Itinerary A*, I, 416.

⁴⁴ The Treaty of Vervins, 2 May 1598.

heads of the advice which he left to his sonne *Phillipp* the third. My sonne be watchfull vppon all changes of common wealths, and vse them to your owne aduantage. For the gouernment of /30/ Spaine, if you stick fast to the Clergie as I haue done, then looke you restrayne the nobles, for you cannot equally haue the loue of both orders without a ciuill warr and wasting of treasure, but if you will rather cleaue to the nobility, then vse you the Netherlanders gently. The King of Fraunce is distracted with his affayres, Denmarke extorteth the reuenues of the Exchequer from Netherlanders and other strangers. Suetia is troubled with factions, the kings of Poland are ruled by their owne Subiects, Italy though it be rich, yet is farr distant from /40/ Netherland. The loue of the Netherlanders is of all other most necessary for your affayres. And howsoever I haue giuen those Prouinces to your sister, yet you haue a thousand euasions, whereof tyme will giue you knowledge to make vse, as to be Tutor to the heyres and the like. Take heede you suffer nothing concerning religion to be changed in Netherland which once chaunged you haue with all lost that possession. Cherrish freindshipp with [with] the Bishopps of Rome, be gentle and bountifull to them, and to the Cardinalls, especially those that are /50/ familiar with the Bishopps, and mantayne your authority in that Conclaue. lett The Pensions to the Bishopps of Germany be no more distributed by the Emperor. Take no Plebean to be your fauourite. Ridd your hands of all pensions, to the

French and the English Spyes. The //

{ c.w. nauigation }

fol.[190]200 Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce.

Chap:i.

Nauigation of the Indies is of greatest moment to you, with whome I haue forbidden the Netherlanders to haue any trade. Change often your officers in the Indies, and calling them home make them of your counsell, for they aspiring to honor, will increase your Indian reuenue. The Nauall Power of the English is to me suspected, but I feare not the nauye of the French; therefore against the English, vse the nauall power of the Netherlanders, and to that end graunt them trade in the Indies, yet vnder great penalty if at their retorne., they shall not /10/ vnlade in Spaine, and thus contenting the Netherlanders you may easily exclude the English from all traffique in the Indies. The rest for breuity I omitt, and retorne to the affayres of the French king.⁴⁵

It hath bene shewed with what fortitude and wisdome, and with what eternall glory to himselfe (if any excuse may be made for his changing of [[his] religion) Henry the fourth

⁴⁵ Even Jean de Serres, from whom this is taken, pp. 824 - 825, is suspicious of its authenticity, "We haue said that hee [Philip II] drew a writing out of a little Cabinet, and deliuered it vnto his sonne. Some writers say, that it was a translation into *Spanish*, of the Instruction which the King S. Lewis gaue vnto his Sonne Philip the hardie. Others say it was the Instruction which followes." p. 824.

established peace in *Fraunce*, whose valour in warr, and wisdome in peace to temper the factions of his great subiects and to suppress the pride of his Clergie, cannot be suffi/20/ciently commended. After the peace published in *Fraunce* [h.....th himselfe] wholly to gathering treasure, yet labouring to ease his subiects from greiuances, and to the pleasure of hunting, and in the yeare 1598 maryed his sister *Katherine* to the eldest sonne of the *Duke* of *Lorraine*. In the same yeare the Pope created sixteene *Cardinalls* whereof three were *french*, one a *Spaniard*, and most of the rest *Italians*. The king made the *Marquis* of *Rosnye* his Cheife Threasorer who became a most strict Keeper thereof not caring (that I may vse the very words of the *french* /30/ History) to offend the inferior Gods, so he might please *Iupiter*.⁴⁶ The Protestants had now long complayned that they could not enioy their Consciences in peace, nor liues in safety, and [that] being excluded from bearing publique offices they were in a sort as Iewes, exposed to contempt Therefore the king, whose fauour they

⁴⁶ Maximilien de Béthune, was created baron de Rosny, his birthplace, in 1583, and duc de Sully in 1606. His relations with Henry IV varied. See David Buisseret, *Sully and the Growth of Centralized Government in France 1598 - 1610* (London, 1968), p. 47.

"Then was there seene a new order in the disposition of the Kings treasure, by the care and industrie of the *Marquis Rhosny*, vnto whom his Maiesty gaue the charge of *Superintendent*. From the first day he let them know how hard it was to draw monie out off the Kings Cofers...His humour seemed strange: hee cared not for all the petty Gods, so as he pleased *Iupiter*, as *Apuleius* saith." Serres, p. 836.

might woorthely hope, did in the beginning of the yeare 1599 cause the Edict of pacification, formerly graunted, and giuing open and large security to the Protestants, to be allowed in the Parliament Court of *Paris*. By this Edict the Protestants, howsoeuer /40/ forbidden to reade diuinity lectures in the vniuersity of *Paris* yet for the profession of all other faculties, had equall priuiledges with all other *frenchmen*. The Iudges of that Court thought it equall and iust, that they should be excluded from all publique offices, but the king moued therewith and mentioning former seditions of that Parliament, replied that he was king, spake as king, and required their obedience, and commaunded the approbation of the Edict, by which the Protestants were restrayned from going to forrayne Synodes, and the Papists obteyned two /50/ poynts, that the *Roman Religion* should be reestablished in the Cittyes of the Protestants, and that all ancient Reuenues should therein be restored to the *Roman Clergie*. The king now bent himselfe to a masse Treasure, and called in all alienations and ingagements of old dutyes, made in the late Ciuill warrs and strictly appointed Commissioners to bring in all exactions, not without great murmuring //

Booke ii. The common wealth of [Italye] France. Chap:i. fol:[i9i] 201

of the people. This yeare also at the instance of the king of *Spaine* he recalled all his Subiects on payne of death

from seruing the vnited States⁴⁷ in their warrs. Vppon the death of the kings Concubine the Iudges of the Parliament perswaded him to marry, wherevnto he gaue consent. And first so handled the matter as Queene *Margarett* sister to the three last kings of the house of *Valois*, whome her brother *Charles* the ninth made a stale⁴⁸ for the massacre of the Protestants, by giuing her in mariage to this king *Henry* the fourth, then king of *Nauarra* and of young yeares, I say he so handled /10/ the matter as this Queene being yet living, and almost from the day of mariage seperated from him, made humble petition to Pope *Clement* the Eight acknowledging that extremely against her will and forced by her brother and mother she was at first marryed to *Henry* the fourth and that their short Cohabitation after the mariage was in like sort forced and that she was of kinne to him in the third degree of bloud, therefore humbly praying his Holines to dissolue this mariage. The greatest impediment was that Pope *Gregory* the xijth had dispensed /20/ at the tyme of their mariage with this Consanguinitye, and all Impediments whatsoeuer. Yet in breife the *french* kings Ambassadors were so instant⁴⁹ with the Pope, as he committed the examination of the Causes to certaine Commissioners who pronounced a *Nullity* in that mariage

⁴⁷ Of the Netherlands.

⁴⁸ "n 3. 2. "...a person...held out as a lure or bait to entrap..." OED

⁴⁹ "I. 1. ...importunate." OED

giuing both partyes liberty to marry with an other. This done the king sent Ambassadors to thanke the Pope, augmented [augmented] the pensions formerly assigned to Queene *Margarett* thus diuorced, And by Ambassadors to the *Duke of Florence* desyred /30/ the lady *Mary* his Neece to Wife, which the *Duke* graunted, giuing her 600th thousand Crownes dowrye besides Iewells and precious moueables, and the king was betrothed to her the xxvth of Aprill in the beginning of the yeare 1600, maryed to her by his deputy in the moneth of *October*, and she landed at *Marsilles* in *Fraunce* in the moneth of *Nouember*. The xxvijth of *September* in the yeare 1601, she bore the king a sonne and heyre named *Lewes* and stiled *Dolphing* of *Fraunce*.⁵⁰ At this tyme the king gathered some /40/ choyse divines of the *Roman* Church, to instruct his only sister maryed to the *Duke of Loraynes* sonne, and to dispute before her with the Protestant ministers at *Paris*, where she then was, but in the end she constantly professing that she would dye of the Protestants religion. The king no further pursued her Conversion to the *Roman* religion, to which himselfe had fallen. And here I end the *Historicall Introduction*, because some things already mentioned, as also the following restitution of the banished *Iesuites* in the yeare 1604 /50/ prouing fatall to the king, his magnificall humor of building, his last proiects suspected and feared by the

⁵⁰ Dauphin is the more usual spelling.

Papists, and his insuing murther, haue fallen out since the tyme whereof I write.⁵¹ //

fol:202. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

{ m.n. 1, 2. *The common wealth in generall.* }

Touching the gouernment of *Fraunce*, It is a Monarchy discending by Inheritance only to the heyres Males yet not of old so absolute, but that it seemed to haue some thing of a mixed State; For the Cittyes are gouerned as in a popular State, and the authority of the Parliament (or Assembly of the three States) is *Aristocraticall*, and howsoever Regall rights (as to coyne mony, to make peace and warr, to call the Assembly of the States, and the like) are *monarchicall*, yet of old this power was restrayned by the Assembly of the three States, as also by /10/ the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, without the approbation whereof the kings Edicts had no force, and to this day many inferior Princes haue Regall rights vnder the king, as Coyning of mony, and power of life & death in their owne Territories.

{ m.n. 16. *The assembly of the three States.* }

The Assembly of the three States in former ages was of high

⁵¹ Moryson, as he promised on Fol. 1, is trying to contain the narrative. He does this by restricting the narrative to the time of his travels. Henry IV did embark on a building programme in Paris, and was preparing to march against the Empire over Cleves-Jülich at the time of his assassination. The "fact" that the Jesuits were behind his murder was a common belief, see Martin Wiggins, *Journeyman in Murder: The Assassin in English Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 1991), p. 63.

authority, till the kings finding this high Counsell to be a bridle to their absolute power, (as the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedemonian* kings) First Lewes the Eleuenth, saying that he was out of Nonage, made the mention of /20/ calling this Assembly to be Capitall, from which tymes the kings very rarely (and neuer without being forced therevnto) did permitt this Assembly to be called,⁵² till of late those of the league pretending reformation of religion and policy, and the Princes of th[is]e bloud standing for their right, Ciuill warrs were rayzed and for appeasing thereof, the kings were forced to flye for remedy to this Assembly, the authority whereof themselues had so broken, as it could not now giue due remidy. For the kings affecting absolute power, had in tyme /30/ made the same so hatefull to their Subiects, as they had giuen themselues to dependency vppon factious Princes, who swayed this Assembly to their ambitious ends,. and taught the kings how much better it is to haue a iust, then an absolute power.⁵³ The old causes of

⁵² "Ephors, at Sparta [were] a body of five magistrates exercising control over the kings." Harvey. Moryson may also be recalling a passage from Commynes, "Some persons of low estate and small repute said then [1484], and have said the same several times since, that it was high treason to speak about calling the Estates as it diminished the King's authority. But these are the men who commit a crime against God, the King and the people." See Philippe de Commynes, *Memoirs: The Reign of Louis XI 1461 - 83*, translated by Michael Jones (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 346.

⁵³ Moryson takes on Commynes's constitutionalism. However, he goes on to disapprove of the ambition that perverted the purposes of the Estates in the recent Civil Wars.

calling this Assembly were to determine Controuersies of the kings succession, to appoint a Regent when the king was vnder age, or a Captiue, or imployed in forrayne warrs or distracted in his witts, to punish great men that basely vsed high Commaunds and offices, to repress seditions to reforme /40/ enormous defects, and to supplye the kings necessities, aswell by taking away superfluous expences, as by granting Subsidyes for publike vses. But the late Assemblyes vnder the league had cleane Contrary ends, and events, as to determine the succession of the king when he yet liued, to appoint a Regent ouer the king being of age free from Captiuity, and in his right witts, saue when their Counsell might leade him to folly, and so free from any thing that might cause the choyce of a Regent, and to confirme the ambitious Princes in their commaunde[d]s, /50/ offices, and exorbitant powers, and to proclayme the Subjects league with the king, and without ioyning the king for persecuting the Protestants, and so to confirme their Conspiracye by the authority of the king and of //

{ c. w. that Assembly }

Booke ii. the common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol [i9]203.

of that assembly and to giue full power to the said Princes of the league, in disposing the publike Treasure as committing the lambe to the keeping of the wolfe, and lastly aswell the Clergye to refuse all Contributions without the Consent of the said Princes, as also the laity

to deny the king Subsidyes, who daily ingaged his owne reuenues for the publique affayres.

{ m.n. 8 - 11. *The court of Parliament at Paris.* }

Touching the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, I referr the iustice thereof to the following discourse of Iustice, and here will only speake of the Authority thereof, /10/ to curbe the kings power. The old good kings gladly vsed the Counsell of these graue Iudges, and because they knewe [that] that some vnfitt decrees might passe the kings hand by corruption of priuate officers, they were content to giue these Iudges power to take any exceptions against theire edictes, and to perswade the Confirmation or abrogating thereof, so as they should not be of force till they were approued in the Court. Thus in tyme and by degrees, th[r]ough the naturall insolency of the French to bridle the kings power, and more spetially through the ambitious endes of /20/ seditious Princes, this Court to haue such transcendent Authority, as in the last Ciuill warrs it not only clamed as it were from prescribed Custome the power to allowe or dissalowe the kings edictes, but also published edictes against the king, and conspiring with the Princes rebelling, did appoint an assembly where a newe king should be chosen. But king Henry the Fourth being settled in that kingdome, hath not only brought the most sedicious Iudges to wonted modesty, but also the Court to exercise due authority, so as they dare not somuch

dissalowe his edictes, saue /30/ only vpon causes allowed by himselfe, and so hath taught the french, that howsoever Courtes of Iustice and subiect Princes may vseurpe vnfit power vnder negligent and faynt harted kings, yet a wise and valiant king can reduce them both within due limites.

{ m.n. 35 - 36. The power of the Princes in Fraunce. }

Yet one knott of Corruption remaynes,⁵⁴ which he may and doth wisely loosen, but no king can vnty, without great and dangerous Changes of that government, namely the exorbitant power of the subiect Princes. Howsoever many affirme that the French are most dutifull Subiectes to /40/ their kings, and I will not dispute the Contrary against them, yet I may boldly say that the French in generall, out of a naturall leuity, take great liberty to censure their kings, and giue no great outwarde reverence to his person, and more perticularly that the subiect Princes are more apt to take Armes against their kings, then those of any other nation knowne to me.⁵⁵ Many of them to this day haue

⁵⁴ "Knot n 1 II. 10. fig. b. ...the main point in a problem..." *OED* One central problem, that of corruption remains...

⁵⁵ Moryson attributes leuity to the French in general. As a moral and mental quality, *OED* defines it in three ways, all of which have some bearing on Moryson's views. The first two "Want of serious thought or reflexion; frivolity.", and "Incapacity for lasting affection, resolution, or conviction; heedlessness in making and breaking promises; instability, fickleness, inconstancy." apply here. The final sense, "'Light' or undignified behaviour;" also applies in the extended discussion on French leuity on fol. 636.

greater power then may easily submitt it selfe to absolute subiection. For they not only haue in generall great priuiledges, but many of /50/ them regall rightes, as power of life and death in theire teritoryes, and to Coyne monyes, and to haue subiectes in such kynde as they may committ treason against them, namely by seruing a contrary party in the warrs, and they not only haue theire Provinces by right of inheritance, but of Custome the Command of the kings Forces, and of his Cittyes and Forts, which they often vse against the kings (as historyes wittnes) and vpon the least discontent, either conspire with //

*fol.2[9]04. Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. forayne Princes, or of themselues take armes against their kings, and so haue for the most part bene the Authors of all the Calamityes that Fraunce hath euer suffered.*⁵⁶

{ m.n. 4. *Of the Peeres.* }

Among these Princes the most eminent are the *Peeres* so called of equality, and first instituted by *Charles* the great. Of them six are Ecclesiasticall, namely six Bishoppes whereof three had also the style and right of *Dukes* as the *Archbishopp* of *Rhemes*, the Bishoppes of *Laon*, and of *Langres*, and three had also the style and right of *Earles Palatines* as the Bishopp of *Beauuais* of *Noyen* and /10/ of

⁵⁶ Moryson is looking back at the *cadets*, those younger brothers and cousins of the kings who ruled virtually independent fiefdoms, and who allied with the English with disastrous effect during much of the Hundred Years War.

Chalons, And in like sort six are laymen namely of old three *Dukes of Burgundye*, of *Normandy* and of *Aquitane*, and three Counts of *Flaunders of Champaigne* and of *Tholouse*. These Pillers of that kingdome as of old they did many great and woorthy Acts in defence thereof against Straungers, so vppon discontents they spared not often to teare the very bowells of their Common <mother> aswell by raysing Ciuill broyles, as by assisting straungers against the french kings,⁵⁷ whereof one example may suffice, namely of the /20/ *Dukes of Burgondy* assisting the *English*, who though most valiant and powerfull then in all meanes to anoy *Fraunce*; yet no doubt by that *Dukes* assistance had great furtherance in the Conquest of that kingdome. These old Peeres of the laietye, are now and haue [long] bene extinguished, For *Lewes* the xjth tooke *Burgundye* by force from *Mary* the heyre thereof, (of [them] [whome] the kings of *Spaine* discend), and vnited it to the Crowne, [ab..t] The Emperor *Charles* the fifth, heyre to the County of *Flaunders* as to all the Inheritance of the *Dukes* of *Burgondye*, /30/ having taken the french king *Francis* the first prisoner at *Pauia*, by transaction freed *Flaunders* from the subiection of the french, from which tyme the Appeales of the *Flemings* to the Parliament of *Paris* formerly in vse haue ceased, and *Flaunders* hath not bene

⁵⁷ The bowells were considered "n 1 3. ...the seat of the tender and sympathetic emotions". *OED* To Moryson rebellion is a matricide, a crime of neronian proportions.

taken for a member of *Fraunce*. And in like sort the rest of these dominions either for want of heyres males haue fallen, or by mariages haue bene vnited to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, or haue bene wonn from the English possessing them. And of late ages for solenne Ceremonies /40/ of the kingdome, so many great lords haue vsually bene appointed to supply their places only for the tyme of solempnity; But the foresaid Peeres of the Church, haue euer kept, and at this day keepe and enioy the dignitye of *Peeres*; yet some lay Princes to this day are newly created *Peeres*, but haue not the old power of [or] them, as of late king *Henry* the fourth, erected the Baronny of *Biron* to a *Dutchye* and a *Peere*. A *Peere* cannot be iudged but by the king and his *Peeres*, but the king is neuer present when he is a party. Five of the old *Peeres* /50/ of the laietye are (as I sayd) vnited to the Crowne, and the sixth of *Flaunders* is now no member of *Fraunce*. Yet the newe created enioy the same priuiledges & Prerogatiues that the ancient did,⁵⁸ and cannot be iudged but by his *Peeres*, and the women whose lands are [d][e]iected into *Payries*⁵⁹ or that //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:[i9]205.

⁵⁸ Moryson is perhaps contrasting this with English form where age implied precedence.

⁵⁹ A *pairie* was a peer's title that was transmissible to a woman. I owe this information to Dr Nicholas Hammond of the Department of French at the University of Birmingham, referred to hereafter as NH.

hold them by succession may assist in these Iudgments, [as] [and] did of old *Mathilda* Countesse of *Arthois* Peere of *Fraunce*. But if the Peeres being called doe not appeare the Iudges by the kings Commission may proceede. And if any man thinck that a Peere of *Fraunce* hath no power at this day to trouble the kingdome, lett him consider how the yongest and least of the Peeres of late disturbed the quietnes and rest of *Henry* the 4th, wanting no Heroicall vertues to preserue peace to his mynde and kingdome, whereof giue me leaue to make a breife relation out of the french History. *Henry* the fourth had exalted /10/ the Baron of *Biron* for his and his fathers faithfull seruice to him in the Ciuill warrs, to be *Duke of Biron* knight of both Orders, *Marshall of Fraunce*, *Gouernor of Burgundy* and Peere of *Fraunce*. All this the king had created him having litle of himselfe, but a turbulent daring spiritt, yet the hearing of his Conspiracye with *Spaine* did much trouble the mynde of this wise, valiant and powerfull king. In the moneth of *Iune* in the yeare 1602, vppon the kings Commaund he came to Court, contrary to all mens expectation with a straunge Confidence, and all men thincking he should /20/ be putt sodenly to death, the king would haue it appeare that he had power to bring him to his triall, and so caused him to be apprehended, and sent Prisoner to the *Bastile*. The rumor in *Italy* (said he) was in disgrace with the king, because he would be called the scourge of the Protestants, but it vanished away when he was soone after condemned & executed

for Treason. He was a *Duke* and a *Peere* of *Fraunce*, and so could not be tryed but by the *Peeres* of that kingdome, yet they being called and not appearing, Iustice had his Course; For he was arraigned in [the] Parliament of /30/ *Paris*, where he had no *Aduocate*, but setting vppon a stoole answered for himselfe, and was condemned. The *Chancelor* of *Fraunce*, on the last day of *Iuly* went to the *Bastle* where the Prisoner refusing himselfe to read the sentence of death (as the vse is) an other was appointed to read it, being to this effect. That *Charles Gonhault* of *Biron*, Knight of both orders, *Duke* of *Biron*, *Peere* and *Marshall* of *Fraunce*, & *Gouernor* of *Burgondy*, was iudged guilty of Treason, to loose his dignityes and possessions, and to be beheaded in the *Greene*. This publike place of execution much displeased him, and /40/ yet the kings grace to be beheaded priuately in the prison, he tooke for a small fauour. And it much greiued him that his possessions, the title of duke, and dignity of a *Peere*, should not fall to his brothers, nor any of his posterity. But when the diuines had somewhat appeased his turbulent mynde, the trembling hangman with much feare cutt of his head.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ It seems possible that in 1608, Moryson might have seen the plays by George Chapman, *The Conspiracy* and *The Tragedy of Byron*. In the latter play, Byron defiantly refuses to read the form of his condemnation and the confiscation of his goods. He is furious that he is "...to lose his head upon a scaffold at the Greave-" [*La Place de la Grève*, the common place of execution] shouting defiantly, "The Greave? Had that place stood for my dispatch,/ I had not yielded..." V. 3. 112 - 115. See George Chapman, *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron*, edited

{ m.n. 47. *Of other Princes.* }

Besides these Peeres, there neuer wanted other Princes of *Fraunce*, whose greatnes in all ages past hath had power to trouble the kings thereof. Among the rest the *Dukes* of *Britany* for many ages were as Thornes in the feete of the /50/ *french* kings; For they haue not only bene able with their owne forces for a tyme to withstand all the power of the *french* kings, but often ioyned in league with the kings of *England* with the *Dukes* of *Burgundy* and other discontented Princes //

fol:206. Booke:ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.
of *Fraunce* haue broken [the] sleepe of the *french* kings, till *Charles* the Eight, and after him *Lewes* the twelueth marrying the heyre of that *Dukedome*, and *Francis* the first marrying the daughter of *Lewes* the twelueth heyre to [.] *Britanye*, at last that *Dukedome* by consent of the States was vnited and incorporated for euer to the Crowne of *Fraunce*. *Charles* the second by right of his wife duke of *Bourbon*, shewed abundantly what a discontented Prince of *Fraunce* can doe against his king in the wars of *Italy*, wherein the *french* king *Francis* the first was taken Prisoner.⁶¹ /10/ *Lorraine* was not exempt from the subiection

by John Margeson (Manchester, 1988).

⁶¹ Moryson refers to the Bourbon Treason. Charles de Bourbon (1490 - 1527), *Connétable* Constable or Marshal of France had personal grudges against Francis I. His rebellion in 1521 was to coincide with an invasion to the north by the English, and from the east by the Imperialists. Koenigsberger, p. 234.

of the *Germane* Emperors till about the yeare 1000, from which tyme the *Dukes* and Princes thereof haue bene reputed Princes of *Fraunce* yet retayning absolute power, and all Regall rights in that *Dukedome*. The *Dukes* of *Guise* are but a yonger house of that Family raysed about the tyme of *Francis* the first, yet by their greatnes in Court, by the pronenes of the *french* to factions by the kings luxurious sloth, and especially by their pretended zeale to mantayne the *Roman* and roote out the reformed religion, they so vilified the /20/ kings, and so magnified themselues, as had not weake harted *Henry* the third either at the instance of his freinds, or out of the despaire of his owne safety, caused *Henry* duke of *Guise* to be sodenly killed by his garde, and had not that *Duke* in Confidence of his owne strength betrayed himselfe to that violence, the poore king was thought to be very neare running the fortune of his Predecessor *Chilpericus* who was deposed, shaued and thrust into a monastery, yea after the death of that *Duke* and the Cardinall his brother, the Princes of their bloud and faction being as it were their Ashes /30/ and shadowes, had the power to driue that king into a Corner of his kingdome where howsoeuer *Henry* king of *Nauarra* succeeding him in the kingdome of *Fraunce* the fourth king of that name came to his assistance with all the forces of the Protestants, yet he could not escape the murdering knife of a monck, that killed him, (such wicked zeale haue the *Roman locusts* in

mantayning their superstition).⁶² To conclude most of the Princes in *Fraunce* to this day retayne this exorbitant power not fitting Subjects, having in their owne territories hal<f>e Iustice (that is high Iustice, namely Regall /40/ Rights, as power of life and death, coyning and the like,) yea through Custome, as it were by a kinde of right, they haue from the kings, such Commaunds of his forces, and the guarding of his Cittyes and Fortes, as their fathers had before them.

{ m.n. 45. *The Kings counsells.* }

The *french* king hath three Counsells one called the great Counsell [and of old the principall and privye Counsell] Wherein the Cheife Peeres and Princes were wont to sett, and the king himselfe vsed to be present at their deliberations. *Charles* the Eight leaving to this Counsell the causes of Iustice, the Causes referred to them by his new Counsell, the kings breifes and appeales from the Court, Iudge called /50/ Prouost *de l'hostel'*, did institute a new Counsell which he preferred to the former, calling it his priuy Counsell wherein were handled Causes ruled after the Custome of the kingdome, the deliberations

⁶² Locusts imply a plague, an emotive word in this era, as that visited on Egypt when Pharaoh refused to let the Children of Israel go, Exodus 10. 1 - 20. The image of Catholics as innumerable swarming insects of devouring power betrays Protestant fear. The locust image is employed by the Black Knight in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, edited by J. W. Harper, *The New Mermaids* (London, 1966), III. 1. 90.

of Peace and warr, and of the Treasure, besides priuate Causes and Complaynts of Subiects the defining whereof was referred to this Counsell by the kings Comission. The *Chauncelor of Fraunce* was appointed head of this Counsell, and it had fower *Secretaries* who divided the Prouinces betweene them, and each one advertised of all affayres, belonging to his assignment did relate them to the Counsell, and each one for /60/ a moneth in his Course kept the kings Signett. Each Counsellor //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i fol:[i9]207. had a thousand Crownes, (*Sansouine* saith betweene six and eight thousand Francks) for yearely stipend.⁶³ But the authority of this Counsell also though not altogether vanished, yet is much diminished, by reason that *Francis* the first, thincking the secretts of State not to be comunicated to many, did institute a newe Counsell called *des affaires*, [This Counsell hath drawne much] wherein the king while he riseth and attyreth himselfe consults with his cheife *fauourites* of the highest affayres. This Counsell hath drawne much authority from the former, wherein the king dispatcheth all things which he will doe by absolute, and /10/ meere power. And the deliberations of the former Counsell, in causes of gouernment of the Treasure, and the priuate causes of Subiects, haue no force

⁶³ "...twenty Soulz [make] a Franke: sixtie Soulz a French Crowne, or six shillings English." *Itinerary A, I, xxv.* Thus each Councillor received £300 p.a.

till by the advice of this last Counsell they are confirmed with the kings subscription called *Resultat*.⁶⁴ This Counsell hath no rule but the kings pleasure who bestowes this high dignity on those he best liketh whereof notwithstanding many haue the name and title who are not admitted to the Consultations. For some desyre the title for glory and reputation, some others haue it giuen them for singular merritt, yet neither are admitted to the /20/ Counsell, taking the title only for a great honor whereby they are presumed to be familiar with the king, which very opinion adds much reputation to them. The Cardinall of *Este* being an *Italian* with great difficulty obteyned the bare title to be one of this Counsell, For no Straunger except he be made a free *Denizen* is capable of this dignity, or at least only he did euer attaine it.

{ m.n. 29 - 30. *The Tributes and Reuenues.* }⁶⁵

The Tribute and Reuenues of this large kingdome are manifold and great, and howsoever it be charged in high measure with a multitude of great Stipends, since the very Counsellors /30/ attend not the publike affayres without reward of large pensions, and the officers of the Exchequer so exceede in number as they must needs wast the same

⁶⁴ The king has confirmed them. This is the final outcome, or *resultat*.

⁶⁵ Hughes omits everything in the Chapter apart from this section.

Treasure they gather, (of whose multitude, reformation hath bene [often] intended and attempted, but by their art was euer frustrated) And howsoever it be charged with the maintenance of many Troopes of horse and bands of Foote continually in the kings pay, and of diuerse Fortes and Garrisons vppon the Confines for defence of the kingdome; yet would it abundantly suffice the priuate and publike vses, were it not that in /40/ the last Ciuill warrs, not only many Customes, & Tributes were ingaged, but euen great part of the kings *domaine* or land of Inheritance (which should not be ingaged vppon any other Cause then for necessity of warr and of *Apennages* of kings yonger sonnes).⁶⁶ But the king then raigning, *Henry* the fourth, no lesse famous for policie in peace, then for the military Art, began to draw all expences to the wonted limitts, and not only something too much (as the *french* confesse) restrayning his bounty in guifts, but also gouerning all things with more then kingly frugality, gaue the *french* Hope to restore /50/ the wonted plenty of publike Treasure.⁶⁷ Of the Impositions in *Fraunce*, some were of old graunted, others haue bene lately extorted by the necessity of the kingdome, and long Ciuill warrs //

⁶⁶ An *apanage* was, as Moryson explains, territory given out of the royal lands or domain to the *cadets*, or younger brothers of the king.

⁶⁷ Moryson does not consider it regal to be miserly. See his caustic comments on the threadbare uncle of Henry IV's Queen, Ferdinand Duke of Florence on Fol. 138.

{ c.w. (to which the
fol:208. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.
to which the french haue in the last age bene easily
drawne), and for other causes partly true, partly
pretended. In which exactions not only the french, but most
kings of the world make vayne the *Maxime of logick*, that
the Causes being taken away the effects cease, easily
learning to raise Tributes but not knowing how to abate
them. For in *Fraunce* the exactions rayseed in the fury of
warr, continued in the fayrest tyme of peace, Tributes
willingly offered to avoyde the spoyle of Soldiers, still
remayned, and that without restraint of their insolencyes,
and tributes allowed in tymes of publike /10/ danger by
consent of the three Estates, were in peace as it were by
prescribed Custome made the kings annuall Rents. Yea
exactions made by the Princes of the league taking Armes
against the king, [were after in tyme of peace taken for
the king,] in iust punishment of those who supported
Rebells by them. Popular seditions for like exactions haue
no where bene more frequent then in *Fraunce* (tho *Italy* be
farr [more] oppressed therewith) and that not only of old,
but euen of late since the Ciuill warrs appeased, and in
all these tumults, as dogs bite the stone in steed of the
Caster,⁶⁸ so the fury of the people fell not vppon /20/ the
Imposers, but vppon the Exactors. The Nobility high and

⁶⁸ "1. a. One who casts..." OED

lowe, I meane lordes and gentlemen, are altogether free from Impositions or Tributes because they serue the king [in] his warrs (aswell in person as with a certaine number of horsemen according to their quality) without taking any pay. And this Immunity litle diminisheth the kings profitt, because the Nobility scornes to be Marchants, thincking such traffique ignoble, according to the *Heraults* rules,⁶⁹ howsoever the *Italians* even the very Princes disdayne not traffique by the great, leaving only the /30/ gayne of Retayling to the people, and wisely thinck it madnes to inrich the people with the cheife Commoditye of the land and to inable them to buy their lands, which idlenes must needs force them to wast and sell. As the Nobles are free from all exactions, so some fall only on the Common people, from which the Citties, and all the kings officers and ministers are exempted, but they are likewise charged with some, as with mantayning the ordinary troopes and bands of horse and foote, and for the Tenthes the very Clergie is not spared. It is a great /40/ mischeife in *Fraunce* that all offices vppon the necessity of the State, euen the iudiciall offices, haue of old beene vsed to be sold by the king, which out of ill Custome continewes till this day, all offices being sold at high rates, and (which is more straunge) the sales thereof among priuate men being of force, as if they were graunted vnder the [kings] [great]

⁶⁹ This is from the French *hérault*, meaning herald.

Seale, so the seller thereof liue a moneth or two after the sealing to take away all suspition of open fraude,. For howsoeuer this Custome may be profitable to the king, it makes vnwoorthy men come to high offices, /50/ and since he that buyes must needs sell, it makes the king for his iudiciall places author of selling Iustice.⁷⁰ All writers obserue that *Fraunce* hath fowre loadstones to drawe Treasure⁷¹ namely Corne wyne, Salt, and linnen Cloth, and no doubt the Tribute or Impost of wyne is great, and that of Salt //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:209.

greater, which in many places is proper to the king, and generally payes him Tribute especially bay salt whereof plenty is made in *Fraunce* especially in some Ilands, and in many places the selling of white salt is forbidden, that the bay Salt may be sold for the kings better profitt,⁷² but this Reuenue of Salt was said to be then ingaged to priuate men. And since I heare from french men that the king vseth commonly to Farme [out] this and other Gabels (or Impositions), and that Salt alone at this tyme is

⁷⁰ Moryson refers to the *paulette*, a voluntary annual tax fixed in 1604 at one sixtieth of the value of the office, which enabled the holder of that office to sell it to any person chosen by him. It yielded 10% of total revenue. See Parker, p. 121.

⁷¹ "There are in France (as a man may terme them) fower loadstones to draw riches from forreine nations..." Botero, *Breviat*, p. 9.

⁷² Bay may refer to the place where it was extracted, or to its unappealing colour. *OED*

farmed out to Marchants at some six hundreth thousand pounds /10/ sterling yearely, and that the king particularly for each mued of *Salt* receiueth fower pounds tenn shillings sterling to make vpp the foresaid Rent,¹³ and that twelue *lettiers* make a *Mued*, and each *lettier* is about a quarter of our measure, And the *french Marchants* say that each *Mued* of wheate yeildeth the king three pounds sterling for Gabell or Impost. And that each *Mued* of wyne commonly yeildes the king Eighteene shillings of our mony, three *Mueds* being about a Tonn. Considering the multitude of all exactions and the power the king assumeth to impose them at pleasure, /20/ that which *Lewes* the Eleuenth said merily wilbe found true, that *Fraunce* is a pleasant Meadowe of a rich soile which the king moweth as often as it pleaseth him.¹⁴ But he that clenseth the bodey too much shall at last fetche bloud. For the last kings of the house of *Valois* drew drye the brookes, and Channells of this pleasant Meadowe, and that when the Sunne in the lyon (I meane the Ciuill warrs) most parched the same, and so dissipated the Mowen grasse thereof, as they left all in ruine to the succeeding house of *Bourbon*, . /30/

¹³ A muid is an obselete French measure of about four bushels. *OED*

¹⁴ "By reason of these neuer - dying riches, *Lewes* the eleuenth was woont to say, that France was a continuall flourishing meadow, which he did mowe as often as he did list..." Botero, *Breviat*, p. 9. It would not have been out of character for Louis XI to have actually said something as arrogant as this.

{ m.n. 31, 32. *Of warfare in generall.* }

Cæsar in his *Commentaries* saith thus of the old *Gaules*, they haue two kindes of men, the *Druides* (their *Preists*) and the horsemen vsed for warr, who the richer they are, the more *Clients* they haue, which is their greatnes.⁷⁵ Old writers affirme that the *Gaules* vsed to fasten about the necks of their horses the heads of their dead enemyes, to be redeemed by their freinds, and often kept the heads of their greatest enemyes embalmed, and perfumed for triumph of victory. *Polibius* writeth, that the *Gaules* were easily broken if their first assault were repelled, which in the warrs with the /40/ *Romans*, *Marius* and *Cæsar* likewise approued.⁷⁶ And all consent that they were in the entrance of the battell more then men, in the end fainter then women, which *Bodin* a french man attributes to the *Clyme*, because the bodyes of men dwelling towards the South, easily faint and languish with sweating and heate.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Of the knights, *Caesar* writes, "The possession of such a following is the only criterion of position and power that they recognize." p. 141. Book VI. 15.

⁷⁶ *Polybius* "(c. 202 - 120 B. C.), a great Greek historian" records the rise of Rome. Only five of his forty books survive in their entirety. *Marius Gaius* "(157 - 86 B. C.)...his greatest achievement was the overthrow in 102 and 101, at *Aquæ Sextiæ* and *Vercellæ*, of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, Germanic tribes who were invading Gaul and Italy..." *Harvey*. *Caesar* writes of the Gauls that whilst they "...are quick and impetuous in taking up arms, they have not the strength of character to stand up against reverses." p. 83. Book III. 21.

⁷⁷ "*Cæsar* holds the same opinion of the *Gaules*, That in the beginning of a battell they were more than men, but in the end lesse than women." *Bodin*, *The Six Bookes of a*

Whatsoever the cause be, we finde the same fury in assault,
and remisnes in the progresse attributed to the french euen
to this our age by *Guicciardine*, and other late writers.

{ m.n. 49. *The footemen.* }

Touching the french foote; They are litle esteemed. Francis
the first did institute eight legions or Regiments of
Footemen, /50/ paid by the king in peace, as in warr, Each
Regiment contayning six thousand Foote, rayned
promiscuously of forrayne nations.⁷⁸ This institution was
dissolued, and againe renewed, and at last reduced to the
three Regiments, one for the kings garde, and two
distributed among the Forts of the Confines in Garrisons
each contayning 1200 men. All these Foote consisted at
first //

fol:210. Booke ii. The comon wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

of *Scotts* till the Conspiracy of *Ambois* made by the Princes

Commonweale, translated by Richard Knolles (London, 1606),
p. 552. Jean Bodin (1529 - 1596) was a lawyer who studied
history to ascertain universal law. His work was deeply
affected by the French Wars of Religion. He felt that
sovereignty should be undivided and vested in a strong
monarchy. His views on the effects of climate on character
and, therefore, on politics, which are questioned by
Moryson on Fol. 636, are in Book Five Chapter One (as is
the quotation above). The French defeat of 1528 is
explained in terms of history and character stereotype,
"...the Cimbrians, of whome *Plutarch* witnesseth, That they
were all molten with sweat, and languished with heat which
they felt in Prouence, the which would soone haue consumed
them all, although they had not bene vanquished by the
Romans: as it happened to the French before Naples..." p.
549.

⁷⁸ "...containing many nationalities."

of the blood against the *Guisian* faction, but wrested as made against the king himselfe, from which tyme only one hundred *Scotts* were retayned in pay for the kings garde, having a *french* lord for their Captaine, whose *Materasses* were at this tyme whereof I write by speciall priuiledge laid next the dore of the kings Chamber, as likewise they only receiued the keyes and deliuered them back, and kept the Gates at solemne Feasts and Ceremonies and alwayes some of them were to be neare the kings person when he went /10/ abroad to heare masse, or for any other cause.⁷⁹ And after that Conspiracye the other Companies were supplied by *french* men and other *forraine* nations. The Regiment appointed for the guard of the kings person was esteemed cheife aboue the other, Consisting (as the other) of tenn Companies whereof some by Course watched at the gate of the kings Pallace, and the *Sweitzers* by Course within the Pallace being fower Companies of Archers, each Company having a hundreth men, and three Companies of Halbertderes, and one [of] *Harquebuseres*, all which had a *french*

⁷⁹ The Scots may have been dismissed in 1560 because of Guisean influence. In Scotland the Protestant "Lords of the Congregation" were in revolt against the Guisean regent Marie of Lorraine. In France, the failure of the Huguenot nobles to break the power of the Catholic Guises over Francis II at Amboise, meant that the Guises were suspicious of all, equating the Scots with rebellion and heresy. Naturally, they would not want many Scots near their king. Elliott, pp. 19, 100, 111.

Captaine, /20/ some lord whome the king specially trusted.⁸⁰

In generall the Foote, are not pressed to serue, but voluntarily giue their names at the beating of a drum when any bands are to be rayed in tyme of warr. And because the french haue from all antiquity abased their husbandmen, (whome the English on the Contrary euer cherrished and made the strength of their Armyes) depressing, and keeping them poore, either for feare of popular Commotions, or to make them more attend manuell Arts, and Husbandry, while they were not /30/ trayned to be soldiers, they became so base and abiect, as they were alwayes reputed sluggish, fearefull and altogether vnprofitable for the warr;⁸¹ yet the Guascons either coming of the English, who for many ages possess[ing]ed those parts of Fraunce, or [reputation] trayned vpp to their military discipline, retaine good

⁸⁰ The Swiss were famous mercenaries at this time. At the moment of Laertes's rebellion, Shakespeare gets Claudius to shout "Where is my Switzers? Let them guard the door." *Hamlet*, IV. 5. 95.

⁸¹ The image of the hearty English yeomen and bowmen as against the depressed French peasantry has a long history. This image was adopted in *Henry V*. Apart from the French soldier who is a foil for Pistol, we only see boastful French aristocrats who divide the victory before the battle is won. Selected quotations from *Henry V* also played no small part in patriotic war fever in 1914. After the British retreat from Mons in August, morale at home was stiffened by reports of angel-bowmen inflicting invisible wounds. See Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, (Oxford, 1975), pp. 115 - 116.

reputation, and are the best Foote in Fraunce.⁸²
Notwithstanding we finde not in Histories that the french
haue [not] had any Confidence in their Foote of their owne
nation, whome they haue vsed only for light skirmishes, and
to keepe Forts, rather /40/ then to make any body to fight
battells, for which purpose they vse to make levyes of
German lansknachts and of Sweitzers vppon all occasions of
leading forth Armyes into the feild.⁸³

{ m.n. 44, 45. *Horsemen in generall.* }

The strength of the french Armyes is in their Horsemen, who
are all lordes, and gentlemen, and of a generous spiritt,
seeming as it were borne for warr. For the yonger brothers
having small patrimonyes, and disdayning to be marchants,
or of any base profession, willingly imbrace the bearing of
Armes,. And the elder brothers hold their lands in Fee /50/
from the old kings, bound to their Tenure to serue them in
warr. They possess these Fees either in high Iustice (as
they terme it) as bound to serue the kings in warr, or in

⁸² Given a more dramatic twist by Shakespeare, a
similar idea is voiced by the Dauphin,
Our madams mock at us and plainly say
Our mettle is bred out, and they will give
Their bodies to the lust of English youth,
To new-store France with bastard warriors.

Henry V, III. 5. 28 - 31.

Gascony, part of south-western France, was under English
control for almost three centuries, from Henry II to Henry
VI.

⁸³ *OED* also makes the distinction between the
lansquenets, German mercenaries originally with lances, and
the Swiss, as Moryson does here.

base [and or] [or] low Iustice bound in like sort to follow priuate lords in warr. Of these consist the horse Troopes in Fraunce, of great strength and reputation, whereof as of the Foote the old kings instituted //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:2ii.

certaine Troopes paid aswell in peace, as warr, which they vulgarly call, *Ban d'A[r][rr]iere Ban.*⁸⁴ But when the old Fees of noble Familyes were ether in tyme of superstition giuen to the Clergy, which in those dayes Claymed Immunity from seruing in the warre, and from any Impositions whatsoever, or ells by prodigall gentlemen, were sould to marchants, whose offspringe wanted their old valor, as Doues neuer begett Egles, or ells were alienated from the old Rote to ingraft in branches, whereby these troopes began to degenerate /10/ and proue lesse vsefull in the warrs, king Charles the seauenth made a newe Institution of horse troopes, continued in pay as well in peace as in warr, which of certayne ordinances or lawes prescribed them, vulgarly called *Gens d'Armes d'ordinaunces*. And to mantayne these troopes being about six thousand, a new kynde of tribute called *Taille* was Imposed ouer all Fraunce, But according to the Custome of other nations, and more spetially of the English comming nearest to the French Custome, it is not probable that this nomber is

⁸⁴ *Le ban et l'arrie're ban*, the regulars and reserves. *Harraps Standard French and English Dictionary*, edited by J. E. Mansion, 2 vols, revised edition (London, 1948).

com/20/pleate at any tyme, but rather that in tyme of peace a third parte thereof is deficient. These horsemen are deuided into one hundreth troopes, some of a hundreth some of fyfty horse, which the kings distribute vnder the Command of the Princes of the blood, and of other great lords gouerning Cittyes and Provinces. These horsemen were of old wont to serue with lances but in their late warrs they haue quitted them to serue with Carbines & Pistolls vsed by the German Reyters.⁸⁵

{ m.n. 29 - 32. The mixed Forces of natiues and strangers. }
The Forces of Fraunce are mixed, consisting partly of natiues, /30/ and partly of strangers. The horse are in great parte natiues, and those all gentlemen and of a generous Corage, and these are the strength of the kingdome, to which the kings haue allwayes trusted the safty of their owne persons. Yet all experience consentes that they are most to be feared in the first assault, which being well borne, or the conflict deferred by wary delay, they soone languish and faynt. This the Spaniard obseruing, who yeulde not to the Roman Fabius himselve in the art of protracting all affayres, haue often made good vse thereof, clearely proued by many /40/ notable euent of their late

⁸⁵ This is from *reiter*, German for rider, and by extension cavalry. *OED* quotes from Moryson "...Reyters, that is Horsemen...". See *Itinerary A*, I, 66.

warr in Naples.⁸⁶ This fiercenes of the French soone languishing, makes them fitt to assault or surprise, but vnfitt to beare with constant cheerefullnes any tedious protractions of sieges or battayles, wherein the[y] victory is commonly attained. Besydes in the late Ciuill warrs the French haue vsed to make great leuyes of German horsemen, called Schwartz Reytern that is blacke horsemen. And for theire Foote howsoeuer they haue some Guascons well reputed, yet the body consists of strangers, for the most parte Germans and Sweitzers. And the troopes and bands. of /50/ Germans are cumbred with infinite baggage, & multitudes of wemen and base ministers,⁸⁷ and being in the Country⁸⁸ of Frenches deuoure all they lay hands on, and aproching the enemyes are hardly drawne to fight, so as they may rather seeme hyred to consume Frenchs vittles, then to doe any braue exployte against theire enemyes. For to omitt mischiefes in generall befalling all those who are

⁸⁶ Fabius Maximus "*Cunctator*" the delayer, "was appointed dictator after the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene (217 BC), and by his policy of following and harassing Hannibal's force while refusing an engagement earned the surname of '*Cunctator*'." Harvey, p. 173. The Italian Wars of 1494 - 1559 to which Moryson also refers, constantly saw initial French successes turn to ultimate defeat. Sitting behind the walls of Naples in 1528, the besieged Spanish were able to watch the French army disintegrate due to disease and desertion. Elton, p. 83.

⁸⁷ Since to minister meant to serve food and drink, these "base ministers" are presumably those in what we would call in the commissariat and catering corps. *OED*

⁸⁸ Dr. T. P. Matheson pointed out this word could be "Comity" from the Latin *comis* courteous and friendly, and by extension meaning within friendly territory. *OED*

forced to vse forayne aydes, no doubt the Germans and Sweitzers in the late Ciuill warrs of Fraunce, were leuyed with //

fol:2i2. Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

vnmeasurable charge, with many difficultyes brought to fight, often in the point of tyme when the Armyes were ready to ioyne battayle, mutinously demaunded pay, without which they ether refused to fight or threatned to take the enemyes part, frequently exclaiming *Es Gelt Gleich einem Teifel wil den andern dienen*, that is, It is all one to serue one Diuell as an other, as if they had sayd, since one party is of Papists the other [of] Caluinist, it is all one what syde wee lutherans serue, as wee can be best payde. With what difficulty they were kept in discipline, /10/ with what art and how many circumstances they were drawne to fight, and espetiall to giue a second charge if the first prevayled not, how [.] vnduly the demaunded more then due pay, and how imperiously they vsed those that hyred them, lett the French kings and Princes themselues witnesse, who in some mutinies hardly escaped their handes, into which if they had fallen, the Ransome of their persons had cost then dearer then if they had beene taken prisoners by their enemyes, and who haue beene forced in these occasions beyond the Dignity of their blood, humbly to intreate /20/ their plebean Captaines. These thinges haue hapned in Fraunce espetially by the German Reyters, but Guiccardine in the warrs of the French in Italy, doth

largely expresse these and like in commodities of hyring Sweitzers also, wherof I haue in part spoken treating of the Sweitzers Commonwealth. Nether indeede can any better seruice be iustly expected from any mercenary soldiers of what nation soeuer, hauing no interest in the iustnes of the cause further then their pay drawes them. Yea besydes their doubtfull Fayth, these mischiefes also followe /30/ mercenary soldiers, that Princes can haue no confidence to communicate their secrett Counsells to their cheefe leaders, and that they knowe not the situation & oportunity of places to giue aduantage for all disseignes, so as for ignorance they cannot advance the Princes cause, if they wanted not will and forwardnes to doe it. Therefore those Princes most excede others in strength, whose Forces most consist of their owne louing subiectes.⁸⁹ Of old the English fighting with the French had two mayne aduantages, wherby they gott renowned victoryes ouer them. First that the /40/ French troopes of horse in some part, and almost all their Foote, were straungers, whereas the English kings ledd none but English horsemen and Footemen into Fraunce. Secondly that the French kings alwayes fought in their horse troopes trusting their persons to them, reputing it base and ignominious to discend among their

⁸⁹ The use of the word "prince" here suggests that Moryson may have been adopting Machiavelli's doubts about the utility of mercenaries in Chapter Twelve of his infamous work. See Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, selections from *The Discourses* and other writings, edited by John Plamenatz (London, 1972), pp. 90 - 94.

Footes, whereas the English kings and all the great lords, when the French Army approached, left their horses, committing their persons to the guard of their Footemen, and as it were communicating fortunes with them consisting partly of gentlemen but for the /50/ most part of yemen and so encouraging these Footemen to fight manfully, who no doubt are the strength of all armies⁹⁰ For [howsoever] horsemen have hope easily to escape by flight, whereas running away is manifest death to the Footemen, and in our [g] age we have had many notable examples, of small bands of Footemen by some disaster forsaken or left engaged, who have marched or covertly passed through the midst of the enemies Countries and retired to places of safety through pursued by horsemen, as also like examples of horse troops who falling into /60/ the Ambushes of Footemen have been a rich prey unto //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:2i3.

them. In the last age, and this, the French have had their greatest wars with the Spaniards, who in some part are annoyed with the same mischief of [the] mercenary soldiers, as the French are, by reason the gentlemen cannot be compelled to serve in any foreign war out of their own Country, and Spaine is nothing less than populous or

⁹⁰ Here again, Moryson notes and contrasts the broad appeal to Englishmen by her kings, as against the aloofness of French monarchs. By the early 1620s, *Henry V* had appeared four times, three in quarto and one in folio. Shakespeare's work may have augmented this tradition. *STC*

full of men, especially to supply the great warrs their late kings haue vndertaken in Christendome. So as they are not only forced to hyre *Italians* and *Dalmatians*, and other strangers to supply their [foote bands] /10/ horse troopes, but also to make great levyes of *Sweitzers* and especially *walloons* to supply their foote bands. But as they haue many braue Troopes of natiue horsemen, so the strength of their Armyes, hath euer bene in their natiue footemen, consisting much of Gentlemen and noted to be of great valor, and greater pride. For the *Sweitzers*, were comonly leuyed for sommer seruice to oppose against their owne nation hyred by the *french*, and the *walloons* were only vsed for light skirmishes, till of late in the warrs of *Netherland*, /20/ after milions of men consumed therein, necessity forced the *Spaniards* to committ euen Forts, and Cittyes to the keeping of the *walloons* (the daunger and Cost of which course notwithstanding they haue found by their frequent mutinyes). So as they haue euer had two mayne advantages of the *french*: one that their Footmen are for the most part natiues: the other that the strength of their Armyes consists much more in their foote then in their horse; whereas the *french* haue fewe natiue Footemen, and the strength of their Armyes consists /30/ espetially in their horsemen. The advantage to haue natiue soldiers cannot be denied, and I haue heard Captaynes of great experience no lesse confirme the advantage of an Army having the greatest strength in Footemen. But besides that I haue sayd of the

advantage the English had ouer the french in this kinde, I will shew manifestly by one example among many, like of late tymes, not only that it [is] good to make a golden bridge for a flying enemy,⁹¹ but specially to my purpose that a multitude of horse cannot hinder the safe[tye] /40/ retrayte of a fewe well ordered and resolued Footemen. When the woorthy Captaine *Gaston de Foixe* generall of the french Army in *Italy*, in the tyme of the french king *Lew[e]is* the twelueth, having obtayned a great victory at *Rauenna*, and seeing the *Spanish* Foote retyre orderly, could not endure they should escape from his victorious Army, he charged them with all his horse, but in that charge susteyned great losse, the greatest of his owne life, by losse whereof he made that great victory fruitles to the french, who were soone after cast out of *Italy*.⁹² /50/ Yet did he small or no harme to the *Spanish* Footemen, who retyred orderly to a place of safety. To conclude, the late Ciuill warrs much

⁹¹ This phrase is proverbial, meaning to encourage the enemy to flee. See Tilley, B665, who records it in Fenton's translation of Guicciardini, which is, presumably, where Moryson also saw it.

⁹² "For *Monsieur de Foix* could not brooke that the *Spanish* footemen should go their wayes as it were victorious and in so good order, neither could he thinke his victory was perfect, if they were not ouerthrowne aswell as the residue: therefore respecting more the glory he should get, then the perils that commonly lye lurking vnder vndiscrete aduentures, he went furiously to the charge with a squadron of horsemen, and executed vpon those that were last, by whom being enuironed and cast from his horse, or as some suppose, his horse falling vpon him whiles he fought, he was slaine with a thrust of a pike giuen him in the flanke." Book Ten of Guicciardini's *History of Italy*. Fenton's translation, p. 449.

corrupted the french discipline of Warr, which euill is vnavoydable in like warrs, where on all sydes soldiers are rather wooed, attracted and bought, then levyed, inrolled and Comaunded.

{ m.n. 57. nauall power }

The french kings haue themselues no shippes of warr or nauall //

fol:214. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:.i. power, neither haue at any time had in former ages, neither is their marchants Fleete of any great strength, nor the people much addicted to nauigation, as I haue shewed in the Chapter of Traffique. And howsoeuer they haue some good havens, and plenty of wood to builde Shippes, yet in peace their Commodities are for the most part exported by strangers. And in warr they haue neuer armed any Navye against the English, but by the helpe of the *Flemings* both for shippes and marriners, nor in the warrs of *Naples* but by the assistance of *Genoa*. /10/

{ m.n. 11 - 14. The degrees in common wealth, and Familyes, and lawes of Dowry and Inheritance. }

Cæsar in his Commentaries relates that among the old *Gaules* all the power was in the *Druides* their Preists and the Gentlemen their horsemen: that they had power of life and death ouer their wiues and Children (which of old was Common to all nations by the lawe of nature, till great

Families grew into kingdoms, and so the Parents power was translated to the kings, as Comon Fathers of all Familyes) that in their Funeralls, their most pretious goods, their dearest wiues, and seruants, were burned with their dead bodyes, and that their Common people were slaues to their lords.⁹³ /20/ Old writers witnes, that they neuer sawe their children, till they were of age and fitt to serue in the warr; that the dowry of the wife, and the increase thereof was restored to her being a widowe, and that in generall (contrary to the *Syrians*, who willingly serued other Nations) the *Celtes* and *Gaules* were great louers of their freedome.⁹⁴

By the former Relation it appeares that since the setling of the *Francks* or french kingdome, the *Peeres*, noblemen and gentlemen though subiects, yet had great priuiledges and

⁹³ "Husbands have power of life and death over their wives as well as their children/...not long ago there were people still alive who could remember the time when slaves and retainers known to have been beloved by their masters were burnt with them..." Book VI. 19. "The common people are treated almost as slaves..." Book VI. 13. Caesar, pp. 142, 143; 140.

⁹⁴ Moryson may be quoting this from memory, since much still comes from Caesar's descriptions, but slightly changed. "...children are not allowed to go up to their fathers in public until they are old enough for military service..." Book VI. 18. "When a Gaul marries he adds to the dowry that his wife brings with her a portion of his own property estimated to be of equal value. A joint account is kept of the whole amount, and the profits which it earns are put aside; and when either dies, the survivor receives both shares together with the accumulated profits." Book VI. 19. Caesar, p. 142.

some of them many Regall rights in their owne territories,
/30/ as Coyning of mony, and power of life and death,
besides authority giuen by the kings in gouernment of
Prouinces and Citties, and the Commaund of their forces,
making many of them so great, as nothing hath more troubled
the peace of *Fraunce*. Among the cheife officers of the
Crowne, only the Constable, being the cheife Officer, and
the *Chauncelor* take oath in the kings hands. The marshalls
haue great power especially in warr, and they hold their
offices for life.

The next degree vnder *Dukes*, *Earles* and *Barons*, is that of
knight *Bannerett*. Of old the cheife order of knights, was
/40/ that of *St. Michaell*, but the Queene mother after the
death of her husband, king *Henry* the second having
disgraced this order by making many knights at one tyme,
and those of meane quality, did in place thereof institute
a new order of the holy Ghost. Also *Fraunce* hath a foraine
order of knights namely those of *Malta*, which haue great
Inheritances giuen by their Progenitors, and tyed to their
posterity, so as they may seeme borne knights of this
Order, aswell noblemen as many gentlemen, but they are not
knights, till they be of ripe age, and then [are] installed
with great solemnity at *Paris*, /50/ where they haue a
Pallace belonging to them as the french History records. Of
this sort, I take to be the yonger brothers of great
Families called Knights, as *le cheualier, de Vandosme, de*

Guise, de Chastillon, and the like whome our tyme hath so stiled. Also *Fraunce* hath knights called *Cheualier de l'accolada*, that is knights of [imbracing, because in the warr vpon spetiall seruice, the king by] imbracing or hugging in his Armes, doth make them knights. Also of late king *Henry* the fourth made an order of purpose for two men who did him speciall seruice, calling them knights of honor, which wordes were written about the Iewell he gaue them to weare, having the stampe of /60/ an horseman, [For knights our kings dubb with the sword, I fynde] no such in *Fraunce*. Only *Henry* the fourth //

Booke ii. The comon wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:215.

in his late warrs to apply himselfe to the English Captaines and gentlemen made some knights in that manner, and once vppon a great victory, made all his Army knights (in Ceremoney not really) by waving his sword from an hill. These haue the quality of knights and in their titles are so styled, but only the knights of *Malta* are vulgarly so called., The *french* kings sell Gentry, and grant it by letters Pattents, as doe likewise some absolute Princes vnder him, all gentlemen are free from tributes and taxes. In generall the *french* vse great liberty of Conuersation and small reuerence to superiors. And howsoeuer /10/ some of them, for pouerty serue others, yet they will not be counted as seruants, but rather (as I may terme them) humble Companions, And they despise the English gentlemen that weare (though but for a Festiuall day) any great

lordes liuerye or badge, calling them honourable slaues. As likewise they laugh at our lords for taking greatnes vppon them, and at our inferior degrees for giuing them such respect as of old was vsed (for now that Case is altered) saying in a scoffe *Voila ce mastin' il tient sa grauitè come vn'milort d'Angleterre*. That is see there this *masty*,⁹⁵ he holds his grauity like a lord /20/ of England. For Gentlemen that marry *Plebeans* obserue the Custome of *Sedan* vnderwritten out of a Booke printed by the Prince of that Territory. For howsoeuer *Fraunce* is gouerned by the Ciuill lawe, yet many Prouinces haue diuerse Customes. The husbandmen or Country people vulgarly *Paisans* (whome we corruptly call Peasant<es>) are oppressed now as of old, and liue basely, and in great pouerty, yet somewhat better then the husbandmen or Inhabiters of villages or Country houses (vulgarly called *Villani*) in *Italy*. For which cause they are not vsed to beare Armes, lest they should torne them /30/ against their lordes. Maryed women retaine their owne names not their husbands names, as in *England*. And he that selles a Castle selles the name by which he is knowne, for the onyer⁹⁶ is not commonly called by his owne Sirname, but by the Castle where he dwelles, as *Monsieur* of such a place. For Inheritance of Children, it passeth generally by the Ciuill lawe, but euery Prouince and Citty hath seuerall

⁹⁵ "obs. and dial. form of *mastiff*." *OED*

⁹⁶ It is not in *OED*. Is this a mistake for owner?

Customes. *Guascony, Normandy,* and other Prouinces, giue little or nothing to yonger brothers (called *Cadetts*) but all to the Eldest, I meane all discending Inheritance from Ancestors, and though /40/ purchased lands may be disposed at the *Testators* will, yet commonly they are also giuen to the eldest sonne, only tyed by nature to support and bestow his yonger brothers and sisters. In *Picardy* the yonger sonnes and daughters among them, haue only sixst and fifth of fist part, and that only for life, the rest going all to the eldest sonne, And for these Customes I desyre the Reader to obserue the following Customes of *Sedan*, taken out of a Booke printed by a Prince of that territory. For widowes estates, they are also generally carryed by the Ciuill lawe, But the Customes of Prouinces & Citties /50/ are in like sort very diuerse. The wiues commonly haue a Ioynture made before marriage, otherwise being widowes they haue the thirds of all lands (the husband alwayes having the power to dispose of purchased lands by his last will, and respect being had of his debts according to Ciuill lawe). The wiues dowrye is carryed by the Ciuill lawe, so as the husband //

fol:216. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap.i.

dying without Children, it reuertes to her and to her kindred, were it land or ready mony, For diuerse Customes in Cases of Inheritance dowry and Ioynture, I wish the Reader to obserue the said Customes of *Sedan*, to which other places of *Fraunce* are in some sort consonant.

To conclude the education of their Children is with great liberty not with the English awfulness,⁹⁷ insomuch as I remember a freind of myne sending his sonne at eleuen yeares of age into *Fraunce* when he returned at the yeares end, he saluted his father with the kisse of his hand, and bending of his body, and being reprod, that /10/ he did not aske blessing on his knees answered, *Ce n'est pas la mode de Fraunce*. It is not the fashion of *Fraunce*.

{ m.n. 14, 15. *The iustice and Courts of Iustice.* }

Touching the Iustice and Courts of Iustice, *Fraunce* is generally gouerned by the Ciuill lawe, by the Edicts of the king throughout the kingdome, and particular lords Edicts, in their owne Territoryes, and by the seuerall Customes of seuerall places, with arbitrary [power in the Iudges to increase or mitigate all] punishments according to the Circumstances of the fact. The Papists Consistoryes [Iudge] after the Common lawe, but the reformed churches after reformed Constitutions, and generally in the reformed churches great Iustice is /20/ done for breaches of Gods lawe, by drunkennes, swearing, dauncing, Feasting, and the

⁹⁷ Moryson follows Roger Ascham about English "awfulness", the instilling of awe by chastisement, in education. Ascham tries to reverse the trend as the following shows. Mr. Haddon (Walter Haddon?) said "...that the best Scholemaster of our time, was the greatest beater,...I said somewhat farder/ in the matter, how, and whie, yong children, were soner allured by loue, than driuen by beating, to atteyne good learning..." Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London, 1570), [STC 832], sigs. Blv/B2.

like.

For the Courtes of Iustice, eight supreme Courts of Iustice vulgarly Parlements, are Instituted in Fraunce, namely that of Paris, that of Granoble, that of Tholouse, that Bourdeaux, that of Dyon for Burdondy, that of Ruogan, that of Aix, that of Bretanye. I call them supreme, because for any act done in any one of the Iurisdictions, there is no appeale fro[m] any of them, all Iudging w^uithout appeale, vulgarly called *Dernier resort*, Only the Iurisdiction of the /30/ Parament⁹⁸ at Paris extendeth ouer all Fraunce, as it was in the possession of the [.] olde kings, excepting Flaunders to which Frances the first (taken prisoner in the warre of Italy) is sayd to haue renounced all his Progenitors right, to the Emperor Charles the fyfth, so as howsoeuer the act of a Captiue king may well be questioned, yet from that day to this Flaunders ceased to be reputed a member of Fraunce, and the same Emperor by a newe lawe tooke from the Flemings all appeales they were wont to make to the Court of Parliament at Paris, and so they remayne subiect /40/ to his successors the kings of Spayne w^uithout any relation to the French king as supreme lord of the Fee. The other Parlements belong to Certayne Provinces, of olde subiect to absolute lords, and since at diuers tymes and by diuers meanes vnited to the kingdome of Fraunce, still

⁹⁸ Parlement.

retayning their old Iurisdictions and preuileges graunted
of old by their Princes, and increased to some of them by
the French kings. Thus Daulpheny⁹⁹ was vnited to Fraunce by
Vmbertus Prince thereof, who vpon his sonnes death, being
pressed with a warr against the Duke of Savoy, and /50/
therein supported by the French king Phillip of Valoys,
vnited the succession of that Principality to the kingdome
of Fraunce, vpon condition that the kings eldest sonne
should beare the tytle of Daulphin) as of old the Roman
Emperors chosen to succede Augusti were called Cæsares,
and as at this day they whome chosen to succede the liuing
Emperor, are called kings of the Romans. And this Prouince
still hath his supreme Parliament at Grenoble. In like sorte
Normandy gotten by warr hath a supreme Parliament at Roan,
likewise Britanny vnited by marryage in the tymes of
Charles /60/ //

Booke ii The Commowealth of Fraunce Chap.i. fol.2i7.

the eight and lewis the twelfth, and in like manner the
other Prouinces, retayne their supreme Parlements. The
Parlament at Paris is reputed cheefe, as hauing the largest
Iurisdiction ouer all Fraunce, and being the kings Court of
Iustice, and so hauing the greatest priuiledges. Therefore
I will speake only of this Parliament, by which coniecture
may be made of the rest. Of old the first kings of Fraunce,
Iudged the peoples causes in their owne persons, or by

⁹⁹ Dauphiné.

theire Prefect of the Pallace, and other Princes of the Court, and all suites and differences be/10/tweene subiectes followed the court wheresoeuer it remoued, till the multitude of causes made the kinges weary of Iudging, and the people of following the Court. Wherevpon this Court or Parliament was established in the kings Pallace at Paris, where to this day it is helde, in the tyme of king Phillip the fayre. It is tyed to no lawes, but Iudgeth after right and equity, and the Iudges Consciencs, yet directed by the Ciuill lawe and the Kings edictes for the most part. The Peeres of the kingdome, the Princes of the Royall blood, the Bishop of /20/ Paris, and the Abott of St Denis, haue voyces in Iudgment, and of old all the Archbishoppes and Bishops had likewise voyces, till all the rest were deprived of this priuiledge to the ende they might euery one depart to gouerne his owne diocest. Yea not only the sayd Peeres and Princes, but the king himselfe, are Aussessors with the Iudges in the golden Chamber, being the cheefe trybunall of this Court. For it hath diuers tribunalls or chambers, wherein diuers Iudges Iudge diuers sortes of Causes. King Charles the seuenth did institute /30/ some Presidents of this Parliament, who pronouncing theire sentences, the other Counselors or assistant Iudges (by him likewise instituted, fyftyne of the layety and fiftine of the Clargy) doe in honor to them rise vp and stand vpon theire feete. Likewise in the second chamber or tribunall, two Presidents were Instituted, and 24 Assessors

of the Clargy, and sixtene of the laiety. Likewise in the third chamber two Presidents with their Assessors. These Iudges may not depart the Citt^y without leaue, to the ende that the decrees made in a more frequent /40/ assembly might be of greater Authority, but a vacation is yearely proclamed from the i4 of August to the 12th of November. And when any assessor dyeth, a newe is chosen in his place by the voyces of the other Iudges. King Henry the second limited the nomber of Counselors, and made a lawe to prevent that vnworthy men should not by bribes obtayne those places of Iudgment, but that the most worthy, of. 30. yeares age, should be admitted therevnto. From the tyme of King Fraunces the first, his Parliament had foure other tribunalls or chambers, /50/ and of these seauen chambers six Iudge Ciuill causes and the seauenth Criminall, which seauenth is vulgaly called *Tournelles*, because newe Iudges are by tornes appointed, lest the same Iudges continually employed in Capitall Iudgments, should perhapps proue lesse tender and mylde towards them [them] that are to be iudged. Sansouine an Italian writeth that at first one tribunall was instituted to which appeale is graunted from the inferior trybunalls Instituted after the same. //

fol:2i8. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

The number of Aduocates to pleade causes is infinite, as the french are in nature prone to haue differences one with the other,. The decree of the Iudges is vulgarly called

Arrest¹⁰⁰ made by the greater part of the Iudges voyces, from which there is no appeale graunted, no not to the king, yet sometymes vppon speciall occasion the king by his Edict commaunds a cause to be Iudged againe, if perhapps any error may be found in the former decree. This Court or Parliament being at first admitted by the kings to approue their Edicts lest by ill Counsell any vnfitt /10/ thing should passe their hands, hath by that Custome challenged authority to censure and abrogate the kings Edicts, to determine of peace and warr, and to limitt or make voyd the kings guifts. And this authority it hath most exercised vnder weake kings and in Ciuill broyles, Otherwise it hath only for forme medled with these high affayres, as with liberty to giue free advise to the kings. For many tymes after long debating the kings haue made them approue their wills once peremptorily signified. In this sort the *french* History records that king *Henry* /20/ the fourth established in the kingdome after the Ciuill warrs, by a wise oration perswaded, and by his peremptory will ouerruled this Court, forcing it to confirme his fauourable Edict of peace to the Protestants. So as no doubt the king hath power ouer it, but according to his greater or lesse wisdome and might, and according the to the State of tymes, it more readily or hardly yeildes to his power; yet so great is the power of this Parliament reputed, as when the Emperor *Charles* the

¹⁰⁰ An *arrêt* is a decree. NH

fifth released the Captiue king *Frauncis* the first, he required the Condi^{ti}/₃₀/^{ons} of his inlargment to be confirmed by this Court.

Among the Aduocates some laudable Customes are obserued, namely That in pleading, without any excursions from the matter, or reproches against the aduerse. party, they shall summarily¹⁰¹ and modestly open the Causes. That they be not admitted to pleade who haue not degree in some vniuersity. And that they shalbe compelled to pleade the causes of the poore without any Fee, if it be knowne to the Iudges that they are truely poore. But the french Historiographer *Ian de Serres* relates Edicts made by the king *Henry* the fourth against /40/ these Aduocates for their extortions, whereof the last was so strict as they gaue vpp their hoods, and pleaded no more till the king recalled that Edict. The french generally complayned [ing] of Petyfogerye¹⁰² and bribing among the lawyers both Aduocates and Iudges, in taking excessiue Fees, and in drawing each processe to a tedious length, and in that no cause could be ended, till the Iudges were sollicitated (that is in playne English bribed). But the truth is that the kings selling of Offices, is the cause of all bribery, and Corruption, since

¹⁰¹ Summary a "2. Law...by the omission of certain formalities..." *OED*

¹⁰² This is an earlier instance of Pettifoggery meaning "legal chicanery" than any quoted in *OED*.

he that buyes must sell or miraculously liue by /50/
losse[s].

Besydes this high Court or Parliament of *Paris*, there be in
that Citty other inferior Tribunalls of Iustice as that
called *Chat<e>let[t]*,¹⁰³ having two vicars or
leiufetenants, the one for Ciuill the other for Criminall
Causes, who (as the Iudges //

Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:2i9.

in *England* goe halfe yearely Circuites) two twice each
yeare doe Iustice in the Castles belonging to the foresaid
Iurisdiction. Likewise the Court Iudge called *Prouost de
Hostell*, setts at the Marble table of the foresaid Pallace,
and iudgeth causes belonging to the Iustice of the Citty.
And to the same Marble table belongs the Court *d[e]'Eaux et
<F>orrests*, that is of waters and Forrests. To conclude as
vnder the Court or Parliament of *Paris*, so vnder the other
forenamed seuen supreme Courts, are diuerse inferior Courts
or Tribunalls, from all which appeale is graunted to the
supreme Court of each Iurisdiction /10/ and to no other.

¹⁰³ Cotgrave spells the word "Chastelet:m. A little
Castle, Fort or Hould; also a Court, or Auditorie of
Iustice; a Guild-hall, or (ordinarie) Sessions house,
within a citie, wherein both ciuile, and criminall causes
are heard, and determind by a Lieutenant, or Prouost
(royall) and certaine assistant Counseillers..." See Randle
Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongves*
(London, 1611), [STC 5830], and referred as Cotgrave
hereafter. *Châtelet* or little castle is a part of Paris on
the Seine, presumably where this court once sat. NH

{ m.n. 12, 13. *Particular Princes of Fraunce.* }

Thus much breifely for the generall gouernment and Ciuill Iustice of *Fraunce*. Now because I haue said that some of the Princes of *Fraunce* though subiect to the king, yet haue ample priuiledges, yea Regall rights, as power of life and death, and of Coyning monyes, and a kinde of absolute power ouer the Inhabitants of their owne territories, giue me leaue for illustration thereof to make some obseruations out of the lawes [enacted], and ordinances enacted by *Henrye Robert de la Marke Duke of Buillon* and Soueraigne lord /20/ of *Sedan, Iamects*¹⁰⁴ &c for the ordering of Iustice in his *Soueraigne Lordshipps* aforesaid, with the generall Customes of the same, signed by the *Duke* and 14 of his Counsell, and published in print in the yeare 1568.¹⁰⁵

The Prince suppresseth the Iurisdiction of the Prouost & Sheriffs of *Sedan* establishing only the Iurisdiction of his Bailey or his lieutenant,¹⁰⁶ yet permitting the Citizens still to chuse Sheriffes and them to sett ioyntly with his Bailye and Assistants, and take knowledge of the gouernment

¹⁰⁴ Jametz is on the north-west border of France.

¹⁰⁵ *BMCG* does not list this particular edition, but it does have other collections of law published under the aegis of the de la Marck family. The *Ducs de Bouillon* were *princes étrangers*, independent princes, "...near the summit of the heirarchy" of the *noblesse d'épée*, the nobility of the sword and blood. John Lough *An Introduction to Seventeenth Century France* (London, 1954), p. 62.

¹⁰⁶ The *bailli* was a bailiff or chief administrative officer of his Prince. NH

of that Citty. The said Bailye or his lieutenant to iudge
/30/ all Causes Ciuill and Criminall of any his subiects
whatsoever. To Iudge all personall Causes to the somme of
Fifty pounds Turnois without appeale (i2 deniers or pence
make a Sols, and 20 Sols a liure or pound, that is ij
shillings English. He must haue at least 4. Assistants or
Counsellors, *Graduates*, and practised men, himselfe to be
the fifth, and the Iudgments to be decreed by most voyces.
To iudge Criminall Causes against theeues, Spies vagrant
persons, and having no dwelling, Coyners &c to the sentence
of death without appeale, but the Inhabitants /40/ and
those that haue dwellings, for Corporall punishments or
Fynes aboue 25 pounds Turnois may appeale to the Prince,
and these appeales shalbe iudged by his Counsell, or such
Iudges as he appoints of purpose twice in the yeare, at
October and *Aprill*, by Soueraigne Iudgment. But for
appeales from inferior Magistrates of villages, and from
chosen Arbitrators, the said Bailye with such assistants as
he will take, shall Iudge them without appeale. The said
bailye to keepe the Princes seale, and his Fees for the
seale, and all kindes of process are limited particularly,
/50/ //

fol:220. Booke.i. The comon wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

as also for his iourneyes out of the Citty for exercise of
Iustice with Commaund to defray his owne Charges and ne¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ "Neither" ?

directly nor indirectly to haue them borne by the parties whome the Cause Concernes,. To take no Fee for Iudicatory acts. To sett euery *wednesday* and *Saterdag*, and to expedite Causes. To keepe three Assizes yearely, the first pleading day of *Ianuary*, of *May*, and of *September*, and the Prince yearely to keepe one high day of Iustice in person, to take knowledge of his Subiects greiuances, which shalbe pro proclaymed i5 dayes before, that all officers may appeare /10/ to answer Complaints against them.

That Maiors Sheriffes, and inferior officers of villages because chosen by ignorant Common people, shall iudge only petty Causes vnder sixty shillings *Turnois*, not at all medle with Criminall Causes, but only to examine and apprehend presently informing the said Bailye thereof. They may take Inventories of Pupills goods, and a Fee (i2 deniers *Turnois* of each liure or pound) if the goods exceede 20 liures *Turnois*, vnder it nothing. To haue no share (as formerly) in Fynes of delinquents, lest they should impose them for priuate /20/ gayne. The Princes Attorney commaunded to punish Aduocates pleading without modesty, and with reproches. To be a Father to Pupills and widowes, and all his Fees are particularly sett downe. If vppon Information he accuse any man that is after absolued, he is tyed to make knowne the Informer, that the accused may haue right against him in lawe.

For ending Causes by Arbitriment, that they be not drawne in length to impouerish the Subiects, and especially that kinsmen, and Allyes may not come before ordinary Iudges /30/ to breake or weaken the bond of their loue, ordayned for the said Allyes, that for all differences, Arbitrators shalbe Chosen by consent; and either part refusing or delaying, tyme shalbe prefixed, in which Iudges by them shalbe named, and for fault of naming them within the tyme, they shalbe appointed by the Bailey of Sedan, of the best and nearest kindred, and in default of them, of the best reputed Burgesses. To which Arbitrement the parties shalbe tyed vppon paine prescribed in their Articles of that agreement, which forfeitures the partie[s] greiued shall pay without /40/ hope of recouery, before he shall appeale to the Prince for redresse, and in the meane tyme also the sentence of the Arbitrators shalbe executed with Caution of restitution if vppon appeale any thing be altered. And the sentence of Arbitrators once [ended] [entred] with consent, shall stand firme as a Iudgment, without liberty after to make any appeale. But during the tyme of difference, none of the Arbitrators eate or drinck with either of the parties, nor they with them. For Registers prescribed them to write 25 lynes in each syde of a [a sheete] paper, and fifteene sillables in each /50/ lyne, and all their Fees are sett downe, the receipt whereof, they must testify vnder their hands. And they must take nothing for Interrogatories of witnesses examined, but only for the

grosse Roll.¹⁰⁸

Booke.ii. The comon wealth of Fraunce Chap:i. fol:221.

All Aduocates shall sweare to pleade no ill cause, but to dehort¹⁰⁹ the parties from pursuing it, vppon penalty arbitrary they shall pleade breifely without impertinent words, and modestly without all reproche to any partye, and with due reuerence to Iustice, and without seeking any exactions or delays, and their Fees are particularly prescribed for each pleading five *Sols Turnois*, or tenn if the cause be great, and require the veiwe of diuerse Acts &c.

Two Notaries appointed to receiue Contracts & obligations, and seuerally punished if founde to vse fraude in any act. /10/ For prooffe of mens ages and mariages, ordayned that all ministers and Curates shall write the dayes of births and mariages, with the names and Sirnames of them and their Parents, and signing this writing vnder the hand of a Notary and sufficient witnesses, shall yearely present it to the Iudge to be registred, that full Creditt may be giuen therevnto. The ministers or Curates to answer the partyes for all damages vppon fayling therein, and to be

¹⁰⁸ "They must take no fees for recording the examination of witnesses, but only for the official legal record." *OED*

¹⁰⁹ An antonym of exhort, to dissuade. *OED*

punished arbitrarily.

All Contracts held voyde that are made in Tauernes, and /20/ all guiftes in life or by Testament to Concubynes, whereby vice receiues reward, which shall not retorne to the Giuer, but goe to deeds of Almes.

In all suits of lawe, straungers having no houses shall giue Caution to the Iudge, and Subiects dwelling in other Townes shall chuse a house in Sedan to be reputed theirs for deliuering all Processes, and fayling to chuse a house their Attornyes house shalbe reputed theirs. In no case more then <.> witnesses to be examined, all aboue to be voyde.

Touching gentlemen living as gentlemen, and horse of men of /30/ the ordinances in regarde they defend the State by their Armes, they haue certaine priuiledges, whereof I will name some. Whereas all other Subiects are tyed to answer suits in lawe at a peremptory day assigned, they haue eight dayes allowed to consult of their Cause, and there shalbe no proceeding against them while they are absent in seruice, and eight dayes after their retourne. And they are made free of all Tributes and Tolls, so they trade not as marchants directly or indirectly, and they are free from

watchings,¹¹⁰ and like duties in tyme of peace, euen those that are free from /40/ seruice, for age, sicknes or any infirmity.

In Criminall Causes, Forraynors may be arrested before the Information be proued, but no Citizens that haue dwelling houses, and he that accuseth vniustly, shalbe imprisoned till he haue paid all Charges, and damages to the accused. If the accused appeare not, a day of appearance shalbe assigned him vppon payne of banishment, and Confiscation of his goods. The goods of the condemned to death shalbe confiscated, whether the party be prisoner or fledd. The condemned to death for treason or maiesty violated (ether humane as /50/ attempts against the Princes person, houses, and goods, or diuine as Atheists, libertines, Anabaptists and other condemned sects, shall haue their goods mouable and vnmouable confiscated. And the condemned to death for other Crymes shall haue //

fol:222. Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:1.

their goods [mouable and vnmouable goods] confiscated. [And the condemned to death, for the C.....sh ..h..e their goods confiscated] in like sort if they haue no Children, otherwise all expences of Iustice, Fynes and Ciuill damages shalbe deducted, and the rest goe to the Children, and the widowe to haue their Dowrye, and her part of the goods

¹¹⁰ We would say "keeping watch" or "guarding".

gained in marriage, as likewise the husband whose wife is condemned to death.

A debtor to a marchant shall besides the debt pay him interest after the xijth penny, but to a labourer or hyred /10/ person his detayned [double] wages shalbe paid double, for Iudgments giuen by the Baily or his Leiutenant in Soueraignty without appeale (vulgarly *In dernier resort*) yet by way of supplication the partyes greiued may shew error in the fact, and deceite and fraude in his aduerse party, paying first in Caution the Fyne imposed where the cause shalbe iudged against them.

If any by Information obtayne the Princes letters to draw their cause out of the Common forme of Iustice, notwithstanding these letters, the Iudge shall duely pro/20/ceede, and also Fyne arbitrarily the procurer of these letters.

Letters of dispensation of making gentlemen, of legitimation, and pardons for killing in defence of themselues, shall only be giuen by the Prince, not by any his Captaine or officers.

And all letters against forme of Iustice, and other pardons, as of Homicide, obtayned by misinformation shalbe voyde, and the Iudges shall duely proceede; Neither shall

any haue benefitt of like letters, if within three monethes he present /30/ them not in the Court of Iustice to be read, himselfe kneeling, and bare headed the while. To preuent mariages without consent of Parents and Tutors through carnall lust, or seduction of others ordayned. That father and mother may disinheritt them for so doing, and may reuoke all former donations they haue made to them. That such children shalbe vncapable to haue benefitt by any such matrimoniall Convention, or by any lawe or Customes concerning the rights of mariage. That such Children and Pupills, and the Contriuers of such mariages shalbe arbitrarily punished /40/ by the Iudges, as the Case shall require. Prouided the sonne so marrying be not full 25, and the daughter 22 yeares old, in which case yet they shalbe tyed to aske their Parents advise and Counsell. And prouided their mother be not remarried, in which case they shall aske her aduise and Counsell, and shall not be tyed to stay till they [haue] her consent. That no Children whose Parents are dead, [mayy] may without aduise and Consent of their Tutors, and next of kinne by father and mother, vppon payne of exemplary punishment of themselues, their seducers, and ayders. /50/

Touching Crimes, it is inacted that all murtherers, Robbers, Spyes, and lyers in waite vppon the high way, setters of houses, and such like things on fyer, Poysoners Forgers, of false mony, their faouurers and adherents, and

they which by agreement with them vtter those monyes,¹¹¹
all Rauishers of women and virgins, all guilty of treason
to the Prince or to God (as hath bene expressed before) all
these shalbe putt to death, the manner of it left to the
discretion of the Iudge. Harlotts destroying their children
any [way] so depriuing them of Baptisme, and Christian
buriall, /60/ shalbe putt to death with such rigor as the
Case requireth, to make them examples to others, and they
which shall conceale their being with Childe, and shall not
haue sufficient wit=//

Booke.ii. The commonwealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:223.

nesses at that tyme of their deliuery, that the Children
dyed naturally, shalbe reputed guilty of this Crime. A
maryed woman committting adultery, shalbe putt to death.
Marryed men committting adultery with maryed women, shall
likewise be putt to death. And other kindes of Adultery by
the maryed with the vnmarryed shalbe rigorously, and
exemplarily punished, according to the Case and persons at
the discretion of the Iudge, but not putt to death for the
first [tyme] And simple fornication shalbe punished in like
sort, so as Conniencye¹¹² and fauor may not increase the
sinne. All weomen and /10/ virgins noted by common
bruite¹¹³ for vnchastitye, shabe banished out of the

¹¹¹ utter v 1 "2. a. ...to pass or circulate (base coin...) as legal tender." *OED*

¹¹² An obselete form of "connivence." *OED*

¹¹³ "2. Report noised abroad, rumour...arch." *OED*

Territories as Contagious members, and if they retorne shalbe whipped, and they who receiue them into any house or dwelling shalbe fyned in mony asmuch as the yeares rent of the house. All false witnesses in Ciuill or Criminall Causes shalbe putt to death, or corporally punished, as the Cause requireth at the discretion of the Iudge. And they who vse false witnesses or forge false writings shalbe punished corporally at the discretion of the Iudge. Those that sell false wares or by false measures, /20/ shall for the first tyme be fined in mony, and at other tymes corporally punished at the discretion of the Iudge, besides satisfaction to the party wronged by them. Robbers by day or night with breaking into houses shalbe putt to death. House robbers otherwise, and purse Cutters, shall for the first tyme be whipped, or otherwise corporally punished as the Case requireth, and banished for euer, and if they retorne, and offend the second tyme, shalbe putt to death. He that buyes Corne on the ground before it putt forth, or be ripe, and before the moneth of *Iuly*, shalbe fined, and /30/ corporally punished at the discretion of the Iudge, .¹¹⁴

All vsurers shalbe sett at great Fynes, and Corporally punished if the Case require, the third part of the Fynes to goe to the Informer,. They that mingle wynes, or fill

¹¹⁴ Is this because in so doing, the purchaser is presuming God's favour of an ample harvest ?

them vpp with water, shalbe whipped, and make satisfaction to the party wronged for the first tyme, and falling againe into that fault, shalbe more rigorously punished at the discretion of the Iudge. All they of what condition soeuer, that shall sweare, and blaspheme the holy name of God, shall pay for the first tyme 60 *Sols Tournois*, the second tyme doble, /40/ and after be corporally punished at the discretion of the Iudge. If any renounce or cause the holy name of God, and committ like execrable blasphemyes, they shall for the first tyme pay a good Fine to God, to the Prince, and to Iustice, and falling againe into the same fault, and in the case of enormous blasphemyes shalbe more rigorously punished, euen corporally according to the quality of the fault, and the persons. which Iustice shalbe exercised strictly not only towards the Citizens, and inferior subiects, but euen towards the Princes seruants, and aswell his, as the kings soldiers vnder his Commaund. /50/ All that heare any sweare or blaspheme, shall reueale it to the Court of Iustice vppon paine of 20 *Sols Tournois*, and for the Fynes of offenders, one third part shall goe to the Informer, an other third to the poore mans boxe, and the last third to the Prince. To auoyde all temptations to vice, forbidding all publike dances, filthy songs, dising, Carding, Maskes, Mummeries, Feasts of villages druncken meetings, and like dissolute Courses vppon payne of 20 *Sols, tournois //*

fol:224. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

for each offence, and greater punishment at the Iudges discretion. If any young people vnder age, and vnder the power of others, shall banquet in any Inn or Tauerne, the master of the house shalbe fyned 60 Sols, and shall leese¹¹⁵ their expence, which shall not be recouerable by action at lawe. That no Iudges or Officers or Aduocates shalbe assistant to Contracts made in Tauernes, or [frequent] be themselues feasted by others in Tauernes or frequent such houses to eate, and drinck vppon payne of the Nullity of any Contract, or act of Iustice so done, /10/ [the suspention] the suspention of their offices for a yeare and arbitrary Fine. In like sort they shall not be feasted or take the wyne of any parties in lawe, either at the Tauerne, the parties or their owne houses, to auoyde all suspition of Corruption. Any man founde drunck in the Citty, shalbe putt in prison, and there fast with bread and water 24 howers, and shall pay a Fyne 20 Sols *tournois* the first tyme, and vppon relaps a greater Fyne, both Fynes to the poore, and if the Iaylor suffer them to haue any thing but bread and water, he /20/ shalbe fined 60 Sols *turnois*. If any man draw Pupills or any young people vnder age to play at dice or Cards he shalbe fyned arbitrarily, and restore what they haue lost,. For many abuses the fraternities of Artizans, their meetings and Feasts, and gathering of mony for such purposes, are forbidden vppon

¹¹⁵ "Lose", as again on fol. 226.

paine of a great Fine, or Corporall punishment at the discretion of the Iudge. The Citizens and people are forbidden to fight or giue ill words vppon payne to pay 60 Sols, or a greater Fyne at the Iudges discretion. And if they or any of the Prin/30/ces Court shall drawe either sworde, or dagger or like weapon, he shall pay 100 Sols though no body be hurt or maymed, and 200 if it be done at a Fayre or publike Assembly, or any man be hurt, and if the party hurt dyeth, the other shalbe putt to death. And whosoeuer shutes a Pistoll at any man shalbe punished Corporally at the discretion of the Iudge. He that wrongs any man in his house by deede or worde, shall pay a 100 Sols if he doe it by day, and 200 if he doe it by night, and if these wrongs be done with intent to robb or steale, shalbe putt to death. /40/ And he that offers force to any keeping Cattle in the feild, he shalbe punished as if the force had bene done in his house. Whosoeuer rayseth a Crye of murther or the like, to stirr vpp the people, shalbe fined at the discretion of the Iudge. They that fight single Combatts shall haue their goods confiscated, but the greiued shall Complayne to the Iudge for reparation. They that are not able to pay the Fynes imposed, shalbe punished Corporally, or condemned to serue for a tyme in the Princes Fortifications and woorkes. The Prince giuing them bread and water, and /50/ shalbe beaten with Cudgells if they leaue the woorke. They that are banished for euer, if they retorne, shalbe whipped for the first tyme, and putt to

death the second tyme, and they that lodge them shalbe fyned.

Any man of what quality soeuer, that shall hunt in the Princes Forrests, or lay netts or snares to cath Partridges Connyes, hares &c. shalbe fined 100 Sols, first tyme, double //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:225.

the second tyme, and punished corporally the third tyme. That no man may comitt robberyes, steale wood, or committ like abuses in the Forrests, all Fathers and masters shall answer the faults of their Children and seruants. The Princes officers may not vppon payne of death deliuer vppon sales of wood, any great[er] quantity to any man, then he hath bought.

The Citizens may fish with an Angle, but all fishing other wise or making fish druncken fyned Sixty Sols.¹¹⁶

All offices are in the Princes guift. All vacant goods /10/ belong to the Prince, except some man proue heyre apparent to the deceased within five yeares after due proclamation

¹¹⁶ It would seem impossible to make fish drunk. Perhaps drunken is meant in OED's sense 5 of uneven, unsteady. Salmon-poachers stun their prey by the shockwaves caused by hitting the rocks under which they bask with a sledgehammer. Tilley records two proverbs, "F299 As drunk as a Fish", and "F325 To drink like a Fish", although the passages from which he quotes are a little later than this.

made, or in the case of Minority within tenn yeares. If any in the Princes Territory dye in tyme of warr seruing a Contrary part to the Prince and so bearing Armes against him, his heyre shall not inherritt his goods moueable, or vnmoueable, but they shalbe confiscated to the Prince. Euery Citizen payes the Prince yearely for his person twenty pence *Turnois*, and a straunger made Citizen payes him five *Sols*, and a Citizens sonne succeeding /20/ his father payes two *Sols*, and six pence *turnois*. The subiects are bound vppon a penalty to bake and grynde their bread and Corne at the Princes Bakehouses and mills, so they stay not aboue six howres. A portion of all graine sold in the markt is due to the Prince, and a portion of mony for the salt, as likewise for all wyne sold. Euery litle beast sold, as sheepe, hoggs, &c payes the Prince fower pence *tournois*, and the greater as Cowes, pay double, and the like payment for all beasts exported. He that buyes any inheritance, payes the Prince six pence in each /30/ pound *Turnois*, according to the price. All marchants pay tax for theire goods passing to and fro by water or land, and all subiectes for household stoffe in like sorte remoued, and for Corne and hay.

Touching the priuileges of the Cittizens of Sedan, they chuse [for two] for two yeares two Sheriffes who are assistants to the Princes Baly in governing the Citty, and likewise chuse a Recorder or procter to sollicite theire

causes: the Citty hath three fayres yearely, but they are putt off to the next day if they fall vpon Sunday, in /40/ which fayres and marketts they pay no tribute for things sold in their priuate houses.

The Cittizens pay no tribute for provisions bought for their owe houses. But no man may be made Cittizen without the Princes graunt, nor otherwise may leave the Citty to liue elsewhere. The Princes Baly,¹¹⁷ his leiftannt, and the Princes Proctor or Attorney and the Citizens two Shreifes and Proctor chosen for two yeares, and six of the cheefe Cittizens governe the affayres of the Citty, [of the] whose decree b[l]yndes all the Cittizens as /50/ present and consenting all wayes reseruing their appeale to the Prince. And more spetially this Counsell makes degrees for matte<r>[r]s of vittles, and the price of the same in Inns, changing each two months according to the cheepenes or death of the tyme,¹¹⁸ and also for abuses of marchants and their wares, allso for Clensing the Citty, also for noting strangers Comming to the Citty, and whether they tend, and how Armed, also to appoint visiters to make all Cloth, Lether, and like wares, allowed to be //

{ c.w. solde: Also to make }

fol:226. Booke.ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

¹¹⁷ This is probably Moryson's transcription of *bailli*, which can mean a magistrate, judge or bailiff.

¹¹⁸ Dearth meant death among the hard pressed peasantry.

Also to marke all measures, and waights, and burne all those that are false, punishing all that sell by false measures and weights. Also that due price may be sett vppon wyne and like things, the buyer vppon oathe shall declare, what they cost him withall charges; Also that two cheife horse corsers ouersee the selling of horses, declaring the faults of the horses to the buyers vppon payne to beare the losses of the buyers, and to leese their offices, and warranting them sounde, so as within Eight dayes found not to be sounde they may be brought back, and the mony /10/ restored to the buyer. Also to punish Butchers that sell ill flesh, blowe it vpp, or vse any fraude in selling; Also that bread be alwayes of one weight, and sold according to the price sett by the visiters, alterable each 15 dayes: each baker marking his bread that it may be knowne, and bakers offending to be fyned, the second tyme double, and the third tyme corporally punished; Also that nothing brought to the Markett, be sold before it come into the markt. Also that no man walke in the streetes after seuen of the Clock in the /20/ winter, and nyne in sommer, with any weapon, except he haue a Torche or light; Also that Collection be made for the poore, and if any doe after begg in the Cittye, to be punished, and these that are able, to woorke in the Princes Fortifications for bread, and water. The Cittye gate to haue three keyes, one kept by the Princes Captaine, the second by the Sheriffe of the Cittye, the third by a cheefe Citizen chosen by the Counsell.

Touching the Customes of the said Princes forenamed, territories. They are reputed noble [whose Fathers [.] are noble,] though the mother be /30/ a Plebean, but the noble mother makes not the sonne noble, if the father be a Plebean, vulgarly called *Roturier*.¹¹⁹ A woman a Plebean having a noble husband is reputed noble during his life, and while she is widowe, except she after marry[es] a Plebean; But a gentlewoman marryed to a Plebean leeseth her Nobility during the mariage and no longer, Children are in the power of their Parents till they be twenty yeares old, or be maryed, or be mancipated, that is with the knowledge of their Parents doe exercise Traffique, or other estate, or publique Charge. /40/ Fruites having rootes, are counted vnmoueable goods, yet Corne sowne by the Parents and the fruites of the yeare after *May*, and Fish in Ponds after three yeares and wood that is sold, though it be not yet cutt downe, are reputed moueable goods, and parted among the Children. All household stufte that may be remoued without spoyling, and without damage to the house, are reputed moueable goods, but Portalls, glasse of the windowes, and such things intended to remayne for euer to the house, are reputed, vnmoueable, and all munitions, and Armes in /50/ in Forts and Castles are reputed vnmoueable, As likewise Prouisions for victualls for the Soldiers, but

¹¹⁹ Cotgrave defines this word as "A Yeoman, or Plebeyan; a Ploughman, a Husbandman; any lay man that is no Gentleman."

not for the household For lands holden in Fee, If the vassall sell his Fee the lord shall haue the fifth penny of the price. The vassall succeeding shall only doe his homage, and pay a Crowne to the lord, The vassall giving his Fee to a straunger, the lord shall haue a yeares profitt, as likewise if the Fee fall to collaterall succession,. If a Fee be sold to a straunger //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:227.

the lorde may take it to himselfe at the price within forty dayes after the sale is made knowne to him, yet any of the sellers linnage shalbe preferred before the lord, if he will giue the price. A Fee may be alienated for three yeares without paying anything to the lord. He that succedes in a Fee, shall doe homage, and sweare fidelitye within forty dayes, otherwise the Fee retornes to the lord. If any deny his land to hold of the Lord, the Fee shall fall to the lord vppon his prooffe [t]of the tenure. Assoone as the husband and wife are maryed, their goods moueable /10/ and the vnmoueable after purchased while they shall liue in mariage, are Common to both, as also debts and obligations aswell before as after mariage. A widow noble or Plebean may within eight dayes of her husbands death renounce his moueable goods, and so be freed from his debts, and the Common debts of mariage to be payd by the hyre,¹²⁰ but shall pay her owne debts before mariage; and

¹²⁰ Has the "e" been dropped ? Should it read "Heyre"?

she shall enjoy her dowrye and her part of vnmoueable goods [purchased] in mariage, alwayes paying her part that may be owing for the purchase of these vnmoueables. The surviuing husband or wife, shall besides /20/ their part haue their apparrell they vse to weare on sondayes. A woman maryed cannot giue or sell her Inheritance without consent of her husband by any act, but her last will or Conveyance to that purpose. If a husband liberally make guift to his wife of his goods, when she being widowe marryes againe, she shall not dispose those goods to her second husband, his or their Children, but at her death shall giue them among [the] Children of the first husband, of whose liberalitye she had them, and the same law tyes the husband receiuing guifts of his wife, but noe guift shalbe of force /30/ giuen in sicknes. All persons fully 25 yeares old, may in life giue to whome they will their moueable goods, and the vnmouable purchased by them, but the proper by succession shall fall to their lawfull heyres. A Father may giue his bastard the sixth part of his mouables, and of the vnmoueables purchased, but the vnmoueable shall turne to the heyre, if the bastard dye without lawfull Children, and may not be alienated by him, And if the father hath not sufficient moueables and purchased vnmoueables, he may giue his base sonne to the sixth part of his proper Inheritance by succession /40/ to mantayne him for the vse. The male at Twenty, the female at Eighteene yeares age, may make a last will and Testament, and therein dispose of their moueables,

and such vnmoueables as they haue purchased or gotten, but for the disposall of vnmoueables coming by discent, the Female also must be of Twenty yeares age, and so they may dispose a fourth part thereof, alwayes vnderstand to fitt & Capable persons, and the other three parts of vnmoueables coming by discent, fall to the right heyre, free from debts or any other Charge. No legacye may be giuen to a Tutor or Gouvernor, /50/ and they who haue legacyes are not admitted for witnesses to the will. The Executors may keepe in their hands all moueable goods for a yeare except the heyre will furnish readye mony to performe the will. The goods of the deceased shalbe sealed //

fol:228. Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

vpp till a legall Inventory be made of them, and the Tutors [and] and Gardians shall not be admitted, who cannot giue Caution to make a iust account, and the mother shall be no longer Tutor or gardion to her children if shee marye agayne. The sonnes and daughters of Plebeans succede equally in mouables & vnmouables w^uithout any advantage to the first borne. But for gentlemans lordships and Fees, of inheritance, the eldest sonne shall haue the cheefe Castle Fort or house besydes his part, for his right of birth, and in the diuision shall /10/ haue halfe the lands and Fees of inheritance. The other sonnes in course shall haue the next Castle or Fort or house, and the other halfe of the land and Fees shalbe equally deuided among them, and if there be any daughters, a sonne shall haue as [well] much as two

daughters, and females shall not succede with the males in Castles and Forts or fortified houses, and where [there] be no males, the daughter aswell noble as Plebean shall haue no right of first borne but shall deuide equally mouables and vnmouables, only /20/ noble daughters shall haue birthright in order and at their coyce to succede in Castles and fortified houses for so many daughters as there be such castles and fortified houses and no further. Fathers and mothers grandfathers and grandmothers succede their Children & grandchildren in mouables and vnmouables purchased or giuen by them in maryage, but the other vnmouables proper and by discent fallen to them, goe to the next Collaterall kinsmen and doe not ascend. In Collaterall succession, there is no right of first borne. The discendants in right /30/ line first succeed, and then the ascendants in right lyne, and for fault of both, then the Collateralls in the foresayd forme. The Parents and kinsmen of Bishops Abbotts and Churchmen, succede them in their goods, not the church or monasterye. Bastards succede not their Parents, but Bastards Children lawfully begotten succeed Parents and grandfathers and grandmothers. A widowe noble or Plebean assoone as the husband is dead, is seased of her customary dowrey, namely halfe the vnmouables falne to him by discent in right lyne possessed by him at maryage /40/ and gotten by both in maryage, only for her life. And

if shee had a Ioynter made at maryage,¹²¹ except there in she expressly renounced her custom~~m~~arye dowrey, she may chuse which she will haue, but shee shall keepe them in reparation and the same state she receaveth them, and this Ioynter or dowrye her next husband may not sell or alianate without [the] [her] consent, nor with her consent except he recompence her in other lands, and shee shall enter vpon her Ioynter in the case shee fyndes it, as if it be sowed with Corne or the meadowes be growne and vnmowed. She shall haue the /50/ choyce of her husbands houses, and if he had but one and it be sufficient for her and the heyres, she shall [half] haue halfe of it, and if it be not sufficient for both she shalbe preferred before them. If shee sell her dowrye or Ioynter the heyre may haue it at the same price within a yeaere[s], and a day after he knowes of the Sale. He that hath possessed any inheritance tenn yeaeres may hold it by prescription against all present men, and after twenty yeaeres against all absent men, excepting those that are vnder age, if he haue //

Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i. fol:229.

Iust title to it, and if he haue possessed it, without iust title, yet after thirty yeaeres he may hold it by prescription against all of full age, but against the right of the cheefe lord forty yeaeres at least are required to

¹²¹ Jointure, "4. b. A sole estate limited to the wife, being a 'competent livelihood...to take effect on the death of the husband for the life of the wife at least'." OED

plead prescription. All personall actions are extin[c]t by prescription after thirty yeares, and morgages after forty yeares. All actions for wares sold and deliuered, and wages or hyres doe Cease after six monthes, except they be due by bill or obligation. All actions for verball Iniuryes Cease by prescription after three monthes that /10/ the party Iniured hath knowledge thereof. All suites in lawe discontinued thee yeares shall cease and not be renewed, except the Plantiue were vnder age, or in prison, or had like Impediment.

After this digression to write of a Prince subiect to the king, I will retourne againe to treatte generally of
{ m.n. 16, 17. Capitall Iudgments. }

Fraunce, and as I haue shewed the generall government and Ciuill Iustice, so I will briefly add somthinge of the Criminall and Capitall Iudgments thereof. Obserue that among the Protestants the Iustice for breach of Gods lawes is /20/ most seuerer, and rigorously executed, as I haue shewed in the former Statutes inacted by the Prince of Sedan and published in print, being very seuerer against Drunckards, all vnchastity, and like Crymes. Among them Adultery committed by man or woman is death, but in other places vnder the Roman Church they inquire litle after this Chryme or like of vnchastity, only if the husband complayne or the wife, or by any other accident such offenders be brought before the magistrate, they are punished by

whipping or other Corporall punishment, /30/ or by banishment, according to the greater or lesser atrocity of the Cryme. For I haue sayd that the Courts of Parliament inflict arbitrary punishments with respect to the Ciuill lawes. Only rauishing is death in all places, namely hanging to the Plebeans and beheading to gentle men. At Roan¹²² an Italyan accused about this tyme for keeping an other mans wife escaped by flight and the wife being a gentlewoman was whipt about the Citty. Murtherers by the high way haue their bones broken vppon the wheele, otherwise, Plebeans /40/ are hanged amd gentlemen beheaded. In like sort by the Kings Edicts, all Combatts are punished with hanging or beheading, in which Case the Edicts of King *Henry* the fourth were in our tyme rigorously executed making all Combatts Treason, but (as among the Sweitzers) Iudges were appointed to giue satisfaction for all wrongs, without which it is impossible to take away Combatts. Robbers by the high way were hanged, for gentlemen robbing or stealing or doing any base or ignoble act, are degraded and hanged, not having the /50/ priuiledge of being beheaded in those Cases. Incest was punished with hanging in Plebeans, and beheading in gentle men. Coyners are to be boyled in oyle; Cutters and Pickers of Purses were for the first tyme whipped, the second tyme burnt with yron markes on the shoulder, and the third //

¹²² Moryson visited Rouen for one night in May 1595.

{ c.w. tyme hanged }

fol:230. Booke ii. The common wealth of Fraunce. Chap:i.

tyme hanged. Murtherers and Robbers with breaking into howses, and all high Crymes according to the greater or lesser atrocitye, had arbitrary punishments in the Courts of Parliament, as the Murtherer of the duke of *Guise*, was rent in peeces with wilde horses, and Traytors murthering kings haue in like sort bene putt to death, besides many exquisite torments, as pinching with hott yrons, and the like. *Fraunce* hath a peculiar lawe for persons condemned to dye and escaping by flight, to hang them by their pictures, better to make them knowne, and them selues /10/ vppon apprehention at any tyme after to be so hanged in person.¹²³

For Ciuill Iustice, I will only add to that I haue formerly written thereof, the lawes recorded in *Historyes* forbidding all transporting of gold or siluer out of the kingdome, and the vse of all forraine gold as spoyling Traffique. And the lawe of vsury allowing of old eight, but at this present only six pounds and some five shillings in the hundreth.¹²⁴

¹²³ Thomas Coryat notes this custom. "This also I observed in Clermont, in the middest of a streete there was erected a gibbet with the picture of a certaine fellow called Antony Peel, who was painted hanging on a gallowes in the same picture. Under the which his offence was mentioned by way of proclamation for apprehending of him...That as his picture was there hanged, so should he also if he might be apprehended." Coryat, I, 168.

¹²⁴ The interest rate was reduced from 8% to 6¼%.

For the gouernment of the kings Cheefe Cittyes, I will add /20/ some thing of *Paris* breefely, by which the gouernment of the rest may be gathered. The Bishopp is supreme in spirituall things. Vnder the king the vniuersitye is gouerned by a Rector for each three moneths. Also vnder the king the Citty hath a proper Iurisdiction, vnder which all the Subvrbs are included. King *Charles* the fifth in the yeare 1371 gaue the Citizens all rights of nobilitye. The old kings graunted the Citty to haue Sheriffes with consular authority.¹²⁵ *Paris* is gouerned by a Prouost called *le Prouost de Paris* for matters of Iustice, and he is commonly /30/ some Nobleman, And by an other Prouost of the Marchants (so styled) for Ciuill matters in the Citties gouernment. The Prouost of *Paris* hath two leiuf tenants, the one for Ciuill the other for Criminall Causes (so styled) for the Prouost himselfe doth seldome sett in the Court of Iustice keeping only the honor of the name. But his leiuf tenants giue Iustice not only for the Towne, but for the whole vicountye of *Paris* being a large Circuite, and these Officers are for life,. Each Leiuf tenant hath his Court assisted by an Attorney for the King and xij Counsellors /40/ besides Aduocates, Procurators and Serieants, the Court being kept in the *Grand Chastellet*. In Ciuill matters vnder the value of xx libri sterling these

¹²⁵ Moryson presumably means like the old *consules* under Imperial Rome, positions more honourary than powerful. Harvey.

Courts Iudge without appeale and Causes may be remoued to the Parliament of Paris by euocation before Processe, and by appeale after the sentence. The Prouost of the Marchants is Chosen for two yeares and is assisted by fower Escheuines (Or Serins and Aldermen). and 26 Counsellors, all Chosen by the *Burgeois* but confirmed by the King.¹²⁶ Their Court is kept in the Towne house. The Citty is diuided into 24 Wards or Trades, and the Captaine /50/ of each Quarter hath inferior men vnder him, to whome he giues the Orders of the Court. to be distributed through the whole Citty. I will conclude with the famous *Salicke* lawe whereof the *french* so much boast. as having made it good by great Constancye, and much effusion of their bloud. It hath the name of a Riuer in *Franconia* a Prouince of *Germanye* // *Booke.ii. The comon wealth of Denmarke. Chap:ii. fol:231.* they call it a fundamentall lawe because the *Franckes* (coming out of that Prouince and subduing the *Gauls* in *Gallia*, from the north and west sydes of the mountaynes called the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees*, and giuing the name of

¹²⁶ Cotgrave defines *eschevin* as "The Sherife of a Towne; or, an Officer who (representing the Roman *Edilis*) lookes that the Market be duly furnisht, and well serued; the houses fitly ranked, and well built; the streets euen paued, or cleane kept: And where a Towne hath, by any Priuiledge, the disposall of it own Police, the *Eschevins* (for there be euer more then one) dispose of it; and (howsoever) they be in authoritie next vnto the Mayor, (or, as in Paris, to the Provost des Marchands) and, in the Townes that haue no Mayors, the principall Magistrats." In present day French *serin* is a canary-colour (perhaps because of the robes that these officials wore?) The *bourgeois* are the merchants referred to here.

Frankes or *french* to these *Gaules*, and the name of *Fraunce* to this part of old *Gallia*) did settle this lawe together with the kingdome. Many deny that there is any such written lawe, but be it Custome or tradition, I will call it a lawe because the *french* haue alwayes obserued it. The cheife braunche thereof is the excluding the Females of the bloud Royall /10/ from succeeding in the kingdome. But howsoever they boast of the antiquity of this lawe, we reade that King *Phillipp* called the *longe*, was the first that bound his Princes by oath to obserue this lawe, then seeming straunge and new to the *french*. And this lawe was the cause of the long and fatall warr betweene the *french* and the *English* from the tyme of *Edward* the third, king of England challenging the kingdome of *Fraunce* by right of his wife.¹²⁷ to the death of *Henry* the sixth king of *England*. The establishing of Inheritance to kings yonger brothers and /20/ Princes of the bloud is by the *french* made a second braunche of their fundamentall lawe. But no doubt the yonger brothers to the kings of the race of *Hughe Capett*, diuided the kingdome and titles thereof with their elder brother, and so likewise for diuerse [ages] after *Charles* the great, who notwithstanding is held first to haue made this lawe commonly called the lawe of *Apennages* by which [it] is decreed that the kings *Domaine* may not be

¹²⁷ Edward III challenged this right by his mother, *Isabella*, daughter of *Philip* the Fair, and not by his wife *Philippa* of *Hainault*. See the beginning of this chapter.

alienated, but that his yonger brothers should haue Inheritance assigned them. which they should enioy with all Priuiledges and immunityes excepting Regall /30/ rights, as Coyning of mony, imposing of Tributes, and the like, but as I may say without property, so as they haueing no heyre male, the Inheritance should retorne to the Crowne. And this lawe hath caused many Ciuill warrs in *Fraunce*, raysted by the kings yonger brothers, not content with the Inheritance assigned them. To these if you add the late dissentions, about the Reformation of Religion, you haue the Cheefe Firebrands of all former Ciuill warrs in *Fraunce*.